

**“INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS IN HIGHER
EDUCATION AND QUESTIONS OF BIAS”**

HEARING

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND
THE WORKFORCE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, JUNE 19, 2003

Serial No. 108-21

Printed for the use of the Committee on Education
and the Workforce



88-815 pdf

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HEARING ON INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS
IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND QUESTIONS ABOUT BIAS
THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 2003
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:00 p.m., in Room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Phil Gingrey [member of the subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Gingrey, Burns, Hinojosa, Davis of California, and Ryan.

Staff present: Kevin Frank, Professional Staff Member; Alexa Marrero, Press Secretary; Krisann Pearce, Deputy Director of Education and Human Resources Policy; Alison Ream, Professional Staff Member; Deborah L. Samantar, Committee Clerk/Intern Coordinator; Kathleen Smith, Professional Staff Member; Holli Traud, Legislative Assistant; Ricardo Martinez, Minority Legislative Associate/Education; Alex Nock, Minority Legislative Associate/Education; and Joe Novotny, Minority Staff Assistant/Education.

***OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE PHIL GINGREY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON
EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE, U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC***

Mr. Gingrey. A quorum being present, the Subcommittee on Select Education will come to order.

We are meeting today to hear testimony on international programs in higher education and questions about bias. Under committee rule 12(b), open statements are limited to the chairman and the ranking minority member of the subcommittee. Therefore, if other members have statements, they may be included in the hearing record.

With that, I ask unanimous consent for the hearing record to remain open 14 days to allow members' statements and other extraneous material referenced during the hearing to be submitted in the official hearing record.

Without objection, so ordered.

Good afternoon, and please accept my apologies for making you wait here on Thursday afternoon about an hour. But as you all know, when we've have to vote, we have to vote.

I'm Representative Phil Gingrey, and a member of the Subcommittee on Select Education. Unfortunately, my Chairman, Peter Hoekstra, the gentleman from Michigan, had an obligation arise with another committee and is not able to join us today.

Thank you all for being here today to talk about the international education programs that are authorized under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. We appreciate your willingness to share your insights and expertise about the various programs and offer suggestions for the reauthorization of this title.

The reauthorization of the Higher Education Act offers Congress an opportunity to enact needed modifications to the programs covered under the act and the rules that govern them, with the goal of building upon the programs that are working well.

This subcommittee has jurisdiction over Title VI in the Higher Education Act. Therefore, in preparation for the reauthorization, we are here today to learn more about a number of programs that are authorized and funded under Title VI, which are some of the oldest programs of support to higher education. These programs reflect the priority placed by the federal government on diplomacy, national security, and trade competitiveness.

International studies on education have become an increasingly important and relevant topic of conversation and consideration in higher education. It is apparent that the need for institutions of higher education to provide American citizens of all ages the opportunity to learn more about world people and cultures has become a national priority that we do so.

However, with mounting global tensions, some programs under the Higher Education Act that support foreign language and area studies centers have recently attracted national attention and concern due to the perception of their teaching and policies.

Today, we want to get more information about the various programs that are authorized under Title VI. First, I'm interested in learning more about how Title VI programs can provide innovative ways to help bridge the international knowledge gap in our nation. Second, the reauthorization allows us a forum to consider what changes need to be made in the federal programs. And I would like to use this opportunity to learn more about how institutions of higher education and the general public benefit from the programs within Title VI.

Lastly, I am interested in opening the discussion and the debate to learn more about the merits of and concern for federal support given to some of the international education programs that have been questioned in regard to their teachings, which have been associated with efforts, allegedly, to potentially undermine American foreign policy.

Again, I thank our witnesses for being here today, and your patience with the chairman. And I certainly look forward to your testimony.

And now I'd like to yield to the distinguished ranking minority member from Texas, Mr. Hinojosa, for his opening statement.

WRITTEN OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE PHIL GINGREY,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE
WORKFORCE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC—SEE
APPENDIX A

***OPENING STATEMENT OF RANKING MINORITY MEMBER, RUBEN
HINOJOSA, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION, COMMITTEE
ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE, WASHINGTON, DC***

Mr. Hinojosa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you and thank Chairman Hoekstra for calling this hearing today.

As we know from world events, international education will continue to grow in importance for our economy, for our security, and our relationships with and understanding of the rest of the world. I've had many students, college interns who have come to work in my congressional office, and I enjoy listening to the interest with which they have on the issue that we're going to be talking about today.

I'm pleased that we have this opportunity to focus on the international education programs funded under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Our subcommittee will take the lead in developing the reauthorization of the key international education programs.

These programs include international and foreign language studies program that fund centers for area and language studies. It includes the Business and International Education Program that funds centers to promote the nation's capacity for international understanding and economic enterprise and the International Institute for Public Policy that is designed to prepare students from minority-serving institutions for careers in foreign affairs.

I look forward to working with my colleagues to strengthen and expand these important programs. I am particularly interested in learning how minority-serving institutions and minority students can become more involved in these international activities. Too often, our communities are isolated from the global economy. This is in spite of the fact that communities like mine on the U.S./Mexican border have enormous potential to contribute in the international arena.

Finding ways through education to promote international activities such as trade will only serve to bolster the economic development of our communities.

I thank the witnesses for coming all the way to Washington, D.C., and I look forward to hearing your testimony. I also am looking forward to a constructive dialogue on these worthwhile programs.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Mr. Hinojosa. And I understand that you would like to introduce the first witness on our panel today. And so I now yield to the gentleman from Texas, my friend Mr. Hinojosa, for the purposes of introducing our first witness.

Mr. Hinojosa. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, it is my pleasure and honor to introduce Mr. Peyton Foster Roden, the Director of the Center for NAFTA Studies at the College of Business Administration at the University of North Texas. Prior to assuming the directorship of that center, Dr. Roden has had a distinguished care as a professor of economics and finance. He has been widely published in top academic journals.

Among his present scholarly activities is measuring the impact of NAFTA on the cost of capital to U.S. and to Mexican trucking companies. We have spent many hours discussing NAFTA and the Mexican trucking issue here in Congress.

I ask my colleagues to join me in welcoming Dr. Roden to the subcommittee. The impact of NAFTA has long been a strong interest of mine, and I'm looking forward to his testimony on the center's activities. Welcome, Dr. Roden.

Dr. Roden. Thank you very much for permitting me to take your time to share with you the thoughts and community that we have from the University of North Texas and the College of Business. We are indeed excited about the development of our BIE grant.

Mr. Gingrey. Dr. Roden, excuse me. You are definitely our first witness. I wanted to go ahead now at this point and introduce the remaining members of the panel. And then, of course, we'll come back and look very much forward to your testimony.

Thank you, Mr. Hinojosa, and thank you, Dr. Roden. What I'll do now is go ahead and introduce the remaining members of the panel, and then we'll get into the testimony.

Secondly, Ms. Vivien Stewart. Ms. Stewart is a Vice President of Education at the Asia Society. She is responsible for Asia Society's work with state and national policy makers to promote the study of Asia and other world regions and cultures in American schools. Additionally, Ms. Stewart is a trustee of the National Center on Education and the Economy and the Longview Foundation for Education and International Understanding and World Affairs. Welcome, Ms. Stewart.

And now Dr. Stanley Kurtz. Dr. Kurtz is a Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, and he is a contributing editor for the National Review Online. Previous to his current positions, he served as an assistant director at the Center for Research on Culture and Mental Health, was a Dewey Prize Lecturer in the social sciences, and a fellow for the Committee on Human Development, and a lecturer and consultant at Harvard University. Welcome, Dr. Kurtz.

Dr. Gilbert Merx is a vice provost for International Affairs at Duke University, where he is responsible for general oversight of the university's International and Foreign Language and Area Studies programs, and development of its programs and partnerships abroad. Additionally, he is the co-chairman of the Council of Directors of Title VI National Resource Centers for Foreign Language and Area Studies, and serves on the task force on Title VI reauthorization of the Coalition for International Education. Welcome to you, Dr. Merx.

Last, but certainly not least, Dr. Terry Hartle. Dr. Hartle is the Senior Vice President for Government and Public Affairs at the American Council on Education, where he directs government relations and public affairs activities for 1800 colleges and universities that belong to the nation's largest higher education association. His previous positions include resident fellow and director of Social Policy Studies at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, and a research scientist for the Educational Testing Service. Welcome, Dr. Hartle.

Before the witnesses begin their testimony, I would like to remind the members that we'll be asking questions of the witnesses after the complete panel has testified. In addition, committee rule 2 imposes a five-minute limitation on all questions.

If you don't already know, with this light system, it's green for four minutes, and then it's yellow for a minute, and then finally, it's red. And at that point, I think I'm supposed to do something like that. So without further ado, I think it's time to get started, and we'll first recognize Dr. Roden.

STATEMENT OF DR. PEYTON FOSTER RODEN, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR NAFTA STUDIES, COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS, DENTON, TEXAS

Dr. Roden. Thank you again. I'm ready, as you can tell. The University of North Texas has 33,000 students, and is located about 40 miles to the north of Dallas. The College of Business has about 5,000 students, and is within the top 20 in terms of size in the United States in terms of colleges of business.

We established a Center for NAFTA Studies about two years ago, which was really only on the books. There was no excitement, no drive, no energy associated with it until we were informed in the early spring that we had received a BIE grant.

This has galvanized the College of Business, and has moved forward the development of a NAFTA Studies Center. And I wanted to thank the committee for helping us in that regard. We're awfully excited. The grant is for \$158,000, so it's a small grant. It's big to us and our first one. \$158,000 that will be spread over the next two years.

We think and are convinced that the Department of Education and Congress will receive a high rate of return on investment and human capital as a result of this grant. We also are convinced that the return on investment is going to be enhanced as a result of the transparency of several

issues that are associated with the federal grant the transparency, the accountability, the visibility, and indeed, the legitimacy associated with a federal grant coming to a center.

And let me explain what I mean by each of these. By transparency, what we have done at North Texas is now we recognize that because we have a federal grant, we are going to be scrutinized, we're going to have to develop programs within a public sector, the public environment, and working with various constituencies within the Dallas/Forth Worth region, and indeed, all of Texas.

The accountability is going to unfold as a result of an additional layer of accountability that we're going to provide explanations of how we are spending not only the university's money, which will match the amount given by the BIE grant, but also how we are using the grant to develop programs and so on.

The visibility is very clear. By developing the grant and developing the center, not only is the BIE grant going to be visible, but clearly, we're becoming much more visible as an entity in the College of Business, and indeed, within the Dallas/Forth Worth region.

Finally, receiving such a grant legitimizes the center. This is almost like receiving, we believe, a stamp of opportunity, if not of approval, that now the stakeholders in Dallas/Forth Worth area see the College of Business and its Center for NAFTA Studies as a legitimate area within the College of Business.

What we're going to do with the money that we're receiving are several exciting things. The most exciting thing is that we consider ourselves and the College of Business as a teaching institution. And one of the things that we're doing is pushing an initiative and bringing international trade with an emphasis on NAFTA into the college classroom. We have commitments from 16 different courses which will begin to implement NAFTA modules within each of the classes.

As a matter of fact, at least one of the faculty members has said that rather than putting international finance at the end of the course, usually the international chapter in textbooks is at the very last chapter in the textbook, and you just don't get to it. What some of the faculty members are considering doing now is after chapters 1 and 2, chapter 3 will be international finance. Chapter 3 will be international marketing, and then bringing it up throughout the curriculum throughout the semester. We think that would be exciting so that by the time that the students walk out of the classroom, they're comfortable with international perspectives on issues.

Also, we're going to be sending faculty members to Mexico to become acculturated, to study Spanish, to begin having an appreciation for Spanish. Because many of us in the College of Business are convinced that Spanish is fast becoming the national language of Texas, so we Texans need to, yes, understand English, well Texas English anyway, but also be able to understand some Spanish.

Thank you very much.

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. PEYTON FOSTER RODEN, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR NAFTA STUDIES, COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS, DENTON, TEXAS—SEE APPENDIX B

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Roden.

And now, Ms. Stewart.

STATEMENT OF MS. VIVIEN STEWART, VICE PRESIDENT FOR EDUCATION, ASIA SOCIETY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Ms. Stewart. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As you mentioned, I am vice president for Education at Asia Society, and I'm also the executive director of something called the National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools. Chaired by former Governors John Engler of Michigan and Jim Hunt of North Carolina, the coalition includes the heads of most of the national K-12 education associations, as well as corporate leaders, area and international experts, and media leaders. It was formed last year to stimulate attention by K-12 educators to the international knowledge gap revealed by Asia Society's 2001 report.

Last fall, the coalition organized the first States Institute on International Education in the Schools. Co-sponsored by the National Governors Association, 22 states sent teams of policy makers and educators to begin to address the question of how to develop an internationally competent workforce. The subcommittee has the full reports of these meetings on which my remarks are based.

In the few minutes available, I would like to make four points. First, our high school graduates and K-12 teachers know far too little about the 90 percent of the world outside our borders. Asia Society and National Geographic Society surveys have found that levels of student knowledge are really rudimentary. You have many examples in your materials. Young Americans, in fact, are next to last in their knowledge of geography and international affairs, compared with students from eight other industrial countries.

Teachers are also not prepared. Most prospective teachers do not take any international courses, and have very low participation rates in study-abroad programs. In fact, teacher preparation programs are the least internationalized parts of universities.

Language instruction doesn't reflect today's realities. Fewer than 40,000 students, for example, study Chinese, a language spoken by 1.3 billion people, and potentially our largest market.

While these facts have been true for a long time, schools have not had a very internationally-oriented curriculum. Why is it a problem?

My second point is that international knowledge and skills are no longer just for experts. In the past, international transactions were the domain of diplomats and international policy and business experts. Federal investment through Title VI, therefore, focused on the development of such expertise in higher education. Today, economic, demographic, and national security trends mean that all of our young people will need to acquire some international knowledge and skills in order to be successful as workers and citizens, and these trends are laid out in my written testimony.

In fact, Secretary Paige, in his address to our institute last November, outlined an essential new policy direction. I quote, "In order to meet our goal to leave no child behind, we must shift our focus and encourage programs that introduce our students to international studies early in their education. International knowledge is a new basic."

My third point is that our nation's major resource for building this future capacity is the federal investment in international expertise in higher education. The higher education act contains both Title II, which promotes teacher quality, and Title VI, which promotes the development of international expertise. As currently constituted, neither title adequately addresses our critical need to build teacher capacity in international content areas.

In the absence of significant attention from teacher preparation programs of universities, the outreach activities of Title VI national resource centers are the major source of professional development for teachers about Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East. These activities are highly valued by teachers, but far too few have access to them.

But as currently funded and structured, these outreach activities cannot build the kind of national capacity we will need. Outreach is a low priority with low budgets and part-time staff, and the centers don't exist in every state, and are not typically housed in the institutions that train the majority of our nation's teachers.

Therefore, four, to build on the considerable federal investment in area and international expertise at the post-secondary level, and to align Title VI with this new policy imperative, I recommend that this subcommittee consider creating an adequately funded program of K-16 Partnerships for International Teaching Excellence. At least one of these partnerships should exist in every state, linking international content experts in arts and sciences with schools of education and interested districts. The partnerships could undertake a variety of activities, including integrating international content into core curriculum areas, creating K-16 pipelines in major world languages, especially those in short supply, adding an international dimension to teacher preparation and into state standards and assessment, and pioneering new uses of technology for international learning.

Closing the international knowledge gap is one of the most urgent challenges we face today. Our children will live in a world fundamentally different from the one we've grown up in. Certainly, we must continue to improve performance in reading, math, and science, as well as in American history and democratic institutions. But in the 21st century, like it or not, knowledge of the world is no longer a luxury; it is a necessity.

A Title VI initiative would receive broad support from governors, parents, business leaders, and educators, for there is a dramatic growth of interest in the need to prepare our children for this new world.

Thank you.

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF MS. VIVIEN STEWART, VICE PRESIDENT FOR EDUCATION, ASIA SOCIETY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK—SEE APPENDIX C

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Ms. Stewart. And now we'll hear from Dr. Kurtz.

STATEMENT OF DR. STANLEY KURTZ, RESEARCH FELLOW, HOOVER INSTITUTION AND CONTRIBUTING EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. Kurtz. Mr. Chairman, for some time now, I have been deeply concerned about problems of intellectual and political bias in centers funded by Title VI. Title VI-funded programs in area studies tend to purvey an extreme and one-sided criticism of American foreign policy.

The ruling intellectual paradigm in academic area studies is called "post-colonial theory." Post-colonial theory was founded by Edward Said. Said is famous for equating professors who support American foreign policy with the 19th century European intellectuals who propped up racist colonial empires. The core premise of post-colonial theory is that it is immoral for a scholar to put his knowledge of foreign languages and cultures at the service of American power.

Said has condemned the United States as a nation with "a history of reducing whole peoples, countries, and even continents to ruin by nothing short of holocaust." Said has actively urged his readers to replace their naive belief in America as the defender of liberty and democracy with his supposedly more accurate picture of America as a habitual perpetrator of genocide.

Indeed, Said has dismissed the very idea of American democracy as a farce. Yet Edward Said is the most honored and influential theorist in academic area studies today. Recently, the Title VI-funded Middle East Study Center at the University of California Santa Barbara sponsored an outreach workshop for K through 12 teachers in which only the writings of Edward Said and his like-minded colleagues were used to explain "why they hate us." Many of the authors assigned in that workshop have been widely condemned, even by liberal and left-leaning commentators, as holding an "anti-American perspective."

Yet I do not argue that only material that praises American foreign policy should be assigned in programs sponsored by Title VI. I do argue, however, that our Title VI centers, as currently constituted, purvey an extreme and one-sided perspective which almost invariably

criticizes American foreign policy.

What is needed is a restoration of intellectual and political balance to our area studies programs. In my written testimony, I refer to other examples of bias at Title VI centers.

Title VI-funded professors take Edward Said's condemnation of scholars who cooperate with the American Government very seriously. For years, the beneficiaries of Title VI have leveled a boycott against the National Security Education Program, which supports foreign language study for students who agree to work for national security-related agencies after graduation.

For at least a decade, the African, Latin American, and Middle Eastern studies associations have sponsored a boycott against the NSEP. Since 1981, the directors of Title VI African national resource centers have agreed not to apply for, accept, or recommend to students any military or intelligence funding from the NSEP or any other such source.

Shamefully, a mere two months after September 11th, Title VI African studies center directors voted unanimously to sustain their boycott of military and intelligence-related funding, including the NSEP.

Title VI-supported scholars who boycott the NSEP claim to do so out of concern for their students' safety, yet both opponents and supporters of NSEP agree that there have been almost no cases of NSEP-supported students running into trouble overseas.

The truth is, talk about students' safety is a pretext for a politically-motivated boycott of the NSEP by scholars bitterly opposed to American foreign policy. This is made unequivocally clear by an early pro-boycott statement by the Association of Concerned African Scholars. A key signer of that statement is currently coordinating the boycott of Title VI center directors against the NSEP.

How can Congress permit professors who take American taxpayer dollars on the claim that they are contributing to national security to boycott a program designed to bring desperately-needed foreign language expertise into our defense and intelligence agencies?

Here is what I believe needs to be done to solve these problems.

- 1) Congress needs to create a supervisory board to manage Title VI.
- 2) Congress needs to pass an amendment that would take funding out of the hands of any Title VI center that engages in or abets a boycott of national security scholarships.
- 3) As a sign to deans and provosts that our area studies faculties must become more intellectually diverse, Congress needs to reduce the funding for Title VI.

If these steps are taken, I believe that real reform to our area studies programs will follow.

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. STANLEY KURTZ, RESEARCH FELLOW, HOOVER INSTITUTION AND CONTRIBUTING EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, WASHINGTON, DC – SEE APPENDIX D

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Kurtz.

And now we'll hear from Dr. Merckx.

STATEMENT OF DR. GILBERT MERCKX, VICE PROVOST FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DUKE UNIVERSITY, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. Merckx. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee. I would like to expand just very slightly about my background, because I intend to draw upon that for my remarks.

In addition to serving as vice provost at Duke, I'm also the director of the Center for International Studies, which receives Title VI funding. And before I came to Duke two years ago, I served 20 years at the University of New Mexico as director of the Latin American and Iberian Institute.

As you mentioned, I am the co-chairman of the Council of Directors of all Title VI programs, and I stepped down last year after 20 years as editor of the Latin American Research Review, which is the official journal of the Latin American Studies Association. I would also like to tell you I was the founding member of the group of advisors of the National Security Education Program that Dr. Kurtz has referred to, and that I have served for several years as the chairman of the NSEP group of advisors. In sum, I am well-acquainted with both of these important international education programs.

But I would like to note that the Title VI community that I know is not the one that Dr. Kurtz is describing, and I would like to add that there is no boycott whatsoever of NSEP by Title VI centers.

Title VI is one of the most cost-effective federal programs ever introduced. Since its initiation by the Eisenhower Administration, it has been the primary program responsible for the teaching of foreign languages and international studies in the U.S., and it has leveraged large amounts of money and investment out of American colleges and universities. At present, every Title VI dollar attracts more than \$10 of funding from the host institutions.

Title VI-funded centers train military officers and personnel for our intelligence agencies, and teachers for all levels of our educational system. They also produce in-depth knowledge that has vastly deepened our understanding of other societies.

We serve the nation's national security needs in two different ways. Over the long term, Title VI centers produce new cadres of personnel trained in foreign languages and knowledgeable about foreign areas, as well as a cumulative body of knowledge about those areas. And we provide manpower for government agencies and an intellectual foundation for intelligence. In many ways, the role of these centers is analogous to that of the National Guard, which can be called upon in times of crisis.

One of the graduates of my center in New Mexico worked for years in obscurity as a specialist in the small Central American country which just happened to be El Salvador. And when civil war erupted in El Salvador, he was recruited by the CIA and became an important officer of that organization.

Expertise at Title VI centers in other formerly obscure places, such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Yemen, has also been drawn upon by our nation's agencies when we it became important.

Let me give you some direct examples of how the Title VI centers that I have directed at New Mexico and Duke serve the national interest. In my 20 years as director of New Mexico, we trained 44 active duty U.S. Army foreign area officers who received the M.A. degree, and four Air Force officers. During the period of the Central American conflict, my center in New Mexico hosted four workshops for the Defense Intelligence Agency in which academic specialists from around the country, whom I selected, met with intelligence officers from the DIA, the CIA, and the State Department.

In 1997, my center organized and hosted a conference, in collaboration with the U.S. Army War College, the United States Southern Command, the National Guard Bureau, and the Inter-American Defense Board, on the subject of civil military issues in the Americas. It was attended by 150 military, civilian, and academic personnel.

At Duke University, the Center for International Studies that I direct houses both the Triangle Institute for Security Studies and the Program in Asian Security Studies, both of which interact regularly with national security agencies and military institutions such as West Point.

Shortly before the war in Iraq, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Richard Myers, visited the Triangle Institute to share with us the administration's views, anticipating remarks he was to make a couple of days later at the side of Secretary Rumsfeld to the nation.

In our successful proposal to Title VI for a grant to continue our work, we pledge to focus over the next three years on two primary themes. One is international human rights and the other is international security.

I give these examples, and let me add one other thing, which is I personally have lectured many times at defense institutions such as the U.S. Army War College in Fort Benning, Georgia, and at the National Defense University. I give these examples to make it clear that within the Title VI community, there are people like myself who actively collaborate with our national security and defense institutions. I do not claim to be typical of all foreign area specialists. As in every

academic enterprise, Title VI centers involve faculty with many different political perspectives and intellectual interests. Some of us collaborate with national security agencies, and some of us choose not to do so. But all of us support the larger Title VI enterprise of research and training.

Now, the fact that I do collaborate with national defense agencies and security agencies does not mean I'm part of the mainstream. I am part of the mainstream of foreign area studies. If I were not, I would not be the co-chairman of the Council of Directors of Title VI centers, nor would I have been renewed numerous times as editor of the *Latin American Research Review*.

Title VI centers, not just the specialists in the centers are diverse, but also, the centers are very diverse. And I would like later for the record to provide information about the functions that we provide.

I would like to close by quoting some remarks that Admiral Bobby Inman gave at a conference we held at Duke in January on global challenges to U.S. higher education, and I quote as follows: "The needs of the country, whether involving national security or the global economy, are continuing to grow at a faster rate than we are equipping ourselves to deal with. I remain as persuaded now as I was when I first encountered this problem back in 1958 that the key to our response is the pool of talented citizens who have the depth of knowledge of the cultures and languages and economies of the world that we interact with. I remain as committed to Title VI as I did back then, but I consider it a bucket as compared to the fire hose that we need to deal with global issues."

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. GILBERT MERKX, VICE PROVOST FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DUKE UNIVERSITY, DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA—SEE APPENDIX E

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Merkx.

Dr. Hartle, we didn't know whether to put you between Kurtz and Merkx, or Merkx between you and Kurtz. But anyway, you ended up on the end. And without further ado, we look forward to hearing from you now.

STATEMENT OF DR. TERRY HARTLE, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, DC

Dr. Hartle. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I'm just very happy to be here and to have the opportunity to present the views of the American Council on Education and the 35 other associations that have signed on to our testimony.

Title VI of the Higher Education Act is the single largest source of federal support for international education. Title VI funds 10 separate programs, and Title VI is divided into three parts.

Part A focuses on increasing knowledge and expertise in some 130 languages, world areas, and global issues. Part B provides support to expand leadership in the global economy at university-based programs. And Part C builds international education capacity at minority-serving institutions, and provides internships to help students enrolled at these schools pursue international careers.

I've attached a table to my prepared statement that summarizes each of these 10 programs.

In the last 18 months, the Title VI program has been criticized by some who believe that the program is biased. Dr. Kurtz has summarized his concern about Title VI this afternoon. I strongly disagree with his interpretations, and in several cases, I disagree with the facts as he recounts them. I believe that his charges of bias in Title VI are baseless and without merit.

But before I comment on his criticisms, I think it's important to note that there are some areas where Dr. Kurtz and I clearly agree. We both agree international education is important, think the federal government has a role in it, and I think we share the view that it's more important now that we have good international education than ever before in the past.

Second, we both want balanced academic programs that reflect all points of view. And third, we both believe the National Security Education Program, a small program not in the jurisdiction of this committee, is especially valuable.

I'd make three general comments about the charges that Mr. Kurtz has made this afternoon. First, I think it important to note that his criticisms deal almost exclusively with one of the 10 Title VI programs, the national resource centers. There are 118 NRCs located at universities around the country. But the real focus of his concern is the 14 resource centers that deal with Middle Eastern studies. To be even more specific, he's concerned about the teaching of history and political science at these centers.

Second, at the heart of his criticism is an academic dispute about the best way to understand the Middle East and the Arab world, its history, and the reasons for the strong anti-American and anti-Western feelings that we find in that region.

Obviously, there are many explanations for such a broad question, but let me simplify. If we put all the explanations on a continuum, at one end, we would have what might be called The Western World is at Fault. Adherents of this view claim that the West meddled in the Middle East for most of the 20th century, and its intervention undermined the Arab world. In his testimony, Mr. Kurtz ascribes this view to Edward Said, a professor of comparative literature at Columbia.

The other end of the continuum would be a position that holds the West is blameless. That is, that the Arab world was struggling long before the West got involved in the Middle East and the region would face serious problems regardless of anything the Western world did there in the last century.

Most of the many views about the Middle East would fall somewhere between these two extremes. Dr. Kurtz believes that too much of what goes on in Middle Eastern studies is at The

Western World is at Fault end of the spectrum. He attributes this to Professor Said.

I believe Dr. Kurtz errs in the importance he ascribes to Edward Said's viewpoint. Few Middle Eastern scholars subscribe to this view, and none that I have spoken to in preparation for this hearing, all of whom are at Title VI centers, agree with Mr. Kurtz's view that Mr. Said's work is the ruling intellectual paradigm in their field.

Moreover, Mr. Said laid out his view in 1978, a lifetime ago in academic circles. Do people still read and refer to his work? Sure. But does it dominate their world view? No.

I emphasize that in this democratic nation, we must have diverse points of view, particularly at our universities. Knowledge emerges in advances from a continual interaction of information, ideas, and perspective. Knowledge, whether it is in the biological sciences or the social sciences, is not fixed and static. Ideas formulated when the Shah still ruled in Iran will be inadequate and incomplete to explain today's world.

It's the interaction of ideas and scholars from different points of view that are crucial if knowledge is to move forward. The Title VI centers which bring these scholars together from a variety of academic disciplines are particularly significant in this regard.

My third comment is that the evidence of bias Mr. Kurtz cites comes from a very small number of anecdotes. His testimony discusses one scholar, a single one-day workshop at one Title VI center, one web site, and one program not in the jurisdiction of this committee. Even if we accept his description of the facts, four anecdotes does not demonstrate widespread systematic bias that his rhetoric would suggest. Indeed, I'm struck by the divergence between his assertions of extremism and lack of balance and the very small number of incidents he cites to make his case.

And I do not agree with his description of the facts, especially as it relates to the one-day workshop at the University of California and the National Education Security Program.

We all know that having experts in the general population that's knowledgeable about the broader world is more important today than it has been ever before. I think Title VI has served the nation well, and I think it will continue to do so in the future.

Thank you.

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. TERRY HARTLE, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, WASHINGTON, DC—SEE APPENDIX F

Mr. Gingrey. Dr. Hartle, thank you.

I will take the privilege of asking the first round of questions, and I think I'll start with you, Dr. Hartle. You had mentioned about the national resource centers, and, of course, 118 that were funded last year. How can we all be sure that the information provided is fair and balanced, and do

you think that there's a federal role to ensure the programs funded with taxpayer dollars are, in fact, fair and balanced?

Dr. Hartle. Well, the short answer is yes, absolutely, the programs must be fair and balanced. And I'm sure that any one of the 118 Title VI center directors would insist that that is absolutely to be the case. And indeed, Dr. Merckx can do that himself.

Is there a federal role in determining whether programs are fair and balanced? I think this is difficult to determine, because you'd run the risk that you would tilt in one direction or the other, depending on what ideological point of view was in the saddle at that precise time.

When the charges were made about the programs at the University of California Santa Barbara, however, the Department of Education sent reviewers to look at that particular program to determine if, in fact, the program was in balance and was doing things that were biased. The department has never released that report, and I've never seen it or talked to anybody who has reviewed the report. But the committee could take a look at that report and make its own judgment about that.

And I think that's a model for the committee to think about, that when there's a criticism, when there's a problem, the Department of Education certainly ought to go and look at the centers and review the centers and make a decision as to whether or not they think there are problems.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Hartle. On my time now, I would like to go to Dr. Kurtz and make this somewhat of a point-counterpoint. And Dr. Kurtz, my question to you, are the Title VI programs that you believe are staying true to the intent of the law and providing a well-balanced and thorough study of the Middle East? If so, what are they doing, and how can these activities be replicated in some of the other programs that you have concerns over?

Dr. Kurtz. Well, Congressman Gingrey, as I said in my statement, I believe that the programs funded by Title VI are, in fact, biased, and extremely so. And the solution I would recommend is a supervisory board. Rather than having the Department of Education go on a special case basis into program after program, let's have a regular board. We actually have supervisory boards for programs like the Fulbright Program, the National Security Education Program. We need a full-time supervisory board for this program. And that's the best way, I think, to solve this problem.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Kurtz. And I still see that I have some time left, so I'm going to go to Dr. Merckx.

Dr. Merckx, how effective would a government oversight board, such as the one that Dr. Kurtz just suggested to us, how effective would it be in ensuring the accountability of the programs that receive federal funds? And if such a board would not be effective, please comment on any further recommendations you might have for maintaining accountability under this Title VI.

Dr. Merckx. I do not think such a board would be very effective. We had such a board in the 1970s, and it never worked very well. I think the peer review panel system that we currently have

is quite effective in seeing that the plans that are submitted for activities are sound. Those peer review panels usually include members of the FBI, State Department, or Defense Department as part of the peer review process.

If there is to be a review panel, I think it should be composed of the clients of the program, not of political appointees. I would recommend that there be an interagency group, which would include representatives of the State Department, the Defense Department, the CIA, other agencies, perhaps Homeland Security, who are the kinds of agencies that hire the people with the skills that we produce. Those other agencies could work with the Department of Education to see that these programs are producing the manpower required. That's much more in line with what the NSEP does.

If there is to be a mechanism, I would recommend that kind of mechanism, not a review panel appointed by the executive or by the Congress or whatever.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Merckx. And Ms. Stewart. Ms. Stewart, is there anything short of a new program that can be added to the act which will ensure that the international education priorities that you make clear are vital for students of all ages that we're addressing, is there anything that we can do? I mean, you understand my question.

Ms. Stewart. Uh-huh. Yeah. But I don't understand all of the legislative language and all of the programs of the act well enough to say, "Well, if you added this clause to this piece, it would deal with it." I think I've tried to lay out what the national capacity needs are, and the fact that the current outreach efforts are much too small, and they're not structured well enough to meet them.

There is some argument that it should be addressed in Title II, as you know, which is a broader program concerned with teacher preparation. But that tends not to focus on specific content knowledge. And in any case, it's focused on the current curriculum standards, which, because they were written mostly in the 1980s, don't really incorporate international knowledge.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Ms. Stewart. And I see that my time has expired. And at this point, I will turn it over to Mr. Hinojosa for his questions.

Mr. Hinojosa. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My first question is to Dr. Roden. There is much to commend in your academic programs and support services in Texas. However, NAFTA has also been accused of raising national and international unemployment and environmental concerns. How is your center dealing with these two salient issues?

Dr. Roden. Well, as we have developed a program at North Texas, we're certainly concerned about the remedies that are built into the economic and employment dislocation that can be associated with NAFTA, the idea being that it's important that a society, either Canadian, Mexican, or the United States society, have trampolines to help people bounce back in the event that NAFTA imposes a cost upon an industry sector or a company. We're also concerned about the environment and the impact of NAFTA on the environment.

What we're doing is developing research programs and initiatives that will provide for, hopefully, a balanced perspective on the benefits and costs associated with NAFTA. We recognize that, just as in accounting, there's no debit without a credit, that when there are benefits, we need to look very closely for any costs that are associated. And what we want to do is to do the research to find out ways that we can minimize the cost and increase the benefits.

So we have in our College of Business a group of business law professors who are researching the topic of NAFTA, and are looking at the various legal remedies associated with NAFTA. So we're excited about that program.

Mr. Hinojosa. With the Trade Promotion Authority having passed, we need to have your organization send us here to Washington, especially to the administration, information that would allow them to reconsider the trade promotion agreement with Singapore and Chile. Because neither address that, and they are just letting those countries handle those two issues. And I wish I could have more dialogue with you on that. But we certainly need to address that.

I want to ask Dr. Merckx from Duke University, you supported additional funding under Title VI for these programs that we are discussing. Are there any new activities that are not currently authorized now that you would recommend for consideration by our committee?

Dr. Merckx. Congressman Hinojosa, I believe that the basic authorizations that are in Title VI are sound, and do not need fundamental changes. I think maybe some minor fine tuning.

I do think that the entire Higher Education Act, however, is insufficiently international in origin. I would certainly agree with the comments made earlier that we need to look at the other parts of the act to see that we're doing as much to internationalize K-12 education, and to find mechanisms whereby higher education can help K-12 in internationalizing itself. I think that obviously is the case in teacher education, but it also has to do with curriculum development and many other activities.

Outreach is part of what we do in Title VI, but it's a small part. And I think, in part, the difficulty is the funding has never been adequate for the overall program. But I think we would be helped by perhaps some programs in FPSE or in Title II that would specifically step up to the plate and provide some mechanisms for internationalization of K-12 education.

Mr. Hinojosa. Duke has a good reputation for some of the programs for sophomores, juniors, seniors in high school, bringing them to summer programs and introducing them to a lot of new programs like yours. And I would suggest to you, and again time is limited, and I can't have a dialogue with you either. But I would like to suggest to you that you take a look at some of the regions of the country where we have some very talented high school students, boys and girls, interested in international programs that need to be brought to Duke and introduced to these programs so that they can be encouraged to do this.

Because in my area, we have the eighth best high school of the top 100 in the country. And they are Spanish speakers. But they are doing extremely well. And they're interested in international programs. And I'd like to see you come down and recruit from South Texas

Independent School District.

Dr. Kurtz. You are proposing that Title VI funding be removed from universities if they abet a boycott of national security. What specific guidelines would you propose for the Department of Education?

Dr. Kurtz. Congressman Hinojosa, you mean how should the provision be written?

Mr. Hinojosa. Not necessarily how it should be written. I'll come back in the second round and start with you. With that, I yield my time.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Mr. Hinojosa. And we will, if the panel will bear with us, we'll have a second round of questions.

And I would now like to introduce for his question my good friend, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Tim Ryan.

Mr. Ryan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And thank you very much. I think this is going to prove to be an interesting afternoon here, and excuse me for my cold.

First, Dr. Roden, you talked a little bit about NAFTA. And I represent a district in northeast Ohio that has lost a lot of jobs in auto and component parts to the auto industry, down to NAFTA, into Mexico. That is one component and we feel that we're losing American jobs. It's a race to the bottom, and there aren't the standards.

I know Mr. Hinojosa talked a little bit about this. But can you expand a little bit? Because I was looking through your course schedule that you attached to the back. Are there going to be any efforts in the field of business ethics and human rights and labor? And I know you mentioned environmental laws, which is a major concern. But can you talk a little bit about human rights and some labor standards?

Dr. Roden. Well, Congressman, we and the College of Business have an advantage and a disadvantage in the sense that much of the business curriculums today are very micro- and specific-oriented. Business ethics, which some people believe is an oxymoron.

Mr. Ryan. Kind of like political ethics.

Dr. Roden. Well, like jumbo shrimp, right. But clearly, ethics needs to permeate all of the offerings. But what we are doing at this stage of our development, and our grant does not begin until July the 1st, so we're right now in the incubus stage, we're going to develop specific methods of dealing, like in the area of finance, what is going on with cash flow and accounts receivable management as a result of NAFTA and dealing with Mexican and Canadian companies. How do you deal with foreign exchange and foreign currency risk? At this level of our development, we're looking at very specific techniques and methodologies for dealing with business issues.

Clearly, what you're suggesting is a crucial idea and item. And our business law faculty is starting to pursue research in the area of, as I mentioned, the trampoline effect, that when there are dislocations as a result of any international trade, but specifically in our area, NAFTA, you want to have some way of supporting, letting people bounce back, helping them with training, helping them with job location, and so on. It is a pervasive problem, and as you're implying, it doesn't affect just Texas and I-35. It affects the entire United States. I agree.

Mr. Ryan. And I think there's an opportunity for you, since you're still planning, and it sounds like you're dealing with capital flow, for the most part?

Dr. Roden. Yes.

Mr. Ryan. I think there's an opportunity for you, and I would certainly encourage you to do this to try to include, because a lot of times, the capital flow dictates the kind of labor standards and the kind of environmental standards that these other countries use with the threat that they're going to take their capital and move it to an easier place where they will get the kind of laws or lack of laws to enforce these kinds of things. So let me just strongly encourage you to do this.

And Mr. Chairman, are we going to have a second round of questioning?

Mr. Gingrey. We will have a second round.

Mr. Ryan. Then I'll come back to you.

Dr. Roden. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Ryan. Because we have two people going against each other here, and I've have to get to you in my first round. And we'll get back into trade deficits and things like that, because some recent statistics came out.

Mr. Kurtz, I was just listening. I kind of want to follow up on Mr. Hinojosa's comments there. And you have been on record before basically saying that no university that continues to ban the National Security Education Program from its campuses should be permitted to take federal funding. Is that an accurate statement that you have made?

Dr. Kurtz. Well, actually, I said no university or center. I mean, there were several quotes, and Mr. Ward chose only to take one quote. I said no university or center. So if a university as a university were to ban cooperation with the NSEP, then that university should lose funding.

Right now, it's centers. The Title VI center directors in African resource centers have launched a boycott. I was quite taken aback by Dr. Merckx's claim that there is no boycott. I mean, we have an article here from the Chronicle of Higher Education that says, "Scholars Revive Boycott." I have a memo from the Title VI Center Directors of the African National Resource.

Mr. Ryan. Okay. Let me let Dr. Merckx go ahead and respond to that.

Dr. Kurtz. Yes.

Dr. Merkx. Some of the area studies associations, three of them, passed resolutions recommending to their members that they not accept NSEP funding. Many of the members of those associations disagreed totally with that, and the Title VI Center Directors Association has never taken that position. I know of no Title VI effort to say they will have nothing to do with NSEP.

I strongly support NSEP. I think it's a great program. Almost all the center programs I know also support it. There are a few who do not, but they do not speak for us.

There's a big difference between Title VI centers and these professional associations. Most of the faculties in those professional associations are not in Title VI centers. And those associations tend to have more of the kinds of people Dr. Kurtz is concerned about than Title VI centers.

Mr. Ryan. Mr. Chairman, if I may, just to clear this up?

Mr. Gingrey. Briefly. And then we can continue it on round two, if you'd like.

Mr. Ryan. So Dr. Kurtz, you're saying that there is a boycott, and Dr. Merkx is saying that there is not a boycott, and the boycott is being led by people who are not receiving Title VI funding; is that correct?

Dr. Kurtz. I am saying, Congressman Ryan, that I have a memo here put out under the name of David Wiley, who is a national coordinator of Title VI centers, reaffirming the boycott, and announcing that the Title VI center directors of African studies resource centers have voted unanimously to reaffirm that boycott, as directors of Title VI centers, two months after September 11th. And I will submit this to the committee.

Mr. Gingrey. Stay tuned for round two, ladies and gentlemen.

Mr. Ryan. Thank you.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Mr. Ryan. Well, we'll go ahead and start the second round with myself.

And Dr. Roden, I had a question for you. My son is actually a graduate of the American International Business School, and that's not the right title, but the Thunderbird School in Glendale. I know you're familiar with it.

Dr. Roden. Phoenix, yes.

Mr. Gingrey. And it sounds like it's very, very similar to what you're doing there at the University of North Texas.

I wanted to ask you, is the focus of your program, which falls under the business and international programs in Title VI, towards economic democratic development, or is it more toward

understanding peoples of a different culture and background?

Dr. Roden. Well, I would say if you want to get an A or B answer, it would be B, that we're concerned about culture. Because, as I said, Congressman, the idea that we're looking at here is from a college of business, which is very micro-oriented, as opposed to, say, a Department of Economics, which deals with much broader social and economic issues.

What we're doing in the classroom is introducing, hopefully, the faculty will introduce methodologies to deal with issues that have arisen from all of international trade, but primarily with emphasis on NAFTA, as I said, so that when our graduates pass out the hallowed halls of ivy at the University of North Texas, they will be knowledgeable, or at least comfortable, with the idea of making decisions in an international environment.

Now, clearly, that will entail an understanding of culture. And one of the initiatives that we have in our program that we're talking about developing is that faculty will take students, North Texas students, to campuses in Mexico to teach a specific topic. For example, I'll take students, 20 or 30 of our students and more, if I can get them to sign up, to a campus in Mexico. And in the morning, I will teach the finance. In the afternoon, the students will study Spanish. Spanish study will be a required part of this program, at whatever level the student needs, some have had none; some have had advanced Spanish while they've living with a Mexican family.

So we feel like that this is going to benefit the students. But also, we want to have a program where, rather than just giving money to faculty members to travel and learn about culture, we're going to systematically develop a program where our faculty will go down as a group to a campus in Mexico. And at that point, we will be there for one or two weeks. And during that period, they will study Spanish and visit Mexican businesses in Mexican Banco de Mexico and develop programs that they can take back to enrich the classroom experience.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you. Dr. Kurtz, have you found bias in any of the other programs that are authorized under Title VI, or is it only in the national resource centers in the foreign language and areas studies programs?

Dr. Kurtz. Well, Congressman Gingrey, bias is pervasive throughout the American academy. Pervasive. And it includes the resource centers and the programs that you've mentioned. It probably goes far beyond that. That is one reason why I think we need a supervisory board, to obtain more facts.

Most of the material that I've been able to present to the committee has come from programs which put out information on web sites and such. But what there needs to be is a board that can supervise and find out exactly how deep the problem goes. But we already know from what I consider to be comprehensive and authoritative studies like Martin Kramer's book, *Ivory Towers on Sand*, that the problems in academia are pervasive.

Kramer's book is about Middle Eastern studies. But let me just say in response to Dr. Hartle that my concerns go far beyond Middle Eastern studies.

First of all, I've just been talking about African study centers, which precipitated a boycott. I'm a South Asianist, and I can tell you, and the truth is that's what I'm really passionate about is South Asia. And South Asia is completely dominated by post-colonial theory. Edward Said probably has more influence on South Asian studies than he has on Middle Eastern studies. And Middle Eastern Studies Association has just given him a gigantic award for his unparalleled influence on Middle Eastern studies.

Edward Said has founded an intellectual paradigm. It's called post-colonial studies. It's no longer necessary for people to directly quote him for them to be under the influence of his general perspective.

I have lived and seen this on a day-by-day basis in academia, and I'm telling you that the influence of post-colonial theory and of approaches like Professor Edward Said's is pervasive. And to get to the bottom of it, we've got to have a board.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Dr. Kurtz. And I see my time has expired, and we'll move to Mr. Hinojosa for his second round of questioning.

Mr. Hinojosa. Dr. Kurtz, you and Tim have a good dialogue going, but I want to be sure that you realize that I have a great deal of respect for Harvard and for the way in which you all teach both sides. And I am, I guess, a real strong proponent of the case studies that you all do. And so I'm going to let Tim continue that dialogue that you all had, and I'll come back and see if I can still ask you some additional questions.

I wanted to take this opportunity to say to Ms. Stewart thank you for your insights, rather, regarding the lack of opportunities for young people in helping them learn about international issues. You have some good ideas for that K-16 pipeline that you talked about. What other ideas do you have to improve this area? For example, do you work with any of our national professional foreign language teacher associations? Or do you work with the National Association for Bilingual Education to try to carry out your insights?

Ms. Stewart. Most of my work is, in fact, in New York City with New York City teachers. But to the extent that we work nationally, we have many of the language associations are a part of this national coalition. And then we're also working with projects in 14 states, where sometimes the Governor, sometimes the chief state school officer, sometimes the university, has set up a group of state leaders to look at the whole issue of what is their state's relationship to the world now? What will it be in five years' time? What is in their student standards and assessment about the world? Usually very little in the standards and nothing in the assessment. Taking a look at their teacher preparation programs, taking a look at uses of technology, how to build on their higher education resources.

In the language area specifically, which I think is almost the hardest, I think it's easy to imagine how you can begin to integrate international content into all the core disciplines if you have teachers and textbooks that have that. I think the languages area is complicated, because there are so many potential languages, because we don't always have the foreign teachers, because some of the methods have not always been as effective. We now know a lot about what works in terms

of starting earlier, more intensive programs, building on heritage, language communities, and so on.

But I think that states and district are actually not sure how to proceed in this area. I'm struck by the fact that when I'm in Washington, there are big debates about, and agreement, that we need more languages, especially the non-European languages, in state education circles, whether it's school boards or state legislatures. Nobody talks about languages whatsoever. And at the local level, they're all being cut in budget cuts.

So I think we need sort of more analytic work and more model development, which is why I suggested model development, to try to see how we can begin to create these pipelines in the neglected languages, and what's the most effective way to do it.

So yes, we do work with all of those groups. Thank you.

Mr. Hinojosa. Well, if I may, I'd like to suggest to you that you write both to the states and to the national governments to encourage us to put more resources into foreign language, particularly the Chinese, Spanish. Because, as some of the panelists said, those are the languages where there's so much business, and that great need to be able to talk to other businessmen and businesswomen from other countries in their language, not expecting everybody to speak English, as we do now.

And in the seven years I've been in Congress, the mindset is that English is the dominant language throughout the world, and that's not so. And they're quickly finding out as they go into China thinking that we can trade with the 1.3 billion buyers, and so many of our American companies are coming back trying to get out of the country before their losses are greater.

So obviously, there is a lack of our speaking and understanding the Chinese language. And, of course, if we are to strengthen the western hemisphere, Spanish, of course, is the language that we're going to have to learn, and understand the culture, so that we can do a better job.

So I thank you. I'm glad that you came. I yield my time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Mr. Hinojosa. And now we'll move over to our host, Mr. Tim Ryan.

Mr. Ryan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have a life after politics, huh?

First, back to the NAFTA situation. Would you say that your staff that is going to be teaching this, would you say there is a bias one way or the other as far as a pro trade versus, I guess, free trade fair trade? Would you say there would be an inherent bias one way or the other in your program?

Dr. Roden. It's difficult to say, as you can well imagine. But if you were to ask me about my colleagues in general, as I indicated earlier, most of us are accounting and micro type or marketing type of orientation. And the general attitude, though, would be very much in favor of free trade and expansion of business, because it contributes, at least in the Dallas/Fort Worth area, to an

expansion of employment opportunities for our graduates.

Mr. Ryan. And I take it your graduates aren't hard labor workers.

Dr. Roden. No, no.

Mr. Ryan. I mean, they're going to achieve status in the business world.

Dr. Roden. We hope so.

Mr. Ryan. I just hope, and I just want to encourage you. And we talked a little bit about capital flow.

Dr. Roden. Yes.

Mr. Ryan. And a report just came out in the last day or so, \$136 billion trade deficit for the first three months, which is the largest in the history.

So these things have to be and if you're going to approach it from the capital flow perspective, I would just encourage you to say as you're monitoring why the capital is going into other countries, and now we see that capital is leaving Mexico and going to China.

Dr. Roden. Right.

Mr. Ryan. And it's leaving because there are lower wages, less environmental standards, less human rights standards, zero democracy in China. So if you have to figure out a way to incorporate that, you know, try to track as the capital flows. And so when you come back in a year or two to try to get more money, maybe have a little bit more information on why we're losing some jobs.

But I wish you the best of luck with it.

Dr. Roden. Thank you, sir.

Mr. Ryan. Dr. Kurtz, why do you think Dr. Said's post-colonial theory has drawn such interest?

Dr. Kurtz. Congressman Ryan, you ask a very deep question. I think that there has been a cultural shift in this country since the 1960s, and it has become increasingly difficult in certain circles of our country to criticize anyone other than the United States. For some reason, it feels more comfortable to criticize yourself, if you know what I mean.

And so an almost reflex toward criticism of America and American foreign policy has grown up within our academic community. And the folks who purvey that particular perspective themselves have a critical attitude toward traditional notions of liberty and freedom. People who take a post-modern perspective, like Professor Said, followed Michele Foucault. Michele Foucault

doesn't take very seriously the traditional democratic guarantees.

So these people don't have any qualms about trying to stack a faculty with people from one point of view. They consider notions of liberal balance a kind of deception for powerful people, that in their view, if you give all the seats to what they consider to be people who are fighting against illegitimate power, then that's the right thing to do.

So they can design jobs, for example. They will design a job announcement that will ask, and this is a rough approximation, but seeking professor who talks about post-colonial movements in South Asia in the 1970s. That's structured so that only someone of a particular point of view can fill the post. And in effect, they're able to take over departments and govern them according to one perspective, until supporters of American policy are pretty much relegated to the sidelines outside of academia, criticizing from the outside.

Mr. Ryan. I'm going to have to be quick here. Dr. Hartle, just as more of a logistics question, who decides at these centers what is being taught? Who makes the final decision?

Dr. Hartle. Well, the centers would be interdisciplinary organizations within a university that would involve people from many different areas, and they would be involved in teaching and in research. What would be taught would be something that would be negotiated out within the faculty of the institution, as it pretty much is everywhere.

In the case of the centers and Dr. Merckx might be able to address this more directly it would be discussions between various parts of the center in terms of who wanted off for this particular course this term, who would offer what course next term. It's, frankly, negotiated out.

Mr. Ryan. And is that debated as far as where the interests lie, I would imagine, as to what's taught. And what is the component as far as from a consumer aspect of what's going to be taught? Does that drive what is actually taught, what they want to be taught?

Dr. Hartle. Do you mean what students want to be taught?

Mr. Ryan. Uh-huh.

Dr. Hartle. Sure. If students are particularly interested in a set of courses, say, the Middle East, those courses will be taught, and they'll be taught regularly. If they're courses that don't attract much student interest, that don't get very much enrollments, they don't get taught as often. So it is courses that are popular and that people want to take that will be taught more frequently.

Mr. Ryan. I think I'm done.

Mr. Gingrey. The gentleman's time has expired.

Mr. Ryan. Thank you very much.

Mr. Gingrey. The gentle lady from California, Mrs. Davis, has joined us. We're very grateful for her being here. And Susan, we each had two rounds, so don't feel too constrained by the five-minute rule. You just go ahead.

Mrs. Davis. Well, thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I appreciate that. And I really am just going to take a minute. And I'm sorry that I had some other matters that I had to address.

But I wanted to be here. And certainly the testimony of all of you is here in the packet, and I will take a look at that, and have a chance to review it. But I was somewhat perplexed, I think, just by what we were trying to really get at today. And so I had asked what the problem was? What were we looking at?

And as I understand it, a lot of the concern comes from this particular resource book, which is a critical reader on the September 11th crisis. And the two articles in question are, and one is about three pages, one is about four pages in here.

And so I guess I would just point out and make sure that we all understand that I think in a university setting, there are a number of different articles that are submitted which don't necessarily stand for curriculum. They may be challenging; they may be a whole lot of things. But they don't necessarily mean that that is a direction that a whole lot of folks at the university are necessarily taking, nor does it state a policy of the university.

So I'm sorry that I've missed the questions, and it may be that all that was dealt with very well. But I did want to just submit for the record, Mr. Chairman, this critical reader, and have it available to members to take a look at it.

Mr. Gingrey. Without objection_

COVER PAGE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS OF A DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SEPTEMBER 11th CRISIS: A CRITICAL READER", SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY REPRESENTATIVE SUSAN DAVIS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC -- SEE APPENDIX G

Mr. Ryan. Would the gentle lady yield?

Mrs. Davis. Yes.

Mr. Ryan. Thank you. I just wanted to ask Dr. Hartle one more question, if you don't mind.

Mrs. Davis. Sure, go ahead.

Mr. Ryan. We talked a lot about the post-colonial theory that obviously has a lot of interest. In your opinion, is there a counterpoint that is being taught? And if so, is it being taught with as much interest or as much energy as the other theory?

Dr. Hartle. Well, as I indicated, Congressman, I don't think the post-colonial theory is attracting anywhere near as much attention or is the dominant paradigm as Dr. Kurtz would have you believe.

Having said that, as I indicated in my statement, I think there is a continuum of theories about what goes on in the Middle East. And at one end would be the sort of post-colonial, the West is responsible, the Western World is responsible view. On the other end would be the Western World is not at fault. We are blameless.

And the scholars that you would find at that end, or close to that end, would be people like Bernard Lewis, whose book *What Went Wrong?*, is currently on the New York Times bestseller list, and Samuel Huntington, whose book *Class of Civilization* also spent time on the New York Times bestseller list.

In preparation for the hearing, I checked with the publishers of both books, and they confirmed that both books are selling extremely well for course books for colleges and universities.

So again, I continue to believe that the evidence of bias is badly overstated. I don't think it exists anywhere near the extent to which Dr. Kurtz would like you to believe it does.

I would suggest the committee think of doing two things. One, it would be a fairly straightforward matter to ask an independent third party to review some of the national resource centers for issues of bias. I emphasize independent third party. I think Dr. Kurtz probably wouldn't want me to run that, and I assure you, I wouldn't want him to run that.

Mr. Ryan. I think that would be fun to have you guys do this.

Dr. Hartle. For example, the National Academy of Sciences would have the standing and the stature to look at these questions and provide a report to the committee.

I think if you're interested in post-colonial theory, it would be a fairly simple matter for you to write to the center directors, all of the centers, all 114 of them, if you want, or some subsets, and ask them what they think of post-colonial theory and the extent to which it influences their teaching, their research and so on.

Dr. Kurtz suggested that faculty members are teaching post-colonial theory without even realizing it, because they've inculcated it so much. I think the notion that leading faculty members at institutions like Dr. Roden and Dr. Merx don't know what they're teaching and don't know what shape they're thinking is preposterous. The facts won't bear it out.

And the only way for you to get an answer to this question, frankly, is to ask the people who are doing the teaching, "How important is this to you?"

Mr. Ryan. I think that's a good idea, and I will encourage the committee to do that. And let me just say in closing thank you for everything. And I think the fact that our federal money is going to teach, whether it's to the extent that Dr. Kurtz thinks or Dr. Hartle thinks, post-colonial theory, I think, speaks volumes about what kind of country we live in and what we stand for, that that would

even be an option.

So thank you very, very much for your time and energy today.

Mrs. Davis. Thank you, and Mr. Chairman reclaiming my time on my second round. Again, I wanted to submit this for the record, and I would yield the balance of my time to Mr. Hinojosa.

And again, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the meeting, and thank you to all of you. I'm sorry that I wasn't able to be here for its entirety.

Mr. Hinojosa. I thank Congresswoman Davis for yielding time.

As I mentioned in my own opening statement, many of the students and communities served by the Hispanic-serving institutions and/or by historically black colleges and universities are not participating and contributing to the extent they should in international education programs.

What are the recommendations from the representative from Duke and from the representative from Harvard? What are the recommendations for those minority-serving institutions to improve their access to these programs? First, from Dr. Merckx.

Dr. Merckx. The IIPP part of Title VI, that's the third part, which focuses on providing assistance to students and minority-serving institutions, I consider to be very successful. The problem is it's a very small program. It has had very little funding. And, of course, that's an appropriations issue. But I think the legislative vehicle is in place in the current law and should be continued, but it should be better funded.

I also think that there are opportunities through the outreach activities of NRCs to focus more on outreach at the higher education level. Mainly, our outreach has been focused at the K-12 level. But insofar as we can build partnerships between research universities that are strong internationally and other institutions that have high proportions of minority students that can provide a vehicle for recruiting those minority students to later go to graduate school in the research institutions.

I think the other interesting thing I saw in New Mexico is that in my first 10 years or so, we recruited a lot of Hispanic students into Latin American studies. In the last 10 years, those numbers drifted downwards, because the Hispanic students wanted to go into the professions. They wanted to become doctors and lawyers. And I thought that was certainly a healthy phenomenon, although it made it harder for us to recruit Hispanic students.

Mr. Hinojosa. I wish I could discuss that a little bit longer with you, but we'll do it after the hearing.

Dr. Kurtz, what could the folks from Harvard do to get HSIs and HBCUs to participate?

Dr. Kurtz. Well, let me clarify, Congressman Hinojosa. I did, in fact, teach at Harvard for some time. Some of the credentials which Congressman Gingrey mentioned were actually from when I was at the University of Chicago. But I've been out of the academy for several years, and a think tank and I don't have any special expertise on minority recruitment as it reflects on Title VI. So, it would be out of my depth to comment on that particular question.

Mr. Hinojosa. Then I would ask Ms. Stewart.

Ms. Stewart. Well, I think there was a paper commissioned for the Duke conference, and I don't remember who wrote it, on this whole issue of minority recruitment which would be worth the committee looking at. I don't remember all of the things that it said. But I do think it's also a part of the phenomenon of I think students need to be interested in these issues earlier. After all, they decide when they're undergraduates which courses to take and which courses not to take. And so if they haven't had any exposure earlier, they tend not to go into those fields. So to me, it feeds back into the need to begin this earlier.

Mr. Hinojosa. Thank you. And Dr. Hartle, I think that the business community might have the answer.

Dr. Hartle. Well, I certainly wouldn't want to speak for the business community on this. But speaking for the American Council on Education, I think that we do know, based on what Congress did in the 1998 reauthorization with Part C, as Dr. Merx indicated, the Institute for Public Policy, that there are a number of concrete steps that can be taken that can be very precise and targeted that can have a pretty significant impact on participation of under-represented minorities in Title VI.

Title VI is a very popular program. Every one of the programs has far more applicants than there is money available, so I'm sure we can figure out ways to accomplish what you would like to. As you probably know, the Hispanic association at colleges and universities has put forward some concrete recommendations to do this. I think those are very sensible and thoughtful recommendations that merit a careful look.

Mr. Hinojosa. With that, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the additional time, and I yield back to Mrs. Davis.

Mrs. Davis. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have no other comments.

Mr. Gingrey. Thank you, Ms. Davis.

In my closing remarks, let me just offer you a few anecdotes. I don't think there are too many gray-haired folks out here in the audience, and you might or might not remember. But when I was in what we used to call grammar school and middle school, my favorite subject was geography. Do you remember geography? I don't know what happened to it, but it just kind of disappeared somewhere along the line and became, I guess, an elective. But, of course, we only scratched the surface in regard to countries and parts of the world, and their peoples and their languages that they spoke, and the natural resources that they had, and their products, and whether it was agriculture or whatever. But I was particularly interested, of course, in Mrs. Stewart's

remarks and written testimony in regard to K-12 and the lack of knowledge. I mean, it's kind of shocking, really, when you talk about not being able to locate a country on the globe, and not knowing which ocean separates us from Asia, and other things. It really is shocking, and I think you bring forward some points that are extremely well-taken by the members of the subcommittee, and, of course, of the committee as a whole as we go forward.

And without question, I think 9/11, all of a sudden, what a wake-up call it is to us to realize how important Title VI is.

I know I mentioned earlier that my son attended the American School of International Management, the Thunderbird School, in Glendale, Arizona. And this was several years ago. It was certainly pre-9/11. And his roommate was from Columbia. His best friend was from Yemen. And I think that school, at the time, there was a requirement that nearly 50 percent of the student body were foreign nationals. I'm not sure what the makeup of the student body there is now, Dr. Roden. It may be far different from that.

But Dr. Kurtz, of course, brings up some concerns that I had no idea that were out there. And clearly, you know, we're in this Title VI of the Higher Education Act. These are extremely important points and bits of information; points and counterpoints. Not total agreement, obviously, of whether the problem or the degree of the problem exists, or how to necessarily solve it. But you've certainly given us some great food for thought. Because I think this is extremely important.

And I've often said in regard to this country, I go back in history, and I truly agree with what Teddy Roosevelt said, that it's very important for our country to speak softly, but carry a big stick. And I think we do carry a big stick. Operation Iraqi Freedom, and Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, and other military operations sort of prove that.

But we need to probably work doubly hard on speaking softly. It is important that we're liked and accepted and perceived as being even-handed in the way we deal with the rest of the world.

And so this has been a great hearing, and I can't tell you how much I appreciate, how we members of the subcommittee appreciate you being here today and giving us your valuable time and testimony.

That being said, if there's no further business, the subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 3:35 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

***APPENDIX A -- WRITTEN OPENING STATEMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE
PHIL GINGREY, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE, U.S. HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC***

**Opening Statement for Congressman Gingrey
Subcommittee on Select Education**

**Hearing on “International Programs in Higher Education and
Questions of Bias.”**

Thursday, June 19, 2003

Good afternoon. I am Representative Phil Gingrey and a member of the Subcommittee on Select Education. Unfortunately, Chairman Hoekstra had an obligation arise with another committee and is not able to join us today. Thank you all for being here today to talk about the international education programs authorized under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. We appreciate your willingness to share your insights and expertise about the various programs and offer suggestions for the reauthorization of this title. The reauthorization of the Higher Education Act offers Congress an opportunity to enact needed modifications to the programs covered under the Act and the rules that govern them, with the goal of building upon the programs that are working well.

This subcommittee has jurisdiction over Title VI in the Higher Education Act. Therefore, in preparation for the reauthorization, we are here today to learn more about a number of programs that are authorized and funded under Title VI, which are some of the oldest programs of support to higher education. These programs reflect the priority placed by the federal government on diplomacy, national security, and trade

teachings, which have been associated with efforts to potentially undermine American foreign policy.

Again, I thank our witnesses for being here today and I look forward to their testimony.

***APPENDIX B -- WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. PEYTON FOSTER
RODEN, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR NAFTA STUDIES, COLLEGE OF
BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS,
DENTON, TEXAS***

**HEARING: “INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS IN HIGHER
EDUCATION AND QUESTIONS OF BIAS”
THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 2003
WASHINGTON, DC**

TESTIMONY OF DR. PEYTON FOSTER RODEN
DIRECTOR OF THE CENTER FOR NAFTA STUDIES
COLLEGE OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS
(June 17, 2003)

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In an economic sense, Title VI provides funds for investment in human capital so that society can develop academic initiatives to increase the wealth of the nation. I believe that the BIE funds granted to the University of North Texas (UNT) will be used productively and lead to an increase in the wealth of the nation. The funds will be used to establish a curriculum with NAFTA modules in several courses, to develop programs associated with the UNT's Center for Logistics Education and Institute of Petroleum Accounting, and to help the College of Business (COBA) to provide awareness of NAFTA for COBA's stakeholders and other institutions.

The following discussion will show you the way funding provided by the Business and International Education (BIE) grant has made development of the COBA's Center for NAFTA Studies and its initiatives a reality. Clearly, cash flow from the grant will benefit the initiatives, but also important are the transparency, accountability, visibility, and legitimacy federal funding provides to our start-up Center.

THE CENTER FOR NAFTA STUDIES

The College of Business Administration of the University of North Texas established a Center for NAFTA Studies to examine the economic and business implications of NAFTA. Federal recognition of the Center as a dynamic part of the University and of the Texas economic scene came with a Business and International Education (BIE) award to finance the Center for NAFTA Studies and several initiatives. The two-year award, which begins July 1, 2003, provides \$158,000. The University will provide an equal amount. The budget is attached in Appendix A on page 10 at the end of this document.

The College of Business Administration at the University of North Texas established the Center for NAFTA Studies in 2001 to address three separate needs, two derived directly from the university's mission, with the third relating to the needs identified by the business community. The Center allows the COBA to contribute to the University's mission to internationalize its programs in response to the educational goals of the State of Texas. The Center contributes toward satisfying student needs for international programs and business community needs for a regional university with strong international programs. Extraordinary growth in the importance of international markets—especially those of Canada and México—to the Dallas-Fort Worth region reinforces the need to develop such a center in the North Texas area. Recognition of the potential opportunities to the University and to the international business community led to the decision to perform an assessment to determine the role of the COBA to support the growing importance of international activities in Texas and, particularly, in the Dallas-Fort Worth region.

Need for the Center

The COBA Board of Advisors recommended establishment of a special advisory group made up of experts from the international business and government communities to examine the feasibility for COBA to develop a focused international effort. This special group examined the role that COBA should play in bringing international educational opportunities to its students

and to business and government organizations in this region. It concluded that the international focus for UNT's College of Business Administration should be the development of a wide-ranging expertise on NAFTA and its impact on the three signatories (Canada, México, and the United States) with special reference to the needs of the Dallas-Fort Worth region. The faculty-led International Committee considered the appropriateness of a NAFTA focus for the College. Departmental-based Curriculum and Academic Policy Committees agreed that NAFTA is an appropriate focus for some of our curriculum development efforts.

Students provided input into the decision process. They encouraged the establishment of the Center for NAFTA Studies and inclusion of students in its activities and programs. Indeed, the overall thrust of the initiative is to tie student needs and interests to those of the international business community and of the faculty through curriculum reform.

A direct benefit to both faculty and students is the integrative nature of the program we are developing. Traditional business education in the United States is organized around a series of academic departments devoted to a single discipline. UNT is typical. We have five departments around which the curriculum is developed. These five silos lead to a fractured learning experience unless individual silos are knitted into an integrated educational experience. We believe that the NAFTA theme developed throughout the curriculum can serve the purpose of knitting the educational pieces into one fabric.

Out of the dialogue with our various stakeholders, a variety of needs were identified and expectations developed for the Center for NAFTA Studies. The establishment of a Center for NAFTA Studies should make a substantial contribution to the international activities in the Dallas-Fort Worth region and at the University. The advisory groups also encouraged the COBA to be alert to opportunities to extend the Center's work to Central and Latin America. This will become increasingly important as the NAFTA trade corridor expands to include countries in these other areas.

Our discussions resulted in the identification of a number of different areas in which COBA could make important contributions to this region's international business activities. These activities were grouped into four areas consistent with the university's mission: (1) business community outreach and executive development, (2) faculty programs and development, (3) research programs and development, and (4) student programs and development.

Mission of the Center for NAFTA Studies

The Center's mission consists of several parts as follows:

- To develop student and faculty competencies in international trade and commerce with special emphasis on NAFTA.

- To research, explore, and document the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement on investment, on trade and commerce decisions, and on activities of governments and businesses in the Dallas-Fort Worth region;
- To facilitate exporting activities of the regional business organizations; and

The Center's mission is a direct outcome of the needs assessment process described above and of a critical review within the university's senior administration. The administrative review process focused on (1) whether or not the mission and objectives of the proposed Center were consistent with those of the university as a whole and (2) competencies of individuals who would execute the activities of the Center. The Council of Deans, each senior Vice President, the President, and the Chancellor of the University approved and encouraged the College of Business Administration to establish the Center.

STRATEGIC PROGRAM OBJECTIVES AND EXPECTED OUTCOMES

The BIE grant will help finance a series of strategic program objectives designed to meet the needs identified by stakeholders. These programs will enable the Center for NAFTA Studies to make substantial progress toward accomplishing its mission over an implementation period of two years beginning July 1, 2003. They include:

- **Faculty and Student Development Programs and Exchanges.** The activities within this program area include curriculum development to incorporate NAFTA issues in selected courses and programs; student education and training in an international context with specific emphasis on NAFTA; faculty development programs in international business with specific emphasis on NAFTA issues; and student and faculty study abroad and exchange programs with Mexican universities. Our planned work in this area corresponds with Title VI of the Higher Education Act which calls for increasing international skills in the business community and creating an awareness among the American public of the internationalization of our economy. Initial work in this area was part of the request to the Department of Education (DOE).
- **International Business and Trade Organizations Outreach.** Activities within this program area focus on facilitating exports, marketing and logistics, and financing. This includes working with the Dallas and Fort Worth Chambers of Commerce (both groups are our partners in this proposal) and area businesses and governments on projects of mutual benefit; developing a research program that focuses on specific issues that directly affect trilateral trade; developing educational modules for inclusion in the business curriculum; and serving as a catalyst to spur critical thinking about innovation and investment in exporting. Our work in this area is consistent with Title VI emphasis on links among academic institutions, world trade and business groups, and state departments of commerce.

- **Technology Transfer and Innovation.** This strategy calls for the Center to translate the knowledge created through research and education into innovative ideas and methods that create wealth and build local and regional infrastructures. This strategy also calls for developing a sense of awareness and commitment on the part of students and faculty to the roles of business structure and organization in this transfer. Our work in this area is consistent with Title VI in its emphasis on wealth creation and the role of education in developing research and teaching wealth creation.
- **Sister Cities Program.** Cooperating sister cities in México and the United States have noted that some public administrators in cooperating sister-city governments have inadequate understanding of NAFTA and related economic and business issues. The Center for NAFTA Studies will respond to this issue through development of educational programs, mutual exchanges between government leaders and business executives, and seminars on these issues for Mexican cities partnered with Dallas-Fort Worth region cities. This is consistent with the Title VI goal of developing trained, competent, public administrators to understand the economics of NAFTA.
- **Other Educational Programs.** Activities within this program focus on development of educational materials for non-university educational institutions to use in teaching the economic and business aspects of NAFTA. Experts in economics, business, and education will develop materials that ultimately will be available in English, Spanish, and French. In developing these programs, we will work with individuals who specialize in language, education, and economics and who come from community (junior) colleges. We have reached an agreement with Brookhaven College to begin work on this project. This is consistent with several of the authorized activities in Section 613 of Title VI.

These program objectives form the present working model for the Center for NAFTA Studies. As we move forward, we will develop appropriate implementation strategies, tasks, activities, and budgets. Other opportunities not reflected in the present plan may present themselves and could cause us to alter our timing on these programs.

FACULTY AND STUDENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND EXCHANGES STRATEGY

Putting NAFTA into the Curriculum

Our first tactic will be to introduce NAFTA modules into the educational curriculum for all students of the College of Business Administration. We plan to develop fourteen different NAFTA modules for elective and required courses. This tactic ensures that all graduates will be exposed to NAFTA in at least one course. A list of courses we propose to revise with assistance from the Business and International Education Program is shown in Appendix B on page 11.

A role of our outside cooperating partners is to contribute to the curriculum and educational aspects of this development. The advisory panel, called the NAFTA Studies Partners Group, will

consist of representatives of business and government from the Dallas-Fort Worth region with a direct interest in and commitment to NAFTA as well as governmental agencies from Texas, Canada, and México. They will serve as a source of regular consultation and feedback to faculty in the conceptualization, design, and execution of courses focusing on NAFTA and NAFTA-related issues. Each participant will provide one or more individuals responsible to review the modules, provide useful input, participate as guest lecturers, and act as mentors to interested students.

Our College of Business Administration has a long history of working closely with external communities on the design and delivery of educational programs. While curriculum decisions remain the province of the faculty, regular and consistent input from external stakeholders allows us to develop educational experiences at the cutting edge of current business practice as well as to participate in the active business laboratory provided by the external stakeholders.

NAFTA International Business Outreach

We believe that COBA activities directed at students and faculty under this grant will directly benefit international business and trade. However, we also plan two other programs.

The first is with the Center for Logistics Education and Research and will involve the Center for NAFTA Studies in developing a program entitled *River of Trade: The Movement of Goods and Services on I-35*. This program is of particular interest to the business community in the Dallas-Fort Worth region and to the North Texas Commission (described below on page 7). A special session will be devoted to exploring the issues related to the movement of goods and services along the Interstate 35 corridor from México to Canada. After issues have been identified, the Center for NAFTA Studies will work with the North Texas Commission to determine how public and private entities can cooperate in addressing these issues.

The second program is a cooperative venture with UNT's Institute of Petroleum Accounting (IPA) on the development of transfer pricing for the movement of oil and gas supplies among the NAFTA signatories. The United States is the primary importer of Canadian and Mexican oil and gas. However, the trade is often characterized by feuding and disputes, sometimes because of disagreements over appropriate transfer prices. The transfer price often determines where the oil and gas will be taxed. It also influences the volume of trade and even the method of transport. The Center for NAFTA Studies, along with its business partners and those of the Institute of Petroleum Accounting, will design a research study to investigate these issues.

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT OUTREACH AND PARTNERS AGREEMENT

Our international business and government outreach and the support of these groups for us comes in four ways during the BIE grant period. They are incorporated into a four agreements, parts of which are discussed below.

General Partners Agreement

Our partners join us in a commitment to develop a well-structured and balanced curriculum that incorporates international business issues into a wide range of courses. They also commit to help us develop outside-the-curriculum programs, lectures, and other experiences to broaden the student awareness of work place issues, economic issues, and cultural and social opportunities. The following three excerpts from the Agreement show the strength of their commitment to this proposal:

We presently serve on the Center for NAFTA Studies Advisory Board. The Board's role is to help the NAFTA Center's director and staff develop an understanding of international business relationships

We agree to serve in the NAFTA Studies Partners Group whose primary aim is to help the Center develop and integrate international business issues, especially those involving NAFTA, into the curriculum.

Our partners also have committed to help us identify new partners and to assist in expanding our NAFTA Studies Partners Group. They believe, as we do, that partnership between education and business is essential to enhancing American competitiveness in world markets. If we expand the program to include more businesses and individuals as well as trade associations and government groups, then the economic health of the Dallas-Fort Worth region will benefit.

North Texas Commission Agreement

Founded in 1971, the North Texas Commission is a non-profit, membership-supported organization made up of over 300 North Texas businesses, cities, counties, chambers of commerce, economic development entities, and higher education institutions. Its purpose is to enhance and promote the economic vitality and quality of life of the Dallas-Fort Worth region by providing leadership and acting as the catalyst for regional cooperation.

The North Texas Commission has agreed to work toward the development of programs of mutual benefit. It is especially eager to use the Center for NAFTA Studies as a resource for information, expertise, and well-trained students. It will also participate in the *River of Trade* program. The North Texas Commission members involved with the movement of oil and gas will be utilized in the study of transfer pricing with UNT's Institute of Petroleum Accounting.

Center for Logistics Education and Research Agreement

The Center for Logistics Education and Research joins the Center for NAFTA Studies in developing and presenting a seminar, *River of Trade* on moving goods and services through the Interstate 35-E corridor. An expected outcome from this process is an Intermodal Freight Council focusing on NAFTA issues in which the Center for NAFTA Studies will participate.

Institute of Petroleum Accounting Agreement

A hindrance to an efficient trading system is lack of an appropriate measures of the cost of the imported resources, transfer pricing, taxation, and other cost issues. The Institute of Petroleum Accounting has been authorized by its Board of Directors to conduct a research project to investigate this area, and it has committed \$8,000 toward funding the project whose initial cost is expected to total \$16,000. This project will be part of the Center for NAFTA Studies under the BIE grant.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In summary, the University of North Texas, the College of Business Administration, students, faculty, and stakeholders in the Dallas-Fort Worth region will benefit from the funds provided from the BIE grant. The funds will be used to establish a curriculum with NAFTA modules in several courses, to develop programs associated with the UNT's Center for Logistics Education and Institute of Petroleum Accounting, and to help the COBA to provide awareness of NAFTA for COBA's stakeholders and other institutions.

Funding provided by the BIE grant has made development of the Center for NAFTA Studies and its initiatives an immediate reality. Without the funds, the Center would have remained a distant goal, growing by fits and starts and without the transparency, accountability, visibility, and legitimacy federal funding provides.

- **Transparency.** Federal funding has required the COBA to communicate its objectives to various stakeholders and to develop a budget that is available to them and to other interested parties.
- **Accountability.** The BIE grant requires the Center to account to a federal agency for the allocation of funds.
- **Visibility.** Developing the application for the grant required cooperation between many stakeholders and other areas within the University, thus increasing the visibility of the COBA and of the Center. Moreover, publicity surrounding the successful application benefits the University and the COBA. I would not be here with you today without the funding because the Center would not be financially viable.

- **Legitimacy.** The BIE grant legitimizes the Center for NAFTA Studies. Stakeholders and the public at large have increased confidence that comes with federal funding. The Center is perceived as a productive part of the University community.

In conclusion, I am a strong supporter of the BIE program. From my perspective, the Program is especially useful to universities in the initial stages of developing international programs and initiatives. My recommendation is that new programs be given higher priority than mature programs to provide funding that may be used productively to develop programs, establish their legitimacy, and to provide funds that may be bootstrapped into increased funds from the private sector.

Thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today and to share my views. I look forward to working with you in the future if you believe that I can be of service.

Peyton Foster Roden

Peyton Foster Roden, Director
Center for NAFTA Studies
College of Business Administration
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APPENDIX B. COURSES SCHEDULED FOR NAFTA MODULE

Course	Course Title	Responsible Faculty Member
Accounting 4140 and 5140	Advanced Accounting Problems	Paul Hutchison
Accounting 4420	International Accounting	Teri Conover
Logistics 5430	Designing, Creating, and Managing the Delivery Systems	Ron Hasty
MSCI. 4510	Model Based Decision Support Systems	Shailesh Kulkarni
Management 4660/5660	International Management Perspectives	Lynn Johnson
Accounting 5150	Accounting Theory	Barbara Merino/Alan Mayer
BCIS 5670	International Issues of IT Management	Melinda Cline
Marketing 4280	Decision Making in Global Markets	Nancy Albers-Miller
Marketing 3650	Foundations of Marketing Practice	Barbara Coe
Finance 4500	International Finance	Niranjan Tripathy
Finance 4300	Working Capital Management	Peyton Roden
Business Law 3430	Basic Law	Marcia Staff
Logistics (new course)	International Logistics	Madhav Pappu
Finance 2980	Financial Impact of NAFTA	Peyton Roden

***APPENDIX C -- WRITTEN STATEMENT OF MS. VIVIEN STEWART, VICE
PRESIDENT FOR EDUCATION, ASIA SOCIETY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK***

TESTIMONY OF VIVIEN STEWART before the SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT
EDUCATION, HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE
JUNE 19, 2003

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

My name is Vivien Stewart. I am Vice President for Education at Asia Society, a non-profit organization founded by John D. Rockefeller 3rd nearly fifty years ago to promote greater understanding of Asia and the Pacific region. I am also Executive Director of the National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools. This Coalition is chaired by former governors John Engler of Michigan and James B. Hunt Jr of North Carolina. It includes the heads of major education associations, CEOs of major corporations, area and international relations experts and scholars, and media leaders. It was formed in early 2002 to stimulate attention by educators to the international knowledge gap revealed by Asia Society's report, *Asia in the Schools: Preparing Young Americans for Today's Interconnected World*.⁽¹⁾

Last fall, the Coalition organized the first-ever States Institute on International Education in the Schools. Twenty-two states sent teams of policymakers and educators to begin to address the challenge of how to develop an internationally competent workforce. The Institute was co-sponsored by the National Governors Association, the Council of Chief States School Officers and the Education Commission of the States. The Subcommittee has the full reports of these meetings.^(2,3) My remarks are based on survey research on the international knowledge gap, reports from experts prepared for the meetings and on a recent article in *Education Week* co-authored with Ted Sanders, former Deputy Secretary of Education in the previous Bush administration, that is submitted as part of this testimony.

I have been invited to address how Title VI programs can be aligned more effectively with K-12 education and what can be done through the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act to continue working towards closing the international gap in our society.

In the few minutes available, I would like to make four points:

1. Our high school graduates and K-12 teachers know far too little about the 90% of the world outside our borders.

Surveys conducted by Asia Society in 2001 and National Geographic Society/Roper in 2002 (4) found that:

- **Levels of student knowledge are rudimentary.** For example, 25% of college-bound high schools students could not even name the ocean between California and Asia. 80% did not know that India is the world's largest democracy. In fact, young Americans are next to last in their knowledge of geography and international affairs compared with students from eight other industrial countries.
- **Teachers are not prepared.** Most prospective teachers do not take any international courses and have very low participation rates in study abroad programs. In fact teacher preparation programs are the least internationalized part of universities.(5,6)
- **Language instruction does not reflect today's realities.** For example, more than one million students study French, a language spoken by 80 million people worldwide. Fewer than 40,000 study Chinese, a language spoken by 1.3 billion people.

2. International knowledge and skills are no longer just for experts.

Some may wonder why I have been asked to testify about K-12 education at a hearing on the Higher Education Act. In the past, international transactions were the domain of diplomats and international policy and business experts. Federal investment through Title VI therefore

focused on the development of experts and languages in higher education. Today, a converging set of economic, demographic, and national security trends mean that **all** of our young people will need to acquire some international knowledge and skills in order to be successful as workers and citizens.

- **Globalization is driving the demand for an internationally competent workforce.**
Already one in six US jobs is tied to international trade. The majority of future growth in many industries, large, medium and small, will be in overseas markets.
- **Access to good jobs will require these new skills.** Future careers in business, government, health care, law enforcement, and a wide variety of other jobs will all require greater international knowledge and skills.(7) In this connection, it is important to note that minorities continue to be underrepresented in international careers and need to be exposed to international content before they go to college.
- **New national and human security challenges**, including terrorism, AIDS, and environmental degradation, also underscore the need for global knowledge. In particular, the US State and Defense Departments have issued strong calls to develop **higher levels of proficiency in a wider range of world languages so language learning will have to start earlier and be more effective.**
- **Increased diversity in our schools and workplaces** with increasing populations from many different parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa, requires a citizenry with increased understanding of other cultures.
- Finally, **international education needs to be a two-way street** both to address the tremendous misinformation about the US among young people in many parts of the world and to promote mutual understanding and problem solving.

In short, our education system has not kept pace with a rapidly changing world. The needs of our country for the global economy and for national security and are growing faster than we are developing the human capacity to deal with them.

Secretary Paige in his address to the States Institute last November outlined an essential new policy direction: “In order to meet our goal to leave no child behind, we must shift our focus and encourage programs that introduce our students to international studies earlier in their education, starting in kindergarten. International knowledge is a new ‘basic’.”

But how are we to build the capacity to respond to this emerging policy priority?

3. Our nation’s major resource for building national capacity is the federal investment in area and international studies in higher education.

The Higher Education Act contains both Title II, which promotes teacher quality and Title VI, which promotes the development of international expertise. There is an unintended gap between these two titles. As currently constituted, neither title adequately addresses our critical need to build **teacher capacity** in international knowledge and skills.

In the absence of significant attention from the teacher preparation programs of universities (both the arts and sciences and college of education components), the outreach activities of Title VI National Resource Centers are **the** major source of professional development workshops for teachers about Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and international affairs. Outreach activities of centers have also produced supplementary curriculum materials and have taken groups of teachers on study abroad.(8)

These activities are **highly valued** by teachers but **far too few** have access to them.

But as currently funded and structured these outreach activities cannot build the kind of national capacity we need. Although every National Resource Center is required to undertake

some outreach to schools, this is a low priority within the program (only 5 of a total of 150 points assigned to program proposals are for K-12 outreach). Budgets are tiny, staff is part-time and staff turnover often high. Moreover, National Resource Centers do not exist in every state and are not typically housed in the institutions that train the majority of our nation's teachers so they have not been able to engage the nation's schools of education or the community colleges where one quarter of prospective teachers study for their first two years. Finally, they have not in the past found willing partners in states and school districts so that their work can systematically improve K-12 classrooms and have a measurable impact on student achievement.

4. Proposed Title VI “K-16 Partnerships for International Teaching Excellence.”

To build on the considerable federal investment in area and international expertise at the post-secondary level and to align Title VI with this new policy imperative, I recommend that this subcommittee consider creating an adequately funded program of “K-16 Partnerships for International Teaching Excellence.” At least one of these partnerships should exist in every state, linking international experts in arts and sciences faculty with schools of education and interested school districts. These partnerships could be created under either Title VI or Title II, but Title II has already been finished without attention to international content. They could include matching funds from states or school districts and could undertake a variety of tasks, for example:

- Integrating intellectually rigorous international content into the core curriculum areas;
- Creating K-16 pipelines in major world languages, especially those deemed to be in short supply;
- Adding an international dimension to teacher preparation, professional development and school leadership training programs;

- Working with states to integrate international content into state standards and assessments programs; and
- Pioneering new uses of technology for language learning, on-line professional development, and connecting American schools and teachers to schools in other parts of the world.

In conclusion, closing the international knowledge gap is one of the most urgent challenges we face as a nation today. Our children will live in a world fundamentally different from the one we've known. Certainly we must continue to improve performance in reading, math and science, as well as give students a solid grounding in American history and democratic institutions. But in the 21st century, like it or not, knowledge of the world is no longer a luxury; it is a necessity. Although Title VI will not solve all of the K-16 capacity needs alone, since this will require longer-term support from state and local levels, a catalytic initiative to stimulate national attention and to develop some strong models is most timely.

Over the past year, I have spoken with leaders from more than 30 states, numerous governors, and dozens of education, business, and community groups. Based on their growing interest, we are confident that such an initiative would receive broad support from governors, parents, business leaders, and educators in K-12 and higher education for there has been a dramatic growth of interest in the need for international education in the schools.

Action to address the international knowledge gap is critical. As Secretary of State Colin Powell recently said, "The young people of the United States and Asia need to know and understand each other because they will be building and sharing the same future." And, to quote Secretary Paige, "It's time to put the **world** into 'world-class' education."

Education Week

American Education's Newspaper of Record

May 28, 2003

International Knowledge: Let's Close the Gap

By Ted Sanders & Vivien Stewart

Education Week

Over recent weeks, educators across the nation have struggled to develop balanced information and effective teaching strategies to help students understand the historical, religious, and cultural context of the war in Iraq. After Sept. 11, 2001, schools urgently sought materials about Central Asia and Islam. And earlier, after the fall of the Berlin Wall, classrooms everywhere intensified their focus on Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

But such attention to other parts of the world is usually short-lived in America's classrooms. Once the crisis is over, schools revert to business as usual. But the plain fact is: our high school graduates know far too little about the 90 percent of the world outside our borders. If we continue to neglect this international-knowledge gap, a whole generation of children will be ill prepared to work and act as informed citizens in the 21st century.

In 2001, the National Commission on Asia in the Schools, chaired by former Gov. James B. Hunt Jr. of North Carolina, former Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien of the University of California, Berkeley, and Charlotte Mason, a Newton, Mass., teacher, released the report "Asia in the Schools: Preparing Young Americans for Today's Interconnected World." It concluded that "young Americans are dangerously uninformed about international matters, especially Asia, home to more than 60 percent of the world's population." Research conducted for the report found that:

- Levels of student knowledge were rudimentary. For example, 25 percent of college-bound high school students did not know the name of the ocean that separates the United States from Asia. Eighty percent did not know that India is the world's largest democracy.

Our high school graduates know far too little about the 90 percent of the world outside our borders.

- Most teachers were not prepared to teach about Asia. For example, of the top 50 U.S. colleges and universities that train teachers, only a handful required any coursework on Asian history for their students preparing to teach history.
- Language instruction did not reflect today's realities. For example, while more than a million students in U.S. schools studied French, a language spoken by 80 million people worldwide, fewer than 40,000 studied Chinese, a language spoken by almost 1.3 billion people.

One year later, in 2002, the National Geographic/Roper survey of knowledge of geography and current affairs among young adults in nine countries showed that U.S. students lagged behind their peers in other countries. The great majority—83 percent— could not find Afghanistan or Israel on a world map, but knew that the island featured in last season's "Survivor" TV show was in the South Pacific. Compared with young adults from other nations, American youths hold a greatly inflated view of America: Nearly one-third estimated the U.S. population at a billion or more.

There is no shortage of evidence about the paucity of young Americans' knowledge of the world. But schools already have daunting responsibilities and cannot teach everything. Why are international knowledge and skills so critical?

We believe that both our future economic prosperity and our national security depend on closing the international-knowledge gap.

In the past, complex international transactions were the domain of diplomats and international-policy and -business experts, but today a converging set of powerful economic, technological, demographic, and national-security developments will require a citizenry that is far more internationally literate. Consider the following:

- Globalization is driving demand for an internationally competent workforce. Already, one in six U.S. jobs is tied to international trade. Our trade with Asia now equals over \$800 billion a year, more than our trade with Europe. The majority of future growth for industries of all sizes is in overseas markets. Future careers in business, government, health care, law enforcement, architecture, and a wide variety of other jobs will all require greater international knowledge and skills.
- As the world's only superpower, the United States is deeply involved in economic, political, and social developments around the globe. Our national security depends on our ability to act

intelligently on the world stage, whether that means establishing new partnerships, containing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, providing assistance to others, or defending the nation. The U.S. departments of State and Defense have issued urgent calls to improve our national capacity in world languages in order to meet our national-security needs.

- New human-security and humanitarian challenges—from solving global environmental degradation, to averting the spread of communicable diseases such as HIV/AIDS, to reducing the poverty and hopelessness that underlie much conflict—all require a citizenry with increased knowledge of other regions and cultures.
- The increasing diversity in our nation's classrooms, workplaces, and communities, with rapidly increasing populations from many different parts of Asia and Latin America, requires greater understanding of the myriad cultures and histories students bring to the classroom.

What is being done to prepare all of our students to face the opportunities and challenges of this new globally connected world?

With advancements in technology, our children can have unprecedented access to almost every place on the planet. Communication—whether good or ill—no longer stops at national borders. The attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, were a tragic reminder that hatred can travel thousands of miles and hurt us here. Our children and grandchildren will be continually working with countries and cultures very different from our own, with potential for both fruitful interaction and destructive misunderstanding. Educational systems around the world need to ensure that the next generation worldwide

has the knowledge and understanding to solve global problems and build a shared future.

What is being done and what actions need to be taken to prepare all of our students to face the opportunities and challenges of this new globally connected world?

To be sure, there has been some progress in recent years. Many states are beginning to include knowledge of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and global issues in their social studies standards. Geography and economics have been incorporated into the academic standards of some states. A new Advanced Placement examination in world history is quickly growing in popularity. Guidelines on how to teach about religion in a constitutionally permissible way have made it easier for schools to do so. But we have not yet made the acquisition of international

knowledge and skills a significant policy priority, nor have we prepared educators to get high-quality international content into our classrooms.

Currently, there are islands of excellence in classrooms across the country where teachers impart sophisticated content about Asia and other world regions and make this material come alive for their students. But the more typical picture is one of instructional insularity from the world or an unchallenging emphasis on "fun, food, and festivals." If we are to make knowledge of other world regions, cultures, and international affairs available to *all* students, not just the most privileged, we need to address five key issues:

- (1.) Policymakers at all levels must make education about other world regions, cultures, and international issues a significant priority.
- (2.) Because teachers cannot teach what they do not know, opportunities must be provided for teachers to learn about the history, geography, and economics of different world regions and about international relations. This can be done through preservice preparation, professional development, and direct exposure to other cultures through travel, study, and exchange.
- (3.) We need to develop an effective K-16 pipeline in major world languages through a mix of innovative approaches.
- (4.) Partnerships and exchanges—both real and "virtual"—need to be established between schools, students, and educators in the this country and those in other parts of the world. Such steps will help not only to promote mutual understanding, but also will provide a means for learning about other educational methods. All schools and teacher-preparation programs should seek to have an active link with a counterpart in another part of the world.
- (5.) High-quality textbooks, materials, and assessments need to be developed to make it practical and easier to integrate international content into different curriculum areas and assess the effectiveness of different approaches. And the more informal, but powerful, instruments of educational television and interactive media also need to be harnessed in this effort.

Change of this magnitude will not happen overnight. Nor can any single organization or level of education accomplish it alone. We need leaders to catalyze action at every level.

Local communities should lead innovation. In classrooms from Bangor, Maine, to Honolulu, outstanding teachers, many of whom have found opportunities to take a course on or travel to Asia, Africa, Latin America, or the Middle East, are integrating international content into their teaching. They are exposing their students to some of the world's vast heritage of knowledge,

giving their students the historical context to understand world events, and using the study of other cultures and global challenges as a way to teach perspective-taking and other higher-order-thinking skills.

Too often, these teachers operate without active support from principals or superintendents, but in some places, groups of teachers or whole schools are showing how international content can be integrated across different curriculum areas, improve achievement, and meet state standards. We need to identify and celebrate such creative and practical "best practices," so others can replicate them.

As cities and towns create new initiatives to improve student achievement, there are wonderful opportunities to integrate knowledge about Asia and other world regions and languages into redesigned high schools, literacy initiatives, and after-school and technology programs.

States must prepare for globalization. States are in the forefront of managing the challenges of globalization. Governors work hard to help their states compete in the global economy, attracting investment and jobs. To be competitive, states need a workforce that is internationally literate.

States must prepare for globalization. States are in the forefront of managing the challenges of globalization. Governors work hard to help their states compete in the global economy, attracting investment and jobs. To be competitive, states need a workforce that is internationally literate.

Last November, 22 states sent teams to the first States Institute on International Education in the Schools. Co-sponsored by the National Governors Association, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the Education Commission of the States, and the National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools, and organized by the Asia Society, the institute gave states a chance to share experiences in preparing young people for the new global age.

Since then, more than a dozen states have established task forces and work groups designed to mobilize state leaders, assess and strengthen student standards and high school graduation requirements, enhance teacher education requirements and professional development, and create partnerships with schools in other parts of the world.

State action is essential to take international education to scale. In fact, all states should undertake an "audit," similar to one commissioned by former Gov. John Engler of Michigan, of their "international preparedness." In doing so, they will find willing partners in local corporations, in the international resources of their higher education institutions, and in their

media, technology, and cultural institutions. And they will find public support. Seventy percent of parents believe that schools are not doing enough to teach about Asia, for example.

A federal leadership role is vital. Improving our nation's international knowledge and skills is vital to our future economic prosperity and national security. For 50 years, the federal government has played a critical role in fostering foreign-language and area-studies expertise at the postsecondary level. This commitment now needs to be extended to K-12 education as an urgent priority. We welcome U.S. Secretary of Education Rod Paige's policy statement from this past November: "In order to meet our goal to leave no child behind, we must ... introduce our students to international studies earlier in their education. It's time to put the 'world' into world-class education."

Federal leadership could play a critical role, through, for example:

- *Incentive grants* to encourage all states to improve their international readiness. These grants would have high leverage in encouraging states to identify the human and material resources that exist to teach and learn about the world and would ensure that children in all jurisdictions have such opportunities.
- *Enhancing teacher capacity and quality.* The federal Higher Education Act, due to be reauthorized next year, provides an important vehicle for K-16 partnerships for international teaching excellence, and for professional-development opportunities in "world-class learning" for teachers and school leaders.
- *Stimulating a K-16 pipeline in major world languages.* To increase our capacity to communicate in languages other than English, federal incentives should be offered to begin the study of languages in elementary school, promote innovative use of technology, and conduct research and development experiments with more-intensive approaches to language learning and the recruitment of foreign-language teachers.
- *Incorporate international knowledge and skills into existing federal programs.* Infusing a concern for the development of international knowledge and skills into a range of domestic and international federal programs would provide needed resources for local innovation, and for research and assessment.

'The young people of the United States and Asia need to know and understand each other, because they will be building and sharing the same future.'

Colin Powell,
Secretary of State

Schools now have a great deal on their plates. They must continue to work hard on the goals of the "No Child Left Behind" Act of 2001. We must continue to improve performance in reading, math, and science, as well as give students a solid grounding in American history and democratic institutions. But let us recognize that in the 21st century, knowledge of the world is no longer a luxury; it is a necessity. As Secretary of State Colin L. Powell has said: "The young people of the United States and Asia need to know and understand each other, because they will be building and sharing the same future."

Ted Sanders is the president of the Education Commission of the States, in Denver. Vivien Stewart is the vice president of the Asia Society, in New York City. She is also the executive director of the National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools, on which Mr. Sanders serves.

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- (2) States Institute on International Education in the Schools, *Institute Report, November 20-22, 2002*.
- (3) National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools, *Meeting Report, May 29, 2002*.
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- (7) Ben L. Kedia and Shirley Daniel, *U.S. Business Needs for Employees with International Expertise*.
- (8) Jonathan Friedlander, Valerie McGinley Marshall and John Metzler, *Outreach: Current Challenges and Future Prospects*.

Committee on Education and the Workforce

Witness Disclosure Requirement - "Truth in Testimony"

Required by House Rule XI, Clause 2(g)

Your Name: <u>Vivian Stewart</u>		
1. Will you be representing a federal, State, or local government entity? (If the answer is yes please contact the committee).	Yes	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) which you have received since October 1, 2000: <u>NONE</u>		
3. Will you be representing an entity other than a government entity?	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No
4. Other than yourself, please list what entity or entities you will be representing: <u>Asia Society</u>		
5. Please list any offices or elected positions held and/or briefly describe your representational capacity with each of the entities you listed in response to question 4: <u>Vice President for Education</u>		
6. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) received by the entities you listed in response to question 4 since October 1, 2000, including the source and amount of each grant or contract: <u>The Asia Society Education Division has not received any federal funds. The Asia Society Museum has received \$340,145 from NEH, and \$189,166 from NEA. The Asia Society Policy and Business Division has received \$171,595 from the US Department of Energy.</u>		
7. Are there parent organizations, subsidiaries, or partnerships to the entities you disclosed in response to question number 4 that you will not be representing? If so, please list:	Yes	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Signature: Vivian Stewart Date: June 18, 2003

Please attach this sheet to your written testimony.

***APPENDIX D -- WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. STANLEY KURTZ,
RESEARCH FELLOW, HOOVER INSTITUTION AND CONTRIBUTING
EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW ONLINE, WASHINGTON, DC***

Stanley Kurtz

Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

Contributing Editor, National Review Online

Testimony before

the Subcommittee on Select Education,

Committee on Education and the Workforce

U.S. House of Representatives

June 19, 2003

Mr. Chairman, my name is Stanley Kurtz. I am a research fellow at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University. I am also a Contributing Editor to the Internet magazine, National Review Online. Please note, however, that I speak for myself, here, and not for either the Hoover Institution or for National Review Online.

I received my doctoral degree in Social Anthropology from Harvard University in 1990, after doing field research in India. In 1992, I published a book called, *All the Mothers Are One: Hindu India and the Cultural Reshaping of Psychoanalysis*, with Columbia University Press. I was a post-doctoral fellow at the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, and was a Dewey Prize Lecturer in Psychology there as well. I was also a Lecturer for several years at Harvard University's Committee on Degrees in Social Studies.

For some time now, in my writings on National Review Online, and in *The Weekly Standard*, I have criticized scholars who study the Middle East (and other areas of the world) for abusing Title VI of the Higher Education Act. These criticisms are based on my recent research into the operations of Title VI, and also on my own earlier experience in the academy. Title VI-funded programs in Middle Eastern Studies (and other area studies) tend to purvey extreme and one-sided criticisms of American foreign policy. To see this bias at work, consider the most influential theoretical perspective in area studies today.

The ruling intellectual paradigm in academic area studies (especially Middle Eastern Studies) is called "post-colonial theory." Post-colonial theory was founded by Columbia University professor of comparative literature, Edward Said. Said gained fame in 1978, with the publication of his book, *Orientalism*. In that book, Said equated professors who support American foreign policy with the 19th century European intellectuals who propped up racist colonial empires. The core premise of post-colonial theory is that it is immoral for a scholar to put his knowledge of foreign languages and cultures at the service of American power.

In his regular columns for the Egyptian weekly *Al-Ahram*, Said has made his views about America crystal clear. Said has condemned the United States, which he calls, “a stupid bully,” as a nation with a “history of reducing whole peoples, countries, and even continents to ruin by nothing short of holocaust.” Said has actively urged his Egyptian readers to replace their naive belief in America as the defender of liberty and democracy with his supposedly more accurate picture of America as an habitual perpetrator of genocide.

Said has also called for the International Criminal Court to prosecute Bill Clinton, Madeline Albright, and General Wesley Clark as war criminals. According to Said, the genocidal actions of these American leaders make Slobodan Milosevic himself look like “a rank amateur in viciousness.” Said has even treated the very idea of American democracy a farce. He has belittled the reverence in which Americans hold the Constitution, which Said dismisses with the comment that it was written by “wealthy, white, slaveholding, Anglophilic men.”

Yet Edward Said is the most honored and influential theorist in academic area studies today. Just last year, the Middle East Studies Association, many of whose members are associated with Title VI centers, joined its European counterparts in presenting Edward Said with a special award for his unparalleled contribution to Middle East Studies. In his recent book, *Ivory Towers On Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*, Middle East scholar and *Middle East Quarterly* editor, Martin Kramer, detailed the pervasive influence of Edward Said’s post-colonial theory on Middle East Studies. During my own years in the academy, I had ample opportunity to note the broad influence of Edward Said’s post-colonial theory, not only on Middle East Studies, but on South Asian Studies, and on many other area studies programs as well.

This is the context in which we have to understand a teacher-training workshop

sponsored by the Title VI-funded Center for Middle East Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. That workshop was part of the outreach program by which Title VI centers are supposed to convey knowledge of the Middle East to the broader American public. In the wake of September 11, U. C. Santa Barbara's Middle East Studies Center assigned reading materials to K-12 teachers to help them answer the question, "Why do they hate us?" Yet all of the articles assigned under that rubric were writings of Edward Said, or of his like-minded colleagues. Given the influence of Said's post-colonial theory on Middle East Studies in America, that workshop was in no way an isolated occurrence.

The authors assigned in that workshop included Arundhati Roy, Robert Fisk, and Tariq Ali, all known as bitter critics of American foreign policy. More than that, Said and these other authors have been widely cited for purveying a viewpoint that betrays an extreme animus to the United States itself. The *Columbia Journalism Review* cited Arundhati Roy, for example, as a prime example of an "anti-American" writer. Liberal author Ian Buruma, writing in *The New Republic*, published a review of Roy's work entitled, "The Anti-American." (Roy's title-essay from the book reviewed by Buruma was assigned in the U. C. Santa Barbara course.) Even leftist author Tod Gitlin, in the left-leaning magazine, *Mother Jones*, called Arundhati Roy "anti-American."

The uniformity and extremist political bias of that Title VI-funded reading list was in no way unusual in a field dominated by Edward Said's post-colonial theory. What was so striking about this workshop was that it was purveying this perspective, even to the teachers responsible for educating America's young children about the meaning of September 11.

Let me state clearly, however, that I am not arguing that authors like Edward Said ought to be banned from Title-VI-funded courses. My concern is that Title VI-funded centers too

seldom balance readings from Edward Said and his like-minded colleagues with readings from authors who support American foreign policy. Princeton historian and best-selling author Bernard Lewis, Harvard University political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, and Johns Hopkins professor Fouad Ajami, all support American foreign policy, and all have very different explanations than Edward Said and his colleagues of “why they hate us.” Yet these authors are generally excluded, or simply condemned, in contemporary programs of Middle East Studies.

Again, Martin Kramer’s important book, *Ivory Towers On Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*, is the most comprehensive and authoritative account of the extremist bias against American foreign policy that pervades contemporary Middle East Studies. For further evidence of extremism and lack of balance in Title VI-funded centers of Middle East Studies, however, consider the website of the Hagop Kevorkian Center at New York University. That website features commentary by Kevorkian Center-affiliated scholars on the events of September 11, and on the war with Iraq.

Of the essays that treat September 11 on the Kevorkian Center website, every one that takes a stand sharply criticizes American policy. Ella Shohat criticizes America’s “crimes” of “oil driven hegemony” and America’s “murderous sanctions on Iraq.” Ariel Salzmann feels despair that America is threatening to attack Afghanistan instead of offering the Taliban “aid and mediation.” Bernard Haykel says that, “We should not send U.S. or Western troops and special forces into Afghanistan with the aim of arresting or killing Bin Laden.” Instead, says Hayel, we need to “reassess our foreign policies in the world.” And so on with several of the other commentators on September 11 and its aftermath. The Kevorkian Center’s Title VI-funded “Electronic Roundtable” on the war with Iraq is just as extreme and monolithic in its political perspective.

Of course, the reason NYU's Title VI-funded center is uniformly critical of American foreign policy is that NYU's Middle East Studies faculty is itself ideologically unbalanced. Naturally, it is right and proper that projects funded by Title VI are governed according to standards of free speech and academic freedom. Free speech, however, is not an entitlement to a government subsidy. And unless steps are taken to balance university faculties with members who both support and oppose American foreign policy, the very purpose of free speech and academic freedom will have been defeated.

The vigorous and open debate that is supposed to flourish at our colleges and universities cannot exist without faculty members who can speak for divergent points of view. Yet, by rewarding politically one-sided programs with gigantic funding increases, Congress is actually removing any incentive for Deans and Provosts to bring in faculty members with diverse perspectives. At this point, Title VI funding increases are only stifling free debate.

Title VI-funded professors take Edward Said's condemnation of scholars who cooperate with the American government very seriously. For years, the beneficiaries of Title VI have leveled a boycott against the National Security Education Program, which supports foreign language study for students who agree to work for national security-related agencies after graduation.

For at least a decade the African-, Latin American-, and Middle East Studies Associations have sponsored a boycott against the NSEP. Since 1981, the directors of Title VI African National Resource Centers have agreed not to apply for, accept, or recommend to students any military or intelligence funding from the Defense Intelligence Agency, the NSEP, or any other such source. Shamefully, a mere two months after September 11, Title VI African Studies Center directors voted unanimously to sustain their boycott of military and intelligence related

funding, including the NSEP.

The Title VI-supported scholars who boycott the NSEP claim to do so out of concern for their students' safety. Supposedly, students could be harmed abroad if they are suspected of being spies. (In reality, of course, the students have no contact with defense or intelligence agencies until after they graduate.) But American scholars abroad are suspected of being spies, regardless of their funding source. And in fact, both opponents and supporters of the NSEP agree that there have been almost no actual cases of NSEP-funded students running into trouble overseas. Even the few recorded incidents might have happened anyway, regardless of funding source. Can you imagine these radical professors opposing the programs that once sent students to the segregated South to work for civil rights? Those programs were really dangerous. The NSEP is not.

The truth is, talk about student safety is nothing but a pretext for a politically motivated boycott of the NSEP by Title VI-funded scholars bitterly opposed to American foreign policy. That is made unequivocally clear by an early pro-boycott statement by the Association of Concerned African Scholars. That statement explains the boycott as a refusal to aid a U.S. policy that “[subverts] progressive governments and national liberation movements” throughout Africa.

In 1996, the Ford Foundation commissioned anthropologist Jane Guyer to write a report on the state of the field of African Studies. The Guyer study clearly describes the NSEP boycott as politically motivated, saying that the NSEP boycott serves as a “political litmus test” within African studies. Guyer’s study also acknowledges that during the 1980’s, “American scholars who supported U.S. policy...more or less withdrew from the African Studies community.” The same was true of U.S. policy supporters in other area studies fields, except that it would be more accurate to say that supporters of U.S. policy were driven out of area studies, than that they

“withdrew.”

Michigan State University, which receives area studies funding under Title VI, actually passes out a letter that warns students against applying for NSEP fellowships. Although the letter admits that no undergraduate recipients of NSEP grants have actually suffered any negative consequences abroad, it does everything possible to scare potential NSEP applicants into fearing for their lives. And the letter’s dark hints about faculty objections to the program, combined with warnings that an NSEP grant could have an “impact” on their future careers, serve to signal to any bright young supporter of American foreign policy that an academic career is out of the question.

Although the boycott of the NSEP has not entirely succeeded in driving the program out of first-tier universities, the NSEP is badly under-represented at our finest colleges and universities. This is because of the refusal to cooperate with the NSEP of many of our best Title VI-funded centers and scholars. Fortunately, the NSEP has flourished nonetheless. In the wake of 9/11, this extraordinarily valuable program has attracted ever-greater numbers of patriotic students, and the work done by the NSEP is critical to the security of our country. Yet the shameful refusal to cooperate with the NSEP of many Title VI programs at top-tier universities has nonetheless deprived our defense and intelligence agencies of the services of some of America’s brightest young people.

Even now, Title VI African Studies center directors and their colleagues are shunning a University of Wisconsin-Madison African language resource center that broke the boycott and applied for an NSEP grant. That could easily result in a loss of funding for the courageous and patriotic scholars who run the Wisconsin-Madison program. If Title VI-funded scholars hold back from exchanging students and other forms of cooperation with the Wisconsin-Madison

center that engages in or abets a boycott of national security related scholarships. 3) As a sign to Deans and Provosts that our area studies faculties must become more intellectually diverse, Congress needs to reduce the funding for Title VI. Specifically, the twenty million dollars of funding added to Title VI in the wake of September 11 needs to be withdrawn and redirected to the Defense Language Institute, which could then issue scholarships for students interested in good quality, full time jobs at our defense and intelligence agencies.

An overall supervisory board for Title VI should include appointees from key branches of government concerned with education and international affairs, along with public appointees named by the White House (former ambassadors, business leaders, heads of think tanks, etc.). The board's purpose would be to oversee the work of the area selection panels, and to make certain that, over and above questions of peer review, due consideration was given to the national interest. The supervisory board would also make appointments to the selection panels.

A supervisory board would also be able to hold annual hearings on Title VI activities, including the outreach activities of Title VI National Resource Centers (such as the teacher-training workshop at the U. C. Santa Barbara Center). These hearings would be public, and members of the public could make statements. (The board of the National Security Education Program may already hold such meetings.) In general, a board would simply make the supervisory process for Title VI comparable to that already found in the Fulbright Program, the National Security Education Program, the United States Institute of Peace, and other such programs. As such, I cannot imagine a reasonable objection to the idea of a supervisory board for Title VI.

One possible structure for a supervisory board would be a ten person board: 1) Secretary of Education (Chair ex-officio); National Security Advisor (Vice-chair ex-officio); Secretary of

State; Secretary of Commerce; Director, National Endowment for the Humanities; Commander, National Defense University; and four additional presidential appointees. All ex officio members could appoint designees to represent them. Again, given the existence of supervisory boards for many comparable federal programs, it is difficult to imagine reasonable grounds for objections to such a board.

An amendment that would remove Title VI funding from any center that engages in or abets a boycott of national security related scholarships is also needed. The precedent here is the Solomon amendment, which removes all federal funding from universities that refuse to cooperate with the Department of Defense. The Solomon amendment is a powerful tool. Unfortunately, the Defense Department has been reluctant to employ it. Far too many of our finest colleges and universities continue to exclude the ROTC, even though by rights, under the Solomon amendment, the Department of Defense ought to deprive them of federal aid until the ROTC is allowed on campus. Fortunately, the Department of Defense has recently used the Solomon amendment to insure that some of our finest law schools lift their shameful boycotts of military recruiting.

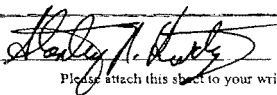
It may be that an amendment with more modest sanctions than the Solomon amendment would be more carefully and consistently enforced. Rather than deprive an entire university of funding for a boycott leveled by Title VI-funded professors against a program like NSEP, the penalty would simply be the de-funding of the Title VI center itself. The supervisory board may be the best entity to enforce this amendment, although it should do so under Congressional oversight. The need for an enforcement entity for this amendment is another argument for the existence of a supervisory board.

In the long run, it would be best for the country if we had a thriving set of area studies

Committee on Education and the Workforce
Witness Disclosure Requirement – "Truth in Testimony"
 Required by House Rule XI, Clause 2(g)

Your Name:		
1. Will you be representing a federal, State, or local government entity? (If the answer is yes please contact the committee).	Yes	No X
2. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) which you have received since October 1, 2000:		
None		
3. Will you be representing an entity other than a government entity?	Yes	No X
4. Other than yourself, please list what entity or entities you will be representing:		
None		
5. Please list any offices or elected positions held and/or briefly describe your representational capacity with each of the entities you listed in response to question 4:		
—		
6. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) received by the entities you listed in response to question 4 since October 1, 2000, including the source and amount of each grant or contract:		
—		
7. Are there parent organizations, subsidiaries, or partnerships to the entities you disclosed in response to question number 4 that you will not be representing? If so, please list:	Yes	No
—		

Signature:



Date: 6/17/03

Please attach this sheet to your written testimony.

QUESTIONS FOR DR. STANLEY KURTZ

From Representative Susan Davis

During the hearing you said that you identify yourself as a South Asian scholar. As this Hearing was focused on area studies programs and how they affect future scholarship and government service, would you kindly provide a short resume of only the following items:

- *Study in South Asia and, if supported, by what source
- *Date and topic of your Ph.D. thesis
- *Subsequent professional monographs or publications in the field of South Asia studies which were published in peer-reviewed scholarly journals.

There appeared to be some confusion by committee members about your resume and position as a professor.

- *Kindly give the dates of service when you were teaching at both Harvard University and the University of Chicago and your titles in those positions.
- *Dates and your title in any South Asia-related government positions.

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ANSWERS FROM STANLEY KURTZ

Congresswoman Davis, here are answers to your questions.

I did field research in India on five separate trips to that country. These trips were taken during five successive summers from the years 1981 through 1985. I paid for those trips out of my own pocket. On several of those trips I visited the Rajasthan Institute of Folklore (Rupayan Sansthan), whose directors I consulted with, although I had no formal affiliation with the Institute. The directors of the Rajasthan Institute of Folklore helped introduce me to the culture of Rajasthan, as they have many other visiting scholars, and I thank them in my book. In addition to Rajasthan, I visited Hindu temples and families in Delhi/New Delhi, Bombay, and in the cities of Indore and Ujjain. Some of my field research was conducted in English, but most of my interactions and interviews with Hindu devotees and families took place in Hindi.

My Ph.D. Thesis, entitled "A Goddess Dissolved: Toward A New Psychology of Hinduism," was submitted to the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University in September of 1990. Most immediately, my dissertation was about the worship of a Hindu Goddess named, "Santoshi Ma," whose temples I visited during my trips to India. More broadly, my thesis was about the connection between the Hindu religion and Indian family life. My thesis drew connections between the multiplicity of women who raise children in Hindu joint families, and the multiplicity of goddesses within Hinduism.

My chief publication in the field of South Asian Studies is a professional monograph entitled, *All the Mothers Are One: Hindu India and the Cultural Reshaping of Psychoanalysis*. This book was published by Columbia University Press in 1992. Of course, it went through the usual process of scholarly review at Columbia University Press.

An excerpt from my book, entitled "Psychoanalytic Approaches to Hindu Child Rearing: A Critique," appeared in *Vishnu on Freud's Desk: A Reader in Psychoanalysis and Hinduism*, a reader edited by T.G. Vaidyanathan and Jeffrey Kripal (both specialists in South Asia) and published in 1999 by the Delhi division of Oxford University Press, pages 185-215.

An essay of mine entitled, "In Our Image: The Feminist Vision of the Hindu Goddess," appeared in, *Is the Goddess a Feminist: the Politics of South Asian Goddesses*, a reader edited by Alf Hiltebeitel and Kathleen M. Erndl (both specialists in South Asia) and published in 2000 by New York University Press, pages 181-186.

These are my publications on South Asia that have appeared as, or as part of, scholarly monographs with university presses. My book, *All the Mothers Are One: Hindu India and the Cultural Reshaping of Psychoanalysis* was widely reviewed. Two panels were convened at professional academic conferences for the purposes of discussing my book. (It is actually fairly unusual—and a mark of honor—to have a special conference panel convened to discuss a single book.) One of those panels was held in 1993 at the biennial meeting of the Society for Psychological Anthropology. Another was held in 1994 at the conference of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. I presented papers at both of those panels, and anthropologists (including anthropologists who specialized in South Asia) delivered papers about my book at each panel.

Although it has never been published, it should also be noted that I delivered a paper entitled, "Who is Kali?: Gender Hierarchy as "Sacrificial Dominance," at an academic conference on the Hindu Goddess Kali convened at Barnard College, September 19-22, 1996. Several of my other unpublished conference papers are about matters South Asian, in whole or in part.

It should also be noted that I myself have served as a referee for Cambridge University Press, evaluating a manuscript on South Asia submitted for publication by that press. My "blurb" appears on the back of "Women, Family, and Child Care in India: A World In Transition," published by Susan Seymour with Cambridge University Press in 1999. I also served as a referee for Columbia University Press on a manuscript on South Asia submitted by another scholar, but not subsequently published by Columbia University Press. And while at the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago, I served as a referee, and did two internal reviews, of successive versions of yet another book manuscript on India submitted by yet another scholar to Cambridge University Press. I was assigned this task by a faculty member at the Committee on Human Development who was serving as an editor for a series on psychological anthropology.

During the 1999-2000 academic year I was a Research Associate of the Committee On Human Development of the University of Chicago. For the Winter Quarter of the 1999-2000 academic year, I was a Lecturer in the Social Sciences Collegiate Division of the University of Chicago. During that quarter, I co-taught a course entitled, "Socialization, Culture, and Gender," in the Mind sequence (Soc Sci 142). This was a course on the interface of culture and psychology, and the readings covered many areas of the world, from the Middle East, to Japan, to Africa, to the United States. Readings on South Asia were not included in this course.

During the 1998-1999 academic year, I was a post doctoral trainee with the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (NIMH) administered by the Committee on Human Development within the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago. As part of my responsibilities under that post doctoral fellowship, I taught a course in the Spring Quarter of 1999 entitled "Culture and the Self," (Human Development 325). That course was about how concepts of the self vary, or remain the same, across cultures. For this course, I assigned readings that covered a number of areas of the world. More of the readings were on South Asia than any other area, but I also assigned readings on the Middle East, Southeast Asia, East Asia, and the West.

I was a Lecturer in Harvard University's Committee On Degrees in Social Studies during the 1994-95, 1995-96, and 1997-98 academic years. During that time I taught every semester in an interdisciplinary "sophomore tutorial" on the "great books" of political and social theory. I also taught an interdisciplinary junior tutorial in the Fall semester of 1994, and again in the Fall semester of 1995 on the problem of "moral relativism" in the social sciences. That junior tutorial included a unit on the moral dilemma posed by Hindu *sati* ("widow burning"), as well as units which included material on Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. During the 1996-97 academic year, I was off from my job as a Lecturer, but I did serve as a "consultant" to the Committee on Degrees in Social Studies, in which capacity I supervised a senior undergraduate honors thesis on the Hindu (i.e. South Asian) goddess Kali.

During the 1991-92, 1992-93, and 1993-94 I was at the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago in different capacities. In the 1991-92 academic year, I was a post-doctoral trainee with the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (NIMH). This grant was administered by the Committee on Human Development within the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago. Within Human Development, the activities sponsored by the Culture and Mental Health Training Grant were titled the "Center for Culture and Mental Health," (sometimes also called, "The Center for Research on Culture and Mental Health.")

After arriving at the University of Chicago as a post-doctoral fellow, I applied for and was granted status as an "associate" of the Committee of South Asian Studies of the University of Chicago. I regularly attended workshops sponsored by the Committee On South Asian Studies, and also presented the results of my research before one of the University of Chicago's several South Asia workshops. By the way, at both Chicago and Harvard I occasionally wrote letters of recommendation for students applying for fellowships (sometimes federally funded fellowships) to do field research in South Asia. These were students whom I had worked with and helped to train. So I clearly saw the significance of federally funded scholarships that support research on South Asia.

In the 1992-93, and 1993-94 academic years, I was no longer a post-doctoral trainee with the Culture and Mental Health Training Grant. Instead I served as Assistant Director of the Center for Culture and Mental Health (in the Committee on Human Development), and Program Coordinator of the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (NIMH). (This appointment took effect on July 1, 1992.) My duties included advising graduate students, organizing workshops and training seminars, organizing recruitment searches for trainees, helping to write applications for grant renewal, responding to queries regarding our program, and

working as a liaison between the Principle Investigator of the grant and administrators within the Department of Psychology.

Once again, my experience as both a post doctoral trainee in, and Program Director of, the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (NIMH) gave me a lively sense of the significance of federal aid—to myself personally, and to the graduate students I was helping to train. And note that I was in fact very actively helping to train our graduate students, even when I was not formally teaching courses. The bi-weekly Training Program Seminar meetings of graduate students associated with the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (which it was my responsibility to convene), as well as the associated Culture and Mental Health Workshop (of which I was an organizer), were key training grounds for our graduate students, every bit as important as their course work. This was, quite literally, a training grant, and as Program Director, I bore a significant amount of the responsibility for training the graduate students in the program. Even during the years when I was myself a post-doctoral trainee, I and the other post-docs in the program were expected to help work with and train graduate students by commenting on their papers, advising them on their research projects, etc.

These graduate students were using their federal aid to study many areas of the world. Some of the graduate students in our program were bound for research in South Asia, and some were headed for field research in other areas of the world. As both a South Asianist and a comparativist, I was actively helping to train all of these students, no matter what their area of specialization. Naturally, when I worked with these students, whatever their area of geographical specialization, I often drew on examples from my own work on South Asia.

And, of course, my sensitivity to the importance of federal aid to scholars studying the non-Western world was heightened by my own years as a post-doctoral trainee funded by the Culture and Mental Health Behavior Training Grant (NIMH). Those years were critically important to my own advancing studies of South Asian religion and family life, as well as to my ability to compare South Asian culture to other areas of the world.

While affiliated with the Committee on Human Development and the Center for Culture and Mental Health, I pursued my studies of South Asian religion, family life, and psychology. I turned my doctoral thesis into a book about religion, family life, and psychology in South Asia and defended and extended the argument of my book at the two special conference panels (described above) that were convened to discuss the book. The activities of the Center for Culture and Mental Health, moreover, (many of which I helped organize) involved seminars about religion and psychology in many areas of the world. Certainly South Asia was prominent among these areas, as a number of scholars affiliated with the Committee On Human Development (including myself) specialized in South Asia. (On a number of occasions, I presented the results of my own research on South Asia before workshops, classes, and seminars sponsored by the Committee on Human Development and the Center for Culture and Mental Health.) But along with workshops and seminars on matters South Asian, I also helped to organize seminars and workshops on religion and psychology in the Middle East, East Asia, Africa, Latin America, etc.

During the Winter Quarter of the 1992-93 academic year, I was named as a "Dewey Prize Lecturer" by the Department of Psychology of the University of Chicago. During that Quarter, I taught a course entitled, "Socialization and Psychological Development in Cultural Context." (cross-listed as Psychology 253/Human Development 352) That course compared patterns of socialization in South Asia, Micronesia, Africa, and the West.

I also note that, until the last couple of years, I have been a long-time member of the Association for Asian Studies. My book, *All the Mothers Are One: Hindu India and the Cultural Reshaping of Psychoanalysis* was widely reviewed. It was reviewed, for example, in the *New York Review of Books*. The book was reviewed chiefly in scholarly journals, including journals that specialize in Asia, such as the *Journal of Asian Studies*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, and *South Asia Research*. And in journals like the *American Anthropologist*, *Social Anthropology*, *Archives de sciences sociales des religion* my book was reviewed by respected social scientists who were also specialists in the study of South Asia. I published a brief rejoinder to a review of my book in the *Journal of Asian Studies*. (Note: I cannot seem to locate the reference to that rejoinder, but I will follow up and submit this reference prior to July 3, 2003.)

Finally, let me make a remark on your question. Clearly, with a Ph.D. dissertation on South Asia; a university press book on South Asia; essays in readers on South Asia vetted and published by university presses and edited by South Asia specialists; conference papers about my book (at special conference panels about my book), by specialists on South Asia; reviews of my book in journals that specialize in Asia and South Asia, or in interdisciplinary journals, by eminent South Asianists; associate status at the University of Chicago's Committee On South Asian Studies; having myself served as a referee for two book manuscripts on South Asia submitted to Cambridge University Press and one book manuscript on South Asia submitted to Columbia University Press (and with a blurb on the back of a Cambridge University Press book on South Asia); having delivered talks and papers on South Asia at many workshops, seminars, and academic conferences; having supervised a Harvard senior honors thesis on South Asia; having been a long-time member of the Association for Asian Studies; having helped to train several South Asia specializing graduate students at the University of Chicago; and having taught courses that assigned substantial material on South Asia, I am a South Asianist.

I am not, however, *only* a South Asianist. My training, my teaching, my publications, my conference papers, and my work at workshops and seminars, have always been comparative. For example, several of my professors during my graduate training at Harvard had a special interest in the comparative study of South Asia and the Middle East. Following their example, I have always drawn South Asia into relation with other regions of the world, from the Middle East, to Melanesia, to Africa, to East Asia. As you can see, when I teach a course on culture, I generally include materials on South Asia, but I also include comparative materials on other areas of the world—areas whose study is every bit as supported and encouraged by various federal programs, as is the study of South Asia. And even when I taught in the "Mind" sequence on the relation between culture and psychology, I may not have been teaching about South Asia, but I was teaching about many other areas of the world covered by area studies programs. All this, I believe, strengthens my ability to make general statements about the area studies community. So, yes, I am very much a South Asianist. But because I was also trained as a comparativist, and

have also taught as a comparativist, I have a broader perspective on the state of area studies than specialists who stick to one area alone.

Stanley Kurtz
 NRO Contributing Editor



May 29, 2002 8:45 a.m.

Ivory Scam

Federally funded leftist professors gang up against a national-security program.

First, the good news. Student applications to the National Security Education Program (NSEP) are up dramatically. That's good, because in the post-9/11 world, the NSEP is an extraordinarily important mechanism for distributing educational grants. What makes the NSEP so significant is its requirement that student beneficiaries go to work, after graduation, for a federal agency that safeguards our nation's security. Students who accept NSEP money, for example, put their hard-won knowledge of Arabic to work in America's defense and intelligence agencies, all of which are badly in need of Middle Eastern language expertise. With undergraduate applications to NSEP up by more than 50 percent, we may be seeing a welcome, and long overdue, upsurge in patriotism among America's students.

Now, the bad news. America's leftist professorate is doing everything in its power to kill the National Security Education Program. Worse still, the assault on the NSEP is being led by the very same "area-studies" professors who just hoodwinked Congress into raising their federal subsidy by a record-breaking 26 percent (on grounds of "national security"). These leftist professors are the sort of blame-America-first-ers who attribute the attacks of Sept. 11 to the evils of American foreign policy. Yet these tenured radicals are raking in millions of taxpayer dollars in the supposed service of national security, all while making a concerted effort to destroy the NSEP — the one federal education program that does in fact directly and dramatically enhance American security.

Two weeks ago, in "Anti-Americanism in the Classroom," I wrote about the scandal of Title VI, the government program that funds centers of language and "area studies" at American colleges and universities. On the reasonable assumption that America's security demands that we acquire knowledge of the languages and cultures of the world, Congress has long funded educational grants through Title VI. And in the wake of Sept. 11, America's area-studies professors went to Congress asking for unprecedented increases in funding for Title VI, all with the promise that they would use that money to further American security interests in a newly dangerous world.

But what does Title VI money actually go for? Unfortunately, through Title VI, the United States government has been pouring millions of dollars into the pockets of professors who are utterly hostile to American foreign policy. In "Anti-Americanism in the Classroom," for example, I showed how federal money has been used to support teacher-training material for K-12 education that features authors opposed to the war on terror. I'm talking about course material that showcases the likes of Arundhati Roy, Robert Fisk, Tariq Ali, and Edward Said — the folks who consider Osama bin Laden and George Bush to be equally evil — and all

without any balancing readings from more conservative scholars like Bernard Lewis or Samuel Huntington. So, remarkably, through Title VI, Congress has actually been using taxpayer dollars to teach American students to *oppose* the war on terror.

Unfortunately, the problem of tenured radicals using federal money to undermine American security is anything but isolated. The most egregious example of the problem with Title VI is the concerted effort being made by beneficiaries of Title VI to kill the National Security Education Program.

The NSEP was founded by Sen. David Boren after the Persian Gulf War. Then, as now, it was evident to Congress that our defense and intelligence agencies had far too few people who knew Arabic and other foreign languages. Boren's entirely sensible attempt to solve the problem was to fund a language and area-studies grant that would require beneficiaries to go to work after graduation for some security-related agency of the federal government.

From the start, however, the language and area-studies professors who benefited from the no-strings-attached funding of Title VI howled with outrage at the NSEP's national-security-service requirement. Many of these professors were followers of "post-colonial studies," a school of thought that holds scholarly cooperation with the American government to be a form of immoral collusion with imperialism. The post-colonialists (who now dominate area-studies programs in American universities) launched a boycott against NSEP, refusing to apply for, or accept, any funding from the program — indeed refusing even to recommend the NSEP to students who might want to benefit from it. The African Studies Association, the Latin American Studies Association, and the Middle East Studies Association all passed resolutions refusing cooperation with NSEP. What these professors really wanted was for the NSEP's national-security-service requirement to be eliminated. That way, the money could be funneled back into their own pockets — and with no strings attached.

You might think that, by exposing the deep need of our defense and intelligence establishment for foreign-language expertise, the events of Sept. 11 had changed all this. You would be wrong.

I've learned that in the months since Sept. 11, the directors of Title VI African Studies Centers throughout the United States have reaffirmed their boycott of the National Security Education Program. What's worse, an African-language center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison that recently had the courage and patriotism to apply for an NSEP grant will now be subject to a damaging boycott leveled against it by Africanist scholars throughout the United States.

Imagine! The very same professors who have just raked in millions of dollars from a Congress worried about the lack of language expertise in our defense and intelligence establishment are leading an effort to destroy the one foreign-language center in their field actively attempting to work with the government. If these folks really believe that cooperation with the American government is immoral, why are they taking federal money in the first place?

The Africanist boycott of NSEP is being led by Professor David Wiley, director of the African Studies Center at Michigan State University. Wiley is a very powerful man — a key

coordinator of National Title VI area-studies centers, and president-elect of the African Studies Association. I recently phoned Wiley to ask him why beneficiaries of Title VI funding are boycotting the NSEP.

Wiley claimed that, in shunning the NSEP, American scholars are only trying to protect their access to third-world countries. Any connection between American scholars and the CIA or the defense department, said Wiley, would prompt a lockout by foreign universities and governments. But Wiley's excuse for the NSEP boycott is unpersuasive. We're not talking about spies here. NSEP rules specifically forbid employment of students by government agencies during their time in college. Students who take NSEP money don't start working for the government until after graduation. Is an American professor going to be locked out of African country because one of his undergraduates might be going to work for the CIA a few years down the road? I don't think so.

After I pressed Wiley a bit, he began to acknowledge that the real reason for the boycott of the NSEP is political. This was difficult for him to deny, since I had documentary evidence of Wiley's long history of politically motivated opposition to NSEP. As a long-time member of the leftist "Association of Concerned African Scholars," Wiley had signed and circulated one of the original attacks on NSEP. In that statement, Wiley and the other signers condemned America for "[subverting] progressive governments and national liberation movements" throughout Africa. When I confronted Wiley with that statement, he acknowledged that some of the motivation for the boycott of NSEP by Title VI beneficiaries was political. At first, Wiley implied that the problem was restricted to America's Cold War foreign policy. After he got going, though, Wiley couldn't help but mention that his opposition to the current U.S. foreign policy in Africa plays a role in his support for the NSEP boycott.

In 1996, the Ford Foundation commissioned anthropologist Jane Guyer to write a report on the state of the field of African studies. That Ford Foundation report is very clear that opposition to the NSEP serves as a political litmus test within the field. The Ford report even made a special mention of David Wiley's activities in circulating material opposed to NSEP. Most disturbing of all, the Ford Report says that during the 1980's "American scholars who supported U.S. policy...more or less withdrew from the African Studies community." That is a delicate way of saying that once tenured radicals like David Wiley got control of African studies, supporters of American foreign policy were effectively driven out of the field. So much for "diversity."

So these are the folks who are receiving millions of dollars in Title VI funding from the American government, even as they conspire to destroy the NSEP — the one education program that actually does directly enhance America's national security. And what about the courageous and patriotic folks over at the University of Wisconsin-Madison's National African Language Resource Center (NALRC)? It was NALRC's application for NSEP money that set off Wiley's attempt to reaffirm the Africanist boycott of NSEP. I asked Wiley if the boycott of NSEP would extend to punishment of Wisconsin's language center. Although he did his best to downplay the matter, Wiley's answer was chilling. He told me that he knew of one scholar already who intended to suspend cooperation with NALRC. Wiley also said that his own faculty was, in principle, committed to shun any relationship with Wisconsin's African-

language center.

It's important to understand what this means. Title VI centers cooperate closely, in order to avoid duplication of expertise. If Title VI African-studies centers throughout the country hold back from exchanging students and other forms of cooperation with Wisconsin, then Madison's African-language resource center could easily be destroyed. Having withheld their own cooperation, the Title VI directors could simply tell the Department of Education that the Madison center had "failed to reach its constituents." The result would be a defunding of the rebel center.

That would be an extraordinary inversion of Congress's intent. A bunch of leftist professors with an axe to grind against American foreign policy gang up to destroy a badly needed government program and the patriotic scholars and students who want to join it, all the while taking in millions of dollars in government funding with the claim that they are contributing to America's security!

How long will Congress allow the Title VI scam to continue? The Government Accounting Office hasn't audited Title VI in 24 years. Surely a full GAO audit and serious oversight hearings ought to be required before yet another massive increase in Title VI funding is granted. The truth is, no-strings-attached Title VI funding to the leftist academy needs to be seriously scaled back, while targeted aid to good programs like NSEP needs to be increased.

And Congress must break the outrageous boycott of the NSEP by the beneficiaries of Title VI. And amendment needs to be passed that bans Title VI funding from any university or area-studies center that refuses to grant full cooperation to the NSEP. The boycott of NSEP by Title VI area-studies centers has already succeeded in driving this valuable program out of our finest colleges and universities and into second- and third-tier institutions. Why are we preventing our very best students from going to work for our defense and intelligence agencies? How can Congress stand for such a travesty? How can our government keep subsidizing the very professors most opposed to the war on terror, while allowing those same professors to crush those scholars and students most eager to contribute to America's security?

If you'd like to see Congress cut Title VI and protect the NSEP, then you may want to get in touch with the Chair of the House Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Appropriations. Rep. Ralph Regula (R., Ohio), can be reached at 2306 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington D.C. 20515, Phone (202) 225-3876. And [here is a link](#) to all the members of the key House Subcommittee. Especially if one of them is your congressman, you may want to write. With the education lobby the only voice that these congressmen have heard on this issue, only pressure from the general public can put a stop to the scam that Title VI has become.

— *Stanley Kurtz is a research fellow at the [Hoover Institution](#) at Stanford University.*

<http://chronicle.com/weekly/v48/i49/49a02501.htm>

Scholars Revive Boycott of U.S. Grants to Promote Language Training

Do links to Pentagon tarnish the program, or are some professors posturing?

By ANNE MARIE BORREGO

Washington

Even though many lawmakers agree that the September 11 terrorist attacks exposed a dire need for better training in certain foreign languages, some scholars are fighting a government effort to pump more money into language programs that federal officials say are key to U.S. security interests.

At issue is the National Security Education Program, which has been awarding grants through the Department of Defense since 1994 but has been criticized by some language and area-studies professors since its inception. They say NSEP puts grant recipients, many of whom study abroad, in danger through their association with the Department of Defense and by requiring that they make a good faith effort to work for security-related government agencies after graduation.

Now, with Congress taking a renewed interest in NSEP following September 11 -- one proposal would almost double the program's \$8-million budget by 2004 -- some scholars who specialize in the Middle East and Africa have revived a longstanding boycott of the program.

In April, the Middle East Studies Association of North America approved a harsh statement at its board meeting, voicing concerns over the National Flagship Language Initiative, a new pilot program of NSEP. The new program creates centers on college campuses that are designed to significantly increase the number of highly proficient speakers of languages such as Arabic, Hindi, Mandarin, and Persian, among others.

In the statement urging association members to avoid seeking or accepting funds from the new pilot program, the association said, "A government-funded program that emphasized cooperation between the U.S. academy and government agencies responsible for intelligence and defense will increase the difficulties and dangers of such academic activities, and may foster the already widespread impression that academic researchers from the United States are directly involved in government activities."

Opposition to NSEP by scholars is nothing new. The African-, Latin American-, and Middle

East-studies associations all agreed to boycott the language program soon after it was created by Congress in 1991. While many hardliners in the associations have stood firmly against NSEP, going so far as to suggest that students seeking funds for foreign study look elsewhere, other scholars have continued to participate and pursued grants from the National Flagship Language Initiative.

The Missing Colleges

Whether the boycott has had an impact on the new language program so far is unclear. Critics of the boycott say it is difficult to know, for instance, how many top-ranked institutions would have applied for funds if not for the ban.

Still, when the grants for the new language program were announced in July, some institutions well-known for their expertise in Arabic, such as Georgetown and Harvard Universities, and the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, were noticeably missing from the list of grant recipients. Michigan scholars had been approached by program officials last fall about applying for one of the new grants, but Alexander D. Knysh, the chairman of the Near Eastern-studies department at Michigan, said the university's Arabists had some reservations about accepting funds from the program.

Institutions find that support for the boycott can differ from department to department. For instance, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is currently taking part in a grant promoting the study of security in South Asia, according to Earl D. Kellogg, the university's associate provost for international affairs. However, he says, that the institution's Center for African Studies does not publicize individual grants for its students.

Richard D. Brecht, director of the National Foreign Language Center at the University of Maryland at College Park, which helped choose the grant recipients, said that despite the opposition from some scholars there were still about 20 applications for the awards. The first round of grants in the new program were awarded to Brigham Young University, the University of California at Los Angeles, the University of Hawaii's Manoa campus, and the University of Washington. The grants will pay for language programs focusing on Arabic, Chinese, and Korean.

Critics of the boycott suggest that its real motive is opposition to American foreign policy, and not concern over student safety. "It has everything to do with self-important professors who pose as guardians of the radical, third world-ist flame of the 1960s," says Martin S. Kramer, author of *Ivory Towers on Sand: the Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2001), and editor of *The Middle East Quarterly*.

Another scholar who opposes the ban, Norman J. Peterson, director of international programs at Montana State University at Bozeman, notes that U.S. law bans the use of NSEP funds for intelligence gathering. "I just don't think there is a problem here," he says.

"The people who tend to be suspicious about U.S. students coming under NSEP auspices are probably suspicious about all Americans."

The strength of the boycott by the associations may be tested soon, critics say, as Congress takes up a proposal to dedicate millions of new dollars to the program. Rep. Tim Roemer, Democrat of Indiana, has introduced a bill that would authorize an increase in NSEP's budget to \$15-million in the 2004 fiscal year, up from what lobbyists predict will be \$8-million in 2003, and expand the program to permanently establish the new National Flagship Language Initiative. While \$15-million may not seem like a large sum for an academic grant, it is substantial for foreign-language study.

A Program for Spies?

More than 2,400 undergraduate and graduate students have received NSEP grants since the awards were first made in 1994. In addition, more than \$18-million has been awarded to colleges for language training through the program. But for years, college lobbyists have suggested that NSEP be moved to the Education Department -- which administers similar grants through the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships Program -- out of concern that students receiving funds from the Defense Department could be viewed as government agents or spies.

"You might as well paint a bull's eye on them," says Terry W. Hartle, senior vice president for government and public affairs at the American Council on Education.

Indeed, some scholars say that institutions that accept funds through NSEP unwittingly put their students in danger. "When people from the Department of Defense or the intelligence community decide who gets it and who doesn't, that's a red flag for people in foreign countries," says Fred M. Donner, chairman of the department of Near Eastern languages and civilizations at the University of Chicago, who supports the boycott. "The assumption is that there's an unspoken quid pro quo."

But Robert O. Slater, NSEP's director, says very few students have encountered problems because of their association with the grant program. The definition of the security-related government agencies where students work is broad, and, in addition to obvious posts in places like the Central Intelligence Agency, students can obtain jobs in other places like the White House office of Science and Technology Policy or the Senate Finance Committee.

"Over the last seven or eight years, there have been only a few isolated incidents," Mr. Slater says, noting that he only knows of problems when students alert his office. However, most program supporters note that most any American working in certain parts of the world may run into similar problems -- regardless of sources of funds.

Staunch opponents of NSEP have suggested that their students seek alternatives to the grants. Many of them have turned to funds that are available from the Education Department through its National Foreign Language Center institutional grants.

William G. Martin, an African-studies scholar at the State University of New York at Binghamton, says that he and other members of the African Studies Association have even chosen to steer clear of projects related to NSEP grants.

"Some of us will not be part of projects which are funded by the Department of Defense or the CIA," he says.

Great Successes

Scholars who have chosen to ignore the boycott say they have had great success with the program.

Montana State, for example, joined with the University of Washington at Seattle; Al Akhawayn University, in Morocco; and several other institutions in sharing a \$182,000 NSEP grant to create an Arabic-studies curriculum for students in remote parts of the country.

Students spend their first year in classes taught via videotape by faculty members at the Middle East Center at the University of Washington. Native Arabic teaching assistants supplement the video lectures. For their second year of the program, students attend Al Akhawayn.

For his part, Mr. Peterson at Montana State says he hasn't experienced any negative backlash by ignoring the boycott, noting that the university was recently recognized by the Institute of International Education for its work.

"I think it's really quite isolated in a few of the area-studies associations, and a few faculty members who have been very vocal," he says.

But other scholars who have chosen to disregard the boycott have felt a chill from some of their colleagues. Antonia Y.F. Schleicher, director of the National African Language Resource Center at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, says she has received a cold shoulder from some African-studies scholars after she accepted a NSEP grant to develop materials for instructing African languages that aren't commonly taught. She says that the boycott has, in effect, threatened her academic freedom.

"How do I endanger somebody's life by writing a book?" she asks. "We are punishing ourselves by saying that we are boycotting a program that is supposed to help us."

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Open Scholarship or Covert Agendas?



The Case Against NSEP Funding For the Study of Africa

by the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS)

Scholars of Africa vs. The CIA and The Department of Defense

Scholars of Africa since the 1970s have rejected any connections with national intelligence and military agencies. The hard-won protection of African studies from military and intelligence agencies' control and agendas is now threatened by the implementation of the National Security Education Program (NSEP), formerly known as the "Boren Bill."

The NSEP Program

NSEP funds scholarships for undergraduate students for study abroad, fellowships to U.S. students in graduate programs, and grants to institutions of higher education.

Such funding is sorely needed. We certainly need more study of world areas beyond the borders of Europe and North America, and especially Africa. But the NSEP program was compromised at its inception when it was firmly lodged in the military and intelligence agencies. As NSEP's own brochure notes: "Program policies and direction are provided by the Secretary of Defense in consultation with the 13 member National Security Education Board."

The majority of Board members are representatives of Federal Agencies, including most notably representatives of the Department of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence. While an advisory committee of outside experts assists the Board and chooses actual participants, the criteria for selection of students and priorities among world regions, languages, and cultures is determined by the Secretary of Defense.

The CIA, DoD, & Africa

Scholars of Africa resist ties to U.S. intelligence agencies and the Pentagon because of the long history of Western interventions supporting repressive rulers and working against legitimate and elected leaders in Africa. For over thirty years U.S. military and intelligence operations have:

- Provided covert support to colonial and settler regimes from the white-minority regime in Southern Rhodesia, through the Portuguese colonial regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, to apartheid in South Africa.
- Subverted progressive governments and national liberation movements from Patrice Lumumba to Kwame Nkrumah to Nelson Mandela.
- Installed and/or supported dictators like Mobutu in Zaire, Idi Amin in Uganda, and Siad Barre in Somalia.
- Fomented civil war and conflicts through covert support for 'contra' factions such as UNITA in Angola and Renamo in Mozambique.

Links between these covert actions and some academic activities placed many scholars and programs in disrepute -- leading to the long struggle to shield the study of Africa from the CIA and the Department of Defense.

The end of the Cold War has not, moreover, diminished the inclination for covert intervention against popularly supported governments and movements. Recent Congressional investigations reveal that the CIA has not only pushed forward highly misleading analyses, but has played a direct role in subverting popular movements -- as in undermining the elected government of Jean Bertrand Aristide in Haiti.

Why Say No To NSEP Funding?

Relations between the scholars and peoples of North America and Africa can only be maintained on the basis that scholarly activities and exchanges are public and transparent. This is impossible if academic inquiry is determined by hidden "national security" and military goals.

NSEP represents an attempt by U.S. intelligence agencies and the Pentagon to direct scholars for their own purposes, with likely anti-democratic or repressive consequences.

Indeed, funding from NSEP can only serve to cut off academic relations with Africa, including research throughout the continent. Individual scholars in the field will be suspect and may find themselves in unpleasant and even dangerous situations.

As over a 100 scholars protested in a statement sponsored by ACAS and published in the Chronicle of Higher Education:

Funding from national security agencies threatens the openness of scholarly inquiry and publication, the physical safety of scholars and students overseas, and cooperation between African and U.S. scholars. (June 2, 1993, p. A8)

For these reasons ACAS calls on all scholars and students of Africa to:

- *reject funding for African studies from the NSEP program,*
- *publicize NSEP's links to military and intelligence agencies, and*
- *work to secure additional funding from non-military/intelligence agencies for students of African studies, particularly those students traditionally excluded from overseas study programs.*

Public Statements vs. NSEP

The credibility and integrity of American University-based scholarship in the African studies field depend upon arrangements which ensure the independence of academic research and publication from the military and political interests of the government... The Board... calls upon African scholars to refrain from participation in the Central Intelligence Agency's program for research and support and to oppose participation in other activities it sponsors.
African Studies Assn., April 28, 1990 Reconfirmed in December 1993

We... strongly object to the passing of the National Security Education Act.... The link which the legislation seeks to make between U.S. intelligence/defense and funding for African scholarship will seriously compromise the virtues of honesty and integrity among both American and African scholars and institutions.

Association of University Teachers, University of Zimbabwe, Aug. 1992

We are gravely concerned... at the presence of the Director of the CIA in the oversight of the program... Linking university based research to U.S. national security agencies will restrict our already narrow research opportunities; it will endanger the physical safety of scholars and our students studying abroad; and it will jeopardize the cooperation and safety of those we study and collaborate with in these regions"

Presidents of the African Studies Assn., Latin American Studies Assn., and Middle East Studies Assn., Feb. 1992 Past experience, in South Asia as elsewhere, amply demonstrates the perils of connections, however tenuous, between scholars and U.S. national security agencies. Possible consequences range from mistrust and lack of cooperation to physical violence against U.S. scholars and their colleagues abroad...

South Asia Council, April 1992

What ACAS Stands For

Founded in 1977, ACAS is a group of scholars and students of Africa dedicated to:

- formulating alternative analyses of Africa and U.S. government policy,

- developing communication and action networks between the peoples and scholars of Africa and the United States, and
- mobilizing support in the United States on critical, current issues related to Africa.

Members of ACAS receive the ACAS Bulletin, Action Alerts, and publications such as this leaflet. To support ACAS and receive these materials become a member! Dues are based on annual income. For membership information click [here](#):

ACAS Executive and Board Members*

Adotei Akwei (Amnesty International), Merle Bowen (U. of Illinois), Carolyn Brown (City College, CUNY), Jim Cason, Allan Cooper (Otterbein College), Jennifer Davis (American Committee on Africa), William Derman (Michigan State U.), Ed Ferguson (Five Colleges Inc.), Allen Green (Wesleyan U.), Frank Holmquist (Hampshire College), Allen Isaacman (U. of Minnesota), Willard R. Johnson (MIT), Tilden LeMelle (U. of the District of Columbia), Pearl-Alice Marsh, Bill Martin (U. of Illinois), Bill Minter (APIC), James Mittelman (American U.), Catherine Newbury (U. of North Carolina), Thomas Painter (CARE), Hans Panofsky (Northwestern U.), Christine Root, Steven Rubert (Oregon State U.), Joel Samoff (Stanford U.), Ann Seidman (Clark U.), Jean Sindab (National Council of Churches), Meredith Turshen (Rutgers U.), Daniel Volman, Immanuel Wallerstein (SUNY-Binghamton), David Wiley (Michigan State U.).

*Affiliation for identification purposes only

Provided by the Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS)

"Smoking Gun" Memo containing proof of a boycott by actual Title VI center directors against the NSEP.

From: David Wiley
 Subject: NSEP policy of the African Studies Community
 Cc: "W. Stephen Howard, Dir, Africa, Ohio U
 "Stephen O'Connell, Dir, Africa, Swarthmore
 "Richard Roberts, Dir, Africa, Stanford
 "Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, Dir, Africa, U Illinois'
 "Michael Chege, Dir, Africa, U Florida
 "Linda Susan Beard, Dir, Africa, Bryn Mawr
 "Lee Cassanelli, Dir, Africa, U Penn
 "John Janzen, Dir, Africa, Kansas
 "John Hanson, Dir, Africa, Indiana U
 "Jo Ellen Fair, Dir, Africa, Wisconsin'
 "James Mc Cann, Dir, Africa, Boston U
 "Koffie Anyinefa, Dir, Africa, Haverford
 "Gillian Hart, Dir, Africa, Berkeley
 "Edmond Keller, Dir, Africa, UCLA

Will Leben
 "Bernsten, J
 "Eulenberg, John
 "Hudson, Grover
 "Ngonyani, Deogratias
 "Prestel, David
 "Kuria Githiora'

Status:

Dear David, John, and Paul,

There is no ambiguity among the Title VI Center Directors, AASP, or ASA about what is the policy on NSEP awards - student or faculty, individual or institutional. As a result, there is great dismay among all these Title VI center directors at the news that the National African Language Resource Center (NALRC) at University of Wisconsin-Madison has taken an NSEP institutional award. It was news that this award had been accepted that precipitated the formal reaffirmation of the boycott.

At their meeting on Saturday (November 17, 2001) in Houston, the Title VI African Studies Centers directors voted **unanimously** "...not to apply for or accept military or intelligence funding, including from the NSEP." That is couched in a statement, not yet finally approved, that says that this stance is a patriotic stance to best serve the national interests by maintaining and increasing access for research and collaboration in Africa, on the basis of which excellent and intelligent scholarship can provide broad and deep information about Africa. Such access would be compromised by an unwarranted and unintelligent policy to mix academic work with funding and priorities from the military and intelligence agencies.

At their spring meeting, the 35+ members of the Association of African Studies Program declined to revisit their past unanimous decision to boycott NSEP funding. (See original resolution below.)

The African Language Teachers Association (ALTA) Board took a position in 1997, a position I think they have not changed, noting that:

"The membership had the opportunity to discuss this initiative extensively at these meetings and expressed their concerns about the source of the funds and the means in which they would be administered. In particular, the membership expressed concern about the perception by African peoples and governments might have regarding the provision of such funds in the above-mentioned way given the source of the funding and the agencies involved and the possibility that strings whether overt or covert would be attached. These perceptions could will disrupt the rapport that American scholars have with scholars and governments of other regions to the point where serious academic research and developmental projects is in jeopardy."

Some of the other statements historically, not rescinded or changed, are:

"We ... reaffirm our conviction that scholars and programs conducting research in Africa, teaching about Africa, and conducting exchange programs with Africa, should not accept research, fellowship, travel, programmatic, and other funding from military and intelligence agencies - or their contractual representatives - for work in the United States or abroad."

Association of African Studies Programs (AASP), December 1993 (reaffirmed in April 1997)

"We ... strongly object to the passing of the National Security Education Act.... The link which the legislation seeks to make between U.S.

intelligence/defence and funding for African scholarship will seriously compromise the virtues of honesty and integrity among both American and African scholars and institutions."

Association of University Teachers, University of Zimbabwe, August 1992

"The credibility and integrity of American university-based scholarship in the African studies field depend upon arrangements which ensure the independence of academic research and publication from the military and political interests of the government... The Board ... calls upon African scholars to refrain from participation in the Central Intelligence Agency's program for research and support and to oppose participation in other activities it sponsors." **African Studies Association**, April 28, 1990 (reaffirmed in December 1993)

"The American Council of Learned Societies ... cannot support ... either the present location of the NSEA within the Department of Defense or its present oversight structure." **American Council of Learned Societies**, January 1993

Since 1981, the directors of the Title VI African National Resource Centers have agreed not to apply for, accept, or recommend to students any military or intelligence funding from the Defense Intelligence Agency, the NSEP, or other sources. This stance was reaffirmed by the directors gathered in Washington, D.C. at their meeting in April 1997. **Title VI African Studies Center Directors Policy since 1980s, reaffirmed April 1997**

"[The Social Science Research Council's] board determined, even before the provisions for implementation of the program had been finalized, that they were sufficiently flawed that the

council should not even enter into discussions and negotiations about its possible participation in the program." **Stanley J. Heginbotham, former Vice President of SSRC, in Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars** January-March 1997

"We are gravely concerned ... at the presence of the Director of the CIA in the oversight of the program... Linking university based research to U.S. national security agencies will restrict our already narrow research opportunities; it will endanger the physical safety of scholars and our students studying abroad; and it will jeopardize the cooperation and safety of those we study and collaborate with in these regions." **Presidents of the African Studies Association, Latin American Studies Association, and Middle East Studies Association**, February 1992

"Past experience, in South Asia as elsewhere, amply demonstrates the perils of connections, however tenuous, between scholars and U.S. national security agencies. Possible consequences range from mistrust and lack of cooperation to physical violence against U.S. scholars and their colleagues abroad...." **South Asia Council**, April 1992

Has there been change? Yes, the details of the service requirement for students has changed as long as the students serve U.S. national Security. And a few Africanist undergraduate and graduate students at Title VI institutions have taken awards at the instigation of non-African studies administrators. NSEP now has an email that no longer is "nsep@dia.mil" (Defense Intelligence Agency, Dept. of Defense) but now is "nsep@ndu.edu" (National Defense University, EDU). And this last month, the Indiana University African Studies Faculty also joined MSU in a vote to boycott the funds, once again.

But the position of the African studies community has not changed. I hope the African language community will be bold to address this problem with the forthrightness of the rest of the African Studies community and that the issue deserves.

Regards,

Dave

=====

David,

As you can see, there is considerable confusion about what is going on. Is there an official proclamation about the center directors and NSEP and a rationale. I think something like this is needed to make sure everyone understands what is going on.

David

<p>Study Abroad</p> <p>International Studies & Programs</p> <p>MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY</p>	<p>Students</p> <p>Returnees</p> <p>Parents</p> <p>Faculty & Staff</p> <p>Academic Advisers</p>	
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Service Requirement

The NSEP materials indicate that "all recipients of NSEP awards are required to seek employment with a federal agency or office involved in national security affairs. If, after making a "good faith" effort, a federal job is not identified, NSEP award recipients may fulfill the requirement by working in the field of higher education in an area of study for which the scholarship was awarded." Both the undergraduate and graduate application materials include a list of such agencies and offices. Details concerning this service requirement are included in your NSEP application booklet.

Michigan State University takes the position that since the funds are given directly to students and not to the university, individuals need to decide for themselves the impact, if any, this grant may have on them at their study location and/or in their future career.

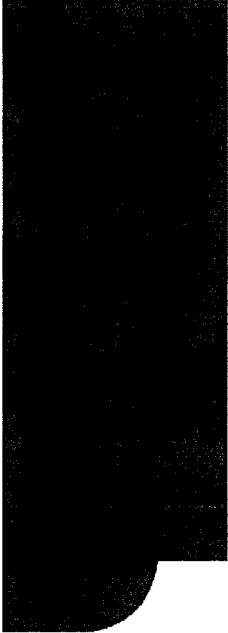
This letter is not the forum to discuss all the nuances of these issues, but to inform you that the program does cause concern among some members of the MSU community. If you have any concerns about this program, I recommend that you contact the appropriate director of MSU's geographical area study units:

Prof. David Wiley African Studies Center
 Prof. Michael Lewis Asian Studies Center
 Prof. Philip Handrick Canadian Studies Center
 Prof. Norman Graham Center for European and Russian Studies
 Prof. Scott Whiteford Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies

Application Process

Please read the application materials carefully and contact Cindy Felbeck Chalou, Assistant Director, 109 International Center, chalouc@msu.edu or 432-4345 if you would like to make an appointment. She can assist you in initiating the application process and provide advice as needed. Completed applications for undergraduate scholarships must be received in 109 International Center by 5:00 PM on January 17, 2003. You will be interviewed and evaluated by an MSU review committee during the week of January 27, 2003. The graduate scholarship competition is handled completely separately and requires no need for campus review. The application package on the NSEP Graduate International Fellowship is on the Web site <http://nsep.aed.org/aboutnsep.html> or may be obtained by calling AED at 202-884-8285 or 800-498-9360. You can download the application form, fill it out and send it directly to the Academy for Educational Development (AED) office in Washington, DC.

In addition to MSU-sponsored programs, there are additional language and culture programs available through other universities, institutions, and agencies. I invite you to visit the Office of Study Abroad Resource Room in 107 International Center for more information about these programs. I hope the above information will



be useful to you as you consider whether NSEP is the appropriate vehicle to support you at this time. We strongly applaud and encourage your interest in studying abroad.

With best wishes,

Kathleen Fairfax
Director

cc: Area Study Center Directors

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<http://nationalreview.com/kurtz/kurtz061603.asp>

Stanley Kurtz

NRO Contributing Editor
June 16, 2003, 9:20 a.m.



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Studying Title VI

Criticisms of Middle East studies get a congressional hearing.

For some time now, I have criticized scholars who study the Middle East (and other areas of the world) for abusing Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Title VI-funded programs in Middle Eastern studies (and other area studies) tend to purvey extreme and one-sided criticisms of American foreign policy.

ANNOUNCING A HEARING

It is my pleasure to announce that Congress has decided to investigate the charges of political bias that have been leveled against Title VI programs by critics like Martin Kramer, Daniel Pipes, and myself. This Thursday, June 19, at 1:00 P.M. in room 2175 of the Rayburn House Office Building, the Subcommittee on Select Education will hold a hearing entitled, "International Programs in Higher Education and Questions of Bias." I will testify at that hearing, and it is likely that defenders of Title VI will also be called as witnesses. There could be fireworks. I will post a report on the hearings next week.

First, I want to express my gratitude to the Subcommittee on Select Education, and especially to its chairman, Congressman Pete Hoekstra (R., Mich.), for taking seriously allegations of problems with Title VI. I am also deeply grateful to the readers of National Review Online. I have no doubt that the willingness of NRO readers to convey their concerns about Title VI to members of Congress has played an essential role in bringing these hearings about.

Along with the readers of NRO, the higher-education lobby has taken careful note of my criticisms of Title VI. David Ward, chancellor emeritus of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, president of the American Council on Education, and arguably the chief lobbyist for the higher-education community, has published rebuttals of my criticisms of Title VI. Ward has issued, "[Talking Points Refuting Stanley Kurtz's Attack on HEA-Title VI Area Centers](#)," and a [public letter](#) to the House subcommittee that funds Title VI. I want to answer Ward's supposed refutation of my charges against Title VI.

According to Ward, I offer no evidence to show that scholars associated with Title VI centers either purvey anti-American views, or seek to undermine American foreign policy. Although I point to a Title VI-funded workshop for K-12 teachers that assigned readings from only the most virulent critics of American foreign policy, Ward dismisses this example as a single isolated anecdote.

Ward is mistaken. I've provided plenty of examples of egregious hostility to America, and/or American foreign policy, by Title VI-funded scholars. I will provide still more evidence today. But first, let's get back to basics.

EDWARD SAID AND AMERICA

The ruling intellectual paradigm in academic area studies (especially Middle Eastern studies) is called "post-colonial theory." Post-colonial theory was founded by Columbia University professor of comparative literature, Edward Said. Said gained fame by equating professors who support American foreign policy with the 19th-century European intellectuals who propped up racist colonial empires. The core premise of post-colonial theory is that it is immoral for a scholar to put his knowledge of foreign languages and cultures at the service of American power.

Having received my doctorate in social anthropology at Harvard University, and having taught at both Harvard and the University of Chicago, I've had ample opportunity to see the dominance of Edward Said's post-colonial theory within the area-studies community.

In his regular columns for the Egyptian weekly *Al-Ahram*, Said has made his views about America crystal clear. Said has condemned the United States, which he calls, "a stupid bully," as a nation with a "history of reducing whole peoples, countries, and even continents to ruin by nothing short of holocaust." Said has actively urged his Egyptian readers to replace their naive belief in America as the defender of liberty and democracy with his supposedly more accurate picture of America as an habitual perpetrator of genocide.

Said has also called for the International Criminal Court to prosecute Bill Clinton, Madeline Albright, and General Wesley Clark as war criminals. According to Said, the genocidal actions of these American leaders make Slobodan Milosevic himself look like "a rank amateur in viciousness." Said has even treated the very idea of American democracy a farce. He has belittled the reverence in which Americans hold the Constitution, which Said dismisses with the comment that it was written by "wealthy, white, slaveholding, Anglophilic men."

Yet Edward Said is the most honored and influential theorist in academic area-studies today. Just last year, the Middle East Studies Association, many of whose members are associated with Title VI centers, joined its European counterparts in presenting Edward Said with a special award for his unparalleled contribution to Middle East studies. In his book, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*, Martin Kramer details the pervasive influence of Edward Said's post-colonial theory on Middle East studies, as I myself have noted in my discussion of Kramer's book.

PERVASIVE BIAS

This is the context in which we have to understand a Title VI-funded workshop for K-12 teachers that assigns only articles by Edward Said and his like-minded colleagues. Given the influence of Said's post-colonial theory on Middle East studies in America, that workshop was in no way an isolated occurrence.

For all that, I do not argue that authors like Edward Said ought to be banned from Title-VI-funded courses. Contrary to David Ward's claim, I have never said that Title VI centers should assign only material that I find politically acceptable. My complaint from the start has been that authors like Edward Said are too seldom balanced by authors who support American foreign policy. This was exactly the problem in the infamous Title VI-funded workshop.

For further evidence of bias among scholars associated with Title VI-funded centers, consider the website of the Hagop Kevorkian Center at NYU. This website features commentary by Kevorkian Center-affiliated scholars on the events of September 11, and on the war with Iraq. Of the essays that

treat September 11, every one that takes a stand sharply criticizes American policy. Ella Shohat criticizes the America's "crimes" of "oil driven hegemony" and America's "murderous sanctions on Iraq." Ariel Salzmann feels despair that America is threatening to attack Afghanistan instead of offering the Taliban "aid and mediation." Bernard Haykel says that, "We should not send U.S. or Western troops and special forces into Afghanistan with the aim of arresting or killing Bin Laden." Instead, says Hayel, we need to "reassess our foreign policies in the world." And so on with several of the other commentators on September 11 and its aftermath. The Kevorkian Center's Title VI-funded "Electronic Roundtable" on the war with Iraq is just as extreme and monolithic in its political perspective.

Of course, the reason NYU's Title VI-funded center is uniformly critical of American foreign policy is that NYU's Middle East Studies faculty is itself ideologically unbalanced. David Ward says it's enough that projects funded by Title VI are governed according to standards of free speech and academic freedom. True, academic freedom and free speech must be protected. Free speech, however, is not an entitlement to a government subsidy. And unless steps are taken to balance university faculties with members who both support and oppose American foreign policy, the very purpose of free speech and academic freedom will have been defeated. The vigorous and open debate that's supposed to flourish at our colleges and universities cannot exist without faculty members who can speak for divergent points of view. Yet, by rewarding politically one-sided programs with gigantic funding increases, Congress is actually removing any incentive for deans and provosts to bring in faculty members with diverse perspectives. At this point, Title VI funding increases are only stifling free debate.

AN UNCONSCIONABLE BOYCOTT

Title VI-funded professors take Edward Said's condemnation of scholars who cooperate with the American government very seriously. For years the beneficiaries of Title VI have leveled a boycott against the National Security Education Program, which supports foreign-language study for students who agree to work for national-security-related agencies after graduation.

David Ward's treatment of the NSEP boycott is sheer obfuscation. According to Ward, "the higher education community strongly supports the NSEP program and we know of no efforts to kill the program." Really? Then how do we explain the decade long boycott of the NSEP by the African-, Latin American-, and Middle East Studies Associations? Since 1981, the directors of Title VI African National Resource Centers have agreed not to apply for, accept, or recommend to students any military or intelligence funding from the Defense Intelligence Agency, the NSEP, or any other such source. Shamefully, a mere two months after September 11, Title VI African Studies Center directors voted unanimously to sustain their boycott of military- and intelligence-related funding, including the NSEP.

The Title VI-supported scholars who boycott the NSEP claim to do so out of concern for their students' safety. Supposedly, students could be harmed abroad if they are suspected of being spies. (In reality, of course, the students have no contact with defense or intelligence agencies until after they graduate.) But American scholars abroad are suspected of being spies, regardless of their funding source. And in fact, both opponents and supporters of the NSEP agree that there have been almost no actual cases of NSEP-funded students running into trouble overseas. Even the few recorded incidents might have happened anyway, regardless of funding source. Can you imagine these radical professors opposing the programs that once sent students to the segregated South to work for civil rights? Those programs were really dangerous. The NSEP is not. (For an excellent account of the NSEP boycott, see "[Scholars Revive Boycott of U.S. Grants to Promote Language Training](#)," in the August 16, 2002 *Chronicle of Higher Education*. For a transcript of a public debate over the NSEP boycott, see the *Chronicle of Higher Education Colloquy*, "[Tarnished as a spy?](#)")

POLITICS IN DISGUISE

Talk about student safety is nothing but a pretext for a politically motivated boycott of the NSEP by

Title VI-funded scholars bitterly opposed to American foreign policy. That is made unequivocally clear by an early pro-boycott statement by the Association of Concerned African Scholars. That statement explains the boycott as a refusal to aid a U.S. policy that "[subverts] progressive governments and national liberation movements" throughout Africa.

For my earlier piece, "Ivory Scam," I reported on a Ford Foundation study that clearly describes the NSEP boycott as politically motivated. That study acknowledges that during the 1980's, "American scholars who supported U.S. policy...more or less withdrew from the African Studies community." The same was true of U.S. policy supporters in other area-studies fields, except that it would be more accurate to say that supporters of U.S. policy were driven out of area studies, than that they "withdrew."

Michigan State University, which receives area-studies funding under Title VI, actually passes out a letter that warns students against applying for NSEP fellowships. Although the letter admits that no undergraduate recipients of NSEP grants have actually suffered any negative consequences abroad, it does everything possible to scare potential NSEP applicants into fearing for their lives. And the letter's dark hints about faculty objections to the program, combined with warnings that an NSEP grant could have an "impact" on their future careers, serve to signal to any bright young supporter of American foreign policy that an academic career is out of the question.

The boycott of the NSEP has already succeeded in driving the program out of first-tier universities, thereby depriving our defense and intelligence agencies of the services of some of America's brightest young people. And as I reported in "Ivory Scam," Title VI African Studies center directors and their colleagues are shunning a University of Wisconsin language center that broke the boycott and applied for an NSEP grant. That could easily result in a loss of funding for the courageous and patriotic scholars who run the Wisconsin program.

So David Ward is wrong. I have presented evidence that beneficiaries of Title VI do not support the NSEP, and in fact are doing everything in their power to destroy the program. Ward's claims that boycotters would support the NSEP, if only it were moved out of the Department of Defense. But that would change the purpose and nature of the program itself, which is to stock our defense and intelligence agencies with speakers of foreign languages.

We know that transmissions from the September 11 hijackers went untranslated for want of Arabic speakers in our intelligence agencies. David Ward claims that I offer not a single example of a scholar who seeks to undermine American foreign policy. My reply is that the directors of the Title VI African-studies centers who voted unanimously, just after September 11, to reaffirm their boycott of the NSEP, have all acted to undermine America's national security, and its foreign policy. And so has every other Title VI-funded scholar in Latin American-, African-, and Middle Eastern Studies who has upheld the boycott of the NSEP.

How can Congress permit professors who take American taxpayer dollars (on the claim that they are contributing to national security!) to boycott a program designed to bring desperately needed foreign-language expertise into our defense and intelligence agencies? How much longer can the scandal of Title VI and the NSEP boycott continue?

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Here is what needs to happen: 1) Congress needs to create a supervisory board to manage Title VI. The Fulbright and National Security Education Programs already have such a board, and it is vitally necessary that Title VI have one as well. 2) Congress needs to pass an amendment that would take funding out of the hands of any Title VI center that engages in or abets a boycott of national security related scholarships. 3) As a sign to Deans and Provosts that our area-studies faculties must become

more intellectually diverse, Congress needs to reduce the funding for Title VI. Specifically, the \$20 million of funding added to Title VI in the wake of September 11 needs to be withdrawn and redirected to the Defense Language Institute, which could then issue scholarships for students interested in well paying jobs at our defense and intelligence agencies. I will have more to say about these reforms in my testimony. But if you agree that there is a problem with Title VI, please let the members of the Subcommittee on Select Education know how you feel.

— Stanley Kurtz is a research fellow at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.

June 23, 2003, 10:30 a.m.

Hearing Both Sides of Title VI

Middle-east studies critics and defenders clash on the Hill.

Last Thursday, June 19, I testified at a contentious hearing of the House Subcommittee on Select Education. The hearing was convened to examine charges of bias leveled against programs of international education funded under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Title VI-funded programs support the academic study of the Middle East, and other areas of the world. (You can read my testimony [here](#) and you can view the hearings on video by going [here](#). Note that the first two of the five witnesses were not involved in the controversy. You can safely skip their testimony, if desired.)

Having laid out my fundamental claims about bias in "[Studying Title VI](#)," I'm going to review and respond to the two witnesses who denied my charges. They were Gilbert W. Merkx, vice provost for International Affairs at Duke University, and Terry W. Hartle, senior vice president of the American Council on Education, the chief national lobbying organization for the higher-education community.

My most explosive charge is that scholars taking Title VI money (on grounds of national security) are operating an unconscionable, politically motivated boycott against the National Security Education Program (NSEP), a scholarship program meant to bring speakers of foreign languages into our defense and intelligence agencies. Neither Merkx nor Hartle defended the boycott. Instead, they denied that a boycott existed at all. Hartle denied that "colleges and universities" were trying to kill the NSEP. Merkx denied that any Title VI centers were boycotting the NSEP.

This sleight of hand by Hartle and Merkx relied on the fact that, for over a decade, the Middle East, Latin American, and African Studies associations have [called for a boycott](#) against the NSEP. Since it was those scholarly associations that declared the boycott (not the actual colleges and universities where the members of those associations teach) Merkx and Hartle tried to finesse the need to even acknowledge that a boycott existed. That denial betrayed bad faith — and was factually wrong to boot. For one thing, when a university issues an [official letter](#) meant to inform students of a boycott, and discourage them from applying for a scholarship, then that university ought by rights to be held responsible for its action.

More than that, Merkx's denial that any Title VI centers, as such, boycott the NSEP (as opposed to scholars at those centers who happen to belong to a professional association that has voted a boycott) is simply wrong. One of the hearings' dramatic moments came when I answered Merkx by reading from a "smoking-gun" memo.

That memo had been privately circulated among directors and associates of Title VI African Studies centers, after a center at the University of Wisconsin, Madison broke the NSEP boycott. The memo went out under the name of David Wiley, past president of the African Studies Association and himself a key coordinator of national Title VI centers. (I interviewed and reported on Wiley in "[Ivory Scam](#).") The memo describes the "great dismay" among Title VI

African Resource Center directors at the attempt to break the boycott. Shamefully, the memo reveals that, a scant two months after September 11, Title VI African Studies Center directors met and voted unanimously for a "formal reaffirmation of the boycott."

So the smoking-gun memo proves Merkx and Hartle wrong. There *is* a boycott of the NSEP, and that boycott involves directors of Title VI centers, who acted in their official capacity, to destroy an offending center. Yet it's telling that we only know this because I managed to obtain a privately circulated enforcement memo. That memo establishes the seamless (if secret) connection between the association boycotts and the Title VI program. But what if I hadn't obtained the memo? In that case, Merkx and Hartle would have been able to sustain their hair-splitting denials that a boycott implicating Title VI centers even exists.

Under questioning, Hartle claimed that Title VI center directors are committed to keeping their centers "fair and balanced." Implying in his written testimony that Kurtz wants to stifle the free expression of those who believe that America is to blame for problems in the Middle East, Hartle argued that the best way to get at the truth is to let sharply different perspectives clash. According to Hartle, that's all that was going on in the now infamous U.C. Santa Barbara course where Edward Said, Arundhati Roy, Robert Fisk, Tariq Ali, et. al. were assigned to answer the question, "Why do they hate us." Besides, said Hartle, when the question at hand is, "Why do they hate us?" it's only natural that the answer will involve critical thoughts about the United States.

Of course the problem with the UCSB reading list was that not a single author who believed that Arabs have been scape-goating the U.S. for their own internal problems was included. Bernard Lewis has a totally different answer to the question of "why they hate us" than Robert Fisk. But at UCSB, only Fisk and his friends were assigned. Where is the clash of ideas there?

Nor did Hartle have anything to say about my discussion (in "Studying Title VI") of bias at NYU's Hagop Kevorkian Center. Why didn't the NYU center director bring on new voices to insure "fair and balanced" treatment of the war in Afghanistan, when nearly every one of his associates took extremist stands against that war? Maybe it's because the center director himself was part of the one-sided chorus denouncing the war in Afghanistan. Having no answer to my NYU example, Hartle simply dismissed it as an "anecdote."

And what about my claim that Edward Said's extremist post-colonial theory is the dominant paradigm in academic area studies today? Hartle denied this. According to Hartle, Said's influence peaked about ten years ago and has been declining ever since. Besides, said Hartle, Said's books are only occasionally assigned as readings in area-studies courses.

Hartle emphasized that Kurtz's complaints are all about Middle East studies, which takes up only a limited portion of Title VI funding. And Kurtz's complaints are only about issues of history and political science. Yet Middle East studies centers touch on many other disciplines. So according to Hartle, all of Kurtz's fuss is about a nonexistent boycott, a few anecdotes of bias, a controversial theory (of limited and declining influence), and only one small piece of the area-studies pie.

Hartle is wrong on all counts. For one thing, bias in area studies is pervasive. After all, when three major area-studies associations and (secretly) every Title VI African Studies center (and who knows how many other Title VI centers in secret) engage in a politically motivated boycott of a national-security scholarship, the problem obviously goes far beyond a few isolated anecdotes. That why Hartle so desperately needs to deny the existence of a boycott.

And the problem of bias goes far beyond Middle East Studies. After all, the NSEP boycott is sponsored by the Latin American and African Studies Associations, too. Beyond that, as I assured the committee, the influence of Edward Said's post-colonial theory is in many ways even more pervasive in South Asian studies than in Middle East studies. So we're already talking about deep bias in programs on four major areas of the non-Western world.

By the way, post-colonial theory pervades and influences a vast range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences. It is deeply influential in anthropology, for example, and Said himself is a literary theorist. So the problem goes far beyond political science or history.

Of course, once you launch a paradigm, your influence ramifies. Said's own books don't have to be assigned for his basic political stance to be represented in a course. Post-colonial theory is very influential in anthropological studies of Africa and India, for example, but you will only occasionally find a course on those areas of the world that actually assigns Edward Said. They don't need to. There are plenty of contemporary specialists who have adapted Said's original stance to whatever area of the world is being studied. The point is, whether Said's books are assigned or not (and in a many courses, especially in Middle East studies, they are), the influence of the larger political-intellectual perspective he helped to create is widespread.

I stand by my claim that post-colonial theory is the dominant paradigm in area studies. It is more powerful than any other single approach. Nonetheless, even if Said's paradigm is broadly defined, there's a lot more going on in area studies than just post-colonial theory. So here's an image that will give you a sense of what the political-intellectual range of debate in academic area studies is really like.

Imagine Noam Chomsky, Susan Sontag, Howard Dean, and John Kerry gathered together in a room for a daily debate on American foreign policy. Now imagine that once every week or ten days, Condoleezza Rice shows up and joins the debate for a day. That's about the range of intellectual-political debate in today's area-studies community. Of course there's enough of a range within this little group of four to make for a good deal of disagreement. Ultimately, though, it's a bogus debate, because it includes only half the intellectual-political spectrum (except for those brief weekly visits by Condoleezza). This is an all too accurate metaphor for the state of political debate in today's academy.

How can this problem be fixed? For one thing, we could trim funding to Title VI. But the funding question isn't being decided now. This subcommittee is reauthorizing the legislative structure of Title VI. Well then, how about an amendment that would defund any Title VI center that engaged in a boycott of national-security-related scholarships? Great idea. But who would enforce the amendment? We've seen that the real boycott operates in secret. That brings us to the one proposal that could solve the underlying problem — a supervisory board.

Only a board could monitor the boycott, and collect information on program content to make sure that Title VI centers were not shutting out one side of the political debate. I happened to luck out when a "deep throat" came to me with the secret memo describing the boycott being run by Title VI African Studies center directors. But with a board in place, it would be that much more difficult to run a secret boycott. Dissenters could always expose political boycotts to the board. What's more, potential boycotters would know this, and that would help keep them in check.

Academic freedom is not an entitlement to a government subsidy, and every other government-scholarship program has a board to facilitate fair dispersal of funds. In fact, Title VI itself had a board years ago, until its beneficiaries managed to get rid of it. Of course, Merckx and Hartle did what they could to deflect the idea of a board. What really scares them is my proposal that a board should be composed of representatives from Cabinet departments, and presidential appointees. The higher-education lobby is petrified that a board with members appointed by a Republican administration might break the left's monopoly on Title VI.

Under questioning, and in an effort to hold off the idea of presidential appointees, Merckx at least granted that it would make sense for a supervisory board to include representatives of the State Department, Defense Department, CIA, and Homeland Security. For a higher-education community that has strenuously objected to any defense or intelligence presence in Title VI, that is actually and huge and very meaningful concession.

Hartle was more determined than Merckx to avoid a supervisory board. Hartle's diversionary plan was that Congress should establish an investigative commission from the National Academy of Sciences that would send out letters to Title VI center directors asking them if they had been influenced by Edward Said. This is a laughable proposal. For one thing, the directors would simply write back, "Edward who? Never heard of him." In any case, as noted, the real debate in area studies, bogus and one-side though it may be, would allow these center directors to point to influences from Dean/Kerry types, as well as from Sontag/Chomsky types.

The only way to redress the ideological bias in Title VI is with a permanent supervisory board composed of knowledgeable presidential appointees and representatives of various Cabinet departments — including Defense and CIA. The higher-education establishment will do its best to substitute a bogus commission that will file a report, dissolve itself, and leave the current ideological monopoly in place. So the test for Congress right now is whether it will do the right thing and create a proper board for Title VI. Other government-scholarship programs already have such boards, and Title VI has had one before, so there is no excuse for not having a board.

This is a decisive moment. Despite decades of complaints about campus bias, there had probably never been a congressional hearing on the problem. Because of September 11, the public is finally alert to the importance and depth of campus bias. If you have ever worried about bias on our college campuses, but despaired of doing anything about it, this is your chance. Contact the members of the [Subcommittee on Select Education](#) (especially if you are in their district), and voice your support for a permanent board for Title VI — a board composed of both Cabinet representatives and presidential appointees.

[Intro](#)**THE SEPT. 11 CRISIS AND TEACHING OUR CHILDREN**[Home](#)**RESOURCES FOR TEACHERS ON ISLAM & THE MIDDLE EAST**[News](#)[Events](#)[Films](#)[Academics](#)[Teacher
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We at the Center for Middle East Studies are greatly shocked at the attacks perpetrated in New York and Washington, D.C. resulting in a staggering loss of life of innocent victims on September 11, 2001. We feel a deep sympathy for the victims, their families, and friends. We know that school aged children are especially affected by the images of death and destruction that they are exposed to on television and the media. Even this magnitude create feelings of insecurity and uncertainty in children. They can also give rise to prejudice misdirected anger. CMES has a number of resources that can help in classroom discussions about the devastating recent events, Islam, Middle Eastern culture, and peoples of Middle Eastern descent.

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The **September 11 Crisis: A Critical Reader** can be purchased for \$10.00 through cash or a check made out to "UC Regents" at the following address:

Reader
Center for Middle East Studies
University of California
Santa Barbara, CA 93106

**THE SEPTEMBER 11 CRISIS:
A Critical Reader**



Prepared for
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 Saturday, October 13, 2001 – 9:00 am to 4:00 pm – HSSB 6th Floor, McCune Room

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The Crisis and Teaching about Islam
 1. Anti-Arab and Anti-Muslim Harassment: Advice to Educators from the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination

Committee

2. **Scholars of Islam Speak Out Against Terrorism**
3. **Statement from Scholars of the Islamic Religion**
4. **Official Statement from the American Academy of Religion**
5. **Statement from Board of Directors of the Middle East Studies Association**
6. **Interview with John Esposito, Director, Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding at Georgetown University**
7. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "The Globalization of Islam: The Return of Muslims to the West" in John Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford History of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 601-641.
8. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, "American Foreign Policy in the Middle East and Its Impact on the Identity of Arab Muslims in the United States" in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (ed.), *The Muslims of America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 217-235.

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3. Robert Fisk, "The Lesson of History: Afghanistan Always Beats Its Invaders" *The Independent* (UK), Sept. 14, 2001.
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5. Ahmed Rashid, "Challenging Islam: The New-Style Fundamentalism of the Taliban" in *Rashid Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).
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8. Robert Fisk, "Just Who are Our Allies in Afghanistan?" *The Independent* (UK), Oct. 3, 2001.

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2. Graham Usher, "What Kind of Nation? The Rise of Hamas in the Occupied Territories" in Joel Beinin (ed.) *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 339-35
3. Robert Fisk, "The Wickedness and Awesome Cruelty of a Crushed and Humiliated People" *The Independent* (UK), Sept. 12, 2001.
4. Edward Said, "The Events and Aftermath" *The Observer* (UK), Sept. 16, 2001.
5. David Hirst, "The Shame of Palestine: America Should Beware Provoking the Wider Intifada Bin Laden Wants" *The Guardian* (UK), Sept. 25, 2001.
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8. Steve Niva, "Sources of Middle Eastern Violence" *Open Democracy*, Sept. 21, 2001.
9. Jim Muir, "Explaining Arab Anger" *BBC News Online*, Sept. 19, 2001.
10. Anthony Shadid, "Protests, Horror Greet US Assault" *The Boston Globe*, Oct. 8, 2001.
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1. Arab Film Distribution 2001 Institutional Catalogue
2. Recommendations for Films to Screen at Community Events
3. Free Film Rentals from Women Make Movies
4. UCSB Center for Middle East Studies Information

[Intro](#) | [Home](#) | [News](#) | [Events](#) | [Films](#) | [Academics](#) | [Teacher Outreach](#)

[Links](#) | [Donations](#) | [Faculty](#) | [Funding](#) | [Middle East/South Asia Project](#) | [Center Info](#) | [UCSB](#)

***APPENDIX E -- WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. GILBERT MERKX, VICE
PROVOST FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, DUKE UNIVERSITY,
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA***

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION
ON REAUTHORIZATION OF TITLE VI OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Chairman Hockstra, Members of the Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen, my name is Gilbert Merx. I am a professor at Duke University, where I serve as Vice Provost for International Affairs and Director of the Center for International Studies, which receives Title VI funding. Before coming to Duke two years ago, I spent twenty years as Director of the Latin American and Iberian Institute at the University of New Mexico, which also was a Title VI center. I serve as the co-chairman of the Council of Directors of Title VI National Resource Centers for Foreign Language and Area Studies. I stepped down last year after twenty years as Editor of the Latin American Research Review, the official journal of the Latin American Studies Association. I should also tell you that I was a founding member of the Group of Advisors of the National Security Education Program of the Department of Defense and that I served for several years as the Chairman of the NSEP Group of Advisors. In sum, I am well acquainted with both of these two important international education programs.

Title VI is one of the most cost-effective Federal programs ever introduced. Since its initiation by the Eisenhower Administration, Title VI has been the primary federal program supporting the development of college and university-based foreign language and area programs. Title VI funds have induced universities to invest large sums in language and area programs. Currently, every Title VI dollar granted leverages more than ten dollars out of educational institutions receiving grants. Title VI-funded centers have trained military officers and personnel for our intelligence agencies, as well as teachers for all levels of our educational system. Title

VI centers have also produced in-depth knowledge that has vastly deepened our understanding of other societies.

Title VI centers and fellowships serve the nation's national security needs in two different ways. Over the long term, they produce new cadres of personnel trained in foreign languages and knowledgeable about foreign areas, as well as a cumulative body of knowledge about international affairs, which provide manpower for government agencies and an intellectual foundation for intelligence. In the short run, they can serve as an on-call resource to be drawn on in times of crisis, analogous to the National Guard. One of the graduates of the New Mexico center I directed labored a number of years in obscurity as a specialist on a small, ignored country, until that country, El Salvador, erupted in civil war. He then became a valued member of our intelligence community. Likewise, expertise at Title VI centers about other formerly obscure localities such as Somalia, Afghanistan, Kosovo, and Yemen, to name a few examples, suddenly emerged as important and useful to our nation's security agencies.

Let me give some examples of how the Title VI centers that I have directed at New Mexico and at Duke have directly served the national interest. In my 20 years as Director at New Mexico, forty-four active-duty Foreign Area Officers of the United States Army and 4 Air Force officers received M.A. degrees in Latin American Studies. During the period of the Central American conflict, my center hosted four workshops for the Defense Intelligence Agency in which academic specialists from around the country, whom I selected, met with intelligence officers from the DIA, CIA and State Department to discuss security issues in a confidential setting. In 1997 my center organized and hosted a conference, in collaboration with the U.S. Army War College, the U.S. Southern Command, the National Guard Bureau, and the Inter-

American Defense Board, on the subject of civil-military issues in the Americas, attended by 150 military, civilian, and academic personnel.

At Duke University, the Center for International Studies that I direct houses both the Triangle Institute for Security Studies (TISS) and the Program in Asian Security Studies (PASS) program, both of which interact regularly with national security agencies and military institutions. Shortly before the war in Iraq, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Richard Myers, visited TISS to share with us the Administration's views, anticipating remarks he was to make to the nation at the side of Secretary Rumsfeld a couple of days later. In our successful proposal last fall to the Department of Education for a grant to support the work of the Center for International Studies, we pledged to focus on two issues over next three-years: international human rights and international security.

I give these examples to make it clear than within the Title VI community there are people like myself who actively collaborate with our national security and defense institutions. I do not claim to be typical of all foreign area specialists. As in every academic enterprise, Title VI centers involve faculty of many different intellectual interests and political perspectives, some of whom collaborate with national security agencies and some of whom choose not to do so, but nonetheless support the larger Title VI enterprise of research and training. I do collaborate with national security agencies and I consider myself part of the mainstream of foreign area studies: if I were not, I would not have been elected co-chairman of the Title VI NRC directors' group, nor would I have been repeatedly renewed as editor of the leading journal in Latin American studies.

Just as foreign area specialists are a diverse group, Title VI-funded centers are a diverse lot. There are different bodies of knowledge for different world areas. History plays a more

important role for areas with the heritage of ancient civilizations, such as China, the Indian subcontinent, and the Middle East, than for regions with newer nations such as Latin America and Africa. Among those centers that cover one world area, there will be differences in geographic and disciplinary coverage. For example, my New Mexico center was strong in coverage of Mexico, Brazil, and the Southern Cone, but weak on the Caribbean basin, while the center at the University of Florida was strong in Caribbean and Brazilian studies but weaker on Mexico and the Southern Cone. New Mexico had particular strengths in political economy, military issues, and art history, while Florida had strong programs on migration, environment, and public opinion.

I have been speaking about the role of Title VI in stimulating foreign language and area studies through its National Resource Centers and fellowships program. I should add that all these resource centers also engage in outreach to public schools and other forms of citizen education. The centers and fellowship program is only one of several Title VI programs, which together work to internationalize higher education at all levels. Other Title VI programs support undergraduate international education, international research, the development of resources for foreign language teaching, international business education, the recruitment of students from minority groups, and the introduction of new technologies for foreign information access. All together, these grant programs have made U.S. higher education more internationalized than it has ever been in the past. The National Security Education program, which I also strongly support, has also been very helpful in strengthening our expertise. Despite these two small but valuable programs, I do not believe that we are close to meeting all our nation's needs. International expertise on our campuses is not a luxury. It is essential to our nation's long-term ability to deal with a complex and occasionally dangerous world environment. Title VI has been

essential to building expertise and it is essential for maintaining that expertise, but at current funding levels it is not a panacea.

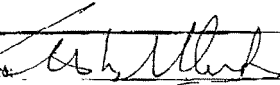
In January of this year, the Duke Center for International Studies hosted a conference of some 300 educators on the subject of “Global Challenges and U.S. Higher Education”. Our plenary speakers included the Chairman and CEO of General Motors, Richard Wagoner; the Undersecretary of Education, Eugene Hickok; and Admiral Bobby Inman, former Director of the DIA and former Deputy Director of the CIA. I would like to close by quoting from Admiral Inman’s address to the conference: “The needs of the country, whether involving national security or the global economy, are continuing to grow at a faster rate than we are equipping ourselves to deal with. And I remain as persuaded now as I was when I first encountered this problem back in 1958 that the key to our response is the pool of talented citizens who have the depth of knowledge of the cultures, of the languages, of the economies of all the countries we interact with around the world. I remain as committed to Title VI and what it does as I was back when it was reauthorized a couple of times in my tenure of service. But frankly, I still consider it only a bucket as compared to the fire hose that we need desperately as we move into a post-bipolar world.”

Mr. Chairman, I thank you for the opportunity to express my views to the Subcommittee.

Gilbert W. Merxx.
Duke University

Committee on Education and the Workforce
 Witness Disclosure Requirement - "Truth in Testimony"
 Required by House Rule XI, Clause 2(g)

Your Name: <u>Gilbert W. Merks</u>		
1. Will you be representing a federal, State, or local government entity? (If the answer is yes please contact the committee).	Yes	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
2. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) which you have received since October 1, 2000: <u>Title VI Grant for a National Resource Center for Foreign Language and Area Studies.</u>		
3. Will you be representing an entity other than a government entity?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yes	No
4. Other than yourself, please list what entity or entities you will be representing: <u>Council of Directors of Title VI National Resource Centers - CNRC</u> <u>Duke University</u>		
5. Please list any offices or elected positions held and/or briefly describe your representational capacity with each of the entities you listed in response to question 4: <u>Co-Chair, CNRC</u> <u>Director, Center for International Studies, Duke University,</u> <u>Vice President for International Affairs, Duke U.</u>		
6. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) received by the entities you listed in response to question 4 since October 1, 2000, including the source and amount of each grant or contract: <u>Duke Univ has a total of eight Title VI centers and numerous other federal grants.</u>		
7. Are there parent organizations, subsidiaries, or partnerships to the entities you disclosed in response to question number 4 that you will not be representing? If so, please list:	Yes	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Signature:  Date: June 18, 2003

Please attach this sheet to your written testimony.

***APPENDIX F -- WRITTEN STATEMENT OF DR. TERRY HARTLE, SENIOR
VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION,
WASHINGTON, DC***

Testimony of

Terry W. Hartle

**Senior Vice President
Government and Public Affairs
American Council on Education**

before the

**U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Education and the Workforce
Subcommittee on Select Education**

in regard to

**“International Programs in Higher Education
and Questions of Bias”**

June 19, 2003

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

My name is Terry Hartle and I am Senior Vice President of the American Council on Education (ACE), an association representing 1,800 public and private two- and four- year colleges and research universities. I am pleased to have the opportunity to present our views on Title VI of the Higher Education Act. On behalf of the higher education community, we express our deep appreciation for this Committee's long-time support for these programs. We believe that recent global developments only underscore the importance of training specialists in foreign languages, cultures and international business who can provide help to the government, the private sector, educational institutions and the media, and who can communicate across cultures on our behalf.

Title VI Programs

There are two important pillars of international education programs at institutions of higher education. The first part of the federal role in international education is the support provided to institutions to develop expert knowledge and to train the next generation of international affairs experts about the issues surrounding global security, commerce, and foreign languages. The other includes the traditional study abroad opportunities where students study for a semester or longer overseas. The flexibility of federal student financial aid and the Fulbright-Hays programs make these opportunities possible for thousands of students each year.

Congress created Title VI in the National Defense Education Act of 1958 out of a sense of crisis about the lack of knowledge in the United States of other countries and cultures. Spanning more than four decades, this program remains the federal government's most comprehensive and successful mechanism for supporting the production of the nation's expertise in foreign languages, and areas of other international studies, including international business. Together with Fulbright-Hays (Section 102(b)(6)), Title VI authorizes a comprehensive set of activities designed to increase attention to international education across the educational spectrum. Federal funds leverage a large amount of non-Federal funding, thus having a substantial impact on the field of international education for a small investment of taxpayer dollars.

Title VI contains three parts that authorize 10 funded programs:

- o Part A focuses on increasing knowledge and expertise in roughly 130 foreign languages, world areas and global issues. This is accomplished through support of National Resource Centers, Language Resource Centers, graduate fellowships, curriculum development and general research funding;

- Part B provides support to expand international business education and enhance U.S. leadership in the global economy at university based Centers for International Business Education and Research (CIBERS) and education projects involving business schools and the international community; and
- Part C builds international education capacity at minority-serving institutions and provides an opportunity for the best students at these schools to receive training and participate in internships that lead to international careers.

Currently, the Title VI program receives \$86.2 million to support these programs. A short summary that describes each Title VI program is attached to my testimony.

The Federal Role and Importance of Title VI

The federal government plays a critical role in international and foreign language education because international expertise is critical to the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, to maintaining our national security, and to ensuring the health and vitality of the U.S. economy in a global marketplace. Informed decisions in these areas depend on citizens who have foreign language skills and an understanding of other nations' cultures and systems. Just as the federal government maintains military reserves to be called upon when needed, it should have an educational infrastructure that steadily trains sufficient numbers of American students and scholars with expertise in international education and foreign languages.

For example, Title VI provides funding for instruction in the "less commonly taught languages" and world areas with a serious shortfall of experts. Nearly 80 percent of the graduate students currently in these fields are supported under Title VI.

Graduates of Title VI centers serve in key U.S. government positions in all agencies involved in international relations and foreign affairs. We believe that most of the career security foreign language and area specialists in agencies such as the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) were trained at institutions with Title VI-funded centers.

According to the U.S. Department of Education, over 1,000 graduates from Title VI area centers in the class of 2001 now work for the federal government in a civilian capacity. Another 400 graduates work for the U.S. military as well as the over 600 who are employed by state and local government. Specific agencies make heavy use of the Title VI program. For example, the U.S. Army Foreign Area Officer (FAO) program has sent its officers to Title VI centers for their master's degrees in language and area studies training for more than three decades.

In addition, the Title VI grantees conduct extensive outreach to government agencies at all levels. A few recent examples:

- Scholars whose training was funded by Title VI Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowships regularly brief government officials through the Near East and South Asia Academic (NESA) Outreach office of the CIA and other area studies conferences; the military through conferences at National Defense University; and the State Department. In crises such as the Afghanistan war and the aftermath of the Iraq war, intelligence analysts in this country routinely turned to the professorate for information about subjects as diverse as Pushtun tribal politics in Afghanistan and Shiite Muslim groups in Iraq.
- Discussions are underway between the representatives of the Library of Congress, the Institute of Museum and Library Services, the State Department and various cultural organizations to develop a coordinated response to assist Iraq in the recovery and reconstitution of their lost and damaged museum and the National Library and Archive. Members of the library community who are specialists in Middle Eastern studies from the University of California, Stanford University, University of Arizona, and Harvard University have volunteered to travel to Iraq to assess the status of the National Library and related cultural centers and assist in restoration efforts.
- The University of Kansas Title VI national resource centers for Latin America, Russia and Eastern Europe, and East Asia provides education and training opportunities for the Foreign Military Studies Office at Fort Leavenworth.
- The Georgetown University Title VI Middle East Studies Center and Language Resource Center just completed a three week Iraqi-Arabic conversion course for intermediate and advanced Arabic speakers attended by military and intelligence personnel, and is now offering a course in "Teaching Arabic as a Foreign Language" for Foreign Service Institute personnel.
- Duke University's Slavic and East European Resource Center is supplying materials in Slavic languages to the U.S. Air Force Academy.
- Brigham Young University and San Diego State University are engaged in a research project under Title VI with the Defense Language Institute to

develop a computerized language assessment tool to measure language proficiency.

National security also is increasingly linked to commerce, and U.S. business is widely engaged around the world with joint ventures, partnerships, and economic activities that require its employees—both at home and abroad—to have international expertise. A recent survey of U.S. corporations found that almost 80 percent of the firms said that they would place a greater emphasis on international competence among management and employees in the next 10 years. Despite extensive efforts to internationalize business education in the last decade, U.S. business schools continue to fall short of fulfilling the need of businesses for personnel who can think and act in a global context.

Title VI-Part B (CIBERS) supports important programs that internationalize business education and help small and medium-sized U.S. businesses access emerging markets— a step toward reducing the trade deficit and creating U.S. jobs. The Centers of International Business Education and Research have made great strides in internationalizing U.S. business education, as well as providing U.S. corporations with the international skills and knowledge to compete globally. They now are in a unique position to serve as a national resource in providing the education and research needed as part of coping with the aftermath of September 11.

Criticisms of Title VI

In recent years, a small number of critics have criticized the Title VI programs. Those who criticize the Title VI programs make a number of charges but the most important ones are that: Title VI Centers are ideologically biased; that the people who work in the Title VI Centers are unwilling to work for the federal government; they seek to undermine American foreign policy and actively discourage students from working for the federal government; the process by which the Title VI grantees is chosen is flawed; and that colleges and universities are trying to kill the National Security Education Program (NSEP).

We strenuously disagree with these allegations. None of these charges has any basis in fact. Rather, they represent a triumph of ideology over analysis. Moreover, let me state emphatically and for the record that Title VI does not perpetuate, encourage or support monolithic viewpoints or ideologies. Knowledge advances best when a variety of ideas and perspectives are in competition with each other.

The lack of time makes it difficult to respond to the individual criticisms and incidents that have been cited. Rather, let me make three basic points about the criticism of Title VI.

First, almost all of the criticism is being leveled against a small and specific part of the Title VI programs – the Middle East Studies Centers of the National Resource Centers. Last year, there were 118 National Resource Centers and 15 were focused on the Middle East. The Middle East Centers consumed approximately \$4 million, out of the \$86.2 million provided for the Title VI programs. But more specifically, the criticism is concentrated on the history and political science work of these centers. While I believe this criticism is exaggerated and misguided, it is a fairly small part of Title VI that has generated controversy.

Second, at the heart of the criticism of the Middle East Centers is an academic dispute that focuses on the work of Edward Said, a professor of Comparative European Literature at Columbia University. In a work published in 1978 he argued that Western meddling in the Middle East throughout much of the 20th Century produced the conflict and turbulence that continues to plague that region of the world. While critics claim that this view is the "ruling intellectual paradigm" in academic area studies, this theory reached its apex of popularity more than a decade ago and has been waning ever since. Even a cursory review of the syllabi of the Middle East Centers clearly shows this work only occasionally appears as an assigned reading or on a resource list. Indeed, historians and political scientists rarely find this theory useful.

My third point is that the criticisms of the Middle East Centers are based on a small number of anecdotes and the retelling of these anecdotes often leaves out important information. For example, Mr. Kurtz repeatedly refers to "a Title VI workshop for K-12 teachers that assigned readings from only the most virulent critics of American foreign policy."

The facts are as follows: the workshop in question was held at the University of California at Santa Barbara. At the request of the school district, the session was designed in part to explore the question "Why Do They Hate Us." Not surprisingly, some of the background readings for such a session will be rather hostile to the United States because the topic asks participants to examine the views of those who hold views we find reprehensible as a way of understanding them. Does it mean the professors are anti-American or hostile to American foreign policy? Of course not. Would these readings have been assigned if a different topic had been chosen? No.

Title VI Reauthorization

Title VI is working well and does not need to be substantially modified in this reauthorization. The Title VI statute is structurally sound, and poised to meet the challenges ahead with modest enhancements. Under separate cover, the Coalition for International Education, a group of 29 higher education associations has sent the Committee its recommendations for Title VI. They were developed from the findings of a policy research conference supported by the Ford Foundation and the U.S.

Department of Education, and an extensive process of deliberation by a broad spectrum of the higher education community. I invite subcommittee members to view the research papers and discussion reports from that conference at <http://www.duke.edu/web/cis/globalchallenges/>.

Conclusion

Title VI has served the nation well in the past and will continue to do so in the future. Consistent with federal objectives, Title VI centers have played a central role in developing public understanding of economic, defense and foreign policy issues; in preparing diplomats and other experts in foreign affairs; and in providing critical analysis for national decision-making. The knowledge and capacity developed by Title VI and the individuals who have been trained by Title VI are a priceless national resource.

I thank you for the opportunity to testify on this important issue. Thank you again for the Committee's long history of support for Title VI programs.

On behalf of:

American Association for Higher Education
 American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
 American Association of Community Colleges
 American Association of University Professors
 American College Personnel Association
 American Council on Education
 American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS
 APPA
 Association of American Colleges & Universities
 Association of American Universities
 Association of International Education Administrators
 Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities
 Association of Research Libraries
 Consortium of Social Science Associations
 Council for Opportunity in Education
 Council of American Overseas Research Centers
 Council of Directors of National Foreign Language Resource Centers
 Council of Directors of National Resource Centers
 Council of Graduate Schools
 Council of Independent Colleges
 Educational Testing Service
 Institute of International Education

American Council on Education

Joint National Committee for Languages
Middle East Studies Association
NAFSA: Association of International Educators
National Association of College and University Business Officers
National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges
National Collegiate Athletic Association
National Council for Community and Education Partnerships
National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages
National Humanities Alliance
The College Board
University Continuing Education Association
National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities

Attachment One
HEA-Title VI, International Education Programs

Title VI contains three parts that authorize 10 currently funded programs. Total FY 02 funding: \$86.2 million.

PART A focuses on increasing knowledge and expertise in roughly 130 foreign languages, world areas and global issues. Total FY02 funding: \$69.9 million

- **National Resource Centers** support institutions of higher education (IHEs) to establish and operate centers to train students, specialists, and other scholars; maintain important library collections; conduct advanced research; and conduct outreach to other education institutions, business, government, and the media.
- **Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships** support academic year and summer fellowships for graduate-level training at IHEs having nationally recognized programs of excellence.
- **Undergraduate International Studies and Foreign Language Program** supports the establishment of instructional programs in international studies and foreign languages at the undergraduate level.
- **International Research and Studies Projects** support IHEs, public and private nonprofit organizations and individuals in projects to conduct research on the needs, methods and strategies for teaching modern foreign language and area and international studies.
- **Language Resource Centers** support IHEs to improve the teaching and learning of foreign languages.
- **American Overseas Research Centers Program** supports consortia of IHEs to establish centers overseas to promote postgraduate research, faculty and student exchanges for advanced training and research.
- **Technological Innovation and Cooperation for Foreign Information Access** supports IHEs to develop innovative techniques or programs using electronic technologies to collect, organize preserve and widely disseminate information on world regions that address our nation's teaching and research needs in international education and foreign languages.

PART B provides support to expand international business education and enhance U.S. leadership in the global economy. Total FY02 funding: \$14.8 million.

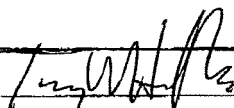
- **Centers for International Business Education and Research** supports university centers to improve international business education and serve as national and regional resources for businesses, government and other educational institutions.
- **Business and International Education Projects** support IHEs to enhance international programs in business schools and to promote linkages with the international business community.

PART C builds international education capacity at minority-serving institutions and provides an opportunity for the best students at these schools to receive training and participate in internships that lead to international careers. Total FY02 funding: \$1.5 million.

Committee on Education and the Workforce
Witness Disclosure Requirement - "Truth in Testimony"
Required by House Rule XI, Clause 2(g)

Your Name: TERRY W. HARTLE		
1. Will you be representing a federal, State, or local government entity? (If the answer is yes please contact the committee).	Yes	No ✓
2. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) which you have received since October 1, 1999:		
3. Will you be representing an entity other than a government entity?		
	Yes ✓	No
4. Other than yourself, please list what entity or entities you will be representing:		
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION		
5. Please list any offices or elected positions held and/or briefly describe your representational capacity with each of the entities you listed in response to question 4:		
6. Please list any federal grants or contracts (including subgrants or subcontracts) received by the entities you listed in response to question 4 since October 1, 1999, including the source and amount of each grant or contract:		
Attached.		
7. Are there parent organizations, subsidiaries, or partnerships to the entities you disclosed in response to question number 4 that you will not be representing? If so, please list:	Yes	No ✓

Signature:



Date:

June 17, 2003

Please attach this sheet to your written testimony.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION
 FEDERAL GRANTS AND CONTRACTS SCHEDULE 1998 - 2002

Agency	FY 1998 Amount Received	FY 1999 Amount Received	FY 2000 Amount Received	FY 2001 Amount Received	FY 2002 Amount Awarded
Federal Bureau of Prisons	\$ 242,928	\$ 378,580	\$ 321,779	\$ 368,947	\$ 379,000
Department of Defense	\$ 1,804,227	\$ 1,825,396	\$ 2,167,457	\$ 2,304,085	\$ 2,428,572
National Endowment for the Humanities	\$ 33,076	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -	\$ -
Department of Education	\$ 529,748	\$ 755,950	\$ 875,593	\$ 650,689	\$ 89,591
USIA	\$ -	\$ -	\$ 40,941	\$ -	\$ -
USAID	\$ 687,365	\$ 1,397,655	\$ 2,041,489	\$ 4,569,892	\$ 5,280,413
TOTAL	\$ 3,507,341	\$ 4,357,581	\$ 5,447,239	\$ 7,841,113	\$ 8,468,576

9/12/2002

DGRproject

PERSONAL INFORMATION: Please provide the committee with a copy of your resume (or a curriculum vitae). If none is available, please answer the following questions:

a. Please list any employment, occupation, or work related experiences, and education or training which relate to your qualifications to testify on or knowledge of the subject matter of the hearing:

Attached .

b. Please provide any other information you wish to convey to the Committee which might aid the members of the Committee to understand better the context of your testimony:

The American Council on Education (ACE) unites the voices of its members to shape public policy and promote access and quality in higher education. ACE is dedicated to the belief that equal educational opportunity and a strong higher education system are essential cornerstones of a democratic society. Its membership includes accredited, degree-granting colleges and universities from all sectors of higher education and other education-related associations and organizations. ACE is a forum for the discussion of major issues relating to higher education and its potential to contribute to the quality of American life. ACE seeks to advance the interest and goals of higher and adult education in a changing environment by providing leadership and advocacy on important issues, developing agendas for action, representing the views of the higher and adult education community to policy makers, and offering services to its members.

Please attach to your written testimony.

APPENDIX G -- COVER PAGE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS OF A DOCUMENT ENTITLED, "THE SEPTEMBER 11th CRISIS: A CRITICAL READER", SUBMITTED FOR THE RECORD BY REPRESENTATIVE SUSAN DAVIS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE, U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC

THE SEPTEMBER 11 CRISIS: A Critical Reader



Prepared for

"The September 11 Crisis and Teaching Our Children: A Workshop for K-12 Teachers",
Saturday, October 13, 2001 – 9:00 am to 4:00 pm – HSSB 6th Floor, McCune Room

Sponsored by

Center for Middle East Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara 93106

(805) 893-4245; www.cmes.cusb.edu

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FROM REPRESENTATIVE MAX BURNS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT
EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC***

Representative Max Burns
Statement for the Record
Subcommittee on Select Education Hearing
June 24, 2003

Mr. Chairman:

As a Senior Fulbright Scholar, I have firsthand experience in understanding the importance of international programs for students and teachers in higher education. Having taught overseas and here at home, I have seen how students from a different country benefit from experiencing another culture.

Because I was in a meeting on the Medicare prescription drug benefit plan with Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Thomas, I regret that I was unable to attend the important hearing of this subcommittee on June 19, 2003.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your commitment to improving education in this country.

***APPENDIX I -- LETTERS AND TESTIMONY SUBMITTED FOR THE
RECORD BY THE PUBLIC TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT
EDUCATION, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND THE WORKFORCE,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, DC***

19 June 2003

Representative Pete Hoekstra
Chair, Subcommittee on Select Education
2234 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Representative Rubn Hinojosa
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Select Education
1535 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Representatives Hoekstra and Hinojosa:

Along with my colleague, Antonia Schleicher, I am writing to clarify some misinformation your Committee has received about African studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and African studies centers in general. In an article in the National Review Online, and in testimony before your committee, Stanley Kurtz claims that the National African Language Resource Center (NALRC), based at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and the Title VI funded National Resource Centers for Africa are not working together. He goes on to claim that NALRC is in danger of losing its funding because it accepted a National Security Education Program (NSEP) grant. These allegations are simply not true, as a few facts and examples clearly demonstrate.

First, NALRC, which Mr. Kurtz claims is in danger of losing Title VI funding because it accepted funding from NSEP, successfully competed in a peer review process and was awarded a second four-year Title VI grant just last year.

Second, the director of NALRC is Antonia Schleicher, Professor of African Languages and Literature at Wisconsin. Professor Schleicher, the principal investigator on the NSEP grant that partly funds NALRC, is also an active member of Wisconsin's African Studies Program, funded by Title VI, which I administer. In fact, Professor Schleicher is currently on our program's five-member Planning Committee, which functions as its executive, or steering committee.

Third, I, as director of this Title VI Africa center, serve simultaneously as a member of the campus advisory board of NALRC, helping Dr. Schleicher administer her center.

Fourth, NALRC and this African Studies center pursue joint programming. For example, the Title VI grant I administer includes funding for a jointly designed project with NALRC to develop a medical dictionary in Luganda, to be used by (among others) Wisconsin medical and nursing students who will be going to Kampala, Uganda in coming years to work as public health interns.

Fifth, on a national level, Dr. Schleicher, director of NALRC, has been an invited guest and made presentations about NALRC at the last two meetings of the Association of African Studies Programs, which is comprised of those who Mr. Kurtz claims are shunning NALRC. She has also been invited to and attended coordinating meetings of the directors of all Title VI Africa centers.

Sixth, a major part of NALRC's work is improvement in the quality of African language instruction. The 2003 NALRC summer institute that accomplishes this is being staffed by 20 African language experts from most of the Title VI Africa centers around the country.

In sum, the supposed antipathy between Professor Schleicher's NALRC and the Title VI Africa community is belied by NALRC's own receipt of a Title VI grant, by Professor Schleicher's close involvement in governance of the Title VI Africa center on her own campus, by Professor Schleicher's inclusion of me on her campus advisory committee, by the fact of substantive, intellectual collaboration between her center and the Title VI Africa centers, and by regular dialogue among these centers.

The current facts do not support Mr. Kurtz's allegations that the nation's Title VI African Studies programs do not work together with Title VI- and NSEP-funded NALRC. There is an urgent need to train more students with high levels of language and area knowledge to meet the national priority needs of our government, as well as the private sector. Title VI and NSEP play important, complementary roles in this critical endeavor, and we hope they will continue to do so in the future.

Sincerely,

Aliko Songolo
Director, African Studies Program

Antonio Schleicher
Director, National African Language Resource Center

xc: Gilles Bousquet, Dean of International Studies

STATEMENT BY

DR. ANGELA STENT, DIRECTOR
CENTER FOR EURASIAN, RUSSIAN AND
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

And

DR. BARBARA STOWASSER, DIRECTOR
CENTER FOR CONTEMPORARY ARAB STUDIES and
NATIONAL RESOURCE CENTER ON THE MIDDLE EAST

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Hearing of the
Subcommittee on Select Education
House Committee on Education and the Workforce

“International Education Programs and Questions of Bias”

June 19, 2003

Chairman Hoekstra, Ranking Member Hinojosa and Members of the Subcommittee. We are pleased to have this opportunity to submit testimony for the record of your hearing on “International Education Programs and Questions of Bias.” The two of us have headed National Resource Centers supported under Title VI of the Higher Education Act for nearly a decade. The NRC-Middle East, anchored in a strong Center and Program in Arab Studies, includes the crucial participation of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, the Jewish Studies Initiative, the Turkish studies program, the Department of Arabic and Division of Eastern Mediterranean Languages, and the GU library. These programs cooperate at a variety of levels, including course planning, faculty hiring, resource sharing, workshops, and joint degree programs. The Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies covers the region extending from

the Czech Republic to Afghanistan and teaches all of the major languages of the region including Turkish.

With one of our National Resource Centers focusing on the Middle East and the other on Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia, it is safe to say that the scholars at our Centers have undertaken research on a variety of issues on which feelings are often quite strong. It is also safe to say that, over the years, we have had scholars working at our Centers who have come to differing conclusions on an array of issues, as one would expect in an academic setting which is premised on the principle of academic freedom and the belief that rigorous research and serious intellectual discussion are important to informing both our students and others who benefit from contact with the work of our Centers. We would make the point, however, that in the process, our Centers' work has been balanced and reflective of diverse views. We were both quite pleased that the value – and objectivity – of the work of our Centers was recognized with recent award of new grants by the Department of Education as a result of the peer review process used by the Department for these purposes.

One of the most important aspects of our Centers' work is to ensure that the public at large benefits from the research that our scholars generate. Let us share with you examples of some of the outreach our Centers have conducted in recent years:

- In April, 2001, the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies hosted a workshop for teachers, "The Meanings of Jerusalem." The day long presentation, attended by approximately 100 elementary and secondary teachers from Washington, D.C.,

Maryland and Virginia, included presentations entitled “Jerusalem in the Eyes of Israeli Jews” and “The Status of Jerusalem: A Palestinian Perspective” along with a panel, “The Significance of Jerusalem to Judaism, Christianity and Islam” with presentations by a rabbi, a Jesuit priest, and an imam.

- In October, 2002, thirty area teachers attended a Saturday Seminar sponsored by the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies specifically for middle and high school teachers exploring a web-based model curriculum entitled “World History for Us All.”
- In response to an evaluation question posed to participating teachers about sharing information at one of the of Center for Contemporary Arab Studies workshops this year, they indicated that over 500 fellow teachers would benefit and that the educational experiences of over 15,000 area students would be enhanced.
- In May, 2002, the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies hosted a workshop for teachers entitled, “Moving West: Central and Eastern Europe Today,” which was attended by more than 30 teachers from the Washington metropolitan area. Those teachers indicated in their evaluations that they would be sharing resources from the seminar with nearly 100 of their colleagues and anticipated that that one session alone will impact the educational experience of nearly 3,500 area students.
- On March 18 of this year, the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies hosted a lecture, “Responses to the War on Terrorism from the Central Asian States.”

- On April 23, CERES hosted a conference on “Energy and Security in Eurasia.” This conference was attended by over 100 people from the Washington area and beyond. The audience included teachers, officials of U. S. and foreign governments, and representatives of the private sector. It received high praise from both the speakers and the audience.
- The Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies has developed a library of more than 1,500 books on the history, politics, economics, culture and literature of the region, as well as a collection of nearly 150 films and documentaries on every country in the region. The library also has developed a unique collection of daily news broadcasts and special event coverage from various Russian language television networks covering the period from fall, 1989, to the present. All of these resources are available for public use and are often called upon by Georgetown University students and staff as well as members of the broader Washington community, as resources to enhance understanding of the region.
- As part of its outreach to area teachers, the Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies has developed a teaching aid dubbed “Country in a Box.” The box consists of resource materials that are designed to be lent to teachers of all grade levels to assist them in familiarizing their students with countries in the region. Area teachers, particularly participants in our workshops, have demonstrated an active interest in utilizing this resource.
- Faculty in both of Georgetown’s NRCs also perform many different kinds of public and government outreach service, providing testimony before Congress,

briefing Cabinet members and other high level Administration officials, hosting International Visitors brought by the Department of State, taking part in Voice Of America broadcasts, as well as innumerable other appearances in broadcast, print, and electronic media.

We take this responsibility for outreach very seriously because we understand that the Congress, in authorizing and funding Title VI, intended for us to be a resource to the nation and its citizenry. We are also very pleased that the outreach we have provided has been well received. Let us share with you just a few assessments by participants in various seminars:

- With regard to a seminar of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, “It allowed me to develop new innovative teaching methodologies to reach high school social studies students in a public school setting.”
- “What a ‘world class’ seminar with ‘first class’ speakers . . . I have learned so much about this vast region in just one week! The Middle East used to be a remote, mysterious and complicated world to me, as I was totally ignorant about this part of the globe. Now, after this seminar, I can be proud to say that this region is no longer strange to me . . .”
- About a Center for Eurasian, Russian and Eastern European Studies program, “I have a better understanding of the culture and politics in Central Asia. It was very helpful to read the background first from the packet that was sent to us, and then listen to the speakers.”

- Again, with regard to a Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies program: “Count me as a regular attendee of all future programs. . . . I really appreciated the professional tone and atmosphere of [the] seminar. . . .”
- About a CERES workshop, “an outstanding format, made possible by the University’s faculty.”
- Regarding a Center for Contemporary Arab Studies scholar’s presentation at a D. C. school: “. . . she did an excellent job in presenting a balanced view of the history”
- An evaluation form on a Center for Contemporary Arab Studies workshop included the following: “You guys have made it so easy for us to come out, learn, and take in so much knowledge If only more cultural groups were able to do the same, imagine how much more qualified our teachers would be in educating our children and erasing their ignorances of the world and its people.”

We think it is clear from those comments that teachers in this area – which we would suspect is among the more cosmopolitan in the nation – have felt a real need for the kind of knowledge that our Centers have been able to impart to enrich their teaching. Likewise, they have found the presentations provided to be balanced and factual.

Our Centers perform another important function -- training future specialists to enter the world equipped with the necessary knowledge for working in fields that are vital to our nation’s security. We think we have been quite successful in that regard.

Graduates of the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies M.A. program, for example, have gone on to careers not only in academe, but with U. S. corporations working on business development strategies for the region; in federal agencies, including the Departments of Commerce, Defense, Education, and State, as well as the CIA, DIA and NSA; and in organizations such as Seeds of Peace which are striving to build bridges of understanding between peoples and nations involved in conflicts. Some 75 of CCAS alumni are working with the U.S. government, and some 90 of them, or about 20%, are currently living and working in the Middle East. One of the Center's recent alumnae served over 350 hours as an Arabic interpreter for intelligence interrogations at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and received a citation for that service. He also helped recruit Arab interpreters for Operation Iraqi Freedom and is engaged in classified work at present as an Arabic research analyst.

The Center for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies has sent its graduates to work in a broad range of fields both in the United States and in Eurasia and Central Europe. Members of past graduating classes have gone on to work in the military, in the federal government, in the non-profit and private sectors. Some graduates of the Center's M.A. program continue their studies to the Ph.D. level. Moreover, members of its internationally known faculty have served their country in the U. S. government, in international non-governmental organizations and in the business community. The Director of the Center also serves as a consultant to the U. S. Department of State.

In closing, let us simply reiterate our strong belief in the importance of Centers like ours to enhancing international understanding at a time when that knowledge is increasingly important to our nation's security, to our potential to maximize our economic ties to the regions on which we focus, and to the promotion of international stability. We know that the Committee in the months ahead will be continuing its work on the reauthorization of Title VI and other parts of the Higher Education Act

If we can provide any further insights as the process moves forward, we stand ready to do so.

Testimony on “International Programs in Higher Education – Title VI Funding”
A Report from the field

This issue is very timely for me. I have just finished teaching a graduate seminar on professional opportunities and resources for language teachers. The participants included teachers from across the nation—California, Missouri, Michigan, Mississippi, Florida, etc.—and one of our topics was what the Area Centers funded by Title VI provide for teachers. Participants explored Centers near to their teaching locations and wrote reports on what resources they could use. They also explained how these resources could help their teaching. The result? A testimony to the myriad ways that the Centers assist classroom teachers, and by extension, their students: workshops, lesson plans, traveling cultural resources, links to journals and newspapers, invitations to use library resources, films, slide sets, curriculum guides, bibliographies, maps, travel information, explorations of literature, and the list could go on and on. The Centers are gateways to understanding the regions of the world and the outreach provided is impressive. In truth the great value of the Language Resource Centers and the Areas Studies Centers is that they help to inform teachers about the world and help students in America’s classrooms become better prepared as citizens in a century of global interests. The Centers are thus an invaluable resource for making sure that **no child is left behind** in the nation’s schools. It would be extremely difficult to replicate their success in a restructured system.

Dr. Anne Fountain

I teach Spanish and Latin American Studies at San Jose State University and was visiting professor for a course in the Master of Arts in the Teaching of Language degree program at the University of Southern Mississippi, June 2003.

AJCongress

American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York, NY 10028
212 879-4500 • Fax 212 249-3672

July 2, 2003

Chairman Peter Hoekstra
House of Representatives
Committee on Education and the Workforce
House Subcommittee on Select Education
2181 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Hoekstra,

Thank you so much for permitting the American Jewish Congress to file testimony to be included in the record of the hearing your Committee recently held examining federally funded international studies programs.

We believe the issues of bias and distortion raised about the Title VI funded foreign language and area studies programs are particularly significant at this time. Our own inquiry into the issue, particularly as it relates to K-12 teacher workshops conducted with Title VI funds convinces us that a full investigation of this problem and serious efforts to remedy it are necessary.

We are grateful that you and the Committee recognize the importance of the issues and that you set aside the time in the Committee's busy schedule to hold a preliminary hearing. Our testimony is attached.

Sincerely,

Lois Waldman

drs

Testimony of the American Jewish Congress
Before the
Committee on Education and the Workforce
Subcommittee on Select Education

The American Jewish Congress (AJCongress) is a membership organization of American Jews with members throughout the United States. It is committed to protecting fundamental constitutional freedoms and American democratic institutions, particularly the civil and religious rights of Jews and of all Americans. It is also committed to advancing the security of the State of Israel and to supporting its search for peaceful relations with its neighbors in the region.

In the implementation of this mandate, AJCongress has always been particularly concerned with issues involving the education of America's youth. It has taken strong positions with respect to issues of equality in schools, separation of church and state, and in recent years, the problem of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism on college campuses. Through our interest in the latter subject we have been made aware of the problems of bias and distortion in certain K-12 teacher outreach programs emanating from Mid-East area and language studies centers funded by Title VI of the Higher Education Act.

Our own investigation revealed instances of anti-American and anti-Israel bias in materials distributed in certain of these Title VI funded programs. Materials relating to a federally funded Middle East Summer Institute in Connecticut revealed similar instances

of bias. And we have become aware of the criticism of Title VI programs by such knowledgeable critics as Stanley Kurtz, Martin Kramer and Daniel Pipes.

To further our investigation of these outreach programs, AJCongress sought, through a Freedom of Information Act request, copies of the reports sent by the Title VI funded Mid-East centers to the Department of Education concerning their activities. Our examination of many hundreds of pages of these showed that the Department of Education was given detailed information about the place, time, subject, title and number of attendees at outreach activities. However, no information was requested or given as to the content of these programs. Thus, the Department of Education has no way of assessing whether the K-12 teacher workshops it is funding give a fair, historically accurate and balanced view of the subjects presented and thus fulfill the statutory purposes of providing not only language instruction, but “full understanding of areas, regions and countries in which such language is commonly used.”

When AJCongress realized not only that the funded programs lacked accuracy and balance but that the criteria employed by the DOE did not even include these qualities as a basis for selection, we filed the attached petition. The petition asks the Department of Education (DOE) to amend the criteria they employ in awarding funds to Title VI grantees. It gives examples of the bias and distorted anti-American and anti-Israel materials distributed in some of these Title VI funded programs. It also requests that DOE require that in considering grant proposals its reviewing readers “determine the extent to which the teaching faculty and staff [of the grantee] represent the full range of

scholarly and political views on the subjects taught,” and the “extent to which the content of the courses and materials are objectively presented without bias and reflect the full range of political and scholarly views on the subject taught.”

This suggested change in the selection criteria is clearly in accord with DOE’s responsibility to only fund grantees that will fulfill the purposes of the authorizing statute. The Higher Education Act reflects Congress’ belief, as set forth in its finding, that there have been “dramatic post cold war changes in the world’s geopolitical and economic landscapes.” These require “systematic efforts to enhance the capacity of institutions of higher education in the United States to not only produc[e] graduates with international and foreign language expertise” but to “disseminate information about world regions, foreign languages and international affairs throughout education ... government, business, civic and nonprofit sectors.”

Based on this finding and these purposes, the Secretary is authorized to make grants to national language and area studies centers which shall be national resources for “teaching of any modern foreign language” and for “instruction in fields needed to provide full understanding of areas, regions or countries in which such language is commonly used.” Clearly, if the information disseminated in teacher workshops is inaccurate, biased, distorted and does not reflect all political and scholarly views, the workshops are not fulfilling their statutory purpose of providing “full understanding” and DOE is without power to, and should not fund, such programs.

Testimony of the American Jewish Congress

The amendment to the regulations AJCongress seeks is necessary to put Title VI grantees on notice of what their responsibilities are under the statute. Clearly, DOE is remiss in its duty to properly implement and administer the statute if it fails to require accurate and balanced material and presentations at the teacher workshops, and if fails to monitor the presentations and materials developed for the workshops to assure that the grantees are fulfilling the statutory purpose. Surely, the role of the Department of Education with respect to Title VI K-12 outreach programs is not merely to count how many teachers attend and how many speeches are made to the community, and then just send money.

Neither academic freedom nor respect for local control of education compels DOE to be a passive conduit of federal monies funding anti-American and anti-Israel propaganda. Whereas at one time K-12 education was the sole province of state and local governments, that day is long gone. The Administration prides itself on enacting the “No Child Left Behind Act,” whose myriad regulations concerning teacher quality, accountability, test scores improvement and extra help for needy students must be observed as a condition for obtaining federal funds. That same Administration cannot in good conscience claim it may not monitor the use of federal funds to achieve balance and accuracy in K-12 teacher workshops dealing with international affairs.

* * *

Hon. Rodney Paige
Secretary of Education
United States Department of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, SW
Washington, DC 20202-0100

Citizens Petition

Relief Requested

The American Jewish Congress ("Petitioner") petitions the Secretary of Education ("Secretary") under 5 U.S.C. § 553(e) and 20 U.S.C. § 1232(d), the General Education Provisions Act, to amend the selection criteria required to be employed by the Secretary in evaluating an application for a grant to fund comprehensive National Resource Centers authorized under Section 602 of the Higher Education Act as amended, 20 U.S.C. § 1122.

Thirty-four C.F.R. § 656.21(b) authorizes the Secretary in evaluating such an application to make certain determinations as to the qualifications of teaching faculty and staff for Center activities and training programs. Petitioner seeks to amend this regulation to require that the Secretary in making this determination also "determine the extent to which the teaching faculty and staff represents the full range of scholarly and political views on the subjects taught." Petitioner also seeks an amendment to 34 C.F.R. § 656.21(f)1, which already grants points based on the quality of the Centers' non-instructional program and extent of the Centers' course offerings in a variety of disciplines, to require that the Secretary also consider "the extent to which the content of the courses and materials are objectively presented without bias and reflect the full range of political and scholarly views on the subjects taught."

Statement of Interest

The American Jewish Congress is a membership organization of American Jews committed to the protection of American constitutional rights and liberties and to the well-being of the State of Israel.

Reasons for Requesting Amendments

Petitioner seeks these amendments to the Secretary's criteria for making grants to National Language and Area Centers Program because of persistent reports and persuasive documentary evidence which we believe to be true that at least some centers, particularly centers devoted to the study of the language and culture of the Middle East, have conducted outreach programs for teachers of primary and secondary

Citizens Petition

34 U.S.C. § 656.21(b)1

34 U.S.C. § 656.21(f)1

schools that have been biased, and lacked balance and academic rigor. See Stanley Kurtz, *Anti Americanism in the Classroom*, [Hudson Institute OnLine](#), page 1, May 16, 2002, concerning the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of California; Maryellen Fillo, *Mideast Course Gets Mixed Reviews*, [Hartford Courier](#), page 12, August 3, 2002, concerning Central Connecticut State University Middle East Summer Institute; Leonard Felson, *State Auditors to Review Process That Led to Funding of Controversial Program on Mideast*, [The Jewish Ledger](#), November 24, 2002, concerning Central Connecticut State University; Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand*, *passim*, concerning Middle East Centers generally.

While Petitioner recognizes that with respect to controversial aspects of the curriculum there may not be any one accepted view, with respect to such subjects, it is particularly important that the diversity of perspectives be presented and that all academically supportable sides of a disputed subject be set forth as fairly and dispassionately as possible. Our own examination of the materials distributed in the various Outreach Programs for Middle School and Secondary School teachers funded under Title VI indicate that this appears not to be happening in many workshops. In other instances, some elements of the curriculum materials distributed do not meet the test of academic or intellectual rigor since they are not supported by credible facts.

University of California at Santa Barbara

In the materials distributed in connection with a teachers workshop entitled "The September 11 Crisis: A Critical Reader," held by the Middle East Studies Center, University of California, Santa Barbara on October 13, 2001, there are at least five articles (Attachment A) that in the guise of supposedly explaining the "cause" of the 9/11 disaster contain "explanations" that are inaccurate, and contain significant amounts of anti-Israel and anti-United States bias. The piece by Aruhndati Roy, *The Algebra of Infinite Justice*, is typical. She writes:

FOR STRATEGIC, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC REASONS, IT IS VITAL FOR THE US GOVERNMENT TO PERSUADE ITS PUBLIC THAT THEIR COMMITMENT TO FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY AND THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE IS UNDER ATTACK. IN THE CURRENT ATMOSPHERE OF GRIEF, OUTRAGE AND ANGER, IT'S AN EASY NOTION TO PEDDLE. HOWEVER, IF THAT WERE TRUE, IT'S REASONABLE TO WONDER WHY THE SYMBOLS OF AMERICA'S ECONOMIC AND MILITARY DOMINANCE—THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE AND THE PENTAGON—WERE CHOSEN AS THE TARGETS OF THE ATTACKS. WHY NOT THE STATUTE OF LIBERTY? (COULD IT BE THAT THE SYUCIAN ANGER THAT LED TO THE ATTACKS HAS ITS TAPROOT NOT IN AMERICAN FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY, BUT IN THE US GOVERNMENT'S RECORD OF COMMITMENT AND SUPPORT TO EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE THINGS—TO MILITARY AND ECONOMIC TERRORISM, INSURGENCY, MILITARY DICTATORSHIP, RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY AND UNIMAGINABLE GENOCIDE (OUTSIDE AMERICA)? IT MUST BE HARD FOR ORDINARY AMERICANS, SO RECENTLY

Citizens Petition
 34 U.S.C. § 656.21(b)1
 34 U.S.C. § 656.21(f)1

BERAYED, TO LOOK UP AT THE WORLD WITH THEIR EYES FULL OF TEARS AND ENCOUNTER WHAT MIGHT APPEAR TO THEM TO BE INDIFFERENCE. IT ISN'T INDIFFERENCE. IT'S JUST AUGURY. AN ABSENCE OF SURPRISE. THE TIRED WISDOM OF KNOWING THAT WHAT GOES AROUND EVENTUALLY COMES AROUND. AMERICAN PEOPLE OUGHT TO KNOW THAT IT IS NOT THEM BUT THEIR GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES THAT ARE SO HATED.

...

THE SEPTEMBER 11 ATTACKS WERE A MONSTROUS CALLING CARD FROM A WORLD GONE HORRIBLY WRONG. THE MESSAGE MAY HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY BIN LADEN (WHO KNOWS?) AND DELIVERED BY HIS COURIERS, BUT IT COULD WELL HAVE BEEN SIGNED BY THE GHOSTS OF THE VICTIMS OF AMERICA'S OLD WARS. THE MILLIONS KILLED IN KOREA, VIETNAM, AND CAMBODIA, THE 17,500 KILLED WHEN ISRAEL—BACKED BY THE US—INVADED LEBANON IN 1982, THE 200,000 IRAQIS KILLED IN OPERATION DESERT STORM, THE THOUSANDS OF PALESTINIANS WHO HAVE DIED FIGHTING ISRAEL'S OCCUPATION OF THE WEST BANK. AND THE MILLIONS WHO DIED, IN YUGOSLAVIA, SOMALIA, HAITI, CHILE, NICARAGUA, EL SALVADOR, THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, PANAMA, AT THE HANDS OF ALL THE TERRORISTS, DICTATORS AND GENOCIDISTS WHOM THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT SUPPORTED, TRAINED, BANKROLLED AND SUPPLIED WITH ARMS. AND THIS IS FAR FROM BEING A COMPREHENSIVE LIST.¹

The materials distributed at the Santa Barbara October workshop contain no articles giving the more conventional, and, we believe, clearly accurate, explanation for Bin Laden's attack on the World Trade Center.

Even where effort is made to provide some balance, as in the case of the alleged massacre at Deir Yassin during the 1948 Arab Israel War, nine pages are devoted to a so-called "eyewitness account" which supports the Palestine version, as compared to two pages devoted to the Israeli version.² (Attachment B)

Resource materials and readings distributed by this same Middle East Center in connection with a workshop on the Israel/Palestine Conflict held June 18-21, 2002 are similarly biased, with no real attempt to convey the diversity of views on this controversial subject. For example, the materials treating the 1948 Arab-Israeli conflict, particularly the reasons for the exodus of Arabs from their villages in 1948 adopt without reservation the controversial position of the "revisionist" Israeli historians

¹ Arundhati Roy, The Algebra of Infinite Justice, Guardian, Saturday September 29, 2001, included in The September 11 Crisis: A Critical Reader, prepared for "the September 11 Crisis and Teaching Our Children: A Workshop for K-12 Teachers," hereinafter "Reader."

² Dr. Meir Paul, Dr. Ami Isseroff, Deir Yassin, Mier Paul's Eyewitness Account (attached), presented by Peace Middle East Dialog Group in "Reader" and Mitchell G. Bard, Myths and Facts: A Guide to the Arab Israeli Conflict, p. 172 (2001) (attached).

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(Attachment C). These historians conclude, in contradiction to the accepted Israeli view that the Arab villagers left voluntarily that (1) there was no blanket order for Palestinians to evacuate their homes and villages; (2) there were efforts by Arab leaders to stem the exodus; and (3) there was evidence of direct, hostile Jewish Haganah/IDF operations against Arab settlements, although it was not official Israeli policy to drive the Arabs out, though it did fit in with their plans and made it easier to settle more Jews on the land.

The essays of the two Israeli historians included in the distributed materials adopt this new revisionist history approach and set forth the traditional Israeli view that the Israelis did not try to drive the Palestinians out only to attack it. The piece by the Palestinian historian attacks even these revisionist pieces and suggests that the evidence of the new historians that the Israelis sometimes used force or “nudged” the Palestinians to leave was, in fact, evidence of a pre-ordained de facto forcible transfer policy of the Israelis in 1948. In short, evidence of only one version of a sharply contested event is given.

Other materials distributed as part of this June 2002 course (Attachment D) emphasize that Israel established a military administration to govern the Palestinian residents of the occupied West Bank and Gaza denying basic political rights and civil liberties and criminalizing Palestinian nationalism and even punishing acts of non-violence.³ This treatment makes no distinction between the time before and after the first and second Intifadas when the Israelis suffered increasing acts of terrorism coming from the territories and responded more harshly as the terrorist acts increased.

Other historians not represented in the workshop materials state that

EARLY IN THE ISRAELI OCCUPATION ISRAELI AUTHORITIES DID TRY TO MINIMIZE THE IMPACT ON THE POPULATION IN THE TERRITORIES. EXCEPT FOR REQUIREMENTS THAT SCHOOL TEXTS IN THE TERRITORIES BE PURGED OF ANTI-ISRAEL AND ANTI-SEMITIC LANGUAGE, THE AUTHORITIES TRIED NOT TO INTERFERE WITH THE INHABITANTS. THEY DID PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, FOR EXAMPLE TO PALESTINIANS IN THE GAZA STRIP WHO WERE MOVED FROM CAMPS TO NEW HOMES. ARABS WERE GIVEN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. THEY WERE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL TO AND FROM JORDAN. IN 1972 ELECTIONS WERE HELD IN THE WEST BANK. WOMEN AND NON-LANDOWNERS, UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE UNDER JORDANIAN RULE, WERE NOW PERMITTED TO VOTE.⁴ AFTER THE SIX DAY WAR THE TRADITIONAL PRO-JORDANIAN LEADERSHIP CONTINUED TO HOLD MANY CIVIL SERVICE POSITIONS AND WERE PAID BY JORDAN. ISRAEL ALSO ATTEMPTED TO SHIFT INCREASING

³ Joel Beinin, Lisa Hajjar, *Palestine, Israel and the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, pp. 8-9, produced on-line by the Middle East Research and Information Project.

⁴ Mitchell G. Bard, *Myths and Facts: A Guide to the Arab Israel Conflict*, pp. 89-90, Maryland (2001).

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RESPONSIBILITIES FROM THE MILITARY TO CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATIONS AND TO PALESTINIANS.

EFFORTS TO GIVE PALESTINIANS GREATER RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR AFFAIRS WERE UNDERMINED BY THE INTIFADA. DURING THE UPRISINGS PALESTINIAN ARABS WHO WORKED TO COOPERATE WITH ISRAEL CAME UNDER ATTACK AND WERE SILENCED EITHER THROUGH INTIMIDATION OR MURDER.

ISRAELI LAW PROHIBITS ARBITRARY ARREST OF CITIZENS; DEFENDANTS ARE CONSIDERED INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY AND HAVE THE RIGHT TO *WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS* AND OTHER PROCEDURAL SAFEGUARDS. SOME PRISONERS, PARTICULARLY ARABS SUSPECTED OF TERRORISM, WERE INTERROGATED USING SEVERE METHODS THAT HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED AS EXCESSIVE BY MANY ISRAELIS AS WELL AS OTHERS.

ISRAEL'S SUPREME COURT ISSUED A LANDMARK RULING IN 1999 PROHIBITING THE USE OF A VARIETY OF ABUSIVE PRACTICES, INCLUDING VIOLENT SHAKING, PAINFUL SHACKLING IN CONTORTED POSITIONS, SLEEP DEPRIVATION FOR EXTENDED PERIODS OF TIME AND PROLONGED EXPOSURE TO EXTREME TEMPERATURES. THE DEATH PENALTY HAS BEEN APPLIED JUST ONCE, IN THE CASE OF ADOLPH EICHMAN, THE MAN LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "FINAL SOLUTION." NO ARAB HAS EVER BEEN GIVEN THE DEATH PENALTY, EVEN AFTER THE MOST HEINOUS ACTS OF TERRORISM. UNDER LAW WHICH ISRAEL INHERITED FROM THE BRITISH, ADMINISTRATIVE DETENTION IS PERMITTED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, IN SECURITY CASES INVOLVING VIOLENT OFFENDERS THE DETAINEE IS ENTITLED TO COUNSEL AND MAY APPEAL TO THE SUPREME COURT.⁵

None of this is presented in the materials distributed at the Santa Barbara teachers' workshops. On the contrary, they present an unrelentingly bleak and exaggerated picture of the treatment of the Palestinians by the Israelis which is far from the reality of that complex and changing relationship marked by Israel's willingness to engage in self-examination and self-criticism. The materials state:

HUNDREDS OF PALESTINIAN POLITICAL ACTIVISTS HAVE BEEN DEPORTED TO JORDAN OR LEBANON, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF ACRES OF PALESTINIAN LAND CONFISCATED AND THOUSANDS OF TREES HAVE BEEN UPROOTED. SINCE 1967 OVER 300,000 PALESTINIANS HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED WITHOUT TRIAL, AND OVER HALF A MILLION HAVE BEEN TRIED IN THE ISRAELI MILITARY COURT SYSTEM. TORTURE OF PALESTINIAN PRISONERS HAS BEEN A COMMON PRACTICE SINCE AT LEAST 1971, AND DOZENS OF PEOPLE HAVE DIED IN DETENTION FROM ABUSE OR NEGLIGENCE.⁶

⁵ *Id.* at 232-234.

⁶ Beinun, Hajjar, *supra*.

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This, we submit, is on a par with the now discredited and disproved accounts of alleged Jewish massacres in the Palestinian city of Jenin. There are other evidences of bias too numerous to mention in the rest of the Beinin, Haggar materials presented in the workshops. Samples are annexed to this Petition.

Central Connecticut State University

Materials recently received relating to a federally funded Middle East Studies Summer Institute for Teachers evidences similar bias. Attached are numerous published articles and letters in Connecticut newspapers and journals attesting to the one-sided nature of the presentation there (Attachment E).

Our information is that similar biased programs have been presented at other centers. As we obtain more material we will forward it, but we feel we have presented enough evidences of bias to warrant the amendments to the regulations we seek.

Conclusion

Petitioners believe that in this era of globalization it is essential to the security of the United States that American teachers understand and convey to their students an accurate, complete and unbiased understanding of the history, economics, politics and culture of the various parts of the world far from American shores with which Americans must interface. Petitioners contend that this goal is explicitly spelled out under Purposes of the Act⁷ pursuant to which these grants are authorized and that regulations that implement the Act must be designed to help achieve these Purposes. The current regulations fail to do so. As the United States seems poised to go to war in this volatile part of the world, a citizenry informed about the culture, politics and history of this area is particularly important. One way to achieve such a citizenry is to require that the comprehensive foreign language and area studies centers and programs funded by the United States government for the purpose of outreach to the community are staffed by teachers who are qualified and that the materials they present are as objective, accurate and balanced as possible.

Requiring the Secretary to employ selection criteria with these goals in mind will prevent distorted, one-sided and biased presentations and should go far to achieve fairness.

WHEREFORE, the American Jewish Congress respectfully petitions the Secretary to add the suggested new selection criteria to those already set forth in 34 C.F.R. § 656.21(b)1 and 34 C.F.R. 656.21(f)1 to assure that the faculties and course offerings at the Comprehensive National Resource Centers funded by the government give their

⁷ 20 U.S.C. § 1121.

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34 U.S.C. § 656.21(f)1

students a fair, historically accurate and balanced view of the history, politics, economics and culture of the areas studied.

Respectfully Submitted

March 10, 2003

Neil Goldstein
Executive Director
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
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July 3, 2003

The Honorable Pete Hoekstra
Chairman
House Subcommittee on Select Education
2181 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

The Honorable Ruben Hinojosa
Ranking Minority Member
House Subcommittee on Select Education
2101 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Chairman Hoekstra and Ranking Minority Member Hinojosa:

I write to ask you to include this letter for the record, in regard to the House Subcommittee on Select Education June 19 hearing on Title VI International Education programs, "International Programs in Higher Education and Questions of Bias."

First, I thank you both for your leadership in holding this hearing to discuss the Title VI programs. Title VI programs in the U.S. Department of Education emerged out of the needs of the United States to understand the almost 200 nations and more cultures and even more languages in the world in the post-World War II period. The system of language, area, international, and business centers that Title VI has created provide unparalleled language and areas studies education and expertise for the federal government, business, community colleges and universities, K-12 teachers and schools, and the media.

This program provides vital resources enabling the 14 Title VI centers in Michigan to serve critical international needs for national security and intelligence, and other government and industry activities. Michigan State University (MSU) hosts six Title VI-supported centers, including the Center for International Business Education and Research, the Center for Advanced Study of International Development/Women and International Development Program, the Center for Language Education and Research, the African Studies Center, the Asian Studies Center, and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. For more than 40 years, these and other Title VI-supported centers and their faculties

have served federal government agencies -- including the Departments of State, Defense, CIA, National Security Agency, Justice, Commerce, Agriculture, and Treasury, EPA, and the National Institutes of Health. For these U.S. agencies, these centers offer expertise on international affairs and policy negotiations, bi- and multi-national exchange, international decision-making, and specific projects in countries abroad. Perhaps most importantly, the Centers are central to training the next generation of U.S. experts about global systems, international issues and policy, world regions and countries, and foreign languages.

Selected examples from Title VI National Resource Center (NRC) Directors of such far-reaching service include the following:

- When U.S. Ambassadors regularly prepare to depart for their foreign assignments or when Congressional committees seek testimony on international trade, terrorism, and drug controls, Title VI NRC faculty provide background papers, briefings, and policy guidance. Representatives of Title VI centers are likely to be involved in President Bush's forthcoming trip to Africa and Europe.
- When the Centers for Disease Control, the World Health Organization, and the National Institutes of Health meet to discuss the global spread of malaria and AIDS, Title VI faculty from MSU and other universities are at the table, the laboratory bench, and in the field abroad. When the National Science Foundation formed an Advisory Committee for International Programs, a director of an MSU Title VI center provided relevant guidance.
- When the U.S. Agency for International Development, the World Bank, or Bread for the World discuss the pressing issues of drought early warning, food security, HIV, improved education, and land tenure in Africa, the Title VI African Studies NRCs at Michigan State, Boston University, Florida, Illinois, Ohio State, UCLA, and Wisconsin participate.
- When the State Department teaches its officers at the Foreign Service Institute or the Peace Corps teaches its volunteers in Arabic, Hausa, Hindi, Indonesian, Mandarin, Uzbek, and dozens of other less commonly taught languages, they often use methodologies and specific training materials developed and refined in Title VI language programs and centers. As a service to the nation, many of those much less commonly taught languages such as Pashto, Xhosa, Kazakh, or Maya are not offered in any government institute but only at Title VI centers and their summer

intensive language institutes. As a result, many of the Title VI NRCs provide translation services in these languages for U.S. agencies, courts, hospitals and companies.

Based on MSU's knowledge of, experience with, and sincere interest in the continued success of the Title VI programs, I must comment on, and correct for the record, misperceptions and inaccuracies that were stated during the hearing.

1. No University or Title VI Center has banned the National Security Education Program (NSEP) from its campus, including MSU. Nor does MSU discourage students from working with or for government and its military, intelligence, and security agencies.

MSU has applied for and received an institutional grant under NSEP, "Environmental Sciences in Japan." MSU runs this program on behalf of all 15 Michigan public Universities through the Japan Center for Michigan Universities (JCMU) in Japan. Through this program, we provide Michigan students with access to pre-eminent environmental scholars in Japan and in the U.S., as well as intensive language training at the Japan Center in Japan.

In addition, during the past seven years, nine MSU students have received NSEP scholarships out of nineteen who have applied.

Many MSU international studies faculty members strongly support NSEP, and this is reflected in the overall MSU institutional position. However, there are some international studies faculty who choose not to apply for NSEP institutional grant according to their own personal choice.

2. In contrast to any misperceptions in the hearing, MSU encourages and advises students to apply for NSEP scholarships.

MSU advises students interested in NSEP, and supports them in trying to apply for a scholarship. The current Director of MSU's Study Abroad program (under which NSEP programs are administered) and other MSU faculty have served on NSEP undergraduate review panels. As a demonstration of our support for NSEP, I attach two pages from the MSU Study Abroad website: (1) a list of external study abroad scholarships, and (2) Frequently Asked Questions about NSEP. Further information can be found at: www.studyabroad.msu.edu. As stated above, in the past seven years, nine MSU students were successful in being awarded NSEP scholarships.

In short, the Title VI centers are deeply engaged in training U.S. government personnel for the current and future needs, are building the nation's infrastructure for having less commonly taught languages available for new needs of the U.S., are cooperating daily with U.S. government agencies, and are a key vital component supporting the broad security needs of the United States.

The major problem of the Title VI program is that the resources are not up to the task. With each center receiving less than \$300,000 annually for training and developing texts for all the rare languages, research, training programs, outreach to schools and colleges, assistance to business, etc. – and with normally less than 10 graduate fellowships per center per year for all the language and area training, these Title VI centers do not have the resources to serve the U.S. as actively as is needed in this new globalizing world.

I very much appreciate the opportunity to make these corrections for the hearing record. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Howard Gobstein
Associate Vice President
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Michael D. Kennedy, *Director*
Vice Provost for International Affairs

June 30, 2003

The Honorable Peter Hoekstra, Chairman
 House Subcommittee on Select Education
 2234 Rayburn House Office Building
 Washington, DC 20515-2202

Dear Representative Hoekstra:

I am writing with regard to the hearing of the House Subcommittee on Select Education on the U.S. Department of Education's Title VI National Resource Centers (NRC) and Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships (FLAS) Programs held on June 19, 2003.

I would begin by thanking you for assuming leadership in reviewing how higher education can most effectively contribute to our country's capacities to understand and interact with other parts of the world. It is most appropriate that one of our state's leading Congressmen has taken this on given the significance of Michigan's institutions of higher education in research and teaching in area studies.

In my capacity as Vice Provost for International Affairs at the University of Michigan (U-M), I oversee the work of Title VI-supported centers for East Asian, Latin American/Caribbean, Middle Eastern/North African, Russian/East European, South Asian, and Southeast Asian studies, as well as a Title VI-supported Center for International Business Education. In addition, I previously directed our Title VI-supported Center for Russian and East European Studies. Through this work, I know firsthand that Title VI is a very cost-effective partnership between the federal government and America's leading institutions of higher education—a partnership that is essential if we are to meet our nation's needs for high-level expertise about other world regions and a globally competent citizenry more generally. Federal cost-sharing is critical for leveraging significant university funds that support student fellowships for study of less commonly taught languages, area studies and language instruction, and outreach programs targeted for K-16 educators, business, government, the media, and the community.

Given my experience at U-M and in the broader international higher education community in the U.S., I must object to the blanket charges of bias leveled against Title VI at the Subcommittee's recent hearing. Without denying that there are area studies faculty at U-M (and elsewhere) who disagree with specific policies of the current administration, I would hasten to say that our faculty hold diverse views about this administration's policies, as they have about those of past administrations—a healthy diversity that is consistent with our nation's fundamental democratic traditions. At the very least, some of the more ideologically motivated testimony at the hearing

seems to engage in what we sociologists call “sampling bias”. In any diverse intellectual field such as area studies, one can always find examples that make one’s complaint seem general. But given that intellectual diversity, it’s simply wrong to indict area studies for one view.

As a case in point, to assert Edward Said’s centrality is simply wrong. Professor Said has visited our campus, and he drew a great crowd. But that crowd or the frequency that Said is cited in books and articles certainly does not do justice to the totality of the academy’s work in area and international studies. For example, I cannot recall a single reference to Said, much less dominance, in a substantial multi-year public event series developed in response to the September 11, 2001 attacks. Entitled “Religion, Security and Violence in Global Contexts,” and organized by the U-M International Institute with heavy involvement of our Middle Eastern and South Asian area centers, this series reflected both the diversity and value of area studies and its centrality to the university’s mission in international affairs. I can only imagine that those who make such claims about Said’s general influence travel in very limited circles, perhaps living the very problem they seek to identify elsewhere.

Similarly, I must challenge the blanket claim that area studies centers are hostile to American security concerns and governmental service. Speaking from our University of Michigan experience, I would note that prominent faculty associated with our area studies centers have served as national security advisors to both Republican and Democratic presidents (e.g., Middle East specialist Raymond Tanter in the Reagan administration; Asia specialist Kenneth Lieberthal in the Clinton administration). Through advertising and information sessions, we help recruit applicants for National Security Education Program (NSEP) fellowships; over the past five years, 14 undergraduates and five graduate students from U-M have received NSEP awards.

Moreover, U-M has been a leader in training students who have gone on to pursue distinguished careers in government and military service. This commitment to government and military service is illustrated in the work of the following U-M alumni:

- *Ambassador Thomas J. Miller* holds three degrees in political science and a master’s in Southeast Asian Studies from U-M. His 27-year career as a Foreign Service Officer has included postings related to Southeast Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and counter-terrorism, as well as appointments as U.S. Ambassador to Bosnia (1999-2001) and Greece (2001 to the present). When Ambassador Miller visited Ann Arbor in June 2003, we organized a foreign service recruitment session at which he enthusiastically acknowledged the value of his U-M area studies training and support from National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships¹ for his career achievements.
- *Dr. Aaron David Miller* earned a Ph.D. in American Diplomatic and Middle East History from U-M in 1977 and joined the State Department a year later. As an adviser to six Secretaries of State, he helped formulate U.S. policy on the Middle East and the Arab-Israeli peace process, most recently as the Senior Adviser for Arab-Israeli Negotiations. In 2003 he

¹ National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships were awarded under Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA), which was passed by Congress to help build the nation’s capacities in language and area specialists following the Soviet Union’s launch of Sputnik. These awards were re-christened Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships after Title VI of NDEA became Title VI of the Higher Education Act in 1980.

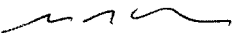
became President of the Seeds of Peace, a non-profit, non-political organization dedicated to preparing teenagers from areas of conflict with the leadership skills required to promote coexistence and peace. Dr. Miller visited U-M in April 2003 to lecture and participate in a course on "Perspectives on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" organized by U-M political scientist and Middle East area studies expert Mark Tessler.

- *Dr. Robert J. Donia*, a Vietnam veteran, received two graduate degrees from U-M in Balkan history in the mid-1970s partially supported by National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships. Since retiring as Resident Vice-President with Merrill Lynch in 2000, he has used his Balkan area training to provide briefings to U.S. Army units preparing to deploy to Bosnia and Kosovo.
- U.S. Army officers have regularly pursued master's degrees through U-M's Title VI-supported centers. *Maj. Sande Schlesinger*, for example, received a master's in Chinese Studies in 1999 and teaches courses in Chinese and Chinese civilization at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. After completing a master's in Modern Middle Eastern and North African Studies in 2001, *Maj. Gregory Ebner* pursued further training at the Command and General Staff College at Ft Leavenworth, KS (GCSC) before assignment as a Foreign Area Officer in Saudi Arabia. *Capt. Eric Phillipson*, a Eurasia Foreign Area Officer and Ranger who had previously served in Kyrgyzstan, completed a master's in Russian and East European Studies (REES) in 2002 and went on for further training at GCSC. *Maj. Stephen Bruce*, an Arms Control Inspector and Eurasia Foreign Area Officer who completed a REES master's in 2002, is stationed in Garmisch, Germany at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies. *Capt. Patrick Kelley* spent a year at the Indian Defense Services Staff College before entering the U-M master's program in South Asian Studies in fall 2002. To encourage future enrollments, we recently sent two area center staff members to promote U-M's area studies master's degree programs at a Foreign Area Officer recruitment fair.

Like Sputnik in 1958, September 11 and its aftermath have highlighted our country's ongoing need for highly trained area specialists and linguists. Let us build on American academic excellence exemplified by the Title VI programs and not become mired in ideological debates. We need to be able to train more students, not only for service in the military and other government units specifically charged with the nation's security, but in a wider array of fields consistent with our common interest in extending freedom and security across the world. We welcome your support, and that of your colleagues, in this common cause.

In closing, I thank you for allowing me to share my views with you and would be most grateful if my remarks could be included in the official record of your Subcommittee's June 19, 2003 hearing.

Sincerely,



Michael D. Kennedy
Vice Provost for International Affairs
Director, International Institute

Cc: The Honorable Ruben Hinojosa
The Honorable John Boehner
The Honorable George Miller
The Honorable Buck McKeon
The Honorable Dale Kildee

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