

# International Studies Association

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## Welcome to ISA

A group of scholars and practitioners founded the International Studies Association (ISA) in 1959 to pursue mutual interests in international studies. Representing eighty countries, ISA has over four thousand members worldwide and is the most respected and widely known scholarly association in this field.

Geographic subdivisions of ISA, called [Regions](#), provide opportunities to exchange ideas and research with local colleagues. Over twenty special interest groups, called [Sections](#), offer additional contact between members interested in specific areas within the field of international studies. Together, these Regions and Sections allow us to create communities of scholars dedicated to international studies.

Our [international conferences and annual convention](#) attract scholars from all over the world. We cooperate with 53 international studies organizations in 32 countries, and we are a member of the International Social Science Council, and have nongovernmental consultative status with the United Nations.

ISA's [journals](#) help define the field and showcase the research of our members. The *International Studies Quarterly* (ISQ) started in conjunction with the Association as its flagship journal. With a broad interdisciplinary and multinational perspective, the *International Studies Review* (ISR) tracks worldwide trends, synthesizing theory and literature in the field. *International Studies Perspectives* began publication in 2000 and is focused on teaching, research, and the state of the profession. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, provides a peer-reviewed outlet for the highest quality academic research into the processes, outcomes and theories of foreign policy. Our most recent journal, *International Political Sociology* is an interdisciplinary journal responding to the diversification of both scholarly interests and regional concerns in contemporary international studies.

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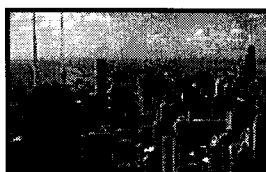


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## ISA 48th ANNUAL CONVENTION



CHICAGO, IL, USA, 28 FEB - 3 MARCH, 2007

### *POLITICS, POLICY AND RESPONSIBLE SCHOLARSHIP*

Welcome to the website for the 2007 ISA Annual Convention in Chicago and thank you for your commitment to serve as a participant during the convention. The convention theme is: *Politics, Policy and Responsible Scholarship*. This page will serve as a resource for information about your role as a program participant and will provide critical information about the upcoming meeting. Be sure to visit this site often in the months and weeks prior to the convention as additional information will be added.

Here is the latest convention news:

- **NEW Convention Blog:** The official [blog](#) for the 2007 Annual Convention in Chicago has opened. News and announcements relating to the Convention will be posted there as they are received.
- **Final Program:** The final Preliminary Program can be found [here](#) in a PDF format.  
  
**Final Participant Index:** The final Program Index can be found [here](#) in a PDF format.
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# International Studies Association

Welcome: Michael McKinley

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1. McKinley, Michael. "Scholarly Responsibility-as-Outrage: Seeking Parrhesia via Hippocrates, Diogenes, and Debray" *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association 48th Annual Convention, 2007-02-28 Online* <PDF>. 2007-10-15

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**Abstract:** For many scholars, the controversies attending Columbia University, Mearsheimer and Walt's 'The Israel Lobby,' and the publication of David Horowitz's *The Professors* are troubling: in the first instance they focus (albeit through a very short half-life) public attention on the academy as a source of ideas not quite convivial to the prevailing climate of patriotism, national interests, and morals; second, demonstrate that the consequences for certain types of truth-telling (parrhēsia) are significant; third, they intimidate the faint-of-heart; and finally, they go some considerable distance to ensuring that certain types of truth-telling are off-limits if advancement in academia is an objective. This paper adopts a contrarian view, arguing that more, rather than less, instances of such controversies should be before us; indeed, it argues that, in a healthy intellectual environment, such occurrences would be so common place that they would not even qualify as controversies. Conversely, their existence as controversies is the surest sign that western academic life in general, and US academic life in particular, is in poor health. It also argues that the reason they do qualify for this category in contemporary scholarship is that scholarship has become routinised along norms which have undermined the scholarship normally associated with the University. What is proposed is self-reflection and self-criticism. Today, the reminder of what we have become - a social group which strengthens rather than critiques political power in a mutually reinforcing descent into decadence - is provided by Régis Debray. But for reminders of what we might be we could do worse than turn to: Hippocrates, and the later Cynics, as exemplified by Diogenes (and Antisthenes) - the former with his emphasis on clinical observation, stand against superstition, and oath of care; and the latter who remind us of the need to act autonomously and disregard laws, customs and conventions if they impede the execution of our solemn obligations.

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**Scholarly Responsibility-as-Outrage:  
Seeking *Parrhēsia* via Hippocrates, Diogenes, and Debray**  
[Paper presented to the Panel, FB 14,  
“Beyond Responsible Scholarship: The Case for Swift’s ‘Savage Indignation,’  
48<sup>th</sup> Annual Convention of the International Studies Association,  
Chicago, Il, 23 February 2007]

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**ABSTRACT**

For many scholars, the controversies attending Columbia University, Mearsheimer and Walt's "The Israel Lobby," and the publication of David Horowitz's *The Professors* are troubling: in the first instance they focus (albeit through a very short half-life) public attention on the academy as a source of ideas not quite convivial to the prevailing climate of patriotism, national interests, and morals; second, they demonstrate that the consequences for certain types of truth-telling (*parrhēsia*) are significant; third, they intimidate the faint-of-heart; and finally, they go some considerable distance to ensuring that certain types of truth-telling are off-limits if advancement in academia is an objective.

This paper adopts a contrarian view, arguing that more, rather than less, instances of such controversies should be before us; indeed, it argues that, in a healthy intellectual environment, such occurrences would be so common place that they would not even qualify as controversies. Conversely, their existence as controversies is the surest sign that western academic life in general, and US academic life in particular, is in poor health. It also argues that the reason they do qualify for this category in contemporary scholarship is that scholarship has become routinised along norms which have undermined the scholarship normally associated with the University.

What is proposed, initially, is self-reflection and self-criticism. Today, the reminder of what we have become – a social group which strengthens rather than critiques political power in a mutually reinforcing descent into decadence - is provided by Régis Debray. But for reminders of what we might be we could do worse than turn to: Hippocrates, and the later Cynics, as exemplified by Diogenes (and Antisthenes) – the former with his emphasis on clinical observation, his stand against superstition, and oath of care; and the latter, who reminds us of the need to act autonomously and disregard laws, customs and conventions if they impede the execution of our solemn obligations. Yet what is also proposed is the need to rediscover the generational, liberating power of both indignation and hate which served Swift and Yeats so well in their contributions to the understanding of politics.

### **Scholarly Responsibility-as-Outrage: Seeking *Parrhēsia* via Hippocrates, Diogenes, and Debray**

#### **A Prefatory Remark**

*It is the ISA's fault – not mine. The 2007 theme is one of those upon which a scholar cannot discourse for very long without running the risk of committing autobiography. Although all of the subjects we choose to write on contain, inescapably, the 'I' who is the author, the vortex of this one is immediate and, for me, irresistible. Thus, I plead guilty to the felony at this point. While it is the case that I have been informed and inspired by various philosophical writings on the*

*subject / theme, as I have by numerous reported experiences of colleagues throughout the Western world (but primarily Australia, France, the United States and the United Kingdom), what delineates the attendant issues so much is personal experience over 35 years of studying and teaching. The 'I' and the 'we' are, thus, co-mingled, and even then, the 'we' I refer to in places is heavily suffused with an unwritten perpendicular pronoun.*

### **Understanding the Theme Now**

The theme – scholarly responsibility – is understood in the context of contemporary politics in the West, but particularly in, and of the United States. Thus the context, in this view is dominated by US domestic politics and grand strategy. And while this assertion might be seen as somewhat exclusive to some, I cannot see round, or through the evidence to a point where so much of global politics is not over-determined by what is taking place in the US, or as a result of what the US is doing internationally. As a university teacher in an Australian university, I am also conscious of the manifold ways in which a country so fond of its larrikin identity is, at the same time, seemingly mesmerised by its dominant alliance partner – even to the point where one recent Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, proclaimed the US to be “the exemplar of the Western model.”<sup>1</sup> If anything, the current attitude has been extended to one of fawning cupidity where support by the current Prime Minister, John Howard, for the Bush Administration is concerned, as witness the former’s statement that Congressman Barak Obama’s call for a March 2008 withdrawal of US troops from Iraq (where Australia also has some 900 personnel) was in the best interests of al-Qaeda, who would be praying, “as many times as possible, for a victory for not only of Obama, but also for the Democrats.”<sup>2</sup> The lesson here is that, although the US seldom displays a proper sensitivity for Australia, it is essential that Australia – more specifically, Australians - need to understand the US. This, however, is a general injunction and covers all who would take global politics seriously.

In this light, a selection of relevant events and developments over the 11 months since the San Diego ISA Convention is helpful to setting the scene itself. Their qualification for selection is that, in a world of generally and profoundly

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<sup>1</sup> Gareth Evans and Bruce Grant, *Australia's Foreign Relations in the World of the 1990s*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Metherell, “Rudd attacks PM over Obama bashing,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 February 2007, p. 7.

disturbing trends vectors for the great majority of people, these are representative of an emerging, deeply pathological situation which challenges the scholar's commitment to routinised dispassionate discourse in the name of Enlightenment values more acutely than is normally the case. Consider the following :

- *A careful study of the war being waged in occupied Iraq as part of the Global War On Terror by a team of American and Iraqi epidemiologists, and published in the British medical journal, The Lancet, concluded that the invasion and its aftermath were directly responsible for 655,000 "excess deaths" (people who would have been alive had the invasion not occurred).<sup>3</sup> Deaths among the US military forces passed 3,000 with another 50,000 recorded as wounded before the Department of Defense changed the methodology for counting.<sup>4</sup> The financial costs, according to a study undertaken by the Nobel Prize-winning economist, Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Blimes, a Harvard budget specialist, were estimate at between 1 and 2 trillion US dollars.<sup>5</sup> War contractor fraud and government fraud is endemic – a single indication of which is the failure to account for some \$USD8.8 billion handed over to the interim government by Paul Bremer in the first year of occupation.<sup>6</sup>*
- *Contrary to popular belief, the second-largest military force in Iraq (after the US) is not the British (with 10,000 troops) but*

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<sup>3</sup> Gilbert Burnham, Riyadh Lafta, Shannon Doocy, Les Roberts, "Mortality after the 2003 invasion of Iraq: a cross-sectional cluster sample survey," *The Lancet*, [www.thelancet.com](http://www.thelancet.com) published online 11 October 2006.

<sup>4</sup> [bostonherald.com](http://news.bostonherald.com), 10 February 2007, <http://news.bostonherald.com/editorial/view.bg?articleid+182094&format=text> accessed 12 February 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Jamie Wilson, "Iraq war could cost US over \$2 trillion, says Nobel prize-winning economist," *The Guardian*, 7 January 2006, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,5369059-103550,00.html> accessed 10 January 2006.

<sup>6</sup> Ed Harriman, "The Least Accountable Regime in the Middle East," *London Review of Books*, 2 November 2006, p. 18.

*mercenaries – estimated at between 30,000 and 50,000 - belonging to a range of private military corporations.<sup>7</sup>*

- *The Iraq War itself – illegal and unnecessary in the first place – is unanimously seen by a succession of US government agencies in terms commonly associated with natural disasters; indeed, there is no report published by an intelligence agency or government Department which accords with the views expressed by the White House that the war is essentially winnable. In this vein of thought it has not only rejected the views favouring a phased withdrawal from Iraq expressed by the US people in the November 2006 mid-term elections, but also “surged” an additional 21,000 troops to the country – a figure which the Congressional Budget Office estimates could actually involve 50,000.<sup>8</sup>*
- *Since the invasion began in 2003, the US and its allies in the Coalition of the Willing have claimed that they are fighting for Iraqi democracy – yet Iraqi democracy, and with it Iraqi sovereignty, would almost certainly lead to an intolerable situation which challenges this claim. An independent Shia bloc controlling half, or more of the world's oil resources at a time would be worry enough, but given the latitude which Russia (with its own considerable energy resources) would enjoy, and the arrangements which the Asian Energy security Grid and the Shanghai Cooperation Council, perhaps in alliance with India, could make, it is virtually impossible to see how the rhetoric can match US, and even broader Western strategic interests.*

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<sup>7</sup> AFP News brief, 3 February 2007, [www.france24.com](http://www.france24.com) accessed 12 February 2007.

<sup>8</sup> Rick Maze, *Army Times*, 2 February 2007, Truthout, [http://www.truthout.org/docs\\_2006/020207J.shtml](http://www.truthout.org/docs_2006/020207J.shtml) accessed 3 February 2007.



- *The prospect is for the West, led by the US, to scramble for control of the world's dwindling supplies of oil by way of outright war, support for regimes which guarantee supply – both of which will be accompanied by the rise of nuclear power and the need to neutralise the threats to its installations by way of massively increased state intrusion into public and private life. The prospect, in short, is for 'energo-fascism' to dominate politics.*<sup>9</sup>
- *Five years after the re-destruction of Afghanistan in response to the attacks of 9/11, the central government exists in name only, President Hamid Karzai is all too frequently (but accurately) described as the "mayor of Kabul," the Taliban is resurgent, and poppy cultivation has grown exponentially, and, according to the US Drug Enforcement Agency, the country is now supplies 92% of the world's opium.*<sup>10</sup>
- *In mid-2006 one of the official reasons given by the Bush Administration for the campaign against Afghanistan – to "smoke [Osama Bin Laden] out of his cave" and have him killed or tried for his role in the attacks of 9/11 – evaporated with the FBI's statement that his Most Wanted poster did not include that event because there was "no hard evidence connecting [him] to 9/11."<sup>11</sup> Subsequently, the FBI's chief of counter-terrorism, Dale Watson, claimed Bin Laden was dead, while, for its part, the CIA closed its designated Bin Laden unit which, for a decade, had the mission of hunting him down.*<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Michael T. Klare, "Behold the Rise of Energy-Based Fascism," ex "Tomdispatch," Information Clearing House, <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article17026.htm> accessed 12 February 2007.

<sup>10</sup> Josh Meyer, "Pentagon Resists Please for Help in Opium Fight," *The Los Angeles Times*, 5 December 2006, Truthout [http://www.truthout.org/docs\\_2006/120506T.shtml](http://www.truthout.org/docs_2006/120506T.shtml) accessed 6 December 2006.

<sup>11</sup> Ed Haas, "FBI says, 'No hard evidence connecting Bin Laden to 9/11,'" *Muckraker Report*, teamliberty.net, accessed 8 September 2006.

<sup>12</sup> "FBI Official Thinks Bin laden is Dead," *CBS News*, [www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/07/17/attack/printable515468.shtml](http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/07/17/attack/printable515468.shtml), accessed 8 September 2006; and

*In the United States:*

- *The mid-term elections of 2006 gave the Democratic control of Congress despite the fact that it lacked a coherent vision of an alternative strategy for the war in Iraq; worse, their pusillanimity was explicit when, within weeks, the Bush Administration ordered not only a “surge” of personnel to the war which the electorate had repudiated, but the deployment of forces to the Arabian Gulf of a type and size consistent with a strike on Iran. Throughout, the Democrats resiled from impeachment proceedings against the President when in possession of abundant evidence that such a course of action was imperative.<sup>13</sup>*
- *Congress congratulated itself for voting overwhelmingly to increase the federal minimum wage to by \$2.10 to \$7.15 over two years - the first increase in 10 years - and one that still required that small businesses receive tax cuts.*
- *Former President Gerald Ford died and was accorded a funeral fitting for a great statesman and leader; indeed, he was eulogised as a national healer in time of need for the direction he took the US in following Richard Nixon’s resignation in disgrace: left unmentioned in the polite media was the fact that he, advised by Henry Kissinger, supported governments which slaughtered tens of thousands of Argentineans and Chileans,*

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Mark Mazzetti, CIA Closes Unit Focused on capture of Bin Laden,” *The New York Times*, 4 July 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/> accessed 8 September 2006.

<sup>13</sup> The evidence is found in many places but the 350 page Final Investigative Report of the House Judiciary Committee Democratic Staff, prepared at the direction of Representative John Conyers, Jr., entitled, *The Constitution in Crisis: The Downing Street Minutes and Deception, Manipulation, Torture, Retribution, and Coverups in the Iraq War* is by far the most comprehensive and damning. For a shorter rationale, also by a legislator, there is Congresswomen Cynthia McKinney’s case found on line at [AfterDowningStreet.org](http://AfterDowningStreet.org), or from Truthout [http://www.truthout.org/docs\\_2006/010607D/shtml](http://www.truthout.org/docs_2006/010607D/shtml) 5 January 2007, accessed 9 January 2007; for an extremely erudite and thoughtful case in favour of impeachment, there is Lewis Lapham’s collection of essays, *Pretensions to Empire: Notes on the Criminal Folly of the Bush Administration – A Case For Impeachment* (New York: The New Press, 2006).

*and supplied the means by which the Indonesian government invaded East Timor, annexed it, and conducted a holocaust against its people. Nor did etiquette allow that any comparison be made with two others whose demise was contemporary –Augusto Pinochet of Chile who was close to being a fugitive from the law in his declining years, and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, executed for crimes not dissimilar to those sanctioned by the 38<sup>th</sup> President of the United States.*

- *In the same period, the President of Texas A & M University, Bush family friend, and corporate consiglieri, Robert Gates was confirmed as Secretary of Defense. This was the same Robert Gates who, in the course of his own confirmation hearings, for the position of Director of central Intelligence in 1991, was shown to have not only an extensive personal record of arrogance (professional and personal), but also, under the rubric of serving power with the analyses it needed for its own purposes, exaggeration, poor judgement, corruption of the intelligence assessment process, deceit, dishonesty, dereliction of duty, selective amnesia, and even fantasy.<sup>14</sup> Notwithstanding these apparent disqualifications, he was also found to be a fit and proper person for the position by the 64 senators who voted to confirm him as the fifteenth DCI.*
- *In Australia, the Coalition Government of Prime Minister John Howard, one of the most enthusiastic and fulsome supporters of the war against Iraq, was forced to establish a Royal Commission of inquiry into the activities of AWB, the monopoly corporation with close connections to the Government, responsible for marketing Australian Wheat internationally. Working within the deliberately narrow terms of reference specified by the Government, the*

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<sup>14</sup>Michael Massing, "The Betrayal of the Contras," *The New York Review*, 19 December 1991, p. 38.

*Commissioner concluded, inter alia, that, throughout the period of the Oil-for-Food programme was operating in Iraq, and the Government was in lock-step with US bellicosity, AWB was engaged in a kick-back scheme with the Iraqi regime – to which it paid \$AUD300 million. In context, this amounted to aiding an enemy and quite possibly funding a terrorist regime. Despite abundant evidence, however, the terms of reference precluded any finding of wrongdoing against the Government (for not exercising, at the very least, due diligence), or its relevant agencies, such as the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (which clearly knew of the arrangements).*

### **The University Scholar: The Habit of Well-Adjusted, Polite Cowardice**

These times, I will argue, require not that we rediscover the need to “speak truth to power” according to the Quaker injunction; rather that we understand the need to insult it as an essential disposition prior to discoursing on scholarly responsibility. The problem is that we – the social category of scholars and the university-as-institution – are poorly equipped to behave in this way; we have for so long accommodated our attackers that we have been, most precisely, willing parties to our own demise. Here and now we lack the balls for initial resistance and the stomach for a protracted fight. If truth be told, we probably lack the even the imagination to identify our demise and the reasons for it. For all of that, the times require that we, who almost unanimously revere Socrates, take him seriously: he was honest, a courageous soldier, taught that the unexamined life was not worth living, and was true to his word – choosing death over a life without philosophical inquiry. And yet we need to understand, take profoundly to heart, that his death was ordered by a democratic process. It was one of the earliest warnings that the democratic system of government which we teach is the best, and which requires blood sacrifice, is nevertheless frequently two-faced when encountering discomforting, freely expressed, intellectually compelling, and democracy-enhancing ideas and practices which threaten the regnant majority.

Within these observations lie my deep concerns with the 2007 ISA Convention theme: it is totally appropriate that we discuss “Politics, Policy and Responsible Scholarship,” but simultaneously disturbing to find that that the suggested issues under this rubric are so politely, even bloodlessly limned. There are

times and places when, if we do not think, speak, write and act across the full range that our analytical octaves we are complicit in, and responsible for, if not fully guilty of the circumstances we claim to abhor. We need, I think, to rediscover the visceral nature of politics, and in this project, recall the words of Henry Brooks Adams, who wrote in *The Education of Henry Adams*: “Politics, as a practise, whatever its professions, has always been the systematic organization of hatreds.”<sup>15</sup>

Why the need? Quite simple, really: the old verities and virtues will not, and cannot serve us now. Indeed, as noted above, they are probably significant causes of the situation the modern Western university and its scholars find themselves in today; more, continuing adherence to them constitutes an act of self-harm. The indiscriminate civility (not least practised as obsequiousness) extended by the academy towards those we should despise must be one of the first areas of conscientious self-examination. Consider just two International Relations practitioners who are feted whenever they appear on campus: Samuel P. Huntington, who, in the 1960s, designed the forced urbanisation of the South Vietnamese peasantry as a legitimate instrument of US strategy and in so doing was the architect of the reduction of the rural population of the country by some 30 per cent, the consequential transformation of Vietnam from a food exporter to a food importer, and the parallel legitimisation of a rural bombing campaign over five times more intense than the US campaigns against Germany and Japan in World War II combined.<sup>16</sup> In the same decade he also advocated that political scientists become social engineers rather than theoreticians, and, somewhat consistently, that US foreign policy concern itself less with the development of democratic government among its allies and other states with which it had influence, and more with supporting those who were, no matter their undemocratic character, effective.<sup>17</sup> None of this was an impediment to his appointment to President Carter’s National Security Council or his continued tenure and standing at Harvard.

And then, Henry Kissinger, even more welcome in this same milieu, with no objection being raised to his presence, let alone academic status, despite the fact that

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<sup>15</sup> Henry Brooks Adams (1838- 1918) was the great grandson of John Adams, grandson of John Quincy Adams, and son of US Secretary of State, Charles Adams; he was also a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian (1919). The quote above comes from Chapter 1 (1907). Source: Information Clearing House daily bulletin, 16 December 2006, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Trumbour, *How Harvard Rules*, pp. 78-79, and Marilyn B. Young, *The Vietnam Wars 1945-1990* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991) p. 177.

<sup>17</sup> Trumbour, *How Harvard Rules*, p. 107-108.

his record of foreign policy stewardship is literally strewn with support for assassination, murder, and *coup d'etat* (Chile, 1973), betrayal in the name of power politics (Kurdistan/northern Iraq, 1975), invasion and subsequent genocide (East Timor, 1975), just to name three representative examples, the last two of which produced a combined death toll of at least 150,000 , and 600,000 refugees.<sup>18</sup>

Consider, too, the International Studies Association -- South Region's decision to invite former Director of Central Intelligence, William Colby, to give the keynote address at its annual meeting in 1993,<sup>19</sup> it seems reasonable to infer that such persons and their exploits exert an almost pornographic attraction upon the mainstream discourse; it provides a voyeuristic association with those who have, or had power over the life and death of nations and their peoples, an occasion of encouragement for their would-be imitators, and stimulation for the more passive. Certainly, it was implicit in the invitation to Colby that his direction of the *Phoenix* program -- a computer-directed campaign within the war in Vietnam, made notorious by its "assassination, torture, and systematic savagery," which resulted in the deaths of between 20,000 and 60,000 Viet Cong and suspected communist sympathisers -- was absolved, declared irrelevant, or even retrospectively endorsed.<sup>20</sup> As well, it confirms, under the guise of a scholarly enterprise, the close historical affinity between the mainstream discourse of international relations and successive theories, practices, and practitioners which countenance genocide.<sup>21</sup> And, should it be doubted, the ongoing status enjoyed by people such as Colby, Kissinger, and Huntington in the University, confirms the organic nature of the relationship between the state, university faculty, and significantly, students.

We might then move to our deference to the administrative authority which now governs the Western, neo-liberal university. While it is true that such authority has both juridical and financial power over our daily activities, and the decisions of this reality are profoundly real, it is also true that there is no need to bend the knee

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<sup>18</sup>For an account of Kissinger's responsibility in these events, and others, see Walter Isaacson, *Kissinger* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

<sup>19</sup>*International Studies Newsletter*, Vol. 21, No. 1, January 1994, pp. 1 and 3.

<sup>20</sup>For a well-documented account of this program see Douglas Valentine, *The Phoenix Program* (New York: Avon, 1992).

<sup>21</sup>The term "genocide" is used advisedly": Frank Snepp, Chief Strategy Analyst for the CIA in Saigon, described his ultimate position in *Phoenix* as a "collaborator in the worst of the terrorist programs, in the most atrocious excesses of the US government." Barton Osborne, another who helped direct *Phoenix* operations, was more specific: he termed it a "bad genocide program." See Michael Maclear, *Vietnam: The Ten Thousand Day War* (London: Thames/Methuen, 1981), pp. 354-357.

when in its presence because such an acknowledgement of inferiority is intellectually indefensible if we ask just a few questions. Why does an academic, who has studied, researched, taught, supervised, written and published for years in order to come to a point of competence and expertise in a discipline, then decide on a university-administrative career for which, in general, they have no specific qualifications other than wanting the change which appointment will bring? Ultimately, the answer must be some combination of administrative power and the considerably superior remuneration which accompanies the ladder of posts. Admittedly, it might also have something to do with being made aware of one's inadequacies as a scholar (which is hardly a harbinger of success in any new project), or a loss of enthusiasm for the operational world of teaching, supervising, research, writing and publication. No matter the reason, such a figure is no longer a colleague because colleagues do not forsake one another, especially in an era in which the quality of academic life is being undermined by the neo-liberal managerialism which administrators must embrace if they are to prosper. To the extent we absolve their defection we extend our cowardice, and cowardice is, for us, a besetting condition.

As suggested, we find cowardice in numerous other guises, one of which is the taught, habitual exaggeration by way of under-, and overstatement in our writings. The latter first: uncharged war criminals like Henry Kissinger and Samuel Huntington are hailed as exemplary advisers-to-the-prince but all too seldom (and never in the academic mainstream) are they described as what they are. They are exalted as role models – a fine a case of overstatement as we might find. The more common form, of expression is, however, the former: we are instructed from the earliest days to underplay our findings; it comes with the advice that all anger be transformed into the hallowed attitude known as “more in sorrow than anger.” To be in breach of this charge is to be, emotional, or worse, “polemical.” To the extent that we conform, we deny that, if we are truly human, we are not sorrowful about, *inter alia*, genocide, slavery, tyranny, despotism, racism, sexism, *apartheid*, fascism, female genital mutilation, but angry – and very bloody angry at that. That we advocate responsible and accountable democracy is surely not a preference but a visceral and thoughtful demand born of the fibres of our consciousness of who we are and what we might be capable of. If you doubt the proposition, ask yourself this: would *ISQ* publish a well-researched, logically-argued, angry analysis? [Maybe it would, but I have yet to see one since my membership began in the late 1980s].

By extension, we are cowed by publishers as well. It follows because a cowed profession should generally not be expected to produce journals which admit the emotions when otherwise rigorously treating their subject matter. That is why we need the best of the journalists and correspondents – Lewis Lapham, Robert Fisk, John Pilger, Paul McGeogh, and Alan Ramsey, for example; outlaw academic writers such as Ward Churchill, Noam Chomsky, and Howard Zinn; and the type of pure outlaw no longer with us, as personified by Hunter S. Thompson. That we rely so much on them is an indictment of the we who are academics - the absent, a collective Missing In Action.

Appeasement of grand, or high academic corruption will suffice for the outline of the portrait. In the neo-liberal university the question is not so much “where do we confront it?” but “how can we possibly avoid it?” Indeed, it is almost ubiquitous, and that is why, in the first instance, I perversely welcomed the opprobrium suffered by John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt when their essay, “The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy,” was published in *The London Review of Books* in March 2006. It was not because I bore either of these two scholars any ill will that I welcomed their treatment; rather it was for two straightforward reasons. In the first instance, I was glad because, it highlighted what some of less well-known academics had been experiencing since the beginning of our careers. Second, their essay and its consequences for them precipitated an acute crisis of disclosure: regardless of the accuracy of their claims, they had breached the rule that the subject itself was off-limits for polite scholars, unless of course it was an exercise proving the null hypothesis (a preposterous project if ever there was one, but one which flourished in the aftermath). They had risen above the endemic intimidation which takes the form that any serious, non-Israeli criticism of Israel’s policies and strategies is proof positive of anti-Semitism - a serious charge - slur though it is. In the process they had transgressed, produced a discursive bastard from the illicit union issue and scholarship.

In fact, the very outrage expressed by Mearsheimer and Walt’s detractors was the surest indication that it had failed and was in dire need of reinforcement. Is it not the case that, had discussion of the “Israel Lobby” been traditionally accorded the same significance and sensitivity by mainstream International Relations in the U.S., as (say) the relationship between public opinion and U. S. foreign policy, their essay would have been treated according to whether it was a contribution to knowledge. Either that, or it would not have been written in the first place because there would



have been no need to burden an already congested district in foreign policy studies with another offering. And the reinforcements have probably arrived: given the reaction to "The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy," which, it should be emphasised, was written by two prominent IR scholars from leading institutions (the University of Chicago, Harvard), and given that Mearsheimer is on record as saying he and Walt's "chances of ever being appointed to a high-level administrative position at a university or policy making position in Washington would be greatly damaged," who among younger scholars will attempt such insolence in the future and run the risk that senior colleagues will denounce them for destroying their professional reputations on the back of anti-Semitism and for writing, "piss-poor, mono-causal social science."<sup>22</sup> Recent experience might very well teach them that though "the truth will set you free" (John: 31-32), it will first, move others to anger and retribution; then, as Gloria Steinem put it, piss you off. Ultimately, it will keep your chances of promotion to a minimum.

On the other hand, though they might escape grand strategic academic corruption, they will not escape endemic lower strategic corruption. Which is to say that they will find themselves embedded in the decomposition of the university as the silent adjective (neo-liberalism) steadily subordinates the noun it is applied to (the academy) as though nothing was changing. For a start, most new academics have accepted the wallpaper theme of the commercial imperative; for them, the transformation of the albeit imperfect traditional, collegial university into a place with students and books operating according to the demands of a moderately large airline simply never happened. In any case the faculty have all had to find ways of surviving the demands of neo-liberalism, and they have done this largely by accommodating to neo-liberalism in a manner which hopefully will soon attract the interests of evolutionary biologists: they became just a neo-liberal as the administrators and managers. If the commercial imperative was unchallengeable, then faculty were service providers and students were clients, quietly or implicitly conceding in this that the customer was always right. Conveniently forgotten was that even rigorous economic theory of a neo-liberal character required that the customer be defined as an individual who could make an informed choice and knew what she wanted, whereas undergraduate students can hardly know what it is that they need to know, or how it should be taught to them. Accordingly, education was commodified, and the

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<sup>22</sup> Philip Weiss, "Ferment Over 'The Israel Lobby,'" *The Nation*, 15 May 2006, pp. 16-20.

emphasis was placed on securing numbers (“bums on seats”) because funding flowed in direct proportion to enrolments. Anything that deterred enrolment was discouraged – thus critical comment, difficult material and assignments, and, of course, low grades, especially failures. All of these were made unacceptable to an even greater extent as the export of education became a significant and integral function of the university because the fees so raised were effectively not only subsidising the costs of the university but absolving the relevant governments from funding them out of state and national treasuries.

In time, the logical conclusions of the situation were as obvious as they were absurd and tragic. By any interpretation, they created a permissive environment in which fraud flourished. Compelled to compete commercially rather than academically for students, the race to the academic bottom ensued coincidentally with the rise of the corporate stylists. By way of just a few recent examples: media skills workshops for academics were organised for the declared purpose of “maximising positive coverage” for the university, rather than for assisting such people with their need to present clear and informed assessments of an issue; seminars were organised for staff so that it could be ensured their course descriptions were in accordance with the Trade Practices Act; staff seminars, subscription for which was in the hundreds of dollars, were held on such themes as, career planning and capacity building,” academic leadership and management, and “promoting leadership in teaching and learning,” most of them delivered by personnel who had not taught a large undergraduate course regularly under the neo-liberal regime in living memory. At other times universities advertised their courses as essentially therapeutic - “being designed to help you discover your pathway to career achievement and personal fulfilment” (NYU’s *Spring Bulletin*, 2006).

Plagiarism and grade inflation - both in epidemic form – accompanied this transformation, both encouraged by easy access to the advent of the World Wide Web. (Doubt the former and ask why it is that turnitin.org, and other similar programmes have become indispensable to universities attempting to maintain their reputation for integrity). The latter increased according to the iron laws of course enrolments and the additional need for academics not to run foul of the students’ assessment surveys - or, in some cases, such sites as ratemyteachers.co.uk - in the interests of promotion or just a quiet life in which a modicum of research and writing time might be garnered. Acute is the risk here: the Y-generation which constitutes the bulk of the undergraduate population exacerbates the situation because, in general

terms it is confident (excessively so), assertive, entitled (according to itself), and yet miserable. It demands not only to be infantilised, but also to be maintained in this stage of arrested development. According to a serious study by one of their own, Jean M. Twenge, they: “speak the language of self as their native tongue,” “blame other people for [their] problems and sink into anxiety and despair,” and “have been consistently taught to put their own needs first and to focus on feeling good about themselves.” She adds, their attitudes reflect “childhoods of constant praise,” and yet “there is some very convincing evidence that depression and anxiety are markedly more prevalent” in it.<sup>23</sup> On this last point, support which confirms earlier studies with the same focus is readily to hand. Research findings published in mid-2006 in the *Archives of General Psychiatry* point to a 500% increase in the use of potent antipsychotic drugs to treat children and adolescents for problems like aggression and mood swings over the period 1993 – 2002.<sup>24</sup> In Australia, the increase in scripts being written for antidepressants between 1990 and 2000 was 352%; by 2004, in a population of 20 million the estimate was that the usage by 1-2 million (or between 5% and 10% of the population) of psychoanalytic drugs (“happy-making brain chemicals”) of whom 25% were under the age of 20 years old can only be seen as the response to an epidemic.<sup>25</sup> These are difficult people to teach, and extremely difficult people to treat as responsible adults – so the university doesn’t.

In effect, the university has capitulated to this newly asserted “right to be happy.” Accordingly, the growing weight assigned by university management to student-survey exercises of courses (which tend to measure happiness and fulfilment as opposed to educational outcomes, and are invulnerable to challenges by teachers)<sup>26</sup> intensifies the pressure to award high grades for mediocre work and has become an ever present reality. In some reported cases in Australia, it goes as far as bullying academics by way of standover tactics, emotional blackmail, and constant streams of intentionally intimidating email.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Jean M. Twenge, *Generation Me* (New York: Free Press, 2006), pp. 1-9.

<sup>24</sup> Benedict Carey, “Use of Antipsychotics by the Young Rose Fivefold,” *The New York Times*, 6 June 2006, Truthout [http://www.truthout.org/issues\\_06/0706HA.shtml](http://www.truthout.org/issues_06/0706HA.shtml) accessed 8 June 2006.

<sup>25</sup> Gail Bell, “The Worried Well: The Depression Epidemic and the Medicalisation of Our Sorrows,” *Quarterly Essay*, Issue 18 (2005), pp. 1-74.

<sup>26</sup> Thus the *Journal of Happiness Studies* is a common outlet for studies based on such approaches.

<sup>27</sup> Hannah Edwards and Chantal Rumble, “We pay, you pay: bullying students turn on academics,” *The Age* (Melbourne), 12 November 2006.

Add to these various other influential intrusions into daily academic life such as, in Australia, the constant harping by right wing commentators that the cultural life of the universities in particular and the country in general is over-determined by the left; that criticism of (say) the Iraq War, or the Australia – US Free Trade Agreement is motivated by anti-Americanism, and the potential for university research to be foregone or truncated as a result of the sedition laws passed in 2005 and you have a far from convivial intellectual ecology. So entrenched are these intrusions that some mainstream scholars now believe that studies of a critical character - particularly studies which criticise government policy in the area of counter-terrorism have “poorly served” the national interest.<sup>28</sup>

The true indicator, of serial corruption born of neo-liberalising the university in the university in Australia, however, is the scandalous practices associated with progressing non-English-speaking students through their degrees despite very disturbing evidence that they did not deserve to graduate. In January of 2007 the research findings by a demographer, Bob Birrell, of Monash University in Melbourne, confirmed widespread concerns among academics that forced reliance by the universities on full-fee-paying overseas students has led to a collapse in academic standards by tolerating plagiarism and significantly lowering pass levels so as to ensure success. In summary form it was found that *one-third of the international graduates who were offered permanent residence visas in 2005-2006 did not have the English standard – a score in band 6 (“competent”) of the International English Language Testing System – required by the Department of Immigration for issuing student visas for university admission in the first place.*<sup>29</sup>

To the extent that the contemporary university teacher is complicit in this catalogue of academic felonies, she or he is in a remarkably similar position to those who, though in Holy Orders, lived scandalous lives and contributed to the need for the radical reformation which fractured the established Church after the Council of Trent. Like the corrupt inhabitants of the monasteries and convents, they know that, in a career sense, simple teaching is a promotional blind alley, and so they yield to pressures which ensure that, whatever their rationale for acting this way, they are indifferent to the values they profess to serve, and, not to put too fine a point on it,

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<sup>28</sup> Anthony Bergin, “Confronting the terrorism threat: A national research institute for counter-terrorism,” Policy Analysis paper published by the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, 1 February 2007.

<sup>29</sup> Harriet Alexander, “Unis open to students who fail English,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 January 2007.

enthusiastically embrace the trade in indulgences. “What Pleases” is the new motto: an audience, any audience, rather than intellectual influence is to be pursued, as is eclecticism rather than coherence, and affability rather than truth. In the end, the result is chimerical: the university is inhabited by so many academics that aren’t academics; they just sound like academics on the odd selectively chosen occasion.<sup>30</sup>

Talking scholarly responsibility in the context just outlined is, according to your disposition, a futile gesture or an imperative. Even if it is both, it is the latter which will occupy the following pages by way of a further provocation. In a brief prefiguration, however, I propose that, rather than talk of scholarly responsibility, we need to talk of the scholar and teacher, and the university. This is, of course, a call for reformation, but at least it will not be slighted for defaulting on a proposition.

### **Recalling Swift: Introducing the Need to Hate**

Introducing a figure who spent his declining years under the care of guardians appointed by the Irish Commission of Lunacy is a fraught with risk, I will concede, and yet I admit to being strongly moved by the epitaph he wrote for himself, especially the second part:

HIC DEPOSITUM EST CORPUS JONATHAN SWIFT,  
S.T.D. HUIUS ECCLESIAE CATHEDRALIS DECANI, UBI  
SAEVA INDIGNATIO ULTERIUS COR LACERARE  
NEQUIT NEQUIT. ABI VIATOR, ET IMITARE, SI  
POTERIS, STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS  
VINDICATOREM

*Here is laid the body of Jonathan Swift, Doctor of Divinity,  
Dean of this Cathedral Church, where savage indignation can  
no longer tear his heart. Go traveller, and imitate if you can  
one who strove with all his might to champion liberty.*

Swift, we should understand, responded to the pressure of the times which made silence impossible. He understood what another satirist, Juvenal, understood long before him that, as vice parades, creative impulses and writing are brought forth almost unnaturally: “si natura negat, facit indignatio versum” (*though nature forbids,*

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<sup>30</sup> The foregoing comparisons are adapted from Regis Debray, *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities: The Intellectuals of Modern France*, trans. David Macey (London: NLB, 1981), pp. 62, 73, 160, 164, & 175 (hereafter cited as Debray, *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities*).

*indignation makes the verse*). And if hatred of evil and vice in certain circumstances permitted, then the scholar is faced with an inescapable choice which presents itself as guilty cowardice or the duty to rebel, of the type described by Albert Camus, in *The Rebel*: “Man, at bottom, is not entirely guilty since he inherits history, nor is he entirely innocent since he continues it.” In Swift’s case, he was animated by the bloody, arrogant power of the Anglo-Irish, and who can disavow the power of his both his perceptions and his prose when he turned it on a deserving target:

*I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth.*

What needs to be understood here is that this is no passing mood; in the light of the target and the power it has at its disposal, and which can and does respond with venom, it requires courage; more, it is a hate, or sense of indignation that seeks to change and is, therefore, distinguished from love – an emotion which essentially seeks no change in its object.

The question is, then, should teacher-scholars hate, and how might they do it? What I suggested previously is that they have every right to do if they take their vocation and its obligations seriously. The times require no less than the introspection of poets and the skill and courage to awaken sleeping minds. And they have precedents which they might follow: they are not without light entirely; indeed, the precedents which are recovered in the following pages should be regarded as amenable to local and temporal accommodations to contemporary conditions. For all of that, they are not to be regarded as instruments of unlimited and debasing negotiability.

### **Recovering the University and the Teacher**

Historically, moreover, the University’s role in, *inter alia*, the research and teaching of things political, is well described by Regis Debray: quite simply, it “reduced the entropy of time and fought against it;” fought against it, furthermore, as a stable institution - able, because of its historical consciousness, “to preserve at least a pocket of memory, “and maintain “a tribal reservation for the ethics of truth.”<sup>31</sup> Within it, which is to say within the membership of the academy, education and

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<sup>31</sup> Debray, *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities*, p. 49

abnegation were “virtually synonymous,” a deceased identity which Debray laments with just a hint of contempt for its successors:

Integrity, obscurity, selflessness; the words raise a smile,  
but the archaism of the vocabulary derives from the  
downgrading of the practices of the schools, not vice  
versa.<sup>32</sup>

The University, then, was of a dominant site of secular critique practised by people “capable of living what [they] taught until it killed [them].”<sup>33</sup> In their commitment to this principle, to what Paul Bove sees as the imperative to “take aim at the unequal, imperial, antidemocratic present,” academics demonstrated a truth: “Critics should never be good company.”<sup>34</sup>

What is needed, more specifically, is a re-examination of scholarly and academic identity in terms relatively ambiguous. In this I again have no qualms with the project of rediscovery that has a line of pedigree to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century French university and even its immediate predecessors. Thus there is an unqualified acceptance of the claim, found in Charles Peguy’s 1906 description that the university is “the great apparatus of discernment;” but also of Debray’s telling rider to it because it was also “an apparatus dreaded and venerated by a Republic that made it redoubtable and venerable.”<sup>35</sup> Similarly accepted is the commitment which must be given by the scholarly who entrusted with its operations: they are a “lay priesthood,” an “anticlerical clergy,” or, as seen by *Action Morale*, “a militant lay order based upon private and public duty” for whom the diffusion of knowledge and the political crusade are one and the same thing.<sup>36</sup> Accordingly, and in the same tradition, popularity is abjured as is all ambition “to be someone.”<sup>37</sup> Any doubts that the commitment required is total, should be dismissed: the motto of this life is *credo*

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<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Paul Bove, *In the Wake of Theory* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992), p. 66 (hereafter cited as Bove, *In the Wake of Theory*).

<sup>35</sup> Debray, *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 43 & 50.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49.

*colendam esse virtutem – I believe that moral excellence must be practised.*<sup>38</sup> The question that follows is “how might it be practised?” The French exemplars continue, especially through the reaction to the Dreyfus case, but there is more and greater instruction from times that predate the French exemplars by more than two millennia.

### **Diogenes, the Cynics, and Cynic Parrhēsia**

This is not the place to discourse on the Cynics in general, nor on Diogenes in particular. Rather, the concern here is to recover an attitude within a moral commitment which Diogenes and others practised as an attempt to live an exemplary, indeed, heroic life of autonomy. Most particularly, it is a life according to the ancient Greek idea that, in Foucault’s words, “a person is nothing else but his relation to truth, and this relation to truth takes shape or is given form in his own life.”<sup>39</sup> In everyday life this translates to utilising three practices, all of which are generally available to the contemporary scholar - critical preaching (lecturing) to large gatherings on the basis that truth must not be taught exclusively, but to everyone; scandalous behaviour which highlights the cant, nonsense and myth which dresses power, and provocative dialogue which actually borders on transgression – the purpose of which is to force recognition that someone, or something which everyone is in awe of, is not, in fact, awesome.<sup>40</sup> Thus Diogenes could call Alexander the Great a bastard – indeed, a bastard who was afraid - and order him to step aside so that he would not block the sunlight’s path to the old philosopher. To re-emphasise the point, all of this is done in the name of truth, in the form of what Foucault terms “courageous ‘blackmailing,’” because, as Diogenes’ argument runs, “you can kill me; but if you do so, nobody else will tell you the truth.”<sup>41</sup> Such encounters between the power of truth and political power are, therefore, aggressive, combative and, for the *parrhēsiastes* (truth-teller) involve the exposure to risk, or permanent danger because

<sup>38</sup> Peguy’s recollection of the commitment of his teachers, as cited in Debray, *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities*, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Michael Foucault, “Parrhesiastes - Diogenes: The Cynic Philosophers and their techniques” (excerpt from the seminar given by Foucault in 1983), <http://foucault.info/documents/parrhesiastes/foucault.diogenes.enhtml> accessed 29 May 2006, p. 1 (hereafter cited as Foucault, “Parrhesiastes - Diogenes: The Cynic Philosophers and their techniques”).

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp. 2-5.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, pp. 3-6.



the interlocutor has power, ultimately, over his life. Moreover, the purpose of the encounter is to force the interlocutor (in this case, Alexander) not to a new truth or a new level of self-awareness, but “to lead [him] to internalise this parrhesiastic struggle – to fight within himself against his own faults.”<sup>42</sup>

Also, to labour the obvious, this truth-telling is no form of chattering: verbal activity though it may be, it is more precisely a “verbal activity” in which a speaker:

. . . expresses his personal relationship to truth, and risks his life because he recognises truth-telling as a duty to improve or help other people (as well as himself). In *parrhēsia*, the speaker uses his freedom and chooses frankness instead of persuasion, truth instead of falsehood or silence, the risk of death instead of life and security, criticism and flattery, and moral duty instead of self-interest and moral apathy.<sup>43</sup>

Implicit in this is that *parrhēsia* is born both of duty within a life of political freedoms, and of citizenship (tenure?), yet neither is sufficient without the recognition extended by other citizens (colleagues?) that the parrhesiastes is worth listening to because she or he possesses the specific moral qualities which entitle them to be heard.<sup>44</sup> When she or he is heard, the duty is to obey the meaning of the word *parrhēsia* – to tell, or say everything – to avoid “any kind of rhetorical form which would veil what [the parrhesiastes] thinks” no matter the inferior status of the parrhesiastes relative to her or his audience.<sup>45</sup>

By extension, not to speak this way is a step, first, to that self imposed silence which proceeds to the withdrawal from political life and the erosion of democracy. The problem is that democracy – if simply defined for current purposes as the rule of the majority – is not necessarily always convivial to *parrhēsia* for two reasons. First, power expressed as government in general, including democratic power, frequently finds truth unwelcome; in fact, in certain circumstances, it may very well have no use for it whatsoever. And here the paradox of the situation is clear inasmuch that, whereas the parrhesiastes risk everything to tell the truth, power, habitually, is risk-averse with respect to truth. Second, truth can threaten the majority to such an extent

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

<sup>43</sup> Michel Foucault, “Discourse and Truth [1]: The Meaning of the Word “Parrhēsia” <http://www.foucault.info/documents/parrhesia/foucault.DTI.wordParrhesia.en.html>, p.4, accessed 19 January 2007 (hereafter cited as Foucault, “Discourse and Truth”).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p.1.

that the parrhesiastes risks being silenced in one way or another by discharging the duty to speak. The parrhesiastes, then, is defined not so much by sincerity of belief (albeit that this is an important consideration), but by the courage which is required to profess the truth in the face of danger.<sup>46</sup>

### **Return or Dissolution**

I have no doubts that, beyond a small number of scholars who will engage with some, or all of the ideas canvassed, the preceding pages will meet their fate as “academic conference mullet-wrappers.” In the current university climate of “cool” enthusiasm of almost any sort is offensive. Yeats’s notion that, if he was to succeed, he must first “make men mad,” is not currently thought a legitimate *démarche*, yet the opposition to it has no way of understanding, let alone remedying the plight of the scholar and the university in which she or he lives their lives. Put simply, there is no understanding that the declining social and political power of both is but a replication of the wider social and political decline of Western democracies. The type of self-love required by the reigning doxology (neo-liberalism) is now maturing into self-delusion of the type which marked institutions in the closing years of the Soviet Union. Everywhere there is activity, even activity which is documented by appropriately qualified personnel, but it is bordering on the meaningless: in the lecture halls and seminar rooms and over drinks (in private, between consenting adults), the obvious pathologies of the system are admitted, but not parrhesiastically. The hatred of the lived lie and its causes which should be present – indeed, would be the mark of distinction of a self-respecting, self critical body of scholars in the circumstances outlined - appears only spasmodically, like one of those sub-atomic particles whose substance, frequency of observation, and life-span allow only speculation as to its existence and purpose.

Unless and until the need for a restoration or reformation is identified, of course, essays like this are also meaningless because they appear no more than exercises in which slogans are shouted to the deaf and images peddled to the blind. All the while, nevertheless, the scholar and the university are further transformed into service-provider and corporation, respectively. Absent understanding and this process cannot be arrested, let alone overturned. And either form of action will require a revolution, or counter-revolution (depending on your view of origins) and,

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid, pp. 2-4.

like all revolutions, also require courage. Therein lies the ultimate problem: how to recover it when it has for so long been surrendered. The strategic objective – universities and scholars worthy of their name and tradition – is clear enough, but the will and the imagination are in doubt. To be honest, so is the outcome, but the history of revolutions is clear, too, in that it tells us that it is one thing to mount a revolution and fail, but quite another one to go quietly into the grave and obscurity without attempting one. What is suggested in this essay is that honesty demands we either ban the term scholar, or reserve it for a person of imaginary status (much like the Vatican did during the Cold War with Bishops appointed to a nominal See – *in partibus infidelium*), and with it allow that “university” is one of many synonyms word for “corporation,” or we take both terms and their meanings seriously. The choice is simple, the stakes extraordinarily high, as Yeats wrote of another debasing dissolution:

*Fail – and all that great past turns to rubbish;  
All that great past to a trouble of fools.*

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**Andrei Tsygankov, 2007 Program Chair**

International relations deals with some of the most pressing issues facing humanity – war and peace, global political and economic governance, poverty, injustice, and environmental degradation. As international relations scholars we are motivated to take up these and other pressing global issues in our research and teaching. Nevertheless, we hold very different views on our responsibility with respect to: 1) political advocacy and policy analysis and our relationships to the centers and peripheries of various power structures; 2) whether our research should be motivated by policy oriented problem solving within existing political structures or structurally transformational; 3) how we represent and reproduce our discipline and our world through our teaching; and 4) our national citizenship responsibilities which sometimes conflict with our multiple political loyalties and identifications, the findings of our internationally oriented research, or the insights generated by an empathetic teaching style. What then are the appropriate boundaries of such identifications and practices? How should we address the ethical dilemmas they often create? How, as internationally-oriented individuals and communities, should we better define, address, and perhaps satisfy, our scholarly responsibilities vis-à-vis such political issues and public policies? The theme of the 2007 conference takes up these questions. We invite participants to explore the various dimensions and boundaries of scholarly responsibility.

At certain times and in certain places, scholars have had an important and direct influence on policymaking. Yet, in the present era of unprecedented global challenges to human security, many scholars find their influence shrinking, a trend which has been viewed positively by some and negatively by others. For example, in the United States where certain ideas originating in the academy - often those most in accord with current national policy preferences - do get picked up in the policy world, the university is in danger of becoming less important for public policy-making than think tanks and corporations which pursue their own in-house research with all too predictable results. How much involvement with the policy world is possible or desirable? To what extent are scholars who choose not to enter the policy world responsible for how their ideas are used in that world? If our theories and/or interpretations have moral implications, can these implications be acceptable to policy-makers and are these implications tainted by political compromise? At times of heightened security there is more pressure on political conformity and more censorship of critical ideas. At such times, do scholars have a

special responsibility to stand up for academic freedom? When research findings do not accord with national policy preferences, do those of us in the academy have a special mission to protect the arena of debate and dissent?

While certain scholars are committed to incremental policy improvement through direct engagement with policy research, for others disengagement and dissent are preferable. Still others believe we are all implicated in policy making and implementation whether we like it or not. Whatever our convictions about the problems and possibilities of independent or “value-neutral” research, do we make responsible choices about what we choose to study? Do we pick research topics because they are familiar, fashionable, offer job security, or because data are readily available? Do we choose research questions that are readily answerable and are we driven by methodologies that are conventionally taught in graduate schools? What about the research questions that are rarely asked and the voices that are rarely heard? Often answering such questions requires training beyond traditional methodological and other disciplinary boundaries. Is our field open to a variety of scholarly approaches and disciplines other than political science? How do we exercise responsibility in judging the scholarship of others, particularly when it falls outside what is conventionally defined as within disciplinary boundaries? What are our responsibilities to our research subjects for whom we profess to speak but whose voices we may co-opt? What are the consequences of hegemonic scholarship for those in the peripheries or for those whose lives are not part of the construction of conventional knowledge about world politics? Does our scholarship reinforce existing power structures and existing political, social and economic inequalities? Is Western international relations neutral with regard to scholarly and policy practices in areas outside the West? What are some of the political and cultural boundaries of spreading academic knowledge across the world? What implications does the presence of such boundaries carry for cross-cultural dialogue and knowledge cumulation? Western social science scholarship has been profoundly secular and rationalist. Do we have a responsibility to understand religious and cultural traditions other than our own whose commitment to other forms of knowledge may be seen as equally or more valid by their proponents?

As teachers we have a special responsibility to our students, many of whom take courses in international relations because they want to make a difference in the world. We bear responsibility for constructing the framework within which our students learn to understand the world and we are accountable for how we name the world, whose voices get heard, and whose are left out. All too often, what is claimed as universal knowledge is, in reality, knowledge about the West, particularly western, predominantly white, frequently male, elites. How can we include other subjects and other knowledge traditions in our teaching and research, given the silences, lack of data, and problems of translation both linguistic and cultural?

And our responsibilities extend well beyond the policy and academic worlds - to a variety of different communities where our actions and scholarship also have meaningful consequences. Do we as scholars bear responsibility for how our ideas are understood and used outside our immediate social and academic contexts? Do the boundaries of our responsibilities as citizens extend beyond national borders? Certain of us prefer to see

ourselves as scholar/activists while others search for scientific detachment. To what extent should we express and advocate, through our teaching and scholarship, concerns of groups and individuals outside academia, such as governments, international organizations, grass-roots organizations and those on the margins of world politics? At the 2007 annual conference we wish to explore all of these questions, which are certain to continue to shape the discipline's development. We encourage papers which express a wide variety of opinions on these topics.

### **Guidelines for Participants at ISA Annual Conventions**

The Professional Rights and Responsibilities Committee has prepared this document in response to concerns that recently have been voiced about the obligations assumed by participants at the annual ISA convention.

#### **I. Composition of the Program**

I.1 Panels may be organized according to a variety of formats, ranging, for example, from the traditional oral presentation of research papers to poster presentations to more innovative means of presentation that utilize computer software, film, or demonstrations of teaching techniques.

I.2 The numbers of roundtables on the program should not be increased at the expense of the number of panels.

I.3 Chairs of roundtables are encouraged to assign titles to participants' topics and to request discussion papers. To facilitate applications for institutional travel funds, chairs need to send letters to roundtable participants inviting them to "prepare a paper on topic X for discussion at session Y."

I.4 Panel proposals from ISA sections are subject to review by the program chair(s) using the same standards of quality and suitability that are applied to other proposals.

I.5 Joint panels and roundtables organized collaboratively by two ISA sections are particularly encouraged and should be given special consideration by the program chair(s).

*Rationale: Scholars can participate in the program in a variety of ways: by chairing a panel or roundtable, by delivering a formal paper or prepared remarks on a given topic, or by serving as a discussant. The primary purpose of program activities is to encourage the full presentation and active discussion of theories and research findings, as well as to explore topics of interest from a wide range of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives. The specific format used in panels and roundtables to accomplish these goals may vary as deemed appropriate by panel chairs and the program chair(s).*

## **II. Composition of Panels**

II.1 The program chair(s) should maintain flexibility in order to accommodate the various scholarly aims of different types of panels. Those panels seeking to debate contending views on a topic are generally well served by a structure of two papers and two discussants. Other panels may range between three and four papers, and might have a single discussant. Only under the most extraordinary circumstances should a panel have more than four papers or a roundtable have more than six participants.

II.2 Regardless of the composition of panels, thirty minutes should be reserved for discussion from the floor and among the panelists. The panel chair has the right and responsibility to enforce this norm.

II.3 Panel organizers should strive for a good mix of participants. The best panels often include scholars from different countries, a range of institutions, and different career stages. The best discussants are often scholars with significant experience in the field. In general, graduate students should not fill this role.

*Rationale: There is no ideal composition for the panels. The number of formal papers and the time allocated for their presentation should be based on the scholarly objectives of the panel. In all cases, including roundtables, adequate time should be reserved for a full and active discussion after the formal presentations.*

## **III. Responsibility of Panel and Roundtable Chairs**

By proposing and accepting responsibility for chairing a panel or roundtable, the chair accepts these obligations:

III.1 To inform the program chair(s) of all changes in the composition of the panel or roundtable prior to the publication of the final program. And, similarly, to inform all other participants of such changes well before the meetings begin.

III.2 To inform the program chair(s) of any panelist who fails to attend the panel without providing advance notification of those extenuating circumstances preventing their participation.

III.3 If chairing a roundtable, to circulate a detailed memo regarding the issues to be discussed by the participants well in advance of the meeting.

III.4 If chairing a panel, to take all reasonable steps to ensure that the discussants receive advance copies of papers, even in draft form. Two weeks prior to the commencement of the meetings is the absolute minimum acceptable lead-time.

III.5 To hold participants to agreed-upon time limits for their presentations, so that at least thirty minutes are available for general discussion.

III.6 ISA will provide an overhead projector and screen for your panel. If your panelists require PowerPoint hookups, film projectors, or other A/V equipment, they must arrange this with the hotel at their own expense.

III.7 To complete the ISA Panel Chair Report forms provided for each panel

or roundtable and return them to ISA Headquarters.

*Rationale: Stimulating scholarly interchange requires that panelists attend their panels and roundtables, and that adequate time be set aside for discussion among panelists and the audience. The purpose of these guidelines is to provide accurate information about the nature and composition of a particular panel or roundtable and to provide sufficient time for the participants and audience to interact.*

#### **IV. Responsibility of Panelists and Roundtable Participants**

By proposing and accepting formal participation, participants accept these obligations:

IV.1 To inform the panel chair, discussant of your paper, and program chairs(s) at the earliest possible date of any changes in the status of your work, your availability, or travel funding which will or is likely to prevent your participation. Failure to show up for your panel without having previously notified the panel chair, discussant, and program chairs(s) could adversely affect the likelihood of your being included on the program in future years.

IV.2 To inform the Program Chair(s) of any address or e-mail change immediately.

IV.3 If giving a prepared paper, to circulate copies to discussants and other panelist in advance of the meetings, and at least five working days before the commencement of the meetings. Paper presenters are also responsible for providing copies of their paper to other attendees and for uploading their paper to the online paper archive.

IV.4 If serving as a discussant, to read carefully each of the papers that you receive at least five days prior to the conference and comment upon these papers in a constructive manner.

IV.5 To abide by the panel chair's stipulations regarding the length of presentation and comments.

IV.6 Unless you are a co-author and the other author(s) are presenting your paper, you have an obligation to attend and fulfill the responsibility for which you applied. This year, like last, we had far more people applying than we had space for in the program, and literally hundreds of worthy applicants were turned away. In turn, ISA's Governing Council imposed a deadline of no later than **December 1st**, by which time you could still cancel your participation (and the program chair could substitute another worthy participant); of if you failed to cancel your professional obligation by that date, you would be penalized by not allowing you on the program for future conferences.

IV.7 If you are a co-author, and you are not planning on attending, and your co-author is presenting your work, please notify us immediately so we may plan for this and not spend resources unnecessarily. You can notify us at [isa@u.arizona.edu](mailto:isa@u.arizona.edu).

IV.8 ISA will provide an overhead projector and screen for your use. If you require PowerPoint hookups, film projectors, or any other A/V equipment,



you must arrange this with the hotel at your own expense.

IV.9 Convention participants from outside of the United States who need to apply for a visa to travel to the U.S. should contact the ISA office [isa@u.arizona.edu](mailto:isa@u.arizona.edu) to request a letter of invitation. Please be sure to contact the ISA office as early as possible so that we can mail you an original signed letter of invitation. We recommend that you contact our office no later than December 1 prior to the Convention.

*Rationale: The quality of scholarly interaction among panelists and the audience increases when panelists receive copies of papers in advance of the meeting and when members of the audience have access to the papers. Panelists have a professional responsibility to make copies of their papers available to convention attendees.*

## **V. Participation of Scholars from outside North America**

V.1 Panel and roundtable chairs are encouraged to invite the participation of relevant scholars outside of North America.

V.2 Letters confirming the participation of scholars from outside North America should be sent by the program chair(s) at the earliest possible date.

V.3 If participation of a scholar from outside North America is contingent on funding from ISA or other sources, that fact should be made clear when the proposal is submitted.

*Rationale: The participation of scholars from outside North America is in keeping with the purposes of the Association. Their participation is most effective if North American members have ample opportunities to interact with them as panelists and discussants and vice versa. Early indication of the need for funding will allow the program chair(s) and section organizers to provide the potential participant with the appropriate application.*

## **VI. Frequency of Appearances**

VI.1 Participants should appear on no more than two panels or roundtables. A participant may present only one paper, except in the case of co-authorship.

VI.2 The limitation on the number of appearances will be waived for participants serving on a panel that is honoring an ISA member, for participants from outside North America, or for other exceptional circumstances identified by the program chairs(s).

*Rationale: Minimizing the number of appearances by any one participant increases the opportunities for participation by others.*

## **VII. Proposal Submission**

VII.1 Scholars who submit more than one panel, roundtable or paper proposal must inform the program chair(s) and the relevant section organizers of these multiple submissions. In addition, they must indicate the order in which they wish the proposals to be considered.

VII.2 Scholars who submit proposals for panels or roundtables must not place an individual on the proposed panel or roundtable without his or her consent.

VII.3 Scholars wishing to participate in the program must adhere to the submission deadline. Proposals received after the deadline stipulated by the program chair(s) are unlikely to be included in the program.

*Rationale: The fact that some scholars submit multiple proposals without informing the program chair(s) and other appropriate personnel creates serious difficulties in preparing the program. Accurate information on multiple submissions will assist the program chair(s) in making the most efficient use of available sections. Adherence to the submission deadline facilitates timely completion of the program.*

## **VIII. Notification of Unsuccessful Proposals**

VIII.1 It is the responsibility of the program chair(s) and section organizers to ensure that scholars who cannot be accommodated on the program are notified by letter of that fact prior to the publication of the preliminary program.

Acceptance letters and notifications for those who submitted proposals will sent out by e-mail from ISA starting the last week in September.

*Rationale: Not informing scholars that their proposals are unsuccessful until publication of the preliminary program is a professional discourtesy and a source of some bitterness.*

## **IX. Registration and Membership**

IX.1 Pre-registration is required for all participants to be listed in the program.

IX.2 Membership in ISA is not required for participation in the annual meetings.

Nonetheless academic participants are strongly encouraged to join the Association.

IX.3 Over the last few years, we have discovered that non-ISA members constituted about 90 percent of those who—after committing to being on the program—failed to show for their participation, and denied hundreds of other worthy applicants an opportunity to participate. As a result, the Governing Council has instituted a new policy whereby non-ISA members must preregister earlier than ISA members; otherwise they will be removed from the program. ***Therefore, non-ISA members will need to preregister by October 20<sup>th</sup>; ISA members will need to preregister by November 30<sup>th</sup>.***

## **X. Travel Grants**

ISA provides an annual budget for the disbursement of travel grants to needy scholars and senior graduate students, regardless of whether or not they are ISA members. Please note that these grants are not meant to cover the entire cost of attending the conference, but are meant to supplement additional resources. Normally, ISA receives five to six times the number of requests as there is budget capacity.

Please note as well: if you wish to receive a travel grant, you must apply by the deadline established for the grant. Applicants requesting a grant after the deadline are extremely unlikely to receive any funding. *The deadline is typically before people are notified of their admission to the program.* This is done so that quickly after acceptance on the program, people will know whether or not they will receive a travel grant and accept (or reject) their participation accordingly. The deadline for travel grant applications, along with the application form, is available online at: <http://www.isanet.org/travel-guideline.html>.

### **DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS: 1 JUNE 2006**

Proposals may be submitted online using the following links:

Paper Proposals:

<http://www.isanet.org/ChicagoSubmit/PaperSubmit.htm>

Panel Panel:

<http://www.isanet.org/ChicagoSubmit/PanelSubmit.htm>

For more information on the 2007 Annual Convention please see:

<<http://www.isanet.org/chicago2007>> or e-mail <[isa2007@sfsu.edu](mailto:isa2007@sfsu.edu)>