

Ethical Record

April-May-June 2020
Vol 125 • No 2

The Proceedings of the
CONWAY HALL Ethical Society



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EDITORIAL

Research Residency at Conway Hall Library

Dr Sophia Kosmaoglou

As higher education gears up for two more weeks of strikes about pensions, casualisation, workload and pay levels, and independent unions continue their campaigns on wages, outsourcing and zero hours contracts, the extent of the reforms that the 2010 student protests and occupations were fighting becomes all too clear.

The rise in tuition fees was just the start in a coordinated plan to reconfigure higher education for the market; lecturers on permanent contracts were given voluntary redundancy, a new generation of teaching staff was employed on fixed term contracts with twice the workload, staff were outsourced to private companies on zero hours contracts and stripped of their rights, maintenance grants and bursaries were scrapped, a new ranking system linked course value to employability and student debt. Managers were employed to oversee this transition and institute an auditing culture, close down departments, cut courses and commission new buildings. Finally, marketers were employed to promote all this on the strength of university brands and luxury halls of residence.

Purged of critique, dissent and scepticism universities are being hollowed out and divested. With underfunded courses and workshops, aging facilities, ever-shrinking contact time and bleak prospects in the job market, art education in particular has been under attack for decades. It is no surprise that teachers and students are abandoning academia in search for alternatives.

Fuelled by the crisis in higher education, a diverse landscape of alternative art schools has emerged and burgeoned into a movement since 2010. A multitude of diverse, experimental and flexible organisations address the crisis in art education by offering free or affordable art education. Unfettered by rigid ties to funding, policy and industry these schools develop new curricula and models of organisation, addressing the unique needs and learning styles of individual learners to create subtle but significant shifts in art education. Yet apart from notable exceptions like AltMFA, The Other MA and Open School East, most alternative art schools are short-lived because

they rely precariously on volunteer labour.

The focus of my art practice over the last five years has been the search for a sustainable alternative. The Artuquest Research Residency at Conway Hall Humanist Library has given me the opportunity to consolidate, extend and amplify my research on alternative art education, radical pedagogy and self-organisation.

A Co-operative Art School?

Under the general title 'A co-operative art school?', the project is composed of archival research at Conway Hall Library, interviews with co-operatives and alternative art schools and participatory action research to crowdsource a strategy for a co-operative art school with a survey, workshops, a festival and exhibition and publications. It is an extended call for collaborators committed to establishing an alternative model to the capitalist university.

By circumventing both the profit-driven private sector and the policy-driven public sector, a co-operative art school would provide a democratic form of education, subject to collective decision-making. It would reconfigure our understanding of education as a public good not through redistribution but as common ownership, and our concept of knowledge not as a product but as a social process. By considering diverse forms of structural organisation and income generation, a co-operative art school could build a sustainable commons-based economy, providing access to shared resources, expertise and training.

Through its horizontal structure a co-operative art school would start from the principles of equality and self-determination to create ethical working conditions. It would create alternatives to competitive and individualist study and work environments, to encourage trust, long-term commitment and foster collectivity, mutual aid and solidarity in a supportive community of peers, combating anxiety and isolation.

A co-operative art school would be more than an education institution, it would reconfigure art, education and work into a way of life.

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Please see the *Ethical Record* section of conwayhall.org.uk for regularly updated content, additional articles and also take a look at the online archive, where every issue published since 1895 is available in digital form.

The views expressed in this journal are not necessarily those of the Society.
Cover photo by Tom Roberts on Unsplash. Registered Charity No. 1156033
Founded in 1793, the Society is a progressive movement whose Charitable Objects are: the advancement of study, research and education in humanist ethical principles.

Conway Hall Library & Archives

Nothing could have prepared me for the treasures in the Conway Hall Library archives and the intense period of discovery and learning during my residency. I wanted to find out how social change happens, how it emerges through human relationships, how ideas circulate and spread, how opinions change and how collective decisions are made to turn those ideas into action. The history of Conway Hall and South Place is in many ways a microcosm of the ethical evolution in western society over the last two centuries. An intense melting pot of ideas, stimulated by dissent, scepticism and freethought. Although I'm fascinated in the leading figures of South Place, the evolution of their thought, their vision and influence, my interest lies in the Society itself; the collective that embodied this evolutionary process. The most valuable insight from my research is that change is imperceptible, it does not happen all at once. Ideas need

fertile ground to take root, environmental factors are decisive and change produces more change, it emerges from ideas that make other changes possible. The history of Conway Hall gives me encouragement and teaches me patience because change is incremental and indirect.

The [Festival of Alternative Art Education 2020](#) will take place on 21 March 2020 at Conway Hall, bringing together alternative art schools, peer-support groups with stalls, workshops, discussions, screenings, tours, installations, performances, the exhibition [The Secret Is Out](#): on the theme of cooperation and the launch of [URgh! Zine](#) on self-organised, DIY, peer-led art schools and collectives.

Dr Sophia Kosmaoglou is an artist, tutor, curator and researcher. Her work addresses the construction of identity through relationships. Her current practice blurs the boundaries between art, education and activism to question the ontology of art, its social functions and institutional contexts and to experiment with collective economies and learning environments.



Humanist library & archives

10AM–5PM TUESDAY–THURSDAY

Conway Hall Humanist Library & Archives is home to a unique collection of published and archival sources on humanism and its related subjects.

We are open for members, researchers and the general public.

Our collections include printed materials such as books, pamphlets and journals as well as archival material of unpublished institutional and personal records and papers, such as manuscripts, letters and photographs.

For your time and convenience it is advisable to contact the library before your visit so we can ensure the material you seek is available.

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THINKING ON SUNDAY LECTURE, 24 November 2019

The Theory and Practice of Anarchism

Professor Ruth Kinna

Anarchism routinely attracts a bad press. The actions of a handful of ‘propagandists of the deed’ shaped popular perceptions in the nineteenth century. Tales of these bombers and assassins were not just the stuff of cheap literature, they styled Joseph Conrad’s depictions of anarchists too. Conrad’s stories of intrigue and espionage may now be considered relics of Victorian culture, but when the Twin Towers were destroyed in Manhattan interest in anarchism soared; a slew of commentaries purporting to show the anarchist origins of Al-Qaeda violence followed. Less dramatic, but equally telling, was the ‘accusation’ recently put to members of Extinction Rebellion, that the movement was a front for anarchist activism.

What is Anarchism?

Emergence of a Movement

Anarchism emerged as a distinctive current in European socialism in the 1870s when a dispute between Michael Bakunin, a veteran of the 1848 revolutions, and Karl Marx, the eventual figurehead of international socialism, came to a head in the International Workingmen’s Association (First International). The intellectual origins of their argument could be traced to an earlier dispute between Marx and P-J Proudhon, author of *What is Property?* (1840) who coined the immoral phrase: ‘property is theft’. But the immediate cause of the rupture was Bakunin’s rejection of Marx’s proposal for the organisation of socialist parties. The scheme was still a twinkle in Marx’s eye, but Bakunin argued that it paved the way to the instigation of socialism through the capture of state power. The idea of taking power to end class rule was plain daft, Bakunin thought: more likely to result in corruption than transformation. And even if socialist representatives managed to resist the seductions

of power, he thought Marx’s plan was wrongheaded because the state was not merely an instrument of class rule. It was a system of domination which necessarily divided rulers from ruled. The achievement of classlessness would leave this hierarchy intact. There would be an equality of sorts, but authority would remain.

“The boundaries between socialists remained quite fluid for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century but two events – the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Haymarket Trial of 1887 – became focal points for anarchist organising, sparking the creation of a global network of libertarian socialist movements.”

Calling themselves ‘anti-authoritarians’, the Bakuninists branded Marx and his followers ‘authoritarian’ socialists. By the end of the decade, the labels had changed. Anti-authoritarians became anarchists and Marxists organised as ‘social democrats’. This label stuck until Lenin re-branded social democrats ‘reformists’ and styled revolutionary socialism as ‘communism’.

The boundaries between socialists remained quite fluid for most of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century but two events – the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Haymarket Trial of 1887 – became focal points for anarchist organising, sparking the creation of a global network of libertarian socialist movements. These two events also generated a public profile of the anarchist as outlaw and radicalised scores of activists designated by it. The Commune was established at the end of the

(MAI 1871)



La barricade de la place Blanche défendue par des Femmes.

PARIS ET SES RUINES.



PALAIS DES TUILERIES

Incendie du 24 Mai 1871. ...Vue prise du côté du Jardin.

Franco-Prussian war in response to the demand made by the newly declared national government to surrender the city's guns. Refusing, Parisian workers pursued a counter-demand for self-government, holding out against the authorities for two months. The resistance ended in a bloodbath, the largest European massacre of the nineteenth century. Twenty-thousand Communards are thought to have been executed and hundreds more imprisoned or deported. They were not all anarchists, but the demonisation of Communards as revolutionaries who struggled for self-rule chimed with anti-authoritarian politics.

The Haymarket Affair was a wholly anarchist event. Following the shooting of strikers involved in a campaign for the 8-hour day in May 1886, anarchists in Chicago organised a rally in the city's Haymarket Square. The detonation of a bomb and the gunfire which followed in the panic left seven police officers dead. Police assumed that anarchists were responsible and eight high-profile activists were charged with conspiracy. There was no strong evidence to convict any of them and the irregularities of the trial were acknowledged in 1893 when the sentences were quashed. But this decision came too late for five of the defendants, four of whom had been hanged and one who had committed suicide while awaiting execution. Moreover, by this time, the Red Scare that Haymarket had ignited had also accelerated the creation of a libertarian socialist movement which characterised all government – liberal or autocratic – as tyranny.

“The resistance ended in a bloodbath, the largest European massacre of the nineteenth century. Twenty-thousand Communards are thought to have been executed and hundreds more imprisoned or deported.”

Against Domination

Anarchists are sometimes criticised for refusing to acknowledge the benefits of liberal government. This is inaccurate. Anarchists typically admit that there are significant differences between democratic and authoritarian regimes and that it is possible to distinguish between forms of government. Their argument is that government entails domination, that is, the defence of power inequalities, and that this shapes social relationships. For Proudhon the defence of private property, enshrined in republican and liberal constitutions, was the most pernicious form of power inequality. It re-enshrined the principle of ‘property to waste’. Dostoevsky’s graphic description of Mikolka, the drunken peasant in *Crime and Punishment* who repeatedly avows his right of ownership to defend the brutal

slaying of his horse, captured the tenor of Proudhon’s critique. In property-regimes, owners could endlessly extend their estates and just leave them to rot. Their right also bred a dependency relationship: the well-being of the property-less rested on their whims. The unfairness of the arrangement was highlighted by the legal enforcement of the state’s monopoly of violence. Workers were designated free agents. They were not subject to their masters’ commands. In fact, they were free to sign contracts and workers and employers alike could expect punishment if either broke the terms of their agreements. But the owners always had the upper hand in this relationship. They could deny workers’ access to their property. They could reduce wages to bare subsistence and call out the police if workers went on strike.

Anarchists described the situation of the property-less to chattel slavery. Lucy Parsons, a black anarchist who had been born a slave, argued that the American Civil War had been fought in vain: slavery had not been abolished it had merely been transformed. In theory, she was now a free woman, yet she was still dependant on the good-will of an employer-master for her survival. Tens of thousands of homeless, starving workers were in the same position.

Anarchists identified similar relationships of dependency in the domestic sphere. Women were dominated by men just as workers were dominated by employers, though the effects were felt differently: rape in marriage, denial of rights over children, limited access to education and routine disbarment from participation in public life. And in international relations, too, European states dominated non-European people in the most brutal manner, by turns treating the indigenous population as children and non-human animals. Either way, ‘civilisation’ was said to depend on the enlightened masters’ rule.

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The violence of the Commune and in Haymarket convinced anarchists that the social transformations

Death Machines: Artificial Intelligence and the Ethics of Autonomous Weapons

Dr Elke Schwarz

In 1956, the same year as the term ‘Artificial Intelligence’ was coined, the philosopher Günther Anders tells the story of General Douglas MacArthur, who was relieved of his duties as United Nations commander in the Korean War on account of his hawkish approach. MacArthur’s decision-making capacities were superseded not by a different General or team of individuals, but rather by the latest military technology – a so-called ‘Electric Brain’ that used mechanical calculations to identify the best course of strategic action.

In recounting the anecdote, Anders expresses strong reservations about the use of such a machine for military purposes, arguing that the delegation of morally significant decisions to computer technology represented a clear abdication of human responsibility (Anders, 2010, p. 60-61). Efficiency, speed, and apparent objectivity are not what make decisions moral, and our excitement about new technologies may actually lead us to lose sight of this. Although Anders was responding to a much earlier wave of technological innovation, his concerns resonate with current debates on AI-enabled autonomous weapons systems.

Autonomy in military weapons systems has made steady progress over the past five years. A number of countries around the globe – including the US, the UK, China, and Russia – already possess or are developing military systems that exhibit certain levels of intelligent autonomy, and AI is presently being used across a range of military applications, including cyber defence, logistics, medical aid, and missile defence. But above all, it is the potential use of AI to create lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS) that is raising alarm bells. While spending on military AI soars, bringing us closer to the point where new technologies are able to select and attack targets without any human involvement, oversight and regulation continue to lag behind. This has become a concern for critics and the public alike. In 2013, a consortium of NGOs founded the Campaign Against Killer Robots, with the purpose of advocating for a global ban on the development and use of autonomous

intelligent systems with lethal capacities. To date, 29 countries have agreed to support a global ban.

The term ‘Killer Robots’ invokes images of laser-eyed Terminators or dystopian drone swarms. The present-day reality of LAWS is much less glamorous, but potentially no less terrifying. Crucial here is how the AI-enabled autonomous weapons system is always a system, composed of software processes and hardware delivery platforms. Take the drone, for example. In April 2017, the US Department of Defence (DoD) established the Algorithmic Warfare Cross-Functional Team (AWCFT) to “accelerate DoD’s integration of big data and machine learning”. The AWCFT, also known as Project Maven, is the DoD’s pathfinder AI initiative and explicitly aims to make the vast amounts of data collected by drones intelligible for speedy action. In concrete terms, this means the AI evaluates video footage, captured by drones, against the context of a mapped environment, and provides information about what could or should be identified as a threat and, potentially, acted on. Until 2018, Google was contracted to provide AI expertise for Project Maven. The technology giant decided not to renew the contract with the DoD after a number of Google employees walked out in a very public protest over being involved in the development of potentially lethal autonomous systems. At present, Project Maven is not intended to act without human supervision, and certainly not for kill decisions, but it is not a particular stretch of the imagination to foresee how systems like these might one day be used without relevant human oversight, absent a strict regulatory framework or ban. It is also not difficult to imagine how greater proliferation of such systems might end up supplying rogue actors with these capacities. The recent increase in drone use by militant groups should serve as a cautionary tale.

Advocates of intelligent autonomy stress that it would offer substantial benefits, lowering the cost of combat and providing advantages in speed and efficiency over adversaries. The moral case for LAWS often includes the argument that superior targeting will result not only in fewer deaths of military personnel, but also fewer civilian casualties and less friendly fire. We are also told that

promised by eighteenth-century revolutionaries in Britain, America and France had failed to materialise. The new constitutional regimes that had been designed to replace autocracy had merely institutionalised new forms of oppression. Anarchists admitted that it was possible to imagine remedial change within these regimes – more liberal labour law and the feminisation of family law, for example. But they concluded that the attempt to legislate for equality would only result in the conservation of prevailing norms, encouraging permanent struggles for supremacy. Anarchy was the only solution.

Anarchists, Socialists and Libertarians

Anarchists defined themselves as anti-capitalist libertarian socialists. While they agreed with Marxists that the abolition of class advantage was a key condition for emancipation, Proudhon’s critique of property highlighted the folly of replacing private ownership with state ownership. All the instruments of repression would remain, now deployed to impose the party’s view of the general good on the proletariat. Anarchist socialism demanded that all the institutions of the state – parliament, judiciary, police, military – be abandoned along with the exclusive right to property. For most anarchists, this meant re-grounding decision making in local associations on the model of the Paris Commune, and building solidarity by federation ‘from the bottom up’ on the basis of economic equality.

By the 1880s probably most anarchists identified as communists and called for all property to be held in common to prevent anyone from claiming ownership in perpetuity. Others advocated for property in use (as Proudhon had called it). Their proposal was to give individuals access rights to small plots of land, tools and to whatever they produced, facilitating exchange with others. Property would be held as a temporary possession not a permanent asset. Communists worried that this scheme still posed problems of accumulation and that it assumed a culture of competition, too. Some producers would be more efficient than others or have better raw materials or tools and would be able to enrich themselves. This would give them an incentive to protect their advantages and resurrect state systems to do so.

From the individualist perspective, communism smacked of repressive conformity. Individuals, they

feared, would be obliged to respect communal practices. Communists responded by arguing that their arrangements were based on ‘free agreement’. This meant that decisions would be made directly by members of associations according to flexible rules that could be adjusted to protect against domination. In other words, communists recognised that some were more powerful than others but believed that, in the absence of institutionalised authority, that unequal powers cancelled each other out. In anarchy, no-one was able permanently to impose their will on anybody else and everyone was restricted by the principle of non-domination.

How has the disagreement been resolved? In practice, anarchists have adopted mixed methods. In the Spanish revolution (1936-39) agricultural collectives often treated town’s land and machinery as common while allowing individuals to keep some property for themselves.

Anarchism Re-evaluated

Between 1881 and 1914, anarchists were responsible for some conspicuous killings. Russian, French, Italian, Spanish and US heads of state were assassinated by anarchists. But the reason that anarchism attracts a bad press is not because a handful of activists got caught up in a cycle of violence, adopting tactics that had been perfected by republicans to answer state repression. Anarchist violence was rarely associated with the rejection of tyranny in polite society, though some liberals quietly suggested that Czar Alexander II had probably brought his assassination on himself. The overwhelming view was that the violence that anarchists committed symbolised a general refusal to be bound by social norms. Anarchy was, and still is imagined as the worst kind of disorder: the abandonment of law, indeed of all rules. Anarchists argue differently. Rules are part of social life. The imposition of law to defend minority interests, stifle change and determine the content of morality is the problem. For military-industrial elites, as C. Wright Mills called them, the abandonment of law threatens chaos. For anarchists it promises the prospect of self-rule, replacing government’s trust in ‘the people’ with genuine confidence that people can organise their own affairs by co-operating with others.

Professor Ruth Kinna is Lecturer in Politics at Loughborough University, UK. She is the co-editor of the journal *Anarchist Studies* and the author of *The Beginner’s Guide to Anarchism* (Oneworld, 2005/2009) and *Kropotkin: Reviewing the Classical Anarchist Tradition* (University of Edinburgh, 2016). Her research focuses on socialism and anarchism in 19th century Britain.





Photomontage using *Predator B Drone* landing at Mathis Field in San Angelo (Photo: Jonathan Cutrer, Flickr); bit.ly/PredatorBDrone

autonomous intelligent systems take the erratic, unpredictable human element out of the equation: machines don't suffer from emotional instability, and are therefore able to make more clear-headed decisions in the fog of war. Whether such visions are justified in practical terms is highly contested and opponents raise a number of objections to casting technologies of violence in humane terms. At the heart of the issue is a moral question of the highest order: is it ethically defensible to have autonomous robots kill human beings without any human interference or even oversight? Should we allow robots to kill? For those working towards a ban of LAWS, the answer is a clear no. Such action would breach international humanitarian law and violate human dignity, not least because it would be exceptionally difficult to establish accountability and responsibility for errors, accidents, or otherwise unforeseen actions that might harm other humans. Who, in the end, would be held to account? The software designer? The commander? The operator? The autonomous intelligent system itself?

For many, the key to preventing such a dystopian scenario is to ensure that for any AI system, there is always a human in or on the loop to prevent any catastrophic event from occurring. The term used in the debates is 'meaningful human control'. Meaningful human control is an important concept and certainly a step forward in providing a legal basis for regulating LAWS. But even if meaningful human control is established as the ground rule for autonomous intelligent systems with lethal capacities, the question is what can this possibility mean in the uncertain, messy reality of warfare, where the operator is caught in a technological web of digital interfaces and processes.

Operating an AI-enabled system is not a simple case of command and control. Because such systems entail a number of technological elements, the operator becomes part of the system, and in particular is reliant on information flows produced through AI data analysis. This has important implications. If an AI builds a world model based on available data, it is likely to be much more successful in closed systems where parameters can easily be

grasped as data. In the context of warfare, where parameters are likely to be less fixed, more fluid and dynamic, the AI system may suggest a course of action based on an epistemic foundation that may be biased, incomplete, or otherwise not fully appropriate to the situation. This will become more complex and less intelligible to the human mind as techniques in machine learning advance. The ability to retain control becomes an even less realistic prospect when we consider that the main allure of autonomous systems is speed and efficiency.

All these points prioritise a conception of war not as a social and political problem, but as an engineering

problem. This includes thinking about ethical dimensions to the use of force in scientific-mathematical terms. At present, there are a number of well-funded initiatives that seek to unlock the secret to making 'moral machines', which would offer an in-built ethical code that ensures that the system could only be used in morally-sound ways. The methodologies associated with this agenda vary, from statistical opinion polls to more complex design proposals, but each assumes that it is possible to find a way to engineer ethics into a machine. This is misunderstanding ethics at a most fundamental level.

Making ethical decisions is difficult and should not be sacrificed to the allure of technological progress, speed, and efficiency. Ethics is context dependent and relational. Ethics asks us to make choices that often have no clear solution but instead require that we take responsibility. This is deeply uncomfortable to many and counter to the binary logic of computational systems, but a zone of moral discomfort is essential if we are to prevent technological violence from becoming our primary mode of addressing conflict.

Digital technologies, and especially those within which the human is intricately embedded, are seldom just a tool that we employ at will. Rather, they carry a social power. They have the capacity to subtly shape our frames of reference for decision making. In so doing, they exert a powerful – and often invisible – influence over our modes of governance, our security practices, our justifications for violence, and our understanding of ethics as such. As warfare becomes increasingly systematic, through digital networks and algorithmic architectures, we must remember that these architectures might affect our thoughts and behaviour in important ways, eroding long-held humanistic values and reducing our capacity to engage properly in ethical deliberation.

Norbert Wiener, father of cybernetics, was attentive to this problem. In 1960, he wrote: "If we use, to achieve our purpose a mechanical agency with whose operation we cannot efficiently interfere once we have started it, because the action is so fast and irrevocable that we have not the data to intervene before the action is complete, then we had better be quite sure that the purpose put into the machine is the purpose which we really desire and not merely a colourful imitation of it" (Wiener, 1960, p. 87). Technology may have advanced since his days, but the concerns remain the same.



Dr Elke Schwarz is Lecturer in Political Theory at Queen Mary University London. Her research focuses on the intersection of ethics of war and ethics of technology with an emphasis on the ethics of unmanned and autonomous / intelligent military technologies. She is the author of *Death Machines: The Ethics of Violent Technologies* (Manchester University Press).



In Response

Laura Knight and Adam Ramejkis

It's often difficult to pinpoint exactly when something starts, or at what point an idea has enough form to be recognised as a project. *In Response* is such a project.

The 'In Response' exhibition, which features 22 visual essays from students on the Graduate Diploma Graphic Design course at Chelsea College of Arts, opened on 30th January in Conway Hall Library and will be on display until 31st March 2020. Each essay is a personal critical response to the issues and ideas of different Victorian pamphlets held in Conway Hall's library collection. Individually, the essays cover issues such as feminism, racism, disability, futurism, vegetarianism and speculation, each representing a visual conversation between the present and the past. As a collection, they represent collaboration *in response* to many different challenges and opportunities.

We had collaborated on the Graduate Diploma in the previous academic year. The course is fairly unique in the way that it brings students from multiple disciplinary and cultural backgrounds together to study Graphic Design, often for the first time. It's an interesting opportunity to push at the edges of what Graphic Design is and could be, and to embrace the value of different perspectives.

Graphic Design is often defined and understood as working *in response* to commercial needs. What graphic designers do is invariably understood by what they produce and these objects and artefacts are often created *in response* to the needs of clients. This is an understanding we constantly seek to challenge in our students, particularly at postgraduate level - to engage with ideas and thinking beyond the abstract references of the traditional art and design canon and beyond the category of 'commercial'.

Adam had worked with the Graduate Diploma course previously in his role as an Intercultural Communication Trainer. Many of these sessions had provided specific time and space to consider the value of difference in cultural perspectives and different approaches to critical thinking. It is an unfortunate reality that UK Higher Education is often uncritical in the way it defines such

ideas. Students can find themselves stranded in the gap between their own cultural understandings and the institution's opaque definitions. The way that critical thinking is addressed can often make students feel that some ways of thinking and knowing are more valid than others. Students from the last academic year had been vocal about how much they valued the space the course made to explore these ideas and how it had helped them to find their own voice. *In response* to changes in the design of the course, we recognised the opportunity for these approaches and ideas to become more embedded. This is where the idea for a co-designed and co-delivered project came into being.

After further discussion, we realised that this project would enable us to work more closely with Siobhan Britton, Graphic Design Subject Librarian at Chelsea. Siobhan collaborated with us on a number of the workshops and in weekly tutorials on the project, bringing her knowledge of libraries and collections but also her experience as a zine-maker and illustrator. Her contribution and expertise was invaluable to the process.

The project also built on an existing collaboration between Adam and Conway Hall, which started back in 2016. After discovering the library and engaging in discussions with Sophie Hawkey Edwards (Library and Learning Manager at the time), I recognised the potential of exploring the curatedness of libraries and archives to question systems of knowledge. *In response*, he developed facilitated discussions and series of workshops and events around thinking and language, in relation to the multitude of ideas and ideals represented in the library collection and championed by Conway Hall Ethical Society.

At the end of 2017, Conway Hall received support from the Heritage Lottery Fund to run Victorian Blogging - a project that aimed to explore the parallels between the format and purpose of 19th Century pamphlets and 21st Century blogs (and zines). In order to make the collection more accessible, Conway Hall began to digitise their archive of 19th Century pamphlets. Adam was invited to assist Sophie and Alicia Chilcott (then Digitisation Coordinator) in designing and delivering learning activities, and in cataloguing the digitised pamphlets.



Photos: Anita Strasser; Jeff Davy.

These insubstantial, fragile pamphlets represent an aesthetic treasure trove of Victorian ephemera for typographically-minded Graphic Design students. However, and perhaps more substantially, they also provide a record of the enlightened individuals, organisations and movements of nineteenth century Britain, the political and social causes they championed and the ideals they held. In digitising this content, Conway Hall provided a new and very accessible way for our students to engage with and respond to it.

Through a series of workshops, we invited the students to draw out some of these historical narratives and consider their relevance, at this moment in time, to them personally. The workshops took place at Conway Hall. In this way, the students' work was *in response* not just to the collection but to the realities of the library space. Our first workshop, Creative Library Research, explored the idea of serendipity in the context of the Conway Hall collection. Many of our students later confessed that they didn't use libraries but preferred to look for content online. They also commented that it had never occurred to them that they would find anything of value to them as designers outside of an art and design library. One student later reflected on the value of "accepting unusual knowledge as a designer", highlighting what a different experience it was to find themselves in this space.

We also asked them to explore the library and try to decipher what the library was and what its motivations might be. We invited them to consider libraries as curated spaces, representing particular types of knowledge and bias. We challenged them to consider what the value of collections like these might be to a graphic designer. One student wrote the following in response to the workshop:

"There is a well-established canon in Graphic Design, meaning that practitioners have been relying on the same literature, same biases, and the same people in the past. The consequence of such behaviour is that graphic design risks becoming repetitive and that it keeps reflecting ideas and styles that are no longer relevant nor accurate. Hence expanding our research resources from Graphic Design books to humanistic literature, which critically reflects societal processes and issues, can only add value to our work."

We followed up this workshop with a zine-ing workshop. Each student chose a synopsis of a Victorian pamphlet and produced a zine in response. The approach in this workshop was familiar to our students as throughout the course we constantly encourage them to respond visually - to make their thoughts visible. We adopt this approach in



Photo: Cheng Meng

response to the shadow of the 'big idea' in Graphic Design education. There's still a sense among the students that an idea is something that you must wait for, that design cannot happen before the idea. In asking them to respond visually, instinctually, we promote the idea that making is a form of thinking, and that some ideas only reveal themselves through the process of creating.

The constraints of the workshop produced some interesting results that allowed students to consider their own initial responses to the issues and ideas of the pamphlets. Students had the following comments *in response* to the workshop:

"It is a completely different approach to creating something. It is almost like the brain goes into 'survival mode', and it is in that mode when we start using and discovering skills and ideas that we did not know we had."

"This is definitely a skill that I want to adopt in future projects as I think it is a very efficient and successful way of expressing ideas and visualising initial thoughts."

Over the following weeks, each of the students developed their ideas into a visual essay. This was an interesting format for them to work with. Visual essays differ from conventional essays in that they use sequences of images to communicate a critical position rather than words. Students were asked to produce a publication *in response* to their pamphlet using 10-12 images and up to 500 words. The results were beautiful and surprising. The essays were as varied as the students in terms of format, approach and ideas, even in response to the same pamphlet. Responses to *The Man From the Moon*, for example, ranged from a paper wallet of 'moon money' to a risograph-printed visual poem.

For the exhibition, the essays were classified using the Dewey system and placed back into the Conway Hall collection in their relevant sections. Yellow shelf cards were the only clue as to their location. This contextualisation was a specific choice *in response* to the all-too-often de-contextualisation of objects in Graphic Design exhibitions. Graphic Design is never without context. This approach at first confused visitors to the

Give Peace a Chance: Conway Hall and the Peace Movement

Olwen Terris



Photos: Anita Strasser

exhibition. After wandering around for 10 minutes one visitor then shyly asked where the work was, and was subsequently delighted when they realised that they needed to look through the shelves and the other books in the collection to find the work. Essays were viewed in the context of other books dealing with the same topic, allowing visitors to experience the often curious range of titles and subjects that the Conway Hall Library collection deals with.

On the opening night, people were free to peruse and spend time with the collection. People would often cluster in sections where multiple students had responded to the same pamphlet. For example, five students had produced essays *in response* to *The Fruits of Philosophy* by Charles Knowton.

For many students, the opening night was the end of the process - an opportunity to come together and celebrate the achievements of the term. However, there

are some interesting ways that the theme of *In Response* continues. Students from the BA Graphic Design at Camberwell spent some time in the library producing zines *in response* to the essays. A group of Graphic Media Design students from LCC dropped by to view the essays in preparation for their own visual essays. Members of the public have contacted us to ask if the essays will be available digitally; they want to share them with people who are not able to visit the exhibition before it closes in March. Educators have asked if we will run similar projects and workshops for them. Students have asked when we will be working with Conway Hall next...

These are all questions that we must consider our responses to. As we've said, it's often difficult to pinpoint exactly when something starts. Perhaps the challenge we didn't anticipate with this project has been deciding if, when and how it ends.

Laura Knight is a graphic designer and course leader for the Graduate Diploma Graphic Design at Chelsea College of Arts, University of the Arts London.

Adam Ramejkis works at University of the Arts London, running workshops, seminars and projects for staff and students on criticality, creativity, communication and collaboration. He has also run workshops and events in Conway Hall Library exploring the links between thinking and language.



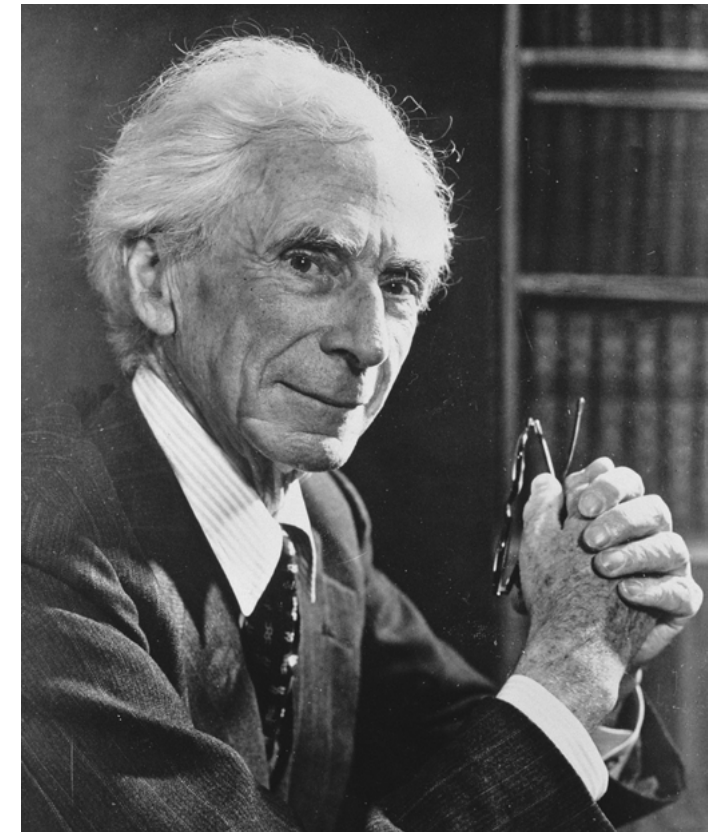
From Moncure Conway to Yoko Ono Conway Hall has always been a place where peace activists gather to campaign, agitate and perform, in the expectation that their audience, if not in complete agreement with their views and strategies, will be engaged, committed and tolerant.

Two Nobel Peace Prize winners and one three-times nominee have spoken here. Journalist, author and Labour MP Norman Angell delivered the 4th Conway Memorial at South Place Institute on March 1913; his text was 'War and the Essential Realities'. Angell's seminal work *The Grand Illusion* (1910) – the inspiration for Jean Renoir's 1937 film – analysed the nature of war, concluding that the danger of mutual destruction of both aggressors and defenders had made armed conflict unprofitable. Angell was awarded the Peace Prize in 1933 in recognition of the impact of *The Grand Illusion* and his work for the League of Nations.

Mairead Corrigan co-founded the Northern Ireland Peace Movement (later renamed Community of Peace People). In 1976 she was the winner of the Nobel Peace Prize (shared with Betty Williams) for working to a resolution of The Troubles in Northern Ireland. The following year she gave a Sunday Lecture with the title 'Making Peace'.

Dr Scilla Elworthy is a peace campaigner and founder of the Oxford Research Group, a non-governmental organisation set up in 1982 to develop effective dialogue between nuclear weapons policy-makers and their critics, work for which she was nominated three times for the Peace Prize. In 2017 she lectured at Conway Hall on 'The Business Plan for Peace: Making Possible a World Without War'.

Bertrand Russell and Fenner Brockway are perhaps the best known peace campaigners to have had strong associations with Conway Hall; both were conscientious



Give Peace a Chance - Bertrand_Russell_1957 - Wiki Commons.jpg

objectors, both were imprisoned for their beliefs. Russell spoke to the Conway Discussion Circle on 'The Pacifist Campaign' on November 23 1937, arguing that 'in the circumstances of modern war you are never likely to secure any end we think desirable by means of a large war'. Lord Brockway spoke at Conway Hall many times including addresses on humanism, the Levellers and Diggers and his 75 years in politics. An extract from his autobiography *98 Not Out* beautifully illustrates his moral strength and compassion: "I have an extraordinary sense of freedom in owning nothing. I give all I receive above



the average wage in Britain to the peace movement”.¹ A statue (Brockway) and a bust (Russell) in Red Lion Square commemorate these men and rooms in Conway Hall are named in honour of their distinguished and untiring efforts to promote peace and understanding.

Conway Hall has in more recent times continued its commitment to commemorating conscientious objectors hosting in 2016 *Comrades in Conscience*, a presentation by Michael Mears marking a hundred years since the introduction of compulsory conscription in the UK. In October 2015 Dr Sharah Ali, formerly Deputy Leader of the Green Party, gave a Thinking on Sunday talk entitled ‘How is Gandhi and Non-Violence Relevant to Politics Today? Using Gandhi’s teachings as inspiration, Dr Ali addressed the question of whether violence can co-exist with non-violence as part of an all-embracing account of political action.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) was founded in 1957 with Canon John Collins as Chairman and Bertrand Russell as President. Since that time

Conway Hall has given a platform to the Campaign’s leaders and opened its buildings for its administrative meetings, conferences and AGMs. Bruce Kent, Vice-President and Kate Hudson, General Secretary have both spoken here. Peace activist Pat Arrowsmith, one of the original signatories of the Committee of 100 and co-organiser of the first Aldermaston March, spoke in 1976 on ‘The Case for Civil Disobedience’ and in the same year wrote in the *Ethical Record* as part of Conway Discussions on ‘Protest in Action – Northern Ireland-Troops Out’. Arrowsmith was imprisoned eleven times for her political activities.

The Committee of 100 was a British anti-war group set up in 1960 with a hundred signatories of opinion makers and activists including Pat Arrowsmith and John Berger: Earl Russell was president. Its supporters used mass non-violent resistance and civil disobedience to achieve their aims and was the first major example of mass peaceful civil disobedience used as a method of disruption and campaigning in Britain. Conway Hall



Give Peace a Chance - Yoko Ono - Wiki Commons

archives holds correspondence from local branches particularly from the Industrial Sub-Committee based in London and the London Branch; these include membership records from the many trades unions who joined the group. The papers include letters organising sit downs at USAF bases, factory gate demonstrations, rallies at various venues and references to the Aldermaston Marches. Of equal interest are reports on demonstrations – such as an anti-Vietnam War rally in Trafalgar Square in 1966. A large file of newspaper cuttings reporting the Ban the Bomb and anti-Vietnam demonstrations is extremely valuable as unique primary material for research on media coverage of the 1960s protests. There are reports of arrests and trials including the arrest and fining of actor Vanessa Redgrave.

In May 1962 a Conway Discussion took place on the principles and policies of the Committee of 100; the Hall was full. The debate was led by D.E. Lock standing in for Michael Randle. Randle, a peace campaigner and known for his role in helping the Soviet spy George Blake escape from a British prison, was unable to give the address as advertised as he had that day received a prison sentence under the Official Secrets Act. The talk urged those

present to join the Committee in its civil disobedience protests against the nuclear bomb.

Many artists and musicians have found their way to Conway Hall to perform. One such was Crass, an art collective and punk rock band formed in 1977 who promoted anarchism as a political ideology advocating peace, direct action, animal rights, feminism, anti-fascism and environmentalism. The band has also claimed credit for revitalising the peace movement and the CND in the late 1970s and early 1980s. They played at Conway Hall several times and on one such gig in September 1979 (notorious in punk history) Social Worker Party supporters and other anti-fascists attacked British Movement neo-Nazis in the Main Hall. From Steve Ignorant of Crass: “We went to the gig and there was a lot of rumours going around that the British Movement were turning up. As usual! We got that at every gig. I remember being backstage and this roar went up. All of a sudden there’s this full-scale battle going on and all I could do was watch from the stage – I didn’t know who was thumping who.”²

The Sunday Concerts at South Place Chapel continued throughout World War I boosting morale and fostering a sense of normality. There was a rise in composers commissioned from allied countries and national concerts dedicated to the Italian, Russian and French repertoire.

The Conway Hall Library is of course a rich resource for research into peace studies ranging from George W. Foote’s 1887 pamphlet *The Shadow of the Sword*, a chilling and perspicacious account of the ‘feverish’ political situation in Europe where neutral states “tremble” and “all Christendom is armed to the teeth”, to the political, philosophical and ethical debates of today.

The final reflections on Conway Hall and peace must rest with Moncure Conway himself, the very last words from his very last book: “Entreat for peace not of deified thunderclouds, but of every man, woman and child thou shalt meet. Do not merely offer the prayer “Give peace in our time”, but do thy part to answer it. Then though the whole world be at strife, there shall be peace in thee, Farewell”.³

References

1. Brockway, Fenner *98 Not Out*. London: Quartet Books, 1986.
2. Berger, George *The Story of Crass*. London: Omnibus Press, 2009.
3. Conway, Moncure. *Autobiography – Memory and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway*. Vol. II. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1904



Olwen Terris worked at the British Film Institute, National Film and Television Archive in the role of Chief Cataloguer for thirteen years before moving to the Imperial War Museum, Department of Collections Management as Data Standards Officer. She has been at Conway Hall since 2012 where she started as a volunteer cataloguer and has catalogued the Library’s nineteenth century pamphlet collection.

How Islamism Perverted Olympism

Dr Romy Hasan

A Review of *How Islamism Perverted Olympism* by Annie Sugier, Linda Weil-Curiel and Gerard Biard, (translated from French by Bernice Dubois) Chryseis Editions, 2018.

Something that has long gone beneath the radar of global sport is the rampant sexism of some, invariably Muslim majority, countries with respect to the Olympic Games and which has long been tolerated by the guardians of the games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC). As late as the 1992 Olympic Games in Barcelona, Annie Sugier, Linda Weil-Curiel and Gerard Biard point out in this translation of an edition first published in French in 2017 that teams from 35 countries were comprised solely of men. This is an indicator that girls and women were denied encouragement, support, and facilities to pursue sports at a high level, in other words, institutional gender discrimination was/is likely to be the reality in these countries. More than that, until the 2012 London Games, some countries did not select women as a matter of policy.

The IOC was compelled to take action when it threatened Brunei, Qatar and Saudi Arabia from exclusion of the 2012 Games if they did not select women to their delegations: religious or cultural reasons for such a brazen sexist policy were deemed inadmissible. Moreover, the IOC refused to change the date of the games so that it did not clash with Ramadan. It tasked a special representative (Lassana Palenfo, former sports minister of the Ivory Coast) to study this question: she firmly declared, “The Games are apolitical and irreligious. If we yield now, the Buddhist, the Jews will also ask for special arrangements”. All this was a positive step forward and, importantly, in accordance with the Olympic Charter which states that “No kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues or other areas” (Rule 50 [2]).

Yet, despite these advances, in regard to the sports attire worn by some Muslim women competitors, veiling is permitted which is in clear breach of Rule 50[2]. The authors make the point “Perhaps seeing themselves as

acting in favour of Muslim athletes, they in fact played into the hands of theocratic regimes imposing on women a second rate status and bodily invisibility in the public space”.

Since the Iranian revolution of 1979, and rule by an Islamic theocracy, women in all walks of life – including in sports – have been compelled to cover themselves from head to toe, a profoundly oppressive practice. Thereafter, other Muslim countries – albeit to varying degrees – followed suit. Whereas previously, women athletes from Muslim countries wore the standard outfit – usually shorts and t-shirts – this changed to hijabs and full leggings to ensure their “modesty”. The authors are forthright in their denunciation of this turn of events by asserting that “we must confront regimes that impose on women rules that are incompatible with the principles of equality and of non-discrimination set forth in the Olympic Charter. Otherwise, the risk is great of losing what is left of universal values on which Olympism was founded”.

The IOC had taken a principled stance in banning South Africa because of its policy of racial apartheid and the authors wish the same for countries such as Iran and Saudi Arabia on the grounds of gender apartheid. As writers and activists from France, they are campaigning and petitioning the IOC and the Paris organisers to firmly adhere to the Olympic Charter at the Paris Games scheduled for 2024.

But they face an uphill struggle given the hitherto tolerance shown by the IOC and other sporting bodies to the Islamic attire. Furthermore, they and their sympathisers are faced by the full might of Organisation of Islamic Cooperation countries who push for Islamic exceptionalism in not just sports but in other aspects of life. Moreover, they are assisted by Muslim organisations in the west, with support from western fellow-travellers, who rigorously campaign for Muslim women to express their religion in sporting activities. Indeed, it is fair to say that western governments and civil society at large – including feminist groups – have accepted the specious argument that unless Muslim women are granted exemptions with respect to sporting attire, they will not



Basketball 3x3 Girls Preliminary Round: Hungary vs. Islamic Republic of Iran (22:0) at the 2018 Summer Youth Olympics
Credit: Sandro Halank, Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0

participate. This flagrant accommodation to women’s oppression must be rejected along with the religious dogma that justifies the veiling of women and, ipso facto, second-class status given that boys and men are not required to veil themselves.

Indeed, in the past, women from Muslim-majority countries participated in sports events both at home and in international tournaments in the standard attire; there was no question of veiling. There are striking and

saddening photos of women participants from Iran before the Islamic revolution of 1979 and from Turkey before the rise of the AKP Party. The most oppressive country for women, Saudi Arabia, did not permit women to compete.

The push for this exemption stemmed from the Women, Sports and the Challenge of Change conference held in 1994 in Brighton, UK that was attended by 280 delegates from 82 countries. As part of the Brighton

Declaration, the following recommendation was provided:

Those responsible for sport ... should ensure that an equitable range of opportunities and learning experience, which accommodates the values, attitudes, and aspirations of girls, is incorporated in programmes to develop physical fitness and basic sport skills of young people.

At the Women, Sports and Islam workshop, led by Muslim countries, especially Iran, an explicit recommendation is made designed to overturn Rule 50[2] and similar rules by other sports federations:

Lobbying of relevant national and international sports organisations needs to take place regarding rules and regulations of international competitions so that these are inclusive rather than exclusive. This specially relates to dress where strict rules and regulations may exclude Muslim women.

The Islamist bandwagon designed to subvert the norms relating to sports attire had begun to roll in earnest and with considerable success given that very little resistance was provided. The next decisive step in this endeavour took place at a seminar organised by the Sultan Qaboos University in Oman with delegates from Muslim and western countries. A Declaration Accept and Respect asserted:

We urge international sport federations to show their commitment to inclusion [of Muslim women and girls] by ensuring that their dress codes for competition embrace Islamic requirements, taking into account the principles of propriety, safety and integrity.

The authors point out that this was the first explicit restriction of the freedom of sportswomen labelled as Muslim – and which the westerners endorsed. By so doing, they supported the most regressive theocratic regimes whose laws and policies degrade women. Indeed, the stance of westerners on not only this issue but in general when it comes to religious groups has been characterised by a robust cultural and moral relativism.

The culmination of this lobbying was that at the London 2012 games, 17 countries had women contestants in Islamic attire in clear breach of Rule 50[2]; a great victory for Islamists and theocratic regimes. The die had been cast and pressure was applied to other sports federations and politicians to follow suit. Political success was garnered at the 5th World Conference of Ministers and High Ranking Officials of Physical Education and Sport held in Berlin in May 2013. This yielded the Berlin Declaration that stressed:

The importance of gender mainstreaming that is guided by the concepts of diversity, freedom of choice and empowerment when undertaking efforts to increase the participation of girls and women in and through sport ... to ensure, in accordance with national law, appropriate

facilities, equipment and dress options taking into account both ability and cultural specificities, particularly for women and girls.

This was a factor in UNESCO changing its 1978 Charter: where physical education and sport were characterised as the “universal language” to “the universal principles set out in the present Charter”. But the only new principle in the revised Charter is the reference to “cultural diversity” which directly contradicts universal language.

The organisations of the world’s most popular sport, football, also began to retreat from their hitherto universal principles. In 2014, the International Football Association Board (IFAB), which has the sole authority for the laws of the game, authorised the wearing of the hijab and turban in football. However, there was a comical outcome of this rule change: in September 2015, Barney Henderson of The Daily Telegraph reported that eight (sic) of the Iranian women’s football team were men! Despite the fact that they play in hijabs, long-sleeved tops and tracksuit bottoms, this brazen deception could not be fully concealed.

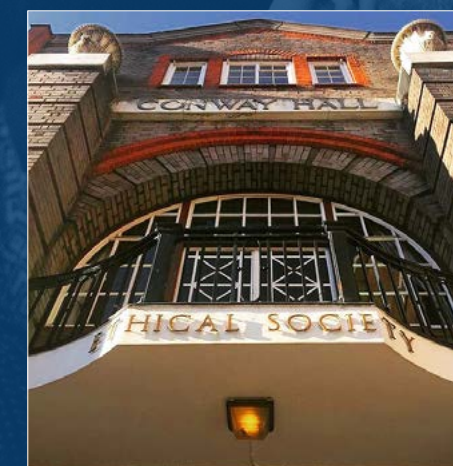
The authors highlight the demeaning status of girls and women in Muslim-majority countries that have been at the forefront of demanding exemptions to the dress code in sports for women in international competitions – to replicate what they impose at home. This has given encouragement to Muslims in the west to do the same and with much success as, fearful of being charged with racism and Islamophobia, the authorities meekly succumb to their demands. Hence, with barely a murmur, the veiling of girls and women in sports activities has also become prevalent in western countries.

The authors also level a powerful charge against western academics in particular who thought they were being helpful to Muslim women by bowing to the demands of these dictatorships arguing that they bear a heavy responsibility in having contributed to putting aside the rule of neutrality, that is, universalism and equality, in sport.

If the Paris 2024 Games are to re-impose the Olympic Charter, then this will necessitate considerable and effective campaigning and persuasion. Doubtless Annie Sugier, Linda Weil-Curiel and Gerard Biard will be relentless in pursuing this principled – and truly progressive – stance. However, they will need support not only from allies in France but also in Europe and from across the world if they are to succeed. Their short book is excellent in drawing attention to this important yet neglected reality and ought to be followed up in the English-speaking world with similar interventions on the subject.

Dr Romy Hasan is a senior lecturer at the University of Sussex and Visiting Professorial Research Fellow at the Civitas Think Tank, London.

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Response to Gavin Esler

David Simmonds

Gavin Esler writing in the article “Brexit Without the Bull” in the Winter 2020 *Ethical Record* (Vol 125 (1)) questions whether there are any EU laws at all which this country is forced to abide by against its will. There are many. I remember protesting many years ago against the cruel practice of exporting live lambs for slaughter in Europe. The Labour government wanted to ban the practice, but the EU said “No”. More recently Michael Gove, as Minister for Agriculture, expressed frustration at being prevented from imposing the ban.

I also remember a Labour government being told that the commercial growing of any GM crops, even proven safe ones, such as wheat, was not allowed under EU law. (In 2013 over 60% of British farmers said that they wanted to grow GM crops). Some years ago the government was prevented by the EU from scrapping the hated “tampon tax” (VAT on tampons) and also from scrapping VAT on domestic fuel. The ECJ also ruled that doctors sleeping in hospitals but being on call, had to be paid full time; which contributed a lot to staff shortages in the NHS.

The nationalisation of the train system would be an infringement of the EU’s “Fourth Railway Package” (2012), which now requires governments to open up train services to the markets. If Corbyn had become PM he would have found it extremely difficult to deliver on his pledge.

There are numerous other examples. Whether one agrees with some of these EU laws or not is beside the point. Many EU laws are good. But it should be up to our elected governments to decide, not a group of unelected bureaucrats. Even if we accepted these laws 20 or 40 years ago, does this mean that we must be stuck with them forever?

Mr Esler may be too young to remember Tony Benn’s tests of democracy. (He was pro Brexit till he died I believe). If people have power over you, you should ask them certain questions such as “who put you there? To whom are you accountable? How can I get rid of you” and so on. If the answers include: “I am accountable to no-one, and no you cannot get rid of me” then we have a problem with our democracy. I believe that the case for

leaving the EU is stronger now than it was then, given the EU’s stated objective of increasing federalism. I love Europe, but love the rest of the world too – it is the EU that I’m not too fond of.

Mr Esler finds examples of dishonesty in the Brexit camp, and draws parallels between this and Holocaust deniers such as David Irving. I think this is over the top. Of course there was dishonesty in the Brexit campaign, but this was easily balanced by the dishonesty on the anti-Brexit side. George Osborne said that he would have to tear up the Conservative manifesto promises with an emergency budget within weeks of a leave vote. Such a budget turned out not to be necessary. Many of the other Remain ‘experts’, including Mark Carney and George Soros, also prophesied with considerable publicity that the consequences of a leave vote would be dire and immediate. They were neither dire nor immediate. I would argue that such prophesies of doom were not just mistaken, but dishonest. Economists surely knew that such predictions could not safely be made. The big lie on the Brexit side was the assertion on the side of a bus that £9 billion a year would be freed for the NHS. However, almost every time I turned on the radio or TV this lie was, quite rightly, being exposed for what it was.

Another argument used by the Remain side to block Brexit or to have a second referendum was that the electorate did not understand the ins and outs or the implications of Brexit. Many didn’t it is true. But the goalposts (accepted by almost everyone) were clearly laid down at the beginning, and after five months of campaigning and arguing, you cannot then tell the electorate: “you were too ignorant to know what you were voting for, and the result is therefore invalid”. This is more characteristic of dictatorships. The same applies to the other arguments, such as “the young were not properly represented”, “the Brexit majority was only a small one” etc. You cannot change the goalposts after the event.

The government’s promise at the time of the referendum was that the result would be respected, and that “there will; not be another referendum”. The



European Court of Justice. Photo by Cédric Puisney.

seeming determination of a majority of MPs to frustrate Brexit at every turn was then bringing Parliament into even greater disrepute than was already the case. A large majority of MPs had said that they would accept the result. The vote to trigger article 50 was won by a majority of 6:1. It was only when the Labour Party saw that it could make life extremely uncomfortable for the government that they decided to forget about their

pledge. Is this an example of what Mr Esler refers to as “negation”?

The main Liberal-Democrat slogan then became “Stop Brexit”, which for me made them neither liberal nor democratic. Surely the word “liberal” implies, in any democratic exercise, an acceptance of the result. When those who lose do not accept that they have lost, I think it sets a dangerous precedent.

Sir Jonathan Miller
1934–2019



A man of far-ranging talents, Sir Jonathan Miller was best known as a theatre and opera director, actor, author, television presenter and humourist. He was also a medical doctor and would likely have become a leading neurologist, had he not risen to prominence for being part of the groundbreaking satirical show *Beyond the Fringe*, with Peter Cook, Dudley Moore and Alan Bennett.

He was born in 1934 into a Jewish family and grew up in St John's Wood, London. Interested in the biological sciences from an early age, he studied natural sciences and medicine at St John's College, Cambridge, and went on to train at University College London, qualifying as a medical doctor in 1959. For the next two years he worked as a hospital house officer, but began work on *Beyond the Fringe* in 1960 as one of the writers, performers and producers, launching his career in the world of arts and entertainment.

He worked on the show for two years, but left in 1962 following its move from the West End to Broadway, going on to become the editor and presenter of the BBC TV arts programme *Monitor*. He wrote, produced and directed a BBC film adaptation of *Alice in Wonderland* in 1966, and an adaptation of an M. R. James ghost story, *Whistle and I'll Come to You*, in 1968. In the 1970s he began directing and producing operas, and in the early 1980s he produced 12 Shakespeare plays for the BBC.

Miller was a committed atheist and humanist and sought to explore the history of atheist thinking and its positive impact on society, as well as the roots of his own atheism, leading him to write and present the television series *Atheism: A Rough History of Disbelief*, which aired on BBC Four in 2004. Additional conversations, debates and discussions from the series also later aired in a six-part series *The Atheism Tapes*.

As well as being President of the Rationalist Association and a patron of Humanists UK, Miller had ties with Conway Hall and took part in two Conway Memorial Lectures. He chaired the 1972 lecture on 'Humanity and Animality' along with Sir Edmund Leach, where Miller gave the introduction. The following year he gave the Conway Memorial Lecture on 'The Uses of Pain', chaired by Peter Cadogan.¹ He was also interviewed in the Library in 1993 as part of the events marking the foundation of South Place Ethical Society (now Conway Hall) in 1793, and in 1972 he chaired a debate on Darwinism.

Miller died on 27 November 2019 aged 85, after suffering from Alzheimer's disease, and is survived by his wife, Rachel, and their children, Tom, William and Kate.

Dr Deborah Mohanan

¹ The transcripts for these Conway Memorial lectures are on Conway Hall's website: bit.ly/1972Lecture; bit.ly/1973Lecture.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS AT CONWAY HALL

EXHIBITIONS

– 25 April 'The Secret is Out' Exhibition

THINKING ON SUNDAY

5 April	15:00–16:30	Display It Like You Stole It: Museums and Ethics • Alice Proctor
19 April	15:00–16:30	Feminism, Interrupted: Disrupting Power • Lola Olufemi
3 May	15:00–16:30	Murdoch: The Man Who Owns the Media • Tom Roberts

PARTNERSHIPS

21 May	17:30–21:30	International Bee Day
14 June	Afternoon, TBC	Truth to Power Café

COURSES

3 May	13:00–17:00	Conway Hall & Humanists UK: World Press Freedom Wikithon
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CONCERTS

6 June	18:00	United Strings of Europe Concert
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TALKS

8 April	19:30–21:00	Reweirding: The Alchemy of Us – How Humans and Matter Transformed One Another • Ainissa Ramirez
15 Apr	19:30–21:30	London Fortean Society: Shapeshifters – A History • John B. Kachuba
20 Apr	19:30–21:00	Ethical Matters: Split – Class Divides Uncovered • Ben Tippet
18 May	19:30–21:00	Ethical Matters: No Visible Bruises – What We Don't Know about Domestic Violence can Kill Us • Rachel Louise Snyder

Events subject to alteration • For current information and tickets see conwayhall.org.uk



January

- 12th 6.30PM **Highgate Festival Musicians** HAYDN • SIBELIUS • BEETHOVEN
BRAHMS • SCHUMANN
- 19th 5.30PM **Robert Hugill • FREE PRE-CONCERT TALK**
6.30PM **Maria Canyigueral & Lana Trotovšek** BEETHOVEN
- 26th 6.30PM **The Oriole Ensemble** MESSIAEN • HINDEMITH

February

- 2nd 5.30PM **Paolo Rinaldi • FREE PRE-CONCERT RECITAL**
6.30PM **Noûs Quartet** WEBERN / BEETHOVEN
- 9th 6.30PM **Simon & Raphael Wallfisch, Edward Rushton** BRAHMS • SCHUMANN
- 16th 6.30PM **Gould Piano Trio** MOZART • KORNGOLD • BRAHMS
- 23rd 5.30PM **Robert Hugill • FREE PRE-CONCERT TALK**
6.30PM **Lydia Shelly & Nicolas Stavy** BEETHOVEN • BRAHMS • SHOSTAKOVICH

March

- 1st 6.30PM **Tippett Quartet & Héloïse Werner** RAVEL • WALEY-COHEN
POULENC • DEBUSSY
- 8th 5.30PM **Royal College of Music Musicians • FREE PRE-CONCERT RECITAL**
6.30PM **Simon Callaghan & Friends** BEETHOVEN
- 15th 6.30PM **Solem Quartet** BRAHMS • REEVES • BEETHOVEN
- 22nd 6.30PM **Phacelia Ensemble** STRAVINSKY • MOZART • BRAHMS
- 29th 6.30PM **Ruisi Quartet** BRITTEN • MENDELSSOHN • WEBERN • BEETHOVEN

April

- 5th 5.30PM **Robert Hugill • FREE PRE-CONCERT TALK**
6.30PM **Trio Khnopff** SCHUMANN • BRAHMS • SHOSTAKOVICH • WEINBERG
- 19th 6.30PM **Galliard Ensemble & Simon Callaghan** STRAUSS • THUILLIE
BEETHOVEN • POULENC
- 26th 6.30PM **Piatti Quartet** BEETHOVEN

May

- 3rd 5.30PM **Royal College of Music Musicians • FREE PRE-CONCERT RECITAL**
6.30PM **Simon Callaghan & Friends** BEETHOVEN
- 10th 5.30PM **Robert Hugill • FREE PRE-CONCERT TALK**
6.30PM **Robert Max** BACH
- 17th 5.30PM **Royal College of Music Musicians • FREE PRE-CONCERT RECITAL**
6.30PM **Zoffany Ensemble** SCHUBERT • BEETHOVEN
- 24th 6.30PM **United Strings of Europe & Simon Callaghan** BEETHOVEN • RODGMAN
- 31st 6.30PM **Trio Sōra** HAYDN • RAVEL • MENDELSSOHN

June

- 7th 6.30PM **Oculi Ensemble** MOZART • WEBERN • BRAHMS

