



**King Twist  
A Portrait of  
Frank Randle**  
JEFF NUTTALL

orn in Wigan in 1901 Frank Randle was one of the earliest music hall comedians of all time. Jeff Nuttall's portrait of 'a very, very funny man' and his search to piece that portrait together is a beautifully documented analysis of the ways in which working-class values are expressed in popular entertainment and thus ritualised by it. 0 7100 8977 Illustrated £1.95

**Miracles**

EOFFREY ASHE

*The Virgin* Geoffrey Ashe explored the cult of the Virgin Mary. Here he takes a controversial look at miracles and presents a fascinating array of facts and hypotheses which will do much to change the way we think about miracles and the miraculous. 7100 0039 1 £4.75

**The Occult Sourcebook**

DEVILL DRURY and  
GREGORY TILLET

edited by Elizabeth Trafford Smith

Assigned as a working resource for the increasing numbers of people becoming engrossed by the numerous and often confusing possibilities underlying the occult sciences. Subjects covered include ESP, meditation, astrology, magic, the Tarot, ghosts and witchcraft. 0 7100 0096 (cloth), 8875 2 (paper) £1.95, paper £4.95

**Zen Culture**

THOMAS HOOVER

In recent years the West has been increasingly influenced by the Eastern ways of thought known as Zen. This study explains how Zen developed in Japan and why, hundreds of years later, it has been taken a nerve in the West. 0 7100 8940 6 Illustrated paper £3.75

Now in Paperback

**Class and Change**

PETER MARRIS

0 7100 8908 2 £1.75

**Implicit Meanings**

Essays in Anthropology

ANDREW DOUGLAS

0 7100 0047 2 Illustrated £2.95

**ROUTLEDGE &  
KEGAN PAUL**

27 Bedford Square, London WC1

that the talking, the rapping, the confiding, is where you started out from, not an end in itself—your springboard, not your ultimate achievement. Narrative is narrative is narrative. It doesn't necessarily get you anywhere. Nor does mere veracity render an account useful or enlightening or even entertaining. The pity of this book is that Dix is of the opinion that it ought to. By modestly (or lazily?) relinquishing what she calls authorial power she has let her Polly-heathergeorgina figure speak for itself presumably in the hope that what starts out as girlish chatter might by some process of alchemy transform itself wonderfully into literature.

It is nice that they talk to each other. It is nice that they have the security of a friendship inside which they can recount freely what they did, how they felt, what they wore, whom they slept with, what they read and listened to on their record players. But it is precisely the static quality of friendship that limits what happens in its name. Nobody dares move towards anything more existential than mutual nostalgia. And nostalgia has a way of blocking insight. The women are mirror images of each other and of who they once were and of who they still are. And while they reflect each other there is no other perspective, no careful distillation, no new, wise shape to be moulded from the raw material of experience.

In short, it's flat. And what is worse, it is self-congratulatory in the sense that it seems to be saying, "this is enough." It isn't. So when you get to the end and find that Dix has concluded her true story with the words, "Here's looking at you, life," you wonder not so much why she didn't go the whole hog and give life a capital L, as when she's actually going to start looking.

**Anarchist ancestors**

John Quail

*The Slow Burning Fuse: the lost history of the British anarchists*

Paladin £1.95

Colin Ward

Thirty years ago there survived in the anarchist movement a delightful old man called Matt Kavanagh, whose most memorable saying was: "There may be sermons in stones, but it depends how well you throw 'em." He wrote an occasional series of articles on "Little known English anarchists," and for many of us this was our first and only introduction to ideological ancestors like Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Sam Mainwaring and Dan Chatterton. Much later they had walking-on parts in voluminous books like E. P. Thompson's life of Morris, where of course they were seen as history's also-rans in essentially marxist accounts of the evolution of the labour movement. Even in the shelf-full of books about anarchism which have appeared in the last decade, they scarcely make an appearance—since the books concentrate on prominent figures and writers.

The great virtue of John Quail's book is that it lives up to its subtitle. It really does uncover a lost history through its

author's patient digging into primary sources, providing a history of the anarchist movement in this country from round about 1880 down to 1930, and reveals much that was formerly obscure: the relationship between the anarchists and the emerging socialist and trade union movements, between the anarchists and the makers of explosive devices and between the anarchists and *agents provocateurs*. Quail has a direct and simple narrative style and his judgments on people and events that I know anything about are usually sound and sensible.

My only misgiving, as an old *Freedom* hand, relates to his treatment of that journal (founded in 1886 and still appearing). In spite of the fact that he often relies on its frequently correct assessment of contemporary events, his attitude to it is consistently denigratory, not I am sure, for any personal animosity, but because of a mental stereotype of it being a middle class intellectual journal, rather than a working class agitational one.

However, this is a minor quibble by comparison with the book's great virtues. It becomes evident that the problems of allegiance and alignment which arise for anarchists in relation to the labour movement on the one hand, and conspiratorial terrorism on the other, have all arisen before, even in this country, and out of this buried history come some very clear lessons.

The conclusion that Quail himself draws from the periods of intense "popular self-activity" which he describes, and the intervening doldrums, is that the gap between day-to-day agitation and utopian aspirations "consists basically of a lack of strategy, a lack of a sense of how various activities fit together to form a whole, a lack of ability to assess a general situation and initiate a general project which is consistent with the anarchist utopia, and which is not only consistent with anarchist tactics but inspires them." It is a genuinely original book exploring a neglected area in the history of the left.

**No Swedish lesson**

Francis G. Castles

*The Social Democratic Image of Society*

Routledge & Kegan Paul £5.95

Robert Taylor

During the past 40 years of virtual domination, the Social Democrats in Scandinavia have achieved an impressive success in reconciling growth and prosperity with social justice and equality in a market economy. Especially in Sweden, Social Democracy has shaped the values of society in its own image without the need to resort to the nationalisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange. As a result British Labour revisionists from Fabians in the thirties to Tony Crosland in the fifties drew the conclusion that this unique achievement was possible in Britain as well, if the Labour Party became reformist and classless in appeal.

The value of Francis Castles's excellent

book is to refute this comfortable belief. It argues that it was precisely because the Social Democrats had a working class commitment that they have enjoyed electoral victories. As Castles writes, "The paragons of reformist virtue are in one sense the most distinctively working class parties in Europe," because "they attract a greater percentage of working class votes than do other European democratic socialist parties" (an average of 75 per cent in Sweden and 68 per cent in Norway, compared with only 51 per cent in the UK and 49 per cent in West Germany).

Left-wing critics of Scandinavian Social Democracy tend to scorn its socialist credentials, but as Castles questions: "Why should the working class continue to vote year after year for a party which fails to honour its promises?" In close alliance with the unions, Social Democrats have delivered the goods. Dynamic labour market policies have taken the fear out of job change by virtually abolishing unemployment (though not in Denmark) and incomes policies have helped to redistribute from the rich and powerful to the poor and weak. Castles demonstrates that the high levels of welfare state spending in Scandinavia are far more substantial than in other countries with similarly impressive economic performances, which he claims results from the political thrust of the Social Democrats.

But the author is right to insist that the peculiarities of Scandinavia's historical development explain the success of Social Democracy—in particular, the lack of any "religious, deferential and ideological divisions within the working class" and the readiness of the bourgeoisie to surrender power without a fight. The absence of any comprehensive political party of the right is seen as crucial. A similar position cannot be found in other European democratic countries.

The resilience of British conservatism cripples Labour's hopes, not merely of enjoying long stretches in office, but of combating the essentially individualistic values of our society. Castles might have added that our unions (unlike in Scandinavia) share free market labour doctrines as well, even while they urge a more socially just society. Altogether this book is a sober antidote to those which would have us believe we can learn from Scandinavia. Admire, yes, but copy—alas, no.

**Drowned voices**

Jeremy Seabrook

*What Went Wrong?: working people and the ideals of the labour movement*

Gollancz £2.95 paperback/£8.50 hardback

Dennis Marsden

Ever since Jeremy Seabrook's university education uprooted him from working class Northampton he has cast himself as a lone Cassandra, warning of social disintegration and decay. The Institute of Community Studies discovered the working class family alive and warm in Bethnal Green; Richard Hoggart found Hunslet resilient against the onslaught of the mass media. But Seabrook

produced a macabre wake of a book, *The Unprivileged*, where the ghosts of the working class were locked in dead social forms and a dessicated speech drained of meaning.

He has since written more, about loneliness and the imprisonment of the working class of Blackburn in a "culture of poverty" which unfits them to cope with change. Now he tries again to break through what he sees as a conspiracy by the club of smug, upwardly-mobile sociologists (including, I suppose, me) who have a vested interest in propagating the myth of enduring working class community.

What has gone wrong? Changes in capitalist work technology, he says, have destroyed old crafts as a basis for men's identity. A general rise in standards of living has removed the common uniting enemy of poverty, turning us all into consumers, and taking any satisfaction out of housewifery and motherhood. In consequence love becomes expressed in material indulgence, and people now respond to one another not with love and solidarity but with envy, greed and hostility. Children become vandals. Adults combine together on the only basis of communal identity left to them, race.

To illustrate his polemic he has searched out old labour activists to talk about what has gone wrong with their hopes of a new social morality. He has visited the parents of vandals, and a young Angolan mercenary. He has talked with National Front sympathisers, hung around with teenagers, eavesdropped in pubs, button-holed derelicts on park benches. These are, of course, not a random sample, but he insists they signify dangerous trends in society.

An Orwell might have pulled this off, but Seabrook lacks Orwell's direct yet passionate control. The book betrays its origins as a too-little edited conflation of occasional pieces. And time and again the voices are drowned by shrill hectoring, or smothered in overwritten detail.

This is a pity, for such a book must give glimpses of that relatively untapped wealth of older oral tradition. And the other day as I collected the family allowance, I heard echoes of the book in a conversation between two old age pensioners complaining about their pension rise. At his best Seabrook can show us fear in a handful of people waiting in a bread queue. But he will not let the voices speak for themselves for long. Nor, despite its posture, has the book much to do with the labour movement. "What can still be done" turns out to be a couple of interviews with Friends of the Earth and Lucas Aerospace.

Perhaps the most baffling question is why the author should imagine he has a monopoly of ideas which (as every first year sociology student knows) have been the bread and butter of sociology since Marx wrote on alienation, Tonnies on the latent savagery of city life, Durkheim on anomie, and Wirth on urbanism. And if sociologists have been worrying about the decline of modern life for so long, how new are the trends which Seabrook claims he has discovered?

**Social and labour practices of some US-based multinationals in the metal trades**

This study aims to broaden the information base about the impact of these enterprises in the social policy field and to determine more clearly the specific problems that might arise in such international operations. It analyses information obtained in reply to inquiries relating to six major companies in the metal trades sector—namely Caterpillar, John Deere, Ford, General Motors, International Harvester and Otis Elevator—which have manufacturing subsidiaries in North and South America, Europe and Asia (Africa, where they also exist, is not dealt with in this study). The information received covers reasons for investing abroad, including manpower considerations, employment and training, wages and basic conditions of work, and labour relations.

ISBN 92-2-101840-7

£6.25

**Collective bargaining in industrialised countries. Recent trends and problems. Labour-Management Relations Series, No. 56**

This is one of a series of symposia designed for different regions and different groups of countries, in order to permit a fruitful discussion of the major trends and problems in the field of collective bargaining, and of the way in which this means of action can be promoted, bearing in mind the constraints.

ISBN 92-2-101943-8

£4.40

**Bibliography on major aspects of the humanisation of work and the quality of working life. Second edition 1978**

With additional references this bibliography takes a close look at relations between working conditions and job satisfaction. Other aspects include time arrangements and social indicators of the quality of working life.

ISBN 92-2-101948-9

£5.00

**Population and labour**

A popular account of the implications of rapid population growth for the training, employment and welfare of workers. Gives the general reader and non-specialist an over-all view of the influence and consequences of rapid population growth.

ISBN 92-2-101024-4

£4.40

**Co-operatives for the disabled: organisation and development**

A report giving detailed accounts of the Invalids' Co-operative movement in Poland, which provides comprehensive rehabilitation and employment for some 200,000 physically and mentally disabled persons. This approach may well be applicable in other countries seeking to develop and expand employment opportunities for their disabled citizens.

ISBN 92-2-101929-2

£2.50

**Teachers' pay**

Drawing on material relating to the public sector of education in over 70 countries, this new study examines in a world-wide context teachers' pay and the purchasing power of teachers' earnings.

ISBN 92-2-101862-8

£3.75

**INTERNATIONAL LABOUR  
OFFICE**

London Branch Office (Dept. NS)  
87/91 New Bond Street  
London W1Y 9LA  
Tel: 01-499 2084

