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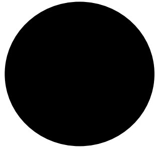

Opening Minds
The International Liberal Education Movement
Susan H. Gillespie

Largely unremarked by policymakers and the public, the events of September 11 have as seldom before shaken academia here and abroad. Immediately in the wake of the attack, American educators were startled when Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California called for a six-month moratorium on student visas. More than 500,000 foreign students are enrolled here, and any number of academic institutions, notably business schools, benefit financially. For the country as a whole, there is a broader, more lasting benefit. On returning from America, these soon-to-be scholars and scientists, health workers and public servants, managers and teachers become part of a global vanguard. Hence the uproar among U.S. educators. Senator Feinstein wisely backed down and called instead for a tightening of visa regulations. Within a week, President Bush did just that, issuing a directive to ensure that "if a person has applied for a student visa, they actually go to college or university." This allayed but did not dispel fears of a backlash that could cripple programs that, as Feinstein acknowledges, make "a great contribution to our institutions of higher learning."

At the same time, changes are occurring in higher learning overseas that merit increased political attention. Even before September 11, a worldwide movement to promote liberal arts education was gathering momentum. Colleges and universities in places as diverse as Belarus and Dubai, Estonia and Hong Kong, Hungary and Kazakhstan, South Korea and Kyrgyzstan, Poland and Russia, South Africa and Tajikistan, are introducing multi-disciplinary liberal education curricula and experimenting with new pedagogical styles that emphasize small classes, dialogue, and critical thinking. This movement offers both an opportunity and a challenge. It presents striking possibilities for collaboration and long-term linkages in the field of education, drawing on a vibrant American tradition, while offering a crucial international dimension that can enhance our own institutions. Successful examples of such collaboration exist, and several will be described below.

Yet the experiment also carries risks. Wherever the United States acts, or is perceived to be acting, as a hegemonic power, the perception alone can undermine attempts at genuine collaboration. This was underscored by Secretary of State Colin Powell's visit to Pakistan in October, when, as the *Financial Times* reported, "successful reform of Pakistan's education system" fell squarely within Washington's diplomatic interest. At issue was the role of an estimated 10,000 religious schools, or madrasas, in fomenting extremism. Gen. Pervez Musharraf, Pakistan's president, had previously made clear his concern that madrasas have a political agenda. Islamabad has already established four madrasas that offer foreign languages, and computing and science courses not normally included in the curriculum. The attempt is to promote reform by persuasion rather than by fiat. But reformers are warning international donors, especially the United States, to avoid any direct involvement since American participation would be the "kiss of death."

The same hazards attend promotion of the international liberal education movement. If Americans attempt to profit financially, accept facile generalizations about "Americanization," or worse, try to impose our models and objectives on others—if, in a word, we fail to act according to the principles of mutuality and equality that are implicit in the liberal arts philosophy—we may not only forfeit an important opportunity but destroy the movement itself.

Some History

Some background is essential. The biggest leaps in international education in the United States have occurred in response to war. The Institute for International Education (IIE), one of the most active institutions in the field, was founded in 1919 to enable U.S. educators to teach in postwar Europe. The flagship international educational program sponsored by the U.S. government, known universally as the Fulbright Program, was initiated in 1946, following the Second World War, to "increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries...."[1] In each case, the global initiatives came on the heels of war and were nurtured by the same fears and hopes that inspired the founding of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The end of the Cold War has been no different, with this exception. Much of the growth and innovation is taking place not in the United States, but abroad, in former colonial regions and in nations that have recently cast off dictatorial regimes, the "countries in transition." That these changes are occurring in a postindustrial landscape characterized by global economic integration suggests that deeper forces are driving what has come to be termed the "internationalization of education." In 1996, according to UNESCO, 1.5 million students studied outside their country of origin. The largest share of these students are coming to the United States, and the numbers are increasing. The IIE publication, *Open Doors*, reports that in 2000–2001, 547,667 foreign students studied in the United States, an increase of 6.4 percent over the previous year, and approximately 34 percent over a decade. By comparison, 143,590 American students studied abroad, an increase of nearly 11 percent over the previous year, and roughly double the total of a decade earlier.

But these impressive figures are only part of the picture. In reality, the United States is failing to keep pace with the growth of international education. In the past decade, the U.S. share of the global student "market" has fallen from 40 to 34 percent.[2] While the reasons for this development are complex, an important factor is the more assertive policies of other countries. The European Union, through its SOCRATES and ERASMUS projects, has moved vigorously to lower educational barriers among its members. France has fixed a goal of attracting 500,000 international students by 2002, an effort backed by generous federal funds. Germany has encouraged the development of dual-language (German-English) programs in science and business, which it is promoting energetically through its international German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Australia, an aggressive newcomer taking advantage of its English-language culture, has significantly increased its share of the world education market.

In a related innovation, dual-degree programs are becoming common in Europe. In the United States, scientific, business, and law programs have led the way in establishing joint degree programs with universities in other countries. Students typically study for a time at each of the degree-granting institutions, although—as will be seen below in the example of Smolny College—this is not necessarily a requirement. Numerous U.S. universities have established satellite campuses abroad, some of which cater to local students and some of which are conceived as profit-making ventures. Commer-

cialization is rife, with the attendant worries about academic quality. Less-developed countries are bedeviled by an influx of academically second-rate foreign degree programs. The growth of distance education programs, offered over the Internet, has exacerbated this tendency and made it more difficult for educators and students to assess the quality of such programs and the degrees they offer.[3]

Indeed, international education has become big business. Former education secretary Richard W. Riley reported in 2000 that foreign students contributed $9 billion a year to the U.S. economy.[4] The Institute for International Education estimates that international students spend more than $11 billion annually in the United States. Nor has the increased economic importance of international higher education escaped the notice of other world institutions. The Group of Eight (G-8) highly industrialized countries has set a goal of doubling exchanges in the next decade.[5] The World Bank recently commissioned a report on the perils and promise of higher education in developing countries.[6] More ominously, the World Trade Organization (WTO) is considering guidelines proposed by the U.S. Department of Commerce that would ease the entry of commercial educational ventures into all member countries.

The Liberal Education Movement

The liberal education programs now springing up around the world are in part a result of globalization. Their mission statements reflect their concern with the multi-disciplinary nature of new scholarly research and the importance of knowledge sharing across international boundaries. At the same time, they derive their legitimacy from diverse sources, some culturally specific, tapping homegrown traditions of tolerance, respect for creativity, and love of the arts. Many new liberal education programs have emerged in countries that have recently thrown off authoritarian regimes. Besides experiencing political and economic upheavals, these societies generally share a new emphasis on civil society and the nurturing of more democratic institutions. And there is an awareness that older methods of education are inappropriate for free-market economies. Nor can one underestimate the allure of programs that connect students with "the best of the West." Hence many of the new programs are specifically Western-oriented. Many of them desire to have American (or English) partners. Some already do.

A number of the new programs are inspired by liberal education in the United States. American colleges and universities are widely considered the best in the world, and this plays a role in the prestige accorded liberal education—despite the ongoing tensions in the United States between liberal educators and others who believe in more "cost-effective," or career-oriented, approaches. Many, but not all, of the innovative schools are directed by educators who studied at colleges in the United States or England. Western philanthropy has also played an important role, especially in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where the impact of the various Soros foundations, the Christian A. Johnson Foundation, and the German Körber Foundation cannot be underestimated.

Still, Americans eager to assist the new liberal education programs need to understand that these are not meant to be American creations. The most successful programs are locally led and driven. Their creators define their goals and fight their battles for reform within a national, as well as an international, context.

Smolny College

Smolny College, a joint venture of Bard College in New York State and St. Petersburg State University (SPU),[7] is Russia's first liberal arts college. The Russian faculty members who are the heart of the program originally came together in a study group,

Critique of the Social Sciences. When they first met with visiting Bard faculty members to discuss the idea of a liberal arts program, the Russian language did not have a word for liberal education—though the terms *liberalnoye obrazovanie* (liberal education) and *svobodnye iskustva i nauki* (free arts and sciences) have since gained currency. The interest of the founding group of Russian faculty members grew out of their desire to reform their disciplines and, as a precondition for such reform, to create an academic setting characterized by greater democracy for both teachers and students.

Smolny accepted its first matriculated students in October 1999. It now enrolls 200 students and eventually plans to triple that total and to establish multi-disciplinary master's degree programs and an institute for advanced study. Smolny is distinctively Russian. It has quasi-autonomous status within St. Petersburg State University. Most of the students and faculty are Russian, and the languages of instruction are Russian and, to a limited extent, English. Smolny's leaders have looked hard at Russian secondary and tertiary education and formulated their plans accordingly. They have worked within the university and collaborated with the Russian Ministry of Education. In April 1999, they achieved what only recently might have seemed an impossible goal—Russian state accreditation for granting a B.A. degree in liberal arts. This not only empowered Smolny College itself but made it possible for any Russian state university to introduce a B.A. program in liberal arts based on Smolny's curriculum. The Kaliningrad and Voronezh Universities and the People's Friendship University of Russia in Moscow have already applied to have their proposed new liberal education programs approved.

According to its mission statement, Smolny College's objectives are:

> To cultivate the intellectual, cultural, and moral aspects of each student through the pursuit of higher education; this is achieved through Smolny College's core and supplemental educational programs and through the conduct of academic research.
>
> To develop in students critical and creative thought, a sense of individual worth, independence, and respect for human life by educating citizens of a democratic society who are capable of productive activity under the conditions of the postindustrial world. These goals are achieved primarily by realizing the principles of liberal education, including the autonomy of students in developing their own curricula, and by utilizing contemporary interactive methods of education.
>
> To prepare students for life in the increasingly global contemporary world and for effective cultural interaction, developing in them a sense of the relativity of cultural traditions, an interest in diverse cultures, and a capacity for understanding other cultures. These goals are achieved primarily by means of the creation at Smolny College of an authentically international educational environment, the realization of the principles of contemporary international education, and an assurance that the graduates of Smolny College may continue their education in Russia or abroad.
>
> To democratize education and guarantee the accessibility of contemporary educational programs to citizens of Russia and the countries of the N.I.S., including economically disadvantaged segments of society.

The radical nature of these notions must be viewed against the traditional Russian university system, which is highly standardized and prescriptive and relies heavily on passive absorption of facts delivered in lecture form. Once enrolled, students have little choice or voice in their education. But under the impact of the

broader social and economic transformation, Russian universities are changing too, introducing previously forbidden subjects (politics, management, international relations, among others) and degree programs. Four-year B.A. degree programs are no longer a rarity, although these tend to be trimmed-down versions that are more narrow than the five-year specialist degree programs they were designed to supplement.

Given the weight of traditional approaches, which will almost certainly continue to dominate Russia's higher education system, Bard College's role is important. Bard is a full partner in the Smolny College joint venture and is linked to it both academically and administratively. Smolny graduates actually earn two B.A. degrees—one from St. Petersburg State University, and one from Bard. The Bard faculty plays a continuing role in curriculum development, and Bard administrators participate in the new, more open managerial culture. Bard's long-term commitment to the project and its willingness to offer a Bard degree (with the standards and requirements this entails), have been crucial in enabling Smolny to persuade university colleagues of the value and viability of what is, for Russia, a novel educational philosophy and approach. Bard has also helped Smolny to gain support from donors ranging from the Budapest-based Higher Education Support Program of the Open Society Institute, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to the U.S. Department of State and private individuals.

During its brief history, Smolny has faced attacks from anti-American and anti-Semitic opponents, although the most serious resistance has probably come from the "dead hand" of established bureaucratic routine. There is no doubt that Smolny's success in achieving accreditation is a result of its combination of assets—a strong indigenous Russian organization, the vociferous support of SPU's reform-minded rector, Liudmila Verbitskaya (one of only two female rectors of major universities in Russia), and the expertise and leverage provided by its partnership with Bard.

The "Invisible Colleges"

The "invisible colleges" movement, a form of liberal education that has become widespread in Eastern Europe, preceded the development of Smolny College, and in fact helped to inspire it. These "colleges" do not offer degrees. Their aim is to enhance existing state educational programs by giving students special training with an emphasis on independent thinking and an intensive, dialogue style of instruction. The first such college was established in Budapest, Hungary, in 1992. As described by the analyst Peter Darvas, "Its provisions include extra courses, a closely regulated tutorial system, extracurricular activities and services, like psychological consulting, and a substantial stipend.... The tutorial system includes individualized planning of students' professional and intellectual development and weekly tutorials and consultations. Tutors are in charge of designing the course structure and study plans for the students."[8] According to Darvas, the invisible college has its roots in the traditions of the British college system, the French École Normale Supérieur, and its Hungarian predecessors, notably the century-old Eötvös College.[9]

Budapest's invisible college inspired similar institutions in Bucarest, Warsaw, and Bratislava. Several of these schools received the Hannah Arendt Prize, awarded by the Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna, and the Körber Foundation, Hamburg, in the years 1995–2000. Criteria for the prize included "improvement of the quality of research and/or instruction, support for young scholars, initiation of structural and organizational innovation, original ideas and methods, openness toward other disciplines and/or the development of inter-disciplinary programs, sensitivity to social and societal problems, and efforts to establish regional cooperation, responsiveness to local and

industrial needs as well as to the needs of the labor market."[10] The elaboration of liberal education agendas and the establishment of a network of interested individuals and institutions also owes much to the Artes Liberales project of the Educational Leadership Fund, funded by the Christian A. Johnson Foundation in New York.

A dynamic and related project is the Center for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland (its acronym, MISH, derives from the Polish). Led by the charismatic classicist Jerzy Axer at the University of Warsaw, MISH functions like a department within the university. It affords students the opportunity to pursue "interdepartmental individual studies in the humanities" at the undergraduate and master's levels. The project serves more than 300 students a year and includes collaborative projects in the humanities with partners in Ukraine, Greece, Spain, and Lithuania. MISH is seeking full accreditation for its interdisciplinary program and expects that it will be able to award a master's degree shortly.

MISH represents an interesting combination of intellectual conservatism and pedagogical progressiveness. As stated in its literature:

> The Interdepartmental Individual Studies in the Humanities...have been established for gifted students who are willing to assume co-responsibility of realizing their own, individual programme, created by them with the cooperation of the tutor.... The structure of MISH could be treated as a certain proposal leading to reforms especially as regards overcoming a system in which the student is restricted in deciding about the selection of his trend of education. MISH experiences can serve as an example of contacts between various humanities departments...in order to better employ the qualifications of the staff and to offer the students a chance for a more all-sided education. MISH is already regarded as such a model, as is testified by attempts at copying its concept in other schools of higher learning.[11]

Aga Khan Humanities Project

The Aga Khan Humanities Project (AKHUM) has one of the most elaborate and interesting philosophical rationales of any of the programs considered here. It was developed by the Aga Khan Foundation as a response to the civil war in Tajikistan that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union.[12]

Hence it reflects a pragmatic interest in maintaining the peace as well as contributing to the economic and cultural revival of societies that have been hard hit by the loss of Russian subsidies and economic ties. At the same time, its curriculum also reflects progressive elements of the Ismaili religion, which has a history of openness to other cultures. Tellingly, its director, Rafique Keshavjee, was born in South Africa, raised in Kenya, and educated at Harvard. The project has an ongoing link with the Association of Core Texts and Courses, a U.S. nonprofit association based at Temple University that encourages the use of classical texts in liberal arts teaching.

AKHUM is similar in concept to the invisible colleges, though it seems to have developed independently of them. Headquartered in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, it currently offers a supplementary humanities course to students at a growing network of universities in three Central Asian countries (Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan). The course, which is now in its third year of implementation, is designed to take four years and includes segments on such themes as "the human as an object of cognition," "human diversity and human ideals," "art and the human condition," and "personal responsibility to community, society, and the environment." All the course materials are written and compiled by Central Asians and are first tested in experimental seminars before distribution. Over 15 scholars have produced thousands of illustrated

pages of instructional materials, in an interactive graphic format designed by undergraduate students. Teachers are encouraged to develop the curriculum further.

AKHUM is distinguished by its imaginative multiculturalism and by its serious approach to teacher training and evaluation. Master trainers spend a full year on research, curriculum development, and teaching experimentation. Other faculty members undergo two month's of intensive training in the Socratic method, and their classroom practice is evaluated intensively by means of peer review and the use of videotapes. Instruction is in Russian (the traditional language of higher education in all of Central Asia); however, the reintroduction of national languages is under consideration at several of the universities. Meantime, the rectors of the nine participating universities, some state-funded and some private, are talking about integrating and expanding the program at their institutions. Plans have also been announced for a new University of Central Asia, to be funded by the Aga Khan, among others. The university would be located in the same three countries as AKHUM.

AKHUM strikingly combines an appeal to tradition with an outspoken commitment to tolerance, civil society, and universalism, as expressed in this statement:

> The project aims to develop a core, introductory humanities curriculum for undergraduates in universities in Central Asia based on the cultural traditions of the region. Cultural revival can help locate the identity of the citizens of Central Asia in their cultural heritage, but with an appreciation of the breadth of this heritage. The project therefore employs a concept of civilization that encompasses societies, religious communities, status groups or ethnic groups, and sheds light on their interaction. Central Asia is a product of many civilizations, including ancient Iranian, Greek, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Turkic, Islamic, and Russian. The project will employ civilization as an orienting principle rather than a strictly defined concept. This notion of civilization will not be essentialist, and will respect the layering of civilizations and the diversity within each layer and within each individual. In this model, Islamic Civilization is an interactive plurality that encompasses the inner life as exemplified by Sufism, the rational as exemplified by the philosophers and scientists, the legal, as exemplified by the Shari'ah, and the artistic and literary, as exemplified by *adab*, the oral tradition, art, and architecture.
>
> The project will therefore not promote any one perspective nor provide religious instruction. Embodying a comparative perspective, the curriculum will orient students to cultural pluralism and the foundations of civil society in traditional culture. It aims to accomplish this by developing skills in ethical reflection, cultural interpretation and problem solving, including conflict resolution. This includes the ability to ask questions that go deeper than information seeking and to be objective about the weaknesses of the distant and the recent past. It will assume that one measure of the cultural resilience of a people is their ability to recognize greatness in other cultures.
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> Such perspectives should help students address current challenges, predicaments and opportunities and build bridges across communal boundaries in the region. The project will also help make Central Asian culture available to the outside world. This endeavor could help return Central Asians to their historical role as creative mediators at the crossroads of civilizations, offering a banner under which national sentiments can be met and mitigated by a universalism that can inspire many others.[13]

The Aga Khan Humanities Project does not use the term "liberal education." To explain its purpose, it prefers a term drawn from classical Persian, *inson shinosi*, which means understanding the human being. *Inson* refers to a cultivated human being, as opposed to man in his natural state, or Odam (cf. Adam). It is interesting to speculate that this tradition and the liberal arts of Greek and Roman antiquity may have common roots in a classical culture that is not, as is too often assumed, inherently Western.

International Human Rights Exchange

A final example, drawn from Africa, is the International Human Rights Exchange (IHRE), a collaborative project designed and run by a coalition of seven universities in Southern Africa and seven U.S. liberal arts colleges. It offers a month-long intensive multidisciplinary course on human rights taught by faculty, and open to students from 14 member institutions. The first session of the course was held in July 2001 in Cape Town, where it was jointly hosted by the University of Cape Town and the University of the Western Cape.[14]

South Africa presents a different setting from the countries and programs described earlier, all of which exist against a background of centralized Soviet-style university systems. By contrast, South African universities are based on the British model, altered, during the apartheid era, to separate races according to the system's perverse dictates. With the downfall of apartheid, and the election of Nelson Mandela as president in May 1994, South Africa's university system had to be integrated as well as reformed. Already relatively decentralized, the universities have taken different paths in subsequent years.

South African educators are engaged with particular vehemence in an international debate about reform. The debate focuses on "massification, marketization, and commodification" as characteristics of contemporary universities,[15] and on the distinction between "mode 1" and "mode 2" knowledge production as defined by Michael Gibbons, secretary general of the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and others.[16] "Mode 2" knowledge production, which is said to reflect postindustrial society, is defined as multi- or transdisciplinary, student-centered, unsystematic, and more closely linked to various forms of social practice, whereas "mode 1" knowledge production was more hierarchical, disciplinary, and systematic. At Cape Town, under former vice chancellor Mamphela Ramphele (who is now at the World Bank), the university carried out a controversial curricular reform based at least in part on the characteristics of "mode 2" knowledge production.

At the same time, South Africa's state-funded universities have been losing ground to competing private institutions from Australia and other foreign countries. These outside institutions offer degree programs of varying quality—circumstances that led one participant in a conference held in Cape Town last March to lament: "From the South African case study [one can] conclude that higher education in developing countries will be destroyed if rampant internationalization of higher education from developed countries is not stopped."[17] One result has been South Africa's adoption of more stringent requirements for the recognition of foreign degree programs.

Since 1994, South African educators have tended to focus on expanding technical, scientific, and managerial courses to serve the African majority that had long been excluded from higher education. More recently, with a revival of interest in the cultivation of leadership skills, educators have been more receptive to liberal education. That liberal education has characteristics in common with mode 2 knowledge production, and that such methods as tutorials are familiar from the British system, probably also figures in this receptivity.

The IHRE project (which is funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation) was ini-

tiated in 1998, following discussions with Bard College, with which several universities in Southern Africa have had long-standing exchange relationships. The project is governed by an international steering committee composed of faculty from all participating universities and colleges. At the suggestion of Cape Town's David Chidester, the head of the Department of Religious Studies, and Rico Settler, a lecturer in the department who serves as the director of the new program, the committee was enlarged to include "stakeholders"—in this case representatives of human rights organizations. Administrative agreements and funding support were secured from each participating university.

As indicated in its mission statement, the IHRE'S strong commitment to collaboration needs to be understood against the history of apartheid:

> The International Human Rights Exchange is a collaborative project of all the Southern African universities and American liberal arts colleges included in the partnership. The partnership is committed to enabling selected Southern African and American students with prior academic and leadership abilities to further their education in an intensive, international setting in which they contribute as equals to the discussion of issues of current global debate.
>
> It seeks to promote the critical study and understanding of human rights as part of a broad intellectual and social movement that extends beyond law and legal discourse into fields such as politics, economics, gender studies, environmental studies, and arts.
>
> Essentially the IHRE will be committed to establishing links between theory and practice. The theoretical approach to human rights will consist of comparative, historical, holistic and critical methods. The linkage between theory and practice constitutes one of the priorities of the course. The course will include a practical component which aims to provide direct experience of activism, advocacy, policy review, implementation, assessment and/or monitoring.

A "contextual analysis" furnished by the project secretariat at the University of Cape Town further comments that "South Africa's human rights constitutional order places its academic institution[s] in a strategic position to contribute to the establishment of democratic governments both in Africa and internationally." And further, "while the national and international human rights-sensitive environment provides a positive context for the IHRE, the development of a multidisciplinary human rights education programme remains a critically strategic issue."

Engines of Reform

All the projects hitherto described can be characterized as successful, at least so far. The two projects in which Bard is involved have actually exceeded expectations—indicating, perhaps, that globalization affords a space for educational projects that are antihegemonic in inspiration and practice. There are other partnerships involving American colleges and universities. Examples include the new American Universities of Bulgaria and Kyrgyzstan, which are twinned with the Universities of Maine and Nebraska, and the partnership of the European Humanities University in Minsk, Belarus, with Suffolk University in Boston. Given the rapid growth of liberal education projects across the globe, many more opportunities for partnerships with U.S. colleges beckon.

To realize the potential of these initiatives will doubtless require significant funds, free of political or other constraints. Manipulative behavior is quickly spotted, and where it does not inhibit collaboration it breeds reciprocal manipulation. In the past, most U.S. government funding, and some private funding, has focused more nar-

rowly on programs perceived to be in the economic interest of the United States (business and management) or that burnish the U.S. image (American studies). Few donors, so far, have recognized the enormous potential of liberal education programs to serve as engines of reform and democratization. As the examples cited suggest, the programs that are springing up around the world foster relationships that are based on mutuality and contribute substantially not only to others' understanding of America, but just as important, to our understanding of others.

International collaborations as described here can only flourish in an atmosphere of collegiality. This is reflected in agreements that commit the participating institutions to shared standards of conduct. Hence it is especially alarming that the U.S. Department of Commerce, through the Office of Service Industries, has proposed guidelines to the WTO that would prevent governments from imposing conditions on commercial ventures in international education.[18] What is needed to support the development of liberal education programs abroad as engines of reform is not more for-profit educational enterprise. This is a dubious proposition, at best, and will weaken already fragile systems. What is needed is a policy, backed by a combination of no-strings public and private funding, that respects and safeguards the autonomy of emerging liberal education programs and encourages the establishment of many more mutually beneficial partnerships between these inspiring ventures and colleges and universities here at home. ●

Notes

1. Approximately 234,000 "Fulbrighters," 88,000 from the United States and 146,000 from other countries, have participated in the program since its inception.

2. Michael Schneider, "Others' Open Doors: How Other Nations Attract International Students. Implications for U.S. Educational Exchange," paper commissioned by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange of the U.S. Department of State, November 2000.

3. One commercial distance education company, Jones Education Company, or JEC, actually runs its own international accreditation organization, the Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE).

4. Richard W. Riley, "The Growing Importance of International Education," speech at La Maison Française, Washington, D.C., April 19, 2000.

5. Ibid.

6. *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2000). The study, co-directed by Kamal Ahmad and David E. Bloom, is the product of the Task Force on Higher Education and Society, co-directed by Henry Rosovsky and Mamphela Ramphele. The study comes out in favor of liberal, or general, education in developing countries.

7. For further information, see www.bard.edu/iile/smolny (in English) or www.smolny.org (in Russian).

8. Peter Darvas, "Understanding Institutional Change." The study was later published as *Institutional Innovation in Central European Higher Education*, vol. 9 in a series of publications on the transformation of national higher education and research systems in Central Europe (Vienna: Institute of Human Sciences, 1996), p. 18.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. From MISH publicity materials, distributed in fall 2000.

12. The Aga Khan Foundation is directed by its namesake, who is the spiritual leader of the Ismaili people. The Ismailis are a Shiite minority in the more predominantly Sunni Muslim countries of Central Asia, where Ismailis tend to be especially vulnerable to the hardships that have wracked the region.

13. From photocopied information materials about the project, dated February 16, 1998.

14. Additional information about IHRE may be found at www.ihre.org.

15. See, for example, Peter, Scott, *The Meanings of Mass Higher Education* (Buckingham and Bristol, Penn.: Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, 1995); and publications from Globalization and Higher Education: Views

from the South, conference, Cape Town, South Africa, March 2001, sponsored by the Education Policy Unit of the University of the Western Cape and the Society for Research into Higher Education, London.

16. See Michael Gibbons et al., *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1994).

17. T. Mthembu et al., precis of panel discussion, "Economic Austerity in the South," in *Programme and Abstracts, Globalisation and Higher Education: Views from the South*, p. 74.

18. "Council for Trade in Services—Special Session—Communication from the United States—Higher (Tertiary) Education, Adult Education and Training," communication, December 18, 2000, File S/CSS/W/23.doc., available at www.wto.org, doc. 00-5552, 12/18/00. See also Philip G. Altbach, "Higher Education and the WTO: Globalization Run Amok," *International Higher Education*, no. 23 (spring 2001), pp. 2–4.