This Issue marks a couple of milestones and crossroads for *Workplace*. We are celebrating fifteen years of dynamic, insightful, if not inciting, critical university studies (CUS). Perhaps more than anything, and perhaps closer to the ground than any CUS publication of this era, *Workplace* documents changes, crossroads, and the hard won struggles to maintain academic dignity, freedom, justice, and integrity in this volatile occupation we call higher education. To shore up this documentation, we reformatted and migrated the *Workplace* archive into the Open Journal System (OJS). The OJS has been indispensible to solidarity with a critical mass of open access publishers. In fact, *Workplace* continues to be a model of open access and independent publishing. This migration also makes us more mobile for inclusion in large databases for circulation. Remaining independent has reaffirmed the unshakeable practices of academic freedom and intellectual freedom that characterized *Workplace* from the start. So this brings us again to crossroads—crossroads always marked by monuments, spirits, devils, bargains, deals, or choices.

In her review a decade ago of Nelson and Watts’ *Office Hours: Activism and Change in the Academy*, Michelle Fine brings CUS, or critical higher education, to a three-way crossroad. Characterizing *Office Hours* as an immensely productive synopsis of second and third wave or generation CUS, Fine describes this crossroad for third generation CUS. Quoting at length:

> First, we need to document the elaborate circulations of money, power, networks, access, censorship, and surveillance that have metastasized between the academy and prisons, the military, government, and corporate interests…. But we need more…. Second, while *Office Hours* delineates the intergenerational and the discipline-specific implications of the corporate academy, we need more fine-grained analyses of its fallout for faculty of color, lesbian and gay faculty, Muslim faculty, and activist faculty. All of these groups are newer to the academy and better represented among the nontenured ranks. While the assault on higher education affects us all, a movement for academic justice must interrogate how the wreckage of proletarianization distributes along the interior fault lines built into the academy. Third, the struggles of higher education need to be linked to those of our colleagues in K-12 public education. Deep in the devastation wrought in elementary and secondary education by some of the same forces of the political economy lie educators with knowledge about oppressive consequences and about organizing.¹
One is hard-pressed to put this crossroad in starker relief. Of course, after more than a century of first and second generation CUS, wherein defending academic freedom in the culture wars could mean liberty or prison, promoted or fired, unencumbered or investigated, or life or death, crossroads induce mixed feelings. For example, open access and the convergence of broadcast and publishing technologies with the office or home has given intellectuals immense powers of the press and advertising agency. That’s exciting to say the least. Yet the dreadful threats to paid intellectual work that Fine so clearly articulated—“circulations of money, power, networks, access, censorship, and surveillance… fallout for faculty of color, lesbian and gay faculty, Muslim faculty, and activist faculty… devastation wrought in elementary and secondary education”—are ever present, deflating, and demoralizing.

Now, in the throes of the worst academic job market in generations, which itself is hostage to a painfully prolonged economic crash from the heights to depths of casino capitalism, what crossroad has CUS entered? After digging their own holes, governments are left manipulating budgets as they progressively defund public education and universities, which in turn, after administrators dug their own holes by devaluing their academic budget lines while generating record revenue, systematically hike tuition for students increasingly burdened by debt with loans of $27,000-$35,000 for undergraduates and about $18,000 per year on top of that for masters and doctorates. What is the crossroad for CUS?

First, we need to act on the economic imperative of faculty alliances with a radically charged student movement in response to a decimated job market, incapacitating debt burdens, and contraction of the professoriate. As Fine accurately observed in 2005, “doctoral-program graduates and dropouts carry growing debt as they enter a hostile job market with betrayed dreams of tenure-track jobs.” Second, we need to act on the ethical imperative of alliances with class, environmental, and race grounded grassroots social movements including Occupy and Idle No More (INM). Third, we need to act on the legal imperative of alliances across the left and right in the throes of aggressive suppression of academic freedom downplayed by administrators exaggerating a civility crisis and exercising investigative powers through new respectful workplace policies. Fourth, we need to act on the political imperative of making critical university studies by remaking the critical and the university.

Oftentimes, the academic job market for full-time (FT) faculty is inversely related to economic recessions. Not anymore. In this prolonged Great Recession, turned Great Depression II in parts of North America and across the world, youth have been particularly hard hit, more pronounced by race. The most common description for this current economy for youth is “a precipitous decline in employment and a corresponding increase in unemployment.” In Canada and the US, unemployment rates for the 16-19 year olds exceed 25%. At the same time, one of the most common descriptions for postsecondary enrollment and participation in Canada and the US is “tremendous growth at the undergraduate level… the number of graduate students has grown significantly faster than the number of undergraduate students over the last 30 years.” With “school-to-work” and “youth employment” oxymoronic, corporate academia and the education industry are capitalizing on masses of students returning to desperately secure advanced credentials in hard times, but no longer does this matter to the professoriate.

If higher education enrollment has been significant, increases in online or e-learning enrollment have been phenomenal. Postsecondary institutions in North America commonly realized 100% increases in online course enrollment from the early 2000s to the present with the percentage of total registrations increasing to 25% for some universities. In Canada, this translates to about 250,000 postsecondary students currently taking online courses but has not translated into FT faculty appointments. More pointedly, it has eroded the FT faculty job market and fueled the part-time (PT) job economy of higher education. About 50% of all faculty in North America are PT but this seems to jump to about 85%-90% for those teaching online courses. For example, in the University of British Columbia’s (UBC) Master of Educational Technology (MET), where there are nearly 1,000 registrations per year, 85% of all sections are taught by PT faculty. In its decade of existence, not a single FT faculty member has been hired for this revenue generating program. Mirroring trends across North America, support staff doubling as adjunct or sessional teach
about 45% of MET courses in addition to their 8:30-4:30 job functions in the service units. These indicators are of a larger scope of trends in the automation of intellectual work.

Given these practices across Canada, in the field of Education for example, there has been a precipitous decline in employment of FT faculty, which corresponds with the precipitous decline in employment of youth (Figure 1). Education is fairly reflective of the overall academic job market for doctorates in Canada. Except for short-term trends in certain disciplines, the market for PhDs is bleak. Trends and an expansion of the Great Recession predict that the market will worsen for graduates looking for FT academic jobs in all disciplines. A postdoctoral appointment market is very unlikely to materialize at any scale to offset trends. For instance, Education at UBC currently employs just a handful (i.e., 4-5) of postdocs.

Figure 1. Trend of FT faculty positions in Education advertised in University Affairs.

To put it in mild, simple terms: Universities changed their priorities and values by devaluing academic budget lines. Now in inverse relationship to the increases in revenue realized by universities through the 2000s, academic budgets were progressively reduced from 40% or more to just around 20% for many of these institutions. One indicator of this trend is the expansion of adjunct labor or PT academics. In some colleges or faculties, such as Education at UBC, the number of PT faculty, which approached twice that of FT in 2008, teach from 33% to 85% of all sections, depending on the program.

Another indicator is the displacement of tenure track research faculty by non-tenure track, teaching-intensive positions. For example, in Education at UBC, about 18 of the last 25 FT faculty hires were for non-tenure track teaching-intensive positions (i.e., 10 courses per year for Instructor, Lecturer, etc.). This was partially to offset a trend of PT faculty hires pushing Education well over its faculty salary budget (e.g., 240 PT appointments in 2008). Measures in North America have been so draconian that the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) was compelled to report in 2010 that “the tenure system has all but collapsed…. the proportion of teaching-intensive to research-intensive appointments has risen sharply. However, the majority of teaching-intensive positions have been shunted outside of the tenure system.” What is faculty governance, other than an oligarchy, with a handful of faculty governing or to govern?

Ostensibly advantaged by the devaluation of academic budget lines (e.g., faculty salary budget), administrative budget lines bloated throughout the 2000s. Ironically for example, as the economy tanked
through this decade, administrative lines in schools of business or commerce doubled. At UBC, administrative salaries paced administrative bloat at about 6% per year as wages for teaching assistants were frozen and debt burdens nearly doubled.\textsuperscript{12} Despite the downscaling of FT tenure track faculty, in Education at UBC from 2000 to 2013, the number of support staff increased from about 95 to 110, as an expansion of administrative service units. The overall 1:1 ratio of support staff to tenure track faculty is misleading; throughout this period staff in academic units remained unchanged (5:1 ratio), underpaid, and overworked, and faculty members took on tasks for processing increasingly demanding flows of information and correspondence. Moreover, the ratio of FT faculty to research staff, who are more specifically research funding staff, is 50:1.

Second, we need to act on the ethical imperative of alliances with class, environmental, and race grounded grassroots social movements including Occupy and Idle No More (INM). To be sure, like many of the economists that discounted the Occupy movement at the end of 2011 and through 2012 as so much ill-informed market analysis, many indigenous and non-indigenous administrators and professors discounted INM out of politics, race, or fear of reprisal. Beginning late 2012 and early 2013 in Canada, exposed by a burgeoning student movement, universities reinforced barriers for marches of indigenous-non-indigenous critical masses and alliances generated by INM. Primarily through exhausting efforts of indigenous faculty members and students, the unruliness of INM was welcomed in large forums and protests in refreshing contrast to the tiresome restoration of a more civilized academic culture. As well, the student movement was astute in quickly alliancing with INM. Likewise, blue and pink collar unions are sympathetic to INM and the student movement whereas faculty associations or unions, anxiously seated for angel halos as they bargain and pray with employers for 2% raises for good behavior, have been slow to endorse these social movements.\textsuperscript{13}

Third, we need to act on the legal imperative of alliances across the left and right in the throes of aggressive suppression of academic freedom downplayed by administrators exaggerating a civility crisis and exercising investigative powers through new respectful workplace policies. Politic for politic, as faculty and student activism over the last decade was generated in response to administrative measures taken to devalue academic budget lines and increase debt loads, administrators formed policies that shored up their powers to police campus speech and launch investigations. Following an introduction of a Respectful Environment policy in 2008, in anticipation of an upcoming political protest on campus in March 2009, the President of UBC circulated a “Respectful Debate” memo warning students and faculty to “pay special attention to the rules that govern our conduct” for speech.\textsuperscript{14} Legislation of respect entangles or snares the left and right in the same finely meshed dragnet attenuating civil liberties. This also recalibrates a network of surveillance media and technologies, challenging nearly all protections in the workplace. Some self-identified centrists or voices of reason welcome the new measures, adopting roles of third persons while reporting to administrators that loose lips sink scholar-ships.

In Canada and the US, these new respectful workplace policies, which anticipate or respond to workplace legislation and court decisions, mean that academic freedom and charter or constitutional rights noticeably contract at the campus gates. Watching postsecondary institution by institution adopt similar respectful workplace policies, the Executive Director of the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT), issued a memorandum in late March 2009 advising vigilance: “the test of ‘disrespect’ identified in these policies is for the most part experiential and subjective – notions like ‘feelings of shame’ or ‘embarrassment’ crop up repeatedly.” He subsequently asserted, “a major problem in Canadian universities is not that too many people are asserting their academic freedom, but that too few are.”\textsuperscript{15}

Similar policies in the US are compounded by the Supreme Court’s 2006 \textit{Garcetti v. Ceballos} opinion that “when public employees make statements pursuant to their official duties, the employees are not speaking as citizens for First Amendment purposes, and the Constitution does not insulate their communications from employer discipline,” reinforcing managerial discretion and prerogative. Although academic freedom remains a special concern of free speech rights and was deferred by the Court in \textit{Garcetti}, legal
analysts such as Harvey Gilmore concur that “Garcetti has now become the definitive statement on a public employer’s discretion in managing office operations, and that discretion includes controlling an employee’s speech made in the scope of the employee’s professional capacity.”

Following legislation in four other provinces, on 1 July 2012 new legislation in BC came into effect through an amendment of the mental disorder section of the Workers Compensation Act. The new amendment in Section 5.1 provides for potential compensation if the disorder

(i) is a reaction to one or more traumatic events arising out of and in the course of the worker’s employment,

or

(ii) is predominantly caused by a significant work-related stressor, including bullying or harassment, or a cumulative series of significant work-related stressors, arising out of and in the course of the worker's employment.

For legal preparation for this legislation now common across Canada, universities such as UBC folded a large scope of potential infractions into their respectful workplace policies. What stands as protection for disability or “mental disorder” and against “bullying or harassment” under the law is extended in higher education policy to common modes of academic speech—commentary and criticism—that might be articulated in the wrong tone.

Offices of Human Resources introducing or monitoring respectful workplace policies oversimplify speech by stressing, “it is not what you say but how you say it that counts.” Repeated in HR across higher education and curiously by some administrators, this folksy maxim come respectful workplace policy draws on centuries of etiquette texts. “Rather than seeing public talk occasions as needing politeness or civility, a better norm” Karen Tracy proposes, “is reasonable hostility.” She effectively hashes out parameters for democratic communicative practice and flips this “aphorism on its head, it is not merely how something is said, but what a person says that matters.”

Only certain types of face-attack are legitimate and desirable in local governance situations. ‘Reasonable hostility’ is the name for acts that are. Reasonable hostility involves person-directed attack; it is remarks that imply disrespectful, undesirable things about others. Targets of reasonable hostility will judge speakers uttering those remarks to be rude, disrespectful, unfair, and so on…. A speaker might be cognizant that his or her remarks may have this effect, but their purpose is to express outrage about a wrong. The speaker sees self’s central aim as witnessing a truth or expressing righteous indignation.

Faculty and students are bookended by a reformalization of academic speech on one side and a normalization of administrative equivocation, deception included, on the other. Can voices of critique and voices of liberty speak together, with reasonable hostility, as a voice of truth? Can the left and right speak (together)?

Fourth, we need to act on the political imperative of making critical university studies by remaking the critical and the university. What is it about the adjective, the incitement, “critical” that distinguishes CUS? What is it that makes critique—in contemporary forms first deployed by Kant in 1781—so enduring and threatening or, conversely, time-bound, steamless, and unable to boil up emotion, over into alliances, and down to substantive change? In the face of acute and sustained critique of critique, it is inadequate to defend or make CUS by trotting out standard fare, such as:

“Critical” indicates the new work’s oppositional stance, similar to approaches like critical legal studies, critical race studies, critical development studies, critical food studies, and so on, that focuses on the ways in which current practices serve power or wealth and contribute to injustice or inequality rather than social hope.
If this is what the critical of CUS has been, given trends and compromises in the civility crisis, it has proven fairly ineffective under its own roof, its topic of study, and with that would be futile or hypocritical in the big houses, the *demos, nomos, oikos*, and *polis*. If the critical of CUS is simply about the self, the *autos*, the powerful, the critic, two experts in tow, then yes, much has been and can be learned. This effectively removes us 230 years to limits of knowledge and the first critique.

The days of “service” through higher education are closing by yielding to “engagement,” or more regrettablly the trilogy of “research, teaching and service” in the university has been sequenced by “scholarship,” “facilitation,” and “engagement.” Or, in conjunction with these trends are the options or “discovery,” “learning,” and “engagement,” which in *Renewing the Covenant* “more accurately describes our responsibilities in the 21st century than the classic formulation ‘research, teaching, and service’.” This is regrettable in that a longstanding system, which included FT faculty in a tenure track subsystem, is yielding to a very different political economy of higher education. In this economy, how do we make CUS or make up ground? What might *critical* facilitation or engagement mean or do?

Third generation CUS won a few battles and skirmishes but we are losing hard earned ground and spoils won by previous generations. We are losing the war and the peace—Culture War II and the bigger war and peace of truth. As research, teaching and service yield to scholarship, facilitation and engagement, the semantics of the critical—the common ground of critics and their critics—in war and peace is itself critical. Otherwise we might just as well displace the critical of CUS with cultural or collateral, as that seems to be what’s transpiring.

Latour begins one of the most trenchant critiques of critique in the last thirty years by asking: “Should we be at war, too, we, the scholars, the intellectuals?” An easy answer is enough is enough, qualified by the next simple question: can we be at peace? What are our options?

Truth is the first casualty of war. Historians of the twentieth century would be remiss in overlooking additional tautologies: truth is the first casualty of peace. For better or worse, truth was iconic in the origins of the university and beginning early nineteenth century accompanied or inspired research, teaching, service, and academic freedom. The segmentation of truth into “little narrative[s]” of legitimation was also a university development, first by privileging verisimilitude over truth and second by disregarding it as good as dead. In the early 1960s, Popper reclaimed verisimilitude and redefined it as “truthlikeness” to give fitness to theory and a new aspiration for research, teaching, and service. Not long after came a re-pronouncement of the death of truth, best summarized by Lyotard as the “obsolescence of the metanarrative apparatus of legitimation,” creating a crisis of “the university institution which in the past relied on it.” In a nutshell, truth, “the grand narrative has lost its credibility.” Signifying trends, *truthiness* ascended to the Word of the Year in 2005. Truth is the second casualty of philosophy.

In the mid 1970s, with early second generation CUS a decade into the turmoil of remaking the university, Foucault reasserted the problem of the critic or intellectual as a problem of truth-telling and truth. “The essential political problem for the intellectual is not that of criticizing” ideology. “The problem is not one of changing people’s ‘consciousness’ or what's in their heads,” he said, “but the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth.” “It’s not a question of emancipating truth from every system of power— which would be a chimera, because truth is already itself power.” The problem for the critic or intellectual is “knowing that it is possible to constitute a new politics of truth.” In lectures at Berkeley in 1983 eight months before he died he historicized this problem, concluding: “with the question of the importance of telling the truth, knowing who is able to tell the truth, and knowing why we should tell the truth, we have the roots of what we could call the ‘critical’ tradition in the West.” Remaking the critical then would necessarily begin with constituting “a new politics of truth.”
NOTES


5 For trends in enrollment and participation, see Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada, Trends in Higher Education, Volume I — Enrollment (Ottawa: AUCC, 2011), on 6, 10; National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, National Postsecondary Enrollment Trends: Before, During, and After the Great Recession (Herndon, VA: Author, 2011).


7 See e.g., Carl Benedikt Frey & Michael A. Osborne, The Future of Employment: How Susceptible are Jobs to Computerisation? (September 17, 2013), Retrieved http://www.oxfordmartin.ox.ac.uk/downloads/academic/The_Future_of_Employment.pdf. The implications here in the downskilling of the professorate are dire, as one does not need a doctoral degree to teach a few online courses. And as business schools demonstrated, one does not need to be a professor to teach graduate courses.

8 We are grateful to Yu-Ling Lee for data collection for this trend analysis. University Affairs is the best, most reliable, long-term source for academic job advertising in Canada. It is the parallel of the Chronicle of Higher Education in the US. A check of job advertisements in the CAUT Bulletin for selected years confirms reliability of the UA data. Only FT tenure track jobs (advertised as 3+ years) in Canada were included. Administrative jobs were counted separately and remain stable over this time period (5.3 jobs / year). Includes all disciplines of Education (e.g., curriculum and educational studies, language and literacy, educational psychology and special education, educational technology, measurement, etc.).


13 Just one year older, academic articles on Occupy exceed those of INM by about 250:1. In some ways, INM was nearly as global as Occupy, so the discrepancy is more of neglect than scale. On Occupy, see e.g., Todd Gitlin, “Occupy’s Predicament: the Moment and the Prospects for the Movement,” British Journal of Sociology 64 (2013): 3-25. On INM, see Pamela D. Palmater, “Idle No More: What do We Want and Where are We Headed?”, Rabble.ca (January 4, 2013): Retrieved from http://rabble.ca/blogs/bloggers/pamela-palmater/2013/01/what-idle-no-more-movement-reallyretrieved.

14 For the scope of these policies, see Petrina, “The New Critiquette,” 17-23.


17 On the eve of this commentary and research going to publication, at UBC we were dutifully advised or warned via email: http://www.hr.ubc.ca/memos/important-update-for-action-new-provincial-government-health-safety-legislation-bill-14-bullying-and-harassment-feb-3-2014/.


CUS is nonetheless a necessary check on three disciplines, educational administration, higher education, and leadership, which went AWOL as alarming winds of change swept across the university system during the 2000s. Or in this crisis of administration, are they mere bystanders, just left holding the bag? On one level, administration is defined as decision making, and we have all likely experienced administrators who could not make a decision and would not move on while at the same time witnessed great administrators removed, apparently because they could and did make decisions. Administrators that cannot administrate or make decisions for the common good beg the question, in what way or “why are they leaders?” The other dimension, as Thayer suggests, is that administrators without courage might as well admit: “I must accept whatever my advisers tell me.” Fred Thayer, “Response to Vicker’s Comments in the Nov/Dec ’79 Issue,” Dialogue 2 (January-February, 1980): 4-6, on 6.

Of course, research, teaching, and service were fairly consolidated and interdependent in the origins of the modern university, ca. 1810, Berlin. The advancement of knowledge, for example, was commonly understood to be, as a given, in service of society. Inherent in science was service, to economy, society, and truth, if not God. In North America, the institutionalization of the new engineering schools, such as MIT in 1861, and scientification of professional schools, such as Education, Law, Medicine, and Social Work in the late 1800s, pressed the issue of service in the constitutions and purpose of universities rather forcefully. By the turn of the century, “service,” however overused, was in train with research and teaching. As one analyst put it in 1910: “Remember that as regards the somewhat overworked word ‘service’ every addition in every conceivable department of human activity which is constructive of society is service; that the spirit of science is to transfer something of value from the unknown into the realm of the known, and is, therefore, identical with the spirit of literature; that the moral test of every advance is whether or not it is constructive, for whatever is constructive is moral.”

However, more effectively than anyone, research, teaching, and service were ordered and put in train by Cattell, especially through his rankings of professors on bases of merit beginning in 1906 in American Men of Science but also through arguments for faculty governance. In 1914, he argued: “The university or college which does not regard the advancement of knowledge and public service as part of its functions has small claim to public support or private gifts, and is likely to deteriorate in all directions…. It is obvious that if the instructor devotes all his time to teaching, he can not do research work.” By the early 1920s, the three were inseparable:

The difficulty under our present method is that the appointments [of professors] would be by favor of the administration. If, however, a vote of the teachers in the university, and perhaps of the students, were taken on the basis of desert [being deserving, worth] for research, teaching and service, a method of selection would be used probably more accurate than the choice of the president and at the same time more conducive to cooperation and goodwill.


By and large, the blueprint for this reform of higher education is Boyer’s Scholarship Reconsidered, a descriptive, historical, and normative report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching’s tour across US institutions in the late 1980s. “Simply stated,” Boyer concluded, “what we have on many campuses today is a crisis of purpose”— marked by a “divisive struggle on many campuses between ‘teaching’ and ‘research’.” Boyer did not anticipate the segmentation of the professoriate, although he could have, and passed away in 1995, long before the “trilogy” research, teaching, and service were displaced. He provides a very helpful history and defense of the trilogy, yet his defense of service is quickly transformed into “engagement” through what he calls the “scholarship of application” and subsequently the “scholarship of engagement.” He defined this engagement as “creating a special climate in which the academic and civic cultures communicate more continuously and more creatively with each other.” Service yields to engagement as “customer service” becomes an oxymoron. In “We Need a New Word for Service,” Dar observes: “Talk about ‘service’ or ‘volunteerism’ and… eyes will glaze over very

The displacement of teaching by facilitation is a bit more complex, although again simplified in reduction to a popular text. “Teaching, in my estimation,” Rogers asserted in *Freedom to Learn*, “is a vastly overrated function.” “I see the facilitation of learning as the aim of education,” he continued. From thereon, the reduction of teaching to facilitation stuck: teaching is the facilitation of learning, making “teaching” somewhat redundant or by now outmoded. Carl R. Rogers, *Freedom to Learn* (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1969), on 103, 105; idem, *Freedom to Learn for the ‘80s* (Columbus, OH: Merrill, 1983).

24 Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities, *Renewing the Covenant: Learning, Discovery, and Engagement in a New Age and Different World* (New York: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 2000); Elaine Yontz and Kathleen de la Peña McCook, “Service-Learning and LIS Education,” *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science* 44 (Winter 2003), 58-68. Purdue University was among the first to adopt the new triple vision in its *The Next Level: Preeminence*: “A new strategic plan with a refreshed vision will build on Purdue’s strength and continuing progress, and render the University nationally as the model for a modern land-grant research university, and globally as the leading university of choice for collaborations and partnerships in discovery, learning, and engagement.” Purdue University Strategic Plan Review Committee, *Strategic Plan Review: Report of the Review Committee* (West Lafayette, IN: Author, 2006), 20.


26 Goya painted the *Murió la verdad* (truth is dead) around 1816, in response to Ferdinand’s Royal Decree in Madrid on 4 May 1814 suspending the *Constitution*. The theme was reiterated throughout the century in so many words. Famously, the death of truth is generally attributed to Nietzsche’s “On the Pathos of Truth,” wherein truth slowly dies at the hands of knowledge. Nietzsche writes:

> Truth! Raving delusion of a god! What does truth matter to men!... there once was a star on which clever animals invented knowledge. It was the most arrogant, most mendacious moment in “world-history”— but still only a moment. After nature had taken a few breaths of air the star grew cold, and the clever animals had to die. It was about time; for although they boasted of already having great knowledge, they eventually came to recognize, to their extreme vexation, that all their knowledge was false. They died and cursed at the death of truth.

The phrase, “when war is declared, truth is the first casualty” was made infamous and popularized by Ponsonby in the preface of *Falsehood in War-Time*. See Zachary for truth as a casualty of peace.


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