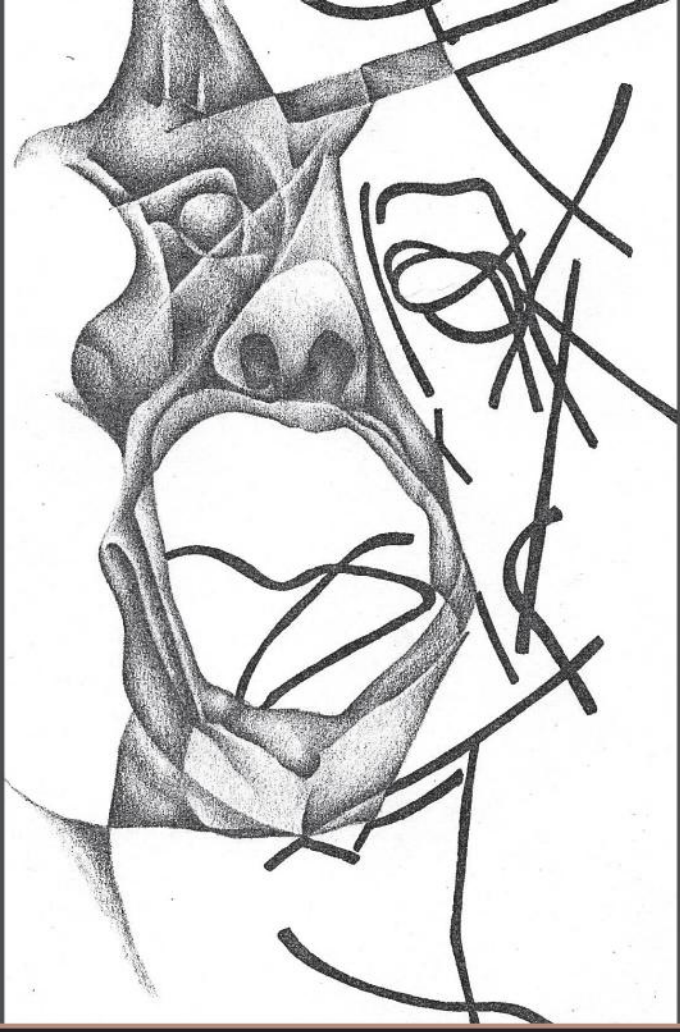

INTELLECTUAL CITIZENSHIP AND THE PROBLEM OF INCARNATION

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Intellectual Citizenship and the Problem of Incarnation

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For Chris, Nick and Zandria

For Cytlalli and Tania

For Deb

Nothing in my view is more reprehensible than those habits of mind in the intellectual that induce avoidance, that characteristic turning away from a difficult and principled position which you know to be the right one, but which you decide not to take. You do not want to appear too political; you are afraid of seeming controversial; you need the approval of a boss or an authority figure; you want to keep a reputation for being balanced, objective, moderate; your hope is to be asked back, to consult, to be on a board or prestigious committee, and so to remain within the responsible mainstream; someday you hope to get an honorary degree, a big prize, perhaps even an ambassadorship. For an intellectual these habits of mind are corrupting par excellence (Edward Said, Representations of the Intellectual, the 1993 Reith Lectures [New York: Vintage, 1996], 100-101).

A man who moralizes is usually a hypocrite (Oscar Wilde, from Lady Windermere's Fan, in Oscar Wilde's Wit and Wisdom: A Book of Quotations [Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1998], 12).

Contents

Acknowledgments

> "It was Jack's belief that men spend whole lifetimes preparing answers to certain questions that will never be asked of them. They long, passionately, to hear these questions, not wanting their careful preparation wasted. It was not judgment or redemption that was hoped for, but the experience of showing another human being that private and serious part of the mind that ticked away in obscurity. A wish to be known." Carol Shields, *Happenstance: The Husband's Story* (Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada, 1997), 10.

If I started the project of writing this book out of a desire to speak, to speak for myself, the question arose of to whom I was speaking. Who was it I had not yet imagined was my interlocutor? For one motivation seemed reasonably self-evident early on. I seemed to want to explain myself. Self-justification, then, confession even (a "highly contemporary" desire says Canadian novelist and critic Russell Smith). If the proximate wish to clarify my thoughts *by* writing showed then a desire to speak to myself, to make things clear to *me* — as the old woman said to E. M. Forster, "How can I know what I think till I see what I say?" — it also revealed a collection of others who were my unnamed addressees. These were in the first place my children, Chris, Nick and Zandria, and then Cytlalli and Tania, to whom I wished to show "that private and serious part of the mind that ticked away in obscurity." But the collection included too my departmental colleagues (you know who you are) who also had to bear my rather less than obscure excesses and never deserted me, Laird Christie especially; Andy Lyons; Michael Manley, intrepid critic; my other WLU colleagues, including the late John Chamberlin, Richard Walsh-Bowers, Oz Cole-Arnal, Ron Grimes, the late Graham Solomon, the late Rowland Smith (formerly Vice-President: Academic), Andrew Berczi (formerly Vice-President: Finance), John McCallum (former invaluable librarian), and others named elsewhere in the book; the commu-

nity of ethnomethodologists, notably Steve Hester (as gifted a sociologist as one will find and a great collaborator), Roy Turner (my teacher), Wes Sharrock, Dave Francis, Jeff Coulter (thanks for writing "Why I Am *Not* a Right-winger") John Lee, Lena Jayyusi, Rod Watson, Ted Cuff, Dorothy Smith, Michael Lynch, Doug Macbeth, Alec McHoul, Graham Button, Bob Anderson, Doug Benson, John Hughes, Ken Morrison, Paul Ten Have, George Psathas, Tim Berard, the late Jean Widmer, Michel Barthélémy, Hideo Hama, Jac Eke, Richard Fitzgerald, William Housley, Patrick Watson, Christian Greiffenhagen and, in the permanent background of my thoughts, Harold Garfinkel, Harvey Sacks and, though not an ethnomethodologist, Ludwig Wittgenstein; disciplinary colleagues, including students, former students and fellow academics, not least Mark Easton and Simon Hacker, but also Kieran Bonner and Colm Kelly; Mohamed Bernoussi; my fellow human-rights and social-justice activists, particularly the participants in the Democracy Project, above all Charles Fernandes, Catholic Worker, hound from heaven, assailant of the "middle-class standard," but also Peter Madaka Wanyama, "pushed by bigger forces" than personal desire, Marco Perez, Joe and Stephanie Mancini, Anna Hemmendinger, Marc Xuereb, Kurosh Shahabi, Luke Stewart, Rebecca Sargent, Mohamed Elmasry, Alec and Phil Diceanu and, in relation to East Timor, George Aditjondro, Aloz, Elaine Brière, Carmel Budiardjo, Jenn Clarke, Bella Galhos, Li'lien Gibbons, Maggie Helwig, Brooks Kind, Jeff Klaehn, Dan Maitland, John McMurtry, Kerry Pither, Bill Ripley, Sharon Scharfe, Charlie Scheiner, Craig Smallbone, John Sorenson, Abe Barreto Soares and David Webster; Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, in whose living room I once sat; Richard Gibbens; Ralph Gastmeier; Sukhpreet Sangha; Peter Saunders; my family, my mother and father who will never know; Doug Chapman; and Debbie, my loving wife, resolute socialist critic, photographer, Spanish translator, who beat me to the punch with her 2012 book *The Struggle for Mexico* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland), who introduced me (not only to her redoubtable family but) to her wonderful circle of friends in Mexico (Champiñion, Rogelio and everybody), and to whom I offer this work out of love, gratitude and respect.

The intellectual most responsible for setting me on this course is, as the reader will see, Noam Chomsky. I think his account of mind and language is wrong, but his political criticism and, above all, his example as one devoted to the responsibility of the intellectual as a moral agent "to try and bring the truth about matters of human significance to an audience that can do something about them" is inspiring beyond words. Edward Said comes a close second. Only in the last couple of years have I come to read and appreciate the wonderful Howard Zinn; see especially his *You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train* and *A Power Governments Cannot Suppress*. Among journalists Chris Hedges and John Pilger are a constant inspiration, closely followed by Rick Salutin, Linda McQuaig and Naomi Klein. Wallace Shawn's work,

notably *The Fever*, is the crucial source of the moral/political-economic concept of incarnation. I wish I had written any one of Yves Engler's remarkable series of books, or the *Dystopia* (http://www.dystopiafilm.com/) of my friend and colleague Garry Potter. I read *Love the Questions* by Ian Angus too late to take proper account of its contents, but I here acknowledge his insightful account of the educationally attenuated life to be found in the contemporary corporate university. I cheerfully absolve everybody mentioned herein for the errors of this text; they are mine alone.

I am deeply grateful to Cesar Leiva for illustrating the cover and pages of this text: see https://picasaweb.google.com/leiva.cesar1/ThePathElCaminar#5198829578150930738.

I sincerely thank Jeff Klaehn for including earlier versions of parts of three of these chapters in his prodigious series of edited books. The energy he has spent in assembling and publishing works of contemporary critical relevance is extraordinary.

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Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1999), 11-19. It has been revised several times since.

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The very first effort at writing this life's project into existence was made on a train somewhere in England on October 30 and 31, 1992. I was trying to prepare for what would have been the first public airing of these thoughts at a Sociology Department Seminar scheduled and announced for Tuesday, November 3rd at 2:30 pm at Victoria University of Manchester, a talk bearing the title "Incarnation." For some reason I can't now remember, the talk was not given, and the notes I had prepared, mostly in the form of questions, remained in that form. I am grateful, though, to Wes Sharrock and John Lee for coaxing me into a stammering rendition in conversation with them in the Grafton pub that afternoon. Twenty years later, here it is.

Prologue

Fishing for an Academic Life

Given the material position universities occupy in a world of global corporate capitalism, given the values they profess, and given the characteristic distribution of human rights in such a world, what consequences follow for the practice of academic life? What is it to be a responsible academic in a "Northern" university given the incarnate connections between said university's operations and death and suffering in the rest of the world?

Our lives in the prosperous "North" are intimately linked, materially and therefore morally, to the lives of those in the impoverished "South." The same relationship holds between the prosperous classes and the poor within the global North and South respectively. Given the values inscribed in universities' mission statements what difference does this make, what difference should this make, to how universities operate, to what the nature of intellectuals' activities should therefore be? I feel such questions are pressing, and I try to address them in this book. Since morality is by definition personal, I include myself in the account. In fact I use my own experience in trying to be the kind of "intellectual citizen" I advocate as a vehicle for discussing the book's problematic.

Intellectual Citizenship is a work of moral-political criticism. The book challenges the reader to take a position on the question of responsible intellectual citizenship, using three examples, or case studies, of efforts by the author to put that position into practice in relation to East Timor, the Montreal massacre, and El Salvador. The book's principal features consist of (1) its insistence on making the question of partners' or onlookers' responsibility in relation to human rights atrocities a personal one, (2) its focus on intellectuals, and (3) the incarnation (or moral-political-economy) argument used to

link atrocities back to the material conditions of the lives of academics in universities in the prosperous North, so as to address the question of the moral organization of university inquiry.[1]

A FIRST STATEMENT OF THE POSITION

Let me begin by distinguishing two conventional positions, the second having three options, on the question of whether academics should pronounce on non-academic matters *as academics* rather than as citizens off-campus. These positions are as follows:

(A) Such pronouncing is illegitimate.
(B) (1) It is legitimate in its own right on the university commons, but not in the classroom.
(2) It is legitimate also in the classroom as long as the professor clearly distinguishes advancing such opinions from teaching the subject matter of the course.
(3) It is legitimate in the classroom and no distinction need be drawn between it and teaching the course's subject matter.

In sociology it was Max Weber who, in a 1917 article and a 1918 speech, most famously drew these distinctions in the course of pressing the case for position A: "university teaching achieves really valuable effects only through specialized training by specially qualified persons. Hence 'intellectual integrity' is the only specific virtue which universities should seek to inculcate."[2] Most recently, it is Stanley Fish who has vigorously and trenchantly re-stated the same case for position A in his book *Save the World on Your Own Time*: "neither the university as a collective nor its faculty as individuals should advocate personal, political, moral, or any other kind of views except academic views," and "the only obligation to which [academics] must be faithful is the obligation to present the material in the syllabus and introduce students to state-of-the-art methods of analysis."[3] He does, however, allow that "after hours, on their own time, when they write letters to the editor or speak at campus rallies, [professors] can be as vocal as they like about anything and everything."[4] In this last sentence at least, he does appear to make room for the legitimacy of position B1 ("campus rallies"). In what follows I make a case for a position that embraces B1, occasionally B2 (but not B3), but goes beyond both. Call this position C.

(C) Not only is pronouncing legitimate, it is the responsibility of academics, and of universities, to do so;[5] it may be done on or off campus, though rarely in the classroom itself; the obligation to do so arises from the academic

vocation to tell the truth in the context of both the values, and the material incarnation of exploitation, that underlie and sustain the academic enterprise in the university; the incarnation argument then has radical implications for the "moral organization" of inquiry in the university itself.

Arguing in favour of B1 or B2 is nothing new in itself, and I don't wish to go over old ground unnecessarily. What I hope to contribute, however, are two related arguments, the second of which is, I think, new in the context of this debate. The first argument is that pronouncing independently of teaching is a moral imperative that flows from the very same academic value of truth-seeking that Weber/Fish endorse — "the pursuit of truth is … *the* central purpose of the university."[6] The second arises from consideration of the idea of incarnation that finds its way into the title of each chapter of this book: given the political-economic formation of our time the possibility of university-based free inquiry necessarily embodies others' exploitation and suffering; given this incarnation, and given the values the university itself professes to hold, addressing the first in light of the second is unavoidable, indeed required of the academic intellectual citizen. This has implications for the "moral organization" of university inquiry in general, going far beyond the narrow question of whether the university professor should give voice or not to "practical evaluations" (B1 or B2). It lands us, as I say, in position C.

AN OUTLINE OF THE ARGUMENT FOR C

(1) If academics have a responsibility to pursue the truth, it follows that they have a responsibility to tell the truth. There's no point in seeking without telling.

(2) By virtue of this ethic and of their social location this responsibility extends beyond the limits of discipline, profession, subject and university.

(3) But telling the truth is not a simple matter. Indeed it has many dimensions and aspects. And it itself is subject to appraisal in any actual instance. What governs such appraisals? That depends on the language-game being played in each case. These include classroom teaching, all stages of research (grant writing, data collection, analysis, reporting of results [at conferences, in publications, to sponsors] …), academic meetings (departmental, faculty council, Senate …), being a public intellectual (on campus, in the media, in books, at public meetings, protests and rallies, before government bodies …), and so on. Language-games are themselves embedded in forms of life; in disciplined inquiry these may be called, after Kuhn, "disciplinary matrices." What counts as truth telling depends on the conventions informing these language-games and forms of life. Moreover, in truth telling claims-making

inextricably combines factual and evaluative elements, description and appraisal.[7]

(4) In teaching, the question of whether to express one's political opinions to the students is preceded by the fact that evaluative (normative, moral, political) elements are already embedded in the conceptual language of one's discipline, not to mention the choice or selection of topics to study, the approaches or perspectives brought to bear on those studies and the conception of education and effective pedagogical method the teacher has. How to deal with these matters is a matter of practical pedagogy, honest reporting, and commitment to the analytic ideals of one's form of inquiry. What distinguishes informing from persuading from indoctrinating is not reducible to a formula since, like all uses of language, their force and meaning are constituted by and constitutive of the context in which the utterances "doing" them are made.[8] In this sense I agree with Fish's Wittgensteinian argument against the "everything is political" stance, which stance forgets that just because we use the same term to refer to them does not mean that the different kinds of politics are all the same: "Once you realise that while politics is everywhere, it isn't the same politics, the cash value of saying that everything is political disappears." In the same spirit I believe he is correct to say that "there are many things to be true or false about, and not all of them fall within the university's sphere." I take issue with him, however, when he limits "the truths the university is pledged to establish and protect" to "truths about matters under academic study."[9] I present my case below and in chaps. 1 and 2.

(5) Similarly, the question of whether the university should inculcate good character, take on a civilizing mission, promote justice or confine itself to being a pursuer and conveyor of specialized knowledge and analytic skills is moot insofar as universities have always had, since their beginning, practical (normative, moral, political) missions or self-conceptions, including that of Max Weber and Stanley Fish which, as Émile Durkheim said, puts separation of fact and non-academic value at the service of such non-academic value. (See chap. 2 for this distinction in Durkheim and Weber.) Thus Fish propounds the view that the university "can and should take collective (and individual) action on those issues relevant to the educational mission — the integrity of scholarship, the evil of plagiarism, and the value of a liberal education."[10] Even as narrow a list of "issues relevant to the educational mission" as this is includes one, "the value of a liberal education," the content of which is surely not confined to academic values, but has broader moral and, indeed, political significance in the society at large.[11]

(6) Given (5) it follows that analyzing how best to articulate and fulfill a given mission (or the prevailing mission) for universities is a legitimate activity of university academics and of citizens generally. What did Stanley Fish, the university professor, think he was doing when he wrote his book?[12]

My proposal is founded in the incarnation argument, which I present first in chap. 1 and develop throughout the book. That is, insofar as universities espouse fundamental human rights and humanistic ideals such as liberty, equality, equitable diversity and solidarity (founded in Kant's moral imperative always to treat human beings as ends and never simply as means, and thought of as universal as Kant did[13]), and insofar as the extent to which the possibility of the realization of these rights and ideals is dependent on the material exploitation of others, including the curtailment, restriction and suppression of these rights and ideals, then it follows that research and teaching should be directed to righting that wrong.

(7) The standard liberal response to (6) is to say that such a position entails a politicization of the university that is disastrous for its academic mission. Here, it is useful to recall Fish's own point that not all politics are the same sorts of things. Indeed, let us simply refer to the conventional liberal distinction between two types of politics. The one concerns the matter of fundamental human rights, including democratic rights. Call this "politics 1." The other is about partisan contention, as in a liberal, pluralist, multiparty, parliamentary democracy. Call this "politics 2." Notice that in liberal democracies the convention is to separate the two kinds of politics by putting the first in some constitutional form, as in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms, where it is protected *as law*, typically by a Supreme Court, from the disputatious character of the second, which is located in a parliament or congress, in elections and in civil society generally. Moreover, the separation reflects the fundamental understanding that the possibility of partisan politics (politics 2) depends upon the entrenchment of human rights in law (politics 1). And don't say that human rights are not "political," for what could be more political than regulating the relations between individuals and the state, the very matters to which human rights codes address themselves? My counter, then, to the argument that (6) amounts to the politicization of the university is that yes, that is so, but only in the sense of politics 1, and who can object to that?

In this sense, what I am saying is nothing new since the university already stands four square on the ground of universal human rights (as I argue in detail in chap. 2). One has to look no further than at the words of the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948 calling upon all member countries to publicize the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was adopted and proclaimed on that day, and "to cause it to be disseminated, displayed, read and expounded principally in schools and other educational institutions, without distinction based on the political status of countries or territories."[14] What frightens Weber/Fish is that the university will become the site of liberal contention, of partisan political conflict, that is of politics 2, diverting and confounding the attempt to carry out inquiry "freely" or at all, thereby eroding its distinctiveness and threatening its

autonomy. For, whereas "academics are preoccupied with the pursuit of truth, politicians are preoccupied with the pursuit of power."[15] Fair enough. But this fear arises from liberalism's practice of speaking of politics as if it were entirely embraced by politics 2, a practice that provides for separating out such politics as a separate sphere of activity from the rest of life, to be prosecuted by a separate "division" of labour called politicians. From this point of view politics is to be confined to its proper sphere, because it is by its nature conflictual. Moreover, the belief systems in a modern nation-state are said to be "so disparate and so opposed to one another that if they are given their full sway in the public sphere, the result will be conflict, endless strife, and, eventually, civil war."[16] While individual democratic rights are then the prescribed liberal solution to this problem, says Fish, rehearsing the convention alluded to above, this applies only to the sphere demarcated as "political" (thought of, again, as politics 2). By definition this does not include the university because it's not in the business of politics but of education, he says, conveniently forgetting politics 1.

(8) Furthermore, while Fish allows that academia has its own species of politics, namely academic politics — call it politics 3 — he is surely being disingenuous, if not jejune, when he defines it as having to do with no more than "curriculum, department leadership, the direction of research, the content and manner of teaching."[17] Surely he knows very well that academic politics are above all about internal conflict among faculties, departments and individual professors over the distribution of resources. For example, "graduate schools … compete for scarce resources with the undergraduate programs."[18] Moreover, such conflicts are themselves articulated with the priorities of governments and state agencies and the desire not to offend corporate donors. They slide over, that is, into the realm of politics 2.[19] More profoundly, academic values presuppose or entail or imply political ones, are indeed founded in them. Holding citizens as political actors accountable to a standard of truthfulness is a pre-requisite of "open societies."[20] At the most fundamental level the Western university may be said to embody the very *activist* orientation to the world that the sociologist Talcott Parsons, following Weber, identifies as a critical feature distinguishing the "West" from the "rest." (In citing Weber/Parsons here I am not adopting their argument that this activist orientation distinguishes the "West" from the "rest," but simply noting it as a received characteristic of *at least* the "West.")

> Western man [sic] does not take a fatalist attitude to the world in which he lives. He does not regard whatever may befall him as being inevitable and therefore something that he must accept and learn to live with. He tends to be activistic, treating the world as something which he can control and subordinate to his will, refusing to accept that there are things which he cannot change or improve. Such seemingly diverse things as his economic acquisitiveness and his scientific curiosity can both be seen as expressions of this activistic

> attitude. In expanding his economic activity he takes material resources and shapes them to satisfy his wants; in pursuing his scientific inquiries he demonstrates that Nature can keep no secrets from him: he can dominate Nature and make it what he wants it to be. It is attitudes as basic and general as this which make up the values which are agreed upon amongst society's members.[21]

Applying this analysis to the university, Parsons writes, "the higher educational system, with its emphasis on cognitive rationality as a value-pattern, has institutionalized those orientations of action described by Weber in his analysis of Western history."[22] That orientation is expressed in the university's preoccupation from its beginnings with the practical job of training the clergy, the medical profession, lawyers, civil servants and so on up to the schools of business, forestry, engineering, social work and so on in the present.

(9) More importantly, the Weber/Fish view expresses a fear of politics (understood as politics 2) as being a disruptive sideshow to the practice of education when it (understood as politics 1) could just as well be regarded as a constituent and constitutive activity of everyday life across all its social configurations, something not only necessary to the democratization of the world, including the university, but something to be welcomed. In short, the threat of partisan politics in the university is a chimera called up to block the fuller realization of human rights — elitist, authoritarian liberalism standing in the way of human rights.

Again, the import of points (7) to (9) leads in the direction of position (C). But in my own intellectual development getting to (C) didn't happen first.

GETTING TO B WITH CHOMSKY

In the early 1970s, as a graduate student at the University of British Columbia, I read with a passion, if on the side, Chomsky's *American Power and the New Mandarins*, *At War With Asia*, *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom* and *For Reasons of State*. But in 1974, when *Peace in the Middle East: Reflections on Justice and Nationhood* came out, I was writing my dissertation, and the task of understanding the "question of Palestine," about which I knew nothing, seemed just too demanding.[23] In 1975 I got my first job in sociology. From then on I devoted myself to what seemed the enormous task of simply trying to be a good sociologist, both in research and teaching. As a teacher I took position A: inside the classroom I scrupulously avoided letting students know where I stood on any question of practical, moral or political evaluation. When asked such questions I resolutely refused to answer, telling the inquirer it was much more important for him or her to work out their own position on the issue in question; so as not to unduly influence them in that process I would refrain from disclosing my own views. Outside the class-

room, but inside the university, I was quietist. In the fall of 1988, however, I heard Chomsky give the Massey Lectures on CBC-Radio. I have not been the same since.

The lectures were riveting. They built on the thesis set out in *Manufacturing Consent: the Political Economy of the Mass Media*, published earlier that year and co-authored with Edward Herman. The lectures themselves, much expanded, were published the following year, 1989, as *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies*.[24] I immediately read them and went on to acquire and read everything I could find he had published since the mid-seventies. In these works was to be found an uncompromising analysis of the organization and operation of the structure of rule in the world. It is informed by three elementary, if widely unobserved, ethical principles: we are responsible for the anticipatable consequences of our own actions; we should apply the same moral standards to our own actions as we do to those of others; in seeking to defend human rights we should seek to act in relation to those atrocities and abuses where our actions *can* have an effect. To the extent that our own government is democratic and we thereby accrue both a responsibility and a capacity to influence it, then our first responsibility internationally is to defend the human rights of those our own government is oppressing. Accordingly, being Americans, Herman and Chomsky focus on the United States. There, as more or less everywhere outside of the state socialist countries, rule is founded in the ownership and control of basic resources by a capitalist class. These resources include the elite and mass media of communication, which are themselves either huge corporations or are owned by even larger ones. According to the standard theory of democracy, in advanced industrial societies which depend for their proper functioning on an informed citizenry, the media are indispensable organs of information, opinion and debate. Thus it is that under state capitalism these essential means by which the public can come to exercise effective political choice reside largely in the private hands of what is effectively a ruling class.

Chomsky explains how the "manufacturing of consent" by the propagation of "necessary illusions" had become, in fact, the operative requirement for the smooth functioning of modern democratic societies ever since the seventeenth-century English revolution let democracy loose among the people and the "rascal multitude" started to become a problem for state managers.[25] Since, thanks to the growth of democracy, there came to be limits on the extent of brute force such states could exercise against their own populations, controlling what people thought became even more important in democratic than in totalitarian societies. State theorists, corporate propagandists and popularizers then provided the necessary theoretical justification for such managed democracy, and university trained intellectuals have been propagating it ever since.

Chomsky made sense of the nature and exercise of power and ideology in the world. He taught me to see Vietnam, Nicaragua, North American First Nations, the Middle East, NAFTA, southern slavery, Christopher Columbus, the Fortune 500, the media and the universities all at once. The clarity of the vision was sustained by the unmistakeable significance and relevance of the abundant examples and documentation accompanying all of his claims. And the horror and hypocrisy he revealed were shattering. It was the ideas, and more especially the *cases*, of "worthy" and "unworthy" victims presented by Herman and himself in *Manufacturing Consent*, and of "nefarious," "constructive" and "benign" bloodbaths in *The Political Economy of Human Rights*[26] that overwhelmed me. And the bringing out of Western, principally US government, involvement in case after case turned horror into anger. While I had known since the late sixties of US bloody interventions in other countries, notably Vietnam, it was a revelation to me to learn of the extent of US state planning from the end of the Second World War (WW2) to organize a system of world order, to see the intolerance for any national effort to resist incorporation into that order, and to see the pervasiveness of propaganda supplied by intellectuals to justify both the order and the consequent atrocities its construction and maintenance afforded. Moreover, the interventions had gone on before WW2, an important phase having begun with the effort to invade the Soviet Union immediately following the Russian Revolution; in fact, they extended back to the founding of the Republic itself, with Nicaragua it seemed having been the favourite target for about two hundred years.

Then, I learned too of the impoverishment of a thriving economy in India by the British imperium in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I had grown up in England (before leaving for Canada when I was twenty-one), a latter-day version of one of Hoggart's working-class "scholarship boys."[27] I despised the British class system and felt alienated from British life. Nevertheless, some slight vestiges of reluctance to believe that "my country" was as brutal as the United States (the bobby was different from the cop, wasn't he?) persisted; only to disappear once and for all as I read of Lloyd George's "reserving the right to bomb niggers," following Winston Churchill's precedent established in 1919 when he approved the use of poisoned gas on "uncivilized tribes" (Kurds and Afghans at the time).[28] Moreover, it was clear the "natural rulers" who ran the state and the economy regarded the domestic population as the principal enemy; only pragmatic considerations prevented the same medicine being dished out to them as was seen to be fit for "niggers." Imperial depredations overseas, in fact, followed or accompanied the "pacification" of the home country, whether in the "United Kingdom" (first England, then Wales, then Scotland and Ireland) or the United States or elsewhere. It all fitted together.

Also, what was plainly evident was that only the determined, organized resistance of sections of "the people" had won some semblance of a decent

existence, including rights and democracy, from the exigencies of the masters, whether at home or abroad. That struggle was permanent, ongoing. The rulers always sought opportunities to take back whatever "goods" they had been forced by popular demand to give out at an earlier time. As everybody knows, in the global North we have been in such a period of "takeback" or "rollback" since the application of the neoliberal "shock doctrine" in Thatcher's Britain in the early 1980s, following earlier "experiments" in the global South (notably in Chile following the first 9/11, the US-backed military coup of 1973).[29] See chap. 2.

STARTING A HUMAN RIGHTS COURSE AT WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY (WLU)

The immediate consequence of the Chomsky lectures was that I returned to my classes in Introduction to Sociology and Sociological Theory, interrupted the course of lectures, and asked students to write down the half-dozen biggest atrocities (genocides, mass killings ...) they could think of since the end of WW2. The results were revealing, both for what they contained and what they omitted. Included were such matters as the serial murders of Ted Bundy, the murder and mayhem caused by Charles Manson, and the Iran hostage crisis. Absent were Indonesia 1965/66, East Timor, Biafra, Burundi, Vietnam, Indochina generally (though one student recalled "the killing fields") and so on. There was some evidence, that is, of (a) general ignorance of contemporary world history, including the scale of major bloodbaths, (b) some knowledge of events where Americans had been the victims, including the predations of serial and mass killers in the United States, and (c) total ignorance of atrocities for which the USA, Canada and the West generally bore significant responsibility. This outcome was in general accordance with the Herman and Chomsky "propaganda model" of media operation. "Unworthy" victims, that is victims of "us" or "our" clients, are simply not part of public consciousness because the news media do not put them there. I determined there and then to introduce a new course on human rights into the sociology curriculum as a vehicle for trying to correct this abominable situation. It would focus on western state terrorism and propaganda in the democratic media, with the emphasis on Canada's role. It would be done not only for the benefit of students, but for my benefit too, since I had never heard of East Timor either and that just couldn't be allowed to continue. For what made the case of near-genocide in East Timor so compelling was that, as Chomsky showed, to "bring the atrocities to an end required no intervention; it would have sufficed to call off the hounds."[30] The Indonesian invasion, aggression and assault on the people of East Timor depended almost entirely on the flow of arms from the USA. Moreover, Canada played a role as well.

In other words, here was a case, going on before my eyes, in which my government (and, as I subsequently learned, Canadian universities, not to mention business and the media) was implicated; one, therefore, on the course of which I could conceivably have an influence. I take up the case in chapter 3.

The "Human Rights Notebook" I started keeping at that time — the cover tells me from February 22, 1989 — records the "declaration" I would make at the opening of the first class in the first running of the course beginning in January 1990. It starts with the text (Psalms 2: 1-2; Acts 4: 25-26; Handel's *Messiah*) of what would be the question on the final examination:

> Why do the nations rage so furiously together
> And the people imagine a vain thing?

It continues:

> We live on the edge of an empire. The empire is evil. We are its nearest colony. We are its accomplices. We are not "waiting for the barbarians" (Coetzee); we are the barbarians. The emperor was never crowned, and no governor of the colony was ever installed; but the empire is an empire and the colony is a colony. I am a subject trying to set himself free.
> The empire rules through force and fraud.
> The force is applied through economic compulsion, political power and military might. The fraud is achieved through the manipulation of language to paint a false picture of reality; the fraud is ideological.
> The colony's leaders willingly subject the colony to the empire's rule. Their relationship to it is that of complicity. They go along. They join in where they can,[31] but otherwise adopt a "mood of passive compliance."
> The empire came into its own in 1945. Its arrival was heralded by atomic mass murder. Its subsequent record of domination is awful in its scope, its persistence and its means. Consider the record.

The lecture then goes on to intone the familiar litany of cases of US intervention since WW2: the re-establishing of fascist collaborators in post-war positions of power in Europe, notably in Greece in 1947; Korea in 1952; Iran in 1953; Guatemala in 1954; Laos in 1958; Cuba from 1960; Vietnam from 1962 to 1975; Brazil in 1964; Dominican Republic in 1965; Indonesia in 1965/66; Cambodia from 1969 to 1975; Chile in 1973; East Timor in 1975; Thailand in the mid-1970s; the Nicaraguan contra in the 1980s; Grenada in 1983; Panama in 1989 ... And this is to mention just the more flagrant cases.[32]

The point, however, was not to engage in US-bashing, an all too comfortable Canadian pastime, but to locate Canada in a US-dominated world and then to invite students to embark on Chomsky's project —

> My personal feeling is that citizens of the democratic societies should undertake a course of intellectual self-defence to protect themselves from manipulation and mind control

— and to take up his challenge:

> A large range of action is open to people who aren't outright heroes, and the question for Canadians is whether they feel comfortable being accomplices to mass murder.[33]

The people I was particularly concerned about were myself, and those like me, academics. And the question that most exercised me was my and others' intellectual responsibility.

The problem with justice is "indivisibility." You find that as you take up one issue others inevitably present themselves: "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere" said Martin Luther King. Not that one had to look hard for subject matter in the fall of 1989. Events presented themselves on the front pages, if not right on the university campus itself. The Tiananmen Square massacre had occurred on June 4. In September and October my university achieved national infamy for an ugly little incident that revealed it was home to an institutionalized practice called "panty raid." That controversy, however, was overtaken, and taken up, by one of much bigger proportions when the Montreal Massacre occurred on December 6. (See chap. 5 for both cases.) Three weeks before, on November 16, six Jesuit faculty at the University of Central America in San Salvador plus their housekeeper and her daughter were assassinated by the US-trained armed forces of El Salvador (see chap. 4). Later in December came the US invasion of Panama, followed in the summer of 1990 by the Oka Crisis and the Gulf Crisis, followed by the so-called Gulf War in the winter of 1991, followed by the military overthrow of President Aristide in Haiti in September 1991 and the Santa Cruz Massacre in East Timor in November 1991 (see now chap. 3) and the Somalian crisis in 1992 ... while the first Palestinian intifada continued throughout (1987-1993). 1992 also marked the 500th anniversary of the Columbian invasion of what Canadian aboriginal activist Eric Gabriel calls Turtle Island. Later still, on January 1, 1994, the Zapatistas rebelled in Chiapas, Mexico as the North American Free Trade Agreement came into effect. And the following year neoliberalism took firm hold in Ontario as the Mike Harris conservative government was elected. These were the matters I found myself, like many others, compelled to engage as the nineties rolled on. As indicated, some of them form the subject matter of the chapters to follow.

IS THIS A OR B3?

At the risk of putting myself out of a job for breach of Weber/Fish's criterion of intellectual or academic integrity, let me take up the case of this "declaration" at the beginning of the Human Rights course in order to confront Fish/Weber with the complexity of applying the distinction between science and politics to things said and done in the classroom. On the face of it you might say that I crossed a line in saying: "We live on the edge of an empire. The empire is evil. We are its nearest colony. We are its accomplices. We are not "waiting for the barbarians" (J. M. Coetzee); we are the barbarians." Surely these words do not pretend to communicate accepted fact, propose for critical scrutiny a theory or position in the field or carry out analysis of a relevant case forming the subject matter of the course in order to demonstrate relevant analytical skills. No, you might say, I am simply voicing a personal political view that is extreme in its evaluation and that amounts to indoctrinating students with propaganda. I am deep in the mire of position B3.

Perhaps this is so. Indeed, were it so, I would say the speaker should be at least reprimanded by his university for forgetting his academic vocation. But perhaps this is not so. Consider the following analysis. It is necessarily abbreviated, since to do it justice would require a book of its own.

I characterized the statement in question as a "declaration." Notice the short, unqualified propositions that comprise it, the prophetic voice that inhabits it and the literary-philosophical language it employs (Hobbes's "force" and "fraud"). Notice, too, that by virtue of its position at the start of a class it can be heard also as an announcement. So, rather than being taken as sufficient unto itself, it may be heard as foretelling what is to come. And as a hearable announcement it makes a proper beginning. But its location is not just to be found in terms of the sequential organization of this class but also in terms of the organization of this course. This is the first class of the course, which fact provides students with a resource to hear that something about the entire course is being said via the contents of the declaration — at least in terms of some general stance or perspective that will be adopted. But what it also means is that what is to be understood by the statement is to be made out in relation to what follows, not only in this class but in the course as a whole. In fact, what the students soon discover is that the course eschews both theory and evaluation (which is strictly disallowed) in favour of straight description (in lectures, term papers and exam) of sets of facts about the subject, which the overall stance or perspective encourages them to see *together*, as related to one another.

Moreover, the course does not simply stand alone but instantiates the program of which it is a part. Typical university programs in the so-called social sciences will have introductory courses, courses in the various fields of the discipline and advanced courses perhaps delivered in the form of semi-

nars. Some courses may be reserved for majors in the discipline while others service students throughout the university who have the pre-requisites. Core, required courses will be distinguished from electives. It is common in sociology for the required courses to include those in "theory" and "methods." The Human Rights course in question is a third-year elective in sociology (SY333) that is cross-listed as a course in anthropology (AN333). The WLU sociology program defines itself in terms of a focus on equity and social justice. Given these programmatic features students may expect the Human Rights course to pay less attention to theory and methods in their own right (than in the courses devoted to those topics which they will have likely taken already); they will already have such acquaintance with standard theory as to be able to recognize characteristic theoretical positions without them being necessarily announced as such; and they can expect an orientation to the subject matter in terms of a concern with equity and social justice. Indeed, its subject matter, human rights, is central to contemporary societal concern with justice. In short, these characteristics of the course's program location afford the students a set of resources for seeing/hearing what is being meant by whatever is being said in the course itself.

There is more to it, however. The course is not only part of the curriculum of a program; it is, after all, an instrument of education. The university which houses the course is, if you will allow to me to state the obvious, an educational institution. Its job is not to instil religious faith or political conviction, not to persuade a jury or to sell a product. According to Fish, "College and university teachers can (legitimately) do two things: (1) introduce students to bodies of knowledge and traditions of inquiry that had not previously been part of their experience; and (2) equip those same students with the analytical skills … that will enable them to move confidently within those traditions and to engage in independent research after a course is over."[34] I agree with this as a stipulation of the contents of legitimate classroom teaching, but agreeing hardly begins to say what is being agreed to in actual practice. All kinds of methods of classroom instruction may be consistent with seeking these two ends, including invoking belief, eliciting or inviting conviction and using techniques of persuading and selling. By "invoking belief" or "inviting conviction," for example, I mean to point to those perspectival matters which the student (just as the researcher) will have to take for granted at any stage of learning (research) in order to inquire into anything specific at all. It is not that such presuppositions are to be accepted on faith for good, but just for now on this occasion in this course in order to focus on X and to see it in what the teacher holds is a perspicuous manner.[35]

Furthermore, that the teacher's utterances are being made in a classroom as part of a course of educational instruction means that they are to be taken pedagogically, that is as constituting the work of teaching. Again, this may seem to be stating the obvious but the point is not obvious. It means that

utterances that look like assertions are not (necessarily) to be taken as assertoric, stating the extra-classroom views, beliefs or convictions of the assertor, but rather as propadeutic, as guides to instruction, "serving as introduction to higher study," as *Webster's Encyclopaedic Dictionary* puts it. Their proper uptake depends on the persons present invoking their morally informed, commonsense, educational understanding of *how* talking is done in classrooms to see *what* action is being performed by what is being said. And that includes seeing themselves as, for this setting, relevantly *students*, and the one making the utterances as, relevantly, *teacher*.

What I particularly like about Fish's definition of the role of the academic teacher is the element of something new or different ("that had not previously been part of [students'] experience"). But, again, I want to take this in a direction he may not have intended. Before that, however, there are two more dimensions of contextual location I wish to consider in appreciating what was being done by the teacher (me) in opening the Human Rights course with that statement. They are the nature of the classroom experience itself, what might be called its phenomenology, and the matter of "the times" in which a course is being taught.

A standard way in which students, teachers and others talk about what goes on in classrooms is to distinguish it from what is called "the real world." In terms of realist ontology this clearly makes no sense: everything which takes place in a classroom is just as real as everything outside it. But in terms of the constitutive phenomenology of everyday life this language-game has real significance. There *is* something unreal about the spoken interaction in classrooms. For example, as a student one may be stunned to learn in class one day that in pursuit of profit one's beloved homeland is complicit in the murderous oppression of a distant population, yet at the end of the class one must attend to catching the bus to get to the store to buy the ingredients to take home to make dinner before writing the paper for the damned course that's messing with your head and heart by confronting you with uncomfortable facts the resolution of which you feel helpless to effect. It's unreal. The point I wish to emphasize here is the "as-if" quality of the classroom experience. It leaves everything outside the classroom as it is. Again, this knowledge shapes the student's orientation to what he or she is hearing in the classroom. It's to be taken conjecturally, whether presented as conjecture or not.[36]

In this regard, consider the following account of a type of group interaction that, for the moment, I'll call "X."

> What is distinctive about X is … something like this: while the discussion may be intense and significant, it is in a certain respect not 'for real' … What tends to go on in X is that the participants try out various thoughts and attitudes in order to see how it feels to hear themselves saying such things and in order to

> discover how others respond, without its being assumed that they are committed to what they say: it is understood by everyone in X that the statements people make do not necessarily reveal what they really believe or how they really feel. The main point is to make possible a high level of candour and an experimental or adventuresome approach to the subjects under discussion … Each of the contributors to X relies, in other words, upon a general recognition that what he expresses or says is not to be understood as being what he means wholeheartedly or believes unequivocally to be true. The purpose of the conversation is not to communicate beliefs. Accordingly, the usual assumptions about the connection between what people say and what they believe are suspended.[37]

This passage is taken from Harry Frankfurt's celebrated essay "On Bullshit," where my "X" stands in for his "a bull session." Without wishing to incur Stanley Fish's wrath for appearing to suggest that classroom interaction should consist in nothing more than the mere exchange of ungrounded opinions, I do wish to note that the classroom discussion or academic seminar and the bull session do have this "unreal" feature of "theoretical play" in common. When the cynical student departing class avers that what he has just participated in was a "bunch of BS" it is in just this sense that he is correct. Of course, what distinguishes or should distinguish the academic context from the bull session or bullshit proper is that such play is, after all and above all, "constrained by a concern with truth."[38]

Finally, there is the matter of the wider social context of the course being taught, what I am glossing here with the phrase "the times." For an attentive student in January 1990 the expression "evil empire" was easily recognized as something that was in the political air. Popularized by the "leader of the free world" throughout the previous decade (US President Ronald Reagan), it referred to the Soviet Empire just then coming to an end. The student hearing the declaration may at first imagine it's the Soviet Empire the teacher is saying that "we" live on the edge of, until s/he hears "colony." Then there may be a puzzle. But once the cases are listed the light may dawn and the rhetorical point hopefully conveyed. Withholding the explicit identification of the empire in question as that of the United States was a deliberate ploy to engage the students in a category search that would result, I hoped, in a *shock* of recognition and a challenge to their self-conception as citizens of a state characterized by "peace, order and good government" and admired in the world for its commitment to "peace-keeping" and "international development." I was intending to act in conformity with Weber's view that "nowhere are the interests of science more poorly served in the long run than in those situations where one refuses to see uncomfortable facts and the realities of life in all their starkness," and that while "the task of the teacher is to serve the students with his knowledge and scientific experience and not to imprint upon them his personal political views … the primary task of a useful teacher

is to teach his students to recognize 'inconvenient' facts — I mean facts that are inconvenient for their party opinions."[39] By putting just those words in just that place, I was seeking just this educational end.

To sum up, using the rhetorical form of a declamatory declaration in a prophetic voice, positioned as an announcement, at the beginning of a class, that began a course of teaching and learning the development of which would illuminate the meaning of its beginning, that was uttered propadeutically, that formed a particular part of a program of studies some of which it could take for granted as known, that itself had a character of which the course's subject was a central component, in an institutional environment that emphasizes difference, in a setting the ethos of which is that of theoretical play, in a time and place with a decided political ideology, I sought to teach my subject effectively.

The idea that this can be done by separating empirical and logical statements from ones expressing practical (normative, moral, political) evaluations or assessments, so as to give voice as a teacher to the former only, is both naïve and reflects a faulty understanding of the nature of language in social interaction. "Moral concepts and beliefs turn out not to inhabit a high ground that overlooks the terrain of action, or 'fact' — rather they are *constituents* of these."[40]

But Fish may grant me this, and allow moreover, that practical evaluations do enter in to the classroom, but that they are, as he says, ones made in terms of *academic* values. To the extent that other normative matters enter the classroom — and they do and they will — then the proper response is to *academicize* them. I agree with Fish about this. In fact, I think anybody who has been hanging around teaching in universities for as long as he has or I have will have found that "academicizing" is something they do without thought. That is, whatever the news or events of the day, including things students bring up inside or outside the class adventitiously or something the kid said at dinner or a visit to the dry cleaner one has just made, one is inclined to turn it into a teachable within the terms of one's discipline. That said, I depart from Fish/Weber fundamentally when it comes to the expression of these so-called non-academic, moral/political judgments whether inside (B2) or outside the classroom but still within the university (B1). He says neither academics nor universities have any business making them. Although, as I said above, he appears to allow for B1 when professors speak at campus rallies, this is the only mention of such speech in his book. He is otherwise adamant about the illegitimacy of such speech, and is unequivocal in the case of universities (as opposed to academics in them): "The university can protect the integrity of its enterprise only if it disengages entirely from the landscape of political debate, if it says, in effect, we do academic, not political business, here."[41] But while I might agree with him about abjuring such judgments in the sense of politics 2, I fundamentally disagree with him

in the sense of politics 1. *I* say professors (*and* universities) have a moral imperative *to* make them that follows from the very nature of our vocation, to pursue and tell the truth. Moreover, the force of that imperative derives from the incarnate connections between our freedom and others' exploitation. I present these arguments in the first two chapters.

NOTES

1. In the first draft of these opening paragraphs I wrote that "nobody is currently asking" these questions, but this is at least questionable if not downright arrogant. "In what ways is the university — historically and presently — complicit with modes of intellectual reification and instrumentalization that inevitably lead to violence, humiliation, torture, and war?" and "Are there alternative intellectual traditions, modes of university organization, and visions of university leadership that might subvert such inclinations?" asks Susan Searls Giroux, *Between Race and Reason: Violence, Intellectual Responsibility, and the University to Come*, 22. These formulations come close to the questions I pose, but in being cast in terms of recourse to the "means of intellect" (23), miss, I believe, the materialist element of the moral/political economy argument I want to make. In making the argument for "changing the world by creating a sustainable university" in *Planet U*, 12, Michael M'Gonigle and Justine Starke do approach the sensibility informing this work. See the last section of chap. 2 below.

2. Weber, "The Meaning of 'Ethical Neutrality' in Sociology and Economics," 1974, 48. The full article can be found in an earlier translation by Shils in Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences*, 1949, 1-47, and in a yet different translation as "Value-judgments in Social Science," 1978, 69-98.

3. Fish, *Save the World on Your Own Time*, 19, 97. An earlier, comparable defence of the "academic dogma" can be found in sociologist Robert Nisbet, *Degradation of the Academic Dogma*, 1971. Susan Searls Giroux also briefly addresses Fish in the first chapter of *Between Race and Reason*, 22-3.

4. Fish, *Save the World*, 29.

5. In his *Multiversities, Ideas, and Democracy*, 138, George Fallis argues that social criticism is not just an indirect implication of academic freedom as usually understood but a responsibility, if not of every professor, then certainly of "the multiversity as a whole" to "democratic society." Similarly, my colleague Lisa Wood, professor of English and Contemporary Studies at Wilfrid Laurier University Brantford campus is reported as saying, "University professors don't just have the right to engage in activities in the public interest… In a sense, we have a responsibility to engage in those issues in a public way." Mike Lakusiak, "Prof Struggles to Defend Heritage Buildings," *Cord* (Wilfrid Laurier University student newspaper), March 3, 2010, 3. See the "liberal" position discussed in chap. 2 below.

6. Fish, *Save the World*, 119. On the "politics of truth" see the remarkable essays of C. Wright Mills, notably his 1944 piece, "The Powerless People: The Role of the Intellectual in Society," 13-23. Remarkable in a different way, Foucault, *Politics of Truth*.

7. On language-games and forms of life see Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, notably 226. For helpful exegesis, especially against the charge that such formulations invite the charges of "relativism" and "incommensurabilism," see Hutchinson, Read, and Sharrock, *No Such Thing as a Social Science*, 55ff. On truth see Austin: "It is essential to realize that 'true' and 'false,' like 'free' and 'unfree,' do not stand for anything simple at all; but only for a general dimension of being a right or proper thing to say as opposed to a wrong thing, in these circumstances, to this audience, for these purposes and with these intentions." *How To Do Things With Words*, 144; cf. Sacks: "In some tape I had, I came across a statement that I'd heard before, which looked like it was intended as true: Somebody said, 'everyone has to lie.' The reason that I could take it that the statement was intended as true, is that it sounded like a 'complaint.' And 'complaints' seem to be things which intendedly assert that something is so," in *Lectures on Conversation*, vol. 1, 549-50. On disciplinary matrices see Kuhn, "Postscript-

1969," in *Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed., 174-210, and Sharrock and Read, *Kuhn*. On the co-habitation of description and appraisal see Louch, *Explanation and Human Action*, and Jayyusi, "Values and Moral Judgment," 227-51.

8. For the idea, that the recognizability "of any speaker's communicative action is doubly contextual in being both *context-shaped* and *context-renewing*," see Heritage, *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*, 242. As Heritage explains earlier in the book (109), this idea is derived from Garfinkel's concept of incarnation which forms the central recommendation of ethnomethodology: "that the activities whereby members produce and manage settings of organized everyday affairs are identical with members' procedures for making those settings 'accountable.' The 'reflexive' or '*incarnate*' character of accounting practices and accounts makes up the crux of that recommendation." Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, 1 (emphasis mine).

9. Fish, *Save the World*, 174, 34.

10. Ibid., 19.

11. Fish, naturally, denies any such benefit (ibid., 55-9).

12. I have benefited from reading fellow sociologist Jeffrey Reitz's review of Fish's *Save the World*, 23-4. Some useful criticism of Fish is also to be found in a review of the book by Thompson, "Surrendering Our Academic Freedom," A10.

13. Kant, "The idea of a cosmopolitan right is therefore not fantastic and overstrained; it is a necessary complement to the unwritten code of political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity." From *Perpetual Peace* (1798), as quoted in Delanty, *Citizenship in a Global Age*, frontispiece and 56-7.

14. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* .

15. Lawrence Martin, "The Great Liberal Fall Started Long Before Iggy," *Globe and Mail*, November 22, 2011, A14.

16. Fish, *Save the World*, 71.

17. Ibid., 20.

18. Pocklington and Tupper, *No Place to Learn*, 5.

19. See, for example, Schiffrin, *Cold War and the University*.

20. This tends to get noticed, naturally enough, in the context of "closed societies." In the following observation the context is Romania under Soviet rule: Herta "Müller's work is political not in any superficial way, but in the more profound sense of literature as bearing witness. Here is a work where the aesthetic and the political fuse in such a way that one is incomprehensible without the other. Sometimes 'telling the truth' can be a distinctly political gesture, and in Müller's work both 'telling' and 'truth' are so important that, in a way, storytelling is for her truthtelling." Costica Bradatan, "Did She Deserve a Nobel?" *Globe and Mail*, February 13, 2010, F11. For William Hazlitt, "Disinterestedness … meant a selfless sympathy that could surmount vested interests; and this, in the context of his day, was a partisan political cause… To speak up for universal reason, like Tom Paine, was to place oneself firmly on the left." Eagleton, "Critic as Partisan," 78.

21. Sharrock, "Problem of Order," 497-8.

22. Parsons and Platt, *American University* , 215.

23. Chomsky, *American Power and the New Mandarins*; *At War With Asia*; *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom*; *For Reasons of State*; *Peace in the Middle East*.

24. Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*; Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*.

25. Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, 357-71; *Necessary Illusions*, 131-2.

26. Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*. The tripartite classification of bloodbaths has been retained in Herman and Peterson, *Politics of Genocide*.

27. Hoggart, *Uses of Literacy*, 291-317.

28. Chomsky, *World Orders,* 6. See now Baker, *Human Smoke*, 7, and this, referring to Kenya: "During the 1950s — a decade that too many still regard as the 'enlightened' late period of empire — the British slaughtered, tortured, sexually brutalized, burned alive, starved and jailed some 150,000 Africans, including the grandfather of Barack Obama, for having the temerity to fight for national independence (which, in the end, was granted in 1963)." Doug Saunders, "The Importance of National Shame," *Globe and Mail*, April 9, 2011, F9.

29. Klein, "The First Test: Birth Pangs," *Shock Doctrine*, 85-152; also see "Chile," in Chomsky, *Secrets, Lies and Democracy*, 91-5.

30. Chomsky, "East Timor," 310.
31. Chomsky, *Language and Politics*, 482-3.
32. For an excellent summary record of US interventions abroad see William Blum, *Killing Hope*. See also Sklar, "Who's Who: Invading 'Our' Hemisphere 1831-," 53-4. For the first real accounting of *Canada's* imperialistic practices see Engler, *Black Book of Canadian Foreign* Policy, 2009, closely followed by Gordon, *Imperialist Canada*, 2010. On Canada as a "colony" of US "empire" see Magdoff, *Imperialism Without Colonies*, 62-3, 85, etc.
33. For "intellectual self-defence," Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*, preface; for "accomplices to mass murder," Chomsky, *Language and Politics*, 483. The allusion is to the Canadian role in selling arms to the United States to prosecute the Vietnam War. See chap. 3.
34. Fish, *Save the World*, 12-13.
35. "To open up our formulation of the problem of the self-reflective actor requires continuous acceptance of certain unexplicated and unanalyzed assumptions that we must use as resources in the course of the narrative." Blum and McHugh, *Self-reflection in the Arts and Sciences*, 8.
36. On "as-if" in the classroom see Eglin, "Reality Disjunctures on Telegraph Avenue," 375, fn. 13, based on Garfinkel, *Studies*, 24.
37. Frankfurt, *On Bullshit*, 35-7.
38. See Frankfurt, *On Truth*, his companion essay to *Bullshit*.
39. Weber, "'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy," 57-8; Weber, "Science as a Vocation," 146-7. As Jensen writes, "I am well aware that I have made many students uncomfortable. I do not consider that to be a problem, for I can't imagine a meaningful university experience that does not make students uncomfortable at some point." "September 11 and the Politics of University Teaching," A14.
40. Jayyusi, "Values and Moral Judgment," 235.
41. Fish, *Save the World*, 85.

Chapter One

Incarnation and Intellectual Citizenship

> "The cup of coffee contains the history of the peasants who picked the beans, how some of them fainted in the heat of the sun, some were beaten, some were kicked."[1]

INTELLECTUAL CITIZENSHIP[2]

My subject is the problem of how to live the academic life in the contemporary Northern university, given that its possibility resides in a global political economy in which the many are exploited for the enrichment of the few. Put differently, my subject is the problem of intellectual responsibility from the point of view of moral/political economy. Call it the academic's problem of incarnation for short. It is typically encountered in the form of dilemmas, dilemmas that are inevitably personal. For example, the start of a recent six-month sabbatical leave coincided with the Israeli assault on Gaza. What was I going to do? I had three academic projects lined up for the leave. Should I start revising the crime textbook for a new edition? Should I get to work analyzing the videotaped data collected as the pilot phase of the "university" project? Should I tackle a chapter of the envisaged second volume of the "intellectual responsibility" book? Or should I start protesting against Israeli war crimes? When it was reported on January 6, 2009 that some 40-odd civilians, seeking refuge in a UN school because their refugee camp was under attack, had been killed by Israeli shells (it turned out they had on this day gone out onto the street alongside the school and had been blown up there), and it finally registered in my tired head that a week earlier Israeli F-16s had bombed a university (the Islamic University of Gaza), I felt com-

pelled to go on to my university's campus and protest these "educational" atrocities.[3] Of course, once I had embarked on this course of action, it developed its own momentum. One rally followed another, one meeting followed another, one talk followed another. Writing became part of the protesting activities in the form of op-eds and letters to the editor and a running record of my actions and the response they engendered, partly as a matter of self-defence against harassment from the usual suspects. Thanks to some students taking up the cause, and a truce coming into effect, I was able to slow down. Then family matters intervened, and I was off to England. But this departure also afforded an opportunity to give a twice-postponed talk to Manchester colleagues in my specialist field of ethnomethodology. The dilemma became its topic. The topic became incorporated into a revised version of an academic paper on "the problem of incarnation in ethnomethodology and moral/political economy." Just so did the dilemma resolve itself in practice, moving from academic activism into academic inquiry. In Fish's lexicon, it became *academicized*.

Although immediately personal, then, the dilemma is also quite general. It appears to express the familiar distinction between science and politics. While Max Weber has accustomed sociologists to thinking of these pursuits as different vocations, which define one's life as either that of the scientist or the politician,[4] my dilemma arises because I see the necessity of engaging in both endeavours as arising from the single (if twinned) demand contained in the phrase "intellectual responsibility" as formulated by Noam Chomsky:

> The intellectual responsibility of the writer, or any decent person, is to tell the truth ... it is a moral imperative to find out and tell the truth as best one can, about things that matter, to the right audience.
> The responsibility of the writer as a moral agent is to try and bring the truth about matters of human significance to an audience that can do something about them. That is part of what it means to be a moral agent rather than a monster.
> The moral culpability of those who ignore the crimes that matter by moral standards is greater to the extent that the society is free and open, so that they can speak more freely, and act more effectively to bring those crimes to an end. And it is greater for those who have a measure of privilege within the more free and open societies, those who have the resources, the training, the facilities and opportunities to speak and act effectively: the intellectuals, in short.[5]

My preoccupation here is with the responsibility of the academic intellectual, rather than that of the writer or journalist. The responsibility here attributed by Chomsky to the intellectual is conventionally heard by academics as adding to the job of professor a kind of involvement that makes many of us feel uncomfortable.[6] We didn't necessarily get into academe, where it is

demanding enough to be a knowledgeable practitioner of our discipline or profession, to be then told we have a responsibility to the truth beyond the horizons of classroom, lab and university community. Wild talk of moral responsibility for "crimes that matter" smacks altogether too much of that other vocation, politics, that as academic researchers and teachers is surely beyond our remit. Life would certainly be easier for me if I could see it this way. But I can't, and that's for two reasons.

Firstly, the responsibility to discipline, profession, subject and students is itself, of course, a *moral* responsibility (as my sociology colleague David Francis reminded me at the Manchester talk), not least because "responsibility" is itself a moral concept (unless morality is negated as in "causal responsibility"). It is not that in being devoted to getting one's research right or teaching students effectively one is somehow engaged in activities that are no more than technical activities, to be measured by some standard outside of moral assessment. Getting the experiment, equation, description, explanation or explication "right" is not just to satisfy the evaluative criteria of one's field of inquiry (or intuition) but to be bound to the moral injunction to do so. It is right to be right. One ought to be right. One's moral responsibility as an intellectual is to get it right.[7]

But getting it right is, in other words, "telling the truth." That is, the apparently narrow responsibility of the academic intellectual to "get it right" is embraced by Chomsky's definition of the responsibility of the intellectual as a moral agent: "it is a moral imperative to find out and tell the truth as best one can, about things that matter, to the right audience." And so, my first argument is that what we conventionally do as academics — engaging in the pursuit of truth, in the form of free inquiry into our subjects ("things that matter"), in the company of colleagues and students and with colleagues and students as our primary audiences (whether we think of or experience this work as a noble, cynical or merely mundane activity) — is itself moral action. To remind ourselves of this is to see that such action is already part of the same family of activities that Chomsky means to emphasize via his definition, the ones that sound uncomfortably political, telling the truth about the "crimes that matter."

The second point is then the reflection of the first. If it is important to figure out how, say, the lines of Robert Frost's "Fire and Ice" achieve their remarkable locutionary meaning, illocutionary force and perlocutionary effects, and to communicate and teach those findings and the methods or skilled practices for arriving at them, then it is so, surely, if only in part (but an irreducible part), because they have human significance. By extension the same can be said of the most abstruse theoretical or empirical inquiries in any academic subject from nuclear physics to natural history to ethnomusicology to neo-classical economics… But "human significance" is a moral idea. And so, if these inquiries are important by virtue of the morality of human signifi-

cance, then how much more so are the actual bodies, lives and real circumstances of oppressed and suffering people, whose condition we know because we live among them, them being our neighbours near and far or, indeed, being us? If we have a responsibility to find out and tell the truth about matters of human significance, as they arise in the subjects we inquire into, to the right audience of our colleagues and students, then by the same token we have a responsibility to find out and tell the truth about the crimes that matter by moral standards to an audience that can do something about them. And that's where my dilemma comes from. How do I decide which to do?

I don't pretend to have an answer to this question, other than the exhausting "Do both!" But I am interested in why it is a question. The distinction between science and politics is conventionally drawn in such a way as to distinguish between the role of an academic and that of a citizen, between questions of fact or reason and questions of value. But what I am trying to formulate here is the notion of "intellectual citizenship," a concept which I hope elides these differences. It concerns the rights, but more relevantly here the obligations, duties and responsibilities of the academic intellectual not just to the subject and the students but for communicating the truth about matters of human significance to an audience that can do something about them. What I find helpful, indeed crucial, to recall at this point is the distinction between politics 1 and 2 introduced in the Prologue. When Max Weber and Stanley Fish distinguish the scientific or academic vocation from politics they are invoking the concept of politics 2, that of partisan politics.[8] But when Chomsky is referring to the "crimes that matter" he is invoking the concept of politics 1, that of fundamental human rights. The two concepts are different, and the difference is critical to appreciate and observe. It is politics in the sense of politics 1 that I am arguing intellectuals have a responsibility to and for, and it is the one at the core of intellectual citizenship. The following example illustrates what I have in mind.

COLOMBIA AND MY UNIVERSITY

Within a year of the proclamation of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) talks began with the Summit of the Americas in Miami on 11 December 1994 to extend NAFTA to the whole western hemisphere in what is called the Free Trade Area of the Americas agreement. Opposition to this imperial endeavour by both strongly opposed and moderately opposed states resulted in negotiations being stalled in 2005. In this context Canada has signed and ratified bilateral free trade agreements with Chile (which came into force in 1997), Costa Rica (which came into force in 2002), Peru (which came into force in August 2009), Panama (signed May 14, 2010), Honduras

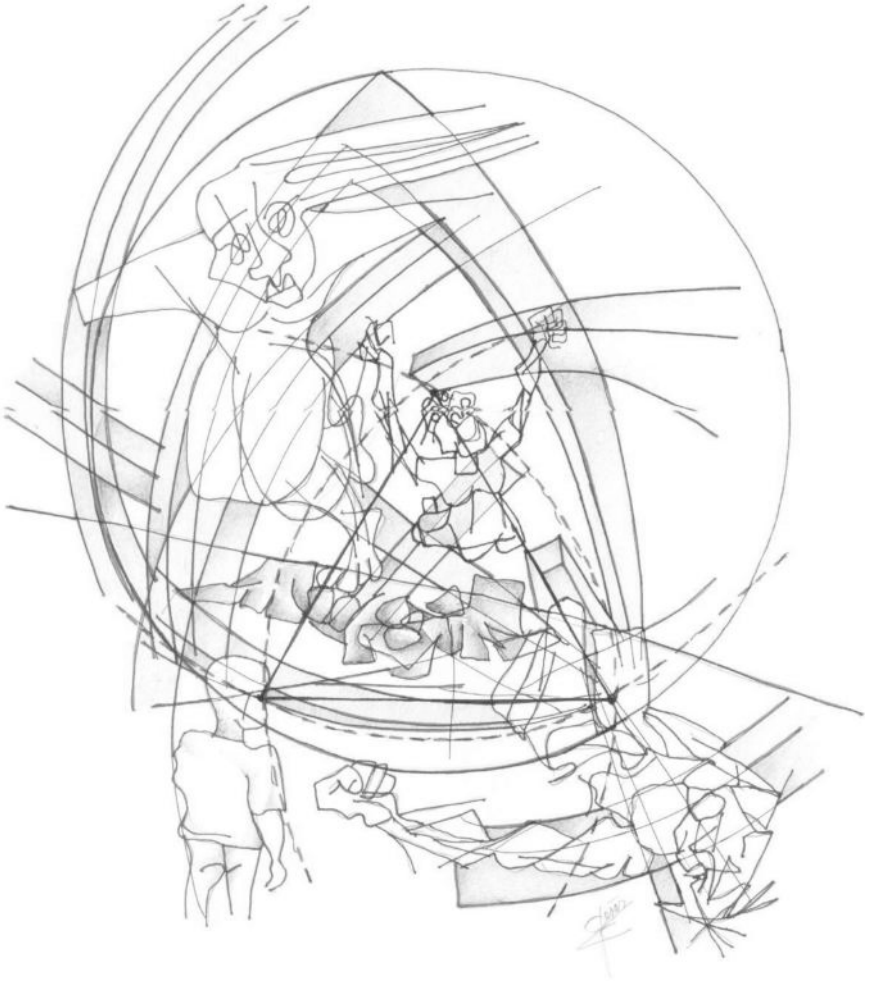
(negotiations concluded August 12, 2011) and, most recently, Colombia (brought into force August 15, 2011). This last development has not itself gone unopposed, and for good reason.[9]

"My Trip to Hell"

> Normally, when I go abroad the most solemn advice I get is "go to this town," "… that gallery" or "… those beaches." But when I went to Colombia, a few [months] ago, the advice I received was rather more chilling. "Never go out alone;" "Don't tell anyone where you're staying;" "Don't take anything to eat or drink from strangers."
>
> To the uninitiated, this might sound melodramatic. But it's not. Not if you're going to Colombia as a trade unionist leader, from the education sector, visiting your counterparts. For, in Colombia, hundreds of education staff, especially if they are also trade unionists, are threatened, abducted and killed every year.
>
> It's because of this catastrophic situation that I and eight other people — from NATFHE [National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (UK)], Unison, War on Want and Justice for Colombia — visited the South American nation from late April to early May [2003]: to see at first hand just how bad things are there for unionized educationalists, who are seen as being particular enemies of the right-wing government's attempts to privatize public services.
>
> Throughout our visit we gathered devastating accounts of human rights abuses — at the hands of right-wing paramilitaries, supported by the secret police — and curbs on the autonomy of universities. Institutions are regularly occupied by security forces and closed to staff and students. On our visit to the Bogota campus of the National University, for example, we saw staff and students protest at political interference from President Alvaro Velez in the appointment of a new rector. As we left, the campus was being cleared by heavily-armed riot police, with fearsome tanks poised at the gates. Our translator explained that secret service agents would point out the student leaders — who would be arrested and never seen again.
>
> While we were in Colombia, we heard the most harrowing tales, many of them first hand. There was one concerning 22 students who disappeared in a forced eviction from the National University. Then there was one about a woman teacher — dissenting from the plan to privatize her school — who had her home repeatedly raided; her 13-year-old daughter arrested; her husband killed; and her family displaced. There was also one about the paramilitaries trying to disguise the identity of those they kill with acid or decapitation with a chainsaw — and of them playing football with a severed head.
>
> During our stay, we were looked after by Colombian union colleagues, some of the most courageous and dignified people I have ever met. The fear was always written on their faces — not surprising as they have to work in bomb-proof offices, drive in bullet-proof cars and be escorted at all times by bodyguards, armed with Czech nine millimetre pistols and Uzis, that fire 25 bullets at one squeeze. We only saw one union leader relax without a bodyguard and that was on top of a mountain. They hardly drank alcohol — too dangerous to

> drop one's guard. They went home early; their houses were guarded and bullet-proof. For these people family life is impossible, many of their relatives have to live abroad… [10]

According to the UK Association of University Teachers website, which I visited on February 1, 2004, "Human Rights Watch estimates that in the last 10 years, army-backed Colombian paramilitaries have murdered 15,000 trade unionists, peasants and local leaders. In 2002, the teaching trade union FECODE lost 70 members to assassins." More recently, Gustavo Gomez, a worker at the Nestlé factory in Dosquebradas and member of SINALTRAINAL, a food and beverage workers' union, was shot ten times at point blank



range when he opened his door to strangers calling at his home on August 21, 2009. His death brought to twelve the toll of murdered trade union leaders and members at Nestlé Colombia by September 2009.[11] According to the 2010 International Trade Union Confederation's (ITUC) *Annual Survey of Trade Union Rights* 101 trade unionists were murdered in 2009, of whom "48 were killed in Colombia, 16 in Guatemala, 12 in Honduras, six in Mexico, six in Bangladesh, four in Brazil, three in the Dominican Republic, three in the Philippines, one in India, one in Iraq and one in Nigeria. Twenty-two of the Colombian trade unionists who were killed were senior trade union leaders and five were women, as the onslaught of previous years continued." According to Amnesty International "some 280,000 people were forcibly displaced" in 2010, and in 2010 through January 2011 twenty-eight teacher unionists were killed.[12] Chomsky points out that the amount of terror has long been correlated with the amount of US aid to Colombia.

> In [1997] US military aid to Colombia began to skyrocket, increasing from $50 million to $290 million two years later, and rapidly growing since. By 1999 Colombia had replaced Turkey as the world leader in US military aid [Israel, a special case, aside]. Further militarization of Colombia's internal conflicts, deeply rooted in the awful history of a rich society with extreme poverty and violence, had the predictable consequences for the tortured population and also lead guerrilla forces to become yet another army terrorizing the peasantry and, more recently, the urban population as well. The most prominent Colombian human rights organization estimates the number of people forcefully displaced at 2.7 million, increasing by 1,000 a day. They estimate that more than 350,000 people were driven from their homes by violence in the first nine months of 2002, more than in all of 2001. Political killings were reported to have risen to twenty a day, double the level of 1998.[13]

The terror is bought and paid for, then, substantially with US taxpayers' money. Cashing in on the climate of terror and intimidation are transnational corporations, including Canadian mining companies, Canadian banks and the Toronto Stock Exchange,[14] and Coca-Cola. An enterprising student in one of my courses, Jordan Leith, investigated what was "behind the Coca-Cola® brand" in his term paper for the course. He discovered that his own student union, Wilfrid Laurier University Student Union (WLUSU), had an exclusive marketing agreement with Coke, the terms of which he could not get the relevant student union official to disclose, on the standard business proprietary grounds. "This experience is consistent with that of my counterparts at the University of British Columbia who were not able to learn about their school's arrangement with Coke®."[15]

He also learned that the School of Business and Economics at WLU uses in its courses a Harvard business case called *Cola Wars Continue: Coke vs. Pepsi in the 1990s*. The case has fourteen pages of text, eight pages of

industry financial and competitive data, a two-page timeline outlining the corporate histories of both Coke® and Pepsi® and an appendix describing "other concentrate producers."[16] The case notes that profit margins are higher in some international markets than in the US, but does not discuss possible reasons for this.[17]

And so Leith examined Coke's operations in Colombia. He discovered that "in July [2001], the United Steelworkers of America and the International Labour Rights Fund filed suit in US court against Coca-Cola and some bottlers in Colombia on behalf of their workers, alleging that the companies 'hired, contracted with or otherwise directed paramilitary security forces.' The companies denied the charges."[18] Leith's source cites the experience of Luis Adolfo Cardona:

> [Cardona is] a wiry man with a delicately trimmed moustache who used to earn about $200 a month as a forklift operator at a factory in the western area of Uraba. When the paramilitaries came for him, he says, he was so scared his hands and feet were trembling, but he escaped. A friend and fellow union organizer was killed on the plant grounds, and the entire work force was forced to renounce the union. The plant where Cardona worked is American-owned; it produces 50,000 cases of Coca-Cola per month.[19]

Furthermore, "One high-ranking labour official [for SINALTRAINAL] says simply, 'Everyone knows that Coca-Cola works with the paramilitaries.'"[20] It is not necessary for Coke to be found guilty of the charges brought against it in this case for it to be transparently true that the company benefits from the vicious anti-labour climate in Colombia. As Leith says, "Operating in an environment where union involvement is life risking gives employers huge power. It severely diminishes resistance against inhumane labour practices. Does this create the "cost advantages" that the Harvard case touched upon? Coke's agreement with WLUSU constrains change-provoking discussions about these issues at Laurier."[21] Notice that the student union, a *union*, acts very much like a company, secretive and indifferent to the ghastly human fate of the leaders of the *workers'* unions that valiantly struggle for basic decency, dignity and human rights for their members whose work makes the profits for companies such as Coke that corporate operations like WLUSU can cash in on for the reputed benefit of their clientele, the students of WLU. Meanwhile the university's faculty sit by in silence as future business "leaders" are trained to carry on the tradition, and faculty union and student leaders in Colombian universities are murdered and otherwise terrorized. Perhaps a question will be raised about the matter in the corporate ethics course.

What is significant about this example is its beginning appreciation of some connections between the pursuit of academic inquiry in a Northern university, in particular its School of Business and Economics, and the ex-

ploitation and suffering of people in the South. Unlike the stark and decontextualized dilemma of whether on a given day to pursue sociological research and writing or protest war crimes, as in the Israeli case with which I began this chapter,[22] the Colombian coke case ties university teaching and learning in one place to terrorism and murder in another. Insofar as one not only knows the truth about a case of human rights violation but derives indirect benefits from its happening, then one's responsibility as an intellectual citizen to do something about it is that much more compelling. The connections that make this responsibility compelling I gloss with the label "incarnation." It is the central concept of the book and the basis for just about everything I have to say in it.

INCARNATION

To return to the opening example, the Israeli assault on Gaza, my problem is not simply a matter of being unwilling to stand by as fellow human beings are slaughtered or terrorised in a situation where my action can potentially do something about it, nor is it induced by knowing that educational institutions are being targeted (quite literally, "attacks on the academic enterprise"[23]). Moreover, it is not just a matter of the competing, twin, moral demands of intellectual responsibility for technical inquiry and political action in the sense of defending human rights (politics 1). Rather, as the Colombia coke case intimates, it comes from the *incarnate* connections between my life and others' death, my peace and others' terror, my sufficiency and others' impoverishment, my inquiry and others' suffering, both in general and in particular as a university person, as an inquirer and teacher, moreover as a sociologist, a student of practical action. After all, as Wittgenstein says, "'There are no ethical propositions, only ethical actions,' as Englemann puts it."[24]

Before examining further this moral/political-economic understanding of incarnation, let me say that the traditional concept does resonate for me, and in a number of ways. There is, indeed, the remarkably potent idea of the Christian incarnation — God made man, the spirit made into body — even for one long "back-slidden" (and who knows that the concept is far from unique to Christianity). Then there's the hermeneutic tradition founded in John's way of putting this, with its emphasis on the Word.[25] There is also, from a simpler sociological tradition, what I think of as the "incarnating" of charisma — what Weber called the "routinization of charisma" — as it transforms into institutionalized practice,[26] a sociological version of the Fall. Abstracted from history this becomes the functionalist sociologist's problem of the "institutionalization of value."[27] More recently, there is the focus on the body following Foucault's notion of the State "inscribing" itself into the very bodies of society's members — this, too, may be thought of as a form of

incarnation. And then there is the ethnomethodological use of the concept, which I mentioned in a note to the Prologue and about which I have written elsewhere.[28]

Here I am speaking of incarnation in the sense of political economy. It arises from a social relationship, described conventionally in terms of the labour theory of value and the associated idea of commodity fetishism. This is the view that the value of a commodity is an expression of the human labour that has gone into its production. The labour is, as it were, incarnate in the commodity. The commodity embodies the work that made it. This then affords a social relationship between the producer and consumer of the commodity. The two are linked together via the commodity. So, as I sit and write at this laptop I am hereby linked to those persons involved in its production, and by extension to all others embedded in the social relations that comprise the political economy in which the laptop gets made, distributed and sold. That these relations may be mediated by the price mechanism reflecting the demand for and supply of the commodity across a market does not detract from the force of the point I want to make here, but rather augments it. The scope of these relations is global, and has been so for a very long time.

> Modern industry has established the world market, *for which the discovery of America paved the way …*
> …the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of modern industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in a modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.
> The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.
> The bourgeoisie … has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that *single, unconscionable freedom — free trade*. In one word, for exploitation veiled by religious and political illusions it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation...
> *The need for a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere.*
> The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world-market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed … In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations. …
> The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It

> compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.[29]

The commodity most important to the "bourgeois mode of production" is, of course, people themselves, rendered as "labour." David McNally provides a useful account. "Central to the commodification of labour … is that the capitalist 'treats living labour power as a thing.'" From the late eleventh to the late sixteenth centuries the proportion of English peasants employed as wage labourers was at most 12 per cent. By the end of the seventeenth century it was 56 per cent, as communal land was enclosed, peasants evicted and then hired back as propertyless wage labour. "Capitalism's first war against the poor had been won. Yet, these wars were far from over. They would soon spread to more and more parts of the globe as capitalism became the dominant system on the planet. And they continue to rage today as part of the battle over globalization … [T]he global pool of wage-labourers has increased from 1.9 billion in 1980 to roughly three billion as of 1995."[30]

Marx's formulation in volume one of *Capital* of Adam Smith's labour theory of value and the idea of commodity fetishism informs Wallace Shawn's remarkable play *The Fever* from which I have quoted at the head of this chapter: "The cup of coffee contains the history of the peasants who picked the beans, how some of them fainted in the heat of the sun, some were beaten, some were kicked." In *Glass, Paper, Beans* Leah Hager Cohen acknowledges her deep indebtedness "to Wallace Shawn for having written *The Fever*." She devotes one of her five chapters to "The Fetish" and tells the stories of glass, paper and coffee beans through the lives of Ruth Lamp, the supervisor at Anchor Hocking's glass factory in Lancaster, Ohio, Brent Boyd, the lumberjack in Plumweseep, New Brunswick and Basilio Salinas, the coffee grower in Pluma Hidalgo, Oaxaca. Cohen is in turn acknowledged by Deborah Barndt who tells the story of "Women, Work, and Globalization on the Tomato Trail" in her book *Tangled Routes*. These are the immediate forerunners of this work.[31]

What I am concerned with here is the moral dimension of these aforesaid social relations. That is, my opportunity to "consume" the laptop in the act of writing on it for the purpose of getting an intellectual life has a cost in the form of life required to be put in place to produce and distribute and, indeed, consume the laptop. This cost is characteristically experienced differentially in the actual lives of those linked together in the economy of this process. In order that some may write their thoughts on laptops, others may have to be killed, tortured, impoverished, exploited and so on, while still others will have to be enriched, empowered and so on.[32] The political economy and social relations of global corporate capitalism imply, that is, a social distribu-

tion of human rights. No one has written more extensively, eloquently and incisively about the grotesque consequences for human rights of the growing inequality in social relations expressed in the structure of rule deriving from the operations of globalized corporate capitalism than Noam Chomsky.[33] In *The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many* he writes about "globalization" as follows.

> That's a fancy way of saying that you export jobs to high-repression, low-wage areas — which undercuts the opportunities for productive labour at home. It's a way of increasing corporate profits... There are two important consequences of globalization. First, it extends the Third World model to industrial countries. In the Third World, there's a two-tiered society — a sector of extreme wealth and privilege, and a sector of huge misery and despair among useless, superfluous people. That division is deepened by the policies dictated by the West. It imposes a neoliberal "free market" system that directs resources to the wealthy and to foreign investors, with the idea that something will trickle down by magic, sometime before the Messiah comes... The second consequence ... [is] ... we're creating "a new imperial age" with a "de facto world government." It has its own institutions — like the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank, trading structures like NAFTA and GATT..., executive meetings like the G-7 (the seven richest industrial countries) ... As you'd expect, this whole structure of decision-making answers basically to the transnational corporations, international banks, etc. It's also an effective blow against democracy.[34]

What Chomsky calls the "continuing conquest," then, takes the form of class warfare being carried out by the owners, managers and political executives of transnational corporate and financial capital against "the people."[35] The means are familiar — legalized blackmail and extortion (the threat of capital flight) and so on, a sort of economic protection racket[36] — backed up by the threat and exercise of armed force, and accompanied by relentless propaganda exercises aimed at population control.[37] The propaganda is both the endless repetition of the preferred political-economic arrangement (within a narrow, artificial and ideologically serviceable spectrum of options), and the frantic construction of new enemies who will surely devour us if we stray from the desired path of righteousness. The mass of people are needed for two purposes only, namely to provide the necessary labour and the necessary consumption to ensure continuing profits for the rich and powerful; a subset is required to do the technocratic work of managing the system, what Michael Albert calls the "co-ordinator class."[38] Ideological management, according to Chomsky, is a task assigned, in part, to the universities. Beyond that, the people are to be quiet, giving themselves over to further consumption, preferably of the diversions lovingly provided for them by their masters. Occasionally, however, they will need to be roused to bouts of jingoist hysteria to support the diversion of their resources to the task of crushing some

hapless "enemy" (Afghanistan, Iraq; and now Iran?). Those who dare raise their heads in the pursuit of, say, democracy or self-determination are to have their protest managed and controlled in any of a myriad of ways depending on local circumstances. These can range from ridicule ("He's from Neptune"), to demonization ("criticism is unpatriotic"), to marginalization (being banned from major media of communication), to threat of capital flight (Ontario under the New Democratic Party; everywhere), to removal (Jean-Bertrand Aristide, twice), to murder (Archbishop Romero), to mass murder (East Timor, 1975-1999), the methods becoming more drastic as one moves away from white society where democracy has some hold.

In summary, while a privileged class of the rich throughout the countries of the world enjoys peace, prosperity and the pursuit of happiness, we may observe among the rest of humanity widespread starvation, malnutrition, impoverishment, forced migration, child labour,[39] forced labour, near-genocidal assaults on indigenous peoples, "constructive, benign and nefarious bloodbaths," denial of national self-determination, misogyny, rape used as a means of torture and demoralization, racism, denial of freedom of association, assembly and expression, the increasingly coercive security state, environmental devastation, and so on. In short, and to focus on economic matters, "globalization appears to increase poverty and inequality. The costs of adjusting to greater openness are borne exclusively by the poor, regardless of how long the adjustment takes." Thus spoke the World Bank in 1999. In 2008 it reported that "half of the people on the planet … live on less than $2.50 a day," while the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development reported in the same year that "the gap between rich and poor is getting bigger in the world's *richest* countries and particularly the United States."[40] In Ronald Wright's words, "After a generation of Friedmanite trade policy, there are 1,000 billionaires on Earth, yet two billion people — one third of mankind — live in the deepest poverty."[41] Moreover, the economic meltdown that began in 2008 is "push[ing] millions more into hunger."[42]

What this means is that my intellectual life as a sociologist is incarnate in the moral-political economy of globalized corporate capitalism and all that this entails in the way of human suffering (and aggrandizement for a few). Not to put too fine a point on it, my free inquiry into the socially embodied character of social facts is paid for in the blood of others' physical bodies (while affording luxury for a few). As I shall argue in the following chapter, the material infrastructure of my university that grounds my sociological studies has been and is being bought with the exploited and impoverished lives of countless others (and the enrichment of a few). To take this seriously requires radically changing the moral organization of inquiry in the university. I set out my own vision of what this would look like in the next chapter. Case studies in the moral and political economy of this relationship and the

questions of responsibility that arise from it for academic intellectuals form the subject matter of the subsequent chapters.

SYNOPSIS

Chapter 2 firstly locates the place of the Northern university in the structure of global corporate capitalism, secondly distinguishes the position proposed here from conventional interpretations of the relation of theory and practice, doing so in terms of a three-step argument about the history of the university, and thirdly considers how the conduct of academic inquiry would be different from what it currently is if this position were applied to the neoliberal university of today.

Chapter 3 examines the problem of intellectual citizenship in the imperial context of academic involvement in delivering aid to poor countries in the form of development projects. It focuses on the relationship of Canadian universities and academics with government, business and the media in the case of Indonesia and East Timor, and points at their current counterparts in relation to China.

Chapter 4 recounts a case of the attempted exercise of intellectual citizenship at a Northern university, the failure of that exercise and the events that followed that failure. It concerns the response to the assassination of academics at the University of Central America in San Salvador on November 16, 1989.

Chapter 5 addresses problems that are posed for the *male* intellectual citizen by the women's movement. It focuses on the author's experience — dilemmas encountered and lessons learned — during the time that "sexism on campus" was an issue, particularly in the wake of the Montreal Massacre of December 6, 1989.

CONCLUSION

The book, then, is a work of academic criticism rather than a contribution to my discipline of sociology. Yet it is hopelessly informed, I hope, by years of trying to think sociologically. It is written primarily for fellow academics, sociologists first among them, both those co-workers in the fields of mental labour who struggle with the daily renewed question of how best to live the intellectual life today, and those who don't but certainly should. Virtually every time I enter the classroom and take the time to look carefully at the faces of the students before me, I ask myself: what in the name of Socrates am I going to engage your hopefully inquiring ears, eyes and voices with today? Just as "if I say again that daily to discourse about virtue, and of those other things about which you hear me examining myself and others, is the

greatest good of man, and that the unexamined life is not worth living,"[43] so the test of examining one's life — here the academic life — is not relieved by the walls between the classroom and the university commons, and between the university campus and the world outside. I can't pretend, as I prepare to lecture on membership categorization devices, that my head and heart are not overflowing with the daily disaster of political leaders dallying over global warming, with the daily displays of people suffering the effects of god-awful US imperialism (Canada "holding the bully's coat") and of capitalism's worsening crises,[44] with the daily dose of Israeli soldiers bulldozing yet another Palestinian home or shooting dead yet another Palestinian kid, with the daily diet of statistics showing growing inequality world-wide, with the daily diatribes of neo-liberal propagandists attacking and undermining the very idea of public life and with the concomitant swaths of government policy making the verbal attacks real, yes, right here in this university, in the material and mental lives of us faculty and students.

NOTES

1. Shawn, *Fever*, 21.

2. Nick Mount, Associate Professor of English at the University of Toronto, uses the concept of intellectual citizenship in the following sense: "What a good education should do is give the student a sense that they belong to an intellectual conversation that's bigger than themselves," http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VYVTPzgFcuc. I wouldn't dissent from this view at all, but in this inquiry I want to use the concept to find something else entirely.

3. See now UN, *"Goldstone Report*;" for just the Executive Summary see Petras, *War Crimes in Gaza*, 13-44; see also Finkelstein, *'This Time We Went Too Far*.'

4. Weber, "Politics as Vocation," and "Science as Vocation."

5. Chomsky, *Perspectives on Power*, 55, 56, 65. Chomsky's substantial body of political criticism, including major contributions on the responsibility of intellectuals, merits one mention (without references) in Maclean, Montefiore, and Winch, *Political Responsibility of Intellectuals*, 235.

6. "Although some professors and students see themselves as 'activists' and welcome the role of critic, most professors and students are uneasy." Fallis, "Professors as Public Intellectuals," 21.

7. This appears to be different from what Frankfurt is talking about in "Getting it Right." He is concerned there with the personal task of knowing *what* to care about rather than *how* to act in relation to others, with ends rather than with means.

8. Fallis makes it explicit: "The [academic's] role of critic and conscience should be related to the expertise of the faculty member and would preclude involvement in partisan politics." *Multiversities*, 137.

9. On the so-called free trade agreements (FTAs) see Gordon, *Imperialist Canada*, 153-9. On the Colombia-Canada FTA specifically, see Sinclair, "Investor Rights Trump Human Rights." On Canada's increasingly close relationship with Colombia see Gordon, 367-76; Gordon, "Canada's Relations with Colombia;" Engler, *Black Book*, 103-8. The deal has also, of course, been endorsed: "Canada was right to sign a free-trade agreement with Colombia… the President has shown that his government is dedicated not just to security and economic growth, but to respecting the human rights of all." Editorial, "Colombia's New Course," *Globe and Mail*, September 22, 2011, A16. With characteristic reflexivity the *Globe* had, in the previous year, contributed to the very rehabilitation of Colombia it reported on, in a Focus-section, front-page feature in the Saturday paper: Tavia Grant, "Colombia in a New Light: Nation Rehabilita-

tion," *Globe and Mail*, July 17, 2010, F1, following a front-page spread in the Report on Business section, two days earlier: Tavia Grant, "The Temptation of the New Colombia: Canada's Growing Colombian Connection," *Globe and Mail*, July 15, 2010, B1. See below in the text for the "respect" for human rights.

10. Angela Roger (then president-elect of the Association of University Teachers [UK]), "My Trip to Hell," A11.

11. International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations, "IUF Condemns Murder of Trade Unionist at Nestlé Colombia," posted to IUF website September 1, 2009, accessed on January 1, 2012, http://www.iuf.org/cgi-bin/dbman/db.cgi?db=default&uid=default&ID=6143&view_records=1&ww=1&en=1.

12. International Trade Union Confederation, *Annual Survey*, accessed on June 11, 2010, http://www.ituc-csi.org/ituc-annual-survey.html; Alex Neve (secretary general, Amnesty International Canada [English branch]), "Not So New [letter]," *Globe and Mail*, September 23, 2011, A12; Education International, "Colombia: Murder of Teacher Unionists Continue into 2011," January 2011, http://www.ei-ie.org/en/news/news_details/1645.

13. Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival,* 52-3. For detailed analysis of Plan Colombia, the $1.3 billion US aid plan for Colombia, apparently still in operation in 2011, see Chomsky, *Rogue States*, 62-81. The same medicine was then prescribed for Mexico: "On June 30, 2008 President Bush signed into law the 'Merida Initiative' — better known as Plan Mexico." Carlsen, "Primer on Plan Mexico," 1. Note also that the United States-Colombia free trade agreement was coming into force at the time of writing, for which Burson-Marsteller was retained to move the agreement through the US Congress. See Associated Press, "Top Clinton Strategist Quits Over Free-Trade Meeting," *Globe and Mail*, April 17, 2008, A13.

14. Gordon, *Imperialist Canada*, 225-8. Grant Robertson, "Scotiabank Widens Colombian Footprint," *Globe and Mail*, October 21, 2011, B3. Shawn McCarthy, "Toronto's Colombian Connection," *Globe and Mail*, February 4, 2010, B3: "for the last few years [Toronto] has been the most important source of capital for the country's mining and oil industries."

15. Leith, "'The Real Thing'®," 8, citing Klein, *No Logo*, 96.

16. Yoffie and Foley, *Cola Wars Continue*. The case has since been updated "for the twenty-first century."

17. A further reason why Coke does better in some international markets than in the United States was revealed by the press in 2004. Under its Dasani label it was selling tap water from Sidcup in England as bottled water (pure, uncarbonated). It was charging about US$1.50 per half litre bottle for what the company from which it obtained the tap water, Thames Water, produced at a cost of about 5 cents per half litre. Agence France Presse, "Coca-Cola Embotella y Vende Agua de la Llave en Gran Bretaña [Coca-Cola Bottles and Sells Tap Water in Great Britain]," *La Jornada* [Mexico], March 3, 2004, 23.

18. Roston, "It's the Real Thing: Murder," 34.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Leith, "'The Real Thing,'®" 17. Evidently students elsewhere shared Leith's views, and acted on them: "Coke Acts to Stem Boycotts at Canadian Universities," *Globe and Mail*, December 28, 2005, B5. See now Garcia and Gutierrez, *The Coca-Cola Case*, 2010 (documentary film).

22. I do not mean to suggest that the same sort of connections cannot be drawn in the Israeli case. They are more than obvious. See Engler, *Canada and Israel*; Thompson, *Israeli Lobby and Free Speech at Canadian Universities*.

23. Fish, *Save the World*, 102.

24. Quoted in Janik and Toulmin, *Wittgenstein's Vienna* , 198.

25. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. 2 The same was in the beginning with God. 3 All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. 4 In him was life; and the life was the light of men. 5 And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not." John 1: 1-5.

26. Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, 363-73; O'Dea, *Sociology of Religion*, 37.

27. Blum, "Melancholy Life World of the University," 16, taking up Parsons (and Durkheim).

28. Eglin, "Incarnation in Ethnomethodology and Moral-Political Economy."

29. Marx and Engels, *Communist Manifesto*, 23-5 (emphasis mine). I was knocked over by the prescience and beauty of this extended passage from the *Manifesto* in the early 1990s, and incorporated it in toto in "Brief … on the North American Free Trade Agreement." Panitch was similarly struck, undoubtedly long before me. See his *Renewing Socialism*, chap 4, esp. 121.

30. McNally, "Commodity Status of Labour," 48-9. The enclosed quote is from Marx, *Capital*, 1: 989. For the data on English wage labourers McNally cites Lachman, *From Manor to Market*. For the contemporary figures he cites Petras and Veltmeyer, *Globalization Unmasked*. For a Marxist analysis of the shift in the situation of wage labour, globally, from relatively stable employment to precarious (un-)employment, to form what is now being called the "precariat," see Foster, McChesney, and Jonna, "Global Reserve Army of Labour;" Standing, *Precariat*.

31. Marx, "The Commodity;" Shawn, *Fever*, 19-21; Cohen, *Glass, Paper, Beans*, 12-14, 199-252; Barndt, *Tangled Routes*, 31-2.

32. See the section on China in chap. 3 for the case of laptop computers.

33. Specifically on human rights see: Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*; Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*; *Umbrella of US Power*; *Profit Over People*.

34. Chomsky, *Prosperous Few and Restless Many*, 6.

35. Chomsky, *Year 501*; *Class Warfare*; Roy, *Public Power in Age of Empire*, 5-16.

36. Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime," 169-91.

37. Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*; *Letters from Lexington*; Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*; Achbar, *Manufacturing Consent*; Carey, *Taking Risk Out of Democracy*; Winter, *Common Cents*; *Democracy's Oxygen*; *Lies Media Tell Us*; Klaehn, *Filtering the News*; *Political Economy of Media and Power*.

38. Albert, "Taking up the Task," http://www.zmag.org/znet/viewArticle/20826.

39. "Almost 250 million children — one in every six in the world — perform work that is hazardous, illegal or involuntary, according to a report by the International Labour Organization." Bill Varner, "Child Labour Remains Huge Problem: ILO," *Globe and Mail*, May 7, 2002. For example, "Small, scattered farms in Ivory Coast … supply 43 per cent of the world's cocoa beans, reports Knight-Ridder News. 'On some of the farms, the hot, hard work of clearing the fields and harvesting the fruit is done by boys who were sold or tricked into slavery. Most of them are between the ages of 12 and 16. Some are as young as 9. The lucky slaves live on corn paste and bananas. The unlucky ones are whipped, beaten and broken like horses to harvest the almond-sized beans that are made into chocolate treats for more fortunate children in Europe and America.'" "Chocolate and Slavery," *Globe and Mail*, July 5, 2001, A20. See also Off, *Bitter Chocolate*. It's not only kids who like chocolate.

40. World Bank, "The Simultaneous Evolution of Growth and Inequality," 1999, cited by student Janice Jim in "Reasons to Protest," *Imprint* (University of Waterloo student newspaper), November 30, 2001, 8; the World Bank study was subsequently published under the same title by Lundberg and Squire; I thank my colleague Michael Manley for supplying the academic reference; World Bank, "World Development Report 2008," as cited in Jensen, "What Does It Mean to Be a Human Being?" "Rich-poor Gap Growing in OECD Nations, Report Says," *Globe and Mail*, October 22, 2008, A14.

41. Wright, *What is America?* as adapted in *Globe and Mail*, August 16, 2008, F4.

42. Geoffrey York, "Financial Crisis Pushes Millions More Into Hunger," *Globe and Mail*, June 12, 2009, A16. "By the UN's own admission, the number of chronically malnourished people worldwide has climbed by 100 million since last year." Reguly, "Food vs. Fuel;" "The War on Hunger and How to Overcome It: After Earlier Gains, the Number of Undernourished People has Grown to 1.02 billion," *Globe and Mail*, October 15, 2009, A19.

43. Plato, "Apology," 22.

44. McQuaig, *Holding the Bully's Coat*. I put US imperialism and capitalism in the same phrase because, "Since World War Two, the American state has been not just the dominant state in the capitalist world, but the state responsible for overseeing the expansion of capitalism to its current global dimensions and for organizing the management of its economic contradic-

tions." Panitch and Gindin, "The Current Crisis," 8; also Albo, Gindin, and Panitch, *In and Out of Crisis*.

Chapter Two

Incarnation and the Neoliberal University

"We say that the university belongs to those who study in it."[1]

INTRODUCTION

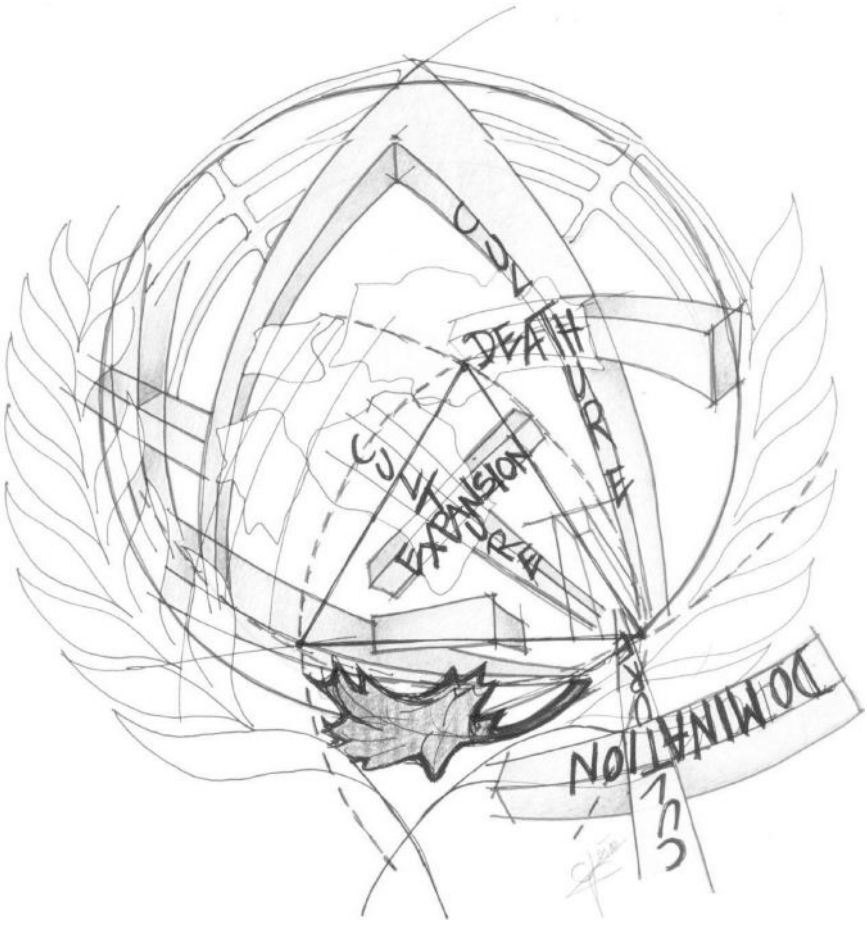
How is it that the possibility of my professional life of sociological inquiry depends on the exploitation and suffering of others (with its accompanying enrichment of a few)? Answering this question requires describing how the university fits into the political economy of global corporate capitalism. How does the *moral* intellectual responsibility of the academic to address this exploitative relationship arise? To address this question requires examining the nature of the values that animate the university, the values that are typically expressed in university mission statements. How might the responsible intellectual citizen reform the practice of university teaching, learning and research so as to respond to this state of affairs? I advance some proposals in the last section of this chapter.

It is surely beyond debate that the practice of free academic inquiry has for about three decades been under attack — paradoxically in the name of free inquiry — from neo-conservatism, a political position on social issues underpinned by economic neo-liberalism. Neo-conservatism plus neo-liberalism equals the "new imperialism," to use David Harvey's phrase. Following the *Wall Street Journal*, I would prefer to describe it as "class warfare" by the 1%, the "virtual senate," the "permanent government," the "Party of Davos," and their managing servants against, as Chomsky puts it, "maybe three quarters of the population," what has come to be called the "99%." This has entailed an attack on public institutions generally, including the univer-

sity and certain of its disciplines, not least philosophy itself. *Pace* Stanley Fish, I agree with Henry Giroux who, in his *The University in Chains*, "argues that both the academy and democracy are in peril, that a fundamental assault has been launched on the academy's unfulfilled legacy of democratic education and its present and future role as a democratic public sphere." At the same time, I would want to adopt the argument that universities are not only one of the victims of the assault but also one of the vehicles by which it is being carried out. In Bill Readings's formulation from his *The University in Ruins*, "For what is at stake here is the extent to which the University *as an institution* participates in the capitalist-bureaucratic system." If some worthwhile vision of the university in general, and of sociology in particular, is to be defended against this warfare, then it must be one which is informed by a realistic appreciation of just what part the university and its disciplines already play in the assault on academic freedom and free inquiry.[2]

I approach this task — of analyzing the current state of the university, making the case for a radical alternative and sketching a picture of what that would look like for sociology — in terms of the current version of the long-standing debate over the relationship of theory and practice.[3] I particularly value Pat Marchak's analysis of globalization, and the following of her points: that sociologists characteristically perform contradictory roles in this process, some enabling it, some resisting it; that to be a social scientist in much of the world outside the imperial centres requires unusual courage;[4] that safe social scientists at or near the centre need to bear witness to the plight of our embattled colleagues elsewhere; most especially, that social scientists at or near the centre need to address our position *here*; that while having raised consciousness about gender and race inequities we have not really addressed "class inequities or [...] the impacts of unequal distribution of wealth, property rights, and the prerogatives of capital on either a local or global scale;" and that, given the threat "that the age of publicly funded mass university education is coming to an end," the "social sciences will survive only if they matter to [people]."[5] Marchak's proposed remedies, however, I find inadequate; I come to that critique below.

I would like, then, in this chapter to re-visit the question of theory and practice, of being an intellectual citizen, specifically an intellectually responsible sociologist, in light of the recognition of the incarnation of the social relations of globalized corporate capitalism in the material particulars of everyday academic life, including that of sociological inquiry. First, since there are many good accounts of the political economy of global corporate capitalism, notably David Harvey's *The New Imperialism* and *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, I will do no more than sketch an outline of it before locating the place the Northern university occupies in its operation.[6] Secondly, I pose the problem it makes for the relationship of theory and practice in the life of the academic sociologist given the values incarnate in the univer-



sity. Thirdly, I propose a model of intellectually responsible, academic, sociological practice consistent with the prior materialist analysis of the problem of theory and practice, one that is thereby fitting for and worthy of the academic ideals we academics already profess.

GLOBALIZED CORPORATE CAPITALISM

In *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*, Gary Teeple argues that we live in a transitional time between the nationally based, Keynesian, welfare state and the rapidly emerging, self-generating system of the global economy.[7] I believe his analysis stands, the post-2008 global economic crisis notwithstanding. As a new phase in the development of capitalism the global

economy makes national economies, national sovereignty and, incidentally, the possibility of reforming capitalism through social democracy, increasingly obsolete. Global sovereignty of a form of economic organization — a ruling class of trans-national corporate and financial actors — without a corresponding global political authority threatens the world with a new tyranny. Why, he asks, has the welfare state been declining? It was always a "grand compromise" between national capitals and their working classes, designed to offset the worst effects of capitalism and as a bulwark against socialism, and made possible by Northern post-WW2 prosperity and capital's need for the state in a period of recovery. Though it raised workers' standard of living, it never seriously reduced economic inequality. Indeed Teeple argues there was a net transfer from workers to the corporate sector via the tax system (the American version of which, namely the Pentagon-based subsidy to high-technology industry, "historian William Borden calls 'international military Keynesianism'"[8]). With the coming of the global economy of "denationalized capital," brought on by the US abandonment of the gold standard in 1971 and consequent liberation of money capital from state control, by consequent huge growth in international trade and investment and well-known technological changes, capital no longer needs the compromise. It can find labour and profits anywhere and forces nations to compete for its largesse. Global financial markets become the final arbiter of national economic policies.[9]

At the same time neo-liberal policies are advanced and gradually adopted throughout the world. Founded on the principle of the "primacy of private property rights," the neo-liberal agenda comprises the following elements: the market as panacea — this at least is the theory since in practice it has meant unprecedented corporate concentration and corporate welfare, minimal corporate competition plus opening of non-market property to capital, and massive state intervention both to sustain what markets there are and to rescue them when the inevitable economic disasters they generate occur;[10] free economic zones as model for the global economy; deregulation of *national* economies; privatization of public corporations; "popular capitalism;" lowering of the corporate share of taxation; reduction of national debt; downsizing of government; restructuring of local government; dismantling of the welfare state; promotion of charities; circumscription of civil liberties, human rights, trade union powers and democracy itself; and the expansion of the "crime control industry" to deal with the consequences, including the management of surplus, usually racialized, populations or "dangerous classes."[11] Designed to justify and advance the trends in place, neo-liberal policies are used to beat down the last bastions of non-private property — from state property in the former second world to communal property in the former third world to public property in the (former?) first world — and open them up to corporate capitalist exploitation.[12] Social democracy, wedded to

an increasingly embattled nation-state and a diminished and divided trades union movement, becomes barely distinguishable in power from its opponents. The welfare state crumbles. A careening business cycle with spectacular profits (and some spectacular losses) and progressively deepening economic crises ensues.[13]

THE NEOLIBERAL UNIVERSITY[14]

If the effective goal of the global corporate agenda is, then, to "free up" what's left of the world for profit-making capitalist exploitation,[15] domestically that means "marketizing" or privatizing public property (where there's a profit to be made), which means dismantling or rolling back the welfare state,[16] which means ending or reducing public funding of education, including higher education in the universities. One favoured strategy for effecting this transformation is to "have" a crisis in the targeted area of the heretofore publicly funded sector, in order thereby to set it up for the privatization remedy. The standard method for effecting this strategy is to under-fund the targeted area. In the early stages of the 1995 Mike Harris conservative government in Ontario, his Minister of Education, John Snobelen, was caught on audiotape counselling his staff about the necessity to create a "crisis" in the public education system in Ontario so as to produce the conditions in which his government could bring in its "reforms."[17] It was a classic moment for seeing the methods of corporate rule in operation. Where, for various capitalist reasons, it may make sense to continue public subsidy of institutions serving essentially private, corporate ends, then we may expect a degree of public funding of social programs to remain, just as the corporate class finds it beneficial to have public subsidization of business through the tax system and through the public purchase of privately produced goods as in military procurements. Thus it is that globalization has been experienced in Canadian universities since the mid-to-late 1970s in the form of declining government funding (in real dollars), culminating in 1995 in the drastic cuts to operating grants from the Government of Ontario, to the tune of 17%.[18] With the cuts came the demand to "re-structure," a demand which entails "downsizing," "re-engineering," "accountability," "performance indicators," "partnerships," "teams of excellence" and the rest of the absurd newspeak of "total quality management."

Hence university education has now to be justified not as a value in itself but in terms of its utility in meeting state-mediated corporate goals of "competitiveness," that is, in effect, giving free rein to transnational capital and its political executives to run the world.[19] It is important to appreciate the scale at which the corporate "revolution" is happening. A leaked document obtained by the Canadian Association of University Teachers in November

2002 revealed that "the United States is asking Canada and other members of the World Trade Organization to make sweeping new commitments that would bring higher education services under the full weight of the General Agreement on Trade in Services … The US government demands that all countries 'provide full market access and national treatment … for higher education and training services.'

> In particular, the US is requesting that Canada eliminate any regulations or restrictions that prevent for-profit education providers from entering Canada or restrict foreign on-line educational institutions from providing services to Canadians.[20]

The pace of the "corporate takeover of academia" quickens as, for example, the availability of government research money becomes more closely tied to universities establishing partnerships with business.[21] Thus, for example, we have in Canada the Federal Government's Canada Foundation for Innovation (CFI).[22] To get (public) research money from the CFI one must simultaneously acquire equivalent funds from a private source. Together with the Canada Research Chairs program, CFI encourages professors to become "academic entrepreneurs." According to Claire Polster, the "programs are also stimulating closer alliances between small universities and politicians who are concerned about the social and economic implications of any harm caused to the universities in their ridings."[23] In this and other ways the universities increasingly become a device for channelling public funds into private profit.[24]

WLU provides a rich example of how universities have been not simply victims of corporate globalization, but are themselves increasingly *vehicles* for its realization. During the 1990s under President Lorna Marsden[25] and Chancellor John Cleghorn, my university's response to the corporate assault against the people, the so-called "new reality," was to take a number of steps and introduce them quickly. These included the following: (a) since actual development research funded by the Canadian International Development Agency or the International Development Research Centre was on the wane or being privatized, to internationalize the university by adopting for its new office called Laurier International the policy of pursuing "revenue-generating international contracts" (which entailed that "the fostering and maintenance of cordial relations with government agencies" was to be seen as "one of the essential goals of the office"),[26] and benefiting from the much higher level of fees charged to international students, (b) to establish the largest fund-raising campaign in the university's history at that point, because the "stability and the future of post-secondary education in Canada depends on increased private gift income" (according to President Marsden in a fund-raising letter to the university community), (c) to cultivate stronger relations with business

and government, including through "partnerships," (d) to enhance the process of privatizing the university incrementally, by allowing tuition fees to rise to the benchmark figure of 50% of operating revenue, what the university officially called "partial and progressive deregulation of tuition with a fixed floor," that is, semi-privatization, or privatization by the back door,[27] (e) to introduce internal competition, devolved budget control and varying degrees of self-financing among its internal units (including "profit centres"), (f) to rationalize the administrative structure, (g) to seek greater control by the board of governors and senior administration of committees for the appointment of senior administrators (an effort renewed in collective bargaining in 2012), (h) to cut the overall budget, including academic budgets, and including the attempt to introduce vertical cuts to departments and programs (while producing an overall balanced budget), (i) to increase the use of part-time contractual employment among staff and faculty,[28] (j) to shift the form of part-time and continuing education from classroom instruction to on-line delivery,[29] (k) to raise money by selling opportunities to name buildings, and so on. President Marsden went on to become President of York University. "In a recent interview in the York Gazette, York University Secretary and General Counsel Harriet Lewis was quoted as saying: 'The most correct way to describe [York] University is that it is a private, charitable corporation, which is "publicly assisted."'"[30]

John Cleghorn was Chair and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the biggest bank in Canada.[31] He represented the Royal Bank as a member of the Policy Committee of the Business Council on National Issues (BCNI), since re-named the Canadian Council of Chief Executives. This is the lobby group that in the mid-1990s comprised 160 CEOs of the biggest corporations and banks in Canada, representing $1.2 trillion in assets with annual revenues of $400 billion, and employing 1.3 million Canadians.[32] Built on the model of the Trilateral Commission formed in the early 1970s, and the Business Round Table in the United States, the BCNI came into existence in 1976. "It focused on key issues through task forces that paralleled government departments, becoming, in the words of York University political economist David Langille, 'a virtual shadow cabinet.'"[33] It is the proximate source of the neoliberal agenda that has been pursued by the Government of Canada and Government of Ontario[34] and that continues to cause the crisis of funding in the universities. "In 1994 the BCNI presented [then federal finance minister, subsequently Prime Minister, now retired] Paul Martin with a ten-point policy wish list. Within five years Martin had delivered on all of them," including the infamous draconian cuts to social programs in the 1995 federal budget,[35] that were the prelude to the 17% cuts to university funding by the provincial government of Ontario in the same year. Thus the university appointed as its chancellor one of the architects of its problems.[36]

This represents, by the way, an instance of an interesting phenomenon that can be expected to become more salient. The phenomenon is the spectre of individuals and institutions acting, or having to act, in ways that are directly opposed to their own real interests. Indeed the more they act in the given direction the more they hurt their own real interests, yet the more compelled they feel to act in just that way. Thus, the more that people are compelled, say, to buy private insurance (like a banker-chancellor) to replace disappearing public provision, the more they must devote themselves to ensuring the welfare of the stock market, on the good fortunes of which such things as their income, pensions and protection against unemployment depend.[37] This means subordinating their own collective interest to the interests of the corporate and financial rich whose wealth dwarfs their own, and whose actions more or less dictate the fate of the markets. As Chomsky puts it:

> Privatization has other benefits. If working people depend on the stock market for their pensions, health care, and other means of survival, they have a stake in undermining their own interests: opposing wage increases, health and safety regulations, and other measures that might cut into profits that flow to the benefactors on whom they must rely, in a manner reminiscent of feudalism.[38]

That some 50% of Canadians now have some stake in the stock market (mainly through investment of their pensions)[39] is a sign of the potential size of this problematic contradiction and all that it implies for effective democracy. As his term as chancellor ended the university announced that the Cleghorn family was donating $1 million to the university.

I wish to see the university engage in education-for-its-own-sake, not for some other utility. Yet because academic freedom is an aspect of liberty, and because liberty is inseparable from equality, and because equality is inseparable from a democratized economy (not to mention solidarity with the oppressed), then, paradoxically, it seems to me this means practical battles have to be fought, and in the name of these very values.[40] What battles these are, and where they are fought, will be informed by the material considerations of cost I have already mentioned. But in a university where business is King and Pope, what is the responsibility of sociologists? I come to specific proposals in the last section below.

THE ENSUING PROBLEM OF THEORY AND PRACTICE FOR SOCIOLOGY

> And the book runs on, years, centuries, till the moment comes when our parents say the time of apportionment is now over. We have what we need — our position well defended from every side. Now, finally, everything can be frozen, just as it is. The violence can stop. From now on, no more stealing, no more killing. From this moment, an eternal silence, the rule of law.

> So we have everything, but there's one difficulty we just can't overcome, a curse: we can't escape our connections to the poor.[41]

My question is: what consequences follow for the moral organization of the conduct of sociological inquiry in the academy when practitioners must take into account the distribution of human rights deriving from the social relations of globalized corporate capitalism as they are incarnate in the material particulars of that inquiry? Before offering an answer to this question I want to make the case that there *is* a moral implication for sociologists as academics, as educators and as global citizens. I want to do so in terms of the materialist analysis of incarnation I have been developing, as it applies to the problem of theory and practice. That is, I want to argue that the moral imperative derives from (a) academics' subscription to and ongoing responsibility for the enlightenment ideals of the university, particularly as they are expressed in (b) sociologists' involvement in the progressive goals of the "worldwide social science movement,"[42] particularly as an educational movement, and from (c) their responsibility as intellectual citizens (whose reach is "universal" or global) to address the material realization, that is incarnation, of social inequality and denial of human rights in their very activities as sociologists in office and classroom. The significance and necessity of (c) addressing the problem of incarnation resides in the inadequacy of (a) defending enlightenment ideals by critique, and (b) seeking the progressive social goal of equality by education.

Sociologists as Humanist Academics: Defending Liberty by Critique

Presumably what we sociologists do matters, not only in itself, but also insofar as we carry out our inquiries predominantly in academic settings and so take on the values of the university itself. "Free inquiry in the pursuit of truth" is academics' most highly valued principle and goal. It is both a value in itself and is expressive of other humane values that are avowedly institutionalized in the academy. That is, the pursuit of inquiry, of life under the scientific attitude,[43] pre-supposes and expresses certain humane, indeed classically liberal, values. These include the value of creative work for human self-realization,[44] the freedoms classically described as the "rights of man," universality of the inquiring community, discipline in inquiry, not just tolerance of but (*pace* Fish again) celebration of diversity, cosmopolitanism,[45] an informed and literate citizenry, and so on. For current examples, consider my own university's Long Range Plan, adopted by its Board of Governors, which asserts that:

> We believe in the dignity of all individuals, in fair and equitable treatment, and in equal opportunity;

> We value our roles in the world as educators, scholars and agents of change and our institutional accountabilities and autonomy.

Furthermore, consider its vision and mission statement.

OUR VISION:

> Our commitment is to justice and sustainability now and in the future, so we strive to ignite the minds, spirits and hearts of our communities through excellence in teaching and learning, in the discovery, scholarly exploration, and application of new ideas, and in instilling the courage to engage and challenge the world in all its complexity.

OUR MISSION:

> Wilfrid Laurier University is devoted to excellence in learning, research, scholarship and creativity. It challenges people to become engaged and aware citizens of an increasingly complex world. It fulfills its mission by advancing knowledge, supporting and enhancing high-quality undergraduate, graduate and professional education, and emphasizing co-curricular development of the whole student.

Notice that these statements are redolent with moral values that go far beyond academic ones: individual human dignity, fair and equitable treatment, equal opportunity, justice, sustainability, engaged and aware global citizenship — just the sort that Fish argues don't belong in the university. I do not hesitate to call these values and ideals noble for where they exist they have been won at formidable cost in the European and North American tradition, and go on being paid for elsewhere in death, torture and suffering as I write and you read, and in places just a vacation trip away. "We sometimes forget in academe that we have inherited the relatively safe spaces we enjoy for our thinking and activism. These spaces were carved out by previous generations of non-conformists, who, often at great personal cost, had the courage to tell the powerful what they did not want to hear."[46] As I learn more of the history of the university, it has been instructive for me to read in the opening of J. Z. Smith's essay on Jonestown about the radical, not to say revolutionary, character of the notion of "the humanities" in nineteenth-century "curriculum development." Smith was writing about the emergence of "religious studies" from theology in terms of a movement from divinity to humanity as a guiding principle of university scholarship.[47] The humanities, in this sense, are part of the human rights movement. In the Western tradition this movement has been largely successful in winning the autonomy of the universities from the hegemony of the Church and, to some extent, from the State. But we have not won our independence from Capital (and, to the extent that Capital con-

trols the State, from the State too), and are currently becoming more deeply subservient to its rule.[48]

But then how should intellectual responsibility for the enlightenment ideals be realized in practice? There are perhaps two conventional positions on this question, one "conservative," one "liberal."[49] The conservative position, that of Stanley Fish, may be said to limit intellectual responsibility to the task of educating students properly, conducting research properly and serving one's profession, discipline and department properly. One's responsibility is defined by the work parameters given by the place of the university in the current political-economic order, with its more or less stably evolving professional/disciplinary division of labour, student body, curriculum, and so on. The late Edward Said pointed to the limitations of this position when he wrote of:

> a steadily more powerful cult of professional expertise, whose main ideological burden stipulates that social, political, and class-based commitments should be subsumed under the professional disciplines, so that if you are a professional scholar of literature or critic of culture, all your affiliations with the real world are subordinate to your professing in those fields. Similarly, you are responsible not so much to an audience in your community or society, as to and for your corporate guild of fellow experts, your department of specialization, your discipline.[50]

The liberal position may be said to extend this notion of responsibility to the state of knowledge beyond the walls of the academy, as in Ernest Boyer's "scholarship of application." One might, say, contribute to or criticize government policy in domains related to one's academic expertise.[51] One may acknowledge, after all, that the very provision of a part of the society's resources to permit his or her specialist inquiries confers on the academic an obligation to pay back, not simply through the medium of teaching students but to the society as a whole in the form of some kind of knowledge premium. One may do this out of a commitment to, say, a value like the "democracy of the intellect,"[52] and a desire to realise the principle of equality of opportunity in the realm of access to education. The liberal position has been expressed nicely in these words: "Great universities should not be judged just by the quality of their students or the accomplishments of their graduates, 'but also by their service to democratic society as critic, conscience and public intellectual and by their preparation of students for citizenship.'"[53]

Moreover, there are at the liberal extreme those who recognise a deeper and wider responsibility to fellow academics and students everywhere. There have been and continue to be many remarkable and exemplary efforts to draw attention to and alleviate the suffering of oppressed faculty and students around the world. Julius Tomin, the Czech philosopher, was drummed out of the University of Prague in the nineteen-seventies for expressing some

thought related to that eighteenth-century idea of humanity. He persisted in teaching Plato in his apartment to whomsoever would come. To that seminar came a succession of guest speakers, notably distinguished British philosophers from Oxford. They came to engage in the radical activity of truth-seeking free inquiry, and thereby to side with the dissident.[54] He was in due course thrown out of Czechoslovakia and went to the United Kingdom to work. When the sociologist Segundo Montes, together with his five fellow Jesuit faculty, their cook and her daughter, were summarily assassinated by members of the freshly US-trained and armed Atlacatl Battalion of the El Salvador armed forces in the early hours of November 16, 1989, Fr. Michael Czerny, himself a sociologist, went out from Toronto and took over Montes's very office and position at the University of Central America in San Salvador. (See chap. 4.) There are other such stories.

Then there are those who recognize that the responsibility that comes with knowledge, the responsibility to the truth, cannot be limited to the domain of one's academic expertise or to the service of just the community of scholars. Since truth does not recognize such boundaries then neither can intellectual responsibility be limited so. The question of the responsibility of knowledgeable intellectuals was raised most painfully in the twentieth century in connection with the Nazi holocaust, with the making and dropping of the atom bomb on Japan and with the American War in Indochina,[55] as in these comments by Noam Chomsky written in 1966 and 1971 about his own society but quite generalizable to mine and his today.

> The issues that [Dwight] Macdonald raised [about war guilt] are as pertinent today as they were twenty years ago. We can hardly avoid asking ourselves to what extent the American people bear responsibility for the savage American assault on a largely helpless rural population in Vietnam, still another atrocity in what Asians see as the "Vasco da Gama era" of world history. As for those of us who stood by in silence and apathy as this catastrophe slowly took shape over the past dozen years, on what page of history do we find our proper place? ...
> It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies.[56]

> The record of the intellectual community ... has not been a proud one. Telford Taylor, former chief United States counsel at Nuremberg and now Professor of Law at Columbia University, is quite correct in saying that "The war, in the massive, lethal dimensions it acquired after 1964 [and, though he does not recognize the fact, well before], was the work of highly educated academics and administrators, most of whom would fit rather easily the present Vice President's notion of an 'effete snob.' It was ... the Rusks, McNamaras, Bundys, and Rostows ... who must bear major responsibility for the war and the course it took." It is such men who are responsible for the "mad cerebrations" that have led to the destruction of Indochina, and who, he implies, should be judged by the principles of Nuremberg if we are to be honest with ourselves.

> One must agree with the judgment of Townsend Hoopes that the architects of the Vietnam tragedy were "almost uniformly, those considered when they took office to be among the ablest, the best, the most humane and liberal men that could be found for public trust."
> ... But it would be a gross and self-serving error to speak only of the atrocious behaviour of "the most humane and liberal men that could be found for public trust" or the liberal American intellectuals who helped and advised them. How many are able to escape the judgment expressed by Jan Myrdal?
> "... the unconscious one does not betray. He walks secure through life. But we who are a part of the tradition — the Europeans — and who carry on the tradition we have betrayed with awareness, insight and consciousness, we have carefully analyzed all the wars before they were declared. But we did not stop them. (And many amongst us became the propagandists of the wars as soon as they were declared.) We describe how the poor are plundered by the rich. We live among the rich. Live on the plunder and pander ideas to the rich. We have described the torture and we have put our names under appeals against torture, but we did not stop it. (And we ourselves became torturers when the higher interests demanded torture and we became the ideologists of torture.) Now we once more can analyze the world situation and describe the wars and explain why the many are poor and hungry. But we do no more.
> We are not the bearers of consciousness. We are the whores of reason." There are, to be sure, exceptions... [57]

Academics are to be found, we know, in human rights organizations (like PEN or the late Israel Halperin's network in Canada), solidarity groups, social action groups, notably in the Women's Movement, the Anti-Racism Movement and the Environmental Movement. In 1997 my own university welcomed Ishmael Sambra as a writer-in-exile direct from the prison in Cuba that had housed him for the previous three years for engaging in politics. The existing "writers-in-exile" program at Massey College in the University of Toronto was fully subscribed. Such efforts are also characteristically selective:

> I'm surprised that there hasn't been, just as I was surprised that there hadn't been a major Western campaign by academics against the closure of the educational institutions of the West Bank and Gaza, that more people haven't tried to draw attention to this fact. [58]

Moreover, Myrdal's point — "We describe how the poor are plundered by the rich. We live among the rich. Live on the plunder and pander ideas to the rich" — cannot be addressed even under the widest interpretation of intellectual responsibility to the truth, to enlightenment ideals. Engaging in activities designed to defend the political and civil rights of oppressed fellow humans is not commensurate with what sociologists themselves know about the material conditions of free inquiry, with what it actually *costs* for this to happen.

> We need the poor. Without the poor to get the fruit off the trees, to tend the excrement under the ground, to bathe our babies on the day they're born, we couldn't exist. Without the poor to do awful work, we would spend our lives doing awful work. If the poor were not poor, if the poor were paid the way we're paid, we couldn't afford to buy an apple, a shirt, we couldn't afford to take a trip, to spend a night at an inn in a nearby town.[59]

Sociologists as Professional Entrepreneurs: Securing Equality through Education

"Savoir pour prévoir; prévoir pour pouvoir." Comte's famous phrase captures the dream of social improvement attending the birth of the worldwide social science movement. The moral sciences were, and largely continue to be, part of an enterprise to treat practical matters of social consequence scientifically. The dream survived their (successful) effort to become professional and move into the universities.[60] From its nineteenth-century beginnings as an effort to come to terms with the enormous social changes brought about by the political and economic revolutions of the previous century, sociology's characteristic problems have been set by the larger society:

> Though it is a staple of first-year sociological teaching to point out that recognized social problems do not constitute manageable sociological problems, a very large, if not the greater part, of sociological work does deal directly with quite unreconstructed *social* problems. These include race relations, educational achievements, the position of women, the social responsibility of science, political participation, suicide (an oddly popular one, that), religious "decline," the responsibility of professions, the influence of the media, the quality of life, the role of the family, the problems of welfare, crime and delinquency, football hooliganism, etc.[61]

If the enlightenment ideals enshrined in the university have addressed themselves to what we would now call political and civil rights (what Bill Readings calls "rational thought and republican politics"[62]), the social science movement has concerned itself much more, we might say, with social, economic and cultural rights. Social equality has been the chief among these. Since the late nineteenth century, education has itself been held out as the great equalizer. This role for education has been given by the position traditionally most closely identified with sociology itself, namely what Anthony Giddens calls the "theory of industrial society."[63] (The competing Marxist theory of *capitalist* society was traditionally viewed as both outside of, and opposed to, sociology, though clearly this has long since ceased to be true.) It's clear from this one-hundred-year-plus experimental test of education's role in the theory of industrial society that it simply doesn't work as a class equalizer. For anyone who doubts this, please read *Class Dismissed: Why We Cannot Teach or Learn Our Way Out of Inequality* by John Marsh.[64]

In fact, if anything, education works to re-produce class inequality. Just learning about the world does not by itself change the world. Thus, although, as I said at the outset of this chapter, I agree with Pat Marchak that we "social scientists safely and comfortably settled in university positions in the industrial countries" need to address our own position *here*, it is her proposals I find unsatisfactory. Given that "the social sciences will survive only if they matter to [people]," she argues that "social scientists are the essential *researchers* on issues of property and class privilege," and "to matter, [we] will have to contribute something essential to human *understanding* of contemporary society."[65] The problem with this position is that it restricts sociologists' response to the onslaught of neo-liberal globalization to the disembodied pursuit of knowledge, however "relevant" or "critical" that knowledge might be argued to be, and however successful we might be in disseminating it to our "publics."[66] Referring to the "perverse cognitive emphasis" of sociology's own polemical practices, Wes Sharrock asserts:

> The failings and shortcomings of institutions, then, get attributed to the fact that they *possess the wrong ideas* and a principal means of social reform comes to be that old standby — argument... Making an argumentative case is not the same as designing a practice, organization or institution but it is the capacity to do the latter which is required if one *is* to reconstruct social life.[67]

Relatedly:

> My feeling in my heart a sympathy for the poor does not change the life of the poor. My believing fervently in gradual change does not change the life of the poor. Parents who teach their children good values do not change the life of the poor. Artists who create works of art that inspire sympathy and good values do not change the life of the poor. Citizens inspired by artists and parents to adopt good values and feel sympathy for the poor and vote for sincere politicians who believe fervently in gradual change do not change the life of the poor, because sincere politicians who believe fervently in gradual change do not change the life of the poor.[68]

And, I might add, sincere and earnest sociologists who teach our students to analyze the connections between our lives as students (and teachers) and the lives of the poor who labour to make our university careers possible do not change the life of the poor.

Costing, Mattering and Being an Intellectual Citizen[69]

I am arguing that the moral imperative that sociologists radically re-construct their academic conduct stems from the failure of both the traditional defence of academic freedom and the "educational project" of the social science movement to meet their goals. This is fundamentally because neither move-

ment takes account of the material basis of liberty and equality. While this has always been the case in the modern period, it has come into marked relief with the advent of global corporate capitalism and its pronounced intrusion into, not to say invasion of, the contemporary university.

In the sociological tradition the relation between theory and practice is classically conceived as one in which theorising precedes practice, is seen as informing practice, but, in being a value-neutral activity concerned with "facts," is separate from the value-relevant sphere of practical action. As Émile Durkheim put it in 1893, "If we separate carefully the theoretical from the practical problems, it is not to the neglect of the latter; but, on the contrary, to be in a better position to solve them."[70] The argument follows neatly, one might say, from the "professional turn" sociology had taken, a turn in which sociological problems were separated out from social problems. The standard critique of this position has been to show that theorising turns out, in practice (rather than as an ideal), to be "infected" with values, in at least two, connected ways. As the quotation from Sharrock above notes, the *problems* that sociologists take up often appear to be driven by practical, rather than theoretical, considerations, such that the *concepts* they employ are not simply descriptive of some state of affairs in the world but embody some evaluation of it. This is true even for the greatest of sociologists, Max Weber. His vast, comparative studies of the religions of China, India, Ancient Judaism and the Protestant Ethic were subtended by his primary interest in the rise of the West. This interest

> in Western civilization owed everything to the fact that he was part of it, and that he was much concerned with its future and the fate that his own particular values would meet in the face of contemporary developments in Germany… The selective nature of abstract concepts would ensure that those contrived by Weber would bear the mark of his preoccupations because they were the ones relevant to his problems, which arose out of his pervasive interest in the origin and fate of his own civilization… Weber's values were ultimately directed to the problems of the German nation-state and the responsibilities of the intellectual within that…[71]

I concur with this critique, but here wish to further debate on this question by turning away from the value-laden character of sociologists' problems and concepts as the site for the discussion, to consider the material embodiment of sociologists' *activities*. That is, theorizing *is* a practical activity, whether or not it is directed (explicitly or implicitly) to practical ends, and whether or not its concepts are value-laden. That is, it is carried out in real time, in actual settings, in the company of others, with real material resources, that have real costs, etc. That is, as I said above, my concern here is with "the political economy of inquiry."

If my purpose is education, if my purpose is sociology, if my purpose is teaching and learning and inquiring into the problem of social order, from whatever perspective, why should I not mount a course in which the vehicle for learning is a practical task such as, say, democratizing the university? But rather than attack the problem with the question phrased in the negative I would rather pose it positively, as a moral imperative, flowing from the very material conditions and values which ground the educational enterprise itself, in which sociology is itself embedded. Let me try and elaborate this point.

I sit here and write at the keyboard. I am trying to apply to myself Dorothy Smith's lesson from *The Everyday World as Problematic* that the "standpoint of women therefore directs us to an 'embodied' subject located in a particular local historical setting [which] presents itself to her in its full particularity."[72] I want to begin describing the material conditions for my academic activity, but the task is clearly overwhelming. Everything I touch and see and hear is the product of human labour and ingenuity which mattered and costed. The availability of time to spend doing this writing, the raw materials in the plastics and metals and textiles and paper, the glass in the spectacles by which I see clearly, the food in my stomach that allows me to concentrate on this point, the clothing on my back that keeps me warm and settled in the chair, the stereo music that keeps at bay other more disruptive sounds from outside, the freedom from fear of the political consequences of what I write — all won by somebody's work that mattered and costed. All are means by which I am connected to others' work and, through their work, to their lives.

It is not a mystery whose lives these are, or the conditions under which they have been and are being lived. It is not just that the possibility of my academic life is connected, for example, to the starvation wages paid to teenage, female, Indonesian workers and to the pre-2000 massacre and torture of East Timorese students and peasants, but it is also that I *know* it is so, and so do you. If we speak just of the last five hundred years — the Columbian era, the Vasco da Gama era, the 500-year Reich — these features of my life, work and activity as a scholar are founded on a vast pyramid of bones, sweat and suffering as Europe, followed by its North American transplants, conquered the world and put its peoples to work to make it rich and powerful. The role of intellectuals in assisting and resisting the conquest has been documented, perhaps not well or sufficiently. Nevertheless, as Chomsky rightly puts it, the conquest continues. The realization of this, of my own embeddedness in the conquest, of the possibility of my life-and-work residing in its ongoing operations, is what particularly and acutely engages me when I write of incarnation as I do here.[73]

The availability of a university job in sociology at Wilfrid Laurier University for Peter Eglin rests, to be sure, on the labour Émile Durkheim expended to show that sociology deserved its own place in the academy distinct

from (social) philosophy and psychology. In the case of Durkheim and many others like him (including me), the possibility of a work such as *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* — notice *Sociology* — rested in the domestic labour of his wife and countless other wives: "Mauss writes, similarly, that his wife 'created for him the respectable and quiet familial existence which he considered the best guarantee of morality and of life. *She removed from him every material care* and all frivolity, and for his sake took charge of the education of Marie and André Durkheim.'"[74] Under their middle-class lives lies the labour of the European proletariat, and under them the labour of the exploited masses of the conquered domains in Africa, Latin America and Asia. And so it is today. While I do not wish to labour the point, I cannot avoid making it, for it is the point.

That persons like me can be employed in institutions called universities to carry out free inquiry into subjects that can involve fieldwork anywhere in the world is because we live in rich societies that (still) invest in universities and academic research. For my sociological colleagues at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) such fieldwork is a luxury they cannot afford. Where do our Northern riches come from? As between the North and the South, they come from the South. There is a net transfer of wealth from the South to the North. The poor in the poor countries subsidize the rich in the rich countries, and we are the rich.

If you accept the argument of J. M. Blaut in *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, then at the point of European take-off, say around 1500, the civilizations of China, India, Arabia, West and East Africa, and Latin America were at a level of economic and technological and "ethical" development comparable to that of Western Europe.[75] Furthermore, the subsequent "Rise of the West" was due, he argues, to the geographical accident of Western Europe's proximity and subsequent access to the resources of the "New World," the "success" of the conquest of said New World (facilitated by disease), and the willingness of the conquerors to exercise what Chomsky calls the "Fifth Freedom," the freedom to rob, exploit and dominate.[76] In this view the "triumph" of the West is, to put it bluntly, the result of "violent crime," of murder and robbery on a massive scale. Blaut argues, convincingly, that it was the entry into circulation in the financial markets of Western Europe after 1500 of the gold and silver robbed from the New World off the backs of indigenous slave labour by the Spaniards that was the decisive factor in affording the European economic take-off.[77] Add to that the ruthless suppression by European colonial administrations of indigenous industrial production in the colonies (for example, the destruction of the prosperous, eighteenth-century, cotton textile industry in India and what is now Bangladesh), the competitive advantage afforded southern US plantation cotton growers from the use of African(-American) slave labour, and other such imperialist practices, and you have perhaps the beginning of an adequate explanation of

the Rise of the West and the concomitant strength of the economic "fundamentals" which underpin the capacity of Northern academics, including ethnomethodologists like me, to carry out fieldwork and write papers underlining the practical, organizational constraints on doing so.[78] And this is no merely anachronistic matter. As Eduardo Galeano has famously pointed out for the United States, the wealth of the North is absolutely dependent upon its perpetual and parasitical impoverishment of the South.[79]

> I spent thirty-three years and four months in active military service as a member of this country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from Second Lieutenant to Major General. And during that period, I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

These are the words of US General Smedley Butler from a speech in 1933 quoted at greater length in Tariq Ali's superb book *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*. Ali follows Butler's 1933 words with those of Thomas Friedman from the *New York Times Magazine* of March 28, 1999:

> For globalization to work, America can't be afraid to act like the almighty super-power that it is. The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell-Douglas, the designer of the F15, and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technology is called the United States Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps.[80]

How long has this been going on? "World trade and the world market date from the sixteenth century, and from then on the modern history of capital starts to unfold" (Karl Marx).[81]

SOCIOLOGY IN A WORTHWHILE ACADEMY: EDUCATION THROUGH CITIZENSHIP

> I say, It's not my fault that I was born with a better chance in life than the chambermaid. It's not my fault that I have a little money and she doesn't.
> But I don't "have" the money the way I "have" two feet. The money's not a part of me, the fact that I have it isn't a fact about me like my coloring or my race. Through a series of events it came to me, but devoting my life to defending my possession of something that came to me is not an inescapable destiny. Keeping the money is just a choice I'm making, a choice I'm making every day. I could perfectly well put an end to the whole elaborate performance. If people are starving, give them food.[82]

Let me come to it then. If as academics/educators/sociologists we (a) truly believe it *matters*[83] that free inquiry be possible so that the creative work of the intellect and imagination may flourish, and if we (b) acknowledge the material connections of *cost* between the possibility of our scholarly activities and the oppression and exploitation of others (and, to some degree, of ourselves), then (c) we must find it morally hypocritical and untenable to inquire into and teach about such topics as inequality, poverty, the distribution of human rights, and globalized corporate capitalism while depending on, profiting from and re-producing their stable features; "[w]e describe how the poor are plundered by the rich. We live among the rich. Live on the plunder and pander ideas to the rich."

While respecting the difference between the lecture and the sermon or political speech, between the teacher's podium and the pulpit or soapbox,[84] what I am proposing is the pursuit of inquiry by teacher and student in the context of carrying out practical emancipatory or liberatory tasks,[85] tasks that lie in the domain of politics 1. Such tasks will then incarnate the academic values we profess and educational goals we seek in the very activities we actually carry out. In this way they go beyond, say, York University's participation with the Canadian Labour Congress in developing a Global Labour University "to address the strategic training needs of union leaders in the current era of globalization."[86] They similarly go further than, or are at least a more muscular version of, the sort of social work with which Ernest Boyer tasks his "New American College," a type of institution "that defines professional service as a central mission," where "undergraduates … would participate in field projects, relating ideas to real life," and where "classrooms and laboratories would be extended to include health clinics, youth centers, schools and government offices."[87] They exceed, too, the international version of such service as in, for example, the partnership between Laurentian University and the Salvation Army to help "rebuild Usulatan, a community of about 200 people in El Salvador which was devastated by the November 1998 Hurricane Mitch,"[88] or that between WLU's Laurier International and an NGO called Solidarity in Action whereby in August 2009 "13 students … spent two weeks building 172 steps into the side of a mountain in the Peruvian Andes" to improve mobility for the local community.[89] I envisage applying the approach I have been developing here to the social structure within the university, to the nature of the courses we teach and topics we research, and to the overall project of the universities.

There is the question of which particular topics to address first, which second and so on. Karl Popper proposed two principles for guiding action on the part of a democratic polity.[90] The first is to minimise avoidable suffering. The second, but only the second he says, is to maximise people's freedom to do as they please. The two maxims are perhaps a friendly and secular version of Augustine's recommendation for the good life — "Love God, and do as

you like." It may be debated to what extent academic inquiry is an expression and embodiment of "people's freedom to do as they please." I have argued that while we may have secured a significant degree of autonomy from the control of the Church and, to a lesser extent, the State, we are in danger of losing it to Business. To my mind, it is much less debatable to what degree our academic activities are part of an enterprise directed towards "minimising avoidable suffering." They are not nearly so directed as they could be, nor as they should be if you accept the moral calculus I have proposed.

Chomsky has proposed that the relevant strategy is to seek out those illegitimate forms of authority — such as those based on class, race, gender, sexual orientation, etc — that stand as arbitrary barriers between individuals and their freedom to engage in the creative work that is essential to human self-realization — including, obviously, the work of free inquiry in the universities — to seek them out and remove them. To be effective this will necessarily be a collective endeavour, this being the only way anything emancipatory has ever been accomplished. Furthermore, if the account of the structure of rule given in the Prologue is correct, then it is private ownership of basic resources that is the crucial barrier to freedom. Thus, it is action in pursuit of economic democracy that is of fundamental importance. This is to say that it is in the areas of decisions about the production and investment of capital that the next (last?) great battle in the democratic project is to be fought, given the relative gains in matters of women's rights, racial minorities' rights, gay rights and so on.[91]

Whether one adopts "minimizing avoidable suffering" or "removing arbitrary barriers to human self-realization" as the relevant criterion, the question of which case of suffering or which arbitrary class barrier to attack first remains. Chomsky reminds us that the fundamental ethical principle here is to act in those arenas where one's actions *can* have an effect, and thus where one has a responsibility to act.

Thus, firstly, it would follow from the above vision, analysis and strategy that within the university itself one would seek to remove existing class divisions by bringing all aspects of the university's own political economy under the democratic control of those whose place of work it is. In comparison to most other complex organizations the standard governance arrangements in universities already go a long way to making them democratic places. It is the case that most if not all campus constituencies (senior administration, faculty and librarians, students, administrative staff, information technology staff, physical plant maintenance staff and food preparation staff, the wider community) are represented on either or both the Senate and Board of Governors. But insofar as basic decisions about such matters as growth, budget and internal organization are taken by one group, namely senior administration, with consultation of others, then the university remains class-divided, with collective bargaining between senior administration and other

employee groups the consequence. If universities are really to be the sort of communities their mission statements typically announce, then all such fundamental matters as budget, salaries, sharing of work, capital investment, growth, hiring, living arrangements, use of space, food production and food provision and so on should be decided collectively and in a participatory manner by all members of the university community. If a budget can be worked out for a city the size of Porto Alegre in Brazil, with a population of one and a half million, it should be a breeze for a university of 25,000.[92]

Speaking just of faculty, the most glaring, pressing and grotesquely exploitative class divide on the contemporary university campus is that between permanent and contract academic staff. Consider the following comparison. The two of them are academics, working full-time at their jobs. Each teaches four courses per year, does extensive course preparation, research and writing, and performs service to the university and wider community. They both have books and chapters in other books being published this year (2012), have ongoing research projects, are making research grant applications and are lined up to present papers at conferences. Both have PhDs. One has been an academic for 35 years, the other for five years. The one with 35 years under his belt is a permanent employee, has an office and is paid when not teaching. His remuneration this year is about $150,000 plus health benefits, an $1100 professional expense reimbursement (PER) and an $850 allowance for conference travel. The other is a member of the contract academic staff (CAS), has no office of her own and is paid about $7,000 per (four-month) course, without health benefits or travel allowance and with a PER of $100 per course. Her pay this year is $28,000. That such inequality should be tolerated in any workplace, most of all in a university, is a travesty of human rights. It is in gross contravention of Article 7 of the International Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, signed by Canada in 1966, subsequently ratified and having come into force in 1976. Article 7 reads, in relevant part:

> The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure, in particular:
> (a) Remuneration which provides all workers, as a minimum, with:
> (i) Fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, in particular women being guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work;
> (ii) A decent living for themselves and their families in accordance with the provisions of the present Covenant.

At the university in question CAS "currently teach approximately 33% of all classes and 40% of WLU's students. Paradoxically, however, CAS Members cost Laurier only six to seven percent of its total revenues."[93] Rather than

seeking to eliminate such positions in favour of permanent jobs, with perhaps some flexibility around the edges, senior administration seeks always to increase that percentage. Clearly, such a situation is an abomination that corrodes the dignity of contract academic staff, denies them a proper living, is especially exploitative of women, and corrupts academic life for faculty, students and administrative staff across the university by institutionalizing an invidious class division. It just has to go.

Thus, secondly, if my argument is sound how can we do other than formulate our academic programs under such titles as "Democratizing This University" and "Minimizing This University's Ecological Footprint." I hope you can see how all disciplines are implicated in such programs. To the extent that a university links itself with other institutions and constituencies beyond its gates, to that extent it may broaden the scope of its programs in conjunction with those institutions and constituencies, that is, progressively-democratically, so to speak.

Intriguing (if sometimes dangerous) possibilities suggest themselves for intra- and inter-university links among faculty and students pursuing the same course, both within the home country and internationally. There's no reason in principle why globalization in economic and military relations should not be matched by globalization in courses designed to secure the human rights of indigenous peoples, women and workers world-wide.

Thirdly, Canadian universities could collectively offer their intellectual and institutional resources in democratic collaboration with the relevant constituencies for the task of removing the barriers to realizing social, economic and cultural justice and thus full citizenship rights for Canadian First Nations. They could similarly adopt the goal of bringing to an end their country's participation in state-sanctioned torture and imperial wars, and they could set themselves the task of reversing their country's growing greenhouse gas emissions. "Stopping torture is not on a par with ending world hunger. It does not require a massive mobilization of resources. Quite the opposite. It requires withholding them — withholding aid, withholding critical trade relations, withholding international acceptance."[94] In the first decade of the twenty-first century we might add "withholding candidates" for torture such as Maher Arar, Ahmad El Maati, Abdullah Almalki and Muayyed Nureddin,[95] and "withholding torturers" rather than putting them in power.[96]

For me these proposals mean simply extending the University's long-standing objective of pursuing the goal of educating-for-citizenship by transforming it into educating-through-the-practice-of-citizenship. As I envisage it, the transformation can be achieved while maintaining degree programs. Students will still be educated, Grade Point Averages calculated, degrees granted. But activities will be radically changed. They will become activities in which learning is embedded, is incarnate in the acts of extending rights of

citizenship. For the reasons already stated, the most important of these are the rights of economic democracy, what Michael Albert and Robin Hahnel call "participatory economics."[97]

Throughout these proposals I am employing the principle that one leads by example: thus first Laurier, then hopefully Waterloo, Guelph and so on; similarly, first Canada, then, say, Sweden and so on.

I continue to put these proposals before my own students and (occasionally, when emboldened) my colleagues at Wilfrid Laurier University. I think of it as a proper job of universities and, I aver, a worthy educational experiment. Think of it as the Applied Humanity program, where that embraces the arts (including music), sciences, business, social work, theology, law, medicine, nursing, engineering ... Clearly, an unavoidable component of the work is bootstrapping, that is figuring out how to do it as it's being done. But that's the nature of ordinary life anyway, as ethnomethodology confirms, and of any course of teaching, learning and researching. Learning by doing is presumably *the* model of effective education. Recording, analyzing and evaluating task activities as an ongoing part of carrying them out is no more than effective practice, and is essentially educational. Ideas are being applied and tested as the work goes on. Thus a basis for evaluating competence in the disciplines is being built, and presumably judgments can then be made of students' progress in courses and thus in their programs (and equivalently of teachers, and administrators).

I fully realize what Chomsky is getting at when, referring to the 1960s student movement, he writes, "radical students will certainly ask themselves why support from the Defence Department is more objectionable than support from capitalist institutions — ultimately from profits derived by exploitation — or support by tax-free gifts that in effect constitute a levy on the poor to support the education of the privileged. It is impossible to escape the fact that the university is ultimately a parasitic institution, from an economic point of view. It cannot free itself from the inequities of the society in which it exists."[98] But nobody can say that the revolution *has* to start somewhere else in the society.[99]

NOTES

1. This was the slogan on the banners of the striking students at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in 1999-2000. See Klein, "The Unknown Icon," 21. Compare the single-minded assertiveness of this claim with the tortured identity politics under "the ongoing impact of globalization and neo-liberalism" of the contributions to Wagner, Acker, and Mayuzumi, *Whose University Is It Anyway?* The quoted phrase is from page 19.

2. Harvey, *The New Imperialism*; Chomsky, *Class Warfare*, 7-8; for "virtual senate" see Chomsky's many writings or talks on globalization, where he attributes the expression to "international economists;" for "permanent government" see Lapham, "Lights, Camera, Democracy!" for "Party of Davos" see Faux, *Global Class War*; for the attack on the discipline of philosophy see Derrida's *Right to Philosophy*, published as *Whose Afraid of Philosophy?* and

Eyes of the University; Fish, *Save the World*, 105-6; Giroux, *University in Chains*, 1; Readings, *University in Ruins*, 163. See also Newson and Buchbinder, *University Means Business*, 64, citing Castles and Wüstenberg, *Education for the Future*; Calvert and Kuehn, "NAFTA and Post-Secondary Education in Canada;" Mosher, "Corporate Censorship and Academic Freedom;" Soley, *Leasing the Ivory Tower*; Naomi Klein, "Academics Can't Give in to Corporate Agenda," *Toronto Star*, April 28, 1997, A19; Newson and Currie, *Universities and Globalization*; Tudiver, *Universities for Sale*; Turk, *Corporate Campus*; Levin, *Globalizing the Community College*; Rajagopal, *Hidden Academics*; Noble, *Digital Diploma Mills*; Johnson, Kavanagh, and Mattson, *Steal This University*; Levy, "Subversion of the University;" M'Gonigle and Starke, *Planet U*; Côté and Allahar, *Ivory Tower Blues*; Bousquet, *How The University Works*; Turk, *Universities at Risk*; Woodhouse, *Selling Out*; Tuchman, *Wannabe U*; Angus, *Love the Questions*; Nussbaum, *Not For Profit*; Newson and Polster, *Academic Callings*; see esp. chap 22, "An Academic Callings Interview: Joel Bakan;" Côté and Allahar, *Lowering Higher Education*.

3. From a substantial literature here is a selection of contributions: Anderson, *Varieties of Political Expression in Sociology*; Habermas, *Knowledge and Human Interests*; *Theory and Practice*; Fletcher, *Beneath the Surface*; Fay, *Social Theory and Political Practice*; Lloyd, *Social Theory and Political Practice*; Bourdieu, *Political Interventions*. For some characteristic Canadian discussion see Porter, "Call Yourself a Sociologist!" Reimer, "Anthropologists and Sociologists in the New World Order."

4. For the recent examples of Pinar Selek in Turkey and Agnes Heller in Hungary see: Neyrat, "Guilty of Being a Sociologist?"

5. Marchak, "Social Sciences in a Global Economy," 10, 11, 12. Fish documents the drastic forty-year decline in the public funding of universities in the United States in *Save the World*, 154-5. For equivalent data for Canada from 1977 to 1998 see Tudiver, *Universities for Sale*, 203. Also, "per student funding from the government (primarily provincial) has dropped from $17,900 in 1980-81 to $9,900 in 2006-2007." Jamie Damaskinos, "Are Canadian Universities Underfunded?" *IMPRINT* (University of Waterloo's Official Student Newspaper), July 11, 2008, front page, citing a June 2008 report by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.

6. Harvey, *New Imperialism*; *Brief History of Neoliberalism*.

7. Teeple, *Globalization and Decline of Social Reform*; also Marchak, "Relevance," 5.

8. Chomsky, *Perspectives on Power*, 188; *World Orders*, 100ff; see now McMurtry, "Injustice Built Into Tax System," 1.

9. Martin Walker, "Financial Markets, Not Politicians, Rule the World," *Record* (Kitchener-Waterloo), June 22, 1995, A7. To be clear, "Very real pressure from global markets compels governments to implement austerity even though this is damaging to the economy. Here we are reminded that capital's primary concern is not, and has never been, with the 'economy,' but with profits and the stability of the system. If those are best achieved in ways that damage jobs and incomes for the majority, so be it. This is why austerity fits the logic of capital even if it means economic stagnation and mounting unemployment." McNally, "And They Call This a Recovery?" 5.

10. See Panitch and Gindin, "Current Crisis;" in the words of Polanyi, *Great Transformation*, 3: "Our thesis is that the idea of a self-adjusting market implied a stark utopia. Such an institution could not exist for any length of time without annihilating the human and natural substance of society; it would have physically destroyed man and transformed his surroundings into a wilderness;" see McQuaig, *All You Can Eat*, for an excellent retrieval of Polanyi and his work for the twenty-first century.

11. "We are left with the surplus population, those outside production. And we are left with the classical problem: How to control the dangerous classes." Christie, *Crime Control as Industry*, 61; see also Klein, *Shock Doctrine*, 532: referring to the Palestinians in the Occupied Territories, she writes, "What Israel has constructed is a system designed to … keep workers from working, a network of open holding pens for millions of people who have been categorized as surplus humanity… In South Africa, Russia and New Orleans the rich build walls around themselves. Israel has taken this disposal process a step further: it has built walls around the dangerous poor." For specific attention to the racialized — if culturally coded as raceless —

character of the question of "how to dispose of … those populations whose culture or character is alien and alienating, whose patterns of work and consumption are neither required nor adequate, whose presence takes up too much valuable space, whose movement remains the source of too much unease, whose settlement threatens to drain once abundant and now dwindling economic and ecological resources," see Susan Searls Giroux, *Between Race and Reason*, 4.

12. This is clearly the purpose of the World Trade Organization that, at the time of writing, has in its sights the goal of marketizing the massive sphere of government procurement that "in most countries accounts for between 15 per cent and 20 per cent of gross domestic product." Barrie McKenna, "With Doha Dead, WTO Moves On to Government Purchasing," *Globe and Mail*, December 16, 2011, B3.

13. I am borrowing here from my "Review of *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*;" see now Teeple and McBride, *Relations of Global Power*; on betrayal by social democrats, once in power, see Herman, "Democratic Betrayal;" on the general history of neoliberalism see George, "Short History of Neoliberalism;" Harvey, *Neoliberalism*; Klein, *Shock Doctrine*; in general, see McMurtry's remarkable book, *Unequal Freedoms*.

14. Newstadt, "Neoliberal University."

15. See the excellent discussion of "accumulation by dispossession" in Harvey, *New Imperialism*, chap. 4.

16. McMurtry, "Injustice,"1: "The tax war for the rich began in the US with the Reagan administration, which immediately gave away an unprecedented $500 billion in tax cuts in 1981 dollars to the wealthy to force a reduction in social programs."

17. "How to Invent a Crisis in Education," *Globe and Mail*, September 15, 1995, A15. See now Klein, *Shock Doctrine*, 310-11, also citing McQuaig, *Shooting the Hippo*, on the invention of the debt crisis in Canada of the mid-1990s.

18. See Damaskinos in endnote 5.

19. In McMurtry's terms, "'market freedom' … means freedom of transnational corporations and stockholders to be unaccountable to anything, including world life itself." Klaehn, "Interview with John McMurtry," 118. With the goal of enhancing competitiveness comes the "vocationalizing" of the academy. See the cogent, one-paragraph summary of its causes in Curtis, "Two Hours Left and Nothing to Say," 101.

20. "Leaked US Document;" also Cohen, "WTO and Post-secondary Education;" the targeting of education under the General Agreement on Trade in Services was renewed in 2006 at the World Trade Organization (WTO) ministerial meeting in Hong Kong; see "Education Targeted in WTO Talks."

21. Newson and Buchbinder, *University Means Business*, chap. 6, esp. 84; Klein, "Academics Can't Give In to Corporate Agenda;" see also endnote 2.

22. For the portentous Mexican case see Aboites and Newson, "Mexico, Canada and NAFTA;" for the more fully realized consequence, the case of the United Kingdom, where "the funding of academic research has been taken over by business," see George Monbiot, "Captive Knowledge," *Guardian*, May 12, 2009; reprinted on Z Space, http://www.zcommunications.org/zspace/commentaries/3862. In February 2010 the Association of Canadian Community Colleges released a report that "found that private sector investment in applied and industry-driven research at Canadian colleges, institutes, polytechnics, cégeps and university colleges increased ten-fold over the last three years… Private sector investment ballooned from $4 million to $45 million, provincial/territorial investment from $13 to $45 million and colleges themselves are now investing $35 million. Federal investment dropped from $28 to $27 million. Private sector partnerships with colleges increased seven-fold, with 3,602 companies now participating." Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC), "Media Release: Colleges and Industry Team Up to Boost Innovation and Create Jobs." For the report itself see ACCC, *Partnerships for Productivity and Advanced Skills*.

23. Polster, "Break from the Past," 296, 297.

24. Consider now the move afoot among some Canadian universities to outsource the recruitment and teaching of first-year international students to private, for-profit, educational corporations: "A firm called Navitas has signed contracts with the University of Manitoba, Simon Fraser and … Dalhousie," while the University of Windsor is doing the same with

Australian-based Study Group International. Craig Pearson, "U of W Mulls Outsourcing Teachers," *Windsor Star*, January 26, 2010; Jared Hochman, "Dal Looking at Prep College for International Students," *Unews*, January 22, 2010.

25. Then the highest paid university president in Ontario with a salary over $200,000, Dr. Marsden advocated the privatization of social assistance: Lorna Marsden, "Globalization of the Welfare State," *Laurier News*, November 9, 1993. During the mid-nineties the university paid approximately $3400 in annual fees so that the President could be a member of the Corporate-Higher Education Forum.

26. WLU, "Internationalizing Laurier," and "Report to Senate on Laurier International," 4.

27. WLU, "Submission to Advisory Panel;" such policies have helped to bring about a situation in which, by 2001 in Canada, "the average student debt is now more than $25,000, one of the highest averages for public-education systems in the world," with Ontario being the province with the lowest per capita operating grants from government, the highest tuition fees and the highest student-faculty ratios. Anne McIlroy, "Last Place for Quality, Accessibility Goes to Universities in Ontario," *Globe and Mail*, January 10, 2001, A7. In October 2003, the university opted to de-regulate tuition fees in the undergraduate Business programme, in line with steps already taken at Queen's, Toronto and Western Ontario universities. Meanwhile, average tuition fees across the country doubled from 1990-91 to 2003-04. "Students in for a Rough Ride." In 2011, "The Canadian Federation of Students says the average debt for university graduates is almost $27,000." Gary Mason, "The Crushing Weight of Student Debt," *Globe and Mail*, July 7, 2011, http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/british-columbia/gary_mason/the-crushing-weight-of-student-debt/article2088760/.

28. Rajagopal, *Hidden Academics*.

29. Noble, *Digital Diploma Mills*.

30. Shaker, "Following the Money," 12.

31. With a 1995 total compensation package of over $2-million, Cleghorn shared in the record 1996 first-quarter profits of the major Canadian banks of $1.5-billion, "achieved … in part by laying off 3,200 workers." Cleroux, "Party of Corporate Canada," 16.

32. Langille and Ismi, "The Corporate Connection," 11.

33. Barlow and Campbell, *Straight Through the Heart*, 48; Clarke, *Silent Coup*; Cleroux, "Corporate Canada."

34. Barlow and Campbell, *Straight Through the Heart*, 50.

35. Dobbin, "12 Million Dollar Man," 13; this article was a taster for Dobbin's book *Paul Martin*. A similar role was played in the preceding ten years, according to Andrew Coyne, "A Decade of Macdonaldism," *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 1995, D3, by the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada chaired by Donald Macdonald. Started in 1982, and reporting in 1985, its "centrepiece recommendation [was] a comprehensive free-trade agreement with the United States." Though a close election was fought over it, the Canada-US Free Trade Agreement duly came into effect in 1989. The North American Free Trade Agreement followed in 1994. The Macdonald Commission "also gave mainstream political legitimacy to the ideas of neoclassical economics" and helped to establish the "economic view of the world" as the dominant one in mainstream political discourse. We have been paying the price for the discursive hegemony of neo-classical economics, otherwise known as neoliberalism, ever since. See Klein, *Shock Doctrine*.

36. Just for fun, consider Cleghorn's career moves in more or less reverse. For ten years (between 1990 and 2000) Robert Prichard was the president of the University of Toronto, before going on to be president and Chief Executive Officer of Torstar Corp., the parent company of the Toronto Star, from 2002 to 2009. At the time of writing he was about to become the "chairman" (sic) of the BMO (Bank of Montreal Organization) Financial Group. Josh Rubin, "Prichard to be Named BMO Financial Chair," *Toronto Star*, December 7, 2011, B2. Bankers, financiers, corporate executives and university presidents — can anyone tell them apart? In fact, there is the older, radical critique of the university as already *being* a corporation. Randolph Bourne described Columbia University around the time of the First World War as a "financial corporation, strictly analogous, in its motives and responses, to the corporation which is concerned in the production of industrial commodities … The University produces learning instead of steel or rubber." In Schlissel, *World of Randolph Bourne*, quoted in Chom-

sky, "Function of the University," 46. Fish, in the context of a change of heart about faculty unionization (he's now for it), restates Bourne's point: "If 'universities are not corporations' ever was a good argument, it isn't anymore because universities, always corporations in financial fact, become increasingly corporate in spirit every day." Stanley Fish, "We're All Badgers Now," *New York Times opinionator*, March 21, 2011: http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/03/21/were-all-badgers-now/.

37. The University of Toronto perfectly illustrates the phenomenon. Its "foray into aggressive US-style investing is coming to an end following a decade of disappointing returns and a $1.5-billion loss that wiped out nearly 30 per cent of the school's pension and endowment funds in a single year." Elizabeth Church, "U of T to Curtail Aggressive Investing," *Globe and Mail*, February 22, 2010. Eighteen months later, the "University of Toronto has launched the largest university fundraising campaign in Canadian history, setting an ambitious $2-billion target as it recovers from the blows of a global recession." James Bradshaw, "University of Toronto Launches $2-billion Fundraising Pitch," *Globe and Mail*, November 21, 2011, A7. The concomitant, entirely predictable, deleterious effects of an earlier campaign are illustrated in Linda McQuaig, "Universities Suffer Corporate Enticements With Strings," *rabble.ca*, February 22, 2011: http://rabble.ca/columnists/2011/02/universities-suffer-corporate-enticements-strings. U of T's agreement with donor Peter Munk (of third-world predator Barrick Gold Corporation) "establishing the Munk School of Global Affairs … reveals that … almost half Munk's $35 million donation will only be given after … Munk has been satisfied with the outcome of the Munk School" with "$2 million to be spent on 'branding' — as if the school were a cigarette or designer handbag."

38. Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival*, 120.

39. For a "Marxist" class analysis of the social significance of this "broadening" of share ownership, see Winters, "Power to the Shareholders;" for a more sober assessment, which reminds readers that "surveys in the United States have shown stock ownership is actually very concentrated," and that "surveys, such as the one last year by the Toronto Stock Exchange showing that almost half of all adult Canadians own shares in public companies, overstate the breadth of ownership because many of those shares are in pension plans," see Madelaine Drohan, "Don't Overstate Stock Market's Importance," *Globe and Mail*, January 10, 2001, B10. In 2012 the dramatic escalation in the concentration of ownership of wealth in Canada and the United States has been such that now, according to Rick Salutin, "The Bible and Ethical Economics," *Toronto Star*, December 23, 2011, A17, in the United States "the top 20 per cent own 87.2 per cent of the wealth while the other 80 per cent have 12.8 per cent." In terms of income the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) reports that: "The top 10 per cent of Canadians earned 10 times as much as the bottom 10 per cent in 2008." Dana Flavelle, "Why The Gap Between Rich and Poor in Canada Keeps Growing," *Toronto Star*, December 5, 2011.

40. "And, if there is no peace without struggle, the question for intellectuals is not how to remain neutral and impassive, but how to distinguish, with due consideration and care, the kinds of battles in which they can and should engage." Susan Searls Giroux, *Between Race and Reason*, 23.

41. Shawn, *Fever*, 48-9.

42. Garfinkel, *Ethnomethodology's Program*, e.g. 65, 119 .

43. For the Schutzean concept of "scientific attitude" see Sharrock and Anderson, "Epistemology: Professional Scepticism," 56-8.

44. Chomsky, *Government in the Future*, 9-23, citing especially Humboldt, *Limits of State Action*.

45. For Fish's critique of diversity see *Save the World*; for cosmopolitanism see Berger, *Invitation to Sociology*, 52-3.

46. Brodie, "Courage, Social Justice and Policy-making."

47. Smith, "The Devil In Mr. Jones." See Bill Readings's analysis in *The University in Ruins* of a formally similar shift in the ethos of the university from culture to cultural studies. That is, whereas producing and inculcating the national culture was, after von Humboldt's University of Berlin, the defining principle of university research and teaching, now, in the "posthistorical" university of "excellence," culture has become just another object of study.

Also, in emphasizing humanity over divinity here I am not seeking to deny the racialized and gendered character of that concept of humanity. On page 2 of her remarkable *Between Race and Reason*, Susan Searl Giroux quotes Young, *Colonial Desire*, 93, where Young goes so far as to say, "it is arguable that race became the common principle of academic knowledge in the nineteenth century."

48. The point is not new: "one who wants the universities to be centers of independent thought may well be alarmed at the conscious or unconscious lapses that large-scale support from government and business may induce. The universities have demonstrated their willingness to do almost anything for money." Hutchins, *Higher Learning in America*, xi.

49. See Stasiulis and Guppy, "Sociology and its Publics;" for the radical departure from both conservative and liberal traditions of university education represented by women's studies, feminist scholarship and the women's movement generally, see McCormack, "'Politically Correct.'"

50. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 321; also McDaniel, "Reflections of a Very Public Sociologist."

51. See Eichler, "Thinking about Sociology and its Publics;" also McDaniel, "Reflections;" Ponting, "Sociology: A Discipline in Jeopardy?" Boyer, *Scholarship Reconsidered*.

52. Bronowski, *Ascent of Man*, 435.

53. John Fraser, "Universities Need Money, Yes, But a Social Mission, too," *Globe and Mail*, March 26, 2005, F9, quoting George Fallis, "The Mission of the University," a submission to the Rae Report on Post-Secondary Education in Ontario of February 2005, expressed more fully in Fallis, *Multiversities*, e.g. 133-40; for the argument that university education is for "making us better and more engaged citizens, perhaps even better people," see Kingwell, "Intellectuals and Democracy."

54. "The university should be a center for radical social inquiry, as it is already a center for what might be called 'radical inquiry' in the pure sciences." Chomsky, "Function of the University," 61.

55. See, for example, on all three issues, Lifton, *Future of Immortality*; on Canada's role in the American War in Indochina, see Levant, *Quiet Complicity*; Culhane, *Why is Canada in Vietnam?*; Geoffrey York and Hayley Mick, "'Last Ghost' of the Vietnam War," *Globe and Mail*, July 12, 2008, F1; Engler, *Black Book*, 124-9.

56. Chomsky, "Responsibility of Intellectuals," 60; originally published in 1966.

57. Chomsky, *Knowledge and Freedom*, 86-94, citing Myrdal, *Confessions of a Disloyal European*, 200-1; in relation to Myrdal's idea of "the unconscious one," see Saul, *Unconscious Civilization*; also, compare Saul's formulation of a contrast between the "narrowly examined life of the passive citizen versus the unexamined life of the twentieth century" (49) with Shawn's narrator's formulation in *The Fever* (7) of the contrast between "the incredible history of his feelings and his thoughts," his inner life, of which he has "been a student … since I was nine years old," and "the story of my life — my behaviour, my actions — that's a slim volume, and I've never read it."

58. Said, *Pen and the Sword*, 100; also Cockburn, "Human Rights and Wrongs," 12.

59. Shawn, *Fever*, 49.

60. Newson, "Positioning the Social Sciences," 7; for the nice concept of "professional entrepreneur " see Hagan and Leon, "Rediscovering Delinquency."

61. Sharrock, "Possibility of Social Change," 121-2.

62. Readings, *University in Ruins*, 15.

63. Giddens, *Sociology*, 31-42; *Studies in Social and Political Theory*, 15-18. It is a view that continues to be held: "Education … is the great equalizer in society." Deborah Yedlin, "Education Failings Coming Home to Roost," *Globe and Mail*, January 24, 2006, B2.

64. Marsh, *Class Dismissed*. See also Goldthorpe, Payne, and Llewellyn, "Trends in Class Mobility," 456, and Jessop , "Future of Capitalism," 56.

65. Marchak, "Social Sciences in a Global Economy," 10, 12, 10, 12, emphases added; also Marchak, "Relevance," 2 ; Fallis, "Professors," 20: "The university can contribute the understandings from scientific, social scientific and humanistic research to political deliberation."

66. Halliday and Janowitz, *Sociology and Its Publics*.

67. Sharrock, "Possibility of Social Change," 122-3.

68. Shawn, *Fever*, 65-6.

69. For a useful account of the development of the concept of citizenship from liberal, communitarian and radical models through to cosmopolitan, post-nationalist or global citizenship, see Delanty, *Citizenship in a Global Age*; also Dower, *Introduction to Global Citizenship*, and Faist, "Transnational Social Question."

70. Durkheim, *Division of Labour*, 33. Commenting on the life of sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf, who died in June 2009, distinguished US sociologist Neil Smelser said, "'He bridged the gap between social theory and social practice as well as anyone I can think of.'" William Grimes, "German Sociologist Developed an Important Theory of Liberalism," *Globe and Mail*, June 22, 2009, S9. Dahrendorf had, on the one hand, been a university teacher and, on the other hand, a politician elected to the German parliament as a Free Democrat and an academic administrator who served as director of the London School of Economics. See his contribution to Lloyd, *Social Theory and Political Practice*. For an eminent Canadian example see Loxley, "The Interdisciplinary Intellectual and Public Policy Research."

71. Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock, *Understanding Classical Sociology*, 128-9; also Louch, *Explanation and Human Action*.

72. Smith, *Everyday World as Problematic*, 108, 87.

73. On teenage, female, Indonesian workers see Ballinger, "The New Free-trade Heel," quoted in chap. 3, where East Timor is also discussed. On the conquest and its favourable consequences for people like me see Chomsky, *Year 501*, 3; Berger, *Pyramids of Sacrifice*; Galeano, *Memory of Fire*; George, *Western State Terrorism*; Shawn, *Fever*; Canada. Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*; Churchill, *Little Matter of Genocide*; Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*; Jones, *Genocide, War Crimes and the West*. On the role of intellectuals see previous references to the works of Chomsky and Said, also Said, *Representations of the Intellectual*; Lifton, *Future of Immortality*. For the particularly racialized character of the ongoing conquest and of intellectuals' role in it, see Susan Searls Giroux, *Between Race and Reason*. On "my own" embeddedness in the conquest see Newson, "Presidential Address," 9-10.

74. Lukes, *Émile Durkheim*, 99, my emphasis; also Waring, *If Women Counted*.

75. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World*.

76. Chomsky, *Turning the Tide*, 47.

77. See also Harry Magdoff in Gutman, "Capitalism as a World Economy," 1-2.

78. See Eglin, "Incarnation in Ethnomethodology and Moral/Political Economy" for the development of this argument in relation to ethnomethodology.

79. Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America*, 13; also Churchill, *Little Matter of Genocide*, 293.

80. Ali, *Clash of Fundamentalisms*, 286-7.

81. Marx, *Capital*, 1: 247; recall the quote from the *Communist Manifesto* in chap. 1.

82. Shawn, *Fever*, 66-7.

83. Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock, *Understanding Classical Sociology*, 127-8.

84. Weber, "'Ethical Neutrality' in Sociology;" Hughes, Martin, and Sharrock, *Understanding Classical Sociology*, 131; Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xxvi; *Pen and the Sword*, 77-8 ; Fish, *Save the World*, 96.

85. Compare the closely related but slightly different argument of Taylor in *Moment of Complexity*, that "the university is … a thoroughly parasitic institution," such that it "and the people employed in it have always been *thoroughly* implicated in a market system" (quoted in Fish, *Saving*, 99). Fish agrees with this "as a description of the university's inevitable involvement with, and dependence on, the forces and investments of the larger society" (99), but rejects the political conclusion that Taylor draws from it on the grounds that the larger society would see no reason to go on supporting the university were it "to become so attuned to the interests and investments of other enterprises — the market, global politics, the information revolution — that we are finally indistinguishable from them … Distinctiveness is a prerequisite both of our survival and of our flourishing" (100). I agree with Fish that the distinctiveness of the academic enterprise must be preserved even as it is embedded in practical, emancipatory tasks that he would presumably banish from the university. Compare my proposals also with those in part III of Coté, Day, and de Peuter, *Utopian Pedagogy*.

86. "Scanning: New Secretariat at York," 11.
87. Boyer, "Creating the New American College," A48.
88. "Scanning: Laurentian University," 4.
89. WLU, "Helping a Peruvian Community — One Step at a Time," *Campus Updates*, September 2, 2009.
90. Eglin, "Review of *Popper*."
91. See Chomsky, *Prosperous Few*; Marchak, "Social Sciences in a Global Economy."
92. In making last revisions to this work I have become aware of the very useful discussion of these matters in "Democracy Inside and Out," in M'Gonigle and Starke, *Planet U*, 195-9; see also the co-operative vision of university governance proposed by Boden, Ciancanelli, and Wright, "Trust U."
93. WLU. Meeting of Senate. January 10, 2012: http://www.wlu.ca/documents/49424/Agenda_Senate_Jan_10_2012.pdf.
94. Linda Hossie, "Hiding Our Eyes from Horrible Truths — Torture," *Globe and Mail*, September 10, 1991, A18.
95. Pither, *Dark Days*.
96. "Canada Blasts Libya Over Widespread Torture Reports," *Toronto Star*, January 28, 2012, A2, after having participated in the NATO mission that put the torturers in power. See Herman and Peterson, "Reflections on *The Politics of Genocide*," vii-xxiv.
97. Albert and Hahnel, *Looking Forward*; Albert, *Parecon*; for the intellectual origins in classical liberalism see Chomsky*, Government in the Future.*
98. Chomsky, "Function of the University," 58-9.
99. I share Howard Zinn's recommended strategy for change, namely the people inhabiting any institution liberating it from within; he says it towards the end of his conversation with Sasha Lilley recorded in 2009 not long before he died; see *Theory and Practice*.

Chapter Three

Incarnation and the Imperial University

> Yes, but we can't have celebrations in the very same room where groups of people are being tortured, or groups of people are being killed. We have to know, Where are we, and where are the ones who are being tortured and killed?[1]

INTRODUCTION: "INTERNATIONALIZATION"

The neoliberal university is also an imperial university. While universities in the imperial centres have always played a role in effecting — if also criticizing or trying to ignore — imperial rule in and over the colonies, under neoliberal globalization and its concomitant neo-colonialism universities' global outreach has taken on a particular character. The current watchword is "internationalization." Presidents and Deans fan out across the world to recruit "international" students. Income from the exorbitant fees charged such students becomes a significant part of universities' budgets. Satellite offices are set up in far-flung locations to enhance the recruitment of students, the operation of exchange programs involving students and faculty, and faculty research projects. Universities' investments become global in reach.[2]

Wilfrid Laurier University and China

Consider, for example, my own university's developing ties with China. The university's Canada Research Chair in International Human Rights at Laurier accepts an invitation to speak about human rights at the Chinese Communist Party School in Beijing on September 26, 2007. On October 12, 2007 WLU opens "the doors to a new office in Chongqing … making it the first Cana-

dian university to establish a connection within the quickly-growing region." Located at Chongqing University, the office will promote "academic collaboration, research partnerships and faculty and student exchanges with Chinese universities," with a view to "addressing some of the most important economic, social and environmental issues of the day," in the words of Laurier president Dr. Max Blouw. At the same time, the press reports that there are "few signs of democratic progress as China prepares to pick new leaders," and that Chinese President Hu Jintao insists "that the party will brook no challenge to its dominance of Chinese politics." While the editor of the WLU student newspaper applauds the university's internationalizing step, s/he avers that "partnerships with China are morally suspect" in light of the country's "long laundry list of human rights offences." One month later, however, "China's Human Rights Record Improving, Report by Canadian Diplomats Says," yet less than a week after that the press reports that a Canadian-government-commissioned study found that the annual Canada/China human rights "dialogue was increasingly seen by both sides as a scripted sham."[3]

In March 2008 in the run-up to the Beijing Summer Olympics "Rights Activist [and lawyer Teng Biao] Disappears as China Curbs Dissent." A week later Laurier receives a cheque for $10,000 from Travel Healthcare Insurance Solutions Inc. "to help support Laurier's new office in China," and the university announces that in April its president "will lead a delegation to China, where he will be a keynote presenter at the China-Canada Science and Technology Seminar and will participate in the Team Canada Science and Technology delegation to the Chongqing High Tech Fair." This coincides with a trip by Ontario Economic Development Minister Sandra Pupatello, Toronto Mayor David Miller and other municipal politicians to attend the opening of an Ontario trade office in Beijing on April 14, 2008. The minister is forced to disclose the fact of her trip, to that point kept secret, as pro-Tibet activists demonstrate on the grounds of the Ontario provincial legislature.[4]

Less than two weeks after the *Globe and Mail* declares in June 2008 that "China is a potential gold mine for overseas educators willing to help the Chinese train for the 21st century economy," WLU announces that "senior business students … will travel to post-secondary schools in China July 4 to lead workshops in business and entrepreneurship" (visits repeated each year since). Later in July "twelve high school students and four teachers from Chongqing are at Laurier attending a two-week science camp." This is occurring as Amnesty International releases a damning 18-page report on the state of human rights in China in the context of the government's 2001 promise to improve them when China was chosen to host the Games, and the press reports that "ethnic minorities, migrant workers, petitioners and social activists are among the key targets of the Chinese security crackdown that has swept through Beijing in recent months" as the Olympics approach. (UN investigator Manfred Nowak reported in December 2005 that the use of

torture was widespread in China.) Undaunted, "the Chair of Laurier's Board of Governors … travel[s] to China in October [2008] to meet with representatives of some of [Laurier's] Chinese partners," a visit reciprocated by the Canadian consul and senior trade commissioner in Chongqing who speaks at Laurier in February 2009 of the "tremendous opportunities" chiefly in business and social work to be found "in the booming southwest region of China." Through its office in Chongqing, "Laurier has 16 Chinese university partners and has established collaborative relationships with government and the private sector."[5]

In the first half of August 2009 Canadian Federal Government Finance Minister Jim Flaherty leads "the highest-profile delegation [of bankers and insurance executives] to China in more than four years," in search of "the kind of profits found nowhere else," as leading human rights lawyer Xu Zhiyong is detained in a dawn raid two weeks after his legal centre is shut down. Just as with Teng Biao in 2008, "in the biggest-ever crackdown on activist lawyers, more than a dozen known for taking sensitive cases los[e] their licences" in 2009. Nevertheless, despite previous "squabbles about human rights …China remains Canada's second-largest trading partner, and has gained even greater importance during the global economic downturn ... Government-to-government relations are very important [in China]" for securing big deals, a Canadian banking official opines. Later in the month "China admits" that "organs taken from prisoners on huge scale. Two-thirds of organ donors in China are executed prisoners." China has the highest rate of state executions in the world. Moreover, "'the implementation of the death penalty is completely opaque in China — there is absolutely no transparency,' sa[ys] Phelim Kine, an Asia researcher for Human Rights Watch." One month after the press reports on "China's bold move into the oil sands," Laurier hosts 29 senior administrators from Chongqing University. This three-week visit is followed by one of eleven days by a further 19-member delegation from the Chongqing Municipal Science and Technology Commission in early December 2009. Later in the month China executes British citizen Akmal Shaikh for drug smuggling without a mental health assessment despite evidence of mental illness, and sentences "dissident writer Liu Xiaobo to 11 years in prison for subversion" despite domestic and international protests.[6] Almost a year later he is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The same pattern continues through to the present. While the human rights situation deteriorates as dissidents are fired (Zhang Hong) or jailed (Liu Xiaobo) or released from jail and/or gagged (Hu Jia, Chen Guancheng, Ai Weiwei, Liu Xia, wife of Liu Xiaobo), or forced out of their home (Zeng Jinyan, Hu Jia's wife), or sent to labour camps for demonstrating (Wei Qiang) or others are executed after grossly unfair trials (Wo Weihan), or a negotiator for protesting farmers dies in police custody, his body showing signs of torture (Xue Jinbo), or nine Tibetan monks (including Phuntsog,

Dawa Tsering) and one nun (Tenzin Wangmo) set themselves on fire in pursuit of Tibetan self-determination, the orgy of money greed continues unabated. For example, on May 17, 2011 the front page of the Report on Business section of the *Globe and Mail* carries a feature on Chongqing, now estimated to be the largest municipality in the world and the latest Chinese boom "town." It has "cracked down on crime and corruption and slashed corporate taxes." It has a "massive labour pool" the costs of which are "as much as 30 per cent cheaper than in Guangzhou and Shenzhen… [and] by 2015, government officials predict that Chongqing will be the world's top producer of laptop computers." It is just this combination of capitalist enterprise and state repression from which I as a Canadian academic benefit that I had in mind when writing in chap. 1 that "in order that some may write their thoughts on laptops, others may have to be killed, tortured, impoverished, exploited and so on, while still others will have to be enriched, empowered and so on." For it is the case that in November 2010 "Laurier Strengthens Ties With China" as "delegates from Chongqing University visit WLU to discuss the universities' future relationship."[7]

Canada and Indonesia

As can be seen from the above — and to return to my general account of internationalization — contacts are solicited and nourished with government officials to facilitate participation in overseas development projects. Through their research, conference organizing, teaching, cultural exchange and consultancy university academics across the spectrum of disciplines — the various social sciences, business, law, engineering, area studies ... — contribute to the formulation and implementation of government policy on so-called development. This contribution ranges from providing publicly subsidized market research for private business, to carrying out major development projects, to training graduate students in the professions, to hosting visiting academics or government officials from the "developing country," to arranging overseas student placements, to providing expertise in drafting government policy or technical discussion relating to, say, implementing the Law of the Sea. In addition, the views of university faculty can be found across the media opinion slots providing rationalizations or occasionally critiques of such international endeavours. All of this sounds harmless enough, one might say. Indeed, bothersome human rights issues aside, it may be represented as just the sort of international cooperation universities have always done and should do, a welcome expression of their subscription to the values of universalism, diversity, development, global citizenship, constructive engagement and the like. In what follows, however, I shall argue that such activities are the international concomitant of the integration of the neoliberal university

into the global corporate capitalist economy and, as such, constitute imperialism.

I develop and illustrate this view in relation to the case of Canadian universities' involvement in delivering aid projects to Indonesia, especially during the period from 1975 to 1999 when the Southeast Asian country was illegally occupying, and terrorizing the people of, East Timor. I choose this case for five reasons: it is a rich case of such involvement, it clearly reveals the actual determinants of Canadian foreign policy, the costs in terms of violations of human rights are vivid, the nature of the political-economic links between Canada and Indonesia are well-documented and clear, and I know something about it.

> Money is at the root of Canada's reluctance to confront Indonesia. With 180 million people, Indonesia ranks along with China in the minds of many businessmen as one of the world's great untapped markets. "Of all the countries of the Pacific Rim in terms of opportunities, Indonesia is Number 1," says Mahmood Hak of Toronto-based Bata Shoes.[8]

Mahmood Hak rendered his judgment that "Indonesia is Number 1" for Canada in 1992. It was a view echoed two years later in November 1994 by Prime Minister Chrétien in Jakarta on a Team Canada mission to the region: "Indonesia is Canada's most important trading partner in Southeast Asia … Canadian business has demonstrated today its commitment to developing greater ties with Indonesia and its desire to play a significant part in the development process underway in this country."[9] The commitment was $1 billion worth of deals he had just signed up for Canadian companies. My discussion will focus on the state of affairs as it was at this time in the early 1990s. By the end of the decade Indonesia had been supplanted as "Number 1" by China in the gluttonous eyes of Canadian business and therefore of government and other major institutions like universities, as illustrated above in the case of WLU.[10] Annual trade with China grew "from $160-million in 1970 to $34.5-billion" in 2008.[11] Although no longer "Number 1," the case of Canada-Indonesia is meant to be instructive in light of the abasement before profit from China — including "the rush to profit from China's education mania"[12] — currently being exhibited by Canadian state, corporate, university and media elites; indeed I shall return to the Chinese case as the chapter progresses.

I do not wish to recapitulate here a general account of the complicity of the West in the appalling crimes committed against the East Timorese. It has been done already several times, notably in the work of Chomsky and a number of others, including Sharon Scharfe's remarkable book on Canada's contribution.[13] My focus, rather, is on the enabling work of the relevant administrators and faculty of Canadian universities. They (or should I say

"we"?) are people that George W. Bush's former spokesman Scott McClellan has called "complicit enablers."[14] These include "the ablest, the best, the most humane and liberal men that could be found for public trust," "highly educated academics and administrators" and "the liberal [Canadian] intellectuals who helped and advised them."[15] My goal is to explicate the claim that universities are deeply implicated in the operation of the global political-economic order in ways that pose a profound challenge to the intellectual citizen's responsibility to tell the truth about the crimes that matter to the right audience. My method of proceeding is to progressively narrow the focus of attention from Canada and empire, to Canada's aid programme to Indonesia, to the contribution of university-based development projects, to one exemplary project in particular. I shall then assess the significance of this

form of intellectual "citizenship" in light of the incarnation argument, drawing on the political-economic links between Indonesia and Canada.

CANADA AS IMPERIAL HANDMAIDEN

Canada's fate has been tied to imperial power throughout its history, from being a colony of France and England to being a junior partner of the United States,[16] albeit one with a human face[17] to mask that of the "ugly American." Although under the Harper conservatives Canada's alignment with US interests has become transparent (for example, in relation to Afghanistan and Israel), traditionally that self-interested alignment has been transmuted by ennobling expressions of commitment to multilateralism and the value of international institutions, not least the United Nations and its peace-keeping missions. But the fact is, as Yves Engler documents at length in *The Black Book of Canadian Foreign Policy*, Canada's corporations and banks have always had extensive operations in many parts of the world. Given the common interests of Canadian and US capitalists in exploiting the global South, given the integration of much of the Canadian and US economies and given Canada's proximity to the world superpower, it is not surprising that the Canadian state should have aligned itself with US power and geo-strategic interests. But given the (bare) survival of social democracy in Canada it is also not surprising that the country should have found a role in softening the expression or operationalization or representation of those interests to the rest of the world.[18] For example, while quietly becoming the largest per capita exporter of arms during the US wars in Asia, Canada also served on the International Control Commission in Vietnam.[19] In the case most relevant here, that of Indonesia/East Timor, Canada sold weapons or parts of weapons to Indonesia, mostly through the United States, with which the Southeast Asian state killed Timorese.[20] At the same time CIDA funded an orphanage in East Timor to house the children whose parents had been killed by just those weapons. In fact, in "its 1995-96 International Trade Business Plan, Ottawa ... identified Indonesia, China and other top-drawer human rights violators as priority markets for military exports."[21]

As Chomsky makes clear, from the end of WW2 US planners took as their primary strategic goal — in the words of George Kennan in a 1948 planning study — "devis[ing] a pattern of relationships that will permit us to maintain the disparity" between their 6 percent of the world population and their 50 percent of the world's wealth. In accordance with this goal they engaged in "grand area" planning in which the various regions of the world outside the Soviet sphere were divided up and assigned their "function" in the overall global order to be run by them. Indonesia figured prominently in this planning. Its role was to provide resources and markets for Western

exploitation and Japanese postwar recovery. Since a truly independent Indonesia was therefore out of the question, the CIA was assigned the task of removing the nationalist hero General Sukarno from power since he insisted on trying to act independently in the world economy. After failed attempts in the late 1950s and early 1960s they eventually succeeded in getting their man in power through a bloody military coup in 1965-66 that took between 500,000 and, according to Amnesty International, "many more than a million" lives. Ten years later the United States (with the complicity of the United Kingdom, Australia and others) gave the green light to General Suharto's invasion, subsequent annexation and occupation of East Timor, supplying some 90 percent of the invader's arms, including replenishments in 1977 and 1978 to sustain the killing.[22] A similar green light was afforded by the same benefactors to the Indonesian generals to subvert the 1999 East Timor referendum and then to carry out in the aftermath a bloody campaign of reprisals in response to the "wrong" outcome (an overwhelming vote for independence).[23]

Canada's involvement in this sordid history has been guided by essentially the same orientation. It has played its usual junior partner role, supporting US policy and grabbing what spoils it can. For example, from December 1975 it abstained on annual votes in the UN General Assembly condemning Indonesia and calling on it to withdraw, until 1980 when it changed its vote to "oppose," thereby helping to get East Timor removed from the UN agenda after 1982. The single largest Canadian investment in Indonesia is International Nickel Company of Canada's $3 billion open-pit lateritic mining, smelting and hydroelectricity-generating complex in Soroako in central Sulawesi.[24] At least as recently as 2005 INCO owned 61% of PT INCO Indonesia. In 1996 its existing contract was extended twenty-five years. (Brazilian mining company CVRD bought INCO in 2006, subsequently changing its name to Vale INCO.) It began its nickel operation there in 1968, in the favourable climate for investment established by the 1965-66 coup:

> In November 1967 … the Time-Life Corporation sponsored an extraordinary conference in Geneva which, in the course of three days, designed the corporate takeover of Indonesia. The participants included the most powerful capitalists in the world … [whose] 'top economic team' …were known as the 'Berkeley Mafia' … On the second day, the Indonesian economy was carved up, sector by sector … Real, and secret, control of the Indonesian economy passed to the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), whose principal members were the US, Canada, Europe and Australia and, most importantly, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[25]

Thanks to the enormous size of its investment there, "by 1981 Canada was Indonesia's third largest investor." Canada's aid to Indonesia followed the same trajectory: "Ottawa responded [to the 1965-66 coup] by selecting Indo-

nesia as the main Asian country outside the Commonwealth to receive Canadian aid … between 1975 and 1996 Canadian aid to Indonesia grew tenfold."[26]

CANADA AND AID TO INDONESIA

The bulk of Canada's annual amount of between $35 and $45 million of Official Development Assistance to Indonesia is bilateral, that is government-to-government, aid. The larger part of that is "tied" aid, designed as welfare to support Canadian business (or business-like institutions like contemporary universities) by requiring the "aided" country to buy the donor country's goods. A not insignificant part of Canada's aid to all countries is spent at Canadian universities. As we shall see, this is true in the case of Canada's aid to Indonesia. Aid from the whole international community to Indonesia had been coordinated through annual meetings of the consortium of donors IGGI since 1967, the year General Suharto officially became President. The amount of aid ran at $3 to $4 billion in the 1980s, $4 to $5 billion in the 1990s, and reached $5.4 billion in 2006 before Indonesia stopped receiving such aid in 2007. Canada, however, continued its aid program. In 2009-10 Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) disbursements in Indonesia amounted to $37 million. In that year Indonesia was once again selected as a "country of focus," the focus being on Sulawesi, which just happens to be the island that is home to Vale INCO's mining project.

The IGGI was chaired by the Netherlands, the former colonial power, until that country cancelled its aid program in response to the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991 in Dili, the capital of East Timor, a massacre in which some 400 Timorese demonstrators in a funeral procession were killed by Indonesian troops over two days.

The consortium reconvened in 1992 as the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) chaired by the World Bank. According to Canada's official statement to the 1993 meeting of the CGI, "Canada's development cooperation relationship with Indonesia spans almost 40, uninterrupted years." It was, however, after 1970 — that is, three years into Suharto's official reign, five years after he effectively took power in the CIA-backed military coup — that Indonesia became a "country of concentration" for Canada's official aid program. For after all, according to CIDA, "since 1965 the country has progressed under the steadfast leadership of President Suharto [who i]n 1993 ... was re-elected for a sixth consecutive five year term." In 1975-76, the year of the invasion and annexation of East Timor, Indonesia's share of Canada's aid to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) rose to 95 percent. "One month after the invasion of East Timor, in January 1976, CIDA president Paul Gerin-Lajoie led a mission to Indonesia to examine

Canadian development assistance programs. It concluded that Indonesia offered 'new possibilities.'" Speaking in the Press Club in Jakarta on August 26, 1976, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, Allan MacEachen, described "our development assistance program with Indonesia" as "one of the largest we have in the world." In 1992 "Canada rank[ed] seventh among [Indonesia's] donors and has continually been among the top 10 since its 1975 invasion of East Timor."[27]

In assessing the significance to Indonesia of the foreign aid policy of a country like Canada it is important to remember that "Indonesia depends on foreign aid. In the fiscal year 1991-92, it received more than $4.7-billion from various sources, about 20 per cent of its annual budget" which, "in spite of the protests, shock and outrage after the Dili massacre ... increased ... in the 1992-93 fiscal year to $4.9-billion."[28] This is a Canadian assessment. From American and British sources there is the following: "Foreign aid provides a quarter of its government budget and Washington has long been its principal sponsor and military source. As the *Economist* observed this January [1992] in an editorial on Timor: 'Indonesia's foreign debt is $57 billion, and servicing that consumes 30% of each year's export earnings; the government in Jakarta is in no position to thumb its nose at foreigners.'"[29]

That Indonesia itself regarded Canada as not without influence elsewhere in the world was made evident (to his political bosses) in Ambassador Glen Shortliffe's report of his guided visit to East Timor in 1978 during the height of the killing and removal of the population to so-called re-settlement camps. He noted that Indonesia was keen to have the East Timor item deleted from the United Nations' agenda as quickly as possible. "The only time a direct reference to Canada was made on the trip," wrote Shortliffe, "was a low-key remark by Darusam, Director General of Political Affairs in the Department of Foreign Affairs, that Indonesia regarded Canada's vote as important, not only in a bilateral sense, but because of the impact it might have for Indonesia, particularly in Europe, in dealing with the issue."[30]

European countries were important to Indonesia not only for support at the United Nations but for aid itself, since they were a significant component of the CGI. No less an authority than the *Times* of London had made the point in a remarkable editorial in April 1991: "Indonesia may be a large market, but it has large debts. It needs Western (and Japanese) goodwill. Its refusal to recognize, even to discuss, Timorese rights is made possible by one factor, a complete lack of pressure from the outside world. American television networks do not clamour for entry. No heart-rending pictures stir Western emotions to righteous indignation."[31]

It's not then that "small" Canada could not have had an impact in relation to human rights on "large" Indonesia. It is simply that it chose not to exercise what influence it had, preferring to indulge the public with the rhetoric of Canada's commitment to human rights while supporting Indonesia at every

turn in pursuit of profit and strategic self-interest: "There are two overriding and connected concerns guiding Canadian aid policy today — promoting the investment and market interests of Canadian-based corporations, and not opposing the foreign policy of the US government."[32] It was the conservative Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney, who had explicitly linked Canada's aid policy to human rights in October 1991 "in his speech to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting. [He] declared that nothing in international relations is more important than respect for individual freedoms and human rights."[33] He repeated the declaration at the Francophone summit a week after the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991 referred to above.[34] As Sharon Scharfe has shown, this made no effective difference to Canadian aid practice vis-à-vis Indonesia. Despite these announcements, $30-million in new aid projects to Indonesia were merely suspended in the wake of the massacre and the outrage it provoked, while existing aid of $46 million per annum continued. In fact, "ODA from Canada to Indonesia, including that channelled through international organizations, totalled $69.7 million (estimated) in 1991/92," according to CIDA in 1993.[35] When the Chrétien liberals replaced the Mulroney conservatives in 1993 the three projects making up that suspended $30 million were indeed cut, but then replaced with a different $30-million in new aid in November 1994 at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) annual meeting in Jakarta.[36] It was at this meeting, part of the itinerary of the Team Canada mission referred to above, that Prime Minister Chrétien endorsed Mahmood Hak's assessment that Indonesia is No. 1 for Canada. As for trade, it was Prime Minister Mulroney's position that "Canada could not exist on an international economic basis if it stopped trading with countries that have poor human rights records."[37] Thus Ambassador to Indonesia Lawrence Dickenson was being entirely consistent when, on the one hand, his report in a confidential message to Ottawa in 1995 "described a military crackdown that 'has consisted of intimidation, stepped-up military and police visibility, arrest and ... ill-treatment, and ... a number of cases of death, disappearance and severe beatings,'"[38] and, on the other hand, in the pages of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade publication, *Indonesia: A Guide for Canadian Businesses 1995-96*, he wrote, "'I find Indonesia offers the best fit for Canadian economic interests I have ever seen... The potential for Canada is immense.'"[39]

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AT CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES INVOLVING INDONESIA

During the 1980s and 1990s, not only Canadian companies but also Canadian universities became "partners in development" with the government of Indonesia. "Through CIDA grants, they won lucrative contracts with ministries of

the Indonesian government to supply technical expertise, surveys and studies, and training for the staff of various government programmes."[40] In *Looking the Other Way* and an associated draft manuscript entitled "Canada-Indonesia: What Kind of Partnership?" Malia Southard draws a picture of this "partnership in development." The details are taken from official reports of CIDA, and of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) to which some of CIDA's work was, as it were, sub-contracted. The following outline of the picture consists of quotation and paraphrase from Southard's work. I have amended a few of the details on the basis of a 1994 CIDA document that appeared after Southard had completed her research,[41] and have updated project completion dates.

In the 1980s alone CIDA funding to universities increased by twenty five percent "with the number of projects increasing from 15 to 279, and the number of universities involved from 10 to 51." "In 1989-90 Canadian universities had undertaken some 450 international projects in 'developing' countries ... funded by $100 million in Canadian Official Development Assistance, and some $50 million from other sources, including the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank, and the Asian Development Bank." "About half of the scholarship funds for students from 'developing' countries, including Indonesians, [were] to be used for technical and vocational training, much of which [was to] be done by Canadian companies. Those universities with overseas projects that involve[d] Canadian corporations or companies [would] receive special consideration."[42]

In 1990, for example, a report of the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada showed fourteen universities across Canada with contracts for projects in Indonesia, including Dalhousie, Guelph, Simon Fraser and McGill, as well as provincial centres like the Universities of British Columbia, Manitoba, Alberta, and New Brunswick. These university programs in Indonesia promoted environmental management, water and fisheries studies, rural and regional development, Eastern Islands education, agriculture and veterinary science, women in development, and so on. Among the more extensive CIDA-funded university projects were the following:

Environmental Management Development in Indonesia (EMDI), 1983-1996

This project's main Canadian participant was Dalhousie University, assisted by York University, the University of Waterloo, and various Canadian international aid groups. Their announced aim was to work with the Indonesian Ministry of State for the Environment, the University of Indonesia and other Indonesian universities to promote sustainable development ("institutional strengthening and human resource development") through technical assistance offered by Canadian advisors, and through exchanges and linkages

between universities of both countries. CIDA funding amounted to $44.6 million.

Eastern Indonesia University Development Project (EIUDP), 1988-2003

This project, in which Simon Fraser University was linked with the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (Directorate General of Higher Education), was funded with $30 million. The aim was to improve the scientific curriculum at four Outer Island universities. It supported a coordinating office in Jakarta.

Sulawesi Regional Development Project (SRDP), 1984-1994

The University of Guelph worked with the Indonesian Department of Home Affairs (Directorate General of Regional Development) to plan development in the four provinces of Sulawesi, by improving the capacity and responsiveness of the local government planning boards and other agencies at the district level and below. CIDA funding for 1984-1990 was $19.3 million; for 1990-96, it was $34.2 million, but Indonesia cancelled the program in 1994 as a result of unfavourable publicity arising from a critical external ethical review. Its authors, Meyer Brownstone (former head of OXFAM Canada) and Clovis Demers (then vice president of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development), wrote:

> We have spent many years, in many countries, observing the actions of a plethora of states in the treatment of their respective citizens. Rarely have we been as consistently appalled by the resulting picture as we have been with the situation in Indonesia... The nature and character of the Indonesian state, and its relationship to civil society, is a fundamental question that must be confronted by all who have an interest in the SRDP, both rabid supporters and rabid detractors of the project alike.[43]

On June 6, 1994 the university officially rejected the review's findings. Ironically, the Government of Indonesia did not. On July 1, 1994 it cancelled the project, giving the university twenty days to pull out.

Islamic Institute Development Project, 1989-1995

With CIDA support of $9.1 million, McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies collaborated with the Indonesian Department of Religious Affairs, through the State Institute of Islamic Studies, to offer graduate study programmes at McGill for some 75 Indonesian students.

Open University Support Project, Phase III, 1989-1994

The Open Learning Agency of British Columbia worked with the Universitas Terbuka (Indonesia's Open Learning University), to develop new courses and examination systems, as well as to provide computers for the university's regional centres, to facilitate "distant learning" by thousands of students in the Eastern Islands. The program also offered 35 graduate degrees, with twelve graduate students enrolled at the University of Victoria. CIDA's contribution was $4.795 million.

World University Service of Canada (WUSC), Phase V, 1990-1995

In 1993 the WUSC Indonesia Programme supported 130 students from Indonesia across Canada, students who came with money from the Indonesian government. CIDA, which reported to Export and Development in the Department of External Affairs, provided 70% of WUSC's funding (the other 30% coming from governments from the rest of the world). The Indonesian counterparts were the Ministry of Higher Education and Culture, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Finance, and the Agencies for Study and Technology Development.[44] For six weeks in the summer of 1993 the World University Service of Canada (WUSC) International Seminar for post-secondary students was held in Indonesia. In the fifty-two-page, glossy, magazine-style Report entitled "Indonesia" no mention is made of East Timor whatsoever.[45]

Other programs at other Canadian institutions were funded on a smaller scale. Nevertheless, a report from CIDA's Asia Branch in 1992 showed $129.11 million dollars committed to Canadian University programs operating in Indonesia.

As to the effectiveness of CIDA-funded university-based projects in Southeast Asia consider the following assessments by journalist John Stackhouse and some of those he interviewed in 1994 as he accompanied the Team Canada mission: "In Southeast Asia, CIDA is a rudderless ship caught in the world's fastest-moving economic current. 'CIDA is in chaos,' said Diane Blachford, project leader of one of Canada's most successful programs in the region, the Jakarta-based Environmental Management Development in Indonesia. 'They're not sure what they're doing here.'" Stackhouse does not say on what basis EMDI is "one of the most successful programs in the region." "Has the $53-million Guelph project [SRDP], for instance, really helped Sulawesi's poor, or just a small circle of academics and bureaucrats? 'I can't answer if it's been effective,' said Joe Knockaert, the head of CIDA's program in Indonesia. 'That will come through with time.'"[46]

Nova Scotia, the province of Dalhousie and EMDI, had been doing business with Indonesia for many years, some of it also with CIDA's help. For example, a 1991 story in the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* reported as follows:

> A $3.9-million contract to refurbish over 600 Indonesian railway coal cars has been awarded to Trenton Works Lavalin Inc., Public Works Minister Elmer MacKay announced Wednesday. He said the Trenton plant will supply parts and technical assistance to refurbish the cars it manufactured for the Bukit Asam Coal Rail Transportation project in the mid-1980s. MacKay said the Export Development Corp. will provide $3.4 million in financial aid to Indonesia and the Canadian International Development Agency will contribute $500,000 to the project.[47]

Those readers puzzled, as I was, by the use of development aid to assist Canadian big (or medium-sized) business make profits overseas, will be reassured knowing that "Canadian business ventures may get support from the industrial co-operation program" of' CIDA, known as — I kid you not — CIDA INC. Moreover, "the INC program ... began in 1978."

> It has been criticized as a glorified business subsidy with limited impact on overseas development. A 1992 independent evaluation suggested that about half the companies receiving INC grants probably would have gone ahead without the government money... CIDA literature on the INC program says companies may be required to repay the grants if the projects become profitable. But in practice, Mr. David [program director-general] said, repayments are infrequent. "We have a policy that is probably too complex to apply."[48]

An Exemplar: The University Consortium on the Environment (UCE), 1987-2002

> Over a period of fifteen years, [the University of] Waterloo and York [University] were involved in two major and linked initiatives — UCE1 and UCE2, involving Canadian university and private sector partners, collaborating with seven Indonesian partner universities… The UCE projects were aimed at enhancing the institutional and human capacity of university-based Environmental Studies Centres (ESCs) in Java and Sulawesi, Indonesia, to promote sound environmental management.[49]

The projects in question were funded by CIDA ($3 million for UCE1 and $6 million for UCE2), and focussed on "graduate student education (for both Indonesians and Canadians), joint faculty research, workshops, and the preparation of academic publications and practical training manuals." UCE was complex in organization. It was initially part of Dalhousie's EMDI project budget; it involved collaboration with Indonesian universities and with Canadian private sector consulting companies. UCE2 was a sub-contract of a

larger contract between CIDA and the private sector consortium, "which did not always seem to view York and Waterloo as full partners." Moreover, "during UCE2 … a group of faculty members at York were active in questioning whether it was politically and ethically appropriate to be involved in a country which has a history of repressive, militarized response to civil unrest."[50]

The last quoted sentence is one of two in the article describing the UCE by Babcock and his colleagues that acknowledges human rights and international law. The other occurs in the section outlining the "development context in Indonesia, 1985-2002." It reads: "with the exception of unrest in areas of Aceh and Irian Jaya provinces, and the long and tragic repression of the independence movement in East Timor, political, economic, and social stability prevailed." Indeed, the authors immediately go on to note how stability "was the watchword of the Soeharto regime," how the need for it justified a "highly-centralized and highly-militarized governing structure," and how this impressed both foreign investors and "the international aid community." This analysis, which is accurate enough, is given but not commented on. That exactly the same analysis applies to Nazi Germany in the thirties and, with the exception of the last feature, the Soviet Union under Stalin — repressive militarized response to civil "unrest" in outlying areas or neighbouring countries, stability the watchword of the regime, which needed a highly centralized and highly militarized governing structure, which impressed foreign investors and the international aid community — all this escapes the authors' frame of reference. That it implicates the authors' own activities in delivering aid in the form of development projects in Suharto's militarized "state formation project" (my expression) seems to cause them no concern. When they record that "major UCE workshops in Indonesia, usually numbering two to three per year, and often involving 20 to 100 participants, benefited greatly from additional support from … the Government of Indonesia" (through various state ministries), they do not so much as blink.[51]

What frightens the living daylights out of me is the equanimity with which the authors report their involvement, indeed their effective partnership, with the government of a country under the rule of a man who was responsible for the "'staggering mass slaughter' of 1965-66," ranked by the CIA "'as one of the worst mass murders of the 20th century, along with the Soviet purges of the 1930s, the Nazi mass murders during the Second World War, and the Maoist bloodbath of the early 1950s. In this regard, the Indonesian coup [was] certainly one of the most significant events of the 20th century.'"[52] In the lead-up to and immediate aftermath of the referendum in East Timor in August 1999, while UCE2 was still running, so-called Timorese militias armed and guided by the Indonesian army (commanded by General Wiranto, subsequent presidential candidate in the 2004 election while indicted for crimes against humanity by the East Timor UN-backed

serious crimes unit) murdered some 2,000 Timorese, deported about a quarter of the population and burned or otherwise razed every public building on the half-island to the ground, leaving the country destroyed and destitute.[53] This abomination the authors gloss as "a history of repressive, militarized response to civil unrest," and "the long and tragic repression of the independence movement in East Timor." The comparable atrocities that have been or are being carried out in Aceh and Irian Jaya, the authors gloss as "unrest."

That is, their report seems carefully edited to ensure that nothing too embarrassing is said that might insult their hosts from the partner country, or endanger the viability of their project. They deploy the same sensitivity as did Prime Minister Chrétien at the APEC summit in 1997 when seeking to accommodate Suharto's wishes not to be discomfited by the sight of protesters, although shooting them was beyond the pale.[54] Although they manage to squeeze in half a sentence acknowledging the "repression" in East Timor, they do so without regard for the horrendous scale and character of the repression and for the support it received from the West, including from Canada. Furthermore, they consign it to the dustbin of history by employing the "tragic" trope beloved of the *Globe and Mail* and other commentators.[55]

This is not the first time such "editing" has occurred in the *Canadian Journal of Development Studies* with reference to Indonesia. In a 1993 Special Issue devoted to Indonesia, Part Two of which was edited by Harry Cummings of the University of Guelph (and former Director of the SRDP), a map of Indonesia is provided at the very beginning, in which the whole island of Timor is shown as part of Indonesia. There is no boundary drawn between East and West Timor, and over the eastern part of the island is found the number "27," marking the (illegally claimed) status of East Timor as Indonesia's twenty-seventh province. This neatly corresponds with page four of the 1993 CIDA document, *CIDA Programs in Asia: Indonesia*, which is distinguished by a map of Indonesia on which East Timor is shown as part of Indonesia. Thus did the Canadian state and its academy honour the nation's commitments to international law, to the United Nations and to its ten resolutions on East Timor, the then non-self-governing territory administered by Portugal and, until September 1999, illegally occupied by Indonesia.[56]

History is edited in like fashion. The following is Cummings's account of post-war Indonesian history that he provides as a context in which to appreciate the development of the SRDP:

> The World War II independence movements left many countries in a state of shock. Development efforts had to be implemented in the context of the relatively recent impact of nationalist movements, war time occupation, and the reformulation of national and regional boundaries and spheres of influence. In Indonesia, the basic infrastructure was destroyed during World War II and the War of Independence which followed the 1945 declaration of independence. After the end of the War of Independence in 1949, a civil war followed lasting

> until 1965, again destroying roads, bridges, telecommunications, airports and harbours. Government systems also made little progress during this period. It was only in 1965, that stability came to Sulawesi.
> After political stability came reconstruction and nation building. As many of these objectives were achieved, planners began to move the emphasis in their strategies away from basic investment in infrastructure to focus on equity and spatial development issues...[57]

Somehow Cummings misses one of the great mass slaughters of the twentieth century, glossing it with the phrases "stability came," "reconstruction," "nation building" and, on page 158, "questionable human rights record."[58] As noted above, Cummings's fellow development specialists Tim Babcock et al. are similarly absent-minded, but equally impressed with Indonesian "stability."

Just what is at stake here?

What is at stake is the involvement of Canadian universities and some of their faculty (not to mention the Canadian government and Canadian business) in international criminality. I am not engaging in hyperbole. The putative categories of Indonesian criminality are genocide and war crimes. The corresponding crimes of the Canadian academy are, putatively, complicity in genocide and either aiding and abetting war crimes or being accessory after the fact to war crimes or both. On the basis of the United Nations Genocide Convention, signed and ratified by Canada, Chalk and Jonassohn include both the 1965/66 slaughter and the East Timor slaughter as cases of genocide in their book *The History and Sociology of Genocide*.[59] The Convention includes as one of its categories of crime, "complicity in genocide." Whether complicity extends to the bilateral aid provided by the Government of Canada to Indonesia every year since before 1965 to the present is a question presumably to be decided in a court of law. The development projects carried out by Canadian academics such as Babcock et al., at Canadian universities such as York, Waterloo, Dalhousie, Guelph, the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser University and McGill, and funded by CIDA, are precisely forms of such "aid."

Genocide and its associated complicity may be difficult to prove, or may simply not apply, but war crimes, specifically the crime of aggression in the case of the invasion of East Timor, seem eminently provable.[60] In this case, the Canadian government's delivery of aid to Indonesia, in the form of development projects carried out by Canadian universities, may readily be seen as being accessory after the fact to those crimes, if not as aiding and abetting them. John McMurtry states that "the [Indonesian] invasion [of East Timor] ... clearly qualifies as a war crime under international and Canadian criminal law." Citing national and international legal instruments, he argues that "given that the background here is a long-term war of aggression against a smaller country in violation of the most basic international laws, ... and

qualifies as criminal under the Canadian Criminal Code ..., the decision to carry on with future commitments of hundreds of millions of dollars of assistance to the offending government is hardly less than criminal itself, as 'accessory after the fact' under international law."[61]

CHINA AND INDONESIA

Similar considerations apply in the case of China, say in relation to Tibet or the Tiananmen Square massacre of 1989, although the difference here is that they are quite widely recognized. Thus, two weeks before the opening of the Beijing Olympic Games, the *Globe and Mail* published a major story on the front page of their Saturday edition for July 26, 2008 entitled "Beijing Lockdown" in bold capitals. In red letters the sub-title reads, "Network of 400,000 spies dims hope for new freedoms." Below this a third heading, in black letters, announces, "Games have instead 'stunted the growth of civil society,'" repeating a claim made by a spokesperson for Human Rights Watch reported in the story itself. The story is topped by a large photograph in which the reader looks into the hand of a police officer "blocking a shot of a military parade in front of Beijing's Olympic stadium this week" (photo caption). The message is stark and plainly stated. China's highly restrictive methods of handling security for the Games are a major setback to the cause of human rights and democratic freedoms in that country.[62] Almost a year later the *Globe* runs a story about the Tiananmen Square massacre on its front page. It focuses on purged Communist Party official Bao Tong, reporting his judgment that "many foreign governments have chosen to forget in favour of building lucrative trade relationships with Beijing."[63] On the twentieth anniversary of the massacre, the paper devotes half the front page, one whole inside page and most of the op-ed page to critical reports and assessments of the terrible event.[64] The critical treatment here accorded China recalls a massive *Globe and Mail* five-year anniversary editorial in the Saturday paper of June 4, 1994 devoted to "Remembering Tiananmen." The article is couched in terms of the problematic relationship between human rights and business dealings with the communist country. As such it provides a nice yardstick by which to measure the paper's attitude to Indonesia. It reads, in part, as follows:

> Since the beginning of this year the Governor-General, the Trade Minister, the Agriculture Minister and the Premier of the country's most populous province all have paid visits to the Chinese capital, mumbling rationalizations as they go. Prime Minister Jean Chretien, who will join the stampede this fall, says that even if Canada tried to influence China, it is too small and insignificant to have much effect. Ontario Premier Bob Rae, with the logic of a gun dealer, says that if Canadians don't sell to China, others will. Foreign Minister Andre

> Ouellet says "a lot of time has passed" since the events at Tiananmen and insists he will not get "bogged down" in the issue...

As the above passage shows, the editorialist is prepared to honour the human rights of the massacre victims and of all those who suffer under the tyrannical Chinese heel; to condemn, if tacitly, Canadian foreign policy in which business had been officially released from the constraint of human rights; and to ridicule politicians who mask their moral emptiness with pragmatism. The writer goes on to give a critical assessment of mortality estimates, opting for the highest figure (2,600) and citing academic authority for it.

> No one knows for sure how many died. It is still an indictable offence in China to challenge the official government count of 300. But in 1990, Amnesty International called that figure a "gross underestimate" and put the toll at "at least 1,000." University of Toronto historian Timothy Brook, who examined the emergency-room reports of Beijing hospitals for his meticulous 1992 book Quelling the People, settles on 2,600, the figure originally reported (and later retracted under pressure) by the Red Cross.

The editorial directly challenges government claims:

> The government later maintained that the army started shooting only after soldiers were set upon and killed by angry crowds. This is a lie...

It chastises China's leaders for not uttering "a syllable of regret or apology." It expresses outrage by tying to this failure to apologise premier Jiang Zemin's defence of his army's actions in terms of their being necessary for China's "stability and economic growth." It cites detailed examples of horrific and egregious killings drawn from an Amnesty International report. It names specific student leaders and gives their terms of imprisonment.

All this is exactly as it should be. Indeed, the editorial picks up and hammers home the message of an op-ed published in the paper two days before by the president of PEN Canada, the organization that defends the human rights of writers.

> "Let us trade, let us make deals, let us do business," [Canadian politicians] squawk. "Let us not get bogged down by Tiananmen Square; that's just history..."
>
> And nary a peep, not the tiniest chirp, about that enormous albatross perched in the middle of the banquet hall, the factory, the prison and the public square — China's record of human rights abuses...
>
> But the question must still be raised in Canada: Should our foreign policy — China being the most significant current example and Mexico another — preemptively, even brazenly, sacrifice human rights to economic objectives?[65]

It is to be noted, of course, that such editorializing in the *Globe and Mail* did not occur in the case of Indonesia's far worse criminality and human rights abuses in East Timor, except for one lonely editorial published eleven years after the invasion. Nor did the president of PEN Canada on this occasion include in her 1994 purview the country that her government could not do enough business with at the time, the country where "Fear Shackles Indonesian Writers," and where the books of its greatest writer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, were still banned. "After [14] years of imprisonment and exile on Buru following the events of 1965, Pram remained under house arrest, his voice silenced and his books censored, until after the collapse of Suharto's New Order regime in 1998."[66]

My point here, however, is that the intellectuals on the *Globe and Mail* editorial board had no trouble seeing through the shameless, self-serving and exculpatory ideology of the President of China ("stability and economic growth"), the Prime Minister of Canada ("too small and insignificant"), the Foreign Minister (it's in the past) and the Premier of Ontario (the race to the bottom), and the newspaper here appeared to put human rights before economic objectives. My question is: how come the intellectuals in Canada's academic international development community, knowing full well Indonesia's massive criminality and wretched human rights record, not to mention its grandiose and grotesque level of corruption centred in the first family (acknowledged by Babcock et al. on page 75 of their article), nevertheless became partners with its war-criminal government, and so lent themselves to the task of legitimating said government by engaging in development projects that required dealing with that government and which were, in any case, expressions of the Canadian government's aid policy that served largely as an adjunct to Canadian corporations' trade with and investment in that country?[67] Let it not be said, following the Prime Minister's example, that these projects were too small and insignificant to count. In the 1980s and 1990s foreign aid supplied about a quarter of Indonesia's budget, as we have seen. The country's leaders were acutely concerned about the country's public image, as the example of the cancellation of Guelph University SRDP attests.[68]

I do not seek to make an ad hominem attack here at all, but the biography of Mr. Chris Dagg is suggestive of where an answer may be found to the question posed in the previous paragraph. I have already pointed to the trimmed version of Indonesian history penned by Harry Cummings, professor at the School of Rural Planning and Development at the University of Guelph and consultant with Harry Cummings and Associates, and elsewhere I have documented in detail the academic ideological services provided for Suharto's butchery by the dean of Canada's academic Indonesianists, Professor Martin Rudner, since 2007 Distinguished Research Professor Emeritus of the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton Univer-

sity.[69] What is particularly interesting about Mr. Dagg's career is that it combines participation in the very political, corporate and academic endeavours I have been at pains to describe to this point. He was an employee of P.T. INCO Indonesia; an employee for eighteen years of the Department of Foreign Affairs, with thirteen of those years (1971-1984) as First Secretary at the Canadian Embassy in Indonesia (including the years of Indonesian slaughter of Timorese); regional advisor and manager of Guelph University's SRDP (which Cummings also directed); Project Director (1987-2003) of the EIUDP at Simon Fraser University, providing project management and advisory services with the objective of strengthening the capacity of five eastern Indonesian universities;[70] he has also served Simon Fraser University (SFU) as Acting Director in the Office of International Development, and as Director, Project and Support Services in SFU International; he is currently the Project Director of the CIDA-funded, China Council for International Cooperation on Environment and Development Project, Phase IV (2007–2013). The SFU website sums up his career as follows: for over 37 years he has been active in Indonesia-Canada relations through work in Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs, the private sector, development cooperation, and in advisory positions and on consulting assignments for McGill University, CIDA, the Ford Foundation, and others. He earned his B.A. (Hons) at the University of British Columbia in the areas of public administration and international political science. As this mini-biography indicates, his expertise is now being applied to Canada-China "cooperation."[71]

With Harry Cummings and Martin Rudner, Chris Dagg is a cardinal example of the "honoured, university-trained, highly civilized personnel in government, business, the universities and the media" I wish to mention.

INCARNATION: SADISAH, BABCOCK AND WILCOX AND LABOUR RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

In one of many informative articles in the 1990s about development in South-east Asia *Globe and Mail* reporter John Stackhouse described the startling rise of "growth triangles" in the region, focusing on the case of the Indonesian island of Batam in relation to Singapore and Johor, the southernmost province of peninsular Malaysia: "'The idea is not about trade, it is about investment,' said George Abonyi, a visiting fellow at the National University of Singapore. 'In this part of the world, investment, not trade, is driving things'... Unlike larger preferential trade zones, growth triangles require governments to make what Mr. Abonyi, a Canadian, calls 'activity-based' investments. 'People lose sight of the role of government,' he said. In Batam, the Indonesian government signed an economic cooperation treaty with Singapore in 1990 and then poured $740-million into the island to build

roads, telephone lines, power plants and, opening next year, an international airport... Since then, the lifting of investment gates has brought a flood of money from Singapore and beyond...

> "If you can get it to Singapore, you can get it here," said Greg Sloan, production manager for Babcock and Wilcox Indonesia, a Canadian joint venture manufacturing boilers on Batam.
> B&W set up its Batam plant in 1986, long before growth triangle became a buzzword among development planners. But the reasons for locating there were similar. *On Batam, B&W can employ skilled welders for about $2 an hour, handsome by local standards but a 10th the cost of employing a welder at the company's plant in Cambridge, Ont.* And through Singapore, B&W can easily import steel pipes and other materials from Japan, and then export the unassembled boilers to the rest of Indonesia or beyond.
> B&W's current workload is dominated by a $400-million order from Indonesia's big Suralaya power project on the island of Java... [72]

The vicissitudes of such ventures were indicated in subsequent developments at B & W, but again the importance of government was readily apparent. In 1998 B & W's US parent closed its Texas plant and moved some production to Cambridge, Ontario.

> B and W's relationships with governments in Canada, plus ongoing support from the federal Export Development Corp., which helps finance its large export deals, were ... factors in the decision, [Paul] Koenderman [president of B and W Canada] said...
> The hiring in Cambridge will be the first significant turnaround here since major layoffs hit the plant in 1996 after two major international power deals, worth hundreds of millions of dollars, fell through...
> The largest setback was the deal in Indonesia, which was announced in early 1996 by Premier Mike Harris during a Team Canada tour... [73]

During that same January 1996 Team Canada trade mission to South and South-East Asia, Stackhouse reported the following: "In many Asian countries like Indonesia and India [and surely China], few major business deals go ahead without some form of government approval. 'When you're in this part of the world, you're dealing almost exclusively with governments in the resource sector,' said Scott Hand, president of Inco Ltd." [74]

The President of INCO knew, of course, what "dealing almost exclusively with governments" meant. In the Indonesian case, the provision of infrastructure and cheap labour already noted above may be expressed a little more precisely, if still politely, as follows: "Low wage levels, coupled with strict government controls over labour, have particularly appealed to foreign investors seeking a cheap work force and an environment free of organized labour." [75] To be more specific, and somewhat less polite, "strict government

controls over labour ... and an environment free of organized labour" meant, for example, the repeated jailing of Muchtar Pakpahan, the leader of Indonesia's largest independent trade union, the minimum wage having been set below the poverty line to attract foreign investment, the existence of abominable working conditions, and the violent suppression of attempts at organizing labour.

Let me elaborate. Those who prefer the stark facts of Indonesia's outright contempt for labour rights, and foreign investors' willingness to be partners in such crime, may wish to consult Jeffrey Ballinger's 1992 description of Sadisah's pay stub, as follows:

> At this factory [just outside Jakarta], which makes mid-priced Nikes, each pair of shoes requires .84 man-hours to produce; working on an assembly line, Sadisah assembled the equivalent of 13.9 pairs every day. The profit margin on each pair is enormous. The labour costs to manufacture a pair of Nikes that sells for $80 in the United States is approximately 12 cents. Here are Sadisah's net earnings for a month of work. She put in six days a week, ten and a half hours per day, for a pay check equivalent to $37.46 - about half the retail price of one pair of the [Nike] sneakers she makes... [T]he daily wage for seven and a half hours of work ... [is] $1.03 per day. That amount, which works out to just under 14 cents per hour, is less than the Indonesian government's figure for "minimum physical need..." Sadisah's wages allow her to rent a shanty without electricity or running water (emphasis in original).[76]

Sadisah appeared again in a news story three years later, in 1995, during which interval the Indonesian minimum wage had been raised. Nevertheless, "The Indonesian government admits that its minimum wage of 4,600 rupiahs (about $2.80) a day is fixed below the poverty line, to encourage foreign investment... Sadisah, 24, was fired in 1992 along with 23 fellow workers after striking to demand compliance with statutory labour laws at the Eltri factory" where Nike, Reebok and Adidas trainers are made.[77]

Writing in 1994, Stackhouse provides further details: "A study by the Jakarta Social Institute found Indonesia's current minimum wage meets only 57 per cent of an adult's minimum physical needs and just 32 per cent of basic needs if the wage earner has to support two children... [Furthermore], 'Wages account for only 8 per cent of manufacturing costs,' said Muchtar Pakpahan ... 'The "invisible money" — bribes, private security and that sort of thing — are the real problem. They make up 20 per cent to 30 per cent of total costs. The invisible money all goes to government officers.'"[78]

Muchtar Pakpahan is a lawyer and was at the time president of the Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union (SBSI), the largest of the few such independent labour organizations tolerated by the Indonesian government which otherwise recognized only one official trade union. In 1996 Stackhouse reported: "But labour activists still face repression, especially from regional

military commanders who control much of the nation's industry. Since SBSI was founded in 1992, Mr. Pakpahan said 243 of its organizers have been arrested, and some 5,000 members fired for union activities. Since 1994, the union has seen 39 of its 97 branches close. Mr. Pakpahan has been jailed once, for nine months and 10 days, and held in custody four times."[79] Not long after that report, Pakpahan was jailed again. An Amnesty International prisoner of conscience, he was released from that term of imprisonment in May 1998. By Indonesian standards Pakpahan could count himself lucky.

> In one case that has become a national controversy, a 25-year-old watch-factory worker named Marsinah was found murdered last May only two days after she helped organize a two-day strike to demand that the employer pay the local minimum wage of $1.48 a day. She was raped and tortured before her body was dumped in a hut in a distant village... Although the case has not been settled, a detailed investigation of the murder by Jakarta's Legal Aid Institute concluded there was "a cover-up and a frame-up of the murder." "Marsinah is only the tip of the iceberg," Mr. Sumardi [director of the Jakarta Social Institute] said. "The collusion between companies and security forces is very real."[80]

Recall the identical situation in another capitalist paradise, Colombia, from chap. 1.

On April 18, 1995 I was one of multiple recipients of the following email message from the Director of International and Canadian Programs at the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC). It was entitled "Update On AUCC's Participation In The Indonesia Higher Education Project:"

> Further to my message of April 7, 1995, I wish to confirm that, *no objection having been raised by any university*, AUCC will participate as an Associate organization in the IDP-Education Australia bid for the Indonesia Higher Education Project...
> ... IDP-Education Australia is collaborating with AUCC, EDC, British Council and Extra Skills (New Zealand) to form its international team of consultants for this project...
> ... Should the IDP bid be successful, negotiations will take place:
> 1) *with the Indonesian Ministry of Education, to ascertain the acceptability of the individual consultants to the Ministry*, and
> 2) with the consultants themselves, regarding fees, time of assignment, contract, etc. (my emphasis).

That is, this academic collaboration was subject to state approval of participants by a ministry of a country where, on March 12, 1996, prisoner of conscience Thomas Wainggai died, aged 59, after eight years in jail for peacefully expressing his view that West Papua, the forcibly annexed Indonesian province of Irian Jaya, where he lived, should be independent.

> Amnesty International has learned that Thomas Wainggai, a prisoner of conscience serving a sentence of 20 years' imprisonment, died on 12 March 1996. He was in his late 50s and had been convicted of subversion for organizing a peaceful flag-raising ceremony. He was well-known in Irian Jaya for his opposition to Indonesian rule and advocacy of independence for the province. His death provoked large-scale riots in Abepura, close to Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya. Thomas Wainggai graduated in law from Okayama University in Japan and gained a PhD in public administration at Florida State University, USA. He was working as a civil servant at the time of his arrest on 14 December 1988. Some 60 people were arrested with him during a flag-raising ceremony in Jayapura to proclaim an independent state of "West Melanesia." (Irian Jaya occupies the western half of the island of New Guinea and is a province of Indonesia, whereas the eastern half of the island forms the independent state of Papua New Guinea. Members of independence movements in Irian Jaya frequently refer to Irian Jaya as West Papua or West Melanesia.) A crowd of people had gathered at a sports stadium for the ceremony which was interrupted by the arrival of military vehicles and all present were arrested.
> Dr Wainggai, in particular, was accused of assigning tasks related to the flag-raising to others in the group and his wife was accused of having sewn the West Melanesian flag. She served 4½ years in prison for this. Both were imprisoned in Jakarta, approximately 3,700 km west of their home.[81]

Furthermore, the project "aims at improving the quality and efficiency of the higher education system, which could contribute more effectively to provincial, regional and national socioeconomic development by producing better quality graduates in disciplines required by the growing economy."[82] In short the project was one in which education was subordinated to economic growth, in a country where "economic growth" itself consistently translated into military and crony capitalism embracing the outlandishly corrupt financial activities of the first family: "Favouritism and cronyism reign; indeed, Indonesia has been called the world's most corrupt country. The ruling families control virtually all industry. Indonesia is run by an oligarchy, and a selfish one at that," affirmed the *Globe and Mail*.[83]

It was entirely to be expected, then, when "representatives of 12 educational institutions ... joined Prime Minister Chrétien's [January 1996 Team Canada] trade mission to South and South-East Asia to try to recapture their share of the Asian market ... [and that] to boost Canada's image as an educator, Mr. Chrétien opened the third Canadian Education Centre in Asia on Wednesday in Jakarta."[84] Canadian educational values and the Canadian social structure are much the same as Indonesia's: a bunch of ruling families and their cronies more or less runs the country,[85] education is subordinated to economic growth, where "economic growth" translates as corporate wealth and shareholder welfare, and business values substitute for educational ones.

Moreover, corruption is alive and well here.

> "It's like any other thing in the world, any product, and service," said Bill Saywell, president of the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada. "However good it is, if you don't market it, if you're not there to tell people about it, it's not going to happen." ...
> About 100 Canadian universities, colleges and other institutions use the Canadian Education Centre [in Seoul, South Korea] on a cost-recovery basis.
> Foreign students are believed to bring an average of $30,000 a year to the Canadian economy in tuition, room and board, books, transportation and other living costs. In Nova Scotia, they pay about $6,000 in tuition, double the Canadian rate...
> Nova Scotia Premier John Savage said the financial benefits from foreign students are a matter of survival for many schools in his province, which houses 13 degree-granting institutions.[86]

Finally, the argument is made by liberal pragmatists like Dagg, writing in *Issues*, the journal of the Asia-Pacific Foundation,[87] that preserving a relationship with killer states like Indonesia allows the good guys to exercise leverage on the bad guys over such matters as human rights. It's an astonishing claim to hear an academic make. The evidence is surely the reverse, that appeasing and supporting killers encourages them in their killing. Remember Munich? As Chomsky has observed many times, and with enormous documentation — drawing particularly on the work of Lars Schoultz and Edward Herman — there is a strong correlation between US aid and state terror in the aided state. Consider just the three highest recipients of US aid from 2001 to 2010, Israel, Egypt and Colombia. This holds for Indonesia, and it holds in the Canadian case.[88] You can hardly support the terrorist state at the UN, develop programs of co-operation with it, arm it, trade with it, invest in it, invite its officials to dine at the President's House on campus, and then take its representatives aside and quietly say, "by the way, what you're up to in Timor Timur is not on," and expect to be taken seriously.[89]

> "Raising the issue [of East Timor] and then bringing in $2.7-billion worth of business is not going to mean much," said [Sharon] Scharfe, who travelled to Indonesia to monitor the trade delegation. "The message Suharto will take home is, 'Yes, Canada can be bought.'"[90]

In fact, Canada was bought: "Shortly before watching Canadian companies sign $2.76-billion worth of deals in Indonesia, Mr. Chretien met privately with President Suharto to raise Canada's human-rights concerns, but officials said the 15-minute private meeting focused more on business opportunities."[91] As I write, the same charade of inking a few billion in business deals while pretending to "raise" human rights has just been performed in China by Canadian Prime Minister Harper and the Chinese government.[92]

CONCLUSION

At the end of their article Babcock et al. avail themselves of the following vision: "If the core mission of the universities is related to knowledge generation, then international development projects have the potential to offer unique and important opportunities for the creation, dissemination, and application of new and enhanced awareness and understanding relevant to some complex and compelling questions about the future of humanity and of the planet."[93] In this chapter I have been at pains to explicate and illustrate the claim advanced at the beginning of the book that my ability to carry out free intellectual inquiry in the university, including that involved in international development projects based in distant lands, is utterly dependent on the exploitation (and enrichment), suffering (and release) and death (and life-enhancement) of others. The imperial global economy that secures the material wealth that frees me up for mental labour and that builds the infrastructure required for academic work is bought with the rape and murder of Marsinah and women labour organizers like her, the repeated imprisonment of Muchtar Pakpahan and union leaders like him, the imprisonment and death of Thomas Wainggai and political activists like him, and the below-poverty-level wages of Sadisah and millions of workers like her. The connections are direct and not mysterious. They are incarnate in the sneakers on my feet, the shirt on my back, the international student fees that help to pay my salary, the wheat in the bread I eat, the low cost of which to me is partly a consequence of the Canadian Wheat Board's dumping of surplus wheat on the Indonesian market,[94] and so on. I could have made the same argument in relation to China.[95]

As Indonesian fishermen put it, "If we, the poor people of Indonesia, could ... we would all leave for Australia, Singapore, the US, or Europe. Only the rich like it here, because they can have us almost for free. But even they would have to leave, because with us gone, they would have to learn how to clean and cook and do everything by themselves."[96]

The "rich" who have the Indonesian fishermen "almost for free" are not confined to Indonesia.

NOTES

1. Shawn, *Fever*, 15.

2. In general, see Trilokekar, Jones, and Shubert, *Canada's Universities Go Global*; for example, "AUCC to host leadership symposium on North-South partnerships in support of internationalization of Canadian university campuses," *Media Advisory*, January 28, 2010; and "The University of Ottawa, together with the Faculty of Arts and the Canadian International College (CIC), announced that uOttawa will open a new academic unit, the Canadian School of Communications in Cairo, Egypt, in September 2010." "The University of Ottawa in Egypt," *News Releases and Announcements*, May 4, 2010: http://www.media.uottawa.ca/mediaroom/news-details_1962.html. On imperialism, see Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 320: "what we have learned about culture — … above all its rich worldliness and complicity with imperial

conquest *and* liberation." On the importance of international students' fees, see Langer, "International Students: Cash Cows?" On the larger economic tie-in, see James Bradshaw, "University Leaders Woo Students in India," *Globe and Mail*, November 6, 2010, A12: "These top administrators trumpet the benefits of importing students in economic and diplomatic terms … and they stress the need to deepen research and business ties between the two countries;" Birchard, "Quebec Offers Fast-Tracked Canadian Citizenship:" "The province's premier, Jean Charest, who is leading a delegation of university heads on a visit to India, told a packed meeting at the University of Mumbai on Monday that, starting on February 14, foreign students who graduated from universities in Quebec would get 'a certificate of selection' that would put them on a fast track to Canadian citizenship… 'We are doing this because we have a shortage of skilled labour;'" and Campbell Clark, "Solid Americas Strategy Promises Big Rewards," *Globe and Mail*, May 24, 2011, A13: "Aiding its education system and bringing Mexican students to Canada can pay off in bigger trade ties in the future."

3. Jana Russell, "Laurier Prof Gives Lecture in China," *Cord Weekly*, October 24, 2007, 4; WLU, "Laurier Opens China Office to Promote Collaboration and Internationalization," News Release, October 12, 2007; Geoffrey York, "Few Signs of Democratic Progress as China Prepares to Pick New Leaders," *Globe and Mail*, October 13, 2007, A22; Geoffrey York, "Communist Grip on Power Remains Absolute," *Globe and Mail*, October 15, 2007, front page; Editorial, "Expansion Lacks Moral Thought," *Cord Weekly*, October 17, 2007, 18; Geoffrey York, "China's Human-rights Record Improving, Report by Canadian Diplomats Say," *Globe and Mail*, November 19, 2007, A4; Geoffrey York, "Human-rights Dialogue with China Hurt by MPs," *Globe and Mail*, November 24, 2007, A26.

4. Geoffrey York, "Rights Activist Disappears as China Curbs Dissent," *Globe and Mail*, March 8, 2008, A20; WLU, "Donation Will Help Support Laurier's Office in China," News Release, March 14, 2008; Geoffrey York, Karen Howlett, and Jennifer Lewington, "Steady Stream of Canadian Politicians Making Trips to China," *Globe and Mail*, April 12, 2008, A4; Karen Howlett, "Minister Discloses Chinese Trade Mission," *Globe and Mail*, April 8, 2008, A10.

5. Marcus Gee, "Cashing In on China's Thirst for University Training," *Globe and Mail*, June 11, 2008, B9; WLU, "Laurier Students Travel to China to Lead Business Workshops," News Release, June 24, 2008; WLU, "Laurier students travel to China to lead workshops on business and entrepreneurship," News Release, July 2, 2009; WLU, "High School Students Spend Two Weeks at Laurier as a Prize for Winning Chinese Science Competition," Campus Updates, July 31, 2008; Amnesty International, *People's Republic of China*; Geoffrey York, "Beijing Busy Welcoming the World as it Turns Away its Ethnic Minorities," *Globe and Mail*, July 18, 2008, A13; Geoffrey York, "Use of Torture Widespread in China," *Globe and Mail*, December 3, 2005, A27; "China University Partnerships Promise Laurier Significant Two-way Flow of Academics and Students," *Research at Laurier*, Winter 2009, 9; WLU, "Canadian Consul Shawn Steil Speaks on Opportunities in Chongqing, China," Campus Updates, February 26, 2009.

6. Kevin Carmichael and Tara Perkins, "Flaherty Turns Page With Mission to China," *Globe and Mail*, August 6, 2009, B1; Carolynne Wheeler, "Selling Insurance in China: The Dream and the Reality," *Globe and Mail*, August 13, 2009, B1; Frank Ching, "The Dragon Should Obey its Own Laws," *Globe and Mail*, August 7, 2009, A13; Mark MacKinnon, "Thawing the Frost: Flaherty Sticks to Business in China," *Globe and Mail*, August 15, 2009, B3; Tania Branigan, "Organs Taken from Prisoners on Huge Scale, China Admits," *Globe and Mail*, August 27, 2009, A9; Nathan Vanderklippe, "China's Bold Move into the Oil Sands," *Globe and Mail*, September 1, 2009, B1; Lori Chalmers Morrison, "Laurier Hosts Training Program for China Delegation," *Inside Laurier*, November 2009, 6; [WLU Research Office], "Invitation: Presentation by Chinese Delegation at Laurier," e-mail to faculty, November 30, 2009; John Ibbitson, "China Brushes Aside British Rage over Execution," *Globe and Mail*, December 30, 2009, A13; Chris Buckley, "Trial of Political Activist Sparks Protest in China," *Globe and Mail*, December 24, 2009, A12.

7. Campbell Clark, "China Turns Chilly on Human Rights Dialogue," *Globe and Mail*, January 7, 2011, A8; Mark MacKinnon, "Beijing Punishes the Messengers," *Globe and Mail*, March 11, 2010, A15; Mark MacKinnon, "Released Chinese Dissident Barred from Speaking

Out," *Globe and Mail*, June 27, 2011; Amnesty International, "Wo Weihan — Taken Before He Could Say His Last Goodbyes," December 3, 2008, http://www.amnesty.org/en/news-and-updates/feature-stories/wo-weihan-taken-he-could-say-his-last-goodbyes-20081203; Frank Ching, "Rounding Up Usual Suspects," *Globe and Mail*, April 26, 2011, A17; Mark MacKinnon, "Fighting Chinese Rule with Self-immolation," *Globe and Mail*, October 27, 2011, A19; New York Times News Service/Bloomberg News, "Land Dispute Foments People's Revolution," *Globe and Mail*, December 15, 2011, A3; Andy Hoffman, "How a Chinese Backwater Joined the Boom," *Globe and Mail*, May 17, 2011, B1; Mike Lakusiak, "Laurier Strengthens Ties with China," *Cord*, November 17, 2010.

8. David Webster, "Canada Chooses Profits Over Rights," *Toronto Star*, November 12, 1992, A25. David Webster has been an intrepid advocate for East Timor and critic of Canadian policy and practice towards Indonesia for many years. His many articles in such publications as *Catholic New Times*, the *ACTivist*, the *Toronto Star* and even the *Report on Business* of the *Globe and Mail* were invaluable in keeping East Timor alive in Canada as an issue for those with eyes to see and ears to hear. I am also grateful for his careful reading of earlier drafts of this chapter and for the corrections he pointed out needed making. He is rapidly becoming an accomplished scholar on Indonesian history and the East Timorese independence struggle. See, for example, "Non-state Diplomacy: East Timor 1975-99," "History, Nation and Narrative in East Timor's Truth Commission Report," and *Fire and the Full Moon*.

9. Cited in Scharfe, *Complicity*, 136.

10. Indeed, according to a report of the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada, "Southeast Asia has slipped off the map of Canadian foreign policy over the last decade." *Globe and Mail*, August 25, 2010, B7.

11. Campbell Clark, "Friendlier China Willing to Embrace Canada's New Tone," *Globe and Mail*, June 24, 2009, A5.

12. Gee, "Cashing In." For characteristic encouragement in this direction from an Ottawa mandarin, see Derek Burney, "Canada Must Outgrow its Juvenile Relationship with China," *Globe and Mail*, April 11, 2009, A13.

13. Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, 1: 129-204, 205-217; Jolliffe, *East Timor*; Kohen and Taylor, *Act of Genocide*; Dunn, *Timor*; Budiardjo and Liong, *War Against East Timor*; Ramos-Horta, *Funu*; Taylor, *Indonesia's Forgotten War*; Aditjondro, *Shadow of Mount Ramelau*; Jardine, *East Timor*; Nevins, *Not-So-Distant Horror*; *Chega! The Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in Timor-Leste*; Gunn, *Complicity in Genocide*; Scharfe, *Complicity*; also Klaehn, "Canadian Complicity in the East Timor Near-Genocide;" Brière, *Bitter Paradise*; Monet, *East Timor*; Southard, *Looking the Other Way*; Keenleyside, "Development Assistance," 196-8.

14. McClellan, *What Happened*. See also the four categories of degrees of responsibility — "direct responsibility," "indirect responsibility," "active inaction" and "other" — with which Mark Curtis classifies the "estimated number of deaths in the post-war period for which Britain bears significant responsibility" in *Unpeople*, 310-17. I owe thanks to John Pilger for pointing me towards this source. On complicity in general, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as "partnership in an evil action," see Stanley Cohen's admirable work *States of Denial* and the earlier work by Raul Hilberg, the great historian of the Holocaust against the Jews, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders*.

15. For the source of these phrases see the quote from Chomsky's *Problems of Knowledge and Freedom* in chap. 1.

16. Naylor, *Canada in the European Age*; Melnyk, *Canada and the New American Empire*; McQuaig, *Holding the Bully's Coat*; Barlow, *Too Close for Comfort*. For discussion of whether Canada is best described as a junior partner or satellite of the United States or as an imperial power in its own right, albeit a "secondary" one, see Gordon, *Imperialist Canada*, Engler, *Black Book*, and Klassen, "Canada and the New Imperialism," and references therein. These include Clarkson, *Uncle Sam and Us*, and Grinspun and Shamsie, *Whose Canada?*

17. Newman, *Canadian Revolution, 1985-1995*, 143: "Even if it was capitalism, it was capitalism with a human face."

18. Panitch, *Renewing Socialism*, 2001, 146-7. "Just after Chavez's re-election US Assistant Secretary of State for Hemispheric Affairs, Thomas Shannon, called Canada 'a country that can

deliver messages that can resonate in ways that sometimes our messages don't for historical or psychological reasons.'" Engler, "Canada and Venezuela."

19. "During the Vietnam War there was a lot of Canadian opposition to the war. There was a lot of rhetorical condemnation. Nevertheless, Canada became the largest per capita military exporter in the world, supplying arms and enriching itself through the destruction of Indo-China." Chomsky, *Language and Politics*, 483; Levant, *Quiet Complicity*; Culhane, *Why is Canada in Vietnam?* Engler, *Black Book*, 124-9. "Canadian companies have a long history of working with US companies on defence purchases by the militaries of both countries." Barrie McKenna, "US Scraps Catch 22 for Canadian Defence Contractors," *Globe and Mail*, May 17, 2011, B6.

20. Scharfe, *Complicity*, 197-205.

21. Webster, "Canada Expands Export of Military Goods to Indonesia," 13.

22. Chomsky, "The Overall Framework of Order," in *On Power and Ideology*, esp. 15-16; "Human Rights," in *Year 501*; "The Great Powers and Human Rights," in *Perspectives on Power*; "East Timor," in *Chomsky Reader*, esp. 306-7; Aditjondro, *Is Oil Thicker than Blood ?*

23. Chomsky, "'Green Light' for War Crimes;" "East Timor, the United States, and International Responsibility."

24. Rudner and McLellan, "Canada's Economic Relations with Southeast Asia," 35.

25. Pilger, "Model Pupil," in *New Rulers of the World*, 37-40. For more on INCO, human rights violations and Canadian government support see McFarlane, "Inco and the Guatemalan Colonel," 122-31, also 148-9; Swift, *The Big Nickel*; Marr, *Digging Deep*, 88-97; Southard, *Looking the Other Way*, 24; Franky, "Mass Protests Challenge Inco," 5-6, 9; Moody, *Rocks and Hard Places*, 167-8: "Inco has consistently been indicted as the largest polluter among Canadian miners. In March 2006, the FTSE4Good company index, set up by the *Financial Times* to monitor compliance with certain business standards, throws out Inco for 'not meeting Human Rights Criteria.'" For details of the labour and environmental impacts of Inco's operations see NGO Working Group on the EDC, *Seven Deadly Sins*.

26. Engler, *Black Book*, 134, based on Scharfe, *Complicity*; see below.

27. For all quotes in this paragraph see Scharfe, *Complicity*, 157-8, 167-8; also Stubbs, "Canada's Relations with Malaysia," 355-7.

28. Linda Hossie, "World View: Massacre Merits More Than a Slap on the Wrist," *Globe and Mail*, November 13, 1992, A23.

29. Nairn, *Testimony of Allan Nairn*.

30. Zachary, "As the Trade Winds Blow," 26.

31. Editorial, "What about Timor?" *Times* (London), April 20, 1991, 4.

32. John McMurtry, "Why Does Canada Aid the Oppressors?" *Globe and Mail*, February 20, 1990, A7.

33. Scharfe, *Complicity*, 14.

34. Mimi Tompkins, "Francophone Summit: PM Links Canadian Aid to Human Rights," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 20, 1991.

35. Canada, *CIDA in East Timor*, 1-3.

36. See Scharfe, "Canadian Aid to Indonesia and East Timor," chap. 5 of *Complicity*, for details.

37. Canadian Press, *Times-Colonist* (Victoria, BC), October 22, 1991.

38. Paul Knox, "Timor Dispatch Raises Questions," *Globe and Mail*, December 11, 1995, A10; also Knox, "20 Years After Invasion, Timorese Woman Fights On," *Globe and Mail*, December 7, 1995, A21, and "End Military Sales to Indonesia, Ottawa Urged," *Globe and Mail*, December 8, 1995, A2. In this fine series of articles by Knox, that of December 7 is notable for its accurate account of the Timor experience, containing as it does details of the history of the invasion and occupation not to be found elsewhere in *Globe* reporting. See, by comparison, my discussion of John Stackhouse's "Destino" article of February 3, 1996 in Eglin, "East Timor, the Globe and Mail and Propaganda."

39. Cited in Scharfe, *Complicity*, 192-3.

40. Southard, *Looking the Other Way*, 105.

41. The 1994 CIDA document is entitled *Indonesia* and it includes "Canada's Projects in Indonesia."

42. Southard, "Canada-Indonesia: What Kind of Partnership?" 15.

43. Cited in Bob Russell and Jery Zaslove, "Should We Be There?" *Simon Fraser News*, February 23, 1995, 5.

44. Canada, *Indonesia*, 7.

45. World University Service of Canada, *Indonesia*, no date.

46. John Stackhouse, "CIDA a Rudderless Ship in Asia, Critics Say," *Globe and Mail*, May 26, 1994, front page.

47. Canadian Press, "N.S. Firm Wins Indonesia Contract," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, May 9, 1991, B7.

48. *The Globe and Mail*, "More than 100 Countries Eligible for CIDA INC Aid," *Globe and Mail*, March 16, 1996. In January 2012 news broke that the Government of Canada under Stephen Harper had been engaged in a policy shift since 2007 "to launch development projects in partnership with mining firms … to ensure that foreign aid also fuels economic growth and international trade at home." That is, the "new initiatives … will make it easier for mining firms to sell their sometimes controversial projects to local populations." Daniel Leblanc, "Miners Show New Way for CIDA," *Globe and Mail*, January 30, 2012, A4. *Plus ça change …* Canada is not alone, of course. "China's investment in Africa has … skyrocketed from $490-million to nearly $15-billion in the last eight years … China attaches no strings to its aid [which], however, helps Beijing win access to the African oil and minerals that are increasingly vital for fuelling China's economic growth." Geoffrey York, "African Union Embraces Beijing," *Globe and Mail*, January 30, 2012, A9.

49. Babcock et al., "Human and Institutional Capacity Enhancement," 74. For a fuller critique of this academic development project see Eglin, "Partners in Crime?"

50. Babcock et al., "Human and Institutional Capacity Enhancement," 73, 82, 85.

51. Ibid., 75, 75, 77. "The term 'stability' has long served as code word, referring to what former [US] Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara called a 'favourable orientation of the political elite' — favourable not to their populations but to foreign investors and global managers." Chomsky, "'Green Light' for War Crimes," 77; Chomsky and Herman, *Political Economy of Human Rights*, 1: 3-4. For the parallel Canadian case see Scharfe, *Complicity*, 108.

52. Chomsky, "Great Powers," 195, citing Cribb, *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966*, which cites a CIA report.

53. For a damning account of the murderous atrocities carried out by the Indonesian army in the guise of so-called "militias" during 1999 up to and immediately following the referendum, and of Western complicity in these crimes, see Chomsky, "East Timor Retrospective;" "East Timor is Not Yesterday's Story;" "'Green Light' for War Crimes;" "East Timor, the United States, and International Responsibility;" Tanter, Ball, and van Klinken, *Masters of Terror*.

54. Jeff Sallot, "Indonesians Considered Shooting Canadians: Documents Reveal Talks with RCMP during Suharto Visit," *Globe and Mail*, September 9, 1998; Jack Aubry, "The Limits of Free Speech," *Ottawa Citizen*, March 8, 1998.

55. See my "East Timor, the Globe and Mail and Propaganda."

56. Canada, *CIDA Programs in Asia: Indonesia*, 4; Genné and Cummings, "Indonesia," 3.

57. Cummings, "Project Planning and Administrative Lessons," 143-4.

58. Moreover, Cummings glosses the entire period from 1949 to 1965 as "civil war," a claim that is simply false, according to David Webster, who should know: the claim "is of a piece with New Order characterizations of the entire pre-Suharto period as a time of undifferentiated chaos and conflict, which it wasn't, not by a long shot… even the official New Order history (the Sejarah Nasional) does not make this claim." Webster, e-mail message to author, August 25, 2008. See his *Fire and the Full Moon.* "New Order" is the name the Suharto regime gave to the dispensation it brought into being following the coup of 1965/66.

59. Chalk and Jonassohn, *History and Sociology of Genocide*.

60. *International Law and the Question of East Timor*. For sources on the debate over the applicability of the concept "genocide" to the East Timor case see Nevins, *Horror*, 217-18, fns. 4 and 5.

61. McMurtry, "Why Does Canada Aid the Oppressors?"; "Stop The Aid to Indonesia [letter]," *Globe and Mail*, April 15, 1992; "We Boost Terror in Indonesia," *Globe and Mail*, January 27, 1994, A6. He made the same argument at greater length in a talk at Dalhousie

University (for which I have the audio-tape but no date), and in "Dal Doublethink [letter]," *Daily News* [Halifax, NS], April 10, 1997, 13.

62. Geoffrey York, "Beijing Lockdown," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, July 26, 2008, front page. The theme continued as the Games concluded: "China's Totalitarian Success," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, August 23, 2008, front page.

63. Mark MacKinnon, "Tiananmen Square Massacre: A Revolutionary Forgotten, a Remembrance Repressed," *Globe and Mail*, May 4, 2009, front page.

64. "In the Shadow of Tiananmen," *Globe and Mail*, June 4, 2009, front page; Sonia Verma and Mark MacKinnon, "Two Men Bound by the Horrors of Tiananmen," A15; Charles Foran, "The Collective Amnesia of China — and the West," A27.

65. Marian Botsford Fraser, "Canada's China Policy: Human Rights Be Damned," *Globe and Mail*, June 2, 1994, A25. For a recent assessment of China's human rights record see Ching, *China*.

66. Editorial, "East Timor's Tragedy," *Globe and Mail*, January 9, 1987, A6; John Stackhouse, "PM Defends Cautious Stand on Indonesian Abuses," *Globe and Mail*, January 18, 1996, A16; Stackhouse, "Chrétien Favours More Trade Missions," *Globe and Mail*, January 20, 1996, A11; Ethan Casey, "Fear Shackles Indonesian Writers," *Globe and Mail*, July 23, 1998, A10; Marcus Gee, "A Writer's Life of Prison and Repression," *Globe and Mail*, June 13, 1998, D4. The quotation is from Chris GoGwilt, "Foreword," in *Exile: Pramoedya Ananta Toer*, 7-8.

67. On the generality of the last point see Angeles and Boothroyd, "Canadian Universities and International Development," 13, and Porter, "Linking Lessons," 31-3. For a specific example, see Stubbs, "Canada's Relations with Malaysia," 354; also Rudner, "Advantages of Trading with Indonesia," 27: "The desired result of our aid, expanded Canadian commercial sales to Indonesia, has not materialized."

68. For further evidence of this sensitivity to international opinion see Eglin, "Partnership in an Evil Action," 1998/99, 65-7, 82-4.

69. See Eglin, "Partnership in an Evil Action," 2006, 238-44. This is a revised, updated and variant version of "Partnership in an Evil Action: Canadian Universities, Indonesia and Genocide in East Timor."

70. Ibid., 229-30.

71. Dagg, "Linking Aid to Human Rights in Indonesia," 12; Simon Fraser University Continuing Studies Office of International Development website, accessed on July 23, 2008, http://www.sfu.ca/cstudies/international/dagg.htm.

72. John Stackhouse, "Symbiosis Drives Indonesian Economy," *Globe and Mail*, May 24, 1994, B1, my emphasis.

73. Tom Nunn, "B and W to Hire Hundreds in Cambridge," *Record*, March 18, 1998, A1.

74. Stackhouse, "Chrétien Favours More Trade Missions." "When it comes to dealing with governments, especially foreign ones, chief executives love one-stop shopping, and that's one thing a personalistic dictatorship provides… Another thing Western chief executives like about dealing with dictators is presumed stability." Chrystia Freeland, "Putin's Autocracy Has a Shaky Foundation: Oil," *Globe and Mail*, September 30, 2011, B2. Freeland was writing about Putin's Russia, but the point generalizes.

75. Oxford Analytica, "Indonesia Losing Foreign Ventures," *Globe and Mail*, October 14, 1996, B7.

76. Ballinger, "The New Free-trade Heel."

77. Jocasta Shakespeare, "Just Do It: Indonesian Shoe Workers Have No Choice," *Montreal Gazette*, December 11, 1995 (or 1996?). For further details, particularly about the situation of women workers in factories producing footwear for Nike and Reebok in Indonesia and South Korea, see Enloe, "Globetrotting Sneaker." On conditions at the Kuk-Dong garment factory in Atlixco, Mexico, where sports apparel bearing the insignias of the universities of Michigan, Oregon, Arizona, Indiana and North Carolina was produced for Nike (which had sports apparel contracts with these schools), see Naomi Klein, "Strike Shines Harsh Light on Nike," *Globe and Mail*, January 17, 2001, A15. In general see LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism*.

78. John Stackhouse, "Low-paid Indonesians Demand Better Deal," *Globe and Mail*, April 23, 1994, A16.

79. Stackhouse, "PM Defends Cautious Stand on Indonesian Abuses."

80. Stackhouse, "Low-paid Indonesians;" Waters, "Tragedy of Marsinah," 12-13.

81. Casey, "Fear Shackles Indonesian Writers;" Gee, "Writer's Life of Prison and Repression;" Amnesty International, *Indonesia: Death of Prisoner of Conscience: Thomas Wainggai*; "West Papua: Wainggai's Death Sparks Protests."

82. AUCC, "Update on AUCC's Participation," 19.

83. Editorial, "The Coming Crisis in Indonesia," *Globe and Mail*, July 30, 1996. The editorialist here follows David Webster's noting of this rating by Transparency International, "a global lobby against corruption in government," in his "What Profit Trade in Human Rights? — Another Perspective," *Globe and Mail Report on Business*, January 23, 1996. Also, "A recent report by a leading German publication cited Indonesia as the most corrupt among the 41 European and Asian countries it studied." Oxford Analytica, "Indonesia Losing Foreign Ventures." For actual details see Aditjondro, "Fortunes of the First Family."

84. John Stackhouse, "Universities Seeking Asian Students," *Globe and Mail*, January 19, 1996, A9.

85. According to retired Canadian public servant Jim Roache, "As Peter C. Newman said, 40 or 50 families run the country;" quoted in Tony Martin, "Me and My Money: No Risk, No Debt for Retiree," *Globe and Mail*, June 20, 2009, B8. Newman's claim is actually more modulated. See "The Canadian Establishment," in *The Canadian Establishment*, esp. 465-7, and his more recent *Canadian Revolution*.

86. Stackhouse, "Universities Seeking." Saywell was at one time President of Simon Fraser University.

87. Dagg, "Linking Aid to Human Rights in Indonesia." Writing in issue no. 18 (November 1997) of *Lynx*, her *Monthly Newsletter in the Public Interest*, Joyce Nelson stated: "The Asia-Pacific Foundation is a powerful private-sector organization... In 1996, Ron Richardson, director of media programs for the Asia-Pacific Foundation, told me, 'The Asia-Pacific Foundation is funded by the federal and provincial governments and the private sector...' Until mid-1995, the Asia Pacific Foundation was chaired by Mitsubishi Canada's Chairman Arthur Hara... Mitsubishi is considered the world's worst corporate polluter because of its extensive involvement in forest clear cutting and mining... The corporate sponsors of the Asia-Pacific Foundation are: Mitsubishi Canada, Alcan, Bank of Montreal, B.C. Telecom, Cameco Corp., Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, Westcoast Energy Inc., Royal Bank of Canada, Nova Corp., the Molson Companies Ltd., Air Canada, Canadian Airlines, and CN Rail."

88. See "US Foreign Aid Summary," *Vaughn's Summaries*, accessed on January 16, 2012, http://www.vaughns-1-pagers.com/politics/us-foreign-aid.htm . For some twentieth-century data see Chomsky, *Chomsky Reader*, 330-8, the sources being cited in the footnotes to Chomsky, "Human Rights," in *Year 501*, 120. For Canada, see McMurtry, "Why Does Canada Aid the Oppressors?"

89. I write "Timor Timur" since this is the Indonesian name for East Timor used by Chris Dagg when referring to East Timor when speaking before the sub-committee on Development and Human Rights of the House of Commons Standing Committee on External Affairs and International Trade on December 9, 1991 about how Canada might respond to the Dili Massacre of four weeks before. Canada Parliament, *Proceedings and Evidence*, 43.

90. Stackhouse, "PM Defends Cautious Stand." Alternatively, "'But the reality is, if you're going to raise human rights and then follow it with $2.7 billion in trade agreements, you've got to realize that words mean nothing when you see the actions that are following it. And that's the message that Indonesia is going to take away from it.'" Sharon Scharfe, quoted by Les Whittington, "Indonesia: Canadian Ruse Frees Activist," *Ottawa Citizen*, January 18, 1996, A1. Sharon was referring here to the 1996 Team Canada trade mission to Indonesia. She went herself to Jakarta to ensure that Chrétien raised human rights with Suharto during the mission, only to find herself banned from the country. After leaving for Singapore, then returning immediately to Indonesia somewhat surreptitiously, only to be discovered then pursued in a hair-raising chase by police in the Jakarta Hilton, she managed to be smuggled back to the

airport by Canadian officials and returned home. See also Jacquie Miller, "Cloak-and-dagger Effort to Meet PM Fails," *Ottawa Citizen*, January 19, 1996, A3; note the misleading headline.

91. Stackhouse, "PM Defends Cautious Stand."

92. Mark MacKinnon, "PM Lands Investor Protection Deal, Raises Human Rights," *Globe and Mail*, February 9, 2012, front page; Tonda MacCharles, "PM Pitches Oil, Mentions Rights," *Toronto Star*, February 11, 2012, A10.

93. Babcock et al., "Human and Institutional Capacity Enhancement," 87.

94. For "a five-year agreement by the Canadian Wheat Board to sell up to 1.5 million tonnes a year for five years of Western Canadian wheat to Indonesia, with much of it sold to a Jakarta-based noodle maker," see John Stackhouse, "Trade Show Collects Mixed Bag of Sales in Indonesia," *Globe and Mail*, January 18, 1996, B10. David Webster informed me (e-mail message to author, July 29, 1999) that the Jakarta-based noodle-maker was probably Indofoods, a company controlled at the time by the Suharto business complex through front man Liem Siu Liong. According to George Aditjondro, this kind of wheat "sale" proved a mainstay of the Suharto/Liem empire.

95. See, for example, the "colonial-style" exploitation of African labour by companies from China, now Africa's biggest trading partner, reported in Geoffrey York, "The Dark Side of China's Building Boom in Africa," *Globe and Mail*, June 23, 2009, A17. York's report is based on a 420-page, two-year study by the African Labour Research Network.

96. Vltchek, "Indonesia?"

Chapter Four

Incarnation and the Chauvinist University

> "I want to tell a happy story, a fairy tale filled with magic, with happy yellow houses, and happy little girls and boys. But tell me, how does one tell such a story? How can I deny 75,000 dead? How can I smile in the face of such numbers? How can I lie, deny, say that I have a happy family with a happy mama, a happy papa, a happy grandmother, a happy sister who smiles happily with a happy dog in my happy house?" (Dedication to Celina).[1]

EL SALVADOR: DEATHS IN THE FAMILY

In 1989 on Human Rights Day and on the day after (December 10/11), I wrote the following piece. Except for a couple of expanded endnotes (indicated as such), it is reproduced as it was published in the WLU student newspaper, the *Cord Weekly*.[2] The names introduced in the third paragraph are those of known members of the staff, administration and faculty at WLU at the time.

Deaths in the Family: To All Members of the Administration Staff and Faculty at WLU

Forgive me for special pleading, particularly at this exploited time of year. In human terms the butchery of Celina Ramos, Elba Julia Ramos, Joaquin Lopez y Lopez, Juan Ramon Moreno Pardo, Amando Lopez Quintana, Segundo Montes Mozo, Ignacio Martin-Baro and Ignacio Ellacuria Beascoechea, all members of Jose Simeon Canas University of Central America [UCA] in San Salvador, is no more or less significant than the deaths of the rest of the over sixty thousand civilians of El Salvador (estimated by independent human-

rights organizations to have been) slaughtered by its government's armed forces in this decade.[3]

No doubt, too, there are other cases, nearer or farther from home, equally or more deserving of our attention. The daily toll of Palestinians shot by Israeli soldiers (or "settlers") qualifies perhaps, or the killing by government forces of students — their bodies dumped along the equivalent of Bricker Avenue — at the University of San Carlos in Guatemala City earlier this Fall term.[4] (The massacre of the fourteen women students of Montreal is not state terrorism, but something worse and potentially more devastating; endemic

gender terror demands a response different from, and more onerous than, a plea such as this.)

I bring before you these Salvadorans, however, because they are "family." Celina and her mother Elba — the Maria Janzens and Elaine "Lucy" Schmidts of the university — cleaned residences and offices, and cooked in the kitchens. The two Ignacios — one the John Weir, the other the Donald Baker of the university — sat in meetings, planned budgets, solicited funds, advertised for students ... Joaquin, Juan, Armando and Segundo — the Don Morgensons and Peter Erbs — gave lectures, conducted research, marked papers and counselled students. Segundo was a sociologist and Director of their Institute of Human Rights, and Ignacio (Martin-Baro) was a social psychologist as well being Academic Vice-President.[5] Their university has a religious foundation, as does ours. The men were ordained members of their Church, as are more than a few faculty here. The women did the "serving" jobs and the menial work, as women do disproportionately here. They believed in *human* rights. That is, they did, and were, and believed in, these things until that night of November 15-16 when the goons came and fixed their heads (that is, the men's heads, the women being merely killed apparently).

The head-fixing — a fundamentalist exercise in thought control and social engineering, that is, in applied psychology and sociology — was done, I have no doubt, with American-supplied guns and bullets. Officially Canada has supplied only (spare?) parts for US-built military helicopters, and Israeli-built aircraft, sold to El Salvador in the early 1980s,[6] current versions of which are being used to strafe the working-class districts of San Salvador in the war against the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] guerrillas. As our Business 459 class on export marketing was told on November 28 by the aptly-named Allan Virtue, director of the aerospace, marine and defence products division of the Department of External Affairs and International Trade's defence programs and advanced technology bureau, military markets in the United States are (still) looking good for Canadian producers. "The 500 Canadian companies that sell to the US military sell between $600 million and $1 billion of goods annually, he said."[7] For an example, WLU's most recent outstanding business leaders award was made to the local industrialist who heads Havlik Technologies Inc., a company 5% of the business of which is "defence" products[8] destined for sale to weapons producers in Canada and the United States (specifically for the US Navy).[9]

Of course the guns were fired, the brains shot out and the faces thereby mutilated, we must assume, by Salvadorans. But the further moral, and probably legal, responsibility for these crimes against humanity lies with the killers in Washington, from George Bush (and his cowboy predecessor) on down. Almost four billion dollars in mostly military and economic US aid in this decade has purchased a cornucopia of death. As long-time players in El

Salvador, and as solid and reliable military and economic partners of the United States, in deed if not in word, our government and chief corporate citizens are complicit in these crimes.[10] And insofar as Canada is a democracy — I mean a *real* democracy, not just a formal one — then responsibility devolves on all of us for the actions of our "national representatives."

Despite severe doubts about the existence of this "real" Canadian democracy, the thought of complicity in mass murder, torture, mutilation and rape — the last a quite systematic means of subjugating women in terror states like El Salvador, though not reportedly used in this case — keeps bothering me. It stops me finishing the review article awaited by Steve, my co-author, by the book's author (a friend), and by the journal's review editor. It gets in the way of getting the Christmas mail out to my children and other relatives in England. I have to do something. It comes out as this piece and a sign outside my office calling "on the government of Canada to withdraw its ambassador from the United States in protest against that nation's continued maintenance of the barbarous state terrorism of its client, the government of El Salvador." (Withholding *our* aid from El Salvador, and bringing pressure to bear on the United States in the O.A.S. [Organization of American States] do not go nearly far enough.) The sign has been ripped up once by an enraged reader so I am pretty sure it's on target. And such diplomatic "gestures" *do* work.

The evil empire's rulers fear the people so much they spend millions trying to manage public opinion and thereby public action.[11] "The secrecy and endless deception of the executive is itself a clear indication of its fear of public response to the actual facts of the war" and "there is no reasonable doubt that mass protest and resistance have been factors, perhaps major factors, in constraining the executive" wrote Chomsky about the domestic side of the American war in Indochina.[12] This means our protests here in the colony *can* be effective. Or are we to believe that such things are currently possible only in "Communist" Europe?

On this Human Rights Day (December 10th) we celebrate the widening tear in the Iron Curtain in Europe while our hemisphere's rulers, in fulsome hypocrisy, cement the cracks in the defences of the empire's terror states in Central America.[13]

I ask you as fellow members of the university family, brothers and sisters of Ignacio and Segundo and Elba, to come to the concourse and sign my sign. I am asking *all* of you — each person in administration (John, Donald, Andy, Jim, the Deans ....), in the faculty (Don, Peter, Arnold, Juanne, Jane, Al ....) and in the staff (Cher, Donna, Charlotte, Ina, Barb ....). Sending this off to Ottawa can be something WLU can be proud of. And we might just start something.[14]

Postscript, February 24, 1990

On January 19, nine members of the armed forces, including a colonel, were charged with the murders (*Globe and Mail*, January 20, 1990, A6). On January 24, the annual debate over continuation of aid to El Salvador began in the re-convened US Congress. The occurrence and timing of the first event are directly related, after the standard pattern, to the second. No ranking officer has ever been convicted of murdering civilians in El Salvador. See *Romero*, the movie (The Princess, April 25, 7pm).

A year later, on November 13/14, 1990, I wrote the following piece for the *Cord*, again reproduced as it was published, save for one slightly expanded endnote, so indicated. I called it "Family Anniversary," but the *Cord* gave it their own title.[15]

First Anniversary of Deaths in El Salvador

If you stay up late tonight (Thursday/Friday, November 15/16), deciding perhaps to watch a late movie, you will be getting to bed at just about the time they were pulling Segundo and Ignacio and Juan and Elba and Ignacio and Celina and Armando and Joaquin out of bed, laying them face down on the ground and shooting them in the back of the head.[16] That was exactly one year ago, in residence, at the University of Central America in San Salvador. Elba and Celina were killed because they witnessed the killing of those they served — served and saw. The men were killed because they served the truth — "veritas omnia vincit" (truth conquers all), to cite the WLU motto. The women were a housekeeper[17] and her daughter.[18] The men were university faculty; they were also Jesuit priests. One of them was the Rector of the university; one of them was a sociologist.[19]

On January 19, 1990 nine members of the armed forces, including a colonel, were charged with the murders (*Globe and Mail*, January 20, 1990). According to recent newsletters of the El Salvador Information Office in Kitchener, in June 1990 President Cristiani "admitted publicly that he had ordered a search of the Jesuits' residence three days before they were killed." "On September 4, 1990, former Defence Minister Gen. Rafael Humberto Larios ... denied that a meeting of 24 military officers and President Cristiani on Nov. 15, 1989 had anything to do with the murders of the priests, who were killed shortly after the meeting adjourned at 2am." "A source close to the investigation charged that the [United States] State Department is withholding twenty-one secret documents related to the case 'for reasons of national security'..." "Five of the Salvadoran soldiers implicated in this murder [sic] were trained at the US Army School of the Americas [in Fort Benning], according to a report made public by Rep. Joseph Moakley of Massachusetts ... [who] heads the Congressional Task Force monitoring the investiga-

tion of the Jesuit murders ... It was also made known ... that 'the entire unit that allegedly carried out the crimes was participating in a US training exercise during the two days immediately prior to the murders.'" On September 3, 1990 nine persons, including decorated Vietnam vets, clergy recently returned from El Salvador and former Salvadoran soldiers, began a water-only fast at the main gates of Fort Benning to get the US training of Salvadoran soldiers stopped.

According to Amnesty International, army-supported death squads killed more people — forty five — in El Salvador in the first seven months of 1990 than in all of 1989: "'Bodies of victims have been found mutilated, some with their faces completely destroyed and others with signs of having been brutally tortured'"(*Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, October 24, 1990).

The United States has given about $4 billion in military and economic aid to El Salvador in the last decade. Canada gives aid to non-governmental projects in El Salvador through the Canadian Hunger Foundation. In his *Quiet Complicity: Canadian Involvement in the Vietnam War* (Between the Lines, 1986) Victor Levant wrote, "The very existence of a Canadian aid program for South Vietnam helped to legitimize expanding economic and military appropriations in the US Congress directed towards the prosecution of the war" (82).

It's time the Butchers of Washington (and their Ottawa sidekick?) were tried for their crimes against humanity.

A memorial service for the UCA Eight is being held at St. Mary's Church (56 Duke St. W., Kitchener) at 7.30 pm tomorrow (Friday).

My computer-file "manuscript" of the above piece includes the penultimate sentence, "It has surely long since become morally grotesque to go on adding factual detail and argument to this case and the history it epitomizes." It was either edited out of the published version, or I added it later. The apparent contradiction notwithstanding, let me add here the principal facts I learned about Canada's connection to El Salvador from Peter McFarlane's *Northern Shadows* when writing the first piece:

> Canadian entrepreneurs arrived in 1913 when a Montreal-based consortium bought one of the country's richest gold and silver producers from London interests ... From the mid-1920s to the 1970s, a Montreal power company held a virtual monopoly on the country's electrical generation and distribution. In the 1930s, Ottawa showed enough interest in the small Central American country's future to send two Canadian gunboats into action off El Salvador's coast, to help back up the local dictator against an uprising of "communist Indians" (10-11).

McFarlane is referring to the *matanza* of January/February 1932 when the El Salvador army, supported by the presence of US and Canadian ships offshore, massacred an estimated 30,000 peasants in response to an uncoordi-

nated uprising. This itself followed the government's annulment of the victories of the recently formed Communist Party of El Salvador in the countryside in the January congressional and local elections. "The massacre had included the indiscriminate murders of innocent men, women, and children ... One of the last casualties was Farabundo Marti [the Communist Party leader], who was executed in February 1932 even though he had spent the entire revolt behind bars" (60). The *Globe* exulted over Canada's emergence as a naval power. The British and American governments applauded. But, McFarlane notes, according to William Manfield, "an able-bodied seaman and a gunner … who later rose to the rank of an RCN [Royal Canadian Navy] Commander himself:"

> "The lower decks were with the masses in El Salvador. The class function ashore in the country was like the class function in the navy" (62).

Fifty years later, in February 1981, the Canadian Minister for External Affairs, Mark McGuigan, admitted "that he 'certainly would not condemn any decision the US takes to send offensive arms [to Central America] ... the US can at least count on our quiet acquiescence'" (173).[20]

El Salvador at WLU: The Response to Deaths in the Family

The publishing of "Deaths in the Family" was itself an interesting story, and it evoked an interesting response. Although written on December 10/11, 1989 the piece was not published until March 15, 1990. It appeared in my university's student newspaper together with a covering letter which partly told the story.

> Dear Sir,
> This is a covering note to accompany the enclosed submission to the *Cord*. The latter is an open letter to "all members of the administration, staff and faculty at WLU." You'll notice that students are not included, yet I am submitting it to the student newspaper. This note is the explanation.
> The piece is called "Deaths in the Family." It is a response to the killings of members of the *administration*, *staff* and *faculty* of UCA in San Salvador last November, and using the metaphor of the family, is directed to the same segments of the university community here at WLU. I submitted it in December to the one medium on campus that announces in its title that it serves the entire university community (and not simply the students), namely the *Laureate*. It was rejected, on the grounds that the matter was not a "community" issue, and that the piece represented my personal opinion. After a friendly and open discussion with Arthur Stephen, Director of Institutional Relations, it was agreed the article could be re-considered if and when the *Laureate* added an opinion page; discussions are evidently in view towards securing such a page. However, I feel the need to protest Canadian complicity in US-endorsed crimes against humanity in El Salvador cannot wait until WLU secures its first

> university-wide opinion page (that is not simply for students), and so am asking the *student* newspaper to consider publishing a letter the first audience of which is the administration, faculty and staff. Be assured that I do not wish in any way to exclude students from this issue, but rather to try and evoke a response where it seems, in the first place, most appropriate.
> I wrote the piece on December 10/11. Although as the footnotes indicate, I have added a few items since then, I would like it to appear in this "dated" form, together with the brief postscript of February 24. And I would be grateful if this note could appear with it.
> Yours sincerely,

The story begins on November 16 itself. The massacre had occurred during the early hours of the 16th and news of it appeared in the afternoon editions of the papers the same day.[21] I already had a memo ready to send to the university president and faculty association president calling on them to respond publicly to the parlous state of affairs at the *other* university in San Salvador, the University of El Salvador (UES), reported in the press in the preceding weeks and months.[22] In fact I included with the memo one news article on that situation,[23] and a letter to the editor that had appeared on November 14 in the *Globe and Mail* in response to the article. The letter was the model of my own memo, and reads as follows:

> The rector of the University of El Salvador, Dr. Argueta Antillon, is obviously a man with a mission to make higher education in his country available to those qualified to receive it (...). By speaking out against the repressive actions of the Cristiani regime, he is no doubt exposing himself to great dangers.
> Our university presidents would make a useful gesture if jointly or individually they wrote to El Salvador's president and the US embassy in that country expressing concern over the conditions faced by their colleague. Faculty associations in Canada could also take similar action in an attempt to limit the killing of faculty members at Dr. Argueta Antillon's university to the six already assassinated by death squads this year.
> John Adams[24]

When news of the massacre came through I quickly added its details to the memo and sent it off. I then drafted a petition calling "on the government of Canada to withdraw its ambassador from the United States in protest against that nation's continued maintenance of the barbarous state terrorism of its client, the government of El Salvador." Some students (principally Michelle Bennett, Claudia Filici, Dorthy Madden, Anna Toth) and I set up a booth in the concourse — a sort of central space used for student clubs days, craft sales and the like — posted some clippings and collected signatures.

Then, having written "Deaths in the Family" on December 10/11, I sent it off on December 12 to the *Laureate*, the university (administration) newspaper. On January 5, not having heard anything, I called the editor. The

editor told me the piece was rejected because it was a personal communication from me to the WLU community and it contained personal names. The *Laureate*, by contrast, concerned itself with (a) community-based matters, (b) events of the university community, and (c) ministry of education issues. I might try writing a "letter to the editor," adopting a different tone and condensing the piece. I might also try other media such as the local daily paper, the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, or the Faculty Association newsletter. Much of this was put in a formal memo of reply of January 9, as follows.

> Thank you for your December 12 submission to *The Laureate*. We appreciate hearing from members of the Laurier community.
> Unfortunately, I cannot accept the piece for publication. Your manuscript entitled "Deaths in the Family" falls outside of *The Laureate*'s mandate.
> *The Laureate* is a newspaper which exists to generate a sense of community and awareness regarding Wilfrid Laurier University. As a newspaper, it concentrates on news events within the Laurier community.
> While we in no way wish to imply that members of the Laurier community should not be concerned about world events, we cannot begin to report on world current affairs.
> Though there are many important social issues — at local to international levels — which deserve attention, *The Laureate*, as a newspaper, is not intended to be a vehicle to aid any one of them.
> As well, your essay represents the view of only one person. *The Laureate* strives to address the concerns of sectors of the university community.
> As I mentioned on the phone, a shorter letter to the editor reflecting your concern that people actively identify with the crisis at Jose Simeon Canas University could be considered for publication. I might also suggest that, were you to have formal presentation of the petition to a political figure or have the faculty association endorse your petition, it could become the subject of a *Laureate* news story.
> I hope these comments have helped you to understand *The Laureate*'s position.
> Sincerely,

I evidently took the matter up with the Director of Institutional Relations, the university official responsible for publishing *The Laureate*. He held out the hope of the paper acquiring an opinion page in the not too distant future. I waited around for a while. Meanwhile the students figured out at least one aspect of the community issue for themselves. The *Cord Weekly* published "Salvadoran Tragedies Hit Home in Canada" by Gail Cockburn on January 25. The following day a (guest?) editorial by student Marc Brzustowski, "El Salvador a Terror State," appeared in *Imprint*, the University of Waterloo student newspaper. Both pieces made the connection between ongoing atrocities in El Salvador and Canadian government aid to the country. However, in neither of these stories nor in the two universities' companion administration newspapers did anything appear making the obvious link between our-

selves as university people and the Jesuit faculty and staff murdered in November.

Then, as noted above, in its February 6 issue *The Laureate* announced that the Laurier Outstanding Business Leaders Award had gone to David Gee, president and chief executive officer of Havlik Technologies: "Regarded as a leader in its industry, the company is a manufacturer of large, structural airplane and landing-gear components as well as ground-support equipment for the aerospace, defence, and precision-engineering industries." As also noted above, this had been reported the week before in the local city paper: "Havlik's business is 95 per cent commercial work and five per cent defence orders, Gee said. More than 90 per cent of Havlik's production is either directly or indirectly exported." I called Havlik and found out that half the "defence orders" involved producing components for US navy weapons systems. The US navy flies planes and helicopters off its carriers. Some further details were provided by Ken Epps at Project Ploughshares at Conrad Grebel College, affiliated with the University of Waterloo just down the road from Laurier. On March 1, I submitted a slightly updated version of "Deaths in the Family," incorporating the Havlik details, to the student newspaper. It was accepted in a letter from the *Cord'*s editor on March 7, and was published on March 15 in a large, double-page spread, accompanied by a photo of Father Martin-Baro celebrating mass with the peasant community of Jayaque, El Salvador during the summer of 1989. Armed with photocopies of the article we renewed the petition campaign in the concourse. I sent copies of the article to all those named in it. The response was again instructive.

Two fellow faculty wrote me memos, one of congratulation and one of demurral. The first also urged me to join him in pressing the president of the Faculty Association to make our newsletter a lively organ of faculty and wider union solidarity with room for such pieces as mine. The second, with wit and enough to spare, and taking my naming him in the article as a challenge (correctly), declared that, like Jefferson, he never read newspapers, he would not sign the petition, partly because of difficulties of citizenship arising from being a member of a "historic peace church," partly because of being troubled by the discourse of collective action, preferring the "overarching ancient images of moral obligation (officium) and healing (salvation) and not modernity's claims to rights and freedom (liberation)" — "The democratic collectivity which 'executes' a dictator today will only too quickly massacre Hungarians tomorrow" (alluding to the fall of Ceausescu in Romania and subsequent events) — and partly because of the insincerity involved in supporting the poor and persecuted abroad while being about to benefit from the profits of faculty union certification at WLU, the faculty bargaining campaign slogan "parity now" not including (considerably less well-paid) non-faculty workers on campus.[25]

One colleague, name of John Chamberlin, sent me useful stuff about others engaged in similar work, namely the Centre for Research on Latin America and the Caribbean at York University, and his wife Anna Hemmendinger, Refugee Concerns Coordinator with Mennonite Central Committee Ontario. It must have been about this time, or shortly before, that I started getting to know John and Anna. John himself was active in the local Latin America Support Group and both of them had been engaged in Central American solidarity work for years. But it took me some more years to appreciate how much more valuable than my random raving was their quiet, resolute organizational work. Chomsky puts it like this:

> There are some things I just can't do at all and other things I can do very easily. I do the things I can do easily. But the serious work is always done by organizers. There's no question about that. They're down there every day, doing the hard work, preparing the ground, bringing out the effects. There is absolutely no effect in giving a talk. It's like water under a bridge, unless people do something with it. If it is a technique, a device for getting people to think and bringing them together and getting them to do something, fine, then it was worth it. Otherwise it was a waste of time, self-indulgence.[26]

Somehow or other, active membership in a "historic peace church," Anna herself being ordained, did not render them politically inactive. They marched, spoke, demonstrated, protested, signed petitions (including this one), rendered personal service and, above all, organized in support of the poor and persecuted. By their example they taught me the superior value of organized, collective action over individual grandstanding, on however small a scale. Since I first drafted this chapter John died. I cannot express how big a loss his death has been to the small community of social justice activists at WLU, and to me personally.

A few other faculty approached me in the halls and corridors of the university and expressed their appreciation. Two colleagues, to my utter surprise, apologised to me. This was, I think, out of a sense of shame that they themselves had not done more given their familiarity with the scene by virtue of language, or faith or travel.

Marie Molloy, a graduate student, wrote a letter to the student newspaper questioning the *Laureate's* rejection of my piece and its earlier failure to cover a Graduate Students' Volunteer Awards event. She pondered, "Is the *Laureate* really a publication for the faculty, staff, and students of WLU? Or is it a publication for promoting a 'nice,' 'attractive' image to outsiders? I'm certainly confused."[27] Within the year the *Laureate* had disappeared and been replaced by the *Laurier News*, under a new editor, and with its back page devoted to personal opinion pieces.

Reading the copies of the petition pages now, and trying to decipher handwriting, it appears to me that at least 15 faculty signed the petition,

including the then Dean of Arts and Science, the other 212 signatures being overwhelmingly those of students. These figures represent about 5%-6% of their respective constituencies at the time. Of the staff named in the article I know that Barb signed. Most of those who signed did so after the March 15th article appeared.

The Government of Canada's Response

It was now the end of March, the end of the regular teaching year and, like my colleagues, I was besieged with marking students' work. At the same time, East Timor activist Bill Ripley in Kingston, Ontario decided to conduct a fast against Canada's involvement in Indonesian near-genocide in East Timor, and I felt compelled to support him. Two months later my daughter Zandria was born. The summer came, and I got myself arrested protesting against the exploitation of women (see chap. 5). Then Mohawks at Kahnesetake and Kahnawake set up barricades to defend their land, and we were sitting down in the street to support them. Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and war involving Canada loomed on the horizon; more action needed.

Whether or not these were the actual reasons, or are indeed adequate reasons, I failed to carry through with the petitions. They languished on my desk until two days before the first anniversary of the massacre when I was roused, doubtless by guilt, but also by John Chamberlin, to do something with them. On November 14, 1990 I sent them to the Secretary of State for External Affairs, Joe Clark, in Ottawa. The brief, hand-written letter lamented, "I should have sent them to you immediately. The human cost of such delay is horrible to contemplate," and asked the minister, hypocritically, "When will the Government of Canada *really* act to try and stop the killing?" The envelope included the sign that had hung outside my office since the beginning (torn up but stuck back together again), and was huge in size. On the same day I sent in something to the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* (not published), and the following day the *Cord Weekly* printed my "Family anniversary." It appeared to be ignored.

The government replied in a letter of January 21, 1991. The letter reviewed the course of peace negotiations between the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, including the signing of a Human Rights Agreement the previous July. It also reviewed Canada's support for peace by having two commanders of the FMLN visit Ottawa on September 28, by reiterating concerns about human rights in meetings with El Salvador government officials and with regard to specific cases, by urging prosecution in the UCA murders, and by "our extensive refugee assistance and our continuing provision of humanitarian aid to non-governmental and church organizations." Enclosed with the letter was Press Release No. 273 of November 23, 1990, entitled "Clark expresses deep concern about FMLN offensive in El Salva-

dor." After three sentences essentially repeating the title the rest of the release read as follows:

> "This offensive action by the FMLN is a backward step and is not conducive to efforts toward national reconciliation in El Salvador," stated Mr. Clark. "A year ago many Salvadorans were killed, injured or orphaned during the FMLN's November offensive. These recent attacks have already claimed lives and will only add to the suffering of the Salvadoran people," added the Minister.
> "We urge both the FMLN and the Government of El Salvador to continue the pursuit of a negotiated settlement for the benefit of all the Salvadoran people, as the only way to bring lasting peace to El Salvador," concluded Mr. Clark.
> Mr. Clark underlined that he expects to see further progress in the investigation of the murder of six Jesuits, their housekeeper and her daughter in El Salvador exactly one year ago. "It is unacceptable," he stated, "that the perpetrators of this inhuman act have not yet been brought to justice."

I had received another release, also from Ottawa, the year before, in mid-November 1989. Titled "Please Give a Hand to the Victims of War in El Salvador on this Remembrance Day" it began:

> The current political, economic and social crisis in El Salvador escalated on Saturday, November 11, into a military confrontation in the capital city of San Salvador between government forces and the armed opposition, the ... (FMLN). The government's response has been to attack the civilian population. The neighbourhood of Zacamil, a densely populated area of about 20,000, has been repeatedly bombed by the Salvadoran air force.
> We are appealing for your humanitarian assistance...

The appeal came from the Action Committee for Women in El Salvador, and was endorsed by the Carleton University Women's Centre Collective, the Latin American Women's Congress and the Ottawa Central America Solidarity Committee. What they described would be called a "war crime" if the war in question had been an international armed conflict. It was nevertheless a "crime against humanity," and clearly a major one. And there is no doubt who was committing it. The minister's statement, by contrast, did not directly ascribe responsibility for the killing, injuring and orphaning of civilians, but indirectly laid the blame on those fighting the ones who actually did the crime. If the tone was more diplomatic the message was nevertheless the same as that of the *New York Times* editorial of November 16, 1989 which declaimed that "certainly a heavy responsibility falls on the guerrillas."[28] That is, in a situation that for nearly ten years had warranted armed United Nations intervention, and the prosecution before an appropriate international tribunal of the relevant government officials and military officers of El Salvador and the United States, the Government of Canada called on those

fighting on behalf of the victims to back off. It's another case of what Chomsky calls "the mortal sin of self-defence."[29] My colleague at the University of Guelph, philosopher John McMurtry, had put the matter succinctly and forthrightly at the beginning of 1989:

> How much murder, terror and cover-up is needed before the Canadian government says no to its complicity with this ghoulish regime?[30]

The point was echoed by Meyer Brownstone, Chairperson of Oxfam Canada, shortly after the UCA massacre:

> For ten years the US government has provided the Salvadoran military with $1 million of aid each and every day — despite their brutality, despite their human rights violations, despite their mass-murders. The blood of the people of El Salvador is on the hands of the US government.
> And if our government does nothing to protest this barbarism, we are complicit in the murder of thousands of Salvadoran civilians.[31]

THE QUESTION OF INTELLECTUAL RESPONSIBILITY

It's not that the Carleton University Women's Centre Collective (to pick out the academics for further consideration here) was unusually perceptive or had access to special sources for their statements. The Government of El Salvador's brutal response to the FMLN's November offensive on San Salvador itself was being reported in the press at the time. Here are two reports from the scene by Linda Hossie of the *Globe and Mail* and one on the response in the US Congress from the *New York Times*.

> By Friday morning the marginal community of Emmanuel in northeastern Zacamil had been almost flattened by aerial rocket attacks. Shortly after dawn, three or four residents picked through burned rubble, which included more than one corpse, hundreds of spent machine gun shells and a live rocket-launched grenade.
> Elvis Arnoldo, 20, said whole families had been killed in the attacks, including "children, old people, everyone."[32]
> Asked what was the worst experience of the fighting, Ms Ramirez did not hesitate.
> "The bombing," she said.
> The Salvadoran Air Force has come under widespread criticism for its aerial rocketing and bombing of civilian neighbourhoods, attacks that one western diplomat termed "indiscriminate."
> Most of the heavy damage in Mejicanos seemed clearly to be the result of the aerial attacks, including strafing.[33]
> Democratic members of Congress demanded that President Alfredo Cristiani of El Salvador stop the bombing and strafing of civilian neighbourhoods.

> The Democrats said they were persuaded by circumstantial evidence that the armed forces were responsible for the killings of the priests. Senator Christopher J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, said that "US support will be restricted and eventually eliminated" if El Salvador continues to use helicopter gunships and ground-attack aircraft against civilian neighbourhoods.
> Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California, called on the Bush Administration to suspend all military aid to El Salvador. It totals $85 million this year. "The war in El Salvador has been reduced to the level of street thugs butchering each other," Mr. Cranston said.[34]

These facts are embedded to be sure in accounts of other matters and they themselves bear analysis in terms of the Herman and Chomsky propaganda model. And this, of course, is relevant to the question I want now to raise directly, and which has been implicit in the story of the previous pages. In terms of intellectual responsibility, what am I to make of the response of administration and faculty, including myself, at WLU to the news of the UCA massacre of November 16, to "Deaths in the Family" and to the petition? To the best of my knowledge, and capacity to determine, no public response affiliated with the university or any of its administrative units was forthcoming.[35] This includes academic departments. No notice was taken of the event in the university's official newspaper, the *Laureate*. No letters bearing faculty names appeared either there or in the student newspaper, the *Cord Weekly*. That was true both following the event itself, and in response to my piece. Except for the Dean of Arts and Science, no administrator, and as many as 95% of the faculty, did not sign the petition. I am not aware that the Faculty Association took any action, either over the massacre or over the oppression visited on the University of El Salvador (UES).[36] I received no replies to my memo of November 16 from the presidents of the university and the faculty association.

All this was so despite the following: (a) press coverage of the war in El Salvador through much of 1989,[37] particularly in the week of the massacre itself that followed the FMLN offensive of November 11, and especially in the weeks after the massacre; (b) specific attention to the oppression of academics, notably the situation at UES, as noted above; (c) the fact that the intended massacre victims were university faculty, who were killed, on university grounds, *because* they were intellectuals, the manner of whose deaths (brains being shot out or removed whole) being designed to make that transparently clear; (d) the fact that it was made known that Martin-Baro was a social psychologist and Montes a sociologist; (e) the fact that all this was made known on campus by memos to the university and faculty association presidents, by the petition campaign in the concourse, and by the article in the student newspaper; (f) the fact that specifically Canadian angles to the story were afforded by the actions and experience of Toronto Jesuit sociologist Michael Czerny,[38] church worker Brian Rude,[39] and especially Peace

Brigades International volunteer Karen Ridd from Kitchener who first made the headlines five days after the massacre as "El Salvador Fees Jailed Canadian Volunteer," again eight days after the massacre, saying that "Canada should speak out against abuses by El Salvador's security forces and call for an end to military aid from the United States," once more in the December 4 issue of Canada's "leading" news magazine *Maclean's* in a special report on El Salvador, and then locally in Kitchener-Waterloo at speaking engagements from January 12 through the 17th;[40] (g) the fact that the local community outside WLU, students at the neighbouring university campus, and students nationally drew attention to the events both immediately in November, 1989 and again in March, 1990 on the tenth anniversary of the murder of Archbishop Romero:[41]

> Prompted by the slayings of six Jesuit educators in El Salvador last week and by the biggest rebel offensive in 10 years of civil war, 100 people took to the streets in Waterloo and Kitchener to push for peace in their homeland [sic].
> Carrying signs demanding Stop the Military Aid to El Salvador and US out of El Salvador, the protesters marched against a driving wind from First United Church in Waterloo to Speakers Corner in Kitchener Saturday. The local march was one of many such protests in Canada and the United States over the weekend.[42]
> Suffering from the war in El Salvador spilled on to the University of Waterloo campus Wednesday when more than 50 students, wearing black armbands, called on the Canadian government to suspend aid to El Salvador...
> Speaking in Spanish, Miguel Vasquez, a 24-year-old Salvadoran now living in Toronto, told the group that the United States is investing more than $1 million a day in a war that takes the lives of innocent civilians. And Canada's aid to El Salvador is also being used to further the war, he said.
> "We ask you to strengthen that support in protest of Canadian bilateral aid," Vasquez said, speaking through an interpreter, Arnold Snyder, professor of history and peace and conflict studies at Conrad Grebel College;[43]

(h) the fact that a specific opportunity to intervene with the government was made available locally when the local paper announced the day before it was to happen that the two local members of parliament, Kitchener MP John Reimer and Waterloo MP Walter McLean, would hold an open meeting for citizens "to express concern about Canada's response to the civil war in El Salvador" on Friday, November 24 at 12:30PM in downtown Kitchener.[44]

To answer the question posed above, about what is to be made of the response or lack of it by the university and its faculty to the UCA murders, consider the following matters: (a) the failure to respond on the part of campus leaders right at the time, and the *Laureate's* rejection of "Deaths ...," meant delay in the onset of effective campus consciousness of the massacre; (b) delay provided a space to be filled by other events of human significance that were going on, or about to occur, in the world at large (the débacle in

Romania,[45] the break-up of the Soviet Union, the US invasion of Panama in late December), in Canada (the Montreal Massacre on December 6), and on WLU campus (the Panty Raid fall-out); (c) inaction and delay were themselves doubtless "delivered" by, and also gave greater opportunity for, the "webs of endless deceit" spun by the media propaganda artists to shape and influence public opinion; (d) the fact that the ethos of WLU is decisively shaped by it being home to a prominent School of Business and Economics, with the accompanying sensibility that implies; (e) the sheer grind of academic work (teaching, scholarship, service on committees, etc.) which leaves little energy left over for responding to human rights disasters of any kind;[46] (f) an academic cast of mind — part academic hauteur, part professional scepticism, part disciplinary chauvinism, part servility to power, part scientific detachment — that looks down its nose at the messy detail of organizational association with student and community groups, that sneers at the profession of moral principle as so much Sunday school pie-in-the-sky, that seeks professional advancement through service to government, that uses the liberal doctrine of unintended consequences to provide a rationale for jaundiced detachment (or, conversely, looks on politics as a jungle red in tooth and claw where methods of intellectual and other forms of terrorism are accordingly justified); or, as David Noble puts it, "Silence, after all, is the unspoken but well-understood rule on campus, where collegial conformity and resigned cynicism pass for sophistication;"[47] (g) the sheer disabling comfort of middle-class Canadian life, this wonderfully settling reassurance that comes from knowing that that fat paycheque is going into the bank account each month; (h) the sheer failure to connect the conditions of one's own life with the conditions of the lives of those whose labour provides that comfort. Consider the words of Karen Ridd who "said she was only doing what 'felt right' last November when she walked back into a San Salvador jail — where she had been released after being handcuffed, blindfolded, interrogated and smacked around — and refused to leave until her Colombian friend, Marcela Diaz, was also freed ...

> "Of this world, I am the wealthy, I am white, North American. I had the chance to be educated," said Ridd, whose father is a United Church minister and mother a social activist.
> "I am of the wealthy and from that I have a responsibility," she told students. "The role of the rich bears with it bringing justice for the oppressed, bringing food for the oppressed, and changing the structures where people are oppressed."[48]

Doubtless sounding bizarre to Canadian academics' ears outside of certain religious contexts, such views are simply understood and taken for granted elsewhere in the world. For example, at the San Miguel campus of the Uni-

versity of El Salvador, reports McMaster University Religious Studies professor Graeme MacQueen:

> We meet with a group of students and faculty members involved in projects with the peasants of the district. All of these projects, they explain, put them in danger with the army. Some of the projects, in nutrition and literacy, are concentrated on a couple of hundred families that were flooded out of their homes the previous year when the river went over its banks. The University took these people in, housed them in classrooms and offices, inoculated the children and was now helping to re-settle them.[49]

THE CONSEQUENCES OF INACTION, PARTICULARLY FOR SOCIOLOGISTS

As no one knows for sure what would have happened had universities and their faculty (not to mention the *Globe and Mail* which never editorialized in favour of the *Canadian* government doing anything) responded as they should have after November 16, it is of course impossible to say conclusively that what did happen occurred as a consequence of our failure to act. But short of conclusiveness there is much to counsel against complacency. The aftermath was, in short, that Canadian aid continued; that American military aid continued, if somewhat reduced;[50] that it was then cut by 50% ($42.5 million) by the US Congress in October 1990, but maintained by other means in the form of $50 million in "economic aid" from the US-controlled International Monetary Fund that President Cristiani could re-allocate as necessary for "defence purposes;"[51] that it was then restored in January 1991;[52] that for at least a year after the UCA massacre a "'gigantic and infamous web of complicity' that blocks the investigation of the massacre, [was] 'entrenched in the desks of the Ministry and Vice-Ministries of Defence and behind the walls of the US Embassy;'"[53] that convictions for murder were eventually secured for two of the estimated 30 soldiers involved, but not for anybody occupying a ministry or embassy desk; and that "death squad killings, summary executions and torture have persisted in El Salvador since the massacre of six Jesuit priests [sic] by soldiers a year ago, a UN human rights report said Monday."[54] For example, on January 15, 1990 in the last paragraph of a Reuter story out of Washington, "Armed Forces Implicated in Murder of 6 Jesuits," the *Globe and Mail* reported that:

> The bodies of Hector Oqueli Colindres, who is deputy secretary of El Salvador's National Revolutionary Movement, and that of Gilda Flores, a Guatemalan human rights lawyer, were found near the Salvadoran border on Friday. Both had been shot in the head.[55]

The UN human rights report just referred to was compiled by "Jose Antonio Pastor, a university professor from Spain." He is quoted as saying, "Thus far in 1990, government action against humanitarian, trade union, peasants and other organizations has continued." Moreover:

> Pastor counted 40 politically motivated summary executions of civilians by security forces from January to August of 1990, compared with 51 in the same time span in 1989. He obtained the figures from the Archdiocesan Legal Protection Office.
> The office also listed 46 assassinations by death squads in January through August 1990, compared with only 17 such slayings in the same months of 1989. The Salvadoran government's Human Rights Commission counted 42 summary killings by security forces in the first eight months of 1990.[56]

On the weekend of January 12/13, 1991, four days into the "campaign for the first election since the far-right Arena government and the rebels' Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front began negotiations last year to end the 10-year-old civil war ... the worst fears of El Salvador's leftist political leaders came true ... when a San Salvador radio station broadcast a threat from two of the country's death squads to kill opposition and labour leaders, priests and intellectuals."[57] The broadcast statement is of no little interest, remembering that at least two of the murdered Jesuit faculty at UCA were not only "priests and intellectuals" but, more specifically, social scientists whose sociological analyses of El Salvadoran society were critical to their work for a negotiated settlement to the civil war. The Reverend Michael Czerny, the Toronto sociologist referred to earlier in this chapter who went out to San Salvador to replace Segundo Montes, said of them:

> "They were not just martyrs for justice and human rights. They were especially martyrs for the truth." He notes that Rev. Ignacio Ellacuria, the rector of the university, had said that neither the government nor the [FMLN] rebels had the sole right to speak for the people. There was another voice that had to be present at the negotiating table, the "voice of civil society." The government of El Salvador had refused to hear this voice; the rebels had come to admit its importance... Father Czerny has a renewed appreciation of the role of intellectuals in society. "The university is indispensable to social development. Neither the government nor social movements can endure without some give and take with the university."[58]

Against that sociological analysis consider the one contained in the broadcast statement made by the two death squads, what might be called "Death Squad Sociology:"

> "At this time," the statement reads, "we are going to talk in all frankness about our philosophical basis and the politics of our movement.

> "This country's society is divided into three classes: a superior creative class composed essentially of specialists and large landholders; a smaller class that tries to imitate this superior class; and an inferior rustic class that is made up essentially of workers, poor peasants, students and small businessmen.
> Another group exists that we hold in low regard and consider very small — the dangerous intellectual class that tries to contaminate the above-mentioned classes."
> The death squads' message to this intellectual class and opposition leaders is clear.
> "The superior capitalist class in our country is naturally the strongest, and its destiny, without question, is to govern and regulate the inferior classes. And what is more, it has a duty to exploit, dispose of, conquer and even exterminate elements of these inferior classes when the benefits of capitalism require such.
> "Our adversaries, the subversives and the great inferior mass, must be exterminated, or at least their leaders...
> "Whatever course of action is justified, whatever action, justice is a luxury that we cannot allow."[59]

ARENA won that election. Six months later:

> A labour activist who worked with San Salvador's urban poor was found slain yesterday at his organization's headquarters. The body of Martin Ayala, 45, was found bound hand and foot to a pillar at the headquarters of the Council of Marginal Communities. His throat had been cut and a blood-stained machete was left by the corpse. Witnesses said his wife, Maria Leticia Campos, who had been guarding the organization's headquarters with Mr. Ayala overnight, was taken to hospital with serious knife wounds.[60]

So, finally, what exactly am I saying?

If we professors at Wilfrid Laurier University had felt strongly enough our human, academic kinship with the murdered faculty, their cook and her daughter at the University of Central America, we would have raised such a *collective* stink of outrage at their killing that, perhaps, our academic brothers and sisters down the street at the University of Waterloo would have done the same, followed, who knows, by extended family members at the universities in the neighbouring towns of Guelph, London and Hamilton, yea, even unto the University of Toronto, and then in the country as a whole, and that in so doing we would *together* have found common cause with our students, with trade unions (remembering that many of us are unionized ourselves), with churches (to which many of us belong) and with non-governmental organizations (to which many of us contribute time and money), that is with the kin of those other categories of death squad targets, so that the Government of Canada would have had to listen and, perhaps, have cancelled our bilateral aid program with El Salvador in keeping with the wishes of representatives of the Salvadoran recipients, which would have influenced other "small donors" to do the same which, then, as the *Globe and Mail* and Lloyd Ax-

worthy in opposition had suggested two years earlier (but *not* in the immediate aftermath of the massacre), would have given pause for thought in the Democrat-dominated Congress of the United States of America, perhaps, who knows, leading to outright cancellation of their military aid to El Salvador which, you never know, could have stopped the killing and torture of people just like us by philosophers and sociologists of the sort just quoted.

Postscript

On November 16, 2009, the twentieth anniversary of the Jesuit murders, the Spanish newspaper *El Mundo* reported that the CIA and US State Department "had foreknowledge of the Salvadoran military leadership's plan to kill" the Jesuit academics and to leave no witnesses. "Fourteen Salvadoran military officers and soldiers are under investigation," including "generals and colonels … the then minister and deputy minister of defence, the general chief of staff [General René Emilio Ponce], the air force commander, the deputy minister of public security, the commander of the first infantry brigade, and the director and assistant director of the military academy," but no Americans. The two members of the Salvadoran military found guilty and sentenced to thirty years in prison (of the original nine charged in January 1990) were released under a 1993 amnesty law following the end of the civil war in 1992. On March 16, 2009, almost twenty years after the murders, the FMLN candidate, Mauricio Funes, won the Salvadoran presidential election.[61]

NOTES

1. This is the text of a dedication read out on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of the murders at the University of Central America (UCA) in San Salvador on November 16, 1989. It was part of a mass celebrated by students at UCA "to remember Celina, and all the other young people whose lives were silenced during El Salvador's 12-year civil war," as reported in "Salvadoran Students Remember 'Silenced' Youth," 7. See below in the text for a full account of the murders.

2. Peter Eglin, "Deaths in the Family: To All Members of the Administration, Staff and Faculty at WLU," *Cord Weekly*, March 15, 1990, 17-16.

3. John McMurtry, "Covering up for Killers [letter]," *Globe and Mail*, January 25, 1989, A7, and "Why Does Canada Aid the Oppressors?" *Globe and Mail*, February 20, 1990, A7.

4. Linda Hossie, "Guatemalan Unionists Bear Brunt of Attacks," *Globe and Mail*, October 3, 1989, A1.

5. "In Memorium," *Footnotes* (Newsletter of the American Sociological Association), January 1990, 1; "Psychologist's Death," *The Monitor* (Newsletter of the American Psychological Association), February 1990, 30.

6. Regehr, *Arms Canada*, 24, 145-6. Also: "Canadian components are part of the Israeli-built aircraft that fly counter-insurgency excursions for the Salvadoran Armed Forces." Robert Matas, "Canada is Supplying Military Equipment for Wars, Book Says," *Globe and Mail*, March 30, 1987, A16.

7. "US Military Markets are Still Major Targets WLU Export Class Told," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 29, 1989, B10.

8. Mike Strathdee, "Cambridge Industrialist Wins WLU Award," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, January 31, 1990, B7; "President of Cambridge Company Named Outstanding Business Leader," *The Laureate* (WLU's university newspaper), February 6, 1990, front page.

9. Virtue might have added that "Canadian direct and indirect military sales to the Third World have increased from an annual average of less than one hundred million dollars in the seventies to more than $300 million in the eighties," accounting "for about one per cent of total arms purchased by Third World countries." Regehr, "Canada Targets Third World," 18.

10. McFarlane, *Northern Shadows*; Levant, *Quiet Complicity*.

11. Chomsky, *Necessary Illusions*; Herman and Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent*.

12. Chomsky, *For Reasons of State*, 292, 296.

13. "Washington Equipping Salvadoran planes with Anti-missile Devices," *Globe and Mail*, December 9, 1989, A12. I believe the reference to the Iron Curtain, and possibly the family metaphor, was touched off by the following: "At Checkpoint Charlie, where I spent the better part of last Saturday, it [the "crumbling" of the wall] did not necessarily appear to be a victory for the capitalist world over the socialist monster; more accurately, it was a family reunion... The events in Berlin should ring bells in such US satellite countries as El Salvador, Guatemala and Chile, where the cost of freedom continues to be paid in innocent lives. As the Berlin Wall starts to crumble, the war in El Salvador intensifies, Pinochet still keeps his grip on Chile and the silent genocide of the Guatemalan Indians continues, all with the acquiescence of Washington and Ottawa." Andrew Cash, "Letter from West Berlin: Which Will Be the Next Wall to Crumble?" *Globe and Mail*, November 18, 1989, D6. Several more letters to the editor echoed this theme in the weeks that followed.

14. As I finish typing this, Reuters reports that Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas of San Salvador said on December 10 that Mrs. Lucia Barrera de Cerna, the only witness to the university murders, who was whisked off to the United States and placed under FBI "protection," has retracted her testimony implicating the El Salvador military, after "interrogation and 'brainwashing' by US investigators." The Archbishop said "he had been told by lawyers and churchmen that Mrs. Barrera was subjected to a violent interrogation in the United States. US State Department spokesmen were unavailable for comment." Reuters, *Globe and Mail*, December 11, 1989, A4.

15. Peter Eglin, "First Anniversary of Deaths in El Salvador," *Cord Weekly*, November 15, 1990, 7.

16. In an article in the *Cord Weekly* of March 15, 1990 I wrote that the killing "was done, I have no doubt, with American-supplied guns and bullets" (17). This was subsequently confirmed in *Sojourners*, April 1990, 25. Let me add now that it was also carried out by members of the elite Atlacatl Battalion of the El Salvador army. To see a photograph of United States Ambassador to El Salvador Deane Hinton exchanging hugs with Domingo Monterrosa in March, 1983, fifteen months after the massacre at El Mozote, which was carried out by the Atlacatl Battalion, created, armed and trained by the United States, and commanded by Monterrosa, see Danner, "Massacre at El Mozote," 133; also Massing, "Bringing the Truth Commission Back Home."

17. "Between the day we met at Aguilares and the day he died, I spoke with Archbishop Romero time and again, at the chancery, in the little hospital, or in the house where we Jesuits live. He paid us fairly frequent visits. We could see that he was at ease at our house. I remember how, before taking his leave, he always stopped into the kitchen to thank our cook, which gave her a great deal of pleasure." Sobrino, *Archbishop Romero*, 31. Let me add now that Sobrino was out of the country at the time of the massacre, else he too would doubtless have been one of its victims. Romero was assassinated in 1980. The flow of US aid was interrupted for two weeks.

18. See now the Dedication to Celina at the head of the chapter.

19. As mentioned in chap. 2, in March 1990, in an act of remarkable bravery, Fr. Michael Czerny, to that point Director of the Jesuit Centre for Social Faith and Justice in Toronto, went out to El Salvador and took over the very office and position of Segundo Montes.

20. For some further detail of Canadian involvement in El Salvador see Engler, *Black Book* , 89-91.

21. *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 16, 1989, front page.

22. Reuter and staff, "Salvadoran Troops Tighten Hold After Students Shot at University," *Globe and Mail*, July 19, 1989, A11; for full details see Chomsky, "Mortal Sin of Self-defence," 15.

23. Charlotte Montgomery, "Salvadoran University Seeks More Students Despite Threats," *Globe and Mail*, October 26, 1989, A3.

24. John Adams, "Bravery Worth Support [letter]," *Globe and Mail*, November 14, 1989, A6.

25. Said "non-faculty workers" subsequently unionized themselves, as the WLU Staff Association.

26. Chomsky, *Class Warfare*, 56-7.

27. Marie Molloy, "What is the Laureate?" *Cord Weekly*, March 22, 1990.

28. Editorial, "Death and Diplomacy in El Salvador," *New York Times*, November 16, 1989, A30.

29. Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, 283-301; originally in *Z Magazine*, 1989.

30. McMurtry, "Covering up for Killers."

31. Meyer Brownstone, "Aid Works Both Ways," *SharePlan* (Oxfam-Canada), Winter 1989, 2.

32. Linda Hossie, "OAS Proposal for Peace Offered in El Salvador," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, November 18, 1989, front page.

33. Linda Hossie, "Salvadorans Return to Suburb Shattered by Week of Fighting," *Globe and Mail*, November 21, 1989, A11.

34. Robert Pear, "US Official Links Salvadoran Right to Priests' Deaths," *New York Times*, Saturday, November 18, 1989, front page.

35. To be more precise, email correspondence with the University Secretary during the winter of 1999 failed to determine both that any such response was ever made, and how an inquiry might be mounted to find out if it was.

36. During the winter of 1999 a search of the Faculty Association files of the President at the time (1988-90), and a telephone inquiry to him, both made by the association's Executive Assistant, failed to turn up any evidence of a response by the body representing WLU's faculty. It is perhaps pertinent to point out that the executives of both the University and the Faculty Association were much occupied at this time negotiating their first collective agreement.

37. For example, AP, "Troops Killed Peasants, El Salvador Army Says," *Globe and Mail*, March 13, 1989, A5; Charlotte Montgomery, "Killing of Journalists in El Salvador Part of Military Plan, Official Says," *Globe and Mail*, March 25, 1989, A8; Montgomery, "El Salvador, Guatemala Assailed on Rights," *Globe and Mail*, June 14, 1989, A8; Linda Hossie, "Salvadorans Face Displacement, Army's Terror as Civil War Drags On," *Globe and Mail*, July 10, 1989, A3; Charlotte Montgomery, "US Accused in Torture of Salvadoran Rebel," *Globe and Mail*, August 29, 1989, A9; see also articles on terror at the University of El Salvador referred to in the text earlier in the chapter.

38. Mary Jo Leddy, "Canadian Jesuit Goes to El Salvador," *Globe and Mail*, February 17, 1990, D3; Gail Burns, "A Long and Lasting Love Affair with Latin America," *Toronto Star* (Saturday Magazine), March 10, 1990, M1.

39. "Special Report: Fear in the Midst of War — the Army Detains Church Workers," *Maclean's*, December 4, 1989, 48.

40. Charlotte Montgomery and Linda Hossie, "El Salvador Frees Jailed Canadian Volunteer," *Globe and Mail*, November 21, 1989, front page; Montgomery, "Peace Worker Rejects Heroine's Label," *Globe and Mail*, November 24, 1989, A11; "Special Report: Under Suspicion ...," *Maclean's*, 52; on local coverage see, for example, Margaret Mironowicz, "See How Others Live, Students Urged," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, January 13, 1990, B1.

41. Paul Hansen and Ted Schmidt, "A Martyr Remembered," *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 1990, A8; Canadian Federation of Students and Interagency Committee on Central America [Ad], "The War Continues in Central America: Canada Must Play an Active and Independent Role," *Globe and Mail*, March 24, 1990, A7; "Kitchener Vigil [photo]," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, March 26, 1990, B1. It is ironic, and somewhat remarkable, that the movie *Romero*, starring Raul Julia, opened in Kitchener at commercial cinemas in the first week of December, 1989. It was given the most demeaning review I have ever read, by a certain Stephen Hunter,

"Steeped in Moral Earnestness, Romero a Film that Begs Respect," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, December 2, 1989, E11. The review itself is steeped in cynical contempt.

42. Marg Kasstan, "K-W Marchers Call for Peace," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 20, 1989, B1. Among them, and cited in the article, was Marco Perez "of the El Salvador Information Office" in Kitchener-Waterloo. He had met Ignacio Ellacuria at the University of Central America and taken some classes with him. He had come to Canada five years before as a refugee from El Salvador, and worked tirelessly at this time for justice in his homeland.

43. Margaret Mironowicz, "Stop Aid to El Salvador, UW Protesters Demand," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 23, 1989, B1.

44. "K-W Salvadorans Seek MPs' Support," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 23, 1989, B2.

45. But notice that recalling its ambassador was something the US was willing to do, and did, in response to rather less serious versions of similar state crimes in Romania: "The United States is recalling its ambassador to Romania over what it said is intimidation and harassment of opposition parties in the Balkan country." AP, "US Recalls Envoy to Romania," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, May 11, 1990, A16. Of course, for at least the previous ten years the tyrant Ceausescu and his family dynasty had been a darling of the West, including Canada. Charlotte Montgomery, "West Discovers Ceausescu's Flaws," *Globe and Mail*, December 20, 1989, A10. It is of interest that in the Romanian case AP and Reuter sought a telephone interview with world-famous Romanian-born playwright Eugene Ionesco and printed his views: "'There is one man who could do something and I appeal to him. That man is Gorbachev, and he alone. He must use his influence because he has influence. Gorbachev only needs to break economic ties, that would be the first thing to do,' the playwright said." AP and Reuter, "East and West Unite in Condemning Romania," *Globe and Mail*, December 20, 1989, A10. Is it conceivable that AP and Reuter would have interviewed Ionesco's American equivalent on El Salvador and printed the same words with "Bush" substituted for "Gorbachev?"

46. "The popular view that university professors have a soft working life is being challenged by a new study. They work an average of 49 hours a week plus an additional eight hours on weekends, a ground-breaking University of Western Ontario study shows." "Profs Work Hard, Study Says," *Record*, November 25, 1996, C2.

47. Noble, *Digital Diploma Mills*, 81. C. Wright Mills refers to "the cynical contempt of a specialist for all issues of larger concern" and "the pose of men who seek to borrow the prestige of The Scientist, imagined as a pure and disembodied intellect," in *Sociological Imagination*, 193, quoted in Susan Searls Giroux, *Between Race and Reason*, 23.

48. Mironowicz, "See How Others Live."

49. MacQueen, "Flying Students and String Hammocks," 14. I don't mean to overstate the difference between Northern and Southern universities in such matters. Ernest Boyer, for example, reports that "recently, I visited a residence hall at Texas Woman's University that has been converted into apartments for single mothers and their children. While the mothers work and attend class, the youngsters are in a day-care center run by college students. The university's nursing school runs a clinic for mothers and babies at a nearby housing project. Such programs reveal, in very practical ways, how academic talent can touch the lives of families." Boyer, "Creating the New American College." Moreover, as I mentioned in chap. 2, one can find in Canada such projects as that which involved Laurentian University and the Salvation Army of Canada in "helping rebuild Usulatan, a community of about 200 people in El Salvador which was devastated by the November 1998 Hurricane Mitch. Ten engineering students and five nursing students will go to El Salvador in May to work with the community." "Scanning/ Coup d'oeil: Laurentian University." And, in the wake of the devastating forest fires in British Columbia in the Fall of 2003, "Okanagan University College's conference facilities … were used to feed 250 firefighters and house some of the more than 30,000 evacuees during the Kelowna fire," while "the University College of the Cariboo's hilltop campus activity centre was used as the media command post." Mullens, "B.C. Fires Test University Communities," 32.

50. "Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani got a ringing endorsement but lost some money when he stopped by the White House yesterday. The US state department announced El Salvador will get $229 million in economic aid, $59 million less this year than originally

budgeted. Military aid of $86 million stays about the same..." Washington (Special), "Cristiani Wins Bush's Praise, But Loses Aid," *Toronto Star*, February 2, 1990, A15.

51. Chomsky, "Letter from Lexington."

52. Reuter, "Bush Acts to Release Shipments of Military Aid to Salvador Regime," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, January 16, 1991, B12.

53. Chomsky, "Letter from Lexington," citing editorials of October 31 and November 7, 1990 from *Proceso*, the Jesuit journal published by the University of Central America. For details of the course of the investigation see the sources cited in Eglin, "Propaganda and its Affordances," 119, fn. 42; also Jean Kavanaugh, "El Salvador, US Rebuked for Role in Investigations," *Globe and Mail*, November 17, 1990, A13.

54. United Nations (AP), "Salvadoran Abuses Continue," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, November 13, 1990, D16.

55. Reuter (Washington), "Armed Forces Implicated in Murders of 6 Jesuits," *Globe and Mail*, January 15, 1990, A9.

56. "Salvadoran Abuses Continue."

57. Jean Kavanaugh, "Death Squads Threaten Leftists," *Globe and Mail*, January 14, 1991, A10.

58. Mary Jo Leddy (a member of the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion), *Globe and Mail*, February 17, 1990, D3. For more extended consideration, including quotation, of the social analyses of Martin-Baro and Ellacuria — censored in the American press, despite their availability in Hassett and Lacey, *Towards a Society that Serves Its People* — see Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy*, 386-392.

59. Kavanaugh, "Death Squads." Notice, by the way, that Bush's announcement restoring military aid was made on January 15, the day after the report of the death squad threat. "Bush Acts to Release," January 16.

60. WORLD IN BRIEF, Reuter (San Salvador, El Salvador), "Activist Found Slain," *Globe and Mail*, July 9, 1991, A11.

61. Edgardo Ayala, "El Salvador: Declassified Docs Shed light on Jesuits' Murders," *Inter Press Service News Agency*, November 27, 2009, http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=49447; Marina Jimenez, "Leftist's Victory Turns Page in El Salvador," *Globe and Mail*, March 17, 2009, A14.

Chapter Five

Incarnation and the Gendered University

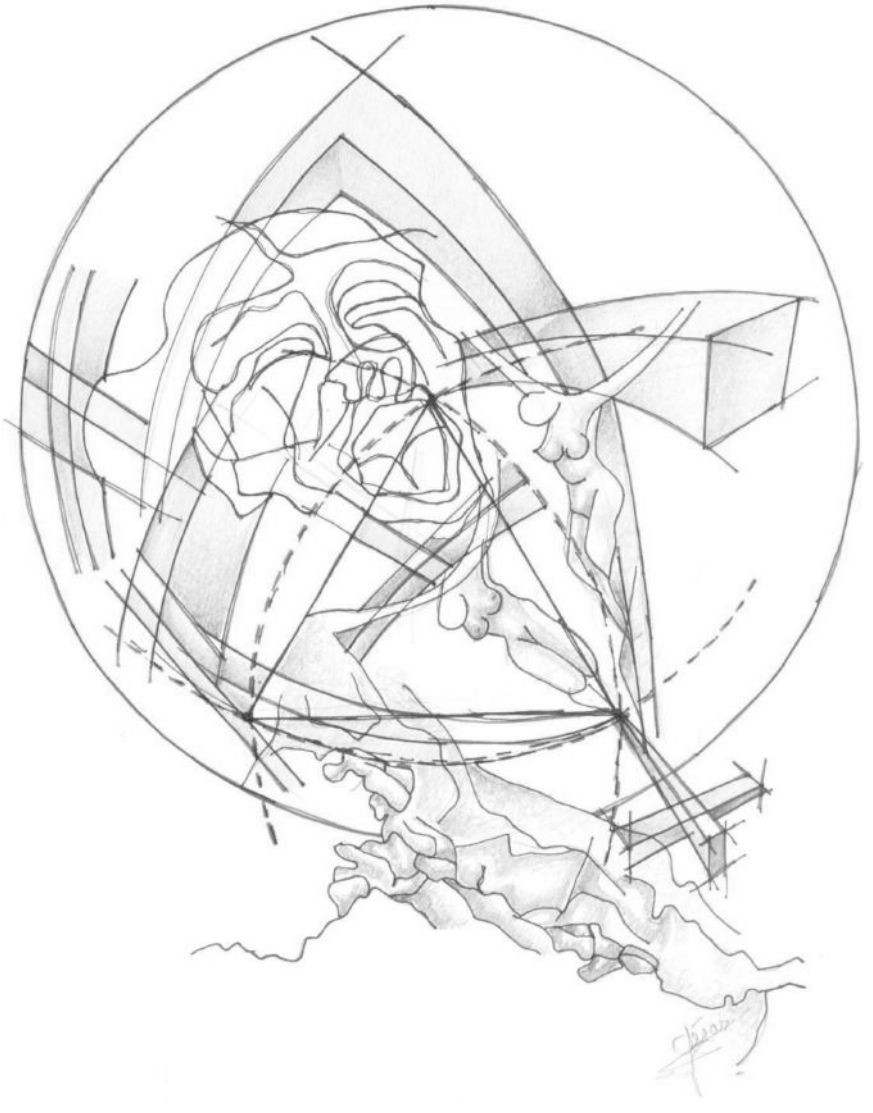
But I am a man,
a man's man,
a woman's man,
a spiritual man,
a scholar man.
And only a man
can stop a man
if that man
is down the dark corridor of his own heart. [1]

INTRODUCTION

"The moral culpability of those who ignore the crimes that matter by moral standards is greater … for those who have a measure of privilege within the more free and open societies, those who have the resources, the training, the facilities and opportunities to speak and act effectively: the intellectuals, in short." As between male and female intellectuals it is surely still beyond debate that the moral culpability of which Chomsky speaks (see chap. 1) falls more on men. Despite considerable evening out over the course of the twentieth century, by all the conventional measures men continue to have a greater measure of privilege, if not of power, than women do by virtue of the greater resources, training, facilities and opportunities we enjoy. Insofar as women in general continue to bear a disproportionate responsibility for the welfare of children then not only is their access to resources, training, facilities and opportunities for intellectual work limited to that extent, they are also less free to oppose the crimes that matter since such opposition can endanger not

only themselves but also the children in their care. More fundamentally, as I argued in chap. 2, my freedom, as a *man*, to engage in academic inquiry, rests on unpaid women's work. Furthermore, it is women themselves who have striven to bring this point home to men. The ultimate challenge posed to men by the women's movement is, then, "man, regard thyself."

This challenge arose quite directly in the fall of 1989 when "sexism on campus" became a national issue in Canada (and elsewhere) culminating in



that most infamous crime against women, the Montreal Massacre, on December 6th. It was hardly possible for an academic male not to get caught up by and with these events; I was no exception. Accordingly, to address the problem of academic incarnation, of intellectual citizenship as a *man*, I take a different tack in this chapter by telling an explicitly personal story about my involvement with these events, above all the Massacre. The story is about the relationship between two men, Marc Lépine, the perpetrator of the Massacre, and me, a professor of sociology with specialties in human rights and ethnomethodology and a sometime human rights activist.

At first I treated the murders as human rights violations targeting persons perceived as human rights activists (feminists). Against prevailing conceptions of the murders as the insane acts of a madman I (and my co-worker, Stephen Hester) sought to preserve their character as political acts, indeed acts of terrorism: "He was not a very politically astute man, but he was, as terrorists are, more political than the people who try to understand him socially or psychologically."[2] And so, secondly, we took up the analysis of the media coverage of the massacre from the point of view of our primary sociological specialty, ethnomethodology, in order to examine such versions of his actions. In the end, however, I felt that the massacre posed a further and different challenge to one who was not just a sometime human rights activist and a student of an academic discipline but also, and relevantly, a man. It seemed to me, then, that if I was to take my intellectual responsibility as a man in relation to these political murders really seriously, I had to interrogate my *own* political actions and my *own* relation to this enraged terrorist. To what extent am I, like Marc Lépine, a "roadblock to equality"?[3] What this man learned from his encounter with Lépine was (1) that making out the culprit as deviant relieves one of his responsibility, (2) that demonizing the complainant leaves the problem unaddressed while encouraging extremists, (3) that there's a troubling moral-emotional economy of and to sociological analysis and (4) that reifying gender categories is good intellectual preparation for terrorism. After a somewhat more extended and biographical introduction, I present these lessons in turn before explicitly comparing Marc Lépine and me, then concluding with the burden of the learned lessons.

AN ELABORATED ACCOUNT OF COMING TO TAKE UP THE QUESTION

When Geneviève Bergeron, Hélène Colgan, Nathalie Croteau, Barbara Daigneault, Anne-Marie Edward, Maud Haviernick, Barbara Maria Klucznik, Maryse Laganière, Maryse Leclair, Anne-Marie Lemay, Sonia Pelletier, Michèle Richard, Annie St-Arneault and Annie Turcotte were shot (and in

one case stabbed) and killed by Marc Lépine on December 6, 1989, it was not as persons with names that they were murdered. They were killed because they were treated as instances of a category: feminists. In the killer's reported words, "You're women. You're going to be engineers. You're all a bunch of feminists. I hate feminists." Feminists, let us recall, are women who fight for women's liberation (standardly, some would say too narrowly, represented as gaining equal rights with men). Like the six Jesuit faculty at the University of Central America who, together with their cook and her daughter, were murdered three weeks before, the Montreal women were killed because they were perceived as human rights activists. The murders, that is, were political killings. Furthermore, they were students, killed, like the Jesuit faculty, in a university setting. For one about to embark on a new course in the sociology of human rights this outrage at L'École polytechnique in Montreal, occurring three weeks after the one in San Salvador, was an unavoidable topic. Nevertheless, the question remained of how I might approach such a topic.

At first I treated it, as I have said, as a human rights violation targeting human rights activists. Though the massacre did not appear to me to be an instance of *state* or "wholesale" terrorism, it was clearly terrorism. And though it was carried out by an individual acting alone, it did not seem to me to fit the label "retail" terrorism either. Watching it all on TV "that night in December which will haunt our collective memory forever," Monique Bosco described her own reaction as follows: "Nauseated, I refused to accept that another new horror, a new terrorism, now existed."[4] I was forced, not before time some might say, to consider how Marc Lépine's act of violence was connected up to a terror-and-propaganda network of a different sort than that described by Herman and Chomsky.[5] Moreover, eventually I would have to find and face up to my own place in it. It is important to recall the university context at the time.

The massacre came at the end of an academic term — literally on the last day of classes at L'École polytechnique when students were making class presentations — a term that was much taken up with public discussion of "sexism on campus." This was particularly true of my university, Wilfrid Laurier University (WLU), which had achieved national notoriety in the fall of 1989 from the revelation that it was home to an institutionalized practice called "Panty Raid."[6] The panty raids and sequels had taken place on September 27-28. The culmination of the men's raid was the hanging of the women's underwear in the cafeteria. On this occasion the underwear were smeared with fake blood and feces, and labelled with slogans demeaning to women.[7] The following night, following convention, the women students raided the men's dorms for their underwear. At that time too "Wilfrid Laurier University's student newspaper The Cord Weekly face[d] censure or expulsion from the Canadian University Press (CUP) for material it published in

the fall that was criticized as sexist and degrading to women."[8] I joined in campus discussion of these matters inside and outside the classroom. The occurrence of the Montreal Massacre became part and parcel of that debate, being construed on the feminist side as part of a generalized anti-feminist backlash. More concretely, people on campus came together to mark the occasion in grief and anger. And some male faculty responded by forming a Men Opposed to Violence Against Women group on campus, which I joined.[9]

It was in this ethos of heightened sensitivity to anti-feminist actions, violence against women, sexism on campus, patriarchy generally and pro-feminist actions by some men that, six months later, I got arrested ripping up sexist ("pornographic") calendars in the corner store across from the university. An impulsive, vainglorious, ineffective and harmful action, which I quickly came to regret, it got me a number of reputations that I could have done without. I return to the significance this act came to have for me later in the chapter.

I clipped the *Globe and Mail* religiously in the days following the massacre, grimly determined to keep watch on how the actor and his action would be described by reporter and commentator alike. Would he be written off as a madman, would his announced political motives be respected, would their anti-feminist character be preserved? At the same time, from a more technical direction arising from my sociological studies in ethnomethodology, I was intrigued by his reported speech at the scene, by the sequence of categories which comprised it, by its economy — "you're women, you're going to be engineers, you're all a bunch of feminists, I hate feminists." My colleague Stephen Hester and I had begun to take up collaborative work in what we came to call, following the foundational studies of Harvey Sacks, "membership categorization analysis" (MCA).[10] Yet I didn't know what to make of this talk. At the time, it just would not submit to analysis. Nevertheless, I came to feel that perhaps the most intellectually responsible course of action I could pursue in response to the massacre was to come to understand Marc Lépine on the basis of just what he was reported to have said at the scene, including the suicide letter recovered by police from his body and made public a year later.

After initially working up a treatment of the massacre in the context of a consideration of women's rights for the Human Rights course I had started teaching in January 1990 (see Prologue), I came to include the topic in the Sociology of Suicide course that I also taught regularly. There it became a vehicle for the discussion of political suicide, juxtaposed with the case of Jonestown. In each case a record had been left, a suicide letter and witnesses' reports of the killer's words in the one case, a tape-recording of Jones's preaching on the infamous "White Night" preceding and accompanying the mass suicide in the other. Marc Lépine's twin acts of murder and suicide

were done, he wrote, "for political reasons." And they were announced in words at the scene that were redolent with categories. Here perhaps was a case where the two enterprises could be brought together, where ethnomethodology might inform politics, where my intellectual life could be one. And so arose the dissatisfaction and disappointment. For while the political value of defending Lépine's own account of his actions *as political*, against the prevailing view that they were pathological, was clear to me — and one I could defend, interestingly enough, on strictly humanitarian, not to say human-scientific methodological, grounds — I could find no explicitly ethnomethodological purchase on the materials. Those categories stared me in the face, but would not submit to analysis. Their meaning was plain, but *how* they managed to mean what they meant was a mystery.

And so it was that for the next six or seven years I would not get beyond the position I had arrived at within a month of the massacre itself. Then, in 1996-7 Hester and I were invited by Paul Jalbert to contribute a chapter to an anthology he was editing on ethnomethodological approaches to media studies. (Our own edited collection of studies in MCA was about to appear.[11]) After a couple of false starts I pulled out the file of Montreal Massacre clippings I had kept, and suggested to Steve we have a go seeing what we could make of them. He agreed. They proved fruitful. A first analysis of the whole corpus subsequently appeared as the requested chapter in Jalbert's book.[12] That effort showed us that there was enough to say on our materials to fill our own book. That volume subsequently appeared.[13] One of its chapters is taken up with "the killer's story." After six or seven years, and under the stimulation of a renewed "attack" in collaboration with a gifted co-analyst, I suddenly saw through the words to the actions they were performing and the methods being used to perform them, and Marc Lépine started to come home.

As the ethnomethodological analysis of the Montreal Massacre materials took shape in writing, teaching and presentation, its moral, emotional and political import refused to be denied. What I did not anticipate was the reflection it would occasion about my own relationship to the killer, given that Hester and I insisted on preserving the killer's self-description as a political actor, and I was myself active in a number of political and human rights causes. I have formulated the results of this encounter with the Montreal Massacre as a number of moral-political lessons.

LESSON 1: MAKING OUT THE CULPRIT AS DEVIANT RELIEVES ONE OF HIS RESPONSIBILITY

Under the title "Deviants and Demons" I invited students taking courses from me to notice two gross parallels in the public discussion following the

Panty Raid and the Massacre. The first parallel was the widespread use in each case of the cultural practice of making-out-the-culprit(s)-as-deviant. That is, in the subsequent public discussion this practice consisted in dividing the Panty Raid incident into (a) the wholesome, fun-loving, gender-balanced raid itself, and (b) the unwholesome excesses of the blood-and-shit brigade who ruined it for the rest. This was notably the case in "Some Lurid Confessions of a Former Panty Raider," an article in the local weekly newspaper by columnist and former WLU student Rick Campbell.[14] That is, both the actions and the actors of (b) were assigned the status "deviant" — a few bad apples in an otherwise healthy crop — and separated from the rest of the Panty Raid participants. In this way the institution and its practitioners were saved.

Similarly, Marc Lépine was assigned the category descriptor "insane" or "madman" or "crazy guy" immediately the crime was known, indeed even by witnesses as it was going on. Whatever the truth of this characterization one thing its use accomplishes is to remove the necessity for a rational accounting of the actions of the one so designated. It leaves simply the different question of why it was he who did them. The instant biographers had no trouble constructing an account of his life consistent with the conventional grammar for mass killers: he was seen to have had a biography of troubles arising from a disordered social background. And, in the classic functionalist mode of sociological explanation, this accounting practice saves the community, notably the part made up of men. Now that the killer is assigned to the outer darkness we (men especially) need not worry about whether and how he is tied in to us; we (men especially) need not ask what he may have to teach us.

Leah Renae Kelly (with Ward Churchill) revealed the same practice at work in revisionist "cowboys-and-Indians" movies such as *Dances with Wolves* and *Thunderheart* with their "good whites" and "bad whites:"

> The propaganda function served by the revisionist formula is to allow constituents of America's dominant settler society to avoid confronting the institutional and cultural realities which led unerringly to the historical genocide of American Indians. Moreover, in first being led to demonize men like Custer, and then helped to separate themselves from them via the signification of characters like Jack Crabbe [Dustin Hoffman's character in *Little Big Man*], Christa Lee [Candice Bergen's character in *Soldier Blue*], and Costner's Lt. Dunbar [Kevin Costner's character in *Dances with Wolves*], white audiences are made to feel simultaneously "enlightened" (for having been "big" or "open" enough to concede that something ugly had occurred) and "good about themselves" (for being so different from those they imagine the perpetrators to have been).[15]

LESSON 2: DEMONIZING THE COMPLAINANT LEAVES THE PROBLEM UNADDRESSED WHILE ENCOURAGING EXTREMISTS

The second parallel consists of the practice of demonizing-the-complainant. Those who saw in both the Panty Raid and the Montreal Massacre expressions of sexism (otherwise deemed inapplicable according to the first practice), and organized their reaction to them in feminist terms, were subjected to an anti-feminist backlash (which, in its turn, was seen by feminists as confirming their analysis). "When some female students complained about the posters, they were denounced as 'Nazis,' lesbians and radical feminists."[16] For example, "A fourth-year student who circulated a petition saying the raids degrade neither sex said she was 'disappointed' to learn of the ban. Said Dale Burt, who supervises dons at a residence for more than 140 women students: 'There are radical feminists who are trying to force down our throats what we should do and think.'"[17] On October 26, 1989, *Toronto Star* columnist and nationally known feminist Michèle Landsberg devoted her column to the Panty Raid at WLU under the title "University Sanctions Student Panty Raids."[18] She fairly lambasted the President, "men in authority" and the university generally for the prehistoric condition of attention to women's safety and women's rights on campus; she noted how "bitterly self-righteous" were the panty-raiding students themselves, who regarded their critics as being like moralistic parents trying to spoil their fun. For the rest of the fall term Landsberg was subjected to a stream of vilification in the *Cord Weekly* (and in certain other quarters of WLU campus) that achieved grotesque proportions. The climactic low-point came on November 30 in the last issue of the term. In a poor attempt at satire headed "Landsberg Fries" the article's author tells a make-believe story in which the feminist columnist is symbolically murdered by being burned alive in her own home as a would-be rescuer discovers her identity and returns her to the flames. A week later the massacre happened.

Two days after that the very much alive Landsberg published her response to the massacre, "Killer's Rage Was All Too Familiar."[19] In this passionately argued *cri de coeur* she herself points out that "it's no accident that the Montreal murderer blamed 'feminists' for his troubles," that "feminist" and feminism have become demonized, not least on university campuses, and that "now that 'feminism' has been turned into a dismissive insult, all the feminist issues are marginalized. If only crazy 'feminists' complain, everyone else can keep right on ignoring rankling injustices and male brutality." Landsberg, Monique Bosco and others asserted that bombardment of the public by anti-feminist propaganda made feminists a publicly available target of recrimination for "angry white *males*." Queen's University had been paired with WLU in the national press for sexism on campus in the fall of 1989, affording the following presentiment: "it is not difficult to sense a

more general feeling of resentment on the part of many male students toward the special measures undertaken to help women on campus, at Queen's and elsewhere."[20] One Queen's student was led to make this prescient speculation in light of the chilly campus climate there:

> It seems inevitable that unless some decisive action occurs the tension on campus will deteriorate into a genuine crisis, as the crisis which now manifests itself does not appear to merit the consideration of the Queen's authorities.[21]

Although published after the Montreal murders, it appears — from the date (November 17) of the article to which she was responding, and the fact that the massacre itself is not mentioned — that Hartwick's letter was almost certainly written before they occurred. Monique Bosco wrote in the aftermath, "One would think that the signs of active misogyny, reported in, among others, student newspapers all over Canada, could have been identified months and even years before."[22] Nevertheless, those who, like Landsberg, made the feminist case for viewing the massacre as an extreme instance of generalized violence against women, found themselves attacked in their turn for having hijacked the "tragic" event to their political bandwagon. One is tempted to recall Puritan practices of witch-hunting.[23]

LESSON 3: THERE'S A TROUBLING MORAL-EMOTIONAL ECONOMY OF/TO SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

A further issue arose when I presented a version of our analysis of the "killer's story" to an academic audience at a small conference on gender, discourse and theory. The conference was put on by the Discourse Analysis Research Group of St. Thomas University and the University of New Brunswick in March 1998 in Fredericton.[24] I was asked to provide the good of the analysis-and-presentation in the following sense: "what could the analysis offer that would justify putting the predominantly female audience through the pain and discomfort of having to confront M.L. again in the form of his suicide letter and announcement at the scene?" For, following ethnomethodological precedent, the data were made available to the audience as handouts and overheads so they could check the analysis themselves. The question, that is, was one posed in terms of the moral-emotional economy of inquiry. Does the good of the analysis outweigh the moral-emotional costs? The presentation was, in fact, interrupted early on and I was asked to provide our conclusions so that the audience could weigh that question. Following that assessment it would be decided whether I should continue. Indeed, I refused to continue until there was agreement that I should. Discussion ensued for at least half an hour, ably managed by the conference hosts. At some point into the discussion, and with considerable consternation, I complied with the

request to provide the conclusions. Some sort of resolution was reached. Nobody walked out (as far as I recall). The paper was then read to the end.

During the discussion the suicide letter was characterized as, or as like, "hate literature." It was likened, that is, to such other noxious documents as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* or *Mein Kampf* or, according to some forms of feminist analysis, some forms of pornography. In that sense, it invited entry into debates over free speech, censorship and the like. One salient feminist contribution to such debates has been to insist on a measure of harm being incorporated into the assessment of the legitimacy of forms of questionable speech. It was precisely such a demand that was being pressed on the occasion in question.

It is true that it had not occurred to me that reproductions of documents of Lépine's "speech" could induce alarm and fear in their female readers eight years or more after the event. And that failure of imagination is revealing. It would have been quite obvious to me that, say, passing out anti-Semitic passages from Nazi documents like *Mein Kampf* to a Jewish audience on an otherwise identical academic occasion was a course of action that would require considerable care, if indeed it could be properly done at all. Why did I not see so readily the impropriety of an equivalent act where women were concerned? The answer is, I suppose, that I walk around with blinkers on. My experience is that it is a lifetime's job trying to get them off.

At the same time it is also true that my topic and approach had been announced on posters advertising the event. There was an opportunity for persons fearful of the topic and its materials to avoid the talk. Furthermore, there is a history to the "coming-out" of these materials that I think needs to be taken into account. From the moment it was revealed, the day following the massacre, that the police had in their hands a suicide letter left by the killer, with a "hit list" of prominent Quebec feminists appended, there were calls for its release and publication. The initial calls were from journalists. Putting aside the standard question of the degree to which corporate newspapers' announced civic motives are inevitably compromised by their unannounced commercial interests in such "revelations," we may note that among them the call came from Francine Pelletier. A journalist to be sure, she was (and is) not only a noted feminist but also one whose name was on the list. Moreover, when, almost a year later she was sent a copy of the letter, her paper, *La Presse* of Montréal, published it. Furthermore, the editors and publisher of the first *The Montreal Massacre*, *the* feminist book on the massacre, elected to include the letter in the English edition of 1991, albeit with the following "Publisher's note:"

> After much discussion, we have decided to include the letter in this edition of the book. This was a difficult decision. It is not our intention to produce a book, apologist or otherwise, about the murderer. As much as the Montreal

> massacre is not an act isolated in time and place, it is also an act not isolated to one man. Indeed, for these reasons, some of the contributors to this book have chosen to represent the killer by his initials, M.L., rather than his full name. We feel that the letter, somewhat ironically (for this was certainly not the killer's intention), reinforces in our minds the courage and truthfulness with which the writers in this book speak out about violence against women.[25]

In the "Preface" to the original, French edition (that is included in translation in the English edition), the editors also write:

> Whether we like it or not, the massacre at the Polytechnique is now part of our history.
> A concrete addition to that grievous memory, this book offers a profound understanding of what happened — personal and political reflections which will contribute indispensable perspectives to *the public debate we hope to see take place*.[26]

Furthermore, Louise Malette partially justifies producing the English edition as a further effort to provoke that "profound reflection warranted by an event like the massacre at the Polytechnique [which] does not appear to be taking place in Quebec:"

> A year after the book was published in French, we would like to claim that it in some way contributed to raising people's consciousness or to provoking the profound reflection that stimulates widespread public debate. This, we know, is necessary if a change in mentality is to come about. Alas, we are unable to make such a claim. To be sure, the book's appearance in April 1990 was politely recognized by the critical establishment, which, despite a certain embarrassment, was content to make only a cursory perusal of its contents. And then this obviously disturbing book was quickly forgotten.[27]

I do not pretend, being a (white) man as I am, that I know what it is to be literally or metaphorically in the gun sight of a very angry male. And though I have been active with respect to a number of human rights issues, including pro-feminist ones, and though I have received a death threat for my pains (scrawled across an article posted outside my office door, probably by a disgruntled student), I cannot claim, other than by sympathetic imagination (clearly flawed), to appreciate either the fear his name can evoke in women, or the courage it takes to oppose what he is said to represent. Nevertheless, I find I must stand with the editors and publisher of *The Montreal Massacre*, with Francine Pelletier and Monique Bosco, and not avoid looking into the "face of the enemy." If for women the fear is for what he might do, for me as a man the concern is for whom I will see there. For if I do avoid that view, I risk losing sight of two essential things that are at the root of the *human* sciences, which have been taught to me again as a result of doing the Mon-

treal Massacre study. These two matters are (1) how much I am like him, and (2) how easy it is to reproduce the conceptual grammar of the course of his action. I have collapsed these two considerations into the fourth lesson taught me by the Montreal Massacre.

LESSON 4: REIFYING GENDER CATEGORIES IS GOOD INTELLECTUAL PREPARATION FOR TERRORISM

Perhaps the chief finding that was borne in upon Hester and me as we carried out the ethnomethodological analysis of our Montreal Massacre materials was the pervasiveness of irony. Throughout our analysis we had repeated occasions to notice that the same methods of reasoning, that is the same conceptual grammar of politics, were deployed by Lépine the counter-revolutionary terrorist as by the feminist and pro-feminist respondents and commentators who opposed him. In our mode of analysis these methods, or this grammar, can be represented in terms of the use of three membership categorization devices.

Firstly, both "parties" build their arguments by assembling the categories "men" and "women" into a membership categorization device we may call "gender," assigning predicates to those categories, then identifying and explaining persons' actions in terms of those categories and their predicates. This is not, of course, to imply that "feminists are terrorists," or to reiterate that favourite political turn of modernist irony captured in the would-be axiom, "revolutionaries always turn into dictators."[28] Rather the point being made is in the other direction. Lépine was acting politically with the conceptual tools feminism provided. Where he differed from feminists was in finding insupportable the social consequences he perceived as the outcome of their use, and in being prepared to use terror to achieve his aims. And their responses reiterated that grammar.

Secondly, he and, in a more qualified way, some of the respondent/commentators, employ a two-category collection we identified as "parties to revolution." It comprises "revolutionaries" and "counter-revolutionaries:" those who are not with us are against us (a turn of phrase given renewed currency by George W. Bush after 9/11, 2001). I consider this further below.

Thirdly, both parties conceptualize the political arena in terms of the "immediately asymmetric, standardized collectivity relational pair," namely government/citizens (or people).[29] Whether by adopting the strategy of mobilizing the "people" in order to force change on "government," or via the reverse strategy, or through some other combined means, like terrorism, such political actors define their options, the perceived possibilities of action, in these terms. For example, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women, in a November 1998 fund-raising letter, writes:

> We have always worked from the premise that the feminist movement must be inclusive and action oriented to successfully impact government policy and society at large.

The temptation of terror lies in just the perception that the avenues of political action are blocked by the unavailability of any feasible means of peacefully influencing "government" whether directly or via the "people." All those of us who are human rights activists, or seeking the liberation of one or another oppressed group, know the temptation of using terror or some lesser degree of force to get our way. "Wouldn't it be nice to just go in there and wipe out those bastards?" we joke uneasily about our political opponents.

To be sure, I did not think of it as a case of terrorism or indeed of the use of force when I entered Forwell's, the local variety store across from the WLU campus, on the evening of July 26, 1990 intent on "taking action against sexism." Ripping up sexist calendars was an act I considered to be more like civil disobedience. I had gone into the store a few hours earlier to get a candy or newspaper while waiting for the bus to go home after work. As I walked through the door, there facing the entrance and my tuned-up eyes was a rack of wall calendars graced with scantily clad women posing as body-builders under the slogan "Determination." Sensitized as I was by the events of the previous ten months I found this simply "too much." Incensed by yet another instance of the commercialized degradation and subordination of women — and correlatively of me, the man with the consuming eyes — I nevertheless got on the bus and went home. After dinner however, I returned to the store, having phoned the *Kitchener-Waterloo Record* newsroom to tell them what I was going to do. A reporter met me outside the store. She interviewed me but said she would not accompany me into the store, as that would make the newspaper complicit in producing a staged event. But she would wait outside.[30] I went in. For what followed let me refer to what I evidently said to Tony Burke, the new editor of WLU's student newspaper *the cord*, when he interviewed me about the affair shortly after:[31]

> I got hold of all the female calendars — there were four of them — and I stood in front of the counter and ripped them up into four pieces and dropped them onto the floor. The assistant manager looked at me, so I smiled. He said, "are you going to pay for those" and I said no.

The following sequence of events was, in retrospect, quite predictable. In fact, my ethnomethodological colleagues may never forgive me for not having anticipated what Garfinkel's "incongruity procedures" had long before revealed.

> *Burke*: Did anyone in the store question what you were doing?

> *Eglin*: No, business went on as usual around me as I stood there ripping up these things — a couple of people smiled and looked at me but otherwise the normal course of events went on. For a moment I thought "what am I doing this for? No-one's taking any notice" [laughs].

By "the normal course of events" I meant that customers in the store continued to go to the cash registers a few feet from me on either side, and the sales staff continued to ring up their purchases. Normal store life went on. Back to the interview:

> There was a bunch of male equivalent calendars, about six of them, and I ripped those up too. The counter girl picked up the stuff I ripped up and put it in a bag and set it on the counter so from then on whatever I ripped up I stuffed it into the bag so it was all neat and tidy.

(I fervently hope that "counter girl" was Burke's expression and not mine.) I included the male calendars to make the point that the formal equality, rather than vindicating the exploitation in the female calendars, reproduced it for men while leaving the substantive inequality embodied in the sexploitation of women quite untouched. The same argument applies to the second stage of Panty Raid when the women students would raid the men's dorms for their underwear: the formal equality does *not* make it all right. To this point Forwell's staff were still treating the event as more or less a shopping transaction, as one belonging in the setting (until proven otherwise), if nevertheless a little odd. And so I found myself with Lépine's problem. How was I to make what I was doing accountable — that is observable, and reportable — *as political protest*? It was necessary for me to tell the salesperson *why* I was doing what I was doing in order that she could see *what* I was doing.

> I talked to the assistant for a while and said to her what do you think of this stuff. She was embarrassed a bit and she said "I don't particularly like it; I just don't look at it." So I said, "every time you come in the store you must look at it there on the rack," but she had nothing more to say.
> When I finished those I went back to the magazine rack and started looking around for anything that struck my eye. I wasn't looking for the standard porn stuff like Playboy, Hustler and that stuff — I didn't even know that they had it, and it turns out that they don't have it — I was just looking for run-of-the-mill magazines that were sexist. I picked up a couple of Cosmopolitans and started ripping them up. As I was doing that she asked me if I would leave the store and I said no but if she was bothered she could call the police.

In the end, that is, I had to instruct the salesperson what the next step was, namely to call the police. In due course the police arrived; I was arrested and led out of the store. The *Record* cameraperson snapped me getting into the police car. I was on the front page the following day.[32] Job done, I thought.

What I had not thought of was the consequences, consumed as I was by the compelling need not to go on submitting to yet another grotesque assault on women's equality. (Doubtless, too, that I get particularly agitated by *sexualized* displays of women's subordination reflects some suppressed desire for just what such images appear to offer.[33]) Yet the consequences were again predictable and, in the end, humbling. There was the desired publicity. Apart from the story in the *Record*, it made CBC-Radio news on the 27th. I was later interviewed on CBC-Radio's Radio Noon on August 16. There was the interview in the student newspaper, which led to some exchange of views in the letters column. Later I appeared as a panel member on Dini Petty's national talk show on CTV when it came to town in October to tape a program on sexism on campus.[34] What good these things did it is very hard to say. I am more confident about estimating the harm. Charged with mischief under $1000 I was faced with three months in jail or a $500 fine. Given my domestic responsibilities I could afford neither, being a new father and much in debt. Worse, the event itself had two troubling outcomes. It was plain to me that I had not only non-plussed the salesperson who dealt with me, I had also frightened or, at least, alarmed, her. Not that my appearance or my demeanour in the store were in themselves alarming; I was friendly and not aggressive. But she must have wondered what on earth was going on, and could not then have been sure that I wouldn't be violent at some point. She was about eighteen or nineteen years of age and she was a she. The bitter irony of my intendedly pro-feminist action serving to alarm one of the very people in whose interests I imagined myself to be acting was shaming; I was ridiculous.

It was also clear that such stunts did not serve to strengthen and promote feminism but, if anything, to undermine it. That a man should come along, in all his vainglory, to ride into the fray and, as it were, win the battle for women's equality single-handedly was presumptuous nonsense. And it mocked the tireless, patient, unseen work of countless workers in women's organizations. And so, being unable to afford the lawyer that would be needed to exploit the issue in court, and mindful of the harm I had already done, I ended up apologizing to Joe Forwell, to the women staff at the store and to the women's movement, and I paid for the calendars and magazines. The charge was dismissed. The apology made headlines again.[35] For some I looked like a wimp.

Coming to see through this event my kinship with Marc Lépine has been long in gestation. I had entertained the possibility theoretically and symbolically since the first act of mourning following the massacre itself. But all I shared in common with him, I had thought, was the accident of gender (notwithstanding all that gender means for us). Despite appreciating Ron Grimes's poem, part of which is quoted at the head of this chapter, I didn't really believe it about *myself*. Nothing particular about *my* thoughts, feelings,

desires, emotions and actions was actually like ML's, I told myself. There was no little guy with a big gun lurking down the corridor of *my* heart. Until coming to work on this project, in which I had decided to lump together "pin-up," "panty raid" and "massacre," I had not seen just how much in common I have with him.

ME AND MARC LÉPINE

First, there is the anger. I have certainly felt the anger. None of it directed at women, I hasten to add, but since hearing Chomsky's Massey Lectures on CBC Radio in the fall of 1988 I have burned with anger at the endless economic and social injustice in the world, the boundless economy with the truth in official pronouncements, and the bottomless equanimity of the complicit onlookers. I have wanted to act drastically and decisively, to shout out the truth, to refuse and reject my own involuntary participation in war-making and economic exploitation, to give away my possessions, to live as Charles Page has been doing at the "world wage," to live in a household without a trace of gender inequality. I have wanted to stop life as usual. Unlike Marc Lépine I have not felt myself to be oppressed, to have had my life ruined, but on the contrary to be only blessed and unfairly privileged (despite a fair amount of admittedly self-induced hardship). And if there is some group that angers me the way feminists angered him it would be the owners of wealth. Murder, though, is simply out of the question.

Second, there is the political method. It is disturbing to see the formal similarity between my exploit in the local corner store and his in his neighbouring university. Putting aside the scale of the violence involved, consider that, like him, I anonymized and depersonalized the persons in the scene, rendering them as no more than props for my performance. Like him, while speaking *to* the persons present I spoke *for* an overhearing audience, the newspaper-reading public. I acted out of fiercely held principle, yet I hurt would-be beneficiaries (women) and my cause (women's equality); he acted out of principle (and also, clearly, from overwhelming and apparently long-nurtured personal resentment) and, apart from murdering his "enemies," ended up killing a would-be beneficiary (himself) and damaging his cause (anti-feminism) — the following year more women students than ever enrolled in engineering at L'École polytechnique. My act itself, of ripping up "speech," of silencing "speech," courted comparison with the book-burning antics of the fanatics of the religious and political far right, the very constituencies I imagined myself to be diametrically opposed to, the kind of place where Marc Lépine might have found a home. And like him, I acted alone.

So, in *these* senses, I am not so different from Marc Lépine, or he from me. If I am saying here that Lépine is a recognizable political actor and, in

this sense, like me, indeed as "good" as those of us who are feminist or pro-feminist and who take the gender question seriously (for he certainly takes it seriously), then what I am also saying is that I must be sure not to follow him, and be as "bad" as him. This conclusion follows not simply from political considerations but from the humanistic foundations of both democratic politics and the human sciences.

By "following him" I mean adopting his practices of political conceptualization. I owe this point to Steve Hester who was the principal author of the following passage from our *The Montreal Massacre*:

> By naming his intended victims as feminists, Lépine "anonymises" them; he speaks to them not as individual persons, with names, biographies, families, plans and projects of their own; rather, he speaks categorially to them as *representatives* of feminism; he depersonalizes his victims and in so doing he politicizes them. His action, whilst concrete, is then also abstract since he kills not unique individual human beings but exemplars of categories in a political membership categorization device which comprises two membership categories: feminist "revolutionaries" and anti-feminist "counter-revolutionaries." Similarly, his task is to reveal, for his victims and for the general public or polity which constitutes his wider overhearing and political audience, that he is not acting as Marc Lépine *per se* but as a political actor, as a representative of a political stance. By invoking this device, Lépine categorizes both himself and his victims and in so doing he provides instructions for making his action rationally accountable as political.[36]

In order to draw out further the specifically dangerous aspects of Lépine's reasoning with these resources, let me note the following additional "grammatical" considerations. Firstly, "feminist" is a term of self-avowal, not other-description. More precisely, it is true that others may doubt or question whether the term is correctly self-applied. Others, that is, have rights of ratification of a member's self-description as feminist. They may dispute it, claiming that one or more of the publicly available, conventionally certifiable grounds for its application does or do not obtain in a particular case. But others may not confer the title on a member without the member's agreement. That is, they may not do so properly or legitimately. State-capitalist reactionaries were fond of labelling anyone who minimally opposed the unbridled sway of their rule as "communist" (nowadays "terrorist"), the better to justify killing them — this, with complete indifference to whether their opponents were indeed self-avowed communists. But this was precisely Lépine's method. He ascribed "feminist" to his targeted opponents on the basis of a category search to be sure, but one that did not include the self-descriptions of the members themselves. As we know, many of his victims would not have called themselves feminists.

Secondly, there is the practice of treating those to whom a category may be properly applied as what Jayyusi calls a "morally organized group." Hester and I have written in *The Montreal Massacre* about the delicate matter of treating the categories "men" and "women" categorially or summatively.[37] "Man" and "woman" are also what we have called "personal" membership categories, whereas terms such as "the bank," "the army," "the police" and so on have been called "collectivity categories." The aggregate terms "men" and "women" may be used, in a sense, to name collectivities, but only in the nominalist practices of professional sociologists are these "groups." That is, unlike, say, "the liberal party" or "the girl guides," "men" and "women" are not groups in the sense of "morally organized" entities. They do not have constitutions, rules of proper practice, membership criteria and dues, scheduled meetings, ceremonial occasions, gathering places and the like (gender-specific institutions like certain clubs notwithstanding). Not all of sociology and anthropology's quasi-ethnographic, metaphorical representation of the categories "men" and "women" *as if* they were "statuses" with attached institutionalized "roles" and "relationships" *like* those of morally organized groups can establish that identity. Or rather, to turn the argument around, this functionalist language of gender *constitutes* a collection of methods for *constructing* identities for these categories.

But then, this is just what some feminist politics may be described as. In "Hundreds in Toronto Mourn Killing of 14 Women," noted Canadian reporter Stevie Cameron opens the article as follows:

> Weeping and holding one another for comfort, hundreds of women and men — most of them students, professors, politicians and community activists — met yesterday before a statue of a crucified woman on the University of Toronto campus to mourn the 14 women who were murdered in Montreal on Wednesday night.[38]

Notice first that the actions "weeping" and "holding one another for comfort" are here predicated of the categories "women" and "men." Consider second, however, that such actions are conventionally tied to the categories making up the class of "intimate" standardized relational pairs (parent-child, husband-wife, lover-lover, friend-friend...); they are proper actions of incumbents of these categories in tragic personal or family circumstances, in which members may search for help from one another. In news coverage the victims of the massacre were repeatedly described as daughters (or wife, or girlfriend, or friend) and the reactions of parents (husband, boyfriend, friend) sought and described. Consider third, that such actions are also extendable to the whole population on occasions of major public tragedies (such as this one); that is, they may properly be done by persons who otherwise would be described as "strangers." In these circumstances they are ascribable to such

categories as "everyone," "people," "this person," "this man," "that woman," "Montrealers," and so on.

Returning to the passage from Cameron's article, notice again that the actions in question are here appropriated and ascribed to the categories "women" and "men." That is, these predicates that are properly bound to the "intimate" subset of standardized relational pairs are attached here to membership categories not conventionally members of this collection of categories at all, namely "women" and "men." The construction invites the reader, as it were, to see the "tragedy" as a matter relevant to the "relationship" between woman and woman, man and man and, presumably, woman and man. That is, whatever relationships there may have otherwise been among the people there assembled (were not some of them friends, classmates, spouses, lovers...?), or however permissible it may have been on account of this public tragedy for *anybody* to have been seen *weeping* or for *people* to have been *holding one another for comfort*, the reporter describes these actions as ones being done by "women" and "men."

This is not to say, of course, that these people were not women and men, for they surely were. Nor is it to say that describing them as "women" and "men" was not relevant and appropriate, for it surely was. (Notice, particularly, that the terms fit, that is are "co-selected," with the use of the category "women" to describe the victims.) What it is to say is that the use of these descriptors represents or embodies a category *election* on the reporter's part. She could have referred to those assembled as simply "people," together with the qualifying occupational categories ("students, professors, politicians and community activists"). But she elects to foreground their gender by the use of "women" and "men." That election conveys, I would argue, a politics. As Sacks argued for "hotrodder" (as a self-description used by and among a group of young people in preference to the other-description "teenager"), revolutionary social change is (at least) a matter of changing the categories of everyday life: "there's an order of revolution which is an attempt to change how it is that persons see reality."[39] The irony is that in so doing Stevie Cameron, the feminist reporter, takes her cue from Marc Lépine, the anti-feminist terrorist, who treats a category ("women") as a group. And conversely, Lépine himself may be said to be following the (more dangerous) conceptual practices of some feminist politics. Moreover, these practices themselves may be said to be rooted in long-standing lay and professional sociological methods of rendering persons as gendered creatures.[40]

CONCLUSION — THE BURDEN OF THE LESSONS

Anonymizing and depersonalizing people, rendering them as instances of a political category for the purposes of acting towards them — these are the

practices of dehumanization that rationalize inhuman acts. But not following Lépine in his use of these practices includes not treating *him* in this way. I cannot render him asocial by refusing him his identity by not giving him his name, or by refusing to hear his words. I cannot reduce him to being the mere determinate (or indeterminate) outcome of a pathological social and psychological process, by refusing to recognize his all-too-plainly stated motives, the planning of his course of action, and both his will and ability to carry it out. I cannot deny him reason by rendering him mad, if his actions can be shown to follow from his motives, as indeed they can. I cannot deny him his humanity by not recognizing his rage. To render (morally-based) rage as (somatically-based) madness heightens horror but it eliminates the meaning of action. That includes the real and frightening threat he may be said to represent.

I cannot do these things, not in the first instance from subscribing to a humane politics, but because I am a human scientist. As such I am enjoined, as a methodological requirement, to find my subjects human if I can. Thanks to my WLU colleague Ron Grimes, who put me on to this source, I found a reminder of this foundation in J. Z. Smith's essay, "The Devil in Mr. Jones."[41] It was illuminating to read in the opening of Smith's work on Jonestown about the radical, not to say revolutionary, character of the notion of "the humanities" in nineteenth-century "curriculum development." Smith was writing about the emergence of "religious studies" from theology in terms of a movement from divinity to humanity as a guiding principle of university scholarship. The humanities, in this sense, are part of the human rights movement, as I argued in chap. 2. He brings this understanding to an analysis of the tape-recording of Jones's last speech or sermon on the infamous "White Night" before the mass suicide. What he reveals is not the ramblings of a fatigued, drugged-up, megalomaniacal sex fiend (as contemporary press reports painted Jones), but the more-or-less coherent, religiously motivated and founded, preparing of his followers for "revolutionary suicide."

To be sure, I am not intending to provide an apologia for Lépine, nor, heaven forbid, to rehabilitate him politically. On the contrary I have sought to learn from him by identifying where he went wrong, so that I could avoid reproducing the grammar of his politics. Apart from not letting anger become rage and get the better of you, it means, I think, refusing to follow him in his reductive and constructive ways (not to mention murder). As Chomsky says of the demand for hate laws as an answer to the public pronouncements of Holocaust revisionists:

> It is a poor service to the memory of the victims to adopt a central doctrine of their murderers.[42]

NOTES

1. Grimes, "No Safe Place," in *Marrying and Burying*, 242.
2. McCormack, "Questions in the Aftermath."
3. This chapter is a revised and variant version of Eglin, "Marc Lépine and Me."
4. Bosco, "Will to Know," 171.
5. Herman, *Real Terror Network*; Herman and O'Sullivan, *"Terrorism" Industry*; Chomsky, *Pirates and Emperors*; *Culture of Terrorism*.
6. For other than local news coverage see, for example, Sean Fine, "University Officials Assailed Over Tradition of Panty Raids," *Globe and Mail*, October 20, 1989; Tracey Tyler and Matt Maychak, "Students Defend Panty Raids as 'Harmless Ritual,'" *Toronto Star*, October 26, 1989, A8; Editorial, "Black Eye for Laurier," *Toronto Star*, October 26, 1989, A32; Tracey Tyler, "Why Campus Pranks Turning Nasty," *Toronto Star*, November 5, 1989, A3; Orland French, "Sex Wars Still Rage on Campus," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, November 11, 1989, D1; Susan Donaldson and Will Kymlicka (Analysis), "No Thaw in Chilly Campus Climate," *Globe and Mail*, November 17, 1989, A8.
7. Grimes, *Marrying and Burying*, 236.
8. Greg Crone, "WLU Paper Faces Censure," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, December 29, 1989, B1.
9. "Men's Group Supports the Women's Centre [collective letter]," *the cord*, November 29, 1989, 11.
10. Eglin and Hester, "Category, Predicate and Task."
11. Hester and Eglin, *Culture in Action*.
12. Eglin and Hester, "Moral Order and the Montreal Massacre."
13. Eglin and Hester, *Montreal Massacre*.
14. Rick Campbell, "Some Lurid Confessions of a Former Panty Raider," *Waterloo Chronicle*, November 1, 1989, 7.
15. Kelly (with Ward Churchill), "*Smoke Signals* in Context," 126. Here's a comparable observation: "In 'Avatar,' James Cameron's vast and violent money-printer, 3-D noble savages known as the Na'vi need a good guy American soldier, Sgt. Jake Scully, to save them. This confirms they are 'good.' Natch." Pilger, "Why the Oscars Are a Con."
16. Frances Kelly, "Panty Raids Banned at Wilfrid Laurier," *Sunday Toronto Star*, October 29, 1989.
17. Canadian Press, "Panty Raiders Caught Short," *Sunday Toronto Sun*, October 29, 1989.
18. Michèle Landsberg, "University Sanctions Student Panty Raids," *Toronto Star*, October 26, 1989.
19. Michèle Landsberg, "Killer's Rage Was All Too Familiar," *Toronto Star*, December 8, 1989, A1.
20. Donaldson and Kymlicka, "No Thaw in Chilly Campus Climate."
21. Jeny Hartwick, "Image of Neanderthal U [letter]," *Globe and Mail*, December 12, 1989, A6.
22. Bosco, "Will To Know," 174.
23. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans*; Hester and Eglin, *A Sociology of Crime*, 263-4.
24. A strictly ethnomethodological treatment of the matter discussed below in the text can be found in chap. 8 of Eglin and Hester, *Montreal Massacre*.
25. Malette and Chalouh, *Montreal Massacre*, 9-10.
26. Ibid., 15, my emphasis.
27. Malette, "Preface to the English Edition," 13.
28. Said, "A Note on Modernism," in *Culture and Imperialism*.
29. Jayyusi, *Categorization and the Moral Order,* 126; also Coulter, "Conceptualization of Social Structure."
30. Carroll and Ratner, "Media Strategies and Political Projects," 12.
31. "Frankly Speaking," *the cord*, September 6, 1990, 7, 10.
32. Susan Chung, "'Sexist' Calendars Ripped Up," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, July 27, 1990, B1.

33. In King Lear's words: "Thou rascal beadle, hold thy bloody hand! Why dost thou lash that whore? Strip thine own back; Thou hotly lust'st to use her in that kind for which thou whipp'st her;" quoted in Rex Murphy, "The Curse of Youthful Harlots," *Globe and Mail*, March 15, 2008, A21.

34. Katherine Dowling, "Dini Petty's Show on Sexism Useless," *the cord*, October 25, 1990, 3.

35. Rose Simone, "Prof Sorry He Ripped Up Calendars," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, August 15, 1990; "Charge Withdrawn Against Professor," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, August 16, 1990, B1.

36. Eglin and Hester, *Montreal Massacre*, 55.

37. Sacks, "Everyone Has to Lie."

38. Stevie Cameron, "Hundreds in Toronto Mourn Killing of 14 Women," *Globe and Mail*, December 8, 1989, A13.

39. Sacks, *Lectures on Conversation*, 1: 398; Sacks, "Hotrodder: A Revolutionary Category," 9.

40. For extended discussion of the general issue at stake here see Francis, Hester, and Eglin, "Ethnomethodology, Conversation Analysis and Gender."

41. Smith, "Devil in Mr. Jones."

42. Chomsky, in *Manufacturing Consent*, ed. Mark Achbar, 191. On the constructive possibilities of rage see Sarah Hampson, "Long May She Rage," *Globe and Mail*, January 30, 2012, L1, commenting on the theatrical art of Maxine Heppner.

Epilogue

Corrupting an Academic Life

Who has the right to know? (Jean-Francois Lyotard)[1]
Who has the right to eat? (Peter Madaka Wanyama)[2]

In the end, the questions I have wished to pose in this work are personal ones. They are ones I direct in the first and last place to myself. If readers are really to feel the import of what is written here, they must similarly ask of themselves where they stand, as a matter of actual fact rather than of intellectual position, in relation to the matters raised herein. I hesitate to use the phrase "personal morality" since it might be thought to imply that these questions are in the end matters of subjective interpretation or individual behaviour. This would be quite erroneous. For those whose sights are firmly set on the structures of inequality, violence and power in society, domestic and global, such an emphasis on *personal* morality can seem frivolous, if not irrelevant, indeed distracting from the real problems of political action in pursuit of a world worth living in. It is important to bear in mind, however, the essentially *social* nature of the concept of morality and its essential link to social *action*.

> Morality, this fantastic and complicated system … was, as ["a good many of my friends" and I] first encountered it, a set of principles and laws. But these principles and laws were really nothing more than a description of how a person would behave if he cared equally about all human beings, even though one of them happened, in fact, to be himself — if he cared about them equally and deeply, so that their suffering actually caused him to suffer as well… [T]he simplest of ["these laws and principles"] was just that each other person was as real as we were. Almost all of the rest of morality followed from that. If I could learn to believe that someone, a stranger, was just as real as I was, I

> could easily see how badly it would hurt him if I treated him cruelly, if I lied to him, if I betrayed him.
> But the world is in a constant turmoil of conflict and struggle, I learned, and so morality was not merely a way of looking at life; it was also a guide to action. And its teaching in regard to action was that I should love all the people in the world equally, and that I should take the action prompted by that love…
> My daily obligation, then, was certainly not to refrain from action. On the contrary, passivity was seen, from this point of view, as merely a lazy, indifferent, and cowardly form of actionless action. Nor was my obligation to refrain from all activity on my own behalf. *No, my daily obligation was, first and foremost, to learn how to make a correct and careful study of the world.*
> Perhaps I had long ago rejected self-love and self-interest as guides to action. Perhaps I had sworn to myself that I would always act only for everyone's sake, out of love for everyone. But if I didn't know what the world was like, how could I know what action to take? Perhaps it was permissible to kill a person in order to prevent a terrible evil. But if I acted impulsively, heedlessly, and blindly — if I killed the wrong person because I relied on an erroneous suspicion or an intuition, or I based my action on some erroneous theory of the world which I'd accepted for years because it happened to be flattering to someone like me — would I still have behaved in a permissible way? Obviously not. How, then, could I act at all unless, for a moment, for an hour, for a day, I had ruthlessly stripped from my mind all those prejudices and preconceptions which my own particular situation and my own particular history had forced upon me — unless I had cast all these from me and looked at the world for what it was? Who really threatened me? Who really threatened you? What would be the effect on me if you did this? What would be the effect on you if I did that? I had to learn how to examine the world and then to re-examine it, because it changed very fast. *And so it turned out that morality insisted upon accuracy —perpetual, painstaking study and research*.[3]

Morality, then, is this "fantastic and complicated system" of principles and laws, the simplest of which is just that each other person is as real as I am. In the end they amount to nothing more than a "description of how a person would behave if he cared equally about all human beings, even though one of them happened, in fact, to be himself — if he cared about them equally and deeply, so that their suffering actually caused him to suffer as well." I can't imagine that the contents of this book could have any serious significance for anyone else if they did not in the first place subscribe to this elementary but fundamental moral proposition. But having espoused it, there is no escaping its consequences for oneself. It means action, including **"**perpetual, painstaking study and research."

Moreover, my focus has been on moral *economy*, which emphasizes the material dimension of others being equally as real as me. Do I accord others the equal right to live? Do I accord them the equal right to live as materially comfortably as I do? Are my daily actions carried out in accordance with this view? My point is that politics is not something that happens somewhere

else, "over there," in Ottawa, Washington, London or Beijing; it is not something done by professional politicians. It happens here, in the daily lives of each of us, each time we drink a cup of coffee, or drive to work. This does not mean that effective political action is to be equated with each individual person being a moral consumer within the sphere of their personal lives. Far from it. Acting in an organized fashion with others is the only way anything politically effective has ever been done. Referring to women and visible minorities, though her point clearly generalizes, Rosemary Brown said, "History has shown that discrimination ceases only when the victims of the practice, alone or in solidarity with others, muster the power to force the aggressor to stop."[4] My point is, again however, that until each of us sees the *relevance* of political action from within our *own* lives, nothing much, in my view will change. I would like to conclude this work by trying to drive home this point. I use myself, again, for what I hope is maximum pedagogic effect.

CORRUPTION

> All right, go ahead. Go ahead. Say it.
> The life I live is irredeemably corrupt. It has no justification…
> There's no piece of paper that justifies what the beggar has and what I have.
> Standing naked beside the beggar — there's no difference between her and me except a difference in luck. I don't actually deserve to have a thousand times more than the beggar has. I don't deserve to have two crusts of bread more.[5]

My reference salary in 2003/4 was (Canadian) $102,000. Because I was on a year-long sabbatical leave, and thanks to the collective agreement between WLU and the WLU Faculty Association, I received 82.5% of that, about $85,000. I paid $16,500 in child support for my daughter Zandria over the course of the year. Our house in Canada was rented out, fully furnished, at $1,200 per month, for a total of $14,400 in income over the year. We also received $375 per month for a rented room in the separate basement apartment, for a total of $4,500. Debbie received about $10,000 in child support for Tania from Rolando (who is a successful gynaecologist living in Ontario). While away we continued to enjoy the benefits of Canada's public health insurance system and my employer's extended health care plan.

Although Tania has Mexican (as well as Canadian) citizenship, we were not able to enroll her in a public high school in Mexico. She would have entered the first year of Mexican high school (la preparatoria or "prepa" for short), for which, unknown to us before our arrival, there was a national entrance examination which was held before our arrival. So, like those students who failed to meet the threshold for admission to the public prepas, Tania entered a private prepa in the summer of 2003. We paid 3,500 pesos per month in school fees for this privilege, about $440 per month.

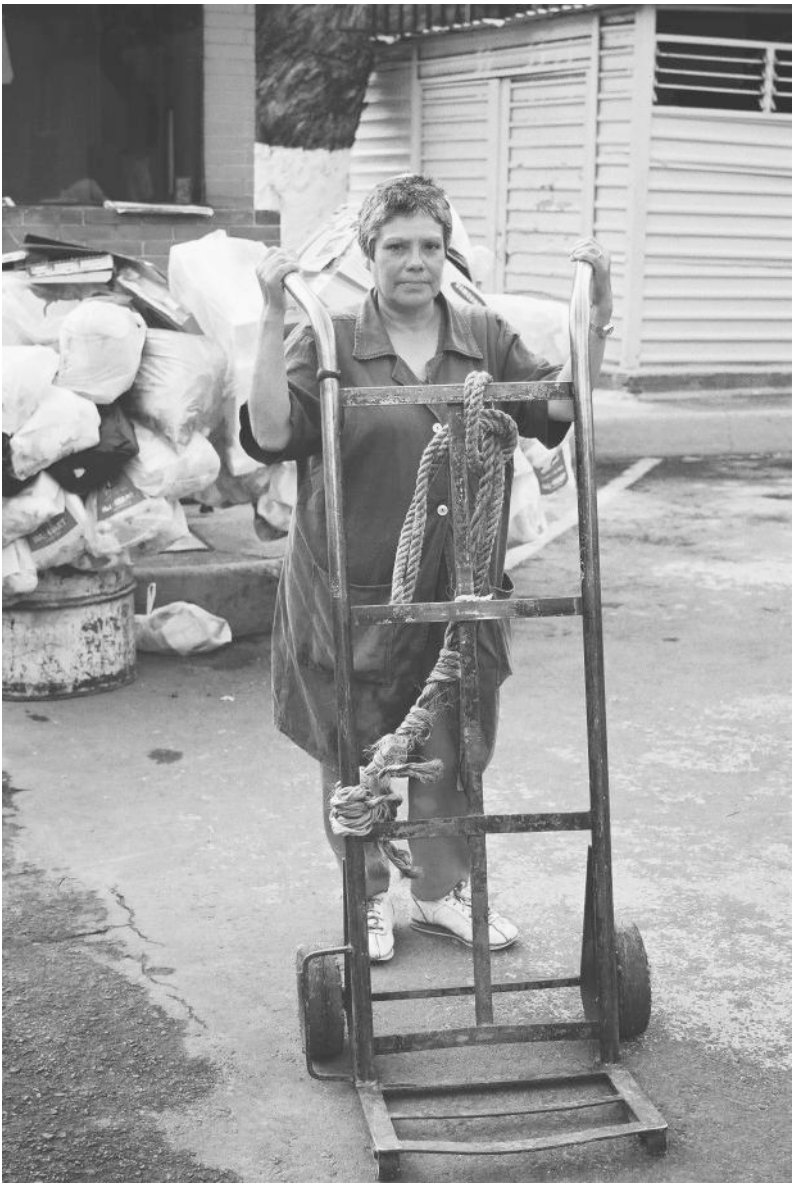
In Mexico City we lived in a small, three-bedroom, third-floor apartment in a complex of low-rise apartment buildings. The apartments were in fact condominiums; we rented from the owner of ours. The rent was (Mexican) $5000 per month (5,000 pesos), which was about (Canadian) $625 per month. (The rent was to have been 5,500 pesos but we put in a new refrigerator and agreed to let the owner keep it when we left. Accordingly she lowered the rent.) The complex was gated. Most owners had cars, though we relied on buses, the subway and taxis to get around; we also walked a lot. This accounting gives a rough idea of our standard of living, remembering that the cost of most things, notably food, utilities and transportation, was (and remains) markedly less than in Canada. Although we don't think of ourselves as "rich," my income put us in the richest 10% of households in Canada. We must have certainly belonged to a narrower stratum of the wealthy in Mexico.

On the principle of "while in Rome …," we employed a "cleaning lady" who came once every two weeks and spent three hours cleaning the apartment. Her name was Cris. She worked six hours a day, six days a week, earning 150 pesos per day (about $3 an hour), without benefits or increases for holidays or weekends. She had a 2½-hour journey to work. She was 27 years old and had worked as a cleaning lady for 13 years. She supported three children, and did the child care and housework on top of her paid work. Her husband also worked, making 800 pesos per week ($100). We paid her 150 pesos a time (about $18.50).

The entrance lobby, interior balconies and stairways of our five-storey building, and of the other five like buildings in the complex, were cleaned every day (except Sunday) by Mariana (52 years old). Her husband, Morel (50 years old), collected the garbage put out daily (except Sunday) by every apartment in the complex. He also did a share of cleaning the steps to each building and an outside stairway, and the two of them did the gardening for the complex. They put in 10-12 hours per day, and had worked in this neighbourhood for the previous 15 years. They made 3,200-3,400 pesos per week ($400-425), but had to pay helpers (sometimes their daughter and her boyfriend) to get all the work done, as well as buy their cleaning materials and tools and pay the cost of repairing their machinery, so that on average they actually took home about 800 pesos ($100) each per week. They received no benefits or extra pay for holidays or weekends. They rose at 2:00AM each working day to get to work by 4:00AM. The journey took one hour and forty minutes, which was about half what it would take if they were not able to make use of "special transportation." This was a mini-van belonging to a neighbour who, for a fee, transported a number of workers like them from their colonia into the central part of Mexico City. The return journey by bus took three hours. They currently supported just one child plus one of the grandmothers; when they began working there they had been supporting all

Cris

of their four children. Morel had begun working at age 8, doing gardening work with his uncle. Mariana had finished primary school, then went to work in a clothing store because her mother had become sick.

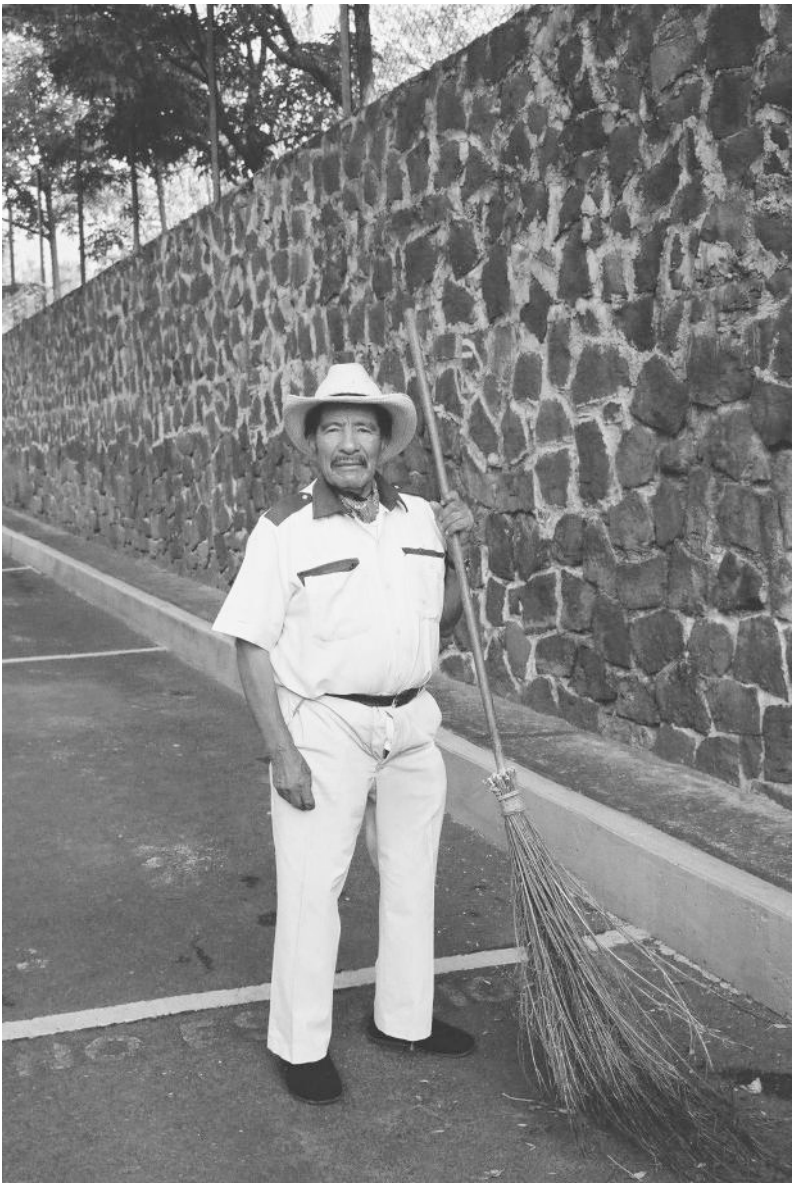


Mariana

Andreas, the sweeper, swept the entire paved and grassed ground surface of the complex every day (except Sunday). I am not able to convey adequately the image of his 84-year-old stooped form sweeping, remorselessly sweeping, from before we awoke around 6AM each day to mid-afternoon. He was

Morel

paid 550 pesos per week (just less than $70), with no benefits. However, he said that he was paid on holidays and if he had to leave to attend to a family emergency. He would leave home at 4:00AM for the hour journey to work. His eight children were all married so that he had to support himself and his



Andreas

wife only. He had begun work at the age of 13, and had never stopped working. He had no social services (health care) coverage at this job, but he had had it in his previous job. He said, “We are very humble people and we have suffered a lot, and we will continue to suffer, but we are very grateful

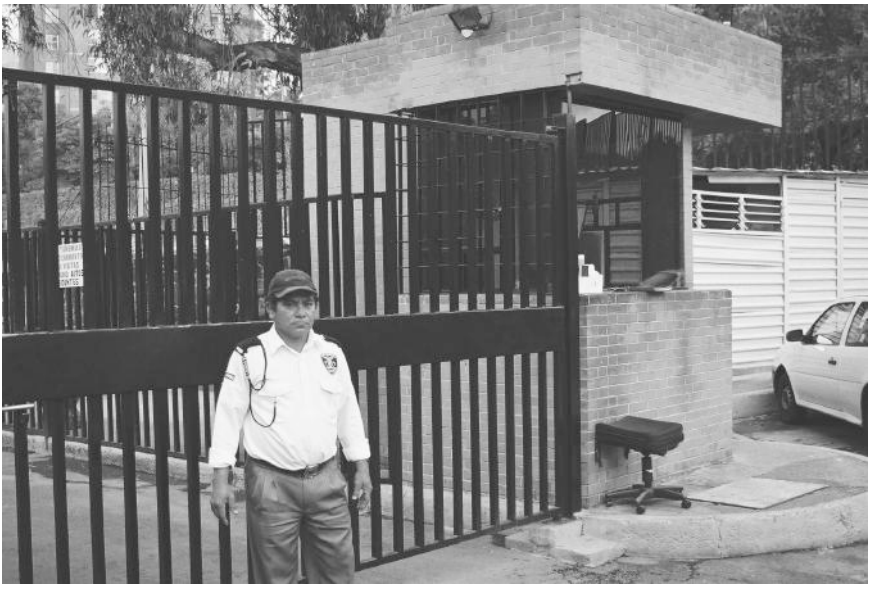
for God's help which has kept up standing. We are very thankful for God's help and the work He has given us."

Augustin (64 years old) washed cars in the complex, by hand, every day (except Sunday). He washed 12-15 cars per day, being paid 10 or 15 pesos per car, for about 800 pesos per week ($100). He also ran odd errands, and did some gardening and painting; he had regular customers. He worked six days a week, eight hours a day, without benefits. Some car owners gave him a Christmas bonus of 200 pesos ($25) or a food basket. He had come to Mexico City from Michoacan 24 years before. He had been doing this work for the previous eight years, before which he had done janitorial work. He supported five people on his income.

Don Teo (53 years old) was the gateman. He was paid 800 pesos per week, but supplemented it by washing cars. He worked seven 24-hour shifts every two weeks (that is, 84 hours per week on average), without benefits, although he got double time on holidays. His journey to work was two hours long by bus. He supported six people on his income. He had begun to work at age 7, cooking, grinding corn and making tortillas, often till 2AM. "I wanted to be an architect, but I never had the opportunity," he said. Like Augustin and Andreas and Morel and Mariana, but unlike Cris, he liked his work or considered it a good job.

Just outside the gate, on the sharp bend in the road which bounded two sides of the condominium complex, half a dozen or so guys gathered each

Augustin



Don Teo

morning before dawn and waited, often for the whole day, for some truck or other to come by and offer them work. We also received the services of the worker who delivered our water, the worker who delivered our mail and the worker who delivered our daily newspaper. I recorded their names at the time but can no longer find the notebook containing the record.

We shopped at Wal-Mart. Of all the facts I am drawing here from the book of my life in Mexico this one is the hardest to reveal. The problem is that this gargantuan, anti-union, small-business-destroying, community-dominating, multi-national corporation was only a five-minute walk from where we lived, and we didn't have a car, and we didn't care to spend a lot of time shopping for groceries, and the market produce (particularly the meat) was of dicey reliability given our delicate, Northern stomachs. We did occasionally buy some fruit and vegetables from the local street market on Tuesdays or Sundays. George Orwell's words are painfully true: "If you look into your own mind, which are you, Don Quixote or Sancho Panza? Almost certainly you are both. There is one part of you that wishes to be a hero or a saint, but another part of you is a little fat man who sees very clearly the advantages of staying alive with a whole skin. He is your unofficial self, the voice of the belly protesting against the soul."[6]

By contrast, I can tell you with only mild embarrassment that I did let a bolero on foot shine my shoes in the Alameda Park, near where the gays and drag queens gather. That's because it was really my wife's fault. Fluent in

Spanish from having lived in Mexico for twelve years in her previous life, she hatched a conspiracy with the bolero to persuade me to let him do it. I can't now remember the miserable sum he earned working six or seven days a week, ten hours a day, plus travelling from the edge of town. I salvaged my conscience by giving him three times what he asked, but nobody's kidding anybody here about who serves and who obeys. During my one previous visit to Mexico, in the summer of 1999, I was talked into having my shoes shined by an importunate bolero working the Monument to the Revolution. But I insisted that if he cleaned my shoes, he would let me clean his. He agreed. His tools consisted of one or two cloths, brushes, shoe polish and little bottles of a kind of paint that goes on first. These he carried in a tiny wooden box matched by an equally tiny stool on which he would sit while serving customers. I am 1.92 m. tall. For me, when it came to my turn, this stool was the smallest seat in the universe. Somehow I sat upon it. But while I managed to clean his shoes I also managed to knock over his bottle of "paint." He, of course, gestured to me to forget it. But I felt mortified. In my grand gesture of equality I had spilled a means of his production. Not a huge cost to replace, but symbolic of the Northern white man clumsily trying to rid himself of some latter-day version of his infamous burden.[7]

CONCLUSION

Readers who have made it to this point will doubtless have noticed that I grew up in working-class England in the 1950s and 1960s and that Christian references dot the manuscript. I have no doubt that these "social facts" are the sources of my angry and frustrated disposition towards inequality and exploitation wherever it occurs. When I was eleven years old my older cousins Joyce and Robert came to my house one Friday evening and more or less literally dragged me off to join the local church choir. Thus began ten years of life in the Church of England (and singing) which culminated with my wish to be ordained. The Church, in its wisdom, told me to take three years to think about it. I graduated from the University of London; Pamela (my first wife), Chris (eight months old) and I emigrated to Canada, and my faith, such as it was, quietly slipped away. But the damage, so to speak, had been done. Christianity embodies a radical idea, the equality of all people, across all social divisions, including those of family, community and nation. This is nowhere more evident, perhaps, than in Pier Paolo Pasolini's film of the first gospel, *Matthew*. It is also the root of Wallace Shawn's concept of morality, that others are equally as real as me (not to mention Marx's ideas). The twinned ideas of morality/equality — loving people equally — got into me early on, and have never left me. Moreover, like many others, I am sure, I was introduced to global injustice by the books on the table at the back of the

church. In my case, it was *Let My People Go* by South African Albert Luthuli, then head of the African National Congress.

Christian morality in the context of England, however, easily slips over into paternalism, and I am not free of that. Though the British Empire was just about done when I was born in 1947, its ethos suffused English life as I grew up (and arguably still does). That its paternalist attitude to the colonized, the "natives," had entered into my very own bodily gestures became painfully evident to me when I saw the photograph taken of Peter Madaka Wanyama and me at Peter's graduation in the mid-1990s. There we were in our academic robes, me the big white guy with my arm around my smaller black buddy. I was beaming, while Peter's shoulders had slumped. Data here for post-colonial, sub-altern studies à la Edward Said.

The significance of class was much slower to dawn on me. It was not till university in London that I really began to notice that these middle- and upper-middle class types were really rather different from people like me (and more numerous there). And then it all very quickly became clear and insufferable. As I became older, the working-class character of my growing-up years, which had been largely invisible to me at the time (the few middle-class kids at school were just geeks), came into focus. And the images I kept coming back to were those of my father, glimpsed from my bedroom window at 6:30 on a winter weekday morning, revving up his 650cc BSA motorcycle preparing to leave for work, and, at home after "tea" (dinner) using his hands to shape the image of the tool he had been repairing or making as he described his day's work before falling asleep in his chair; and of my mother, giving in to tears as she pulled the hot clothes from the boiler before feeding them through the mangle to squeeze out the water in the days before automatic washing machines.

Yet those 25-30 years following WW2 were, we are told, a so-called "golden age" for working people in the industrial societies, the age of state welfare capitalism — "you've never had it so good" in the hypocritical words of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, representing the class who didn't know what it was not to have it good. My father was in continuous employment as a tool fitter or tool maker in those post-war years till the day he retired after 50 years in the same company (Automatic Telephone and Electric, subsequently taken over by Plessey's). I recall one or two strikes, but no layoffs, though my mother did go out to work for a period — she was a shop assistant in the local newsagent/confectioner's — perhaps when my Dad couldn't get overtime (and, of course, she had been in paid work during WW2, making parachutes for the war effort as I recall). The automatic washing machine duly arrived, as did the TV, the fridge, the car and the stereo record player. I took it as natural that life would just go on getting better, not only for me, but for society generally.

I think it is these circumstances of my life — the early Christianity, the ethos of empire, the experience of working-class existence, and the promise of material progress (not to mention the sheer joy of being at school, and the love of my parents) — that have shaped and fostered the urgent desire in me to see a better world and the concomitant anger at and frustration with the persistence of vile exploitation, brutal oppression and human misery alongside opulence, comfort and equanimity.

It is self-evident to me that common ownership of the means of production is the most human and democratic idea that human beings have yet invented for arranging the political-economic basis of social life. Recall Barcelona in the Spanish Civil War, or Buenos Aires in the recent Argentinean "rebellion" documented in *The Take*. It means that the political decision-making necessary for social life should be made by the people immediately affected by those decisions; that means for the most part, locally. Think of Porto Alegre in Brazil or the caracoles in Chiapas, Mexico. That makes me a libertarian socialist or anarchist. I think we are a majority of the world's population.[8] I think the owners of the means of production, the ruling classes, who are also the rich, the 1%, know this very well. That's why they work so hard to keep us down. The intellectuals who have accommodated themselves to the rule of the rich and powerful — and which of us hasn't to some degree? — need to ask ourselves whether, as members of the co-ordinator class, our service to the right to know is at the expense of others' right to eat. And if the answer is "yes," then it's high time we did something about it.

> We should not overlook the progress that has been made in undermining the imperial mentality that is so deeply rooted in Western moral and intellectual culture as to be beyond awareness. Nor should we forget the scale of what remains to be achieved, tasks that must be undertaken in solidarity and cooperation by people in the global North and South who hope to see a more decent and civilized world.[9]

NOTES

1. Lyotard actually writes, in *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, 6: "Suppose, for example, that a firm such as IBM is authorized to occupy a belt in the earth's orbital field and launch communications satellites or satellites housing data banks. Who will have access to them? Who will determine which channels or data are forbidden? The State? Or will the State simply be one user among others? New legal issues will be raised, and with them the question: 'Who will know?'" I hope that in substituting "has the right to know" for "will know" I have not done undue violence to his meaning. Obviously, I want to parallel the form of Madaka's question.

2. My friend Peter Madaka Wanyama arrived in Canada as a political refugee from Uganda via four years in a refugee camp in Kenya. As a member of the WLU campus committee for World University Service of Canada (WUSC) at the time, I reviewed his application in the summer of 1991 to be a WUSC-sponsored refugee student at Laurier. In March of 1995 he

spoke to my class in the Sociology of Human Rights on the question "Who has a right to eat? Making sense of the world we live in." He went on to complete a BA and MA in Political Science at WLU before moving to Toronto to take up further studies and to practice journalism.

3. Shawn, "Appendix: On the Context of the Play," 89-92, my emphasis. I owe a considerable debt of gratitude to the anonymous person who slipped a photocopy of this text under my office door one day in 1995 when *The Fever* was in production at WLU. Most of the quoted passage does not appear in Shawn's revised version called "Morality" in his *Essays*. The passage echoes Albert Camus in *The Plague* when he writes, "the soul of the murderer is blind; and there can be no true goodness nor true love without the utmost clear-sightedness," quoted in Shilts, *And the Band Played On*, 337. For a more academic version of this point, see Eagleton, "On Telling the Truth," esp. 284.

4. Brown, "Overcoming Sexism and Racism…How?"

5. Shawn, *Fever*, 64-5.

6. Orwell, quoted in Crick, *George Orwell,* 436.

7. Perhaps this is a particular, personalized expression of the racial "*unburdening*" characteristic of the contemporary, neoliberal phase of capitalism that Susan Searls Giroux explores in *Between Race and Reason*, 3. To put the facts related here about the lives of these Mexican workers in their political-economic context see Chapman, *Struggle for Mexico*.

8. That is, as Howard Zinn points out, once explained it pretty much coincides with everyday common sense; see *Theory and Practice*.

9. Chomsky, "US-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon," 107.

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