



The **SENATE** *Forum*

Fall, 2001

RESOLUTION

RESOLVED: The Academic Senate of California State University, Fullerton strongly condemns the tragic acts of violence committed on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, in New York and Washington D.C. In light of these violent actions, the Academic Senate advocates tolerance for all the world's peoples and their cultures and urges an increased effort by all to respect one another and to settle disputes in a rational and peaceable manner.

RESOLVED: This resolution be widely disseminated to the campus community and the public.



From the Editor:

This issue of *The Senate Forum* contains a series of opinion pieces and articles about the events of 11 September 2001 at the World Trade Center towers.

The massive, unspeakable attack on one of America's symbols—signifying wealth, New York style arrogance, and even our ability to look down on the rest of the world—became a unification act for our citizens and much of the world. The collapse of the WTC buried thousands of fire fighters, police officers, working men and women, including Muslims and immigrants trying to better their lives.

Experts say that terrorists mean to make a statement, mean for us to pay attention, and in recent years, mean for us to pay with our lives. As Pakistani-born Political Science faculty member Dr. Syed Abidi said in a recent colloquium, the attention the cell conspirators want has now become synonymous with the killing they want.

Throughout this issue, you'll find thoughtful analyses in several directions. Some focus on initial reactions; others suggest how this American Tragedy—that involved 80 countries—affects what we do at Cal State Fullerton.

As a new editor to the *Forum*, I wanted to make some changes in content and appearance. So there's a different look and a few atypical authors inside. With the Academic Senate seating more administrators than faculty, past editions of the *Forum* have mirrored the Senate in that respect. Most authors have been Senate members, and some of the same authors appeared every year. This Fall 2001 edition has some newcomers, including some pieces from part-time faculty.gv

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A few brief thoughts
by
Melinda Blackman, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Psychology



When I stood behind the podium at the beginning of my 8:30 am industrial/organizational psychology class on Sept 11, fully aware of what had just happened to our country, I could see a reflection of sadness and mourning in each one of my students' faces. Each student's face seemed to look up to me hoping that I could explain and illuminate what had just happened to our country with some grand psychological theory. At that point I knew not even Freud could help explain away the anxieties and sadness that each one of us in that room felt. We then spent a good portion of the class period sharing our feelings and insecurities.



Politics, Administration, and Justice: A Few Thoughts

by Dr. Karl H. Kahrs, Professor Emeritus, Political Science and Criminal Justice

When I last taught a course on Political Terrorism in the mid-1990s, the relevant literature generally defined terrorism as a symbolic act designed to influence political behavior through violence or the threat thereof. The objective was typically very specific (money, prisoner release) or simply the propagation of a cause. Some analysts went as far as comparing terrorism with the theater where the stage act is meant to affect an audience.

Brian Jenkins, one of the most prominent terrorism experts, argued at that time that terrorists did not want a lot of people dead but a lot of people watching. “They have always had the capacity to kill more people than they do.” At the time, that made good sense. After all, over the last 33 years only about one thousand Americans had been killed by acts of terrorism, a negligent number when compared with traffic deaths.

But then came September 11, 2001, with the concerted terrorist attacks on New York City and the Pentagon, causing almost three times as many deaths as the attack on Pearl Harbor that got the United States into World War II. This was no mere horror show to scare a lot of people—this was a direct assault on the core assets of our nation!

That seems to be why the Bush administration, starting with its first reaction, was instinctively reaching for a new language, a new vocabulary signifying the quantum leap in violence. Thus President Bush wants to respond with a “war” on terrorism, and he wants to rid the world of this “evil” once and for all. Other countries must either be “with us or against us.” Those are powerful words, but do they fit?



War is the ritualized violence among states, with a declaration of war at the beginning and a peace treaty at the end, signifying victory or defeat. Unfortunately we are dealing with a non-state entity, a roaming foreign legion of Islamists. The promise of a decisive victory over such an illusive foe seems to create unrealistic expectations.

Furthermore, what does the eradication of the evil of global terrorism require beyond the destruction of Al Qaeda? Putting an end

to the IRA in Northern Ireland, the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka, the Basque ETA in Spain? Isn't that a bit ambitious for the U.S. to make the determination which ones are terrorists and which ones are freedom fighters? Besides, good Christians like our President shouldn't need to be reminded that the existence of evil is part of the human condition.

So, when will “Operation Infinite Justice” come to a close? Is there a tolerable level of

violence that we can live with? Finally, some Middle Eastern governments may risk their own survival or becoming the seedbed for the next generation of terrorists if they comply with U.S. demands for support. The gap between leaders and the masses is substantial in the autocratic systems of the region. The governments of such countries as Pakistan, Egypt, Algeria, and Saudi Arabia, to name just a few, have good reasons for wanting to keep a little ambiguity about their commitment to our cause. The rage of the street is always lurking in the background for them.

Washington's efforts to build a broad coalition against terrorism is, of course, an interesting departure from the brash unilateralism regarding the Kyoto protocol, the ABM treaty, and the Biological Weapons Convention in the earlier days of the Bush administration. But, better late than never.

But this all said, the foremost obligation of any government is to provide for the physical security of its citizens. The attacks on New York's Twin Towers and the Pentagon call for a powerful response. The irate American public demands it as well. However, aren't we preparing for the wrong war when sending aircraft carriers, B-1 and B-52 bombers to the Middle East and calling up thousands of reserves? Are we treated to some feel-good spectacle of firepower?



Let's bear in mind that excessive "collateral damage," and that seems to be just about the only damage that can be inflicted upon war-ravaged Afghanistan, will quickly erode the good will we are presently enjoying. The call of the moment seems to be for meticulous intelligence work and carefully prepared commando raids, not carpet bombing and invasion.

There are also domestic dangers looming. Our Attorney General finds it necessary to ask Congress for a "rebalancing of security and freedom," giving the security apparatus more

power. Let's never forget that the quest for perfect security can easily lead to a police state. Meanwhile the money that wasn't available to address social problems is now pouring into the military-industrial complex. Our two-party system stands united!

Finally, after the terrorists of Al Qaeda are dealt with as they deserve, wouldn't it behoove us to ask, how it was possible for Osama bin Laden to find 19 education young adults willing to sacrifice their own lives in the perpetration of those atrocities? It took months of planning, so they had ample opportunity to bail out, but they didn't. What is feeding this recruitment pool of people in the less fortunate parts of the world that blame America for their misery and desperation? Why do they hate us so much, even though Uncle Sam is usually the first to give a helping hand when natural disaster strikes?

Comments from a Sikh American *by Chiranjeev Kohli*

The first person to be attacked and killed in the aftermath of the September 11th events was a Sikh—Balbir Singh Sodhi from Mesa, Arizona. The Sikhs have been singled out solely because of our untrimmed beards and turbans—physical appearance that resembles the suspected terrorists.

Why this mention in *the Senate Forum*? Because, today I am not writing as an academic, but as a concerned citizen and, more specifically, a Sikh American. The Sikhs find themselves at a familiar, but unwanted juncture. Many times in the past, when America went to war, Sikhs were attacked in the homeland by uninformed zealots bent on taking “revenge.” We have to take some blame on ourselves for not taking the initiative to educate the rest of the nation about us. The recent tragic events served as a wake up call for us. But this note is not just about Sikhs. It’s about all people who feel fearful when tragic events happen—the Gulf war, the Rodney King riots, or the Oklahoma bombing. We have to take action to avoid such occurrences in the future. While we all realize the importance of this issue, we wait for “our community” to take action. Let’s not wait any further and let our community—you and I—do whatever we can to work together as a nation.



This letter specifically urges everyone to take part in community events. These activities may include, but are not limited to, the following:

- ⌘ Dedicate a portion of your week to community initiatives.
- ⌘ Stay in touch with your elected and civic leaders (mayor, city manager, police chief, judge, fire marshal, etc.) and keep them informed about your opinions and your community. This may be done either through a phone call, a letter, or talking in person.
- ⌘ Visit local mosques, churches, synagogues, and other places of worship to show your support and tolerance. Try to bring other friends with you, but go alone if you must.
- ⌘ Talk to your neighbors about yourself. Personal interactions dispel fear and prejudices. Let your neighbor know who you are.

- ⌘ Contact the local office of your Congressman and Senator, urging them to issue a statement denouncing the hate crimes.
- ⌘ Report any incident of hate crimes to the police, and also document it where possible.
- ⌘ Talk to the principal and teachers at your children's school, asking them to ensure that your kids feel safe and secure.
- ⌘ Help others. Donate blood at your local Red Cross (1.800.448.3543) and contribute money to the relief effort www.redcross.org.



And don't stop this once things return to "normalcy." Remember that if we do not do all we can at this time, we will only have ourselves to blame should the unfortunate events repeat themselves. Finally, if we do all this, we can make our neighborhoods true communities.



German Reactions to the Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001



by Dana Loewy

As a modern western democracy, Germany is a staunch ally of the United States and reliable NATO member. But aside from these two official tenets of foreign policy (the other two being the pursuit of European unity and developmental aid to the Third World) the German population came together in rare unison and unequivocally condemned the horrific attacks of September 11. Not only the politicians, but also the media, and the public—for once, they were all united in their outrage at the terror and in their grief for the innocent lives lost. The solidarity was spontaneous and genuine, and my purpose here is to sketch the German reaction to the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

The first reaction I encountered on September 11 after I finally got through to Germany came from my own family. My mother started to cry on the telephone; actually, we both did, so jarring was the initial shock, although we didn't personally know any of the victims. Then they started pouring in, the e-mail messages and

telephone calls from friends and relatives. Most of them were incredulous and stunned. They expressed their concern for me, despite the fact that they knew I was about 3,000 miles away from Ground Zero. However, who knew then when the terror would stop? Who knows now, for that matter? As the events were unfolding, it seemed as if they were only the beginning and the terrorists would strike again. Unfortunately, this sensation of constant impending threat seems to be here to stay.

The tragic events in New York and Washington dominated the media and public discussion in Germany. It was the number one topic and still continues to be. The general mood was subdued; people were very concerned but also calm. Any kind of public event or festivity following the attacks was called off or postponed. Reacting very much like many Americans, record numbers of Germans cancelled their planned vacations. The population was genuinely grieving as if a part of Germany itself had been hit. The motto "we are all New Yorkers" was often heard. Also, we should not forget that about 250 German citizens were among those killed on Sept. 11. There was and still is a strong sense that the terrorists have taken on the entire western world.

Any skepticism toward or criticism of the United States was suddenly a thing of the past. Similarly, the mainstream political parties abandoned their usual and perhaps inevitable squabbling and showed rare unity. In short, the whole country saw an unprecedented outpouring of sympathy and solidarity. People brought flowers and candles to U.S. embassies, consulates, and other American institutions.



Two days later, on Thursday morning at 10 AM, a moment of silence was observed nationwide. Life paused for a poignant minute from Kiel to Munich. In Berlin, the city that still gratefully remembers U.S. assistance during the Soviet blockade in 1948-49 and John F. Kennedy's "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech, about 200,000 people quietly gathered near the Brandenburg Gate adjacent to major government buildings in a somber show of solidarity and grief.

As people were reading special reports and background analyses in all major publications and watching the horrific images being replayed on television, fear was spreading: When will the terror stop? It has evolved slowly and now it's like a war: How will the U.S. respond? What is going to happen now? On the other hand, few entertained doubts that New York would rebuild the World Trade Center in some form and that the country would stand up to the terrorist threat.

There was also an understanding that now Germany must assume its often hotly debated responsibility in NATO. This event pushed the issue into the forefront of public discussion once again. Moreover, voices were heard that perhaps the liberal immigration laws needed to be tightened some more. On the other hand, some felt that the stringent privacy protection of sensitive personal data had been taken too far if it enabled so-called "sleepers" to remain undetected in Germany and other European countries. The subsequent discovery that some of the operatives had masterminded their plot in Frankfurt and had lived in Hamburg, Germany, lent urgency to Europe-wide police collaboration and the strengthening of Europol, a transnational law-enforcement agency and counter-terrorism force.

Under heightened security measures, a mere two weeks after the terrorist attacks, I somewhat reluctantly traveled to Germany, where I spent five days. I reunited with family and friends and participated in the Berlin Marathon. This event, too, had been subjected to scrutiny. At one point immediately following the attacks, the organizers considered canceling the event. However, in the spirit of defying the terrorists and going about our daily business as the U.S. President had exhorted his nation to do, it was decided to go ahead with the race under the new motto "Run for peace." The race director of the New York Marathon—which will likewise go ahead as scheduled—came to Berlin. Moreover, several New York firefighters attended, as they had traditionally done in past years, and they were rightly celebrated as heroes. I saw U.S. flags and runners dressed in red, white, and blue. As on many other occasions all over Germany, money was collected to benefit the victims of the terrorist attacks.

I decided to contribute to this issue because Germany usually doesn't enjoy a very favorable press. Not much was reported about the sincere response of the German people to this tragedy, so I wanted to rectify that. Much to my dismay, I often detect a decided anti-German bias in many of my favorite news and information channels, be it the *L.A. Times* or National Public Radio. It's often very subtle, but stereotypes dating back to 1945 are being repeated *ad nauseam*. As a fairly recent, Czech-born immigrant with a Jewish background, who spent her formative years in Germany, I am perhaps a suitable champion of that country. While it is still struggling with the terrible burdens of its past and doing much to take responsibility for it, Germany today is on the opposite end of the worn, familiar clichés. If anything, the old militarism has been replaced by an almost extreme pacifism.

Whenever Germany's role in NATO dictates a military involvement abroad, a heated public and parliamentary debate ensues. If the sight of German soldiers in Kosovo or Macedonia upsets those who remember World War II, be assured that most Germans share the ambivalence. These interventions had to be sanctioned by Germany's highest court, which examined the constitutionality of such use of the German military. The discomfort is still strong.

Most Germans view American displays of patriotism with suspicion and perhaps with some envy. Their own relationship to their country, their anthem, and their flag is shaky and problematic. Few people I know would say that they are proud to be Germans or would fly the German flag. This lack of confidence in a German identity is also the subject of a lively debate in society and has preoccupied scholars, journalists, and public figures. The absence of a positive identification with being German leads most people to embrace American popular culture and to view themselves in a larger context as Europeans—perhaps understandable as an attempt to transcend their narrow and uncomfortable national definition.

Along with its European neighbors, Germany has again shown that it is a stable partner in a broad coalition against terror.

America Changed on September 11
by
Owen Holmes, Director of State and Federal Relations



A national climate filled with division over the outcome of the last election just 10 months ago, now seems light-years away. Throughout our history, we have been jolted from our insularity as a nation by tragic events, at home or

abroad. From those experiences we have united and risen to the challenge before us. America has been jolted and is rising to the occasion, again.

united throughout? Better yet, will subsequent Congresses and subsequent Presidents hold firm in this new “war on terrorism.” It is hard to say. We have been prepared as a nation for another long-term campaign likened to the “cold war.” However, this one will have hot spots at home and abroad. The real test of our unity will not come next week or next year. It will come when we least expect it—are we in it for the long haul? Our history suggests not. Let us hope history does not repeat itself this time.

The real question is: Will this unity last? Will this Congress and this President stand



“September 11th and Conceptual Analysis”

by

Shari N. Starrett, Department of Philosophy



When philosophers were invited to respond to current tragic events in the Senate Forum, I thought about how, after the profound shock of dealing with those horrifying media images, I turned immediately to the critical, analytical tools of my discipline. Philosophers frequently get chided for being overly analytical, but when times get tough, words start flying, and the stakes are high, maybe the sort of responses we have to how words are used and how positions are supported looks a bit more practical, and maybe even crucial.

Critical thinking tools, including conceptual analysis of power words, or words that hit hard and occasion immediate reactions, have gotten me through many tough times, and I recommend this approach to students regularly.

So many difficult questions faced us all following the events of Sept. 11th, not the least of which were questions about how to respond in the classroom to students who were reacting to the same images and words that we had seen. Students, along with everyone else, reacted quickly and emotionally to the endlessly repeated words like "terrorism," "war," "enemies," "freedom," "allies," as well as words with clearly dangerous implications like "revenge," or the more cautious (but still loaded) notion of "measured response." A day or two after the destruction of Sept. 11th, the words "race," "racial," and "racism" began to have frightening applications.

Each of the classes that I teach has been significantly impacted by what I see as an all-too-heavy lesson about critical thinking,

and all of them have in some way focused on the importance of beginning by analyzing specific language. One clear example happened in a class I'm teaching called Philosophical Approaches to Race, Class, and Gender, which brings critical analytical tools to bear on our use of these terms, and the attitudes, behaviors, and practices that do and can follow from them. The week after Sept. 11th we talked a lot about the use of the term 'racism' to describe the many reported acts of violence in the United States against Middle-Easterners or those who are thought to look Middle Eastern.

This consideration highlights, among many other things, the importance of having thought through the meanings and well-or not-so-well supported uses of the words 'race' and 'racism,' and the importance of

addressing such questions as these: Are people being targeted because of skin color or their physical characteristics, and if they are, what does this imply for the complex range of Americans, or the range of non-American nationals who are currently in America? I am, of course, only listing a very few of the critical questions that were addressed, and that need to be addressed in responding to one of the heavy words linked to our current situation.

I think that most philosophers would have a lot of valuable things to say about how the critical/analytical tools of our discipline are having or can have an enormous impact in

our classes. But I hasten to add that I also think many other people in various disciplines would rightly believe that the tools of their intellectual trade have a related value. I also think that it would be a very good thing if we were talking more with each other about what we are doing in the classroom, and how we are doing what we how doing.

I write this sincerely hoping that others will join with me and share their sense of the sorts of special responsibilities they are facing in and outside of the classroom, based on tools they have acquired along the way to where they now are in Academe.

The Dangers of "War"

by
Craig K. Ihara

The paradigm of war has always been a military conflict between political entities such as nations or city-states. The difference between this literal use of "war" and its metaphorical uses, for example "a war of words," traditionally was not hard to draw. However, starting in the post-WWII era, war metaphors have gradually blurred this distinction until confusions about the uses of "war" with regard to terrorism may well exacerbate public debate.

With the end of WWII, the struggle with Communism was dubbed "the Cold War." During the 60's we had the "War on Poverty." This was followed by the "War on Crime" and most recently "The War on Drugs." The last of these, I predict, will fade away as our attention is focused on the new war, "The War on Terrorism."



What these "Wars" have in common is that none are clear-cut wars in the paradigm sense of overt military conflict with a nation state. As such what counts as winning is not clearly defined. Surely no one believed we could eradicate poverty, crime or drugs completely. At most these were efforts aimed at the goal of reducing some evil—poverty, crime and drugs—to some unspecified minimum.

Not having a clearly defined objective is an inherent danger for any concerted national policy. Such wars tend not to be won, but, like the war on poverty or crime, simply fade away as some minimal progress is made and our national attention drifts elsewhere. This is certainly a problem that the Bush administration will have to keep in mind as it pursues its anti-terrorism strategy.

However, this is not my chief concern here. Instead I am concerned that confusions between paradigm and metaphoric uses of "war," pose problems for public debate on how to fight terrorism. In its metaphoric sense a war on terrorism is simply a concerted national effort to reduce the dangers of terrorism by whatever means might prove effective. A war on terrorism in its literal or paradigmatic sense is to engage in armed conflict with a nation state, most likely Afghanistan.

One danger is that Americans captured by "war" as a metaphor, will demand something like war in its literal sense. The Bush administration could become a victim of its own rhetoric and be swept up into a military conflict it would prefer to avoid.

Another danger is that those opposed to a literal war in Afghanistan or elsewhere will be misunderstood. Given the distinction I have drawn, being anti-war can mean two very different things. It can mean being against sending armed forces against a nation state or it can mean being against any

concerted U.S. effort to reduce terrorism. While few Americans today would take the latter position, people adopting the former position are likely to be condemned as doing just that by people who take literal war to be the best or only way of fighting terrorism.



In the Vietnam War, people who were anti-war were generally against U.S. involvement in Vietnam. In the War against Terrorism, people who are anti-war may well be in favor of U.S. involvement in fighting terrorism, but by different means.

In a democracy like ours, a public debate about the ways of fighting terrorism is extremely important. In the context of that debate, war in the literal sense is but one option. There are other ways of fighting terrorism that should be discussed, some non-violent, others not. Being anti-war in the literal sense, does not mean being anti-war in the metaphoric sense. It is that distinction that might be obscured by using "war" as a metaphor for fighting terrorism.

“United We Stand”: Some Reflections

by

Heather D. Battaly, Ph.D.

Philosophy Department, CSUF



Last weekend, at the Rose Bowl, college football fans proudly waved placards of the American flag with the slogan “United We Stand.” The President of the United States has urged Americans to be “unified.” What do these phrases mean? Are Americans unified? And, more importantly, *should* we be unified? Conversations with my colleagues and students have led me to the following questions and conclusions.

First, there is a sense in which the emotional responses of Americans

have not been unified. It is true that many, if not all, of us are deeply concerned about the events of Sept. 11. But, did residents of Orange County and New Yorkers have the same emotional response to these events? Seemingly not. New Yorkers are connected to these events in a way in which many residents of our county are not. While New Yorkers felt (and continue to feel) shock, impotency, revulsion, and horror, some members of our

local community felt (and continue to feel) guilty for not having these feelings, or for not having them to the degree that they think they should. What is the appropriate emotional response to these events? Is it morally appropriate (or even morally required) for different communities to have different emotional responses? If it is, then our emotional responses should not be unified.

Second, do calls for “unity” ask us to abandon our powers of critical thinking? Are we being asked to set

aside our abilities to evaluate evidence and to make judgments about which of several courses of action is the best response to the events of Sept. 11? In somewhat partisan terms, are we being asked to allow our government to perform whatever action it believes is right without ourselves evaluating that action? Every member of the CSUF community is a thinker, and good thinkers evaluate reasons for action, whether they are our own reasons, or someone else's. Critical

thinking is what enables us to distinguish good reasons from spurious ones. We use these abilities everyday in making decisions about what we should believe – we routinely apply our powers of critical thinking to the mundane and the significant alike.

To illustrate, we use critical thinking in deciding whether we should believe, say, the headlines in the tabloids; whether we should

believe that, say, the Mafia was involved in the death of John F. Kennedy; whether we should believe that, say, the best course of action is an invasion of Afghanistan. In our current climate, it is easy to suspend our abilities of evaluation, and let someone else do the thinking for us. I urge you not do so. If calls for “unity” are masked entreaties to abandon our powers of critical thinking, we should resist unification.



Courage in Our Time of Crisis



In the words of Aristotle, “we become brave by doing brave acts.” Now is the time to be brave. The world, as we know it, is changing so rapidly that it seems to be spinning out of control. Commercial airlines are used as missiles, large office buildings are targets, and world financial markets are in disarray. Terrorists declare they are waging a “holy war,” but it’s very difficult to understand what’s “holy” about it.

In these changing times, gather comfort and courage from the realization that we have

been in this place before. Our very birth as a nation came only because people were willing to stand up to great obstacles and face their fears of uncertainty.

On March 23, 1775, one of great forefathers, Patrick Henry, a member of Virginia’s House of Burgesses, answered in part as follows during the Second Virginia Convention while delegates were asked if the Virginia militia should take military action against the British:

“We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth – and listen to the song of that siren, till she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things, which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it might cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst and provide for it...They tell us, sir, that we are weak – unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger?”

As a nation, we need to face the fact that our civil liberties and capitalistic ideas have been under attack for years. We have suffered losses at our embassies overseas, on our military ships, and even here at home. However, it wasn't until September 11, 2001 – when the World Trade Center was completely destroyed, the Pentagon was hit, and thousands of innocent people were killed or injured that we were willing to admit it.

Our enemy is no longer an oppressive government, but a network of fanatic terrorists who hold the whole world hostage to their reign of terror and oppression. It is time to rally the forces needed to combat this enemy. Terrorists are a new type of enemy and new types of offensive action and diplomatic strategies are needed to secure our liberties into the future. With the aid and support of our allies, when will we be stronger? When will be a better time to face terrorism and the terrible “truths” it holds.

Again, in the words of Patrick Henry,

“Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace – but there is not peace. The war is actually begun! ... Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?”

Our nation and our allies do not advocate violence or war against innocent victims, but we all need to be held accountable for our passive approach to terrorism in the past. With patience, knowledge, and conviction, peoples from across all nations can develop the courage needed to purge terrorism from our world.



To our colleagues in Comparative Religion:

We know, of course, that religion has often played a significant role in conflicts throughout the ages. You are invited to write, for publication in the *Senate Forum*, an article that might help us understand the influence of an authoritarian caste of Islamic terrorists. Some faculty have questions that Comparative Religion scholars might answer: Are only extremists or so-called fundamentalists involved in these attacks? Given the recent comments of Jerry Falwell, can we relate terrorist behavior to some violent anti-abortionist behavior? That is to say, are acts of terrorism often intended as acts of punishment in the name of a Holy being? Will this American Tragedy affect what or how you teach your students? **gv**

JOINING TOGETHER IN TRAGEDY

by PJ Levesque
Assistant Professor
Comparative Religion



Our nation and our world have sadly witnessed how the tragic and despicable actions of a few can cause upheaval and havoc in our hearts, minds, and even our very lives. In reacting to these unimaginable atrocities we are faced with emotions such as shock and fear, grief and sadness, rage and revenge.

As we process our emotions, we are faced with such questions as these: Why did this happen? How do we respond? What does this mean for my life?

These challenges compel us to search our religious or philosophical convictions for answers. Hopefully, they will bring us comfort and encouragement, peace and strength, and most of all, resolve to dissolve hatred, prejudice, and fanaticism within our own hearts and communities.

While these are all very human feelings that we must acknowledge, it is only through inner reflection and outward dialogue that our spontaneous reactions can be molded into a reasoned response.

In the aftermath of this horror, countless acts of heroism and kindness have been recounted. Neighbors, students, coworkers and communities have banded together in respect and cooperation. The best in most is shining forth.

Unfortunately, there is also a minority through whom the worst of unreasoned human nature is surfacing. In parts of the USA, including our own county, words and acts of bigotry or violence have surfaced against our Muslim neighbors. Followers of Islam are faced with a terribly unjust burden of being placed in a defensive position. Leaders of Muslim groups have joined Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist and other religious and secular representatives in denouncing the recent atrocities.

The acts of a few militaristic, extremist individuals (who may claim a particular religion) are not representative of any others who are committed to that faith. This was an act of terrorism by terrorists. Not an act sanctioned, approved or allowed by Islam. There is no connection to the Muslim community, and no one should be put down because of his or her Islamic faith, national origin, or ethnic identification.

Regrettably, a couple of high profile Christian ministers have co-opted the uncertainty of the day to promote their message against diversity and the secular world. Their declarations, that the ACLU and others have caused our nation to lose God's protection, stand on shaky theology and seek to undermine the very freedoms that enable diverse religions and secular philosophies to coexist, even while they disagree.

It is hatred in the hearts of human persons that has caused these devastating events. Our response, though empowered by

different central convictions, is one of unity, fortitude, and perseverance. Additionally, as individuals we are faced with questions on the meaning of existence and ultimate reality.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, it was the hope and prayer of many that cruelty toward other human beings would finally be relegated to past history. Recent horrendous events have destroyed the immediacy of this dream. In sadness, we remember those whose lives were lost in our national tragedy. In their memory, we reflect upon the painfully difficult questions we must now face. May we do so with respect, courage, and humility.



So? When Is Take-An-Arab-American-To-Brunch-Day?

by

JoAnn Byrne, Professor / Business Writing

Men and women who teach—kindergarten through graduate school—usually have kind hearts. By and large they are compassionate, sympathetically attuned to the angst inherent within the trials and travails of all their fellow-humans. And our politicians, our clergy, and most of those who work in the entertainment industry usually have kind hearts, too. When caring



people experience such a strong existential link to the grief of others, they are often impassioned, bold, and proud. They are unafraid to speak out. They stand tall and then—“talk” is what they do.

In the face of injustice, abuse, and any catastrophic crimes against humans, people, who feel for and with others, talk. They hold campus forums, town meetings, coffee klatches, prayer meetings, committee meetings. They talk to students and colleagues, to constituents, to their faithful, to those who work beside them in the industry. They talk in classrooms, in auditoriums, on TV and the radio, and—if need be—even in a stadium (which can hold a really big bunch of other kind hearts.)

Since 9 /11, tens of thousands of words have been said about how it is a time to treat each other gently, with reverence for our collective differences, and with—as Abraham Lincoln cautioned, “...malice toward none, with charity toward all...” Despite all our words, which require so little effort to utter, too many ears are not listening. Could it be that words are not enough?

Recently, I had a student E-mail me, asking to meet after class. A handsome, soft-spoken, respectful young man, he told his story of on-going verbal

abuse directed toward him at work—both from co-workers, as well as from customers. The young man is an Arab, an American citizen, a Christian, and is married to a Catholic woman who teaches school in our own Orange County. He explained he wants to do his course-required analytical report on the difficulties that Arab-American business people are enduring in the wake of the 9 / 11 attack. His fear? That no one will want to hear what he has to say. That he will make students angry. That he will be even less safe, after speaking his words to the class.

Like others who talk, my student wants to stand proud and be heard. But he already knows that words often go in one ear and out the other—even when teachers, professors, politicians, Reverends, or

Hollywood stars are the ones doing the talking.

Public service spots on TV or the radio, multi-cultural campus outreaches, community love-ins, church services, or pontifications from the steps of the US Capitol can actually generate all the wrong results. Unfortunately, many speakers have their own agendas: An extra moment in the spotlight, perhaps? A few more votes from a different demographic? A brighter shine on one's own halo? Or a misguided belief and self-satisfaction that, aha, we've said our piece and done our part.

Truth is, words are NOT enough. And no group should be more cognizant of that than we who teach, preach, and talk for a living. On September 20, CNN reported that the greatest number of assaults against Arabs, Muslims, and Middle Easterners are taking place on our nation's college campuses. Imagine. On our own bastions of free speech, of insistence on diversity, of tolerance. Just imagine. During our own scholarly journeys guiding students toward open minds, acceptance of new ideas, and intellectual exploration into the unknown. Can you imagine that?

If we're going to keep even more innocent people from being hurt, we'd better make a drastic change in our humanitarian lesson plans. No more words. The world now has to SEE our compassion, trust, acceptance, tolerance, and our inclusion of others. Action is an international language; words don't always translate.

Now, I have no doubt my giving my male student special attention and support as he writes his report will probably get me in trouble somehow with someone: Older prof hitting on younger student? Arab bias? Collaborating with the enemy? Too bad. I realized as I looked at this sincere, sweet-natured, American family man—I just couldn't talk around his pain or his quandary—then go on believing I really did have a kind, compassionate heart.

What am I going to do about my student? Well, he's afraid he'll say something that will be misunderstood during his presentation; I told him I'd work with him, personally, every step of the way. I convinced him that his topic was important and his classmates needed to hear his words. I told him that if his audience wants to give him a bad time, they'll have to get past me first. And they will.



Take-An-American-Arab-To-Brunch-Day is actually a darn good idea. Try it. Be even braver and take an American Muslim or someone who wears a turban. You can talk with your dining partners, not just about them. If we really are as tolerant as we profess to be, and we do feel the hurt of our culturally diverse neighbors, we must let world the see our actions and our truths. Our students should see, our community

should see, and most of all, our enemies should see.

Go ahead. Invite an American Arab or a Muslim to breakfast, lunch or dinner. Eat together, talk, laugh, have a good time. . . Make reservations at the Ritz Carlton by the ocean in Dana Point. Down there, on a clear day, you can see forever. God knows, we need the gift of such far-reaching vision, now.



Overcoming September 11th Intelligence Deficits



by Paul Sheldon Foote

Intelligence Deficits

After the terrible tragedies of September 11th, Americans asked how it was possible that agencies responsible for gathering intelligence could have failed so badly. Since then, some members of the intelligence community have used the term “intelligence deficits” to describe how little we know about topics such as terrorist organizations, the Middle East, and money laundering. Intelligence deficits, broadly defined, are the responsibility of all Americans. America’s educational institutions can contribute to overcoming intelligence deficits, biased media reporting, bad foreign policies, and a decline in the rigor of educational programs. As the war on terrorism progresses, other topics with severe intelligence deficits will become apparent. In the long run, how each generation and educational institutions respond to intelligence deficits will affect the future of America and of the world.

Sputnik

On October 4, 1957, the Soviet Union launched Sputnik I, the world’s first artificial satellite. It became obvious to everyone in the world that the Soviet Union was ahead in one aspect of the space race. Americans responded by allocating more resources to educational institutions to eliminate this intelligence deficit. Teachers and professors designed more rigorous educational programs. Students changed their career goals to include options such as rocket science and engineering. On July 20, 1969, America’s Neil Armstrong gathered lunar surface samples on the moon. The whole world knew that a determined generation of Americans and an outstanding educational system had overcome this intelligence deficit. Students from around the world in large numbers started studies at American universities.

Vietnam

From 1968 to 1969, I served as a lieutenant in the United States Army in Vietnam. Prior to my service, I completed the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) program at The University of Michigan—Ann Arbor, and Army training at Fort Bragg, North Carolina and at Fort Lee, Virginia. Throughout this period of training, there were no required courses in the Vietnamese language or in the history of Vietnam. Only a small percentage of soldiers in the Vietnam War had an opportunity to study at defense language schools.

Today, California State University, Fullerton's catalog shows that ROTC students have the option of spending part of the summer between their junior and senior years in Korea or in Europe serving in the Cadet Troop Leadership Training (CTLT) program. While this is an improvement, I would urge all ROTC students to take advantage of the CSUF's many courses with international emphases, such as foreign language, world history, international politics, comparative religion, and international

Middle East

On October 25, 1968, in Tehran, Iran, I married a wonderful Iranian Muslim lady (or khonam, as I prefer to call her in Farsi). In 1968, Iran was America's strong ally. In 1968, we dreamed that we could provide the best of both worlds for our children. Instead, our marriage and our children have suffered from the never-ending negative events in the Middle East. On September 11, 2001, my wife was staying with our daughter and our son-in-law so that my wife could care for our granddaughter. Our daughter's home is only 3 miles from the Pentagon.

Our children have Christian cousins in America and Muslim cousins in Iran. We care a lot about the dreams and futures of loved ones in the Middle East and in America. I reject suggestions in America that we think in terms of Armageddon (Revelation 16:16) and suggestions in the Middle East that we think in terms of jihad.

I have worked in the Middle East and North Africa for several years. As a summer job between years as a student at Harvard

Business School, I worked in the American Embassy in Tehran, Iran. After graduating from Harvard Business School, I remained at Harvard University for another year to



study Farsi. I have worked for Citibank and for Singer Sewing Machine Company in the Middle East. In the doctoral program at Michigan State University, I surprised the advisors by insisting that I study Farsi for my foreign language instead of opting with most other students for foreign language substitutes. California State University, Fullerton's difference in pay leave program provided me the opportunity from 1994 to 1996 to teach at Sultan Qaboos University in Oman and to visit Shiraz, Iran. In 1996, my daughter joined me on the trip to Shiraz. At that time, she was a student at Berkeley and was taking a Farsi course. She could not study Farsi in high school because the school board denied her the option of studying Farsi.

From my years of watching Arabic- and Farsi-language news programs in the Middle

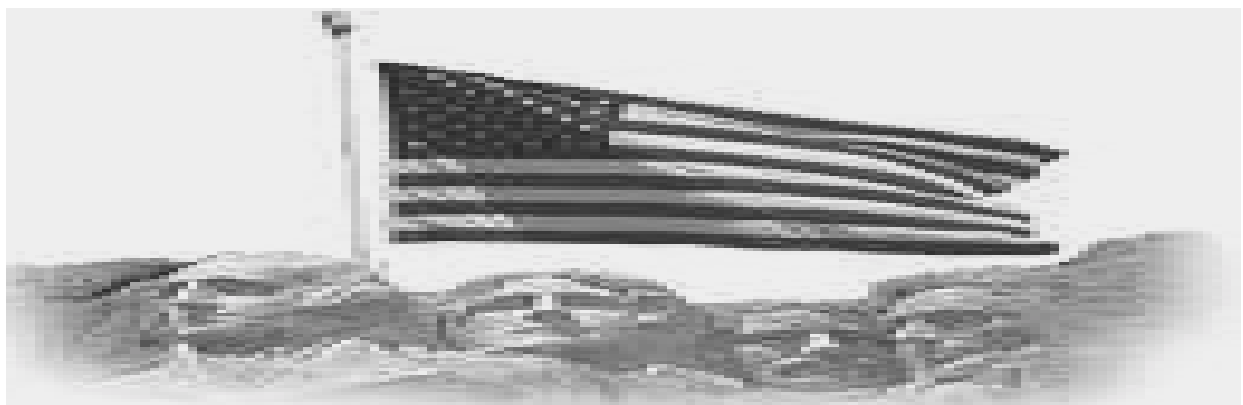
East, I am aware of the biased reporting of the major American television networks and newspapers. In 1995 and 1996, I made trips to Shiraz, Iran when few Americans could obtain visas to Iran. After these trips, I submitted an article to America's best publication on the Middle East: *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*. For archives of many past articles, see: <http://www.wrmea.com/>. Unfortunately,

millions of Americans who know only what they see on television or what they read in a newspaper do not understand the extent of America's intelligence deficit with respect to the Middle East.

Overcoming September 11th Intelligence Deficits

For months, CSUF's President Milton Gordon had been arranging a trip to Tehran, Iran in late September to explore opportunities for educational programs to be offered by California State University, Fullerton. After September 11, President Gordon told me that his plans are only postponed, not cancelled. I had planned to present a paper at a conference in Isfahan, Iran in December.

While the war on terrorism might prevent many of us from visiting the Middle East in the near future, the faculty of California State University, Fullerton has the opportunity to act now to reduce America's intelligence deficits by offering world class programs with strong international subject content. Our students have an opportunity to prove that their generation can overcome the September 11th intelligence deficits.



Reactions from Faculty:

Most of us were too stunned on 11 September 2001 to react immediately. Chancellor Reed, though, did close the CSU campuses. Although I had been watching the news from 5:30 a.m. and saw—with disbelief—the tragedy unfold, I didn't get the closure notice until around 11:00 a.m. Thus, I met my 8:30 a.m. class, and every student was there. Too shocked to believe what we had seen and heard, not one person spoke of it.

Here are a few email messages that some professors, who have kindly agreed to allow *The Senate Forum* to publish them, wrote the next day. **gv**

Subject: A Message from Chancellor Charles B. Reed

Dear Chancellor Reed:

I want to thank you for closing the CSU campuses yesterday. Keeping the campuses open would have suggested that it was business as usual. It was not business as usual. An unprecedented series of events occurred yesterday resulting the deaths of an undetermined but huge number of people. These events will change America in ways unforeseen.

I know that many of my colleagues believe that classes should have gone on. Perhaps they are able to be objective and articulate under stressful circumstances, but I would have found it very difficult to teach a class yesterday. Had I addressed the events of the day (which would have been appropriate in a political science class), students would have heard the outpourings of an emotional professor trying to explain events of which he had minimal knowledge and understanding. Even now, I am not ready to discuss these events. That time will come and by then I hope I will have something worthwhile to say. Academia should have a great deal to say about the significance of these events and the appropriate societal and governmental response to them.

At the time of the assassination of President Kennedy, I was an undergraduate at Berkeley. Frederick Mosher, teaching my first class after the shooting, tried to lecture, but few of us could concentrate on the importance of public administration. We wanted to know what was happening in Dallas. No one had any idea of what was going on and any discussion about the history of presidential assassinations or violence in America at that point would have been of little value. We wanted to find the nearest television set.

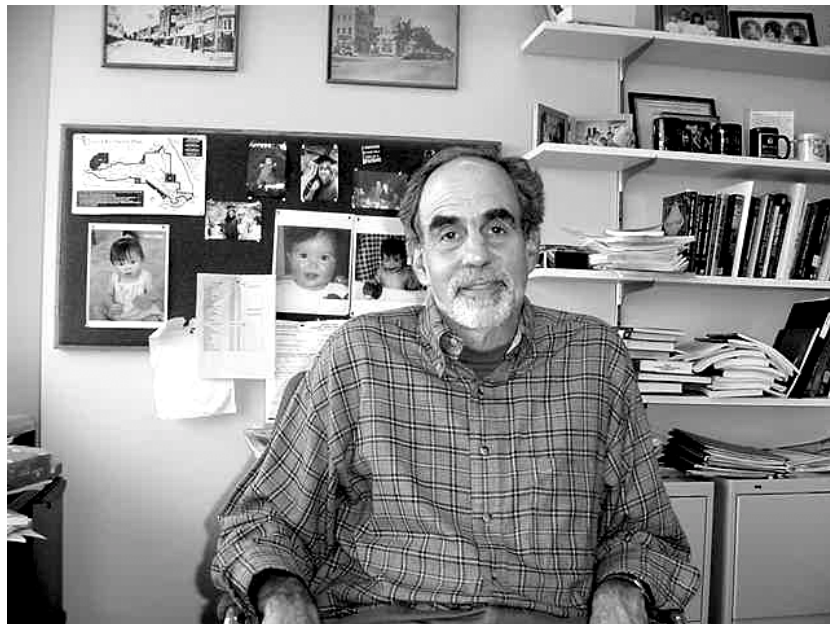


Hanna Pitkin's brief note on the blackboard canceling the following class spoke far more directly to the situation at the time: it was so overwhelming that life could not go on as usual. I went to my home with two fellow students to watch TV. I rarely strayed from that set for the next several days.

I understand that your principal reason for closing the campuses was the safety of our students and employees. But the closure was also appropriate to put the events in perspective, to show respect for the victims, and to recognize that many of our students were not able to focus on their studies.

I believe that you made the right choice, and I wish to express my appreciation.

Vince Buck
Professor of Political Science



Subject: RE: A Message from Chancellor Charles B. Reed

Date: Wed, 12 Sep 2001 08:51:43 -0700

Dear Chancellor Reed:

I appreciate your concern for the safety of the students, faculty and staff and I realize that decisions must be made quickly and that I as a faculty member may not be privy to the information you and your staff had that led to the closing of campuses yesterday. However, I wish you had kept the campus open.

I met a class of undergraduates at 9:30 yesterday and we spent about 40 minutes discussing the events of the day. They had important questions, major concerns and reflected the unease that all of us were feeling. I sensed they wanted to talk openly with faculty who could put some perspective on the day. I was very disappointed when I couldn't meet another class at 11:30. I think this is what a University is all about. We should be here in tough times as well as good ones. As faculty our skills are particularly useful when major tensions of life become matters of public policy. We shouldn't shirk from this responsibility even when the possibility of danger is present.

Alan Saltzstein, Chair
Division of Political Science and Criminal Justice
California State University, Fullerton

From: "Mike Brown"

To: ybuck@fullerton.edu

Subject: Your letter

Vince ---

Just want you to know that I agree totally with you. I turned the TV off two hours ago -- a day and a half. And I am not a watcher. You are right; it was momentous. Not just the act. But I had this kind of constant chill all over that things will not be the same again. Only by this afternoon did I begin to process the experience at all.

The only curiosity I have at the moment is how students actually ingested it. A friend of mine was cut loose from work yesterday morning, picked up her 5 year old from school, turned on the TV to follow it all. She was horrified. Her son sat and watched and thought it was another TV movie about terrorism. Our students are not 5 but of a generation steeped in popular media from very early-on. I wonder.

Anyhow, great letter...

Mike



Sent: Wednesday, September 12, 2001 12:23 PM
To: csu-chancellor@calstate.edu
Subject: RE: A Message from Chancellor Charles B. Reed

After reading my colleague's comments I thought I would add my own. I did conduct a class yesterday morning prior to the cancellation of classes. Coincidentally the day's topic in my political philosophy class was well related to the incidents of the day. I thought that in some respects the classroom experience was useful to my students and to me. But in balance I can only agree with Professor Buck. I think that closing the campus was appropriate both in order to make clear that dramatic nature of what happened, to honor the victims of the incident as far as possible, and as a prudent public safety major. I was, perhaps, able to use the incident to advantage but in retrospect I feel that the "use" of the incident in the height of events was not quite appropriate either in the context of the emotions of all of us in the classroom or of the overwhelming tragedy that befell so many people. As Vince points out "it was not business as usual."

I therefore congratulate you, Chancellor Reed, for taking what I think to have been an appropriate measure.

Bruce E. Wright
Professor of Political Science
California State University, Fullerton

From: "Grody, Harvey" hgrody@Exchange.FULLERTON.EDU

To: "'Vince Buck'" ybuck@fullerton.edu

Subject: RE: A Message from Chancellor Charles B. Reed

Date: Wed, 12 Sep 2001 16:38:14 -0700

Vince:

I agree the closing of campus was appropriate. I did, however, teach my research class that morning at 10 before the notice from CO came. We discussed the events but only briefly because most of my students (as well as I) seemed to not feel the full impact of what had occurred. If we had fully comprehended what had occurred, they probably wouldn't have been at class nor would I. Since they chose to be there, we went on with the class work. I imagine the difference of another hour or so would have made a difference for both my students and me as to how we were reacting.

As to the reasons Chancellor Reed gave for the closure, e.g., safety, I think the better reason to get away from "business as usual" was the enormity of the events of the morning and the inevitable long range impact they will have on American society. In November 1963 I was about to teach a lecture class (125 bodies or so) shortly after



the news of Jack Kennedy's assassination came in. The administration at Orange Coast College chose to keep campus open—I chose to dismiss my class after a brief meeting with them. The impact then was clearly instant and felt by almost all of us and it was not, therefore, a time for "business as usual."

Thank you for your thoughtful comments addressed to Reed.

Harvey Grody

Gayle,

I am writing to share the discussion I had with my Entertainment and Society class the day following 9-11.

We are studying drama in all its forms, specifically the mass communication genres of TV and film. I asked students how what we watched on TV that Tuesday differed from what we have seen hundreds of times at the movies and on television. References made by the class were to films - Die Hard, Armageddon, The Siege - that involved terrorism, flamboyant destruction and heroism. They saw the crisis as beginning on Tuesday and, as is the dramatic formula, ending at some finite time.

Absent were references to historical context or to strategic retaliation. This event, like film drama, was seen as if it had come from a script, and like a good script, would provide a happy ending.

Students, educated on film drama and allowed to experience the world without understanding their place in its history, are hardly responsible for their views of the incident. Most have never experienced war or tragedy, being born before Kennedy and very young during the Gulf War.

Accordingly, we discussed the difficulty of making the transition from fiction to reality. The news media kept us aware of the drama with replay after replay. We were saturated with the event as all channels went on a 24-7 schedule of news updates. Newspapers, radio, Internet and television were relentless in their focus on the terrorist attack.

Undoubtedly, this event will alter their perspective of reality somewhat, and perhaps even create in some the desire to understand how we got to this stage of world chaos. Like entertainment, the event produced dramatic effects and sensational shock. Unlike entertainment, the attack cannot be isolated into a single, stand-alone event that ends when we walk out of the theater.

Shay Sayre



Gayle,

I've been thinking about your invitation to philosophers to respond to current tragic events in the Senate Forum, and while I don't think that we are in the best position to answer questions about the influence of religion, religious authority, or the specific authority of some Islamic individuals or groups, I do think that we are in a position to answer questions about how the critical, analytical tools of Philosophy offer unique opportunities to begin to approach many of the hard and complex questions facing us as teachers, and facing our students.

In my case, this American (and world-wide) tragedy, coupled with the critical tools of my discipline has certainly affected how I am teaching my students. I suspect that most of my colleagues in Philosophy would agree that we are all aware of the intense importance of thinking critically right now (although critical thinking tools, of course, are important in most, if not all situations). I know that I feel a special responsibility to encourage students to gather information, to try to understand and to evaluate the various sources of information, to try to sort through information, and to reflect about the different conclusions that others are drawing and compare and contrast them to the conclusions that they are beginning to draw for themselves. I hasten to add that I think that many professors in many departments are feeling a similar responsibility.

But for philosophers, our training and our approach to teaching is so imbued with this process that it was hard to miss the ways that our students could and would expect us to apply these skills to

the many questions that all of us had and continue to have since Tuesday.

The range of current questions that call out for critical skills can be at least suggested: What happened? Why? How? Do I trust the televised, broadcasted, or printed images, reports, and analyses? How do we assess the many statements and actions that have followed the destruction and painful losses on September 11, 2001? What is at stake? And, of course, these questions quickly open onto a second round of questions involving the extremely important concerns about what happens next, with us as individuals, and in terms of our many and varied group identifications, including national identity.



Each of the classes that I teach has been significantly impacted by this current, all-too-heavy lesson about critical thinking. One clear example is my class called Philosophical Approaches to Race, Class, and Gender, which brings critical analytical tools to bear on our use of these terms, and the attitudes, behaviors, and practices that do and can follow from them. This week we are carefully considering the use of the term

'racism' to describe the many reported acts of violence in the United States against Middle-Easterners or those who are thought to look Middle Eastern. This consideration highlights, among many other things, the importance of having thought through the meaning of the words 'race' and 'racism', and the importance of addressing such questions as: Are people being targeted because of skin color or their physical characteristics, and if they are, what does this imply for the complex range of Americans, or the range of non-American nationals who are currently in America? I am, of course, only listing a very few of the important questions that we are addressing, and that students are asking, and that need to be addressed.

In short, I think that philosophers would and could have a lot of valuable things to say about how the critical/analytical tools of our discipline are having or can have an enormous impact in our classes. I also think that it might be a very good thing to have some of us talk about this in the Senate Forum, and also to bring faculty from other departments together to talk about this both in the Senate Forum and face to face.

I appreciate that you are thinking about what we can say to each other as faculty, as well as what we are saying or could be saying to our students.

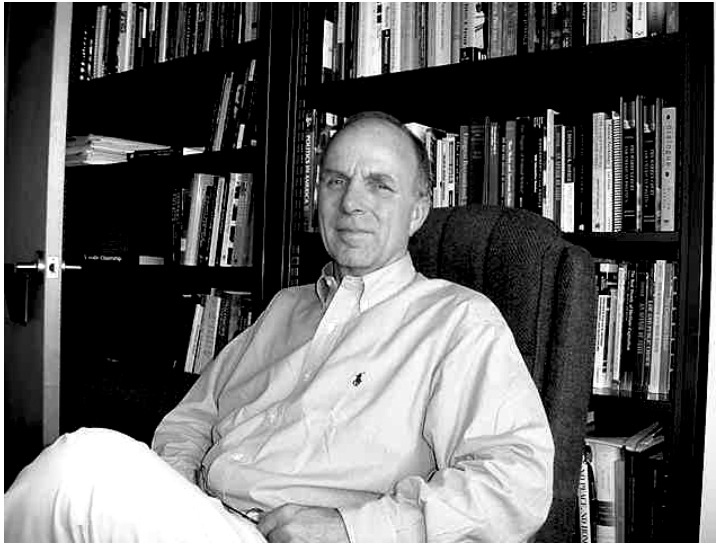
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America's Response to Terrorism by Dr. Donald Matthewson

Professor of Political Science and former Intelligence Officer, U.S. Air Force



The destruction of the twin World Trade Center towers in New York City was appalling not only because of the senseless destruction of life, but also because the towers represented, in many ways, the ideals of the 18th Century Enlightenment. These ideals were supported by our founders and are embedded in our Constitution. The Enlightenment thinkers believed that the rationality of mankind would lead to progress in human affairs. The towers represented the ideal that commercial and civic society can work together for productive purposes.

Despite deep differences of opinion citizens can come together for common purposes, and agree, as political philosopher John Rawls has suggested, “on common conceptions of justice.” It is difficult for us to respond to this event because the very idea of terrorism is an affront to our ideals of rationality and justice.

To a large extent this attack on our values stems from a foreign policy that has never been clearly based on our foundational beliefs. Instead, America's discomfort with the moral certitude of the major movements in the 20th century such as Nazism and Communism has on the one hand, led us to a naïve pragmatism in foreign policy, and on the other has led us to view the world as a simple contest between good and evil. Both of these tendencies, arguably, have set the stage for the terrorism that has been directed against us.

In the first instance, Benjamin Barber, in his book *Jihad v. McWorld*, has pointed out that

America has acted on the notion that not only are capitalism and democracy connected, but that in case of conflict the values of capitalism have priority. Militants have perceived that American support for dictatorial regimes in Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, for example, have prevented minorities from pursuing goals of social justice while clearly committing the U.S. to further the goals of global capitalism. Rather than recognizing this discontent as a potential source of conflict, the Clinton Administration basically ignored escalating terrorist attacks during the past five years. The firing of one cruise missile on a cave in Afghanistan was a tepid response at best.

Second, as *The Economist* has observed, if, as we suppose, the perpetrators of this act of terror are related to a small fringe network of militants now in Afghanistan, then our cold war, anti-Communist policies of the 1970s and 1980s are partially to blame for the continued existence of these groups. These militants were originally recruited by the CIA, the Saudi Arabian and Pakistani intelligence agencies to fight against the Soviet Union. When the occupation of the Soviet Union ended, the U.S. lost interest in these groups. Their resentment against the U. S. was increased by the war against Iraq, the subsequent sanctions, and the stationing of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia.

As Americans left Afghanistan, anarchy occurred because no single group was strong enough to gain control. In 1995 and 1996 a movement, called the Taliban, gained control of the government promising a restoration of order. This group, again according to *The Economist*, “almost certainly enjoyed the approval of the American intelligence community.” Bin Laden and his groups continue to be protected by the Taliban. Although Bin Laden and his groups share some sentiments with various other militant Muslim organizations, such as Hamas in Palestine, and FIS in Algeria, they are different and disconnected. They have targeted the U.S. as a means to get their point across, and were probably responsible for the recent anti-U.S. bombings across the middle-east.

The major question posed by these events is how can a liberal, democratic state such as ours, contend with the threat of terrorism



while maintaining our own commitment to justice and democratic ideals? I believe that policy makers must be aware of three potential pitfalls.

First, this is not the first time a democratic regime has been faced with such a challenge, and how we respond makes all the difference. Thucydides, in writing about the Peloponnesian wars between Sparta and Athens, relates an incident where a smaller state Melia, proclaimed its neutrality. Not content with their response Athens put all the males to the sword and enslaved the women and children. Thucydides intimates that this clear compromise of Athenian ideals led ultimately to their defeat at the hands of Sparta. While foreign policy must be motivated by *realpolitik* it is possible to proceed without violating our own ideals.

Second, in pursuing a policy to stop terrorism, our policy makers must be clear as to what constitutes terrorism. We cannot write a blank check to our policymakers as we did with the Tonkin Gulf Resolution. It would be very easy to use the war against terrorism as a tool against legitimate oppositions because we wish to lend support to existing regimes. The consequences of any military action could, as we have seen in this case, provide the excuse for future actions against us. If we fight evil with evil, it is difficult to see how we can ensure a just result.

Third, how can we guard against the casualties of consensus? While at this point it is necessary to give our administration as

much discretion as possible in fighting this battle, it does not mean an end to healthy political debate particularly when that debate revolves around civil liberties. At this point in time I am somewhat skeptical of the notion that we must trade liberty for security. In times of crisis in America we have always opted for security and it has always been difficult later to regain our lost liberties after the crisis ended. The rhetoric of “you are either with us or against us” is not suitable for a democratic government, and always has the potential to be used as a tool for abuse of our own citizens. We should learn from our own history that we can have both freedom and security; it might take a little thought but who can doubt that it is a worthwhile effort?



From a Palestinian-American



by Teeanna Rizkallah

After spending September 11th and 12th answering dozens of e-mails from people asking me why the Arabs attacked the World Trade Center, I joined a group of Palestinian-Americans for dinner. The conversation was heated: “I’m glad this happened. Let the Americans feel the way we’ve felt for 50 years,” “If you say that again I’m leaving;” “I think it was the Columbian drug lords,” “I think it was the Israelis,” “I think it was the Republicans....” Eventually, however, my aunt began to tell us stories of life in the old country: the way my grandmother made bread in an outside oven, the local shepherd distracting my father by saying “gellah gellah” (abracadabra) as he reset my father’s broken arm, my grandfather diving into the water to save Jewish immigrants when their ship sank in the Haifa harbor. She didn’t mention

the Nakba—the Catastrophe—that sent my family out of Palestine.

How did the attack make me feel? Angry, fearful—like every other American, but also not like every other American. Angry at the attitude of the press, implying that all Arabs are crazed and irrational, that our culture makes us somehow inhumane. Fearful because I grew up during the Seven Day War and lived through my brother’s service in the Gulf War, listening to the horrible things Americans said about us with impunity. Listening to talk about implanting Arabs with microchips so they could be easily located, watching people sneer and turn away when they saw us on the street: this sends chills down my spine. When the terrorists attacked New York Americans saw red; I saw Manzanar.



As an American I'm angry that our innocence has been lost. My father came to the United States to get away from this horror. As an Arab I'm angry that Americans are blind and racist. Every couple of days an Arab student comes up to me and tells me about his or her most recent bout with harassment. "What should I do?" they ask me. I don't know what to tell them.



Editor's Comment: The editor invites all authors' points of view for publication in *The Senate Forum*. The reader's reaction, remarks, or refutation of the following article is invited and will be published in the next issue of the *Forum*. A colleague who knows that controversy and sharply contrasting views make good copy suggested this piece. The opinions in this publication are those of the authors and not necessarily those of Academic Senate members or the editor. **gv**

The Irascible ProfessorSM

Irreverent Commentary on the State of Education in America Today

by Dr. Mark H. Shapiro

<http://members.home.net/mshapiro2/comments-10-10-01.htm>

"If you don't know where you're going, you will probably end up somewhere else."...
...*Laurence J. Peter.*

Commentary of the Day - October 10, 2001: A Presidential Puff at Krispy Kreme U. - Guest Commentary by an anonymous colleague.

(M. Shapiro's note: The following article has been contributed by a colleague of the IP at Krispy Kreme U. (aka Cal State Fullerton) who has requested anonymity.)

(Used by permission)

Senate Forum Editor's note: I don't know if my contact is the anonymous person who wrote the following article. **gv**

Cal State Fullerton's new slick PR publication *Titan* recently ran a puff piece about campus president Milton Gordon. While a positive article is probably useful to offset the many negative articles that have appeared in the local media recently, I suspect that many university employees will react to this glowing whitewash in the same manner that they reacted to the glowing review that Chancellor Reed received from the Board of Trustees; i.e. with disbelief and anger.

The author, Cathy Douglas, makes many points that cause one to wonder if she exists in a parallel universe where up is down and right is left. Is the president accessible and visionary? Is it true he does not mind it when a professor questions his decisions? Is it his style of management to walk around the campus "going where no president has gone before," presumably boldly? Has he made CSUF a "caring institution?" What are his accomplishments as a member of the

many community organizations to which he belongs? Does he play an active role? Were the awards he has received given for genuine accomplishments or just *pro forma* awards given because of his position? Have his multiple trips abroad to sign "education agreements" made any significant contribution to our campus? How many students do we have in Tibet or India?

There is a temptation to engage in a point-by-point refutation of Douglas' article, but the key question should be: what has President Gordon accomplished in his eleven years at Cal State Fullerton that would not have happened had he not been here. In other words, if he has been more than a caretaker, what is the stamp that he has put on this institution?

What has taken place here is little different from what has happened on our sister campuses. We've grown the size of our student body, raised money, developed better relations with alumni, and have developed so-called "centers of excellence." But, so too has every other campus in the CSU. What has the president initiated on this campus that was not tried by some other CSU president first? Has the President done a better job of this than his colleagues? In my view, not so that anyone has noticed.

Douglas wants to give the president credit for our increasingly diverse student body, but how much credit should he be given for the changing

demographics of our service area? The President himself wants to take credit for two things, technology and planning. We have done well in terms of technology, but others who are more familiar with that aspect of the campus will have to render judgment about the impact that our new fiber optic network has had on education, and if it was worth the cost.

Planning is another matter. One could carp and say that planning is not doing, but that aside, where is the evidence of planning? Certainly many planning activities have taken place, but a well-managed campus would have planned for growth and even restricted growth to our ability to handle it smoothly. Clearly that has not happened. If it had, then we would not be parking cars on the grass and our class sizes and student-faculty ratios would not be among the highest in the system.

Since the 1994-95 academic year our annual growth rate has been more than 900 students per year, increasing our student body by more than 35% in half a decade. No other major campus in the system has come close to that rate of growth. San Diego State, facing even more enrollment pressure than our campus, grew at less than half our rate. One year we exceeded our planned target by more than 10%. Where was the planning for that growth? Where is it now? Parking structures and classrooms should have been built and permanent

faculty hired to handle the increased student population before it arrived. We will be playing catch-up for years to come. The quality of education on this campus, the faculty workload, and even the quality of life, has suffered.

Douglas' article also makes note of our efforts to hire an "increasingly innovative and impressive faculty." To the contrary, we are having trouble maintaining the quality of our current presumably less innovative and impressive faculty. In 1995 we had 612 full-time faculty and 513 part-time faculty. In the fall of 1999 we had 649 full-time faculty and 839 part-time faculty. Our unrestrained growth has been met by enlarging class size and filling the gaps with part-time faculty.

Why were more tenure track faculty not hired to deal with the influx of students during the earlier years of President Gordon's tenure, once the financial crises of the early 1990s was over? Not only have permanent faculty not been hired to keep pace with growth, but adequate numbers of faculty have not even been hired to replace the massive number of faculty that have retired or will be retiring in the next few years. Now we are trying to play catch-up and the recruits are no longer there in sufficient numbers. A far-sighted leader would have recognized that the aging faculty would soon have to be replaced. This is an exceptional failure in judgment. What was the purpose of all of these planning

activities of which the president is so proud? What was the result?

President Gordon's legacy is that of a lack of vision, missed opportunities and rampant unplanned growth that has eroded the quality of education on this campus. His "vision" for the future, as outlined in the article, is no more than a continuation of the caretaker governance of the past 11 years and not adequate for the situation that the campus is now in. It is nothing more than a reflection of forces at work outside the campus and an attempt to correct for the poor decisions of the past.

It is frequently remarked about President Gordon that "he could be worse." This is a risk we need to take. Ten years is a long enough time in office for any college president, too long for one without a shared vision for the campus. It is time for the President Gordon to retire.

The Irascible Professor (MS)

comments: The IP agrees with many of his anonymous colleague's comments about President Gordon, disagrees with a few, and perhaps has a different overall take on our current campus president. First, let me say that President Gordon is a very pleasant, personable individual. It is obvious to the IP that he does care about the campus and its students. That said, his tenure at Cal State Fullerton has been at best a "mixed bag."



On the positive side, President Gordon had the courage to terminate the football program, which was an enormous financial drain on the campus. He also has greatly improved the visibility of the campus in the surrounding community and with our alumni. He deserves credit for revitalizing an alumni relations program that was essentially dead when he arrived. (The new alumni/community magazine *Titan* is a great improvement over previous efforts.) He also deserves credit for expanding our private fundraising efforts, although that operation has had its share of problems in the recent past. In addition it is fair to say that services for students have improved during his tenure.

On the negative side, his relationship with faculty has been strained for most of his tenure, although it has improved somewhat in the last few years. Throughout its history the Fullerton campus has had a tradition

for a level of shared governance that has been stronger than at most of the campuses in the CSU system. This seems to have rankled President Gordon a bit more than his predecessors, although all of them, at times, have chafed under the constraints imposed by this "Fullerton way."

Fullerton also has had a reputation for having a faculty that was more active in research, scholarly and creative activities than those at many of our sister campuses. The presidents who preceded Dr. Gordon all had respectable scholarly credentials; moreover, they all had an understanding of the important relationship between the "life of the mind" and the vitality of the institution. President Gordon's background is primarily in teaching and administration, and he always has seemed somewhat disinterested in and perhaps a bit threatened by the scholarly achievements of the faculty.

President Gordon has been primarily an "outward looking" chief executive. By that I mean that he has focused his energies heavily on developing relationships between the university and the outside world. **In the IP's opinion**, he has been better at this than most of his predecessors. However, in the process he has delegated too many of the day-to-day operations of the university to subordinates who seem to have been chosen more for loyalty than for competence. During his tenure there

have been problems in several key areas of administration. The university has been on the losing side of several expensive lawsuits, it has been the subject of embarrassing media articles, two of its internal auditors have resigned abruptly, and external auditors have discovered a number of management deficiencies.

At present faculty morale is at low ebb. Part of this problem is beyond President Gordon's control. Much of it can be traced to the poor relationship between faculty and the current system Chancellor, Charlie Reed. However, the problems at Fullerton have been exacerbated by too rapid growth in the number of students without a corresponding

increase in facilities and full-time faculty, and by too little attention on the part of the administration to the decline in the quality of faculty life as a result of this too rapid growth.

Is it time for President Gordon to retire? **As his anonymous colleague would, the IP would say yes, but for a different reason.** The IP has held some (petty) administrative posts over the years. From that experience he has learned that most university administrators begin to stagnate after five to seven years in a given position. Even relatively dynamic university administrators begin to look like "caretakers" as their tenure extends beyond the seven-year mark. There have been a few exceptions to this rule, but they are rare.

The Irascible Professor invites your comments.
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On Nightline, 19 September 2001, Ted Koppel interviewed a member of the Taliban. Although the Taliban claim not to know where Osama bin Laden is, they say that before they will turn him over to an international court for trial, the United States will first have to prove with evidence that he is guilty of terrorism and the World Trade Center slaughter. Koppel commented that having to prove guilt before a trial is to turn justice on its head. Given the expertise Criminal Justice professors have in the judicial process, international law, crime, and punishment, the faculty was invited to write an opinion piece expressing their reaction and assessment regarding the world's largest crime scene, the World Trade Center twin towers. Professor Bill Van Cleve most kindly responded with this thoughtful appraisal. **gv**

Investigation of the Sept. 11, 2001 Incident

by Bill Van Cleve, Lecturer, Political Science/ Criminal Justice



The attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001 will most likely stand as the most significant incident of mass murder that will ever occur in the United States. Make no mistake that this is a criminal act perpetrated against thousands of innocent people, regardless of other impacts to the economy and to international relations.

Like all criminal investigations there needs to be evidence gathered to prove the required intent, the means used to

commit the crime, the identity of those that committed the crime and evidence connecting the perpetrator to the crime. Unlike most murder investigations the attack on New York and Washington D.C. was a well planned and financed criminal conspiracy on an international level. Not only do we have the complexity of our laws and the demand to conduct a constitutionally defensible investigation, but also we have to deal with international relations and the laws and customs of other nations that may well frustrate investigation efforts. Never before has there been a greater demand for cooperation between criminal justice agencies, national security agencies and those agencies dealing with international relations.

At this time the best investigative minds in the cities of New York and Washington D.C., along with the investigative might of several federal agencies, are involved in conducting what I am sure is the most in-depth cooperative investigation ever conducted. I can't pretend to know what has been accomplished in that investigation, or what leads are currently being followed, as the information I have is from our news media and political talk shows. I will, however, try to provide some insight into the investigative steps that might be taken in this type of investigation.

One of the things that makes this crime so unusual is the suicidal fanaticism of the individuals directly involved in the attack. I doubt that any of us can begin to understand the level of fanatical commitment that would cause 18 to 20 (or more) adult males to collectively plan and train over an extended period of time

to commit an act that was certain to result in their losing their lives in a violent crash. This investigation starts with those individuals directly involved, and then spirals out to encompass every person that may be connected to them and what that connection is.

The first investigative steps would be investigators trying to piece together exactly what took place on each airplane through evidence collected from telephone conversations and evidence found at the crash sights. Other investigators would be obtaining information about the passengers on each airplane. It would appear at this time all of the hijackers have been identified and connected to one another. Since all of the hijackers are dead the investigation would work to identify co-conspirators, those people directly involved in planning, aiding and financing the attack.

Most likely the investigation will turn to locating the living accommodations and

tracking movements of each individual who has been identified as a hijacker. Search warrants would be served on residential accommodations occupied by the known hijackers. Part of the investigation would be obtaining telephone records and financial records for the hijackers. Investigators would be doing the tedious work of contacting the hijackers neighbors, landlords and other people who may have had contact with the hijackers to build a history on the hijackers as well as reconstructing the hijackers' movements leading up to the events of September 11.

The investigation would determine how bills were paid, what banking institutions were used and what credit cards were possessed. Search warrants would be served for bank records. This is a case of following the money.

Perhaps a database has been developed that would include every telephone call made by the hijackers based on telephone bills, every bill paid and to whom, all sources of income from bank statement deposit records, any employment records, the names of relatives and other people contacted, rental car records and every other piece of data relating to personal contacts and money. A relational database would allow data to be sorted in such a way to make rapid connections between the hijackers and their confederates.

Every time a connection is made between the hijackers and people who may be likely to have assisted in the crime a new investigation must start to prove the elements of conspiracy on each individual. This type of investigation is more tedious and difficult than eradicating a household ant problem. As the pieces of the puzzle start to come together there should be a pattern of connections between each of the hijackers and a connection between the hijackers and other people who are involved in planning, financing and carrying out the hijackings.

Although this is an oversimplification of what is most likely taking place we need to consider the tremendous number of academic disciplines, skills, knowledge and

coordination that must take place as thousands of pieces of information are sorted through and hundreds of investigative reports read and analyzed. Nothing can be overlooked and no mistakes can be made. The results of this investigation will impact world policy and the ability of the United States to rebound from this disaster.

Bill Van Cleve



Reactions from Students:

Minzi Su, an MBA student from Mainland China to whom I taught English at CSUF, sent this thoughtful email. I asked Christopher Reese, one of my current students, to send me his reaction.
gv

Hi Dr. Vogt:

I am shocked completely to know the attack happened in the last couple of days. I was in tears and anger when I was watching it on TV. Right now I am studying in the provincial official training school and could not greet you earlier. But I am worried about you as well as all your loved ones. I believe all those terrible things will be over very soon and the world is still beautiful.

Best regards,
Minzi Su (your Chinese MBA student)



Professor Vogt:

In general, I am not affected by the events in New York as I attend class here on the west coast. The threat of attack and fear of its effects stretch worldwide and, though I do not have to deal with them first hand, make me feel a bit nervous, suspicious, and fearful as I go about living my life. In a multicultural setting like our campus, the tensions can run high and although we are not as likely to act on irrational feelings of hate as other, less educated individuals are, we as students can harbor the same emotions without a suitable way to release them.

So far, I have not had a class talk about the tragedy directly, although it has been lightly referenced in terms of the economic impact in my economics and finance courses. While I do not believe it is good business to take up class time with social discussions on this topic, there is a need to discuss one's feelings at some point during the day. This is true for professors as well, especially in the College of Business, who often are more directly affected by the events than students due to their professional connections to the business world.

Clearly, any detraction from a professor's focus can lead to disastrous consequences for the class as a whole. For example, tensions ran so high in one of my classes that both the students and the professor became so frustrated over the explanation of a concept that it led to the professor walking out on the class just 15 minutes into the session. It was evident in this situation that there was an underlying catalyst present in all of us, for normally the disagreement and confusion would have easily been understood and dealt with patiently by all involved.

Thankfully, I have a number of friends and a caring family that enjoy talking about such things in depth. I just hope that all who need to talk to let out their feelings constructively can find a friendly person who will take the time to do that person a much needed favor.

Christopher Reese

Dear Faculty in Criminal Justice:

On last night's Nightline, 19 September 2001, Ted Koppel interviewed a member of the Taliban. Although the Taliban claims not to know where Osama bin Laden is, they say that before they will turn him over to an international court for trial, the United States will first have to prove with evidence that he is guilty of terrorism and the World Trade Center slaughter. Koppel commented that having to prove guilt before a trial is to turn justice on its head.

Given your expertise in the judicial process, international law, crime scenes, punishment, and the rest of the criminal justice world, you are invited to write, for publication in the Senate Forum, an opinion piece expressing your reaction and your assessment regarding the world's largest crime scene, the World Trade Center twin towers.

What is your reaction to the Taliban statement on Nightline? How should this terrorist crime be investigated? Is the U.S. pursuing a course of action that will bring results? How will the September 11th American Tragedy affect what you teach at Cal State Fullerton?

Gayle Vogt, Ph.D.
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Dear Gayle:

I am sorry that I missed responding earlier to your inquiry. I am indeed an attorney familiar with state and federal law, but I have no expertise in international law. I think our expert in that field is Choudhury Shamim. However, my limited knowledge of extradition law suggests that Ted Koppel and the Taliban may have been talking past each other. To extradite, there has to be sufficient evidence to file a case for a crime. This standard of certainty is lower than that necessary for conviction after presentation of evidence at trial (which of course is "beyond a reasonable doubt").

My concerns involve a worry of how our government will react to the terrorism threat. As a teacher of the Fourth Amendment (right against unreasonable search and seizure) and Fifth Amendment (privilege against self incrimination), I wonder how these liberties will be affected by the war.

Max Dery



God Bless America and All She Stands For

by
Jean Fuller



On September 11, 2001, we lost our innocence to insane, mindless madmen who hate us.
Goodness, mercy, kindnesses are anachronisms—archaic, old fashioned, gone.

Innocence is lost as we view each person with suspicion, dread and fear and rightly so.
Decency and tolerance toward other, no matter how different, no longer, cannot, exist.

Innocence is gone surrounded by red, burning hate that will last through oh generations.
Kindness went out the windows when people jumped to their deaths—no choice.

Innocence is lost smacked down by a few who scheme and plan to control us all.
Honesty no more—lies and rumors of lies will prevail under suspicion and surveillance.

Innocence is gone with children afraid to ride their bikes—chemicals to kill them outside.
Integrity no more as systems, countries wage war and rumors of war—to gain what?

Innocence is wrong, innocence gone wrong when we become the fool.

Righteousness

Innocence nearly killed us all

Good

Innocence

Now a 21 gun salute to the home of the brave, and if we watch ourselves, the free.

The Senate Forum Table of Contents

A Few Brief Thoughts	Melinda Blackman	3
Politics, Administration, and Justice: A Few Thoughts	Karl H. Kahrs	4
Comments from a Sikh American	Chiranjeew Kohli	6
German Reactions to the Terrorist Attacks on September 11	Dana Loewy	8
America Changed on September 11	Owen Holmes	11
September 11 th and Conceptual Analysis	Shari N. Starrett	12
The Dangers of “War”	Craig K. Ihara	13
“United We Stand”: Some Reflections	Heather Battaly	15
Courage in Our Time of Crisis	Joni Norby	17
Joining Together in Tragedy	P.J. Levesque	19
So? When Is Take-An-Arab-American-To-Brunch-Day?	JoAnn Byrne	21
Overcoming September 11 th Intelligence Deficits	Paul Sheldon Foote	24
Reactions From Faculty	Vince Buck	27
	Alan Saltzstein	28
	Mike Brown	29
	Bruce Wright	30
	Harvey Grody	30
	Shay Sayre	31
	Shari N. Starrett	32
America’s Response to Terrorism	Donald	34
	Matthewson	
From a Palestinian-American	Teeanna Rizkallah	37
Irreverent Commentary on the State of Education in America Today	Mark Shapiro	39
Investigation of the September 11, 2001 Incident	Bill Van Cleve	44
Reactions from Students	Minzi Su	46
	Christopher Reese	47
Criminal Justice Concerns	Max Dery	48
God Bless America and All She Stands For	Jean Fuller	49