

diplomatic avenues. The deafening silence toward such xenophobic atrocities committed against knowledge-seeking citizens is obvious.

In many former Eastern bloc countries, institutions have launched programs in English largely prompted by the language's growing popularity and benefits. Along with the low cost of studying in eastern Europe, the provision of English-language medium of instruction will attract even more students from poor countries, necessitating the need to create more awareness about the xenophobia.

DESTINATION COUNTRIES

It is imperative that African students and scholars who are going to study abroad, especially eastern European countries, become fully informed about the social, cultural, and political realities in their countries of study. Guidance on appropriate precautions and informed decisions to avoid such attacks are imperative. Embassies of host countries can play an active role in providing students and scholars updated and candid information on what they should expect in the countries and regions. Moreover, such a responsibility should be fully assumed by host universities not only by providing ample guidance on "survival tools" regularly but also raising awareness on the academic, social, and financial significance of foreigners on campus. It is important that institutions make it clear that they are fully committed to the safety and security of their foreign students.

SOURCE COUNTRIES AND INSTITUTIONS

Sending countries and institutions need to engage in the wel-

It is imperative that African students and scholars who are going to study abroad, especially eastern European countries, become fully informed about the social, cultural, and political realities in their countries of study.

fare of their intellectual communities abroad at various levels. The first necessity is to ensure that students not leave home without proper guidance and information to destination countries.

Foreign service staff could actively raise the awareness of their citizens to the concerns in destination countries. Embassies, consulates, and other diplomatic missions, especially in eastern Europe, could become more actively engaged. In cases where their citizens have been attacked, African diplomatic missions should lodge formal complaints and pursue investigations. African citizens could also play a role by organizing peaceful protest marches targeting respective embassies. Associations such as the Association of African Universities, the Southern African Regional Universities Association, the Association of Commonwealth Universities, and the African

Union could play an active role in addressing these issues.

STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS

African students and scholars must be conscious about xenophobia and its serious consequences. It is imperative that they pay special attention to social, political, and cultural nuances in the countries of their study. The ultimate burden for taking care of their welfare rests on them.

Foreign students and scholars need to be advised to use a variety of communication sources as well as survival tools. Electronic communication sites are ideal means. These sites may feature, among other topics, institutions where attack is rampant, places and times where crimes are common, and the nature of attacks.

CONCLUSION

The deafening silence of African governments on attacks against their citizens searching for knowledge overseas is simply deplorable. National governments, regional and international organizations, universities in respective countries, diplomatic missions abroad (and locally), and nongovernmental organizations need to do more to curb this growing problem. Moreover, host countries must take serious measures to address this rising mobility threat. The responsibilities of source countries should also not be underestimated. ■

The Minnow and the Whale: Singapore-China Relations in Higher Education

ANTHONY WELCH

Anthony Welch is an associate professor in the Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia. E-mail: a.welch@edfac.usyd.edu.au.

Most internationalization literature still focuses on advanced Western states or student and staff flows from South to North. Regional internationalization retains a narrower focus, although the rise in regional trading and political blocs—sometimes supported by student mobility schemes such as ERASMUS—can mean that student mobility becomes largely regional. One little-known regional case involves the tiny island nation of Singapore and its giant and sometimes troubling cousin, China. The changing context includes China-ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) trade relations, which is substantial and growing swiftly, and China's accession to the WTO and worldwide rise in service-sector

trade (estimated at US\$30+ billion in higher education alone).

HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA AND SINGAPORE

Within the Asia Pacific region, demand for higher education outstrips supply, which explains why the region contributes more international students to major host countries than anywhere else—45 percent of the total for countries that are members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Nonetheless, China and Singapore each maintain ambitious plans to extend capacity and enhance quality. With an annual economic growth of almost 10 percent from 1990 to 2000, China has shown an intense commitment to learning (common to much of East Asia), issued in key higher education reforms—notably programs to develop world-class institutions for the 21st century. From 1993, the 211 Project selected 100 institutions and key disciplines for special attention and investment. The later, much more selective 985 Program invested an additional RMB30 billion (about US\$4 billion) in the top 10 or so universities. Given the more than 1,000 higher education institutions in China, most missed out from being selected, while still coping with annual enrollment increases since 1998 of about 20 percent—without much increase, if any, in staffing. Quality, then, is highly differential.

Singapore, with a population of around 4.5 million (smaller than many of China's cities), has long been a net importer of educational services. More recently, however, it announced plans to become a regional “eduhub” and invested accordingly. This policy included initiatives like the new Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore; recruiting selected overseas staff (especially in the biosciences) via generous salary packages and research support; and founding the first fully owned and operated foreign campus, operated by the University of New South Wales, Australia.

SINGAPORE'S FAILED SUZHOU VENTURE

Notwithstanding its militant anticommunism, Singapore's relatively long-standing relationship with China includes a successful record of service-sector exports to the region. Around 5,000 Singaporeans live and work in China, mostly in Shanghai, while China is Singapore's largest recipient of foreign direct investment. Nonetheless, Singapore's early attempt to develop a joint, high-tech science park in Suzhou, China proved to be a disaster, with annual losses of US\$24 million. The failure also involved a considerable loss of face and provided a lesson in differences over what constituted a legal contract. This venture remains a taboo subject (especially in front of foreigners), in Singapore: round one to the whale. Nonetheless, Singapore's painful experience has not halted further China partnerships in higher education, which are now strong.

CURRENT LINKAGES

The diverse Singapore-China connections in higher education

consist of joint consortia membership, bilateral framework agreements, and institutional partnerships.

Regional consortia include the ASEAN Universities Network, which has commenced collaboration with Chinese institutions; and the Association of Pacific Rim Universities, which includes the National University of Singapore and Peking, Fudan, Zhejiang, and Tsinghua University, among others. The global consortium Universitas 21 brings together the National University of Singapore, Fudan, Peking, and Hong Kong University.

Framework agreements date from 1999, when the two Ministries of Education signed a memorandum of understanding, promoting exchanges between teachers, scholars, researchers, and students. A memorandum of understanding in 2002 formalized student exchange programs. Embracing 50 from each side, the agreements are directed at broadening China-Singapore ties, particularly among students. Chinese universities included the Beijing Language University, Beijing Post and Communication University, Beijing University for Foreign Studies, and Tsinghua University.

Institutional agreements focus mainly on business, administration, and the development of Asia-Pacific expertise. The National University of Singapore inaugurated its Shanghai College in 2003—with Fudan University and major Chinese firms. Offering Shanghai internships with high-tech companies (often international) of up to 12 months duration, students take entrepreneurship courses at Fudan (also in its own start-up companies). Courses and internships form credits toward a degree from the National University of Singapore. The International Master of Business Administration program is a collaboration between the National University of Singapore and Peking University, with modules in both English and Chinese. Again, the goal is to develop bilingual graduates, equipped with East-West business knowledge. Offered in Singapore and Beijing, full-time annual fees are \$18,000. In December 2003, Singapore's Nanyang Technology University, School of Business established a joint Executive MBA program partnership with China's leading Shanghai Jiao Tong University's Aetna School of Management. Nanyang Technology University has also investigated collaboration with Peking University and Tsinghua, in the area of humanities, as part of its plan to develop a leading Chinese studies department.

Singapore's senior civil servants can join Tsinghua University's Executive Program for Senior Singapore Civil Servants, which has been running for some years. The National University of Singapore's new (2004) Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy signed letters of intent in late 2005 with three of China's most prestigious universities: Peking University, Tsinghua University, and Fudan University. Each partner will establish double-degree public policy/public administration graduate programs; students will spend one year at their “home” institution, the second at the “partner” institution, and will earn degrees from both.

Private-sector partnerships include an exchange program of the new Singapore Management University, established in 2000 as the first publicly funded private university, with a focus on business and management. A one- or two-semester exchange is offered with three Chinese partners: Nankai University, Sun Yat Sen University, and Xiamen University. Singapore's Ministry of Trade and Industry offers Asian Business Fellowships to such exchange students.

CONCLUSION

These collaborations illustrate several key points about internationalization. First, Singapore's misplaced optimism that led to its failed science park venture in Suzhou underlines the fact that presumed cultural and linguistic affinity does not serve as an adequate basis for international partnerships (especially beyond the first-generation diaspora). Second, the fact that most of the partnerships indicated above are in the area of business and administration underlines a more widespread bias in such agreements. Thus, the prospects for developing effective partnerships in areas such as the social sciences and humanities do not appear strong. Third, the strength of regional partnerships and agreements is a refreshing reminder that not all internationalization occurs between "the West and the rest," or between elite institutions in the West. Internationalization is a broad river, with many fascinating if still largely unexplored tributaries. ■

China's Soft Power Projection in Higher Education

RUI YANG

Rui Yang is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Education, Monash University, Australia. Address: Wellington Road, Clayton, Victoria 3800. E-mail: rui.yang@education.monash.edu.au.

Commensurate with China's rise as an economic and political power has been a concurrent rise in Chinese soft power. China's emerging status as a world leader has become an issue that urgently needs to be examined. The realm of higher education has been the focus of China's most systematically planned soft power policy. Despite the significance of the subject, little attention is being directed to this rise of China's power. There has been no research on the role of higher education in China's projection and on the strategies and policy tools Beijing has used to boost its soft power through higher education.

THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER

Coined by Harvard University political scientist Joseph Nye to mean the ability to change what others do or shape what they want, the term soft power is usually defined as culture, education, and diplomacy and providing the capacity to persuade other nations to adopt the same goals. This approach has been a fundamental part of military thinking in China for over 2000 years. Generations of Chinese leaders have adopted the stratagems and long-term planning stated in Sunzi's *Art of War* of the 4th century BCE—a part of statecraft that looked to an integrated strategy to "win victories without striking a blow." Another component of the concept, moral leadership by exemplar, also resonates in Chinese tradition. A main paradigm of Chinese governance is Confucianism, which operates on a reciprocal and ethical basis. A ruler is supposed to demonstrate moral excellence, taking wise decisions on behalf of his (very rarely her) subjects, to keep the state secure and prosperous.

SOFT POWER THROUGH HIGHER EDUCATION

Today, "winning hearts and minds" still composes an important part of the international higher education equation. Educational exchange falls under the rubric of soft power. Connections between institutions of higher education are a stabilizing and civilizing influence. China has been consciously promoting international exchange and collaboration in education. Indeed, China has been skillfully employing soft power to expand its global influence. One effective policy strategy has been the combination of higher education with the appeal of Confucianism—to offer Beijing a comparative advantage in its approach.

China's soft power gambit is most evident in Africa. China has committed to contributing to the development of human resources in Africa. As of 2003, over 6,000 Africans had been trained as part of the program. Scholarships for over 1,500 African students are annually awarded by China, and many Chinese universities have established relationships with African institutions. China sent 10 teams of experts and launched 14 workshops in African countries over the past 5 years covering library science, dossier management, archaeology, biology, dance, and acrobatics. Chinese technical aid to Africa is becoming increasingly important in building China's influence in the region. Medical, agricultural, and engineering teams have provided technical aid to African countries for decades to support everything from building projects to treating AIDS patients. This support for education improves China's image, builds grassroots support in local communities, and creates a better understanding of China among the educated elite.

Soft power can be "high," targeted at elites, or "low," targeted at the broader public. Though soft power stems from both governments and nongovernmental actors, one can identify strategies and policy tools Beijing has consciously used to