

happily self-righting with a monetary rule in the last three years; they have all been forced to take Keynesian fiscal measures. Further, there is no evidence that a monetary rule would be in any way relevant to Britain's underlying economic problem—which is the competitive failure of its manufacturing industry over the past 20 years or so.

Brittan's hostility to any form of incomes policy is puzzling. He concedes some truth to the view that the battle for relative incomes has become more intense, and though—in line with monetarist semantics—he insists that this is causing unemployment rather than inflation, it is nonetheless unwelcome. He is constantly referring to the monopoly power of trade unions; yet the country which has been most successful in getting the rate of inflation down—West Germany—is a country where the unions come much closer to having monopoly power than they do here, and where the unions have much stronger central control of their members. Yet Brittan will have no truck with any form of social contract with the unions. So there is no alternative but to push unemployment up to its "natural" rates. But Brittan will not tell us what that rate is, whether with 6 per cent unemployment we are now below it or above it, or how long we would have to stay with his unknown figure.

These articles eloquently advocate a particular point of view—a point of view which is a minority view among British academic economists. The articles are none the worse for that, of course—so long as the reader realises this. There is no reason why Brittan should go out of his way to present views with which he disagrees. There is, however, a legitimate mild grumble about the extent to which those who disagree with him become unpersons in his articles.

Here is just one example of this. He attacks the Cambridge Economic Policy Group's views on import controls, and at the end of the article has a list of references for the reader. Surely one of those references should tell the reader where he could find a statement of the view which is being attacked. None of them do.

Life or death

Erich Fromm
To Have or to Be?
Jonathan Cape £4.95
Anthony Clare

It is never easy to disagree with Erich Fromm. His *The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness* steered a sane and sensible course between the slaving apocalyptic visions of Robert Ardrey and the gloomy, behavioural misgivings of Burrhus Skinner, to identify as advanced civilisation's Achilles heel its preoccupation with power, possessions and pride. "Love of life or love of the dead," he proclaimed in his challenging style, "is the fundamental alternative that confronts every human being."

He returns to this theme in this latest offering. His development involves a distinction between two modes of human existence, each struggling for the free spirit of mankind. There is the *having* mode which concentrates on material possession, the acquisitiveness, power and control that provoke in man greed, envy, jealousy and ultimately violence, and the *being* mode, based on love and sharing and on productive rather than wasteful activity.

Over the past few centuries, there has been a change in emphasis on having and being in western languages. We *have* insomnia, no longer *being* sleepless. We *have* a happy marriage rather than we *are* happily married. We *have* great love for each other rather than we *are* in love. The deceptively simple expression, "to have," is so bound up with ideas of property and control over others that the expansion of its use into other areas of human activity alters in a most sinister fashion the very basis on which such activity is then conducted.

Being, on the other hand, is more than just a statement of identity between subject and attribute, more than a descriptive term for a phenomenon. It denotes the reality of existence, of who or what is; it is a declaration of truth and authenticity. In the having mode of existence, one's relationship to the world is one of possessing and owning, one in which I want to make everybody and everything, including myself, my property. In the being mode of existence, there is, in contrast to having, an aliveness and authentic relatedness to the world, a true

reality of a person or a thing in contrast to deceptive appearances.

Contemporary societies, be they capitalist, communist, fascist "with a smiling face," are all preoccupied with having. Their leaders are convinced that people can be motivated only by the expectation of material advantages—i.e. by rewards—and that they will not react, except in times of war, to appeals for solidarity and sacrifice. We are driven by lust, coerced by bribery, satiated by constantly changing, short-lived sensual stimuli.

The book is the first in a series of portentously named "World Perspectives," whose board of editors includes such luminaries as Lord Clark, Joseph Needham, Karl Rahner and Sir Fred Hoyle. To be confronted by such a catalogue of worthies can be an off-putting experience, scarcely counteracted by an introduction of studied banality by Ruth Nanda Anshen. "Only those spiritual and intellectual leaders of our epoch," she solemnly intones, "who have a paternity in this extension of man's horizons are invited to participate in the series: those who are aware of the truth that beyond the divisiveness there exists a primordial unitive power since we are all bound together by a common humanity more fundamental than any unity of dogma." The rest of us, presumably, can form our own World Series or wait open-mouthed for each pearl of primordial truth to manifest itself.

Fromm, for the most part, survives such patronising guff though he is not above

DOWN WITH THE PROFESSIONS

In The Times Higher Education Supplement this week, Mike Fores and Ian Glover argue that the domination of the professions has led to inefficiency and frustration in British industry. A second major article on "The Future of Engineering."

Also:

Is the Open University helping to raise the consciousness of women?

Interviews with two professors with military connexions, R. V. Jones and Laurence Martin.

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indulging in it himself. This is particularly the case when, after surveying our present dismal state, it falls to him to propose solutions. His include "trying to reduce greed, hate and illusions," "making the full growth of oneself" and "sensing one's oneness with all life . . ."

Apart from these things, there is the ritual call for more industrial democracy, the conventional endorsement of "small is beautiful," and—most alarming this—the formation of a Supreme Cultural Council "charged with the task of advising the government, the politicians and the citizens in all matters in which knowledge is necessary." Such a council would be representative of "the intellectual and artistic elite of the country, men and women whose integrity was beyond doubt." (Men and women like Lord Clark, Joseph Needham, Karl Rahner, Fred Hoyle, Erwin Chargaff, Erich Fromm and Ruth Anshen when they are not sitting on editorial boards . . .)

That a masterly analysis of contemporary beastliness, selfishness and avarice should be followed by such trite fatuities is one of the quirks of Fromm's philosophy. It has always been so. I personally do not feel it should deter people from reading him. The analysis itself is provocative, striking and at all times worthy of consideration. One can *have* that while *being* suspicious of the exhortations. It is a solution which might appeal to Fromm's sense of humour, always supposing he has one. But then man, viewed through this particular microscope, is no laughing matter.

THE IMAGES OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

A Study in Social Cognition
by Anthony P. M. Coxon and
Charles L. Jones
Edinburgh Studies in Sociology

Do people from different vantage points in society all see occupations in the same way? The authors combine sociological and psychological approaches to questions in social stratification and mobility research, basing their conclusions on a series of interviews on similarities and differences between occupations and the grounds for rating some above others.

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M MACMILLAN
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Medium strength

R. Laurence Moore
*In Search of White Crows: spiritualism,
parapsychology and American culture*
Oxford University Press £7

Bryan Wilson

Spiritualism has been one of the neglected by-ways of serious historical and sociological study. Though some philosophers, physicists and psychologists, especially in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, became intensely interested in the psychic phenomena that spiritualists reported, there has been less concern for the social phenomenon of spiritualism itself. In this historical study, R. Laurence Moore deals with the ethos, appeal and affiliations of spiritualists in 19th century America. The genre is that of intellectual history rather than of sociology, but the scholarship, lucidity and intelligence of this pioneering work must win general applause.

The first half of the book is concerned with 19th century spiritualism and the second with (largely) 20th century psychic research. The shift is from spirits to telepathy, precognition and psychokinesis, and, in the second part, from William James to James Hyslop, William McDougall and, inevitably—focussing especially on his ultimately sterile labours—J. B. Rhine.

The flirtation of science with parapsychology vividly illustrates the problems of scientific method—from minor questions of technique to the broad issues of detachment and ethical neutrality—when such intangible phenomena are the subject. If the mediums were sometimes fraudulent, the scientists were often gullible and at times emotionally committed to their particular solutions for their problems.

At first, mediums were sometimes "employed" by scientists as cases for observation. Later, at Duke University, Rhine devised precognition tests for a random population of candidates who guessed the symbols on sets of cards. Finally, when Ian Stevenson, incumbent of the first chair of parapsychology, set up at the University of Virginia in 1968, disavowed the rigorous techniques of controlled experiment, parapsychology had gone full circle with few if any positive results to its credit.

Psychic research has been a curious liaison between scientific inquiry and religious belief. It grew up largely because the believers encouraged it. (Surprisingly, in view of the pantheistic tendencies of spiritualism, the National Spiritualist Association in America discovered that about half its members had formerly been Roman Catholics.) The early spiritualists saw their religion as a new branch of scientific knowledge, offering science new insights, and readily submitting its reported phenomena for scientific investigation. They had a passion for proofs and evidences, not realising, as their critics remarked, that "a religion proved, dies as a religion, and becomes a scientific fact."

Like the devotees of Charismatic Renewal today, what the spiritualists were often

seeking was new legitimation for some religious beliefs, though they added scientific proofs to experiential evidence. Alas, the evidences were often trivial and banal, more like conjuring tricks in a music hall (to which some mediums resorted to display their arts) than solemn vindication of the belief of life beyond the grave. As Emerson said, "No inspired mind ever condescends to these evidences." They comprised "the rat hole of revelation."

Although spiritualism was not leading the world to "the very act of changing faith" as Lester Ward (an early sociologist who modestly entitled one of his courses, "A survey of all knowledge") sweepingly proclaimed, it was a social phenomenon of some significance. Spiritualists saw themselves as great reformers, condemning slavery, uplifting fallen women, seeking the liberation of the spirit of every individual. Victoria Woodhull, thrice president of one national spiritualist movement, offended Karl Marx by telling him that the aims of spiritualists were precisely those of the International Workingmen's Association.

Inevitably there was much attitudinising, and spiritualism was never sufficiently coherent as a movement to endorse any effective social programme. The most effective endorsement it could offer was to the women's lib of the day. Lots of mediums were women, and women's rights, Moore tells us, was the most popular cause supported by spirit utterances. In the trance state, women mediums frequently assumed male roles (and still do, thus getting an opportunity for a bit of near-bawdy worldliness quite alien to their sometimes over-refined every day feminine personalities). Moore cites the biographical accounts of mediums who clearly enjoyed besting male adversaries and triumphing over male scepticism. Just as Mrs Eddy, in her earliest days, advertised Christian Science as offering a lucrative profession for women, so spiritualism offered them mediumship.

It would be wrong to suppose that this was the mediums' only message to society, but one must then observe that "good mediums," so spiritualists tell one, are now in much shorter supply than they were in the 19th century. There are now so many other things for an aspiring woman to do

Review in brief

Azizur Rahman Khan *et al*
Poverty and Landlessness in Rural Asia
International Labour Office 35 Swiss Francs
paperback/45 Swiss Francs hardback
This is one of the most important, and certainly the most alarming, of the many excellent studies to emerge from the ILO's World Employment Programme. It documents the reality behind economic "growth" in Asia, for each of the major countries from Pakistan to the Philippines. Based on analyses of census data, and surveys of real wages, household income and expenditure and diet, it establishes that in most areas landlessness is increasing rapidly and the poor are growing in number and getting poorer. PAUL HARRISON



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