

Reviews

Labour Movement

Mark Perryman (ed), *The Corbyn Effect*, Lawrence and Wishart, 2017, 274 pages, paperback ISBN 9781612064687, £15

This ‘essential post-election read’ is an edited collection of 19 essays which explore ‘the meaning, limitations and potential of Corbynism’. The book was commissioned after the surprise success of Jeremy Corbyn in the ‘snap’ election called by Theresa May in June 2017. It is an eclectic mix of contributions from Labour Party academics and writers: some old and seasoned, some new and enthusiastic. As such, they vary in their analyses of Corbynism. Some are full of vim and vigour, keen to progress the transformation of the Labour Party and, ultimately, the country. Others are more tentative in relation to the potential of Corbynism to sustain its potential for electoral and social change.

‘The great moving left show’, the ‘keynote essay’ by Mark Perryman, introduces the collection and encompasses the range of ideas which develop in more detail later. At its heart is the original article by Stuart Hall, ‘The great moving right show’, written in 1979 to try and understand the force behind the malevolent, but popular, power of early-days Thatcherism. Hall identified the way in which Thatcherism transformed existing working-class values in ways that lent extra force and popularity to her policy objectives. She succeeded in ‘grounding’ policy objectives in everyday values and experience to ensure that change would be deep and long lasting. Perryman sees a link here to nascent Corbynism and cultural politics.

‘A core part of the Corbyn appeal is the idea that Labour can become both a party and a social movement. And to achieve this, a cultural politics is key. This is what will be able to project the party as more than a sum of its members, branches, annual conference and MPs, and put forward a vision for change which, in the here and now, defies all the limitations to practise its ideals.’

Jeremy Gilbert’s contribution is detailed and very useful in tracking the changes within the Labour Party that enabled Jeremy Corbyn to win the leadership. He identifies some of the challenges which face him and the Party if it is to succeed. The first challenge is how to extend the vote next time. It seems clear that winning over older conservative-thinking (but

formerly Labour-voting) working class voters in ‘post-industrial’ and coastal towns will be crucial. This requires activists to be both knowledgeable about what has gone before and open to discussion. The second challenge is related to the first. How can activists focus on winning these votes in key seats without alienating the electoral support which has already coalesced around Corbyn from young people, the ‘metropolitan left’, and affluent professionals disillusioned with Brexit and austerity. The third is how to keep this coalition together in the face of Brexit. The fourth is how to deal with Party machinery which obstructs rather than helps internal change. Gilbert concludes

‘Beyond the party, Corbyn himself seems well aware that only a full-scale social movement is likely to be able to bring about and sustain political, economic and cultural change on the scale that he and his supporters seek. Radical reform of the party will be one necessary prerequisite for such a movement developing critical mass, but it will not be a sufficient one...’

The other contributors all discuss in different ways the impact that Corbynism has had to date and point to the potential for the future, their diversity illustrative of the enormous range of expectations that have now been generated by the prospect that he might win the next General Election. Two contributions illustrate the range of ideas being debated within the book’s pages.

Hilary Wainwright’s analysis of the limiting impact of parliamentarianism and Labourism within the Labour Party draws on Ralph Miliband’s *Parliamentary Socialism*. She argues that Corbyn’s success in 2017 has demonstrated that it is possible for left politicians like Corbyn to move beyond these conventions. As such, she explores the possibilities that might present themselves in the near future for new working relationships between the state (local and national), social movements and what she calls ‘the social economy’ (organisations with social as opposed to profit-generating objectives).

Eliane Glaser views the implications of Jeremy Corbyn’s success to date in an entirely different way. She thinks of him as an ambiguous figure not least because the media often have attempted to explain his success and translate his values to the general public in the worst possible light. The impact of right-wing populism on politics has been such that serious political thought and activity has been marginalised. Instead, a more commonplace approach in the print and broadcast media is on telling stories with an emphasis on ‘us’ (the undifferentiated people) as opposed

to ‘them’ (elitist politicians and immigrants), with minimal analysis and certainly with no reference to the 1% who control financial institutions and possess the country’s wealth.

In this scenario, politicians ‘routinely claim that they are not motivated by ideology, but by what “really matters” to “ordinary people”.’ This is what she calls ‘anti-politics’. As she comments

‘... too often the pattern has been for the tabloids to make policy by falsely purporting to represent the views of the people, and then politicians have simply followed this rather than setting out what they believe.’ Unsurprisingly, ‘Decades of disaffection, detachment, ossification and neoliberal domination have caused the left to disparage representative democracy in favour of social movements ... The problem with this ... is that it prevents political actors from advocating for mainstream politics as a transformative force. Corbyn’s electoral success forces a rethink ...’

There is insufficient space to do credit to all the chapters. These focus variously on the changing fortunes of the Conservative Party; the experiences of being a new Labour Party member; the situation in Scotland; an analysis of how Corbyn was ‘framed’ by the media, and ways of challenging ‘media trashing’; migration policy; the impact of Grime on voting; the lessons to be learnt from Syriza’s Greece; challenging meritocracy; challenging neo-liberalism and austerity, and so on.

As can be seen from this brief summary, *The Corbyn Effect* is brimming over with ideas. But the last chapter by Paula Surridge is arguably the key to all of the rest. It contains a detailed analysis of the seats that were won by Labour in the General Election of 2017, comparing them to the more traditional ‘safe’ seats which make up a lot of the existing Parliamentary Labour Party. She then goes on to look at seats that are currently marginal and which may be won next time from the Conservatives and those currently held by Labour which conceivably may be lost. This detailed account is important as it explains why it will not be possible for the Labour Party to simply have ‘one more push’ (that is, repeat what it did in 2017) to achieve a Parliamentary majority next time.

The most important point Surridge makes is that electoral politics and the allegiances of voters are far more volatile than they used to be. Her chapter hammers home this message with detailed facts, seat by seat. Any election strategy will have to be tailored to the area. Secondly, the seats that Labour won (some unexpectedly) in 2017 are notable for their diverse local populations and the proportion of their electorates who hold

university degrees. There are few such seats left to win next time. The Labour Party needs to win seats in areas less diverse and less well educated – that is, seats in predominantly white working-class areas. It also needs to win seats that have a different age profile from those it won in 2017, with fewer, younger voters and more, older voters. Ironically, the most vulnerable seats that Labour currently has (with the smallest majorities), that could upset any Labour election strategy in the future, are those that in the past would have been ‘dead-cert’ Labour seats. Residents are more likely to be older, white, less well educated, and working-class. As she says, these areas are made up mainly of people who have been ‘left behind’ (and who voted to leave the European Union).

SurrIDGE identifies two possible election strategies. The first is similar to the one used by Bernie Sanders in the United States – an electoral coalition of ‘the professional middle-class; economically precarious younger voters; and the poorest groups on the very lowest incomes’. Her view is that this approach might produce a minority Labour government reliant on other parties’ support, although research suggests that the British public is not keen on coalitions in government now. The alternative strategy is the ‘Clem Attlee strategy which seeks to build a stronger cross-class alliance for “national renewal”.’ SurrIDGE’s analysis suggests that this would be more likely to produce a workable majority for Labour in the next General Election.

Whichever of these two strategies are adopted, without doubt, there is much hard work to be done. ‘Labour’s Battleground Seats’ are listed at the end of this book and set out the challenge clearly. This also was made abundantly clear for all to see by the results of the local elections held in May 2018. Enthusiasing new members and existing members aside, it is now surely time for *all* members of the Parliamentary Labour Party to put their strength and energies into supporting Jeremy Corbyn to get the votes to win the next General Election.

Cathy Davis

Children of the Greeks

Michael Carroll, *Greece: A Literary Guide For Travellers*, I.B.Tauris, 2017, 304 pages, hardback ISBN 9781784533809, £16.99

This splendid compilation complements the two modern Greek Poetry anthologies reviewed in *Spokesman* 134 (2016, pages 105-109). See also Harry Strawson’s enthusiastic verdict (*TLS* 13 December 2017) and the

ecstatic online review by Patricia Cleveland-Peck, especially its detailing of the many anecdotes about, for example, ‘Lugless Willie’ (Scotchman William Lithgow), Mark Twain, Henry Miller, and the Durrells (cf. the TV series, *The Durrells on Corfu*), delightful in themselves, but not to the present purpose. This volume is an expansion of Carroll’s earlier one on the island of Skopelos, in both its original and revised title/versions. Carroll himself enjoys a Persephone-like existence between Sussex and the Greek islands, possibly without ancient heaven-hell distinctions.

This is not the first such book, being preceded by Richard Stoneman’s *A Literary Companion to Travel In Greece* (Penguin, 1984). Readers would do well to read and compare the two.

As I write, Greeks in Athens are once more protesting against (they claim) misuse of the name Macedonia, all to do with what nationality was Alexander the Great and age-old resentment over his and father Philip’s defeat of the combined city-states. Such chauvinism is countered by Alexis Tsipras quoting in his resignation speech (20 August 2015) an optimistic poem for the future by Nazim Hikmet — a Greek praising a Turk doubtless ruffled a few Hellenic feathers.

Regionalism has always been endemic to Greece, inevitable in a country with at least 162 inhabited islands; compare Indonesia and the Philippines. Also, in classical times, there were around 1,000 independent city-states (cf. the studies of Mogens Hansen), of which only 31 joined together to resist the invading Persians. Despite the ancient/modern classificatory term ‘Hellas’, there never was a single Greece. Unity of sorts was variously imposed upon it by Rome, Byzantium, and the Ottoman Empire, becoming modern Greece only in the wake of the Independence War of 1821-1830.

More than most countries, ancient-modern continuity is manifest in Greece. Dominant themes in the writers here represented, such as corruption, poverty, and regionalism, stretch back through the Satires of Lucian to (with Homer) Hesiod, the earliest poet; cf. my ‘Ancient Socialism’ (*Spokesman* 112, 2011, 59-64)

Carroll’s book divides into seven geographical areas, mainland and insular, following the ancient travelogue of Pausanias (misdated, p. 269), fortified by a basic Map, Author Profiles (ancient and modern), Chronology of Events, Select Bibliography, and an Index confined to proper names and titles. Perhaps surprisingly (same is true of Stoneman), there are no illustrations.

The Chronology oddly stops in 1981, Greece joining the EU. Not all Greeks would consider this a happy demarcation. Of its contemporary

economic crises and new political scene, represented between the extremes of Syriza and Golden Dawn, there is nothing beyond a scant introductory (p. x) allusion to ‘present economic woes’. Hence no place for the application of classicism to present conditions by Varoufakis who in a talk (available online), ‘Capitalism Will Eat Democracy’, worked in both Aristotle’s formulation of Democracy and the Oedipus story to illustrate low aggregate demand. Also worth quoting (from an interview in *The Australian*, 14 May 2016) is his remark that the Colonels’ dictatorship (1967-1974) showed him ‘a sense of what it means to be both unfree and, at once, convinced me that the possibilities for progress and improvement are endless’.

Likewise, Henry Miller, whilst (pages 7-11) present with the Durrells on Corfu, is given short quotational shrift, deserving much more from his *Colossus of Marousi* (= the poet Katsimbalis), still one of the best-ever books about Greece. I used to put it on student reading-lists.

This said, Carroll lays out a rich cornucopia of authors and lavish extracts, from the earliest poets (notably Sappho and Archilochus) down to the key 19th-century Independence/Renaissance ones: Palamas — author of the modern Olympic Hymn, Sikelianos, Solomos, thence to Kazantzakis and Theodorakis, plus the especially welcome, little known outside Greece, novelist Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851-1911).

Greece is one of few countries to have two Nobel Literature Prizes (poets Odysseas Elytis and George Seferis); Palamas was twice nominated, Kazantzakis nine times! Not forgetting the celebrated Alexandrian Greek, Constantine Cavafy, to whose several mentions I subjoin perhaps these most pertinent lines:

*And as they proceed with their investigations
They keep finding waste, and call for its elimination
Things, however, that are hard to do without.*

No sign, though, of the above-mentioned anthologies’ poets, hence my suggested collation.

Dominating (by far the most index-references) the book, rightly, is Lord Byron, on whom Carroll is superb. Runner-up, along with the Durrells, is his distant relative Robert Byron, notable for his tempestuous life and pioneering Byzantine books, which in their day had great éclat.

Carroll is suitably acid on the Colonels’ junta, unlike the suggestion of Emmanouela Seiradaki (*Forbes Magazine*, 31 October 2011) that Greece’s only solution was a new military coup. Hardly a word though (unindexed)

about the 1941 dictator, General Metaxas, who (October 1940) rallied the Greeks to resist the Germans with these verses from Aeschylus' *The Persians*:

*Forward, Children of the Greeks,
Free your fatherland, free your children, your wives,
The Temples of the Gods, the tombs of your ancestors,
The fight is for you all.*

There are wonky details. Several dates in the Chronology are imaginary or wrong. The Roman Empire was Christianised in 311-337 by Constantine, not 395. Plato's Academy was supposedly closed in 529, not 599, and this event is now largely disbelieved. The old proverb 'Not every man can go to Corinth' is misunderstood (p. 162). Odysseas Elytis is twice (pages 105, 281) to have died in 1966 — actually it was 1996. And, I cannot fathom Carroll's dating (p. 278) of Christ's birth to 33 BC.

Still, as Rajani Palme Dutt less forgivably said about Stalin's crimes, these are spots on the sun. Don't throw away your Lonely Planet or Rick Steves, but take Carroll with you (or curl up with it at home) and you'll not only enjoy the ancient glories of Greece but also appreciate that these did not end in the fourth-century BC. The ancient deprivations and sufferings of the Greek people are an equal chronological constant, a tragic reality equally understood by their writers from Antiquity to Independence to the Anthologies and by Tsipras and Varoufakis, if not by Angela Merkel and the International Monetary Fund.

Barry Baldwin

The Cage

Helen Fry, *The London Cage: The Secret History of Britain's World War II Interrogation Centre*, Yale University Press, 2017, 244 pages, hardback ISBN9780300221930, £18.99

Fry is an old hand in this area, with 25 books and various TV documentaries to her credit. Interested parties will be looking forward to her next (2019) announced study: *A History of M19: Escape and Evasion in Europe in the Second World War*.

This present work (well-written, jargon-free, occasionally witty, clearly printed — not universal virtues, these days), however, despite the customary exaggerated claims to 'groundbreaking' on the dust-jacket, may

be the most exhaustively detailed account so far, but much of it has gone before. Not only in the massive Wikipedia notices of The Cage and its overlord, Alexander Scotland — neither mentions Fry — but also through the massive exposure, ‘The Secrets of the London Cage,’ by Ian Cobain in *The Guardian* (12 November 2005).

Cobain is an equal luminary, specializing in journalistic investigations into secrecy and torture, shortlisted for the Orwell Prize, winner of the Paul Foot and Martha Gelhorn ones, plus honours from Amnesty International. Fry includes his *Cruel Britannia: A Secret History of Torture* (2013), but he gets only four mentions in the thirteen pages of terse endnotes.

These being mentioned, a convenient place to subjoin that Fry also provides a list of Cage personnel, a portfolio of illustrations, a valuable (albeit much is elsewhere available) litany of archival (including unpublished items) documents, and a one-page Bibliography to which might be added the name of Darius Rejali, who adopts a more tolerant, indeed somewhat dismissive, attitude towards The Cage. Furthermore, Fry makes no use as far as I can tell of the memoirs of Brighton psychiatrist Tony Whitehead, cited and applauded by Cobain for his eyewitness accounts of the rough treatment meted out, for example, to a German naval officer in The Cage.

Fry naturally draws heavily on Alexander Scotland’s own memoir, *The London Cage* (1957), published half-way between headline stories on him and it in both the London and New York *Times* (14 and 15 February 1955), and the *Daily Mail* (1960, fully detailed by Fry, pages 213-216). From time to time over this period, questions about Scotland and The Cage were raised in Parliament, from both Conservative and Labour members and ministers. Indeed, as early as 1943, MI5 chief Maxwell Knight had expressed concern to the Secretary of State, getting nowhere.

After harassment from British Intelligence and Special Branch, Scotland got his (officially disclaimed) book out, but in severely censored form. Moreover, he was denied permission to recover his original manuscript.

One year later came a film, *The Two-Headed Spy*, with Jack Hawkins playing a thinly disguised Alex Schottland, supposedly a German general spying for the British. Subsequently, there have been allusions to The Cage in television programmes *Foyle’s War* and *Spooks*, while actual events relating to Cage interrogations appeared in films *The Great Escape* and *The Wooden Horse*.

There may also be some bleeding into literature. Fry’s description of the

physical decay of Kensington Palace Gardens after being commandeered is reminiscent of *Brideshead Revisited* — Waugh was well placed to know what was going on and where. Likewise, Bond's Ian Fleming, described with photograph by Fry offering a *Sunday Times* job to Antony Terry, Cage deputy and senior interrogator — putting all these two and twos together almost certainly makes four.

Scotland's (nephew of George Bernard Shaw) remarkable career began with invited service in the German army (1903-1907), then suspected and briefly arrested, after release and initial rejection, became a British interrogator of German prisoners in France (1916). Later, he had some kind of roving intelligence work in South America amongst German communities, then frequent visits to Germany (one meeting with Hitler) before being recalled, in 1940, and put by MI19 in charge of The Prisoner of War Interrogation Section (PWIS), aka 'The Cage'.

Kensington Palace Gardens was one of nine such centres deployed across Britain. Several were rather ironically based at locations (Doncaster, Kempton, Lingfield) more famous for horse-racing. Cobain lists 3,573 prisoners as passing through. During the War, the aim was to extract any scraps of information of possible military use. Afterwards (until closed in 1948), emphasis shifted to establishing war crimes guilt involving senior Nazi officers.

Though denying sadism, Scotland breezily admitted to things 'mentally just as cruel' done to 'cheeky and obstinate prisoners'. One immediate question: why did he refuse Red Cross inspections?

Rennison's *Times* review unfairly accuses Fry of evading the moral issue. In fact, she frequently raises it, in main text and special Epilogue. Some might think it so obvious a matter as not to need spelling out. Emotional reactions are justifiable, indeed ineluctable. But, level headed dispassion is a necessary complement, in the manner of Rejali's *Torture and Democracy* (2007). The most telling literary reflection is perhaps Sartre's *Le Mur* (The Wall), 1939, in a Spanish Civil War setting.

Rejali goes back to the nineteenth century. It of course reaches back to (at least) the unlovely Assyrians. In the case of any Roman 'domestic', the law stipulated mandatory torture of slaves for evidence. Overall, does any nation have clean hands? Which can denounce American atrocities without any skeletons in their own cupboards?

Mixed feelings are permissible. Prisoners were undoubtedly subject to physical and mental assaults — one favourite was to dress in Soviet uniforms to exploit German fears of the Red Army. No 'Good Cop Bad Cop' routines here. Our feelings should be reserved for these 'ordinary'

men. When it comes to bashing Nazi brutes such as Sepp Dietrich, Fritz Knoechlein, Jakob Sporrenberg (to name but three of many), thereby unmasking those guilty of massacres of, for example, British and Canadian prisoners of war (the Le Paradis and Sagan atrocities, fully documented by Fry), I feel nothing but satisfaction, whilst (frankly) smiling over her description of Field Marshall von Rundstedt being made to scrape a toilet bowl with a toothbrush.

Faced with all this, who cannot help invoking John Le Carré? Incidentally, how much did he find out about *The Cage*? Orwell, too, for that matter?

In 1940, MI5's Counter-Intelligence Director, Guy Liddell observed that 'apart from the moral aspects of the thing, I am convinced that these Gestapo methods do not pay in the long run'. Scotland disproved the latter reservation; Liddell's introductory point remains on the table, perhaps best glossed by a remark I have seen (at second hand) attributed to a former Tory minister: 'it may be said that a dead terrorist cannot harm Britain'. A point of view forcefully articulated by Melanie Phillips in *The Times* on the very same day I was penning this review...

Barry Baldwin

Several YouTube clips show Helen Fry talking about her book and corollary topics. See also reviews (all online) by William Cook (Spectator, 9 September 2017), Tony Rennell (Daily Mail, 15 September 2017), Nick Rennison (The Times, 5 December 2017).

Novel Einstein

R J Gadney, *Albert Einstein Speaking*, Canongate, 2018, 260 pages, hardback ISBN 9781786890474, £17.99

Bertrand Russell sought ways to renew the peace movement, to maintain conscious opposition to nuclear weapons. That's why he came to welcome the formation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in 1958. He might have been surprised, and a little disappointed, that CND now marks its 60th anniversary, while nuclear weapons proliferate.

Canongate list R J Gadney's *Albert Einstein Speaking* as a novel. It is certainly a romance, underpinned not a little by Albert's attraction to women, as well as the attraction some women felt for him. But it is also an excursion through pioneering scientific discovery, anti-Jewish racism,

particularly in Germany between the wars, and the development of nuclear weapons in the United States.

Gadney eschewed Einstein's final public gesture, in 1955, in signing what became the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, urging scientists the world over to alert the human race to the threat to life on earth posed by nuclear weapons, and 'to remember your humanity, and forget the rest'. But he acknowledges Einstein's commitment by having him speak a lapidary sentence from the text of the Manifesto: 'Shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war?'

Sadly, Reg Gadney died in May 2018, as *Albert Einstein Speaking* was about to be published. Highly readable, it is a fine memorial to him and to Albert,

Anthony Lane

Ecologies of knowledge

Hilary Wainwright, *A new politics from the left*, Polity Press, 2018, 146 pages, paperback ISBN 9781509523634

Hilary Wainwright is well known to many as the co-editor of the magazine *Red Pepper*. *A new politics from the left* is her latest book and comes after Jeremy Corbyn's General Election achievements in 2017. As such, the book 'is one contribution to a widely collaborative and participatory political work in progress' which currently she believes may be assisted by a re-invigorated, participatory Labour Party in power. The main focus of the book is a discussion of what she calls a new form of politics, one based in part on an underpinning of 'new' forms of knowledge.

Extra-parliamentary activity of different kinds has been around for a long time and been tried and tested especially in the 1980s in the Greater London Council (GLC, where Wainwright worked) and, for example, in Sheffield (where one of us was heavily involved). Wainwright argues that in a variety of extra-parliamentary social movements 'the lifeblood of their organisations' is what she calls tacit knowledge, produced where knowledge is shared (both between individuals and along horizontal organisational lines). There are different ways in which this happens: through reflection on activity, 'the use of inherited theory' and the application of 'intuition' and 'tacit skill'. She believes that the result is

'purposeful and planned action, through collaboration and without predictive certainty, constantly subject to further experiment and self-reflexivity...'

This is a process, she claims, not unlike modern jazz.

The women's movement, the environmental movement, and workers' movements in what she calls the Western and South American left have, at different times, challenged the authority of the state and/or large corporations in terms of the perceived paternalism of the former and the control of 'expertise' in the latter. They have done this through the use of tacit knowledge and skill. She recognises that this tacit knowledge needs to be supplemented by other kinds of knowledge (naming theoretical, historical and statistical knowledge) in order to fully understand the 'structures of oppression' which surround us but, having done that, the way is open to develop appropriate strategies to overcome these.

Wainwright's understanding of power underpins these different social movements. This differs significantly from power as understood in the social democratic or liberal tradition or, indeed, from the range of Marxist interpretations more usually found on the political left. Wainwright refers to 'power over' (by which she means 'power as domination') and, by contrast, 'power to' (that is, 'power as transformative capacity'). Her view is that social democratic or communist parties have exercised at best 'a benevolent' version of power as domination, whilst autonomous organisations, part of social movements, have sought to transform social relations through more co-operative, open and fluid forms. They have often struggled to survive.

There are a lot of interesting ideas in this small book including a lot of detail about struggles at Lucas Aerospace (to produce socially useful products instead of armaments), Newcastle City Council (IT services' transformation) and Barcelona (*Barcelona en Comu's* free software and digital commons networks). More detail about how these worked is available in her other publications, including one published by Spokesman (*The Lucas Plan: A new trade unionism in the making?*) Underpinning them all is her belief that

'we are still in an early phase of a transition from an economic system driven by the competitive imperative for profit and capital accumulation to economic relations driven by social values of those people discarded by the imperatives of private profit.'

The 'transition' can best be understood in her mind by thinking about 'ecologies of ownership' and 'ecologies of knowledge' – reliant on the natural environment, multi-layered, place-specific...

The key question following this of course is how far and to what extent

can the power of the state be used to encourage and/or support such movements and forms? Wainwright has in the past been very critical of the Labour Party as an agent of change – for her it is too paternalistic and patronising, with minimal member involvement. She has changed her position – for the time being – although she still refers to Ralph Miliband’s *Parliamentary Socialism* as a cautionary backdrop to current Labour members’ enthusiasm.

Very much a mixed bag, historically Wainwright touches on developments which may have been passed over too soon. But for the future, do her ideas have any legs? It may be stating the obvious, but to pursue any of these you need a change of government. More specifically, you need Jeremy Corbyn in 10 Downing Street.

Cathy Davis and Alan Wigfield

Look who’s Tolkien!

Rowena Edlin-White, *Exploring Nottinghamshire Writers*, Five Leaves Publications, 2017, 320 pages, colour illustrated, paperback ISBN 9781910170359, £12.99

As the blurb says, this is ‘a cornucopia of writers, modern and ancient, famous and obscure, dead and alive, men and women’. But there aren’t really any black and minority ethnic (BME) voices. This, as Ross Bradshaw acknowledges in his publisher’s note, is a fact of history, and something he hopes will be rectified in a future update. His publisher’s note also acts as a disclaimer, an advance apology for those who are having a strop because they weren’t included and, consequently, are thinking of boycotting his shop, which was recently crowned Independent Bookshop of the Year.

One such missing author is Norma Gregory. Norma is a historian (among other things) who for the past twenty-five years has researched African / African Caribbean experiences in the UK. This includes the self-explanatory *Jamaicans in Nottingham: Narratives and Reflections* (2015) and, currently, *Digging Deep*, which gives voice to the African Caribbean coalminers who stood shoulder to shoulder with European and Asian miners. Through her social enterprise, Nottingham News Centre CIC, she’s sponsored and supported heritage events that promote inclusion and equality for all, thereby creating a platform for the very writers who might make it into a future edition of *Exploring Nottinghamshire Writers*. Just as

DH Lawrence was the first writer to depict the lives of miners from the *inside*, and Alan Sillitoe, through the flat Radford vowels of Arthur Seaton, portrayed factory life with such brutal honesty that a Nottingham Councillor wanted *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, his debut novel, banned, so too Norma continues the fight for self-representation, a recurring theme for writers from the City.

Which brings me to two living writers, arguably Nottingham's most famous, who have chosen *not* to be associated with the county: Jon McGregor and Robert Harris. Perhaps Jon was too busy to rattle out 200 words. His kids were born here, he helped form the Nottingham Writers' Studio in 2006, and he's a professor at the posh university. Surely that's enough? But perhaps his heart is in Norwich, where he spent his childhood, and where he's a patron of the Writers' Centre. Robert Harris was born in Nottingham and went to school here, but seems to have no intention of ever returning here, either in print or in person. But it's equally understandable why both of these superbly talented writers wouldn't want to be reduced to a postcode.

Two other absentees are Andrew Graves and Al Needham. Andrew's first collection of poems takes an unassuming look through Nottingham's side streets. His second, *God Save the Teen* (2017), explores his Ashfield adolescence where he was raised by a single parent miner who looked like a 'lardy Alice Cooper'. Al Needham was the definitive voice of Nottingham during his tenure as editor of *LeftLion* magazine, delighting readers with his bawdy, irreverent *chelp*, and his legendary column, *May Contain Notts*. You simply can't include everyone. It would be impossible. But it does raise the question of what constitutes a Nottinghamshire writer.

I was faced with a similar problem when I created *Dawn of the Unread* (2017), a graphic novel exploring Nottingham's literary history. As my objective was to lure reluctant readers with snippets about the lives of dead writers, I was after interesting back stories. So I had a broader palette to paint from. In *Exploring Nottinghamshire Writers* the parameters are equally flexible, enabling a broad exploration of tenuous and tangible links, as well as writers who have contributed to science, religion, and politics, as well as to fiction, on the page and stage.

After 15 years of harping on about Nottingham in various publications and broadcasts, I know my biscuits. I pride myself on being able to link any living person with my home city through a few degrees of separation. So I was pretty confident I'd know a good whack of the 126 featured writers. But it turns out I know nothing, or at least nothing about 67 of them.

I've immediately begun my self-imposed penance by purchasing Hilda

Lewis's *Penny Lace* (1946), which Ross Bradshaw suggests is a precursor to *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* (1958) and should be read side by side. And he's right. The novel opens in a lace factory with a Seatonesque character complaining, 'those bitches were taking it easy again! All very fine for them! But a chap couldn't afford to be held up, not on piece work'. Another Sillitoe link is Pat McGrath's *The Green Leaves of Nottingham* (1970), written when McGrath was fourteen! Set in Radford, it also comes with a foreword from Sillitoe.

The 126 entries in this directory are mini bios, exploring connections and teasing out further reading. For something meatier, try the contextual essays at the back. I was fascinated to read about the Sherwood Forest Group, a bunch of radical ruralists detailing the effects of the enclosure system on the forests during the 19th century. Peter Hoare's essay on libraries explores, among other things, the unique phenomenon of Operative Libraries that were hosted in pubs around the city, enabling the working classes to self-educate. If Chartism and Socialism is your thing, try Chris Richardson's *City of Light* (2013). Artist Brick is a passionate advocate of comics, ensuring they are taken as seriously as literature with a capital 'L'. But he fails to mention *Dawn of the Unread*, a graphic novel about Nottingham (of which he was one of the commissioned artists!) Instead, he pays homage to artists who scarpered out of Nottingham the minute they became successful: Luke Pearson (Bristol) and Lizz Lunney (Berlin). Yes, I am having a strop.

Tolkien of which brings me to the most surprising connection with Nottinghamshire in the entire book, J.R.R. Tolkien (1892-1973). After his mother died, Tolkien would stay with his aunt at Gedling. It was in Gedling in 1914, at the age of 22, that he wrote the poem 'The Voyage of Earendel the Evening Star' about a mariner who sails off the earth into the sky. The poem outlined the mythological landscape of Middle-earth which would lead to the novels that cemented him forever as the father of fantasy fiction. If you're thinking of making a pilgrimage, don't bother. His aunt's home, Phoenix Farm, was flattened by the Coal Board in 1953-4. Which is probably just as well as the Brummies would go wappy if they thought we were trying to claim him as our own.

We've never been very good at preserving Nottingham's literary heritage, no matter how tenuous the links. But we're getting better thanks to books like this. It'll give you a right headache, in a good way, which is fitting, as Nottingham has faced many problems over the years, mainly through being a factory city. It's made us lairy, sweary, and quite contrary. From Robin Hood to the Luddites, we've had to rebel when things weren't

right. And this is the true value of *Exploring Nottinghamshire Writers*. Read as a whole, you realise we're pretty much fighting the same battles today as we've always done.

James Walker

Paine's 'Rescue'?

J.C.D. Clark, *Thomas Paine: Britain, America and France in the Age of Enlightenment and Revolution*, Oxford University Press, 2018, 512 pages, hardback ISBN 9780198816997, £30

This book, as the author makes clear in his Introduction, is not a narrative biography of Thomas Paine (1737-1809) but a painstaking analysis of his thought and influence. The historian E.P. Thompson, in his classic study *The Making of the English Working Class*, wrote 'I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the "obsolete" hand loom weaver, the "utopian" artisan and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott from the enormous condescension of posterity'.

J.C.D. Clark writes: 'Here I seek to rescue the American Patriot, the French Jacobin, the English Reformer and even the undeluded Thomas Paine himself from the enormous approbation of posterity' [page 9]. This is an indication that this author – despite referring to Paine in his conclusion as 'England's greatest revolutionary in the scope of his engagement with world historical events ...' [page 418], regards Paine as overrated by later generations.

He takes the view that Paine was not a truly profound thinker and, far from being a far-sighted political analyst, was deeply entrenched in the ideas of the 18th Century.

He refers to the opposition to the Hanoverian succession to the British crown and the accession of George I, a German prince, in 1714. This was reflected in the unsuccessful Jacobite uprisings of 1715 and 1745. He suggests that Tom Paine's attitude to monarchy may have been influenced by this, although Paine was a principled opponent of hereditary monarchy and never, in any way, a Jacobite sympathiser.

In his consideration of Paine's famous pamphlet, *Common Sense*, which has, in the past, been regarded as having a central role in convincing the American colonies of the case for complete independence from Britain, Clark concludes that its impact has been greatly exaggerated.

He considers that Paine's ideas were fundamentally shaped by his acceptance of Deism, which had been developed in the first half of the

18th Century. In view of the fact that Paine wrote *The Age of Reason*, which sought to expose many aspects of the Christian faith as mythological, his religious outlook was surely more than a mere recapitulation of 18th Century Deism.

Clark examines in great detail Paine's most important book, *The Rights of Man*, written to counter Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* [1790], a denunciation of the event.

Clark argues that the basic cause of the French Revolution was financial bankruptcy caused by France's support for the American Revolution, which Paine failed to grasp. Paine, he reports, thought that 'from a small spark, kindled in America, a flame has arisen not to be extinguished' (*The Rights of Man, Part II* [1792] CW1 360).

Clark accuses Paine of ignorance of the different histories of America and France.

Paine argued that each generation had the right to determine the form of government it accepted, based ultimately on natural rights. He quoted Burke's statement: 'The Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons do, in the name of the people aforesaid most humbly and faithfully submit themselves and posterity forever' to the rule of King William III in 1688. Paine took the view that no Parliament could bind its successors and the nation had the right to secure the consent of the living.

Clark criticises Paine for not confronting others besides Burke, including Sir William Blackstone and David Hume. He comments that Paine did not even quote sympathetic writers like Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. Paine's argument was that natural rights were God-given, which man enjoyed when he first came from the hand of his maker.

Clark accepts that Paine was opposed to slavery, but expresses surprise that he did not make more of his opposition. He denies that Paine wrote an anonymous article against slavery in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, although this had previously been attributed to Paine. He attacks Paine for not taking up the cause of the emancipation of women, although this was hardly an issue in the 18th Century.

Clark discusses Paine's economic policies and records that he believed all trades should be free, as Adam Smith contended in *The Wealth of Nations*. He did not call for the levelling of property rights, but was opposed to primogeniture and called for a form of progressive taxation.

Paine did not envisage an industrial society and, in his last major work, *Agrarian Justice*, outlined his ideas for a rural society. Here he believed cultivators should pay death duties and that a form of social security should be provided, with payment to women on the birth of a child, payments to children to facilitate education for all, and pensions at sixty

years of age. Payments were also to be made to enable young people to become cultivators.

Paine regarded war as a product of despotism and looked forward to the formation of an international confederation of nationally independent states which would prevent war.

The Rights of Man was published before the reign of terror under Robespierre. Having fled from Britain in fear of his life, and having been made a Deputy, Paine was elected to serve on a committee of nine to draft a republican constitution. He was, however, most strongly opposed to the execution of King Louis XVI and spoke out in the face of a barrage of hostility. After the King's execution he maintained his position and was eventually arrested himself, on 26th December 1793. Clark suggests that the Jacobins may not have intended to execute him but, according to Paine, he escaped the guillotine only by chance.

Clark's book goes into the finest detail about the events of Paine's life and the character of his thought. As an expert on European political ideas and the writings of a vast number of participants in political debate, he has produced an encyclopaedic study of Thomas Paine and his environment.

However, he fails to convey the reason for the immense inspiration that Paine has given to successive generations of reformers and radicals over the years. It is, of course, true that Paine was neither a utilitarian nor a socialist. He was born in the first half of the 18th century and died at the end of the first decade of the 19th century, before the conditions which fostered these movements were in place. He died before Karl Marx was born.

Clark's book is not a hostile tract like that of George Chalmers of 1791 or James Cheetham of 1809. It is, however, a rather cold and clinical account, which belittles Paine's achievements. Thomas Paine was a great internationalist, an opponent of imperialism and despotic wars, and a major prophet of democracy and representative government. He was bitterly attacked in his own day and subsequently, but he showed immense courage and unbending adherence to his principles throughout his life. The fact that his name and inspiration live on, despite his humble beginnings and lonely and inconspicuous end, marks him out as a figure of considerable historic significance – in spite of Clark's effort 'to rescue him from the enormous approbation of posterity'.

Stan Newens

Fatherland, motherland, homeland

Orhan Pamuk, *The Red-Haired Woman*, Faber and Faber, 2017, 254 pages, ISBN 9780571330294, £16.99

Gloria Fisk, *Orhan Pamuk and the Good of World Literature*, Columbia University Press, 2018, 266 pages, ISBN 9780231544825, £47

Dissent can take many, sometimes contradictory forms, and has long been Orhan Pamuk's stock-in-trade, from his inception as a novelist to the beleaguered position he now shares with innumerable public intellectuals and leading figures of contemporary Turkish literature in the age of authoritarian populism. Unlike Cem, the ostensible protagonist of *The Red-Haired Woman*, who 'wanted to be a writer. But after the events I am about to describe, I studied geology and became a building contractor' and beneficiary of the decades-long profiteering of the statist-corporate elite, the rise and consolidation of power of the AKP and Erdogan, Pamuk has held to his craft and never tired of proclaiming the autonomous realm of fiction his single, irreducible homeland. Where else to go, the architecture student of the 1970s asks in the climactic scene of *Istanbul: A Memoir*, when the huzun-soaked city is already succumbing to a decrepitude and Westernisation – 'Everything is half-formed, shoddy and soiled' – which will only accelerate as Kemalist secularism gives way to Islamist religiosity, parochialism and economic ambition: to the waves of internal immigration, land-grabbing and urban sprawl charted in *A Strangeness in my Mind* (2014). Literature *is* dissent, as the young Pamuk conceives it, from the entire apparatus of modernisation but also from the facile Western-aping materialism and cultural philistinism of the old Istanbul bourgeoisie whose values his mother espouses in a last ditch attempt to avert the catastrophe:

'... do you really think you can be an artist in a country like this and still keep your pride? To be accepted by people here, who understand nothing of art, to get these people to buy your work, you'd have to toady to the state, to the rich, and worst of all, to semiliterate journalists. Do you think you're up to this?'

If the mere act of writing, or creative artistry, risks obliteration in such a national context, a literary aesthetic deriving from both European realism and postmodernity ('Borges and Calvino liberated me') raises the stakes of

dissent still higher. What price Pamuk's reverence, akin to that of a Mallarmé or Bruno Schulz, for the metaphysical powers of the Book ('I read a book one day and my whole life was changed. Even on the first page I was so affected by the book's intensity I felt my body sever itself and pull away from the chair where I sat reading' [*The New Life*]), for the worlds within worlds of the museum, the encyclopaedia, the Ottoman archive, in a dizzying succession of works whose complexity seems indeed to constitute a singular space apart, the site, as has been said, of a 'secular mysticism'? Scale, for Pamuk, has always been essential: 'I speak for them all' avows the narrator of *Istanbul: A Memoir* before embarking on the tumult of images which is perhaps his most extended, impassioned tribute to the multitudinous lives of his native city. Gloria Fisk finds a similar inclusiveness in the ideological heteroglossia of Kars in *Snow*; and *A Strangeness in my Mind* is a *vox populi* of the Anatolian poor streaming into the blighted neighbourhoods of Istanbul's hurtling expansion. But to speak *for*, however compassionately, and 'before passing ethical, cultural, or political judgement' as Pamuk contends in the Norton Lectures (2010), emerges in Fisk's study as a project engendering the severest antagonisms in a society as conflicted as modern Turkey, as well as leaving its author vulnerable to a species of exploitation in the wider sphere of neoliberal geopolitics for which she reserves her most withering scorn.

The glaring irony of Pamuk's elevation to the world stage, given the poignant image he has cultivated of an artist painstakingly refining his craft, like one of the Persian miniaturists in *My Name is Red* ('That lovely Turkish saying – to dig a well with a needle – seems to me to have been said with writers in mind'), is that a single sentence uttered to a Swiss journalist about the massacring of Kurds and Armenians should count for more, East and West, in the public imagination than all his assembled writings. Fisk recounts how, hard on the heels of proceedings instigated under Article 301 of the Penal Code – against 'insulting Turkishness' – the Nobel laureateship provoked outrage among swathes of his compatriots who saw it as the reward given a Western stooge for betraying the founding values of the Republic, or as the dissenting journalist Ece Temelkuran characterises it in her devastating critique of the national psychosis, *Turkey: The Insane and the Melancholy*, the rigid cult of forgetfulness instigated at Year Zero and attendant thereafter on every coup, war or dictatorship up to the present time. Fisk's essential focus, however, is further afield: on institutions, teaching practices and readerships in the US and Europe that constitute Pamuk's life support system as a commercially viable writer. In her view, bodies such as 'the tenure-track faculty' of World Literature Studies in North American

universities, as well as the Nobel committee, with its history of canonising those who speak the truth to power as outriders of Western participatory democracy, bear a heavy responsibility for the exposed positions of Pamuk and others in circumstances of often brutal political oppression that cast a sobering light on their own, privileged accommodations to the rule of capital and corporatism. Since 9/11 and its attendant paranoias, she argues, Pamuk's symbolic value has come to reside in the 'infrastructural work he performs between the Judaeo-Christian West and the Islamic East', even though – as demonstrated in the two chapters that actually engage with his texts – he has consistently withheld (through unreliable narrators, insistence on the constructedness of the literary-linguistic artefact, the blurring of fact and fiction, even deliberate inaccuracies of historical representation) any simple point of access to his Turkish characters' complex interior lives and motivations that would render them legible to an eager orientalist gaze. Long gone, it seems, is the sublime dream of the intermingling of two worlds in *The White Castle*.

However, as Fisk contends, such epistemological niceties are the concern at best of a very small transnational elite, although not all of them, perhaps, are driven to Pamuk (or literature generally) in a desperate manoeuvre to outwit the bureaucratic logic of 'academic capitalism' or — their students — as an intellectual workout before ascending the corporate ladder, or because they treat fiction as an ideological crutch or surrogate journalism. And Fisk's earnest protectiveness needs re-contextualising to take into account the way the ferocious repression and censorship since the Gezi Park protests and the Gülen coup has signally ignored Turkey's *literati*, except where their activities were seen as more directly subversive: Aslı Erdoğan was imprisoned for affiliation to a Kurdish newspaper, not the Beckettian desolation of her stories of exile and incarceration in *The Stone Building*; Ece Temelkuran was sacked from *Milliyet* not for her road tale of liberated women or fictional traversals of the Turkish-Armenian border but for openly criticising the Erdoğan government; Burhan Sönmez's recent, harrowing *Istanbul, Istanbul*, a novel set in torture cells beneath the city's streets, has aroused only indifference whereas police violence at a peaceful pro-Kurdish demo in the 1990s left him close to death, requiring five years' clinical rehabilitation; and the HDP leader Selahattin Demirtaş has this year been busy writing and publishing his story collection, *Dawn*, from behind bars. 'In the last three decades, novelists were not much in trouble for what they wrote in their fiction', Pamuk stated unequivocally in 2014.

Nor is his latest work, *The Red-Haired Woman*, likely of itself to compromise Pamuk's safety, for all that it's been swiftly identified as a thinly veiled allegory of the father-worship and willing subservience of an electorate of 'orphaned children' (for Temelkuran the predominant rhetorical trope in modern Turkish politics) that have seen one bloody, punitive authoritarian ruler – or military dictatorship – succeed another since the abolition of the sultanate. With the unassuming nonchalance of a practised storyteller, Pamuk leads us back to the deep well of his love affair with the country's elusive, conflicted culture and psyche, but this time to a *real* well, in narrative terms, as well as a metaphorical one. The 'little gentleman' Cem's apprenticeship to Master Mahmut occasions an extended foray into the traditional skills and mechanics of well-construction, a rewriting of the traumatic passage through adolescence of *Istanbul: A Memoir*, and at the same time an extended, typically nostalgic and idealised farewell to the Ottoman past – the scene, ultimately, of its calamitous erasure. 'The land where we had dug the well seemed on the verge of disappearing into the blackened heavens', as if Cem were another John Berger, watching the mounting onslaught on Europe's peasant communities of the same engines of profit that will turn Cem himself from a poetic, questing spirit into a fatherless, childless entrepreneurial phantom, until he comes face to face with the monster he has helped create, the decimated earth at the well-head and the fascism that has come to claim it. But Cem's tale is only one strand in the fabric: Fisk's 'authorial figure who wears a magician's cape but carries a reporter's notebook' is again everywhere in evidence, counterposing to the familiar lineaments of a historical tragedy the shifting patterns of myth and the literary masterworks, Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* and Ferdowsi's *Shahnameh*, that inform and universalise every turn in the narrative as it veers more and more destructively between the competing claims of parricide and filicide. At the last moment, but with extreme deliberation, Pamuk upends his own fiction – surely the ultimate form of dissent – by evoking another literary progenitor, the Joyce of *Ulysses*: like Molly's, the monologue of the red-haired woman opens a space of empowerment to the object of desire the besieged masculinities of the preceding pages might do well to consider.

Stephen Winfield

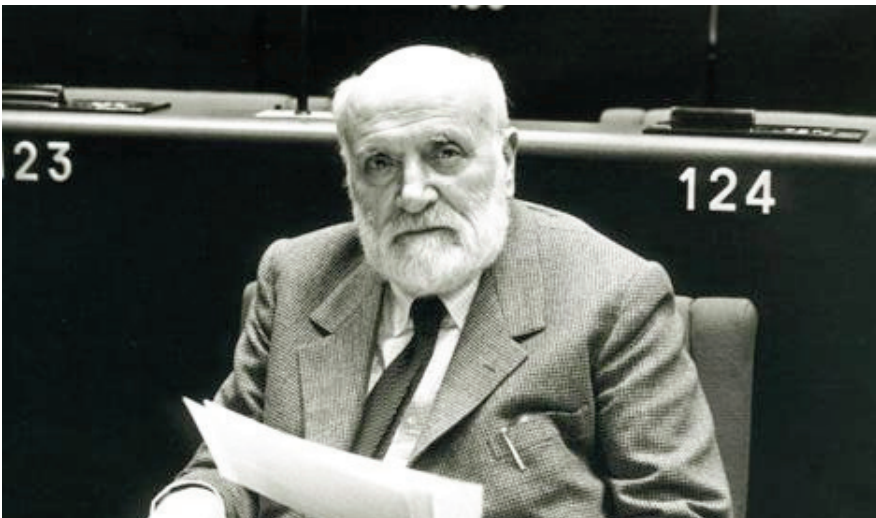
Citizens of the World

Lorenzo Marsili & Niccolò Milanese, *Citizens of Nowhere: How Europe Can be Saved from Itself*, Zed Books, 2018, 254 pages, paperback ISBN 9781786993694, £9.99

The island of Ventotene, a remnant of ancient volcanic activity, nestles some 46km off the Italian coast. From Roman times, through the Bourbon era and up until living memory, the island was a place of banishment, exile and imprisonment. This is a place where unfortunate victims of Roman Imperial intrigue met their fate and, much later, where Italian fascists imprisoned communist opponents.

A clue to the identity of one of these opponents of fascism is given by the display of flags from across the European continent found fluttering outside the imposing structure of the Piazza Castello. A far grander tribute is to be found in the European Parliament in Brussels, where the largest of a complex of buildings is named in his honour. His name is Altiero Spinelli.

Allied forces – commanded by the actor, Douglas Fairbanks Jr. – liberated the island’s prisoners in December 1944 and the dramatic story of this liberation is recounted in John Steinbeck’s *Once There Was a War*. In 1941, whilst still imprisoned, Spinelli and anti-fascist journalist Ernesto



Altiero Spinelli in the European Parliament

Rossi drafted a manifesto, *For a Free and United Europe*, that became known as *The Ventotene Manifesto*. Unlike its authors, the manifesto circulated throughout Europe before the final defeat of Nazi tyranny and became a key text in efforts towards European federalism as a means to ensuring a peaceful future.

Spinelli and Rossi write:

“the nation is no longer viewed as the historical product of co-existence between men who, as the result of a lengthy historical process, have acquired greater unity in their customs and aspirations and who see their State as being the most effective means of organizing collective life within the context of all human society. Rather the nation has become a divine entity, an organism which must only consider its own existence, its own development, without the least regard for the damage that others may suffer from this.”

They were, of course, writing in the context of World War Two, where German Nazism represented the apotheosis of these tendencies. However, they identified and worried over similar tendencies at work in defeated France, Stalinist Russia, ‘Imperial’ Great Britain and the United States. Their concern was that even when Nazism was defeated, the self-same forces that drove the rise of Hitler, Mussolini and their regimes would swing back into action. They were concerned that history would repeat itself. Hence their forceful advocacy of a system of states fully integrated into a European federation.

Fast-forward to 2016 and we find the UK Prime Minister Theresa May spewing the following poison:

“If you believe you’re a citizen of the world, you’re a citizen of nowhere. You don’t understand what the very word ‘citizenship’ means.”

From where her speechwriters lifted this phrase is unknown. Perhaps it seemed like a logical and acceptable statement for the architect of Britain’s ‘hostile environment’ to make. Liberal Democrat leader Vince Cable suggested that it could have been lifted from Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*, but with the added caveat that such statements were quite out of character for the Prime Minister. I’d suggest that Cable was wrong on both counts. Whatever else one might say about Mrs May’s speech, it seems clear that the authors of the *Ventotene Manifesto* would have found her words repulsively familiar.

Marsili and Milanese take the name of their urgent, impassioned and

important book from Mrs May's speech and open the text by quoting and reflecting on her statement. They write:

“The underlying nationalism of Theresa May's message, which drew from the Leave campaign's often openly xenophobic stance, has sadly not evaporated in UK political discourse ... Instead, it has become more entrenched as the Brexit process moves forward. The division May draws between deterritorialised elites who escape all social obligations and 'everyday' local people who pay their fair share of taxes is equated with the distinction between those 'out-of-touch' 'traitors', 'mutineers' and 'enemies of the people' who call into question the good sense of Brexit and those 'patriots' who enthusiastically cheer it.” (page 2)

How could it be that a little over seventy years since the end of World War Two and after the evolution of trans-European federal structures of the type envisaged by Spinelli, the British public voted by a narrow majority to assert the primacy of nationality? Doesn't this fact alone neatly demonstrate the abject futility of Spinelli's project? *Citizens of Nowhere* argues differently.

“...against the wishes, warning and activism of Spinelli ... and others, following the Second World War, the nation states of Europe did resurrect themselves, using the European Union as a means and a cover – and this has created a new paradoxical strategic situation: an inter-governmental union that is simultaneously federalised in some of its powers and nationalised in the minds of its population. This combination of undemocratic centralised powers and confined people(s) ... is a metaphor of neoliberal globalisation, and like good metaphors it simultaneously allows the object of comparison to be seen in a different light and to go beyond this view.” (page 174)

Marsili and Milanese indict many of those “who take up the name of Spinelli” as having emptied “the vision of those on the island of Ventotene of a socialist society beyond borders of any progressive content.” (page 174) *Citizens of Nowhere* insists on a return to a socialist vision and advocates a “reversal” of Mrs May's message:

“we are already citizens of the world, but until we invent forms of politics beyond borders, we will remain citizens of nowhere, without political agency.” (page 213)

Their argument is all the more convincing because of the nature of the book itself and the character of its authors. *Citizens of Nowhere* is both a polemic and a record of efforts to enact transnational citizenship. Through their organisational efforts in co-founding *European Alternatives*; active participation in *DiEM25*, *Another Europe* and similar formations; Marsili and Milanese – both of them philosophers, one a poet – have put their creative impulses to work. We should follow their example.

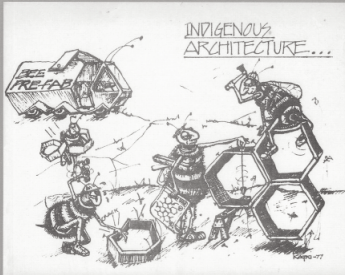
Tom Unterrainer

The full text of the *Ventotene Manifesto* can be read here:
<http://www.federalists.eu/uef/library/books/the-ventotene-manifesto/>

ARCHITECT or BEE?

The Human Price of Technology

Mike Cooley



Introduction by
 Frances O'Grady

Architect or Bee? The Human Price of Technology

By Mike Cooley, Foreword by Frances O'Grady

'A bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of its cells; but what distinguishes the worst of architects from the best of bees is namely this. The architect will construct in his imagination that which he will ultimately erect in reality. At the end of every labour process, we get that which existed in the consciousness of the labourer at its commencement.'

Karl Marx, Kapital

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