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The views expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the Society.

EDITORIAL

Delving Into Conway Hall's Suffrage History

Guest Editor: Alicia Chilcott

With 2018 marking 100 years since the Representation of the People Act granted property-owning British women over 30 the right to vote and 90 years since the Equal Franchise Act expanded the female franchise to all women over 21, regardless of property ownership, we have been researching our links with the women's suffrage movement. Given Conway Hall's long history of association with London's most radical thinkers, we were sure we would have some interesting links with the women's suffrage movement.

Two of our most influential ministers, William Johnson Fox and Moncure Conway, were vocal supporters of women's rights and suffrage in particular. They each spoke in favour of the improvement of women's position in society and moved in circles with some of the biggest names in women's rights of their days. One exciting new – or, rather, renewed – discovery was that Conway spoke at what may have been the UK's first public meeting about women's suffrage, held at Stamford Street Unitarian Chapel on 6th April 1868. This information was outlined by Virginia Clark in her April 2000 lecture to the Society and since forgotten. Researching discussions of suffrage in the *Ethical Record* brought Virginia's lecture back to light. As Virginia noted, it is widely accepted that the first UK meeting was held at the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on 14th April 1868, but the Stamford Street meeting, as evidenced in a number of newspapers and periodicals, predates this by a week.

Looking closely at our Sunday Lecture listings also highlighted that many women's suffrage campaigners have graced our stage. This included Women's Freedom

League co-founders Teresa Billington-Greig and Edith How-Martyn, both of whom had hung up their suffragette sashes and left militancy behind them in favour of lecturing and recording the history of the movement by the time they spoke at South Place. Two women who addressed the Society not only campaigned for women's right to vote, but later went on to stand as some of the UK's earliest female MPs – Marion Phillips and Mary Agnes Hamilton. Through Conway's American connections, women from the American suffrage movement also delivered lectures to the Society, including atheist and feminist Ernestine Rose, National Woman Suffrage Association co-founder Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and author of key feminist text *The Yellow Wallpaper*, Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Another discovery was that a famous image of a suffragette being pushed to the ground by police at the Black Friday protest in November 1910 most likely depicts one of our own members. Whilst researching our members' contributions to women's suffrage campaigning, it came to our attention that the image is described in a National Archives research guide as depicting Ernestine Mills. Further investigation found a number of sources making the same attribution, confirming that this image so widely used to illustrate the bravery of the suffragettes most likely depicts this Conway Hall member.

If you would like to discover more about Conway Hall's links with the women's suffrage movement, you can see our Library display, Tue-Thu 10am-5pm until early May.



Alicia Chilcott is Digitisation Co-ordinator at Conway Hall Library and Archive, working on an HLF funded project to digitise our collection of around 1,300 Victorian pamphlets. These pamphlets were written by London's radical thinkers to disseminate ideas about freethought, humanism and social and political movements such as the early women's rights movement, freedom of the press and anti-blasphemy. Alicia qualified as an archivist in 2017 and has a background in social and economic history.

Why Sylvia Pankhurst Matters in 2018

Katherine Connelly



Sylvia Pankhurst in her studio

Dr. Katherine Connelly is a historian, writer and activist. Her biography of Sylvia Pankhurst, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Suffragette, Socialist and Scourge of Empire*, was published by Pluto Press in 2013, and in the same year she co-ordinated the Emily Wilding Davison Memorial Campaign. She has recently completed her doctoral thesis at Queen Mary, University of London, on Karl Marx's use of Parisian popular culture in his writings on the French Second Republic. Katherine is currently a lecturer at Arcadia University.



On 12 February 1937, the Abyssinia Association hosted a public meeting at London's Conway Hall to protest against the Italian Fascist occupation of Ethiopia.¹ Adopting the language of European colonialism, the Fascists claimed to be on a 'civilising mission' and their invasion in 1935 had received tacit collusion from the British and French governments. One of the speakers at Conway Hall was Sylvia Pankhurst, a former leader of the suffragette movement, who spoke out against the Fascist imposition of a colour bar upon the "proud Ethiopian people, which have preserved their independence for three thousand years"². Sylvia was well placed to expose the fallacy of Fascist 'civilisation': from her home in Woodford she edited the *New Times and Ethiopia News* which published reports of the reality of occupation smuggled out of Ethiopia.

Nearly twenty years after women over the age of 30 (who also met the property qualification) won the right to vote, and the end of the suffragette movement, Sylvia Pankhurst remained a tireless campaigner, still attacking the hypocrisy and indifference of the British government. Unlike other suffragette leaders, including her mother, Emmeline Pankhurst, and older sister, Christabel Pankhurst, Sylvia never made peace with the British establishment – which goes a long way to explain her marginalisation from the official 2018 celebrations of women's suffrage. Her consistent opposition to racism, imperialism and oppression ensures a resonance with and appreciation by activists today. This article explores how Sylvia's politics ensured that she was always on the side of the oppressed and therefore why she is one of the suffragettes we should remember on the centenary of 1918.

Sylvia Pankhurst was born to a radical, middle-class family in Manchester in 1882. The upbringing of the Pankhurst girls was relatively unusual; whereas many middle-class girls had the expectation of a 'dolls house' life of marriage and domesticity imposed upon them, the Pankhursts' father, Dr Richard Pankhurst, encouraged his daughters to think about what work they would do and how they could help other people by it:

'When we were but toddlers he was for ever asking us: "What do you want to be when you grow up?" and urging: "Get something to earn your living by that you like and can do." [...] Throughout our childhood we heard his beseeching adjuration: "If you do not grow up to help other people you will not have been worth the upbringing!"'³

- 1 Abyssinia was the name often given in Europe to Ethiopia. Sylvia Pankhurst consistently spoke of the country as Ethiopia, the name the people living in the country used.
- 2 Quoted in R. Pankhurst, *Sylvia Pankhurst: Counsel for Ethiopia. A Biographical Essay on Ethiopian Anti-Fascist and Anti-Colonialist History, 1934-1960* (Hollywood, CA: Tsehai, 2003), p.58.
- 3 E.S. Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (London: Virago, 1977), p.67.
- 4 S. Pankhurst in *Myself When Young: By Famous Women of To-Day*, ed. by the Countess of Oxford and Asquith (London: Fredrick Muller Ltd., 1938), p.265.

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST'S Limehouse Speech.

(This speech delivered at the Limehouse Town Hall on June 20th, was one of the three speeches read at her trial for incitement on July 8th, when she was sent to prison for three months.)

Our Resolution calls upon the Government to give Votes to working women this year and demands the immediate repeal of the infamous Cat and Mouse Act.

This Act is rightly called the Cat and Mouse Act, because by its means the Government is acting towards the Suffragette prisoners exactly as the cat does the mouse. This Cat and Mouse treatment is worse than a man hanging, because it will steadily undermine the vitality of the prisoners until death ensues, and a lingering death is worse than a speedy one.

Do you believe that the Suffragettes who are fighting for a great cause, should be put to death for what they have done? If you do, would you not rather that they should be killed swiftly and painlessly than by slow torture?

When I was a little girl my father, who was a well known radical used to say how splendid a thing it was to be English, because to be English was to have in one's veins the blood of fighters for freedom and self government. But indeed we are all nowadays supposed to be proud of our forefathers who fought for votes for men. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Asquith and the others who run our Government consider themselves successors of those old reformers, and the Liberal Cabinet Ministers and their Irish Allies drink toasts to the men who fought for Home Rule and the Irish Land Acts. And yet they refuse self government to women and they oppress the Suffragettes. In the beginning the watchword of the Liberal party was "resistance to oppression" and that has been the watchword of the reformers in all ages and it is the watchword of the Suffragettes to-day.

People who praise men for fighting for their rights often tell women that they could obtain the vote if they would work for it in a different way. Do they know that women have been organising peaceful petitions and meetings for the vote since 1865? Do they know that hundreds of women suffrage meetings are being held in London alone every week? Have they heard of our monster meetings, the biggest ever held for any question, in Hyde Park and the provincial towns, and of the great processions of women demanding votes that again and again have marched through our city streets? We have had great processions here in the East End also, and as you know, hundreds of thousands assembled at our meetings in Victoria Park. What more can we do?

Women have done much to shew they care for the vote. Two thousand of our women have been to prison, hundreds have done the hunger strike and have endured forcible feeding. Remember that a thousand women had been to prison, for trying to present petitions and such things, before ever a stone was thrown. When I was in America and told the people there how our women have toiled for the vote, how they have suffered in prison, and in doing the hunger strike have gone again and again to the brink of death, how they have been ill-treated by the stewards at Cabinet Ministers meetings, and by the police in Parliament Square, the Americans said: "Why don't you go out and shoot?" As you know we have not done that. We tried petitions and public meetings, we tried facing violence and imprisonment, for what even our opponents would only call merely technical offences, though we maintain that they were not offences at all. When these things failed to get us the vote, we tried window smashing, a custom time honoured in its use by men.

Do you think that window smashing was wrong? if it could get us the vote. Are you going to weigh the value of windows in the balance against the lives of women who are fighting for the vote, and against the happiness of those women who ought to have the vote and who cannot get decent wages and housing conditions, who lack even the barest necessities for their little children? We tried what window smashing could do for us, and when window smashing proved too weak we had to do other things. We decided to attack property more strongly. We decided to burn out the pillar boxes. Well are you going to weigh letters against human lives?

When we found that the destruction of letters was still not enough, we went on to a more serious damage. If there had not been people prepared to do for freedom in the old days what we are doing now, you men would not have the rights you have to-day. It was through actions such as ours, but accompanied by greater violence, that men won the right of petition, the right of free speech and free assembly and a free press as far as they have them, the right of Trade Union combination, and the franchise itself. Remember it is the franchise that safeguards for men all these other rights.

Unfortunately men have not learned how to use the vote well, or we should not have our present awful social conditions. The average wage of our women would not be seven shillings, it would not be tolerated that in such districts as the Brady Street area of Bethnal Green, 60 per cent of the houses should be certifiable as unfit for human habitation, the high rate of our infant mortality would not be, as it is, disgracing the community, women and girls would not be working in the poisonous lead dust of the potteries for seven or eight shillings a week,

[P.T.O.]

There here were no restrictions on books and the Pankhurst children were encouraged to read widely.⁴ The Pankhurst children were also exposed to the political gatherings hosted by their parents, meeting many of contemporary leading reformers; the Pankhursts joined the newly-formed Independent Labour Party and Sylvia later recalled that their home was "a centre for many gatherings, of Socialists, Fabians, Anarchists, Suffragists, Free thinkers, Radicals and Humanitarians



Sylvia Pankhurst, Old Ford Road, Bow, London, 1912

of all schools”⁵. Inspired by the art that William Morris and Walter Crane produced for the labour movement, Sylvia decided that she wanted to become an artist, to make beautiful the socialist struggle for a better world.

It was while Sylvia was studying at the Royal College of Art in London that Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, in 1903, formed the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU) in Manchester to campaign for votes for women. This new suffrage organisation represented a radical departure for the women’s suffrage movement: initially organising primarily with women in the socialist and labour movement, it swiftly adopted tactics of direct action and civil disobedience to draw attention to their cause. When the ‘suffragettes’, as they were dubbed, decided to move their campaign to London, Sylvia was directed to take charge. Sylvia also modelled the campaign on “all the other popular movements”, organising in impoverished East London, which had a strong tradition of working-class militancy and, as Sylvia observed, “was the greatest homogeneous working-class area accessible to the House of Commons by popular demonstration”.⁶

By 1907, Christabel had taken over the leadership of the London organisation, and the politics of the campaign began to change. Working-class women were marginalised as the WSPU placed greater emphasis upon the participation of wealthier women, whilst demanding a ‘non-party’ stance separating them from the radical campaigns the suffragettes had emerged from.⁷ Soon the WSPU was supporting proposed legislation that would exclude working-class women from the vote altogether. Meanwhile, state repression of the suffragettes intensified: the police violently attacked suffragette demonstrations, while in the prisons suffragettes who hunger struck to demand recognition as political prisoners were forcibly fed – a torturous and degrading procedure. Suffragette militancy escalated as a result; suffragettes smashed the windows of West End department stores and torched empty buildings in the dead of night. In 1912, Christabel Pankhurst fled to Paris after being charged with conspiracy.

At the very moment the suffragette movement was experiencing the most intense persecution it was relying upon smaller and smaller numbers of

5 Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p.90.

6 *Ibid*, p.197, p.416.

7 On this process and Sylvia’s opposition to it see my *Sylvia Pankhurst: Suffragette, Socialist and Scourge of Empire* (London: Pluto Press, 2013), pp.27-37.



Blue plaque for suffragette Sylvia Pankhurst, Cheyne Walk, London

Credit:
M.J./trailerfullofpix

activists. Moreover, it was explicitly eschewing alliances with contemporary movements that were also putting the government under intense pressure. The Irish Nationalists had forced the Liberal government to support Home Rule, to which the Conservative Party responded by supporting the creation of Ulster paramilitary organisations, whilst across Britain the ‘Great Unrest’ erupted as thousands of working-class men and women were paralysing industry by striking against low pay and terrible working conditions.⁸

It was at this moment that Sylvia seized the chance to change the direction of the suffragette movement; in 1912 she returned to the London roots of the WSPU and created an East London Federation. Sylvia identified that the suffragettes not only shared a common enemy with the labour movement – it was the same government that sent troops to fire on striking workers that also presiding over the torture of suffragette prisoners – but also that they shared the same interest in creating a more democratic society. The East London campaign supported women who were taking strike action, linking the immediate social and economic changes they wanted to see with the demand for political representation.

Towards the end of 1913, Sylvia made a very public declaration of solidarity when she spoke at the Albert Hall alongside James Connolly, a leader of the Dublin workers movement which was facing an employers’ lock out. While the socialist *Herald League* celebrated the potential strength of the emerging alliance, commenting “every day the Industrial and the Suffrage rebels march nearer together”, Christabel Pankhurst was furious.⁹ Christabel summoned Sylvia to Paris and informed her of her expulsion from the organisation. Sylvia’s account of the meeting underlines the

extent to which it was the involvement of working-class women that Christabel objected to, Christabel arguing that “a working women’s movement was of no value: working women were the weakest portion of the sex”.¹⁰ The movements with which Sylvia identified, however, had proved that, far from being the weakest in society, working-class people were relied upon to do all the work and, when they collectively stopped doing so, they proved their immense potential power. Sylvia would later respond to Christabel’s arguments in the East London suffragettes’ newspaper, writing:

“Some people tell us that it is neither specially important that working women should agitate for the Vote, nor specially important that they should have it. They forget that comparatively, the leisured comfortably situated women are but a little group, and the working-women a multitude.”¹¹

A movement for the enfranchisement of the multitude, as the British government and even Christabel Pankhurst realised, was one which threatened to challenge the power of the privileged and transform society anew. When the East London suffragettes forced the Prime Minister to meet their deputation in 1914, they spoke about the far-reaching social problems they wanted the vote to change: poor housing, extortionate rents, sexual harassment at work, poverty and unequal pay. These are still things we have to fight for today, and Sylvia Pankhurst’s lifetime of campaigning and insistence that society should be run by and in the interests of the vast majority, can inspire us to win.



⁸ For a classic account of the interactions of these movements and the crisis it created for the British government see G. Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London: Serif, 2008).

⁹ Quoted in L. Garner, *Stepping Stones to Women’s Liberty: Feminist Ideas in the Women’s Suffrage Movement 1900-1918* (London: Heinemann, 1984), p.46.

¹⁰ Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, p.517

¹¹ *Woman’s Dreadnought*, 8 March 1914, p.3.

A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 8 October 2017

Fundamentalism: A Psychoanalytic Perspective

Richard Burgess



In this talk I will:

- Describe the typical characteristics of fundamentalism
- Describe psychoanalytic concepts with reference to the work of Melanie Klein
- Describe internal psychic processes by which a small minority of fundamentalists bring themselves to kill and maim

Richard Burgess is a psychodynamic psychotherapist with a long-standing interest in the psychological roots of fundamentalism in all its forms. After gaining a masters degree in economics from *Essex University* he worked in the civil service and local government and trained as a psychotherapist with Wpf Therapy. He has worked for over twenty-five years as a therapist in private and charity settings. He is a professional member of the *Foundation for Psychotherapy and Counselling* and a registrant of the *United Kingdom Council for Psychotherapy*.



“We resist applying the principles of unconscious determinism to events occurring on the stage of cultural and political reality. Persons prefer the vision of liberal humanism or ‘realpolitik’. Anything to save the delusion of ‘rationality’. Contemporary thought revolves around denial of the psyche.” – Richard Koenigsberg (distinguished writer on the origins of racism and the Holocaust)

“The premises of psychoanalysis are that speech and behaviour do not occur by chance but are determined by unconscious mental processes and that emotion informs cognition intrinsically.”

“In every writer on philosophy there is a concealed metaphysic, usually unconscious, even if his subject is metaphysics, they are almost certain to have an uncritically believed system which underlies his specific arguments.”

I hope these quotes will help everyone understand the psychoanalytic way of looking at human motivation. A lot of my argument will seem strange because psychoanalytic concepts are not part of everyday discourse. Psychoanalysis is concerned with the early infantile pre-verbal stage of development.

Bertrand Russell is the source of the third quote. He was very closely associated, of course, with Conway Hall. He evidently acknowledged an unconscious element that influenced philosophers in their writing.

This reminds me of a conversation I had many years ago with a philosophy teacher. I tried to convince him, unsuccessfully, that there is no such thing as a purely rational idea. He scoffed at my views and went into an elaborate explanation as to why I was wrong. Later I found out that he was lecturing in psychoanalysis. We ought to have met again to re-run our discussion!

I am very aware that I am speaking at the home of British humanism. The premises of humanistic psychology are very different to those of psychoanalysis. Humanistic psychology argues that:

- People are basically good
- They have free will
- All people have positive human potential
- All aggression has environmental causes
- The focus is on the conscious mind

In contrast, the premises of psychoanalysis are:

- We all have destructive and loving forces within us
- Unconscious forces play a big part in determining our behaviour
- We have inborn aggression

Psychoanalysis would not argue that people are inherently bad. It would say that goodness and badness in the individual have to be integrated in order for people to reach their potential.

Psychoanalytic theory is unashamedly universalistic and is applicable to people of all cultures at all times.

Thus it does not appeal to those of a postmodern persuasion who, of course, would argue that analytic theory is merely a product of its time and place and does not have universal relevance. But of course postmodernism regards all knowledge as a cultural product. Because humanistic and postmodern ways of looking at the world have become so dominant, psychoanalysis is no longer preponderant in the world of therapy. But it is the only therapy that tries to address the deeper structures of the mind.

FUNDAMENTALISM

Currently, the term is associated with Islamic fundamentalism but, historically, it was coined in the late nineteenth century during the rise of protestant fundamentalism in the United States. It is considered that this group felt threatened by aspects of modernity such as:

- The non-literal interpretation of the bible
- The loss of sacred understandings of life and culture
- Darwin’s theory of evolution
- The rise of individualism
- The increased role of science and technology
- The privatisation of faith

Contemporary manifestations of protestant fundamentalism include extreme violence, such as the bombing of abortion clinics.

There is an absolute belief in both the Christian and Islamic forms that they possess the truth; that their literal interpretation of sacred texts is indisputable.

Fundamentalists of any persuasion claim exclusive authenticity within a belief-system (usually religious). They have an absolute belief that they have the PURE truth, including the meaning of sacred truths which are beyond question.

The fundamentalists do not give any credence to other forms of the Islamic or Christian creed as the case may be. For example, Shia Islamic fundamentalists do not regard other forms of Shia Islam as legitimate and for Sunni Islamic fundamentalists other forms of Sunni faith are beyond the pale. In their eyes they are as impure as non-Islamic faiths.

The following characteristics are typical of all fundamentalists but most evident in Islamic and Christian protestant fundamentalism:

- They have absolute certainty. There is nothing more certain than a world view that explains everything.
- They see the world as a cosmic battle between good and evil
- They are single-minded
- They are simple in their perception of moral and emotional dilemmas, e.g. abortion is wrong under all circumstances

- A desire to create or return to an ideal state, e.g. for Christians, heaven on earth; for Muslims, the Caliphate
- Their sense of conviction is absolute and unflinching in its persistence
- They regard debate and compromise as degenerate and corrupt
- They are unhindered by doubt or conflicts of belief. For them, beliefs are facts.
- Everything that is evil or impure is attributed to others
- The conviction of omnipotence and rightness. They have the answer to everything. Their religion can explain and answer everything
- They seek purity and certainty
- All impurity is in others

They experience the struggle with those they deem to be the enemy as a cosmic war between the forces of good and evil. They fear annihilation. They split the world and themselves into good and bad. There is a denial of the humanity of those they attack. In the last hours before the 9/11 attack, their leader Mohammed Atta referred to those whom they would kill as animals.

What are the internal psychic processes that would induce 13 men to volunteer to turn airliners into cruise missiles and kill 3000 people? The 9/11 attack was, of course, only the most spectacular of many atrocities that have been committed before and since.

I would emphasise that I am not addressing any cultural, economic or political grievances that might have triggered their action.

There are many aggrieved fundamentalists in the world of all religious persuasions but only a very few would bring themselves to commit such an act. Equally, there are very few Christian fundamentalists who would be willing to kill medical staff and others in the name of “protecting” the unborn child.

WHAT DOES PSYCHOANALYSIS ADDRESS?

Psychoanalysis is concerned with how we internalise the descriptive world, mix it with our own internal world and by projecting that mixture animate the described world with emotional and symbolic significance. I would emphasise that this process is unconscious. The aim of psychoanalytic therapy is to make that unconscious process conscious so far as possible.

I will draw upon that branch of psychoanalysis developed by Melanie Klein. She placed particular emphasis on the mother-infant relationship as forming the basis of all other human relations. She established the earliest formative roots of human behaviour by

working with children as young as six months and up to nine years.

I would emphasise that I am describing the internal world of the very young infant when they are utterly vulnerable and helpless, needs total care and has a very low toleration of hunger, frustration and pain. They can make no distinction between physical and mental states and thus can make no distinction between physical and mental distress. They are dominated by unconscious and primitive instinctual forces.

We are not born whole but fragmented. Most of us mature into adults who are more whole than fragmented but I will come on to that.

Imagine yourself as a completely dependent baby, unable to feed yourself, feeling unbearable hunger pangs and nobody came to feed you. What could you do to get rid of your awareness of the anguish of this experience? You can project it. Projection is an unconscious fantasy that we can rid ourselves of some part of our psyche by splitting it off and putting it outside of our awareness, usually into another person.

PARANOID-SCHIZOID PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT

There are two normal phases of early human development. They are called the paranoid-schizoid and depressive phases. The earliest paranoid-schizoid position is one in which the infant splits the experiences of his inner world into good and bad. They have no capacity at this stage to understand or sustain that loving and hating feelings can coexist in their internal world. They cannot grasp that the same person (the mother) can be both gratifying and frustrating. They fear that the bad feelings (e.g. intolerable hunger due to a delay in being fed) will destroy the good feelings. These bad feelings will include hateful, destructive feelings towards their mother which they cannot endure.

Not being fed without the capacity to realise that they will be eventually amounts to a fear of not surviving or annihilation. The infant will employ a defence mechanism. Such mechanisms protect it from intolerable anxiety. In order to protect themselves they will project or expel the bad experiences into the mother. She now contains the badness.

I would emphasise that the aggressive, destructive part of the infant’s own self are too painful and threatening to be tolerated within the self, so they are projected into the mother. The intensity of these destructive feelings within them are caused not only by their degree of frustration at, say, not being fed but also by the degree of innate destructiveness within them. By expelling the bad feelings they are also protecting their good feelings from a destructive effect. This situation is

a deep psychic split. The infant disowns their aggressive parts and retains the good or loving parts.

In this phase, the child is *paranoid* because it is terrified that the mother, upon whom it is dependent for survival, might abandon it and thus end its life. It is *schizoid* because it has divided the experience of the mother (and itself) into good and bad.

The paranoid-schizoid state of mind is concerned with maintaining fixity and certainty. The certainty that everything good is within them and all the bad is outside of them. They do not have the mental apparatus to hold the bad and good together. A person in this position cannot move to acceptance of uncertainty. For them, everything is certain because it is either black or white. They cannot abide anyone or anything that questions that certainty because it would represent an enormous threat.

If the infant does not mature beyond this stage, they will continue to ascribe their “bad self” to others long after they have left their mother. In extreme cases the individual will never progress beyond this stage. They cannot integrate good with bad and will continue to use splitting and projection as a typical way of functioning. They will continue to believe that all bad things come from the outside and all good things come from within. Any adversity is always the other person’s or the world’s fault.

To summarise, people dominated by the paranoid-schizoid position are:

- Ruled by ideas of the all good (the ideal) and all bad
- The language they use is that of blame
- They have an emotional need for certainty
- Solutions are omnipotent (all powerful)

THE DEPRESSIVE POSITION

Most of us do not get stuck or arrested in the paranoid-schizoid position and move to the next stage. If the degree of splitting is not too severe – and this depends upon his degree of innate destructiveness and the quality of their mother’s care – the infant moves into the depressive position.

Moving into the depressive position involves a crucial step in the infant’s development. It is when they recognise their mother as a whole person, not a person with good and bad parts. They begin to see her as a separate, real person. This produces a big change in mental attitude. There is recognition of their dependence on another human being. Very gradually the infant no longer conceives of their mother and other caregivers as merely being good for them or persecuting to them (also known as narcissism). More and more they recognise the other person as having their

own feelings, problems and relations to others as well as to them. Towards the mother, on which they depend completely, the infant now experiences ambivalence. When splitting diminishes, they recognise and accept that they love and hate one and the same person. They also accept the loving and hating parts of themselves.

A comparison of the characteristics of the paranoid-schizoid and the fundamentalist states of mind:

Paranoid-Schizoid

- Dividing the world into black and white; all badness and aggression is externalised
- No tolerance of ambiguity and thus uncertainty
- The ideal is within them
- The language is that of blame (it is always the other person’s fault)

Fundamentalist

- They represent the ideal; all impurity is attributed to others;
- They are engaged in a cosmic war between the good (them) and evil (the others)
- Their beliefs are fixed and certain
- The unbelievers (the others) are blamed for the state of the world
- Only they know how to put the world right.

CONCLUSION

There is a clear correspondence between the features of the paranoid-schizoid state of mind and the fundamentalist world view. In fact, the paranoid-schizoid state of mind is the fundamentalist state of mind.

The dominant fear in the paranoid-schizoid state is fear of persecution. It is this fear and its destructive consequence for the internal world of the young infant that induces it to resort to the defence of splitting goodness and badness.

As I explained earlier, the badness is attributed firstly to the mother and if the person does not mature beyond this stage they will employ this defence throughout their life. Splitting is the most primitive mechanism of defence employed by a psyche terrified of its inner destructiveness. There are degrees of splitting.

The degree to which a person will be attracted to fundamentalist beliefs will depend on the degree to which the paranoid-schizoid state of mind is dominant within them. A small minority, those who resort to killing and maiming the enemy who represent the bad are those who are most deeply split. They project all their badness and destructiveness into the victim who, therefore has to be killed. Effectively they are killing an unacceptable part of themselves. They eliminate those whom they have demonised with their own demons.

A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 11 February 2018

Wisdom and Cleverness

Ralph Blumenau



I came to reflect on the difference between Wisdom and Cleverness when I was thinking about the shift that has taken place in our society in the balance of power between the older and the younger generations. The reasons for this are sociological: the young usually know more than the old about technology; unlike in earlier times, the old seem to have few skills to pass on to the young; the rate of change today is so fast that older people, in particular, find it hard to adjust. As a result, there has been an erosion in the authority of the older generation. Many of them have lost confidence about the areas in which they should try to assert their authority, and indeed how they should assert it.

Many of the cruder but effective ways of exercising discipline and control, in the home and in schools, are now frowned upon or forbidden: physical ones like corporal punishment or even the simple command 'don't argue; do as you are told.' The young do argue back, often powerfully so. There is a diffidence in making them do what they don't want to do, and an uneasiness and impotence about interfering in their lifestyle.

In sexual matters the law has lowered the age of consent to below the years of maturity (and in the case of consensual sex far below that threshold), largely because we do not want to criminalize behaviour that we cannot stop anyway. The voting age has been lowered to 18

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and there is pressure to lower it still further; and the young as a class now have a purchasing power that two generations ago could hardly be dreamed of.

Confronted by the skills and arguments of the young, we sometimes hear the older generations articulating a fall-back position: that the older generation has wisdom, while the young are merely clever. This is often either what existentialists call *mauvaise foi*, merely a defence of their vested interests or a sign of the hardening of the arteries which prevents the older generation from taking in new ideas.

We might note in passing that the word 'clever' usually has a negative connotation in English. Foreigners are said to be mystified by the English phrase that some one is 'too clever by half': how could anyone be 'too clever', let alone 'too clever by half'? In French, for example, the word for 'clever' is generally a synonym for 'intelligent' – but then some Englishmen distrust even intelligence: they prefer people to be 'sound'. I will return to the notion of intelligence at the end of this article.

But the distinction between Wisdom and Cleverness is in principle a valid one, though it may be a difficult to define or to describe.

We might look for help in Philosophy, since the word itself actually means the Love of Wisdom. But much that is included in philosophy, especially these days, will let us down because it has little to do with Wisdom and is more concerned with Cleverness and intellectual agility. The essential difference between philosophies of Wisdom and philosophies of Cleverness is that the latter usually claims to be merely *descriptive* (statements about what the world is like, or teaching how to use words and concepts accurately) and will protest that it is not the function of philosophy to teach us how to live. They will eschew value judgments, sometimes downgrade them as being socially conditioned, or even debunk them as being merely expressions of one's likes or dislikes. Philosophies of Wisdom, on the other hand, do aim to teach us how we should live: they are *prescriptive*. (Of course, it does not follow that every philosophy which sets out to teach us how to live actually does convey Wisdom: for example, each one of us will have his own list of political philosophers, and perhaps even of moral philosophers, whose teachings lack wisdom.)

Analytic and linguistic philosophies are examples of Cleverness. In no way do I wish to disparage Cleverness. A proper understanding of what we mean when we use language is of course essential in philosophy; but language is a means to an end, not an end in itself. As Karl Popper wrote, a linguistic philosopher is often "like a man who sits all day polishing his glasses, but never puts them on his nose and looks through them at the world." Descriptive philosophies are essential for clear thinking, for advances in the understanding of the

material world we live in and therefore for much of what we define as Progress. In its nature, therefore, Progress in knowledge is linked to Cleverness, whereas, as I shall show presently, Wisdom is quite often (though of course by no means always) associated with Conservatism.

Ever since the days of the ancient Greeks, philosophers have been divided between those like Plato, who were primarily in pursuit of Wisdom, and those like Aristotle, who were more interested in Cleverness. Some descriptive philosophies share features with Science, and indeed for many centuries Science was called Natural Philosophy. Like Science, descriptive philosophy as such is value-free. It is what you do with it that illuminates whether, beyond being clever, you are also wise. For example, research scientists are undoubtedly clever, but are they wise if they work on, for example, the development of poison gases? On the other hand, for many people science will contribute to Wisdom because it fills them with a degree of humility and with a sense of wonder about the world at large and about our place in it. As Coleridge said, "In wonder all philosophy begins, in wonder it ends and wonder fills the inner space."

Like the sciences (and, indeed, *because of* the sciences), descriptive philosophies often propound theories which in the course of time become untenable. This applies, for example, to the ideas of the Ionian cosmologists, or to many philosophies involved with the mind-body problem: nobody can now take seriously Descartes' suggestion that the link between mind and body can be found in the pineal gland. By contrast, prescriptive philosophies deal with eternal questions, which is why we go back again and again to the prescriptive philosophers of the past.

Logic belongs to descriptive philosophy, and so, largely, does Epistemology, though there is Wisdom to be derived from, for example, the Kantian realisation that the knowledge we have is man-made, that it is something we do rather than something we have.

Prescriptive philosophy is a great treasure house of ideas about Wisdom. Much of it is found in the religions (along with much whose wisdom is questionable). Think of the so-called Wisdom Literature in the Bible and the Apocrypha: the Book of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and some of the Psalms. The same is true of Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism; the latter two, indeed, are often thought of as philosophies rather than religions, since in their purest forms they have no theology.

Confucius, incidentally, specifically associated Wisdom with age and taught respect for the old. He has therefore been accused of standing in the way of progress, especially by that model of unWisdom, Mao Tse Tung. Plato not only linked Wisdom to age, but would not allow anyone to be taught philosophy before the age of thirty, for fear that the young would use philosophy in

a merely clever but not in a wise way. He would have quoted the student revolutionaries of 1968 as an example.

Let us now consider some of the specific wisdoms taught by prescriptive philosophies.

First, they teach a sense of proportion, an awareness of what is important and what is less important. Under certain circumstances that can lead to a healthy sense of humour. Indeed, we are taught that some things are not important at all, especially in the long run, and that helps us to a sense of reasonable detachment.

Then there is the acceptance of the hardships and suffering in the world. That acceptance can be grim, as in the case of the Stoics, serene as in Spinoza or even joyful as in Nietzsche.

There can of course be downsides to these attitudes, which I would not like to describe as Wisdom. One's view of the world can become too jaundiced (as in the case of Sartre's nausea) to qualify as Wisdom. The sense of detachment or the acceptance of hardships may become indifference to the suffering of others, may lead us to do less than our admittedly limited best to repair the world (the Jewish concept of *tikkun*). The capacity to empathise with and to relieve the suffering others is enjoined as a part of wisdom even by those religions which value reasonable detachment.

Certainly, Wisdom enjoins self-control, and at least a degree of asceticism. For some philosophies and religions all pleasures are dangerous and corrupting (not much Wisdom there, I think); others merely say that we must not be *dominated* by the pleasures of wealth or of sensual enjoyment. These are the two most important snares, though there are others. In the 6th century Pope Gregory the Great drew up a list of the Seven Deadly Sins: Anger, Avarice, Envy, Gluttony, Lust, Sloth and Pride. They may not all be exactly deadly, but certainly Wisdom commands that none of them should dominate us. In fact, Wisdom enjoins 'moderation in all things', as we are told by Pythagoras, Epicurus and Montaigne.

It is part of Wisdom to take nothing on trust. There is some Wisdom in Scepticism and in the moral relativism that goes with it, since moral relativism leads to an understanding that other ways of thinking may be as legitimate as your own. That should lead to at least a degree of tolerance and to an absence of dogmatism and fanaticism. In excess, however, Scepticism leads to Cynicism. Cynicism poses as Wisdom, and is akin to the worst kind of Cleverness which, as Oscar Wilde put it, "knows the price of everything and the value of nothing". That is a charge that some would bring against the apostles of Deconstruction and Post-Modernism. A wise scepticism accepts that there are no absolute values, but that does not mean that there are absolutely no values.

Some philosophers teach that the wise person is someone who strives for a higher realm, even if it is

difficult or actually impossible to achieve it. Such were Plato, the Neo-Platonists (who combined Plato with religion), the religious teachers, Spinoza, Schopenhauer and, in his own way, Nietzsche. Prosaic people think this is unrealistic and therefore not wise; but, as the poet Browning had it "Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp"; and it is part of Wisdom that if we never strive for what is beyond our reach, we will always achieve less than we are capable of.

Wisdom will use Reason to free us from superstitions and prejudices (Francis Bacon, the *Philosophes*). But Wisdom should also accept that Reason can only do so much. To assume it can do more, Romantics like Edmund Burke averred, is mere Cleverness. Reason, they argued, can become sterile; in the form of Rationalization it can lead us badly astray; but even in its purer form it must often give contradictory indications about what we should do: if we tend to ignore these contradictions, we can finish up with a dangerous Utopianism (Isaiah Berlin). Burke thought that Tradition often enshrined the Wisdom of the past: we ignore it at our peril. Experience can bring Wisdom, and Tradition can enshrine the experience of the past (and the young have so little experience!).

There is of course the danger of ossification here; and the past is not always a good guide to changing circumstances. It does seem that most of the philosophers whom I have quoted as concerned with Wisdom are, to say the least, conservative.

A word or two about Intelligence: how does that concept relate to Wisdom and Cleverness?

The word is used in several different senses. One is as in 'Intelligence Tests'. That kind of intelligence relates purely to cognitive and logical skills, and has no correlation with Wisdom at all.

A wider definition, however, does involve Wisdom: it relates to openness and receptivity to what comes to us from outside, either as knowledge or as experience. This, in turn, relates to a capacity for lateral thinking and for making connections. And Wisdom could relate to the way in which we handle the results of these processes.

Finally, you do not have to have studied philosophy to be wise. The Romantics in particular often talked about the untutored wisdom of the countryman, and there is something like folk wisdom. Philosophy, however, may be useful in helping us to analyse or articulate what the elements of that type of wisdom may be. Insofar as it does that, it is taking on a descriptive rather than a prescriptive character and plays the role of what I have called Cleverness rather than what I have called Wisdom.

But this conclusion merely reinforces what I have said before: that Wisdom is not incompatible with Cleverness. Fortunate the person who can combine the two.

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A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 28 January 2018

Is the Universe a Simulation?

William Turner

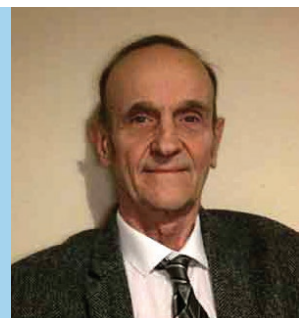
I was brought up a humanist by my humanist parents who had both rejected Christianity. I remember *Humanist* magazine popping through our letter box and I used to look at the pictures and read what I could.

My father's main philosophy towards me was "let him find out for himself" – he explained to me that he didn't know if there was a God or not and the word for that stance was called – agnostic. At that early age I didn't think that the religious idea of a God sounded likely. I had my own idea that we were all prisoners in some type of crazy pointless sausage machine and that we should all laugh a lot and make the best of it. Some of you may remember the cartoon comic book called *Mad*, and many images in that comic seemed to express what I was thinking – I could see that I wasn't alone in thinking the world was a crazy place.

Even at the age of three I was puzzled about where I was and what exactly this place I found myself in was in reality. I had expected my parents to explain everything to me but they never did. They never even attempted to explain because they were too busy looking after three children and didn't much care about the deeper philosophy of existence.

But I cared, as it didn't make sense to me. They said everything was made of atoms which were a bit like ball bearings colliding with each other. OK, fine – that explains stars, I thought – fast-moving ball bearings – and cold planets – slow-moving ball bearings. But it didn't explain what we were. How could ball bearings think? And why were humans and animals madly rushing around for no apparent reason except to get food & material things only to create more babies that would grow up to do the

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same thing? What's the point of that? I really, really wanted to know. It was my life's ambition.

Now, both my sisters loved art and performing arts and were talented at both. But I rejected that because I was on a quest to find out the truth about our existence. Looking back, I would have done far better to follow a more practical life-trajectory of, say, an estate agent or finance wizard.

But no, I opted for physics because I wanted to know why we were here and what, in reality, this place is. I wasn't going to accept God as an explanation or "we can never know, just accept it". I was determined to know in easy-to-explain terms the locus of all things. It MUST be easy, I figured.

I am pleased to tell you I succeeded. I am very content with the answer I found. The answer fits in perfectly with humanist ideology (as far as I can tell, that is). It's very easy once one has grappled with some ideas. It doesn't make me a guru unfortunately, which is a shame as I think I would like some devotees and plenty of praise & adulation – who wouldn't? It makes me a teacher to people that usually don't want to know or have already decided what the Universe is (or isn't).

So is the Universe a simulation? Well, its certainly a type of simulation. If you replace atoms with the idea of numbers or data then you're near the answer. Information and data in a computer are, at heart, merely numbers that have no mass, no size and, as Plato remarked once, numbers live outside space and time. How much do a trillion numbers weigh? Zero. What size do a trillion numbers have? Zero. Where are they located? Nowhere, they are in a point. We think of matter, energy and space as "something". So how can we create something (the Universe) from nothing? Numbers (that make data) can simulate matter, energy and space – as in a computer game – and are made from nothing. So the expression "something from nothing" becomes comprehensible.

The "something" is space, matter, energy and the "nothing" is replaced by numbers or data, if you will. Then, as in a computer game, we simulate a game-world, that is "something" from the data at the core of the processor chip. That data is nearly in a point. The data is not space, matter or energy because it has none of those properties. By our definition of nothing then that is what it is. Are you beginning to see the light now?

But can we call numbers nothing? Sure, in terms of size, mass and location – all zero – then numbers belong to the family of "nothing". And thus have we answered one of philosophy's deepest conundrums.

Not convinced yet? There is much, much more but let's just add a couple more now-solved philosophies of time and space.

The quantum entanglement problem. It's this: how can two particles separated by any distance across the Universe have knowledge of each other's quantum state? They know instantly each other's state. So that means a faster-than-light signaling, yes? Not necessary if they both point at the same lump of data. That's all that is needed and a Simulated Universe supplies an instant solution to this problem. So all particles are in fact right next to each other in the memory of the Universe. The separation is merely a numerical code.

So what is space? What is the metaphysics of time and space. No philosopher has answered this question. Not Kant, not Leibnitz, not Newton. The philosopher that came nearest was an ancient Greek, pre-Socratic philosopher called Parmenides. He said that space cannot exist so we must live in an illusion. 100% correct. It was this idea that actually kicked off Greek philosophy. So how did Parmenides arrive at this astounding conclusion? He used simple logic. Here it is:

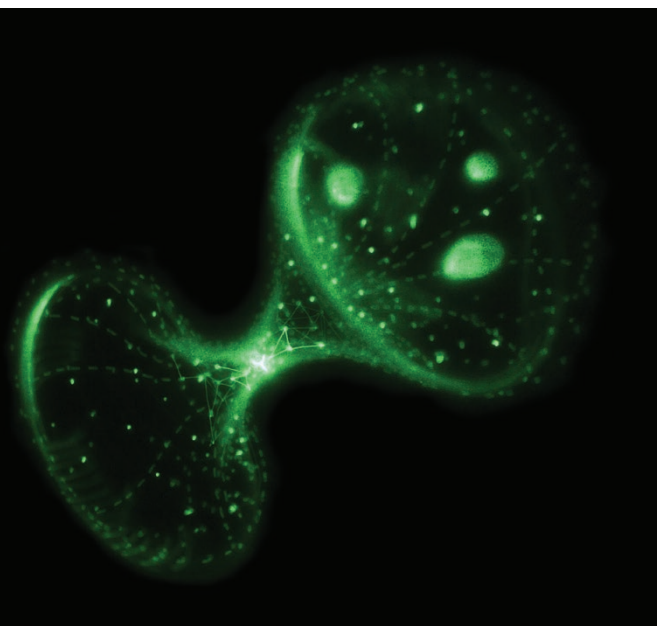
When talking about physical objects we are allowed to say "it exists" That means that a physical object exists and may change form but cannot cease to exist. So a tree branch exists and when burnt it becomes smoke. Then it has changed from one form to another. But we cannot say that something (an object) does not exist because something that does not exist is not possible. In Parmenides' own words:

"Come now, I will tell thee... the only two ways of search that can be thought of. The first, namely, that it is, and that it is impossible for anything not to be, is the way of conviction, for truth is its companion. The other, that it is not, and that something needs not be – that, I tell thee, is a wholly untrustworthy path. For you cannot know what is not – that is impossible –nor utter it."

So that which is not is an illegal concept, he goes on:

"It needs must be that what can be thought of and spoken of is; for it is possible for it to be, and it is not possible for, what is nothing to be."

Parmenides went on to show that even movement is not possible. He proves this by saying that in order to move, a thing must move from where it is now into an empty space. But empty space is "that which is not", or non-being, which is an illegal concept. So it is incoherent to state that something moves from its present position into non-being. So according to the dictates of reason, all movement is an illusion.



Many of you will be familiar with Xeno's paradox about the race between a hare and a tortoise where he shows that the hare can never overtake the tortoise. Every time the hare gets to half the distance between them the tortoise has moved on, so it never catches up with the tortoise. Actually, it's worse than that because neither the hare nor the tortoise can move at all, so neither can even set off on the race.

Where is the fallacy here? The fallacy is that space is actually a virtual reality, which means that it is simply a numerical grid in three dimensions – x, y, and z. Space is not “nothing” – Parmenides showed that. But neither Parmenides nor any other philosopher knew about a space that exists only in numbers – or data. All computer games work in such a numerical grid that must be defined at the outset otherwise there is nowhere to place your game objects and characters.

Somebody asked me to answer the wave-particle conundrum. You know, is a photon moving through space a wave or a particle – surely it cannot be both at the same time? What computers do with the Universe is to “render on demand”. Why bother to render something if nothing is looking at it? It's a waste of resources. So the tree in the forest? Is it really there if nothing is looking at it. Quantum Mechanics says no, it's not there.

The answer is that the Universe-processor knows where everything is all the time but will only render something when asked. So fire a photon at an electron (tree) and the electron must give a value as to its location in the grid. But if nothing is firing at it then the electron is not in the grid, it's in the computer memory or calculation – algorithm. Is it all becoming clear yet?

What do mainstream physicists think now? They are slowly slowly coming round to a simulated Universe idea via black holes. Jacob Bekenstein, in his 1972 Ph.D thesis, posited that: “the black hole's entropy, a measure of the disorder or wasted energy in a system, was proportional to the area of a black hole's event horizon, the spherical surface in space from which there is no return. According to accepted physical laws, including Dr. Hawking's own work, neither entropy nor the area of a black hole could ever decrease.”

They now are saying that our Universe could be a holographic projection of the information stored at the event horizon of a black hole. Although they cannot explain it fully – yet.

To me it's not so important because I know that our whole shebang – the sausage machine – is merely a computer-like phenomenon and this explains who we are AND what the Universe really, really is.

It's all an illusion but a very good one.



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A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 14 January 2018

Evidence-Based Policing:

Using evidence and research to improve policing practice

Richard Honess



Before I can begin speaking on how we can improve the police and their practices one must first look at the state of policing as it exists today. It must first be recognised that the Police Service of England and Wales, like all other branches of the public sector, have been severely affected by the current regime of austerity that hit in 2010. Budgets have had to be slashed by billions of pounds, we have seen police stations closed across the country with severe reductions in front counter provision. Police officer (and staff) numbers have fallen with from a peak of around 145,000 officers in 2009 to around 125,000 in 2017 (with a commensurate fall in overall staff numbers)¹. However, combined with this, in part due to the cuts in other areas of the public sector such as social services, the police have also seen a rise in demand. In fact, contrary to popular belief, in a 2015 study of demand for police services the College

of Policing found that only 17% of a police officer's time was directly about dealing with crime².

Set this amongst a background of high profile cases of police failures and negative publicity. Such examples such as the Hillsborough Disaster, the Steven Lawrence Murder, the Jean Charles De Menezes killing, Plebgate and close relationships with certain reporters still haunt the police to this day. Place on top of this negative publicity surrounding attempts to restore community confidence, or encourage citizen involvement, such as the recent attempts by the police to highlight domestic violence by painting their nails and posting on social media, or attempts by police officers to take their refreshment breaks in coffee shops and cafes in their local communities. The police have an uphill fight to protect the communities they serve in the best spirit of the Peelian Principles and policing by consent.

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As a result the police need to look at doing things better, more effectively and more efficiently. Part of this is the drive to professionalise the police. Many people, including the police themselves, quite rightly see the police as delivering a professional service on a day-to-day basis but it has been considered that the police need to go further than this. Former Chief Constable Peter Neyroud, in his 2011 report on police leadership and training, stated that the police needed to move away from one that acts professionally to one that is a profession in and of itself³. Comparing policing to other professions such as medicine, nursing or teaching, he recommended the formation of a professional body and to include the gathering and dissemination of an evidence-base, or “what works”, to inform practitioners.

This leads us to the idea of Evidence-Based Policing (EBP), a term coined in a 1998 paper by Professor Lawrence Sherman in *Ideas in American Policing*. In it he stated that:

“Evidence-based policing is the use of the **best available** research on the outcomes of police work to implement guidelines and evaluate agencies, units, and officers. Put more simply, evidence-based policing uses research to guide practice and evaluate practitioners. It uses the best evidence to shape the best practice. It is a systematic effort to parse out and codify unsystematic “experience” as the basis for police work, refining it by ongoing systematic testing of hypotheses.”⁴

The College of Policing, which resulted from Neyroud’s review, as the professional body for policing, has a responsibility to promote EBP, stating that it was about using the best available research techniques to understand what works and what does not work in policing. The Society of Evidence-Based Policing, an organisation set-up and run by police officers, police staff and research professionals who wish to transform policing

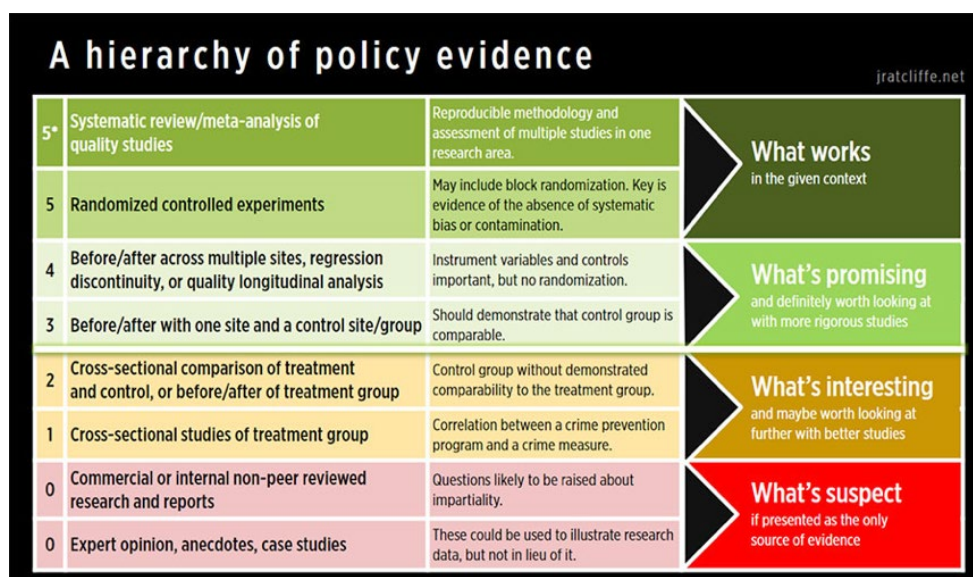
through understanding what works, stated that this was the opposite of tactics “doomed to succeed”, of police officers claiming reductions in crime were due to their work but then blaming everything else when crime goes up. Instead, they state that EBP is about getting to grips with the real impact of policing, what is and what causes the good and the bad, then changing it for the better⁵.

Until recently (and in many cases still to this day) policing was delivered in a ‘one size fits all’ model which involved what is known as the 3 Rs – Random patrol, Rapid response and Reactive investigation. However, there is evidence to suggest a change is necessary. EBP as a model emphasises the value of statistical analysis and empirical research and calls for the robust testing of policing interventions. However it does not, as some critics suggest, dismiss the traditional drivers of police decision making, such as previous professional experience and craft, but seeks to raise awareness of scientific testing to help inform that experience and craft.

In 2013 Sherman proposed the “Triple-T” Model of EBP. This model consists of “Targeting” scarce policing resources on predictable concentrations of harm from crime and disorder; “Testing” police methods to help choose what tactics work best to reduce harm in those targeted areas; and “Tracking” the daily delivery and effects of those practices through internally generated evidence including public perceptions of police legitimacy⁶.

But what do we mean as “best available” evidence? Not all evidence is created equally. Some study methods are stronger than others. If one examines different kinds of study evidence it is possible to rank them in a hierarchy with the best available types of study at the top and the least reliable at the bottom. Figure 1 shows a recent version of this hierarchy produced by criminologist Jerry Ratcliffe.

Of course, one has to take into account the research questions you are trying to answer within the context



A hierarchy of policy evidence⁷

of real world application before selecting a method. As a result it is not always possible to conduct randomised controlled experiments.

Not only that, these hierarchies of evidence are mainly focussed on impact questions and not on a range of others which also need answering. Such questions could involve investigating why an intervention does or doesn't work, and/or whether it is an intervention that the local communities want or even need. It does not answer questions of process, i.e. what is required to make it work, or of cost/benefit analysis. Moreover, it does not ask questions about what the communities think or what their experiences of crime and policing interventions are, i.e. the Social part of social science.

However, since the application of EBP we have learned much. We know that the 3 Rs have not been effective in reducing crime⁸ but we know that the targeting of crime hotspots has⁹. We even have an idea of what length of time these hotspots require an active police presence (15 minutes every 2 hours¹⁰). We know that when officers conduct themselves in a just and fair manner, public perceptions of the police improve along with public co-operation with the police¹¹. And we also know that mandatory arrest for domestic violence has mixed results¹².

It is important to understand this because, given the aforementioned budgetary restraints, we need to minimise the effects of these restraints on service provision, minimise victimisation and minimise societal harm caused by crime and anti-social behaviour. Moreover, we also need to minimise the systematic failures that can be caused by "opinion", "personal

experience" and untested interventions, such as the "Scared Straight Initiative" which sent vulnerable children to visit prisons in an attempt to prevent offending, yet when properly tested showed it actually made them more likely to offend¹³.

Of course, with all such things there are critics and barriers to overcome. Within police culture there is a tendency to distrust academia, an over-reliance on personal experience and a culture which still runs initiatives which are doomed to succeed (an initiative which must succeed, or at least be seen and reported to succeed at all costs)¹⁴. As a social science, all research tends to be messy because it involves human interaction¹⁵ and even the best trials are highly contextual and may not be transferrable to other locations. And, finally, there is the issue with working with evidence within the public policy arena. Politicians and policy makers are often more concerned with ideology over evidence and seek out policy-based evidence rather than evidence-based policy.

However, the future looks promising. New policing recruits and promoted supervisors will be trained and educated in EBP as part of the National Policing Curriculum and promotion processes. EBP will form part of every police officers' continual professional development. In other words, seeking out and asking for evidence will be as normal to a police officer as being able to recite Section 1 of the Theft Act 1968 or to issue the caution after making an arrest. Whilst no panacea, EBP will be the future model the police will be using to keep us all safe in our communities. Let us hope it is "What Works".

- 1 Home Office. *Police Workforce, England and Wales, 31 March 2017- Statistical Bulletin 10/1*. London: Home Office National Statistics.
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YELLOW LIONESS & OTHERS

JAMIE BOYD

26 MARCH - 23 APRIL 2018

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A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 11 March 2018

Are Citizens' Assemblies the Next Progressive Wave of Democracy?

Brett Hennig



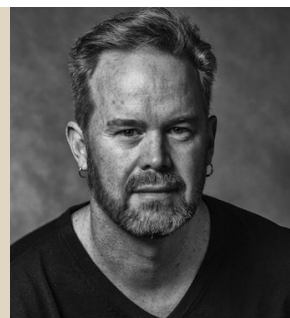
There is a new democratic buzz word – sortition – but what does it mean, and should we be promoting it?

What is “one of the ways” to “bring political change forward” according to Ed Milliband in a February podcast? What did Kofi Annan, last September at the Athens Democracy Forum, call “an interesting idea” that would “make our democracies more inclusive”? It’s the same thing that might – if we’re lucky – become an integral part of Emmanuel Macron’s soon-to-be-announced European Citizens’ Consultation, and it’s what everyday people, given the chance to talk deeply and meaningfully about Brexit, said, “I just wish we could have done it before the referendum!”

This curious beast that has got so many political people excited recently is called *sortition* – which is, quite simply, the random selection of people to fill a deliberative political assembly. It’s the well-established and trusted practice of legal juries, shifted to the political sphere.

But why would such a strange word excite people? Perhaps it’s because of the recent use of sortition by the Irish government. In the last few years they have used it to populate a citizens’ assembly and a constitutional convention, significantly opening up the political space on such sensitive issues as same-sex marriage and the Irish constitutional ban on abortion – and these

Brett Hennig is the author of *The End of Politicians: Time for a Real Democracy*, and is a director and co-founder of the Sortition Foundation.



experiments have surely made politicians and government officials sit up and take notice.

The Irish Citizens' Assembly, which met for the last time in early March, had 99 randomly selected citizens deliberating for one weekend every month over the course of 17 months. It has been a game-changer for the Irish government, delivering options where before there seemed none. To take just one example, after a process of informed deliberation on the Irish constitutional ban on abortion the assembly "stunned the country by proposing exceptionally liberal changes", according to the Irish Sun.

The assembly opened up the political space for radical change – and politicians are happily stepping into that space. The resulting referendum, proposed for May this year, looks likely to succeed. How much of the popular shift in opinion is due to the activities of the assembly is debatable – but academic research shows that people trust citizens' assemblies. Whereas no one trusts politicians.

Is this the only reason everyone suddenly likes Citizens' Assemblies? Because there is quite a line-up. Richard Askwith, former executive editor of the Independent, likes the idea and so does Stephen Fry, as do both Mary Beard and Arron Banks, as do a host of other enthusiastic members of the not-for-profit campaign group, Sortition Foundation, readers of the Equality by Lot blog, and all the other organisations delivering these assemblies and policy juries to governments all around the world.

So is there something else going on here, which explains the broad appeal of sortition to people from across the political spectrum? Obviously there is much disaffection with politics as we now know it, and this is a radically different way of doing politics. But it would seem to be more than this.

Most people, presumably, think that if you fill a chamber with randomly selected citizens, obviously including people like you, then these people will think like you, and make decisions like you. Which of course can't be a bad thing, right? Not too many people consciously want to believe that their ideas are extreme, or even in the minority. Hence its broad appeal, even – perhaps especially so – to populists fearful about the elite capture of parliament. It directly undermines the populist critique by inserting "everyday people" into the political process.

One recurrent proposal, from all the pundits above, on how to institutionalise sortition is to replace the House

of Lords with a representative chamber of randomly selected people – to make the house of review a "citizens' senate". This would give us a chance to compare what our politicians think (and how they act) with what an informed, deliberating, representative sample of citizens do and think. I'm glad some politicians support the idea, though I'm not so sure the comparison will come off in their favour.

Geoff Lloyd, Ed Milliband's regular podcast co-host, gets straight to the point when he asks Professor James Fishkin, "one of the founding fathers of deliberative democracy," if there is any evidence that sortition and deliberation "tips people in either a more progressive or more conservative direction"? For many of us, this is the crux: *would instituting sortition be a progressive change?* If we gave power to the people would they turn around and row us backwards?

Anecdotally, progressive outcomes are easy to find. Just look at the Irish assemblies' proposals on same-sex marriage and abortion, or South Australia's citizen jury on dealing with nuclear waste, or the 57% of British Columbians who voted for the replacement of the first-past-the-post electoral system of that province, or the many other examples that measure attitude change as a result of sortition and deliberation. In academia the question has received little attention, but Professor John Gastil, from Pennsylvania State University, addresses it directly in his paper, "Is Deliberation Neutral?" and concludes that participants "tend to move toward more cosmopolitan, egalitarian, and collectivist value orientations." The sample is small, but it's a clear start. The jury (so to speak) is still out on whether sortition and deliberation are progressive, but I know where I'd place my bet.

Another important question is, of course, "Is it feasible?" Could a broad political movement lead to the institutionalisation of sortition and deliberative democracy? Could we replace the House of Lords with a House of the People? Given its obvious populist appeal, and given the "false-consensus bias" mentioned above (that people believe everyone else thinks like they do), it should be possible to build the political alliances needed for such a dramatic change.

Just don't tell those on the right of the political spectrum that it isn't true: after a representative random sample of people deliberate together, and get exposed to an informed diversity of opinions, it seems that they begin to think more like us.

Notes:

- On trust in CA's: M. E. Warren and H. Pearce (editors), *Designing Deliberative Democracy: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly*. Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- <http://cheerful.libsyn.com/episode-20-rescuing-democracy-from-ancient-athens-to-brexite> ("founding father" 25:51, "Is there any evidence that deliberative democracy tips people in either a more progressive or more conservative direction or is it really case-by-case depending on the issue?" 38:26)
- <https://www.talkingpoliticspodcast.com/blog/2018/83-ed-miliband-geoff-lloyd> Ed Milliband 14:40 "People want political change and [sortition] is one of the ways of bringing it forward."

A THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 18 June 2017

How Dark Matters Shape the Universe

Roger O'Brien



The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy provides an interesting take on Cosmology:

"There is a theory, which states that if anyone ever discovers exactly what the Universe is for and why it is here, it will instantly disappear and be replaced by something even more bizarrely inexplicable. There is another theory which states that this has already happened."

This is a brilliant summary of the paranoid view of the universe. Dark matter plays into this view perfectly. It is ubiquitous, invisible and effective. You can't detect it, but it controls almost everything.

Sir Martin Rees, Astronomer Royal, remarked that, although we are confident there was a Big Bang, what banged and why is not yet clear.

So, we shall pick up the story after the Big Bang and after inflation, when the universe has, we think, reached a form more or less recognisably ancestral to what we see now. We're still less than two minutes into history, with about one quarter of the matter in the form of helium nuclei and three quarters protons (hydrogen nuclei) and loads and loads of free electrons. This is a plasma – hot enough to prevent atoms forming, but too cool for nuclear reactions.

Change of gear: for about 380,000 years, not a great deal happens. The universe expands and cools. Matter becomes more important, radiation less so. We can't know much about this, because plasma is opaque.

Roger O'Brien is a lecturer at City Lit. He says: "Six decades of amateur astronomy, three decades working in a bank and two decades of teaching have made me what I am."



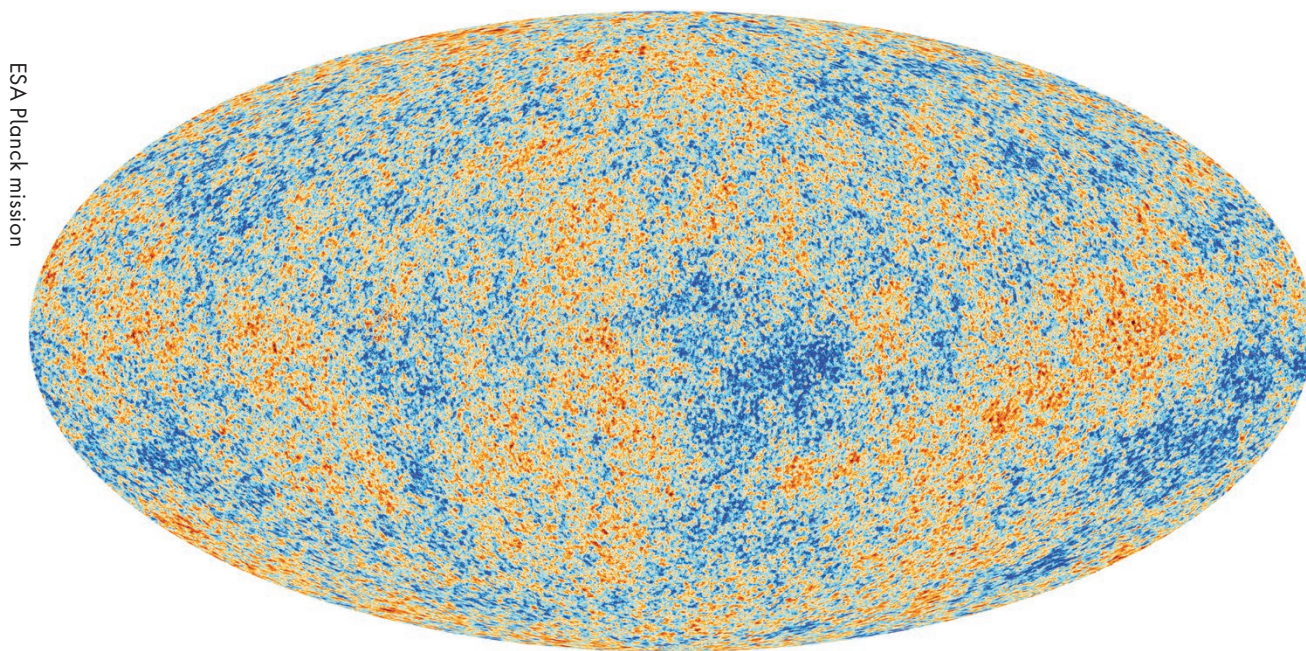
Recombination Time: This is a typically (and, perhaps, unnecessarily) pedantic name for it. The universe has cooled to around 3,100K. Protons and electrons start to combine to form hydrogen atoms.

Hydrogen: is a colourless, odourless, transparent gas. It's that "transparent" that matters. Suddenly light can go anywhere and it does. Some of it treks all the way across the expanding universe to our telescopes.

Cosmic Redshift: has increased the wavelength of the light, which we receive from that time, so very long ago (about 13.8 billion years) that it is microwaves to us. Not the sort you cook with, but the same sort of thing.

The European Space Agency's Planck mission¹ (named after Max Planck, a great German scientist who invented his constant in 1900 and opened the way to Quantum Physics) made the definitive study of this Cosmic Microwave Background Radiation.

This is an all-sky map they published:



ESA Planck mission

In the image, orange is a little hotter. Blue is a little colder. The range is only a few parts in one hundred thousand. Ahead is in the middle; the top is above your head; the bottom below your feet; right and left meet behind your back.

That was the last scattering surface: a surface in time. It is very nearly uniform, but the tiny differences matter. The hotter bits are a little denser and ancestors to superclusters of galaxies. The colder bits will become the voids between and much larger than the superclusters.

What follows is the **Dark Age**. For millions of years the superclusters gradually contracted and it was the Dark Matter that provided most of the gravity to do this. There was about 6 times as much dark matter as real matter. The small amount of real matter could fall, unhindered, through the dark matter to form stars. There were probably relatively few, rather large, unstable and short-lived stars but things rather like small, bright galaxies began to emerge from the gloom.

Dark Matter or, more accurately, its gravity, was the key to providing the cohesion of the galaxies in their:

Groups (say up to ten galaxies)

Clusters (about an hundred groups)

Superclusters (hundreds of clusters)

Superclusters seem to be the upper end of the organisation of matter. They become stable units held together by gravity (largely the gravity of dark matter). So, the expansion is now almost entirely in the voids, between the superclusters. Somewhere around this time, some matter collapsed into black holes, probably these were stellar in mass at first. Later black holes combined. Eventually, this process led to the formation of super-massive black holes of the kind (more than a million solar masses) now found in the centres of galaxies.

¹ esa is the European Space Agency and Planck was Max Planck – a great German scientist, who invented his constant in 1900 and opened the way to Quantum Physics.

Quasars: galaxies also combined or merged. The largest galaxies tended to end up with the largest black holes in their centres. If there was enough spare gas and dust, an accretion disk might form around a black hole. That accretion disk might become so hot that it could outshine the rest of the galaxy. Formation of black holes seems to have been the (only?) thing that dark matter did not have an hand in.

Dark Matter controlled the large scale: the associations of galaxies and the enormous haloes of matter which surround galaxies and groups of galaxies. In some cases, the gas in clusters is superheated and can only be retained because of the enormous extra gravity of the dark matter.

I've talked glibly about dark matter but let's look at the evidence. It used to be called "Missing mass" or "unseen matter", neither of which has quite the ring of "Dark Matter".

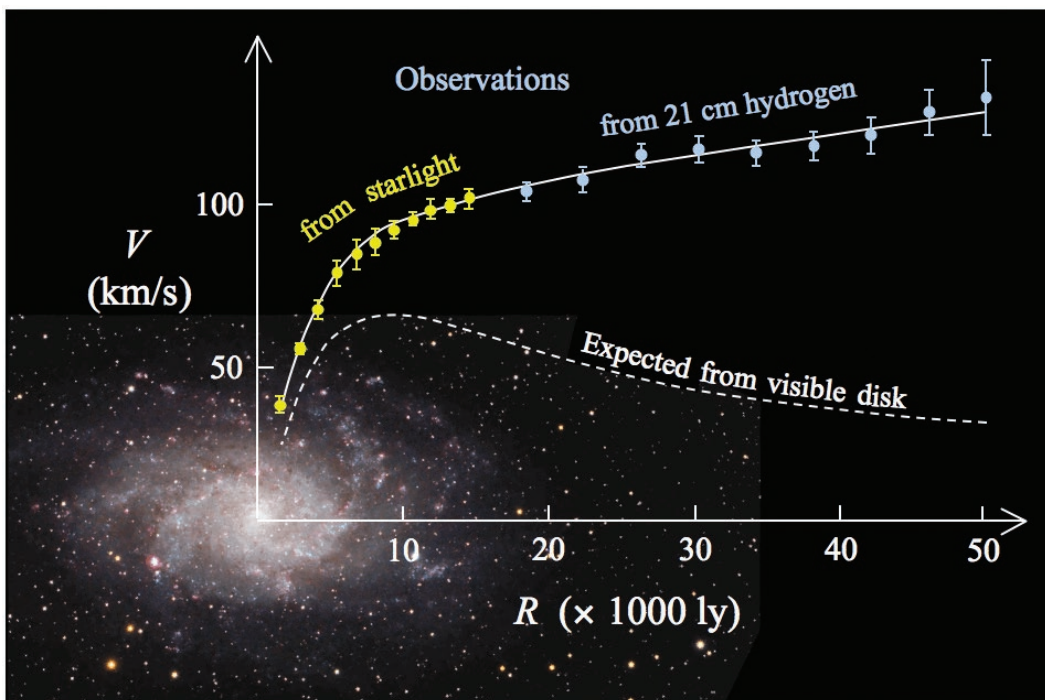
*Wherever you look
What you can see moves too fast
For the gravity of what you can see
To hold on to
What you can see.*

It should all fly apart.

The role of dark matter is to hold galaxies and groups, clusters and superclusters of galaxies together against the high speeds the smaller units display. There is simply is not enough ordinary visible matter to do the job.

There is another 'dark' phenomenon:

Dark Energy: is thought to be the largest element in the shaping of the universe on the largest scale. The simple ballistic expansion from the Big Bang must run out of steam, with gravity, particularly the gravity of dark matter (say six times so much as real matter) retarding the expansion.



By Stefania.deluca

Doppler Spectroscopy: detects differences across the spiral galaxy. Usually, it's a higher redshift on one side than the other because the galaxy as an whole is receding from us, but we can sort out how fast things go round the nucleus.

Rotation Curve: what this shows is that stars orbit the centre at speeds that increase with distance. If, as it appears, most of the matter were concentrated near the centre, the speeds would drop farther out. The obvious conclusion was that unseen matter, less concentrated than the visible matter, provided extra gravity.

It isn't only spiral galaxies. Although it is harder to get the data, elliptical galaxies also show stars moving too fast. Indeed, as Fritz Zwicky noted before World War 2, galaxies in clusters move too fast.

Dark Energy in its most popular guise as Λ – Einstein's "cosmological constant" – acts like a repulsive force unaffected by distance. At great distances, gravity is attenuated (the inverse square law) but Λ is not.

Dark Energy takes over the role at these great distances (e.g. between superclusters) of driving the expansion of the universe, to such an extent that most cosmologists now contend that we live in an universe where the expansion is accelerating. This may sound like a seamless and convincing structure, but there are some difficulties.

The first is that there is no evidence for dark matter. Although dark matter is almost universally accepted as the sculpting force of matter, no actual trace of dark matter itself has ever been found.

It is relatively easy to show that Dark Matter is not the same as real matter. It exerts a gravitational force, but seems to do nothing else:

It does not emit, absorb, reflect or scatter light

It does not interact with ordinary matter

It cannot even be “dark” – it must be highly transparent or it would be silhouetted against, e.g. stars. Dark “dust lanes” are a common feature of spiral galaxies.

Calculations applied to the synthesis of elements in the early universe suggest that the abundances of those elements seen now correspond with those expected if the density of real matter is about what we now see, but the density of the universe as a whole seems to be at about the “critical” level. The best evidence for this also comes from the Planck mission and the density indicated is about 20× that of real matter.

The gap is filled by:

Dark Matter 27%

Dark Energy 68%

So, we know what 5% of the universe is made of but 95% we don't.

It may look odd to lump densities of matter and energy together, but Einstein's famous $E = mc^2$ showed that they are interchangeable.

Λ, if that is what Dark Energy is, has been around in one form another since 1917, when Einstein proposed it to prevent gravity (in his new General Relativistic form) from collapsing the universe.

Fritz Zwicky first proposed “Missing mass” In 1937 and not much progress has been made, except to multiply instances where it is seen to be needed, since then. Dark Energy, then, has slightly the better pedigree.

A Ring of Dark Matter (shown in blue in the picture). Looks good, eh?

In fact, it is an artist's impression of what it would look like, if we could see it.

The real image of heic0709 shows no sign of the invisible dark matter.

Bullet Cluster: This is supposed to be the absolute clincher. The centres of mass of dark matter deduced from gravitational lensing data are different from the centres of mass deduced from the X-ray data (pink) but the lensing data correlates quite well with the visual extents of the two clusters of galaxies

Even in principle, there's no way to test Λ that I know of.

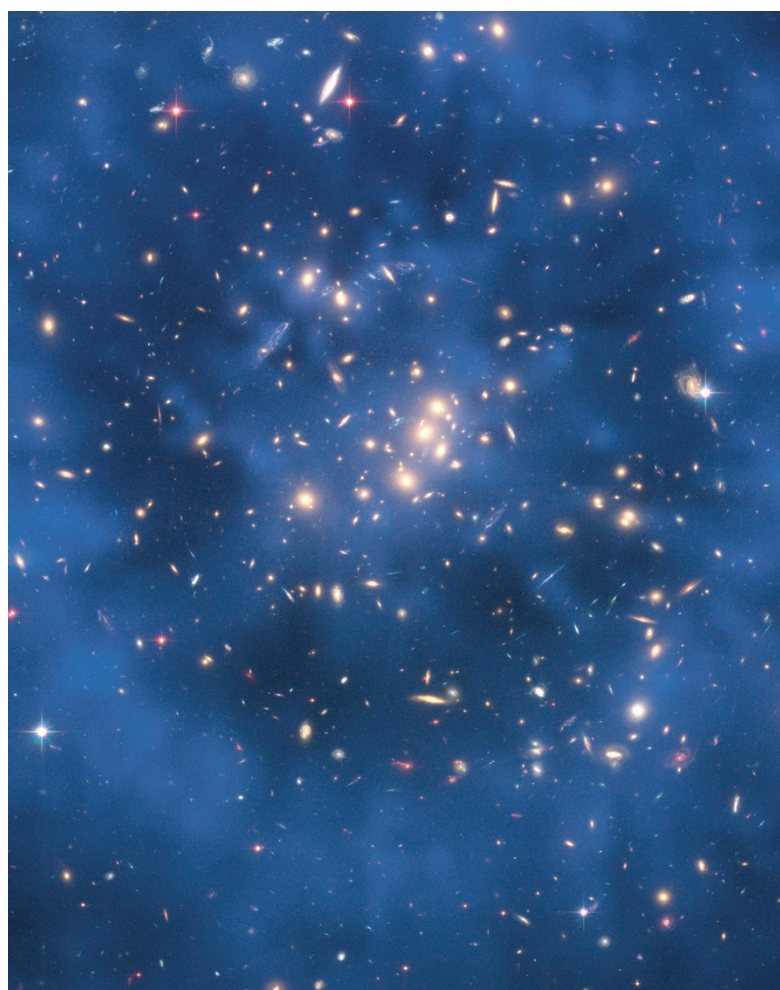
Exotic Dark matter, apart from exerting a gravitational pull, does nothing real matter does. It must be exotic. W.I.M.P.s (Weakly Interacting Massive Particles) have been sought but not found.

No evidence for dark matter has ever been found. More examples of the problem, for which dark matter is the proposed solution, do not count.

There is a point, which I think important, comparing a mass deduced from gravitational lensing with one deduced from star counts, etc. must produce a larger mass from the lensing. It is also significant that the larger the mass investigated, the larger the difference. This suggests to me that a more serious investigation of General Relativity might give an useful insight into the problem of missing mass without invoking an invisible, impalpable matter that actually is nothing like matter.

Recently, a team from the University of Durham, looking for WIMPs in the Boulby Mine in Yorkshire, has secured funding for a fourth round of searches for WIMPs. I think this is the work of a genius (I should love to read the grant application).

In 2012 (Press Release 1217), the European Southern Observatory published the results of a study, which cast doubt on the presence of dark matter in a considerable volume of space around our Sun. Although received with howls of protest, the paper has not been withdrawn or amended so it is worth a look for anyone with an internet connection: <http://www.eso.org/public/newsletters/esonews/html/138/>



1917: The Russian Revolution, Reactions and Impact

Publisher: The Socialist History Society, 2017
110 pages • Price: £6 • ISBN 978-0-9930104-6-0

Book Review by **Tom Rubens**

This is a collection of essays published on the centenary of the Russian Revolution, to commemorate that event: what is seen as its magnitude, significance, and what is regarded as the validity of the thinking which animated those who took part in it or supported it in other countries.

The essays, eight in all, and each by a different author, cover a wide range of subject-matter: – a detailed study of the events of October 1917; the relation between the Revolution and the contemporaneous state of world socialism; the many-sided role of Lenin; the impact of the Revolution in Germany and Italy; the Soviet experiment, which extended into the 1930s; Revolutionary women poets in 1917; and the relation, in this period, between Russian intellectuals and Sigmund Freud's psychoanalytical circle in Vienna. So, while the material is mainly political, it also has a cultural dimension.

The collection's editor, David Morgan, argues that:

The Russian Revolution dramatically re-shaped world politics, striking a major blow against the old European order, overthrowing the huge dynastic empire of the Romanovs and marking the start of a new East-West rivalry that was to reach a crisis in the Second World War and to culminate in decades of Cold War stand-off. ... The revolution changed forever the organisation of the international labour movement. ... No area of social life and no region of the world was left untouched by the political transformation that unfolded in Russia as the Bolsheviks assumed power and sought to create the first workers' state in human history. (p. 2)

These observations and contentions clearly convey the esteem in which the Revolution is still held by people such as the contributors to this book.

However, for the critical reader, at any rate in present-day Western society, at least two thorny questions arise: 1) Has the largely positive view of the Revolution, as expressed in this book, been vindicated in hindsight by the evidence from historical research? 2) Is the kind of thinking which inspired the participants in and supporters of the Revolution still relevant today?

In reply to 1), the key consideration is what happened in the years 1917-24, the period of Lenin's political leadership. As for the long span of Stalin's rule, from 1924-53, few people on the Left now wish to defend this, and for good reason. So, with the focus on 1917-24, the question is: were these years ones of genuine emancipation, betterment and progress for the Russian people as a whole, in terms of the way the government acted toward them? Also, did the government provide an emancipatory model for the rest of mankind? Further, these questions are posed in mindfulness of the internal pressures Russia was for periods under at this time: civil war and foreign invasion.

To these questions, a number of points made in the book, especially in connection with the treatment of women and of

the poor, imply the answer 'Yes.' Nevertheless, the book makes no reference to other points, ones which cast doubt on that 'Yes'. These include the following: a) In 1918, Trotsky, Lenin's right-hand man, established concentration camps, and ones constructed along the lines of those used by the imperialist powers in their colonies. By the end of 1921, 80% of the people held in these camps were peasants and industrial workers (not White Russians or invaders), of whom the regime disapproved. b) In 1918, a failed assassination attempt on Lenin (by a single individual) led to hundreds of executions in reprisal. c) In the years 1917-23, the regime executed 200,000 people. Also, by 1921, the Department of Police had over 250,000 members. These figures contrast starkly with the facts that, under Tzarism, the 50-year period from 1866-1917 saw the execution of 14,000; and that, in 1916, the Department of Police had no more than 16,000 members. These statistics are of course being presented *not* as any defence of Tzarism, but as a way of challenging the argument that the ascendancy of Lenin represented an absolutely liberatory 'leap forward' for the Russian people as a whole.

Let us now go to question 2). For most of the book, the model of sociological thinking recurrently expressed or endorsed is the procrustean Marxist one that the two most significant groups in modern society are: the 'bourgeoisie' – the owners of industrial capital – and the 'proletariat' – those who work as wage-labourers for the owners of capital. The latter, according to this view, is, *en masse*, the historically progressive group, while the former, again *en masse*, is the historically regressive one.

Now, quite apart from the question of how adequate or inadequate this model was for describing Western society in Marx's own day, it will be clear to the contemporary reader that the model is wholly inadequate as a description of current society. The enormous variety in range of occupations, both within and far beyond the sphere of material production; and in personal skills, educational attainments and cultural orientations – all these things now make the 'bourgeoisie – proletariat' polar distinction a narrow concept. It is not without content, no, but that content is far smaller than procrustean Marxism deems it to be.

The foregoing is not to say that Western society is one where full equality of opportunity and maximal social justice obtain. Nor is it to say that there are no economically dominant groups, capitalist in character. But it *is* to say that attempts to tackle these undeniable and major problems need to be undertaken in a spirit which recognises the actual complexity of Western society and culture. Cognition of this complexity has the effect of marginalising the crude sociological categorisations which vitiate procrustean Marxism. Those categorisations, if rigidly held to, will in fact impede development of the broadly-based and multi-faceted kind of social and political action which alone can produce fundamental reform and progress.



THINKING ON SUNDAY

Start at **15.00** unless specified otherwise.

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|---------------|--|
| Apr 08 | Hired – Six Months Undercover in Low-Wage Britain <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>James Bloodworth</i> |
| Apr 22 | The Hollowayettes – Suffragettes in Holloway Prison <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Caitlin Davies</i> |
| May 13 | Save Democracy – Abolish Voting <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Paul Evans</i> |
| May 20 | Why the World needs a Vagina Museum <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Florence Schechter</i> |
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TALKS, DEBATES & LECTURES

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| Apr 23 | Out-of-the-Box Thinking: What is Secondary Education for? <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Sir Anthony Seldon + Melissa Benn</i> |
| Apr 27 | Conway Hall Book Club <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Julia and the Bazooka by Anna Kavanor</i> |
| Apr 28 | An Atheist in Nigeria's Boko Haram zone <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>(an evening with) Raymond Ijabla</i> |
| May 21 | Conway Hall Book Club
<i>(see website for book title and author/translator)</i> |
| Jun 11 | Other Minds: The Octopus and the evolution of intelligent life <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Professor Peter Godfrey-Smith</i> |
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COURSES

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|--------------------|---|
| From Apr 12 | No Gods No Masters (8 weeks) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>David Rosenberg</i> |
| From May 23 | Women and Humanist Photography (4 weeks) <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>Grace Gelder</i> |
| Jun 23 | Sufrage City <ul style="list-style-type: none">• <i>David Rosenberg</i> |
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Events subject to alteration • See conwayhall.org.uk for the latest information

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SUNDAY CONCERTS

Start at **18.30** unless specified otherwise.

Apr 8 **Louise Kemény & Friends**
• Schubert / Brahms / Joseph Marx / Zemlinsky

Apr 15 **Linus Piano Trio**
• Debussy / Beethoven / CPE Bach / Ravel

Apr 22 **Benyounes Quartet**
• Haydn / Bartók / Beethoven

Apr 29 **Accio Trio**
• Haydn / Beethoven / Smetana / Shostakovich

May 6 **Simon Callaghan & Friends**
• Schubert

May 13 **Atéa Wind Quintet & Ausiàs Garrigós Morant**
• Britten / Gernot Wolfgang / Mozart / Ravel / Bruno / Belthoise / Bozza / Mladin

May 20 **Zoffany Ensemble**
• Schubert / Brahms

May 27
5.30pm **Nicolas Southon + pre-concert talk**

May 27 **Gémeaux Quartet & Oliver Wass**
• Debussy / Caplet / Debussy / Ravel

Jun 3 **London Mozart Players Chamber Ensemble & Simon Callaghan**
• Mozart / Beethoven / Bottesini / Haydn

Jun 10 **Avant-guarding Mompou + special event**

For more information & tickets, visit: conwayhall.org.uk