

**RESTORING AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP THROUGH SCHOLARSHIPS  
FOR UNDERGRADUATES FROM DEVELOPING COUNTRIES:  
THE UNITING STUDENTS IN AMERICA (USA) PROPOSAL**

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**JOINT HEARING**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
ORGANIZATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OVERSIGHT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

AND THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION,  
LIFELONG LEARNING, AND COMPETITIVENESS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

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**THURSDAY, JUNE 19, 2008**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,  
HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OVERSIGHT,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION,  
LIFELONG LEARNING, AND COMPETITIVENESS,  
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR  
*Washington, DC.*

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. William D. Delahunt (chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight) presiding and Ruben Hinojosa (chairman of the Subcommittee on Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness) present.

Mr. DELAHUNT. The subcommittee will come to order. First of all, let me apologize for my tardiness, but I was delayed by a very good reason, which I will not disclose.

This is a joint hearing of the subcommittee with the Higher Education Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor. My friend and ranking member, Mr. Rohrabacher, and I thank Chairman Hinojosa and Ranking Member Ric Keller for helping us coordinate this hearing.

Last week, our subcommittee held a hearing on a report we issued entitled *The Decline in America's Reputation, Why?* Based on a series of some 10 hearings, which we held with prominent pollsters, the report documented the dramatic decline in international approval for American leadership from historic highs, in 2002, to the historic lows of recent days.

This decline in our reputation should trouble us, not because foreign policy is a popularity contest but because, as the Government Accountability Office found in 2005, our low standing can damage our ability to conduct foreign policy in the national interest.

As we heard from Dr. Esther Brimmer of the Center for Transatlantic Relations in our hearing last week, on policies, for example, such as sending troops to Afghanistan, friendly governments may find their populations unwilling to endorse cooperation with the United States, even on important shared goals and objectives.

In short, it is in our own crass self-interest to care what others think about the United States and our policies.

Today's hearing is about a proposal to do something about the decline in America's reputation and to restore our ability to provide global leadership. It concerns our proposal for, and this is a quote:

“Uniting Students in America, or USA, Scholarship program, whose goal is to bring 7,500 needy undergraduates from developing countries to American colleges every year to begin a 4-year program. Upon graduation, they would return with their new skills, attitudes, and, most importantly, friendships with Americans back to their home countries.”

During the series of hearings on our reputation, Chairman Don Payne of the Africa Subcommittee and I noticed that polls consistently show that people from the developing world who had visited here and interacted with Americans, as students, workers, or travelers, have favorable views about America that are some 10 percentage points higher than those who had never had that experience.

In speaking for those people who run for office, 10 points can go a long way. Remarkably, the effect was expanded by 30- or 40-fold to their extended family and friends who simply heard the positive feedback about how they were treated by every day Americans. The effect was particularly striking, by the way, in Africa, where Professor Moyler of Cornell University found that visitors and their relatives were five times more likely to express significantly higher favorability toward the United States.

So Chairman Payne and myself began asking the advice of some of our colleagues with expertise in higher education, such as Chairman George Miller and our subcommittee chair, who is here with us today, Rubén Hinojosa; and Congressman Bobby Scott, who has had a continuing interest in Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

Titles III and V Colleges. Historically, black colleges, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, and other colleges focused on students who have been subject to discrimination have expertise in guiding minority and first-generation undergraduates through college successfully, expertise that would be quite relevant to the needs of low-income students from developing countries under the USA program.

Based on our conversations and discussions, Mr. Payne and myself have drafted a concept memo that has been provided to the witnesses for their comments and will be posted on our respective subcommittee Web sites for others to review, and we welcome feedback.

Our goal is to craft a legislative proposal before the end of this session of Congress.

While today's witnesses are experts on education, from my vantage point, this is a foreign policy initiative, with a goal of strengthening our national security by establishing relationships and connections that endure for a lifetime.

This is a major program, with expenditures rising to \$1 billion a year. Of course, to put it in perspective, that is about what we



spend every 2½ days on the War in Iraq, which has contributed significantly in the erosion of our international standing.

At any one time, 30,000 USA scholars would be attending college in the United States, students from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East, who probably could not have afforded a college education at home, and even if they could have paid for college, they might have found it difficult to complete their studies since colleges in developing countries are often hopelessly overcrowded and notorious for intermittent closures due to the lack of funding.

One of the world's most respected pollsters is Dr. Andrew Kohut, the president of the Pew Research Center. When he was asked, in our hearings about traditional public diplomacy, in which the United States spends money to tell our story, he said that these programs cannot move the needle of international opinion. For that, something real has to occur in policy.

Well, we are proposing \$1 billion because we want to move the needle with real students having the best experience that America has to offer, our colleges and our universities.

Under our proposal, the scholarships would be distributed according to population. Tiny Malawi in Southern Africa would receive 1.7 percent of the 1,800 scholarships awarded annually in sub-Saharan Africa, or 33 students annually.

To have top students training throughout high school, with hopes of being one of those 33, will make the United States well known throughout that country as a caring, giving society, which we know we are.

The USA students would return after college with their new skills, their sense of achievement and of possibility, their willingness to change conventional thinking, and the can-do approach to solving problems that are promoted in American education and are part of American culture. Malawi will be the richer, and the United States, the more respected, for their successes in their careers. Like I said, this is about our own crass self-interest. This is about being smart in our pursuit of our own security.

People who are concerned about our national security get it. Let me quote Senator McCain, the presumptive Presidential nominee for the Republican Party. These are his words: "In the struggle for the future of the Muslim world, scholarships will be more important than guided missiles." Let me repeat that quote: "In the struggle for the future of the Muslim world, scholarships will be more important than guided missiles."

Of course, it would be unfair not to quote Senator Obama, since we practice fairness in this particular subcommittee, and this is what Senator Obama had to say:

"By expanding opportunities for foreign students to study at our world-class universities, we are not only promoting international dialogue and cooperation; we are also providing our own students with the exchanges that will be needed to compete in the increasingly global, 21st century. It is in our national interest to use one of America's greatest assets, our universities and colleges, to build a global future that is marked by goodwill, not by hate, and by understanding, not skepticism."

When our former chairman, Lee Hamilton, met with Members of the House for a discussion of national security, just last week, here is what he had to say when asked about this policy initiative: “I would expand hugely our scholarships.” Underscore “hugely.”

So, as we get into the details today about how to make this program work, I urge the members of the respective subcommittees to remember that this is not just an investment in our colleges and in the economic development of other countries, but it is an investment in American national security.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Delahunt follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE BILL DELAHUNT, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND OVERSIGHT, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Subcommittee will come to order. This is a joint hearing of the Subcommittee with the Higher Education Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor. My friend and Ranking Member Mr. Rohrabacher and I thank Chairman Hinojosa and Ranking Member Keller for helping us coordinate the hearing.

Last week our Subcommittee held a hearing on a report we issued, entitled: *The Decline in America's Reputation: Why?* Based on a series of ten hearings held by the Subcommittee with prominent pollsters, the report documented the dramatic decline in international approval for U.S. leadership—from historic highs in 2002 to historic lows today.

For example, in Europe, the belief that U.S. leadership in world affairs is “undesirable” nearly doubled from 31 percent in 2002 to 57 percent by 2006. Similarly, in 2002, 83 percent of countries in a world wide sample had more people expressing favorable views rather than unfavorable views toward the United States—by 2006, only 23 percent of countries sampled were more favorable than not.

Our unilateral use of military power in Iraq, and torture, abuse, and “rendition” in violation of our international treaty obligations have been deeply troubling to me, and clearly to citizens of other nations as well—even in Turkey, a longstanding NATO ally, two-thirds of citizens have such a poor opinion of us that they have come to believe that the United States is likely to attack their country in a dispute.

This decline in our reputation should trouble us not because foreign policy is a popularity contest, but because, as the Government Accountability Office found in 2005, our low standing can damage our ability to conduct foreign policy in the national interest. As we heard from Dr. Esther Brimmer of the Center for Trans-Atlantic Relations in our hearing last week, on policies such as sending troops to Afghanistan, friendly governments may find their populations unwilling to endorse cooperation with the United States even on important shared objectives.

In short, it is in our own, crass self-interest to care what others think of our policies. The Subcommittee is now preparing a second report—to assess systematically the impact of the decline in our reputation on our national interests.

Today's hearing is about a proposal to do something about the decline in America's reputation, and to restore our ability to provide global leadership. It concerns a proposal for a “Uniting Students in America,” or USA, Scholarship program—whose goal is bring 7,500 needy undergraduates from developing countries to American colleges every year to begin a four-year scholarship. Upon graduating, they would return, with their new skills, attitudes, and friendships, to their home countries.

During the series of hearings on our reputation, Chairman Don Payne of the Africa Subcommittee and I noticed that polls consistently showed that people from the developing world who had visited here and interacted with Americans as students, workers, or travelers, have favorable views about America that are ten percentage points higher than those who had never had that experience. And speaking for people who have run for office, a ten percentage point advantage can go a long way.

And, remarkably, that effect was expanded by “30 or 40 fold” to their extended family and friends, who simply heard the positive reports about how they were treated by average Americans. The effect was particularly striking, by the way, in Africa, where Professor Devra Moehler of Cornell University found that visitors and their relatives were five times more likely to express significantly higher favorability toward the United States.

So, Chairman Payne and I began asking the advice of some of our colleagues with expertise in higher education, such as Chairman George Miller of the Committee on

Education and Labor, his Higher Education Subcommittee Chairman Rueben Hinojosa, and Congressman Bobby Scott, who has a continuing interest in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), with three in his district, including 140-year old Hampton University. Title III and V colleges—historically black colleges, Hispanic-Serving Institutions, and other colleges focused on students who have been subject to discrimination—have expertise in guiding minority and first-generation undergraduates through college successfully—expertise that would be quite relevant to the needs of low-income students from developing countries under the USA program.

Based on our discussions, Mr. Payne and I have drafted a concept memo that has been provided to the witnesses for their comments, and will be posted on our Subcommittee website for others to review. Our goal is to craft a legislative proposal before the end of this session of Congress.

While today's witnesses are experts on education, from my vantage point this is a foreign policy initiative—with a goal of strengthening our national security by establishing connections that last for a lifetime. This is a major program, with expenditures rising to a billion dollars a year—of course, to put it in perspective, that is about what we spend every three days on the war in Iraq which has contributed significantly in eroding our international standing.

At any one time, 30,000 USA scholars will be attending college in the United States—students from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East who probably could otherwise not have afforded a college education at home. And even if they could have paid for college, they might have found it difficult to complete their studies, since colleges in developing countries are often hopelessly over-crowded and notorious for intermittent closures due to a lack of funding.

One of the world's most respected pollsters is Dr. Andrew Kohut, the president of the Pew Research Center. When Dr. Kohut was asked in our hearings about traditional public diplomacy, in which the United States spends money trying to tell our story, he said that these programs cannot “move the needle” of international opinion—for that, something real has to occur in policy. Well, we are proposing a billion dollars—because we want to move the needle—with real students having the best experience that America has to offer—our colleges and universities.

Since under our proposal, the scholarships would be distributed according to population, tiny Malawi in southern Africa would receive 1.7 percent of the 1,800 scholarships awarded annually in sub-Saharan Africa—or 33 students every year. To have top Malawian students training throughout high school with hopes of being one of those 33 will make the United States known throughout Malawi as a giving, caring society.

The USA students will return to Malawi after college with their new skills, their sense of achievement and of possibility—and the willingness to challenge conventional thinking and the can-do approach to solving problems that are promoted in American education, and are inherent in American culture. Malawi will be the richer, and the United States the more respected, for their successes in their careers. Like I said, this is about our crass self-interest—this is about being smart in our pursuit of our own security.

People who are concerned about our national security get it. Let me quote someone who may surprise my colleague Mr. Rohrabacher, because it is not Joseph Nye, or Zbigniew Brzezinski, or any other noted Democratic Party advocate of soft power. It is our colleague in the other body, Senator McCain, the presidential hopeful for Mr. Rohrabacher's party: *“In the struggle for the future of the Muslim world, scholarships will be more important than guided missiles.”* Let me repeat that quote from this leading Republican: *“In the struggle for the future of the Muslim world, scholarships will be more important than guided missiles.”*

Of course, it would not be fair, and we always strive on this Subcommittee to be fair, to quote one presidential candidate without quoting the other: Here is what Senator Obama has to say about our USA proposal:

*“By expanding opportunities for foreign students to study at our world-class universities, we are not only promoting international dialogue and cooperation; we are also providing our own students with the exchanges they will need to compete in an increasingly global 21st century. It is in our national interest to use one of America's greatest assets, our universities, to build a global future that is marked by good will, not hate, and by understanding, not skepticism. I commend Subcommittee Chairman Delahunt for his efforts to strengthen American leadership by providing opportunities for international students to learn and share valuable global perspectives.”*

And when our former Chairman, Lee Hamilton, met with Members of this House for a discussion of national security last week, here is what he had to say when

asked about what policy initiatives the United States must undertake in the Middle East: "I would expand hugely our scholarships, hugely."

So, as we get into the details today about how to make this program work, I urge the Members of the Subcommittees to remember that this is not just an investment in our colleges and in the economic development of other countries—but also an investment in our own national security.

I now call on Mr. Rohrabacher for his opening remarks, before turning to the Chairman and Ranking Member of the Higher Education Subcommittee.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Let me call on my friend and ranking member of this subcommittee, Mr. Rohrabacher for his comments.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Quoting John McCain. I do not know if that was below the belt or not.

Mr. DELAHUNT. A fine gentleman and a great American and a wise man on this particular issue.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. That is right. Well, he certainly knows all about missiles, all right.

First of all, let me just suggest, the chairman and I have a very good relationship, but this, unfortunately, is another one of the areas that I have strong disagreements with our chairman.

I am very concerned about this proposal. We are talking about \$1 billion to bring, over the years, 30,000 foreign undergraduates into this country. We already have close to 600,000 foreign students living here in the United States. Let me also note, we have a country where we permit over 1 million people a year, and I think it is closer to 1.5 million people a year, to legally immigrate into our country.

We have a country that represents every race and religion and culture that is a source of pride for us, and we have more and more people of every race and religion and culture coming into our country and living here. In my relatively middle-class neighborhood, there are people who speak all kinds of languages because they come from all kinds of countries, or their parents came from all kinds of countries. We have a more diverse society than just about any other country of the world.

In terms of our own involvement with others, I do not think it is necessary that we have to spend \$1 billion for that, and, as I say, we already have 600,000 foreign students here.

In addition, of course, foreign students who come here will not only be here competing for positions in our universities, but they will also be competing with American students for jobs. I worked as a janitor when I went through college. I was a janitor, and I scrubbed a lot of bathrooms, I will tell you that much, and I would think that that was a good thing that I had that job. I do not know. If we bring in 30,000 more foreign students, perhaps those jobs, like the one I had, will go to a foreign student instead of to a deserving American student. That is not a good idea.

According to the Congressional Research Service, in 1979, the total number of foreign students and cultural-exchange visas issued by the State Department Consular's Office was 224,030, and it comprised 4 percent of all nonimmigrant visas issued that year, and that was back in 1979.

In 2006, the Department of State issued 642,097 visas to foreign students and cultural-exchange visas, making up 11 percent of all nonimmigrant visas issued.

It seems to me that we have had a large leap in the number of students over the years, and it seems like it has more than doubled, and we will have to take a look at that figure, and, if so, I do not know why we want to spend \$1 billion on foreigners when there does not seem to be even a crisis in the number of foreigners coming here, if we take a look at the long run here.

So if America's image in the rest of the world has suffered so terribly and has deterred foreign students from enrolling in American universities, the numbers I just stated certainly do not suggest that. America's population, of course, has not doubled in the last 20 years, but the number of foreign students in our country has.

So why do they need a dramatic increase now? I will have to suggest that what we have is an effort by American universities, and you cannot blame American universities for watching out for their self-interests, not necessarily the self-interests of their students but of the university as an institution, and all American universities are seeking money. They need to raise money, and they look at this as a way they can piggyback on a national security issue by supporting a concept like this, and, of course, big businesses would love to have more people coming into our country in order to bid down labor costs.

I understand there is legislation that has been introduced in the House and the Senate that will also create legal pathways, or pathways for legal residence, for foreign students who are here studying in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

So you couple this program with this pathway to legal residence, and what do we have? Well, we do have a situation where we are taking from other countries their best assets. There may be some benefit to us, maybe not, as compared to providing scholarships for our own young people who are B students rather than attracting all of the A-plus students from developing countries. There may be a slight benefit to us, but it seems to me that it would be a devastating impact on the developing countries for us to try to buy off and siphon away all of the elites in their society, in terms of their educational elites.

Spending taxpayer dollars so that big companies can pay foreign workers less, or simply as a subsidy to American universities, is not a good idea. So that is number one.

Number two, this is not good for American students. My job is not to watch out for people from other countries. I am sorry. My job is to watch out for what is in the interests of young Americans instead of young people from other countries.

Now, admittedly, there is a relationship there, certainly a relationship. In the long run, we need to have a good relation with other countries, but if I am going to spend \$1 billion in order to, for example, provide that there be more math students and more science students in our country, I am going to want to provide scholarships for American students and not for those people who come from overseas, as wonderful and good people as they are.

Let me note that the maximum Pell grant that an American student can receive is \$4,731, and that is the maximum Pell grant. This proposal would, right off the bat, give \$30,000 in grant money to 7,500 students, and that would go up to \$30,000 later on. That does not make sense to me. I am supposed to be representing these

kids who are struggling to get their Pell grants, or maybe I am supposed to represent the kids who are out doing like I did, either being a janitor. I also was an ice cream scooper at Marineland's snack bar when I was in college. Those jobs and that opportunity, if we are going to focus on where it should go, I would say, let us focus on American students.

In fact, I have been the author of legislation that provides for the Federal Government—for NOAA and NASA and the various agencies that use science and mathematics—students, that they be permitted to give scholarships, full scholarships, to students so that they could then come and work for those departments and agencies.

So I would say, let us spend money on American students, and the fact is that we have plenty of people who speak foreign languages here. We have more people who speak foreign languages as their native tongue, or their parents' native tongue, than any other country in the world, and it seems to me that we do have a large number of students coming here already, which is a good thing, and vastly increasing the number of foreign students here studying math, science, and computers, et cetera, is not necessarily going to be in the interests of those other countries and may well bid down the price of labor in this country.

So with that said, I am sorry that I would have to oppose this proposal, but I am open minded to the point that I will be happy to hear what the witnesses have to say, and I would hope they would address some of the concerns that I just expressed. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank my open-minded ranking member for his comments, and now let me call upon the distinguished chair of the Subcommittee on Higher Education, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Hinojosa.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would, first, like to thank Chairman Delahunt for calling today's joint hearing on "Restoring America's Leadership through Scholarships for Undergraduates from Developing Countries: The Uniting Students in America Proposal."

International exchange of scholars enriches and strengthens our nation. The two subcommittees, the Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights, and Oversight and the Subcommittee on Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness, share an interest and responsibility for expanding opportunities for international education for visiting scholars here and for our students abroad.

After listening to Ranking Member Congressman Rohrabacher and his thoughts and his mind-set, I have to say that I am completely the opposite in thinking, and I have visited, on bipartisan congressional delegations that have gone to China and to Europe, to look at these exchange programs, these international programs, many that are being led by wonderful universities like our George Washington University, the University of Michigan, Texas A&M, the University of Texas, Johns Hopkins, many other universities abroad, and I have to say that much of what I will be saying in my opening statement will be opposite of what I just heard from Ranking Member Rohrabacher.

Our system of higher education is world renowned. It has been a magnet for the top academic talent from all corners of the globe. International education is a \$15 billion-per-year industry that has kept the United States on the cutting edge of research and innovation. The benefits of the global exchange of ideas on our college campuses are in our national interests, our economic interest and our national security interest.

Recent surveys have shown that there is an urgent need to improve America's image abroad. One of the most potent tools and long-lasting strategies to achieve this goal is to ensure that our institutions of higher learning remain open to the best and brightest from around the world.

According to the Institute of International Education, over 60 percent of all international students personally finance their own education, 26 percent is supported by U.S. colleges and universities, and only 0.6 percent is supported by the United States Government.

Given the return on investment, in terms of U.S. relationships abroad and the enrichment of the educational experience for all students in U.S. institutions of higher education, we should consider ways to increase our support for international education. The return on investment that we will get is far greater than the cost that we see that the government is making.

In our nation, we also believe that education is a great equalizer. That is something that those of us who are of the minority have seen occur throughout the country, and how those given the opportunities to go to Ivy League schools like Harvard and Yale and others that I mentioned earlier are now heading programs and doing things that the United States needs to be leaders in.

What is compelling about Chairman Delahunt's proposal is that instead of facilitating opportunities for the well-to-do or well-connected from around the world, it reaches to the grassroots level and would create a cadre of U.S.-educated individuals from struggling communities. This investment in human capital could have the power to transform those communities, improving the quality for those who live there and deepening the ties to the United States.

I also appreciate the chairman has recognized the special role that Historically Black Colleges and Universities, together with the Hispanic-Serving Institutions and other minority-serving institutions, can play in this role. These campuses have a great deal of experience in supporting low-income students. They also have a great interest in providing international educational opportunities to their students.

In the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, we have worked to make sure that our international programs in Title VI are more accessible to minority-serving institutions.

I appreciate the chairman's commitment to making sure that these institutions will be able to participate in the USA Scholars Initiative. This is a win-win for the international students and for our own institutions.

We have examples of success in providing U.S. educational opportunities to economically disadvantaged students from other countries. In our great State of Texas, we have made a regional commitment to affordable higher education on both sides of the

border, the United States and Mexico, as you will hear in the testimony from Dr. Clay of the University of Texas-Pan American.

Raising the level of educational attainment on both sides of the border is essential to support the economic development and the growth of the region.

The USA-funded Cooperative Association of States for Scholarship program, administered by Georgetown University, for international education and development is another great example. I am familiar with that program, and I have been invited to speak there at their campus, and I believe that it is one of the best.

Over the past 20 years, this program has provided scholarships and training to over 5,500 students from poor, rural areas of Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. These scholars have returned home to be leaders in economic development, education, healthcare, and other high-need areas.

For those who worry that low-income scholarship recipients will just remain in the United States, the CASS program offers powerful evidence that this will not be the case. Ninety-nine percent of the CASS scholarships return to their home country.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for unanimous consent to insert into the record written testimony from Dr. Chantal Santelices, the director of the Center for Intercultural Educational Development.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Without objection.  
[The information referred to follows:]

STATEMENT OF CHANTAL SANTELICES, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR INTERCULTURAL  
EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Chairmen Hinojosa and Delahunt and Members of the Subcommittees, I appreciate this opportunity to share with you our perspectives on utilizing undergraduate scholarships to strengthen the standing of the United States in developing countries in the hope that it will inform your consideration of ways to expand effective scholarship opportunities for undergraduates from developing countries.

For nearly twenty years, Georgetown University's Center for Intercultural Education and Development (CIED) has administered the USAID-funded Cooperative Association of States for Scholarships (CASS) program through which over 5,500 rural CASS youth, teachers and health workers have been trained in the United States and have returned to the region to promote peace and democracy and to actively engage in the development of their countries. The investment in CASS scholarships among the rural poor has had a major impact in the region and will continue to serve to strengthen the democracies in the countries served. Today, the program includes students from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Mexico.

FROM INCEPTION UNTIL PRESENT

Since 1989, CASS has provided scholarships for a total of 5,550 participants from eighteen (18) countries of Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean. The countries served have evolved as USAID priorities in the region have shifted. Of the 5,550 total scholarships, 4,107 have been for two-year technical studies, and 1,443 have been for shorter-term training of rural professionals. Courses of study are determined, in close consultation with USAID missions, based on the social and economic priorities in the home countries of the students. CASS students have studied at community colleges, technical colleges and four year institutions, with placements determined to provide quality programming in the identified fields of study and to maintain affordability.

The program is carefully targeted to serve the poorest sectors of the designated countries. CASS students are from families living at or below poverty levels, over ninety (90%) are from rural areas and fully fifty two percent (52%) of all CASS scholarships have been awarded to women. The CASS program prioritizes recruitment of indigenous and Afro-Latino youth and is the only long term scholarship pro-



gram for persons with disabilities from the region. Reaching these populations seems to us to be particularly important at a time when similar demographic groups have been key sources of support for anti-American regimes elsewhere in the region. The program, in addition to providing important skills development, gives participants an understanding and appreciation for the United States that is reflected in their post-participation lives.

Since its inception, CASS has maintained a returnee rate of over 99%. The overall CASS alumni employment rate is over 95% with over 80% working directly in their field of study. Among professional program alumni, the employment rate is 100%. Such employment statistics are particularly impressive given the overall economic conditions in a number of the countries served.

CASS is structured to be a true partnership between the Georgetown University Center for Intercultural Education and Development and the various host institutions. The program maintains small staffs in the countries served which take the lead in initiating the recruitment process through strong in-country networks that lead them to candidates atypical of many international scholarship programs, but with strong commitments to achieve and to give back to their communities. The in-country staff also manage pre-departure orientations, respond to issues that might arise while students are in the United States, and maintain strong networks of alumni, often interconnected with similar networks in other countries. Furthermore, those networks serve to advance careers and the community service undertakings of CASS alumni.

CIED Washington serves as the link between the home-country and U. S. on-campus operations and provides strong support for both. CIED provides tailored professional development for campus coordinators and faculty, assists in developing curricula that incorporate intercultural concepts important to students' success, and serves as a constant resource as students—who come from circumstances dramatically different from those in which they are studying—cope with adjustment challenges. Indeed, CIED collaborations with individual campuses has helped those campuses develop strong offices of international programming and English as a Second Language programs.

#### CASS ALUMNI APPLY TECHNICAL SKILLS TO STRENGTHEN THE WORKPLACE

The CASS program develops critical technical skills, and alumni are a key factor in the development of their countries' economies. CASS alumni are in high demand and many now occupy key managerial positions within their places of employment, both public and private sector. Annually, CASS alumni account for roughly 11,500,000 hours of highly skilled work utilizing their CASS training to the benefit of social and economic development of their countries.

For example, CASS alumni implement critical international ISO and Six Sigma quality standards which are essential to firms' ability to compete in the international marketplace. In Honduras, CASS alumni have founded the American Society for Quality (ASQ) and alumni in the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Nicaragua are following suit. The impact of CASS on quality standards has enabled many local industries to compete in the global marketplace, thereby promoting private-sector job creation.

Likewise, U.S. companies have also benefited from the CASS program. While studying in our country, each CASS participant provides a minimum of 120 hours of unpaid support through on-the-job internships with American organizations and businesses. This year, CASS scholars will provide close to 40,000 hours of unpaid internship service to American companies. Upon return, CASS alumni maintain their ties with the USA. Currently many alumni are employed by U.S. companies and non-profit organizations in their own countries, and others have made possible business relationships between U. S. firms and firms in their own countries.

#### CASS ALUMNI ARE STRENGTHENING RURAL PRIMARY EDUCATION:

Today, approximately 848 CASS teacher alumni are strengthening rural and indigenous education in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean. CASS teacher alumni have been promoted to become school directors, to lead model education training centers and to be responsible for directing teacher training and supervision of departmental primary education offices.

It is estimated that well over 100,000 children directly benefit on an annual basis from the training that CASS provided to rural teachers. CASS training has equipped teachers to identify educational problems, set priorities, and propose solutions. They are applying new methodologies to increase and improve student participation in class, resulting in better academic performance. Another major impact from CASS teachers is that parent involvement in schools has increased.

One of many examples of CASS teacher impact is Elmer Ventura in El Salvador. He is now responsible for supervising over 1,100 schools and nearly 15,000 teachers. As a result of Elmer Ventura's leadership, more than 350,000 students have received an improved educational experience over the past year.

#### CASS ALUMNI STRENGTHEN PREVENTION AND TRANSMISSION OF HIV/AIDS:

The CASS program has strengthened the skills of one hundred and twenty-six (126) HIV/AIDS nurses, social workers and doctors to prevent the transmission of HIV/AIDS amongst the highest risk population sectors in Central America and the Caribbean. On an annual basis, these CASS alumni provide over 250,000 hours of work on the job effort to combat HIV/AIDS.

These efforts are having an important national impact. In El Salvador, for example, twelve (12) CASS HIV/AIDS prevention alumni have replicated their new CASS skills by training all governmental HIV/AIDS workers employed by the Ministry of Health. In Haiti, CASS alumni are working in key AIDS prevention and treatment initiatives funded by USAID and PEPFAR such as GHESKIO, the pre-eminent HIV/AIDS program in Haiti.

The impact of CASS HIV/AIDS alumni is exemplified by Dominican Republic alumnus, Jose de la Rosa. This year he oversaw nearly 23,000 home visits to patients and has spoken at twelve conferences about the social stigma and discrimination against HIV/AIDS infected people. His training and advocacy has been so successful that he was invited to present the USAID CONECTA experience as a model project during the 38th World Conference on Tuberculosis in Cape Town, South Africa.

#### CASS ALUMNI USE VOLUNTEER SKILLS FROM THE USA TO DEVELOP THEIR COMMUNITIES

In the United States, CASS students learn the importance of volunteerism. Each semester, CASS students individually provide over 40 hours of volunteer service to American schools, veterans, food banks, and disaster victims. In fact, in the face of the flooding in Iowa as this hearing is occurring, CASS students at Scott Community College in Bettendorf are preparing to assist in post-flood clean up activities, just as CASS students took an active part in sandbagging at the time of the massive 1993 flooding. Annually, CASS students provide approximately twenty-six thousand (26,000) hours of volunteer service in their American host communities, many receiving White House citations for their volunteer work.

During their scholarship in the USA, all CASS students are required to develop a "Community Action Plan (CAP)" to be implemented in their home community. These plans have resulted in building new libraries, launching community businesses, building roads and even the electrification of alumni communities. After their Community Action Plan activity is implemented, CASS alumni continue to volunteer. Eighty-five percent (85%) of CASS alumni report that they continue to "provide volunteer service on a regular basis" in their home countries. It is estimated that CASS alumni provide approximately five hundred and sixty thousand (560,000) hours of volunteer service per year in their home communities.

In many cases, CASS alumni have founded non-profit organizations and alumni now occupy key leadership positions with US-based non-profits operating in their countries such as the Reicken Library Foundation, CARE, and Health Unlimited International.

#### CASS RESULTS IN CONTINUED EDUCATION:

The criteria for selection of CASS youth scholars is that they do not have previous university experience. Because CASS scholars are from families in poverty, a university education is, realistically, beyond their reach. However, with their newly acquired CASS skills, alumni are able to secure employment and therefore afford to continue their education. Over 3,000 of the 5,500 CASS alumni have gone on to finish Bachelors, Masters and even Doctoral degrees in their countries, thereby multiplying the investment we have made in these individuals.

#### LEADERSHIP AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY:

CASS alumni are actively involved in applying their leadership skills in their home countries. CASS alumni have been elected as mayors; others have been elected as Presidents of rural agricultural cooperatives and still others serve as elected board members of women's organizations, national disability commissions, as well as indigenous non-governmental organizations. Ninety-eight (98%) of CASS alumni report that CASS has strengthened their leadership and increased their civic participation.

CASS alumni leadership is exemplified by CASS disabled and deaf alumni. Currently in Central America and the Caribbean, most national deaf associations are being led by deaf CASS alumni. They have secured the enactment of legislation and worked on election reform in their countries. Luz Marlene, a disabled alumna from El Salvador, has led efforts to enact new disability rights programs in her country and traveled to the United Nations with the President of El Salvador to advocate for adoption of a new world-wide disability rights convention.

We are also proud that CASS alumni maintain their ties with the United States and participate in countless public diplomacy events back home. Through their careers and their community involvement, they are living testimonials to the assistance they have received from the people of the United States. They maintain relationships with their host families, campus coordinators and others in the United States, and we know that they take with them a strong appreciation of our democratic and free-enterprise values. Over the years, CASS alumni have taken an active role as goodwill Ambassadors, meeting delegations ranging from medical missionary groups to members of the US Congress, US Ambassadors and even the President of the United States.

I could share with the Subcommittees literally hundreds of stories of very particular ways that CASS alumni have made a lasting difference in the lives of their communities. I hope this testimony will be valuable as you reflect on the potential for shaping programs which open such opportunities, carefully developed so that they fulfill the goal of restoring American leadership.

Thank you.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you. In closing, I would like to welcome the witnesses and thank them for joining us today. I believe that Chairman Delahunt's proposal has promise, and I am eager to hear your views and recommendations. I look forward to continuing to work with the chairman to further develop this proposal. Thank you, and I yield back.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hinojosa follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE RUBÉN HINOJOSA, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF TEXAS, AND CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION, LIFELONG LEARNING, AND COMPETITIVENESS, COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

I would like to thank Chairman Delahunt for calling today's joint hearing on "Restoring America's Leadership through Scholarships for Undergraduates from Developing Countries: The Uniting Students in America Proposal." International exchange of scholars enriches and strengthens our nation. The Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight and the Subcommittee on Higher Education, Lifelong Learning and Competitiveness share an interest and responsibility for expanding opportunities for international education for visiting scholars here and for our students abroad.

Our system of higher education is world renowned. It has been a magnet for the top academic talent from all corners of the globe. International education is a \$15 billion per year industry that has kept the United States on the cutting edge of research and innovation.

The benefits of the global exchange of ideas on our college campuses are in our national interest—our economic interest and our national security interest. Recent surveys have shown that there is an urgent need to improve America's image abroad. One of the most potent tools and long-lasting strategies to achieve this goal is to ensure that our institutions of higher learning remain open to the best and brightest from around the world.

According to the Institute of International Education over 60 percent of all international students personally finance their education. 26 percent are supported by U.S. colleges and universities, and only 0.6 percent are supported by the U.S. government. Given the return on investment in terms of U.S. relationships abroad and the enrichment of the educational experience for all students in U.S. institutions of higher education, we should consider ways to increase our support for international education.

In our nation, we also believe that education is a great equalizer. What is compelling about Chairman Delahunt's proposal is that instead of facilitating opportunities for the well-to-do or well-connected from around the world, it reaches to the grass-roots level and would create a cadre of U.S. educated individuals from struggling communities. This investment in human capital could have the power to transform

those communities, improving the quality for those who live there and deepening ties to the United States.

I also appreciate that the chairman has recognized the special role that Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Hispanic-serving Institutions, and other minority-serving institutions can play in this effort. These campuses have a great deal of experience in supporting low-income students. They also have a great interest in providing international educational opportunities to their students. In the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, we have worked to make sure that our international programs in title VI are more accessible to minority-serving institutions. I appreciate the chairman's commitment to making sure that these institutions will be able to participate in the USA scholars initiative. This is a win-win for the international students and for our institutions.

We have examples of success in providing U.S. educational opportunities to economically disadvantaged students from other countries. In Texas, we have made a regional commitment to affordable higher education on both sides of the border as you will hear in the testimony from Dr. Clay of the University of Texas Pan American. Raising the level of educational attainment on both sides of the border is essential to support the economic development and growth of the region.

The USAID-funded Cooperative Association of States for Scholarship program administered by Georgetown University's Center for Intercultural Education and Development is another example. Over the past 20 years, this program has provided scholarships and training to over 5,500 students from poor, rural areas of Central America, Mexico, and the Caribbean. These scholars have returned home to be leaders in economic development, education, health care, and other high need areas. For those who worry that low-income scholarship recipients will just remain in the U.S., the CASS program offers powerful evidence that this will not be the case. 99 percent of the CASS scholars returned to their home country.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for unanimous consent to insert into the record written testimony from Dr. Chantal Santelices, the director of the Center for Intercultural Educational and Development.

In closing, I would like to welcome the witnesses and thank them for joining us today. I believe that Chairman Delahunt's proposal has promise and am eager to hear your views and recommendations. I look forward to continuing to work with the chairman to further develop this proposal.

Thank you and I yield back.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Rubén. I want to note the presence of two other colleagues that serve on the Education and Labor Committee, the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Tierney; and the gentleman from Connecticut, Mr. Courtney.

Mr. Tierney, would you care to make any comment? No? Mr. Courtney?

Mr. COURTNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Just briefly, I wanted to just make an observation, which is that, as we are sitting here, there are madrassahs in the Middle East that are using the opportunity to get young minds and young people into an educational program. Unfortunately, it is an educational program that, in too many instances, preaches a message of hate, misogyny, anti-Americanism, and poses a threat, I think, long term, to our country that is, in many instances, even more profound than military weapons and national security forces that are arrayed against our country.

This program, this idea, is exactly what this country needs to counter that threat. I would encourage Mr. Rohrabacher, who I have heard on the floor many times and enjoy listening to, to read the book, *Three Cups of Tea*, which talks about efforts by NGOs from America to try and expand secular education in the Middle East and different parts of the world and how critically important that is, particularly for young women in the Middle East who are shut out from educational opportunity.

This measure, which is before us today, is, I think, a smart, cost-effective way to deal with that issue.

Finally, I want to just say that, in terms of the threat to Pell grant, which Mr. Rohrabacher posed, we are here today with Mr. Hinojosa, who led the way last year to unfreeze the Pell grants, which the minority had left at \$4,000 a year for 6 solid years.

We expanded it to \$4,700 because Mr. Hinojosa and our subcommittee crafted the College Cost Reduction Act, directed \$20 billion into Pell, cutting the interest rates for the Stafford Student Loan program, and did it in a way that challenged not sort of a cheap, populist message about foreign students versus American students, but going after what I think was wasteful taxpayer subsidies to the banking industry.

We are now going to continue to expand Pell over the next few years because of Mr. Hinojosa's leadership. We, frankly, need to invest more, but this is not the trade-off that should be posed as somehow a threat to expanding opportunity for low-income students.

So I want to thank Mr. Delahunt for holding this hearing today, and I look forward to the testimony of the witnesses.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Courtney.

Let me just also note, and I would be remiss, if I did not, the leadership of Mr. Hinojosa and the chair of the full committee, Mr. Miller, on raising the cap, if you will, on Pell grants. I know they intend to continue to pursue that because, clearly, that is a national priority.

Let me now proceed to introduce our witnesses. Each brings a special expertise in their ability to discuss the importance and the practicalities of this proposal. Now, they have extensive biographies, so I am going to try to summarize them.

Let me begin, from my left, with George Scott, who is the director of the education team at the Government Accountability Office, which has conducted a study for the subcommittee on current government-funded, undergraduate scholarships for international students, of which it turns out that there are virtually none.

Then let me welcome Dr. DeLauder, who is the former president of Delaware State University and is now the counselor to the president of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. He serves on the Board for International Agricultural Development, which advises the Agency for International Development, and on the International Education Panel of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Education, which represents 118 Historically Black Colleges and Universities. He also has a strong background and interest in African higher education.

Ms. Rachel Ochako is a scholarship student from Kenya who attends a fine institution in Vermont, Middlebury College, through the Davis United World College program, and since I happen to be an alumnus of Middlebury College, as well as a member of the Board of Trustees of that institution, I expect all of the questions that are posed to this particular witness will be very pleasant ones. Her story is a wonderful story.

Philip Clay is the director of International Admissions and Services. Mr. Hinojosa?

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt you for a moment?

Mr. DELAHUNT. You can.

Mr. HINOJOSA. It is most unusual for us to have joint meetings of two big committees like you are seeing here today, and also it is always an honor for me to see someone from my congressional district to be invited to come before a congressional panel like ours. May I have the pleasure of introducing Dr. Clay?

Mr. DELAHUNT. I yield to my friend.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you. Mr. Clay is currently director of the Office of International Admissions and Services at the University of Texas-Pan American in Edinburg, Texas, where I graduated with my M.B.A., and I am very proud to be an alumnus from your university. This gentleman has 20 years of experience in the area of international education, both in the U.S. and abroad.

For 15 of those years, he has been involved in the area of international admissions and immigration advisement. He has extensive experience working with lower-income students from Latin America.

He also is the coordinator of the Border County program for the University of Texas-Pan American. This is a program that was developed by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board to encourage students from Mexico with limited financial resources to enroll in Texas public institutions for higher education and to facilitate in the completion of undergraduate and graduate-level programs.

Dr. Clay has studied and lived in Central America. He has also worked in the area of international education in Costa Rica, and I thank you for accepting our invitation to come and be one of the witnesses. I yield back.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Next, we have David North. Mr. North, welcome. He is a longstanding analyst of immigration policy who has done studies for a number of U.S. agencies and is the author of a book entitled *Soothing the Establishment: The Impact of Foreign-born Scientists and Engineers on America*.

Last, but certainly not least, Dr. Philip Geier is the executive director of the Davis Scholarship program. He has been a close consultant as we prepared this proposal, and he has spent his entire career in international education, and we are grateful to him for all of the time and effort he has expended in helping us with this concept memorandum.

So let us begin from my left and go to the right. George, Mr. Scott, let us begin with you, and if you could limit your time to somewhere between 5 and 10 minutes. We run it loose here, but since this is a panel of six, we would appreciate it if you could be concise. If you would proceed, please.

**STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE SCOTT, DIRECTOR, EDUCATION, WORKFORCE, AND INCOME SECURITY TEAM, GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE**

Mr. SCOTT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Chairman Delahunt, Chairman Hinojosa, and members of the subcommittees, I am pleased to be here today to discuss the State Department's efforts to improve America's global image by funding higher education for undergraduate international students.

In the aftermath of September 11th, the United States tightened its immigration policy and made it more difficult for foreign nation-

als, including international students, to apply for a visa. In the years immediately following September 11th, the U.S. experience a slight drop in international student enrollment for the first time in over 30 years. While enrollment numbers have started to improve, they have not returned to pre-September 11th levels.

Overall, the U.S. provides significant funding to attract international students to fill critical skill gaps. In recent years, international students have earned about one-third or more of all U.S. degrees at both the master's and doctoral levels in several of the science, engineering, and math fields. However, other countries' governments have begun to more proactively market their universities to international students while expanding efforts to retain their own students.

My testimony today outlines the international student programs funded by the State Department and provides preliminary information about the efforts of other countries to attract international students. A major goal of the State Department programs is to foster a sense of common interests and values between Americans and people throughout the world. While these programs are important, the vast majority of international students entering the U.S. are not funded primarily by the U.S. Government.

In summary, as part of its public diplomacy efforts, the State Department funded eight programs for about 320 undergraduate students in Fiscal Year 2007. Combined funding for these programs totaled approximately \$12 million. In general, these programs cover a range of student expenses, including airfare, tuition and fees, room and board, and living stipends. Most of these programs provided funding for a relatively small number of students. Specifically, five of the eight programs funded undergraduate education for 12 or fewer students.

Two of the primary programs were the Eurasia Undergraduate Exchange program (UGRAD), which funded about 170 students, and the Near East and South Asia Undergraduate program (NESA), which funded about 30 students. UGRAD, the largest of State's programs, in terms of funding and enrollment, offers students from Eurasia the opportunity to spend 1 academic year in the U.S. studying a range of topics and seeks to promote cultural understanding.

Although State's programs target students from all regions from the world, they tend to attract students from a few countries in Europe or South Central Asia.

We are also reviewing other governments' efforts to attract international students to their countries. For example, the Prime Minister's Initiative 2 in the United Kingdom targets over 20 countries, including China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Ghana.

France has close ties to North Africa, where it is creating specialized education and supporting a major network of preparatory classes.

In an effort to attract international students, EduFrance partners with 177 member institutions of higher learning that pool their experience and expertise to assist foreign students.

Moreover, other countries have developed different ways to fund and administer these programs. For example, in France, many grants are made available through bilateral assistance programs,

in which grants are jointly funded by France and a foreign government.

In New Zealand, for example, a nongovernmental agency administers and funds awards to students from a variety of developing countries.

In conclusion, funding undergraduate education for international students is one component of a larger strategy the U.S. has in place to achieve public diplomacy objectives. Although the number of undergraduate students served by State Department programs is small, a large number of international students continue to enter the country each year to study in our universities.

As the U.S. continues to evaluate and refine its programs and policies to attract international students, our ongoing work for the subcommittee will explore what lessons we can learn from other countries.

Mr. Chairman, this concludes my statement, and I would be happy to answer any questions you or other members of the subcommittees may have at this time. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Scott follows:]



United States Government Accountability Office

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Testimony before Congressional  
Committees

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## HIGHER EDUCATION

# United States' and Other Countries' Strategies for Attracting and Funding International Students

Statement of George A. Scott, Director  
Education, Workforce, and Income Security Issues



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GAO-08-878T

June 19, 2008

HIGHER EDUCATION

United States' and Other Countries' Strategies for Attracting and Funding International Students



Highlights of GAO's report, which makes recommendations to Congress and the President

Why GAO Did This Study

In the years following September 11, 2001, the United States experienced the first drop in the number of international students coming to the United States in more than 50 years. The United States and other countries have made it more difficult for foreign students to apply for visas and admissions. GAO identified the gaps that the United States is experiencing. While enrollment numbers have declined in recent years, they are expected to rise by September 11, 2011.

This testimony includes information on the United States' role in international education. It includes information on the U.S. Department of State's role in international education, including information on the U.S. Department of State's role in international education, including information on the U.S. Department of State's role in international education.

What GAO Recommends

This testimony makes and presents recommendations.

For more information, contact GAO's Director of International Education at (301) 305-3400 or gao@gao.gov.

What GAO Found

The U.S. federal government seeks to improve global attitudes towards America through a variety of diplomatic means, including funding study for international students inside the United States. Such study, which is funded primarily through the U.S. Department of State (State), is aimed at fostering a sense of common interests and values between Americans and people throughout the world. However, this funding is one component of a larger effort to attract international students, with funding for the vast majority of students coming primarily from sources other than the federal government. GAO identified the following about the efforts of the U.S. Department of State and other countries we are reviewing as part of ongoing work with respect to funding study for international students:

- State funds a small number of programs having a public diplomacy focus, which bring a small number of international students to the United States for undergraduate study. Specifically, State funded eight programs for 321 undergraduate students in fiscal year 2007. Combined funding for these programs totaled approximately \$11.7 million. These programs allow undergraduate students the opportunity to study in both 2-year and 4-year institutions, with some leading to a degree. While State's programs target students from all regions in the world, participants typically come from only a few countries in Europe and South/Central Asia.
- As part of our ongoing work, GAO has been reviewing other countries' governments' efforts to attract and fund international students. International comparative analysis is complicated by different countries' national objectives and funding structures. The countries we are reviewing employ various strategies to attract diverse international student populations but also fund and administer programs in different ways. We will be learning more about these other countries' efforts as we continue our work. We expect to issue a report on our findings in early 2009.

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Chairman Delahunt, Chairman Hinojosa and Members of the Subcommittees:

I am pleased to be here today to discuss the federal government's efforts to improve global attitudes toward Americans by funding higher education for undergraduate international students. In the years following September 11, 2001, the United States experienced a slight drop in international student enrollment for the first time in over 30 years. In the aftermath of September 11, the United States tightened its immigration policy and made it more difficult for foreign nationals, including international students, to apply for a visa. These actions may have fueled the perception that the United States is unwelcoming. While enrollment numbers have started to rebound, they have not returned to pre-September 11 levels.

The U.S. government seeks to improve global attitudes toward America through a variety of diplomatic means, including funding study for international students inside the United States. A major goal of these programs is to foster a sense of common interests and values between Americans and people throughout the world. The United States provides significant funding to attract international students to the United States to fill critical skill gaps, particularly in the science, engineering, and math fields. However, our review focuses on the programs funded and administered by the Department of State (State) that have as a goal improving relationships among the United States and other countries.

Mr. Chairman, you asked us to look at Department of State programs that support international undergraduate students studying in the United States. My testimony today outlines the types of international student programs funded by the Department of State and provides preliminary information about the types of efforts other countries' governments have in place to attract international students. My remarks are drawn from previous GAO work on global competitiveness and higher education, supplemented by ongoing work for the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Subcommittee on International Organizations, Human Rights and Oversight. We conducted this performance audit from October 2007 to June 2008, in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards. Those standards require that we plan and perform the audit to obtain sufficient, appropriate evidence to provide a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives. We believe that the evidence obtained provides a reasonable basis for our findings and conclusions based on our audit objectives.

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In summary,

- The Department of State funds eight programs having a public diplomacy focus, which bring 321 international students to the United States for undergraduate study. These programs allow undergraduate students the opportunity to study in both 2-year and 4-year institutions, with some programs leading to a degree. While State's programs target students from all regions in the world, participants typically come from only a few countries.
- International comparative analysis is complicated because of differences in countries' recruitment objectives and higher education funding. Specifically, countries we are examining as part of ongoing work employ various strategies to attract a diverse set of international student populations, and they fund and administer these programs in different ways.

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## Background

Following the events of September 11, 2001 the total number of international students studying in the United States leveled off and even dropped slightly after 2001 (see fig. 1). According to the Institute of International Education, the decline in the number of international students attending U.S. higher education institutions between 2002 and 2003 was the first drop in over 30 years. Further, the U.S. share of international students worldwide dropped substantially between 2000 and 2005 (see fig. 2). Although international student enrollment in the United States shows signs of rebounding, many in the international community continue to view the United States as unwelcoming. According to the Pew Global Attitudes Project, since 2002 the United States' image has declined in both the Muslim world and among many of America's oldest allies. In the wake of September 11, the United States also tightened its immigration policy and made it more difficult for foreign nationals, including international students, to apply for a visa. For example, face-to-face interviews were mandated for most applicants, and the number of security reviews for students and scholars in certain science and technology fields increased. As we previously reported, these changes, made to help protect our nation's security interests, may have contributed to our declining share of international students and the perception that the United States was not a welcoming place for international students<sup>1</sup>. Another factor that

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<sup>1</sup>GAO, *Higher Education: Challenges in Attracting International Students to the United States and Implications for Global Competitiveness*, GAO-07-1047T (Washington, D.C.: June 29, 2007).

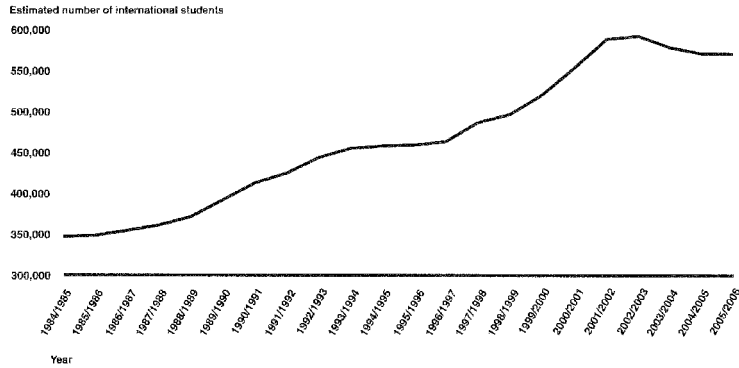
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may be contributing to the decline is the financing structure in the United States that makes the cost of attending college in the United States among the most expensive in the world.<sup>2</sup> Among Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, the U.S. ranks second with respect to public university tuition and first with respect to private university tuition. Some OECD countries provide free or relatively low-cost higher education for undergraduates. Moreover, other countries' governments have begun to more aggressively market their universities to international students while expanding educational opportunities in their own countries to retain their students. Greater competition has prompted some countries to offer courses in English, expand their recruiting activities, and develop strategic plans or offices focused on attracting international students.

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<sup>2</sup>GAO, *Higher Education: Tuition Continues to Rise, but Patterns Vary by Institution Type, Enrollment, and Educational Expenditures*, GAO-08-245 (Washington, D.C.: Nov. 28, 2007).

**Figure 1: Estimated Number of International Students Enrolled in U.S. Higher Education, 1984/1985 to 2005/2006**



Source: Institute of International Education (IIE) data.

The U.S. government seeks to improve global attitudes toward America through a variety of diplomatic means, including funding education for international students in the United States. Many of these programs are administered through the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and are part of the federal government's effort to help foster a sense of common interests and values between Americans and people throughout the world. One component of this strategy includes funding study for undergraduate international students seeking to study in the United States. However, this is just one component of a larger public diplomacy effort. For example, State also administers and funds student exchanges, language acquisition, and programs for high school students. In addition, the federal government also provides funding, particularly at the graduate level, to attract international students to fill critical skill gaps. In recent years international students have earned about one-third or more

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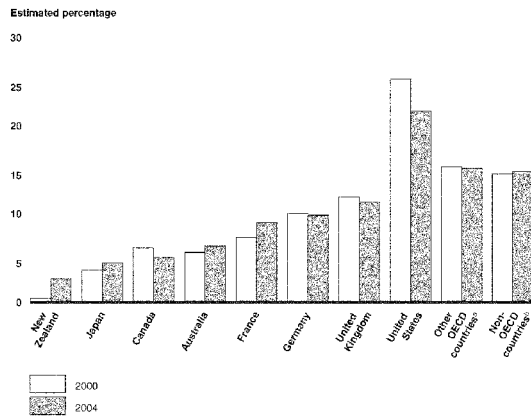
of all of the U.S. degrees at both the master's and doctoral levels in several of the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields.<sup>3</sup>

While State's undergraduate programs are an important component of the U.S. government's public diplomacy effort to introduce international students to the United States, the vast majority of international students entering this country are not funded primarily through the federal government. According to the Institute of International Education's Open Doors 2007 report, approximately 583,000 students came to the United States to study during the 2006/2007 academic year and more than three-fifths of all international students reported their primary source of funding for education as coming from personal and family sources. Many students also received funding directly from host universities, while less than 1 percent of all international students received funding primarily from the U.S. government. Although the primary source of funds for the vast majority of students that enter the United States is not provided by the federal government, students funded through other sources indirectly support U.S. public diplomacy efforts.

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<sup>3</sup> GAO, *Higher Education: Federal Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics Programs and Related Trends*, GAO-05-114 (Washington, D.C.: Oct. 12, 2005).

**Figure 2: Estimated Percentage of All International Higher Education Students Enrolled in a Selection of Countries by Destination, 2000 and 2004**



Source: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) data.

Note: Information in this graph includes only those countries for which both 2000 and 2004 data were available, except for Canada, for which the year of reference is 2002. GAO did not assess the reliability of the data for the percentage of students enrolled in schools outside the United States. Also, the definition of international students is not uniform across countries.

\*Other OECD countries include Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

\*Non-OECD countries include Brazil, Chile, India, Malaysia, the Russian Federation, South Africa, and others.

Moreover, U.S. universities have increasingly established branch campuses overseas, providing another means through which to introduce international students to U.S. culture and values. For example, Education City—an educational complex in Qatar—now houses branch campuses of six U.S. universities, allowing students to get an American-style education



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without having to leave their country.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, in the United Arab Emirates, Michigan State University has begun offering courses that will lead to degrees that are equivalent to those offered by the university in the United States. Even in countries where U.S. universities have little or no physical presence, students increasingly have access to U.S. postsecondary education through the Internet.

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### State Funds a Small Number of Undergraduate Programs for International Students

As part of its public diplomacy efforts to fund longer-term study for undergraduate international students in the United States, State funded eight programs for 321 undergraduate students in fiscal year 2007.<sup>5</sup> Most of these programs provided funding for a relatively small number of students. Specifically, 5 of the 8 programs fund undergraduate education for 12 or fewer students. Two of the primary public diplomacy programs were the Eurasia Undergraduate Exchange Program (UGRAD), which funded 171 students, and the Near East and South Asia Undergraduate Program (NESA), which funded 29 students. UGRAD, which has funded nearly 4,000 participants since its inception in 1992, offers students from Eurasia the opportunity to spend 1 academic year in the United States studying in a diverse range of programs. Its objective is to promote cultural understanding between Eurasia and the United States. NESA provides students with one semester to 1 academic year scholarships that can be used at accredited 2- and 4-year academic institutions in the United States. The program seeks to increase mutual understanding between young emerging leaders in these countries and the United States. A third program, the Community College Summit Initiative, offers students pre-academic English language training and one-year certificate programs at U.S. community colleges. However, its primary objective is to develop students' skill sets that enable them to participate in the economic development of their countries.

As shown in table 1, combined funding for these programs totaled approximately \$11.7 million and varied across these eight programs, ranging from \$5 million for the UGRAD program to \$197,600 for the U.S.-South Pacific Scholarship Program. On a per student basis, the average funding across the programs was lowest for both NESA and UGRAD—

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<sup>5</sup>The six American universities are Virginia Commonwealth University, Weill Cornell Medical College, Texas A&M University, Carnegie Mellon University, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, and Northwestern University.

<sup>6</sup>The Fulbright Afghanistan Program closed after 2007.

about \$29,000 per student – and highest for the U.S.-Timor-Leste Scholarship program—about \$100,000 per student. In general, according to State Department officials these programs cover a range of student expenses including airfare, tuition and fees, room and board, and living stipends.

**Table 1. - Characteristics of U.S. Department of State programs in FY 2007 that fund academic year or longer U.S. undergraduate education for international students<sup>a</sup>**

UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS	Number in Program	Degree Granting?	School Type	Budget Allocation	Average Per Student	Region of Origin
Eurasia Undergraduate Exchange Program UGRAD - (1 acad. year)	171	No	2- or 4-year	\$5,000,000	\$29,240	Europe South/Central Asia
South Pacific Scholarship Program - NEA (2- or 3-year)	21	No	2- or 3-year	\$538,012	\$25,620	Near East South/Central Asia
Fulbright Trans-Sahara Program (2 academic years)	12	Yes	4-year	\$579,624	\$47,552	Sub-Saharan Africa
European Undergraduate Exchange Program (2- or 4-year) (2007-08 only)	8	Yes	2- or 4-year	\$574,328	\$71,791	Europe
U.S.-Timor Leste Scholarship Program (up to 4 academic years)	5	Yes	2- or 4-year	\$500,000	\$100,000	East Asia/Pacific
U.S.-Cyprus Undergraduate Exchange Program (2- or 3 academic years)	1	Yes	2-year	\$197,600	\$197,600	Near East/Pacific
Cyprus-America Scholarship Program (up to 4 academic years) <sup>b</sup>	10	Yes	4-year	\$380,000	\$38,000	Europe
Community College Undergraduate Exchange Program (2- or 3 academic years)	81	No	2-year	\$3,000,000	\$37,149	Near East/Pacific Europe South/Central Asia South America
<b>Total Funding for Undergraduate Programs</b>				<b>\$11,672,194</b>		
<b>Total Number of Undergraduate Program Participants</b>					<b>321</b>	

Source: Department of State data.

**Notes:**

- a. A number of programs not presented here whose participants enroll for less than one academic year. In addition, the Community College UGRAD and NEA programs all enroll large numbers of such students. See the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs Internet page for further information.
- b. The NEA program awards semester and academic year scholarships. Participant totals and funding above reflect academic year students only. Total program funding for both semester and academic year participants was \$1,638,000 (\$2,211,077 for 195 NEA students; \$796,999 for 41 NEA students).
- c. The Fulbright Afghanistan Program closed after 2007.
- d. The U.S.-South Pacific Scholarship Program awards scholarships for both undergraduate and master's degree study. Participant totals and funding reflect undergraduate students only. Total program funding for both undergraduate and master's participants was \$194,000 for five students.
- e. The Cyprus-America Scholarship Program is funded via ESO transfer from I.SAID.
- f. The Community College program is a pilot program initiated in semester 2007. The program is projected to enroll an additional 300 students in FY 2008.

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The UGRAD, NESA and Community College Undergraduate Summit Initiative programs do not allow participants to receive a degree.

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### State Programs Draw Students From a Small Number of Countries

Although State programs target students from all regions of the world, they tend to attract students from specific countries. The largest program in terms of both funding and enrollments—UGRAD—draws students only from Europe and South/Central Asia. Moreover, when looking at enrollment across all programs, only students from certain countries participated. Students from sub-Saharan Africa, for example, participated in only two of the eight programs. Similarly, students from South America participated in only one program and all of the students came from just one country (Brazil). In addition, relatively few of the students came from the Near East region (which spans northern Africa and the Middle East).

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### Other Countries Use Various Strategies to Recruit and Retain International Students

As part of its ongoing work, GAO has been reviewing other governments' efforts to attract international students to their countries. We are analyzing countries with the largest populations of international students in 2005 according to OECD data. International comparative analysis is complicated because countries employ various strategies to attract diverse international student populations and also fund and administer programs in different ways. For example, the Prime Minister's Initiative 2 in the United Kingdom targets over 20 countries, including China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and Ghana. France has close ties to North Africa, where it is creating specialized education, notably in management, and supporting a major network of preparatory classes for the local and French Grandes Ecoles (Morocco, Tunisia). In their efforts to attract international students, EduFrance partners with 177 member institutions of higher learning that pool their experience and expertise to assist foreign students. The organization also has offices abroad (88 offices in 37 countries) in partnership with diplomatic posts, institutes and cultural centers, and French language schools.

Moreover, these countries have developed different ways to fund and administer their programs. For example, in France many grants are made available through bilateral assistance programs, in which grants are jointly financed by France and a foreign government. New Zealand's International Aid and Development Agency, a nongovernmental agency, administers and funds both short-term and long-term awards to students from developing countries, while China's College Scholarship Council administers undergraduate programs of up to 4 years in length, which are available to

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students from various countries based on bilateral exchange agreements. Last year in Germany, 269 undergraduate students from North America participated in the Research Internships in Science and Engineering (RISE) program. The RISE program is supported by the German Federal Ministry for Economics and Technology, and by large industry organizations in Canada, Germany, and the United States. RISE is administered by the German Academic Exchange Service's (DAAD), Germany's national agency for the support of international academic cooperation. DAAD has five strategic goals, including increasing the appeal of Germany's higher education systems among students, academics, and scientists from around the world. To achieve these objectives, Germany has established an organizational structure to administer a variety of international education programs. Similarly, the European Commission established the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, in part, to implement the European Union's 5-year, 296 million euro<sup>8</sup> Erasmus Mundus program.

We will be learning more about these other countries efforts as part of our ongoing work. We expect to report on these findings in early 2009.

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Mr. Chairman, this concludes my prepared statement. I would be happy to respond to any questions you or other members of the subcommittee may have at this time.

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## GAO Contacts

For further information regarding this testimony please contact (202) 512-5932. Individuals making key contributions to this testimony include Sherri Doughty, Carlo Salerno, John Brunnet, Daniel Novillo, Chris Lyons, Eve Weisberg, Rebecca Rose, Susannah Compton, and Alex Galuten.

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<sup>8</sup>According to the European Commission, the Erasmus Mundus budget is 230 million euros for 5 years (2004-2008), plus 66 million euros for student scholarships for citizens coming from a range of specific countries. For more information, see [http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/mundus/programme/facts\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/mundus/programme/facts_en.html)

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Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Scott. Dr. DeLauder, if you would proceed.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. DELAUDER, PH.D., PRESIDENT EMERITUS, DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES**

Mr. DELAUDER. Good morning. Mr. Chairman and Mr. Rohrabacher and distinguished members of these two subcommittees, I thank you, first, for inviting me to be a part of this conversation about a very interesting program in which we use scholarships for undergraduate students from developing countries as a means of promoting part of our diplomacy to improve our image around the world.

I want to commend you, Mr. Chairman, for the hearings that you held prior to this, in which you obtained some very valuable information on how the rest of the world views the United States, that led to the idea that this is a foreign policy issue that supports national security, and I commend you for the foresight which you have in putting together this program.

I believe that the whole issue of the mobility of students, of students coming to this country to study and American students going to other countries, that there is a broad consensus around the country that this is a viable way in which we can improve relations around the world. Our national leaders have indicated, on a number of occasions, the importance of the exchange of students, the exchange of ideas as a means of improving the family of nations around the world.

You mentioned the two presumptive candidates that have already expressed their support to this idea and most of our previous Presidents, likewise. President George W. Bush has recently mentioned the importance of student exchanges, and Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and the Secretary of Education have co-hosted at least two Presidential Summits, in which they have brought leaders of our academic institutions to Washington to talk about and encourage the exchange of students.

So this whole issue of mobility of students is a very important issue, but it is a two-way mobility. It is important for more of our students to be able to study abroad, and it is important for more international students to come to this country.

I should mention to you that I was the executive director of the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship program, a bipartisan commission that was appointed by President Bush and the majority and minority leaders of both the House and Senate, that did put together a program to address the issue of increasing the number of American undergraduate students who do study abroad.

That idea and that program are embodied in a piece of legislation now that sits in the full Senate that has been passed by the House, that has been through the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, and that we are hopeful will be passed by the Senate before the end of this session. It is called the Simon Bill, after former Senator Paul Simon, who was a great internationalist and who pro-

moted the whole idea of trying to better educate the American citizens about international issues. So the two-way idea is important.

The Simon Bill is important because we do need to increase the number of our undergraduate students who study abroad. The latest information—and this data is collected by a group called the Institute of International Education that is headquartered out of New York. The abbreviation is IIE, and they publish annually a report called Open Doors, in which they try to do an analysis of the number of our students who study abroad and the number of international students who come to this country.

The recent report, which was published in November 2007, indicated that we have just under 225,000 American students who study abroad. I think it is about 223,000. We have about 583,000 international students who come to this country to study abroad, and about 40 percent of those students are undergraduates and about 45 to 46 percent are graduate students.

So we do need to greatly increase the number of our undergraduate students who study abroad because 223,000, out of almost 16 million college students in this country, is a very small number. It represents less than 2 percent of the undergraduate population.

So the higher education community, and I understand that you also, Mr. Delahunt, and others, are supportive of the Simon Bill and the need to increase the number of students who study abroad in this country. Your proposal is the other part of this two-way street, and we are very supportive of the idea, and our institutions are looking to increase more international students coming to our institutions in order to study.

So it is important for us to look at a means by which we can help, particularly, needy students to come to this country and, particularly, from developing countries because when we talk about enhancing the image and reducing the misunderstandings between peoples of the various nations, we probably have the greatest misunderstandings between peoples of this country and peoples from developing countries.

So the more that we can expose our students, our future leaders, to individuals from other countries, and the more that we can expose other countries with our potential leaders, people who are being educated and who will be our future leaders, then it will certainly help, I think, to promote better understanding. Some people call that “educational diplomacy,” in which we have an opportunity to impact the diplomacy of this country and improve our image around the world and, therefore, improve our public policy.

I think this program also serves a development issue because I think that development, in terms of developing countries, does help to improve the image of this country abroad. And even though it helps improve the image, we know that, particularly, in sub-Saharan countries, and you had mentioned it, I think, in your comments, about the need to educate more Africans, that the universities in sub-Saharan Africa are understaffed, that they are over-enrolled, that they are lacking the facilities that we have, that they have other issues, in terms of funding, and that they have to turn around thousands of students who are qualified to take on a college education but cannot do so because the institutions are not able to



accommodate those students. So I think this will help in that area as well.

There might be some consideration also to including some graduate students as well, and I mention that because one of the big issues that we have in many developing countries, particularly for sub-Saharan Africa, is the fact that many of their faculty are not trained at the doctoral level, and there is a need for many of them to be trained at the doctoral level, and there was a time in this country when we were doing a lot of doctoral training of international students, particularly in the seventies and the eighties, and most of those students did return to their home countries. I think USAID surveys show that 90 percent of them did return.

I thank you for mentioning the Historically Black Colleges and Universities because we believe that because of the nature of their missions, that they are in a unique position to be able to accommodate students coming from other countries, needy students, and to better accommodate their needs, and I wanted you to know that our institutions, our Historically Black Colleges and Universities, are open to that.

I should mention that the organization that is the organization of our historically and predominantly black institutions, the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) has just completed a survey of the capacity of Historically Black Colleges and Universities in international education, looking at language-training programs, looking at international studies programs, looking at study abroad, and they will be issuing a report in August of this year that I think will be helpful in better indicating the capabilities of these institutions in serving this need.

There are some technical issues in the legislation that, I think, will need to have some consideration. One is the cost issue, the \$30,000 that has been identified, because if, in fact, institutions are going to have to do all of the things that are expected and are proposed in the concept paper, covering tuition and fees and room and board, books, transportation, helping with internships, and so forth, then I think that you are going to find that, for many institutions, even though \$30,000 sounds like a lot for a fellowship, it is not going to cover that cost.

If institutions have to then make up the difference in the cost, then you are going to eliminate a number of institutions who could really serve well in working with students because they just are not going to have the resources to make up for that difference.

So there may need to be some work done and look at the different scenarios that will address the issue that relates to cost.

There are perhaps some other issues that relate to admissions, and maybe my colleague who talks about admissions may say something about that to ensure that we have a process that will facilitate these students, in terms of their applications for admission and the means in which they get the fellowships and are able to come to this country.

It was not clear totally to me, in the proposal, whether or not you are going to accommodate both students at 2-year and 4-year institutions. It appears as though there is a big push, obviously, for students to get bachelor's degrees in 4-year institutions, but I was not completely clear, in the way the language was written, as to wheth-

er or not 2-year institutions were also going to be a part of the proposal.

I would just point out those suggestions as areas that you and your staffs might want to look at. Any assistance that we can give in that respect, we would certainly be available to do that.

I would just conclude, Mr. Chairman, again, by commending you for your foresight and for your colleagues' foresight in putting together this proposal that addresses the issue that I believe, if implemented, will help us, in terms of the public image that we have around the world, which we know has been greatly tarnished in recent years, and will give us an opportunity where, if we combine it with the Simon Bill, and I consider the two efforts to be complementary, the Simon Bill will allow more of our students to contribute, in terms of that educational diplomacy, by studying abroad, but also helping to build their competencies as citizens who have to participate in a globally competitive society, and also to assist, in terms of African universities, to better understand this country, to be exposed to American democracy, to be exposed to our institutions, and we believe, as past history has shown, that they will get a better image of this country.

Then I would just thank you again for giving me an opportunity to come and be a part of this conversation.

[The prepared statement of Mr. DeLauder follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM B. DELAUDER, PH.D., PRESIDENT EMERITUS, DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE, COUNSELOR TO THE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the subcommittees, thank you for inviting me to present my views on the "Restoring America's Leadership through Scholarships for Undergraduates from Developing Countries: Uniting Students in America (USA) Proposal" and on the role that scholarships for undergraduate study in America for needy students from developing countries might play in promoting the interests of both the United States and developing countries.

I commend the Chairman and others involved for bringing forth this USA proposal.

I believe that there is a broad consensus around the country that student mobility contributes greatly to fostering goodwill and better understandings between nations. Some have called this a form of educational diplomacy. To be effective it must occur both ways—i.e., more American students studying abroad and more international students studying in this country.

As stated in the Report of the NASULGC Task Force on International Education, "The goodwill and strong personal ties to this nation built through generations of students coming to our colleges and universities from around the world are important underpinnings of U.S. foreign relations."<sup>1</sup> Former Secretary of State Colin Powell expressed it this way: "International students and scholars enrich our communities with their academic abilities and cultural diversity and they return home with an increased understanding and often a lasting affection for the United States. I can think of no more valuable asset to our country than the friendship of future world leaders who have been educated here."

On several occasions, President Bush has expressed his commitment to student exchange programs. On November 13, 2001, President George W. Bush said: "We must . . . reaffirm our commitment to promote educational opportunities that enable American students to study abroad, and to encourage international students to take part in our educational system."

According to the Open Doors 2007 Report of the Institute of International Education (IIE), 223,534 American college students studied abroad in 2005–06.<sup>2</sup> This represents less than 2 percent of the total enrollment in our colleges and universities. There are a variety of reasons why many college students don't study abroad,

<sup>1</sup> Report of the NASULGC Task Force on International Education, October 2004.

<sup>2</sup> Open Doors Report 2007, published by the Institute of International Education (IIE).

but lack of finances is one of the major challenges.<sup>3</sup> That is why the Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act (H.R. 1469), that awaits action by the full Senate, is so important. The implementation of the Simon Act, which follows the recommendations of the Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, will both increase the number of American college students studying abroad and increase the diversity of students studying abroad. Thus other countries will see and experience the diversity of the American people. Most of U.S. higher education considers the Simon Bill a top priority.

The USA Program addresses the need to increase the number of international undergraduate students studying in the United States. The focus on needy students from developing countries is noteworthy because that is where, I believe, we have the greatest misunderstandings, i.e., between the American people and people from developing countries.

The Simon Bill and the USA Program complement each other. The Simon Bill opens up study abroad opportunities for American students who may not otherwise be able to afford to study abroad. The USA Program will open up doors for needy students from developing countries who may not otherwise have an opportunity to obtain both an international experience and a college degree. The USA Program also serves a development purpose because many developing countries lack the capacity to accommodate all highly qualified students who seek a college degree. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, many universities are overenrolled, understaffed, and under-funded. In an attempt to meet some of the growing demand for higher education, education quality has been greatly diminished.

Our colleges and universities are both committed to increasing the number of U.S. students studying abroad and to increasing the number of international students who study in their colleges or universities. The latter point is supported by the current Open Door's data on international students.

The Open Doors Report 2007 indicates that 582,984 international students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities in the 2006–07 academic year. According to the report, 40.1 percent of the students were enrolled in undergraduate programs and 45.7 percent were enrolled in graduate programs. The leading place of origin of international students in the U.S. was Asia with 344,495. The numbers of international students from Latin American, Africa, the Middle East, Central America & Mexico were 64,579; 35,802; 22,321; and 19,743, respectively.<sup>4</sup>

To be effective, students who participate in the USA Program must return to their home country in order to spread goodwill and to pursue their careers with a better understanding of the United States. There is data that shows in past U.S. sponsored programs that targeted graduate students, a high percentage of students returned to home country. I, however, have been unable to find similar data for undergraduate students.

There are some technical issues that will need to be addressed in the USA Program as proposed. I will point out two:

- (1) At most 4-year institutions, the single payment of \$30,000 per student will not be sufficient to cover all of the expenses proposed, i.e. room and board, travel, books, pocket money, etc. This will mean that the institution will need to cover the balance of the cost. This will be a problem for some institutions, including historically Black institutions and other small institutions.
- (2) It is not clear whether the proposed program includes attendance at either a 2-year or 4-year institution. On this issue, there are inconsistencies within the proposal that should be addressed.

I would like to point out that development activities also support a better understanding between the partner countries and also address a need within the developing country. There is a great need among African countries, in particular, to have more persons trained at the graduate level. Many African universities have severe faculty shortages and in many cases have a need for more faculty educated at the doctoral level. You may wish to consider including some fellowships at the graduate level along with the undergraduate fellowships.

In conclusion, student mobility has proven to be an excellent way in which to foster goodwill and understandings between countries. The USA Program therefore should contribute to improving the image of the United States abroad and thereby improve our diplomacy abroad. As several studies have shown, our image around

<sup>3</sup> Global Competence & National Needs: One Million Americans Studying Abroad, the final report of the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, November 2005.

<sup>4</sup> Open Doors Report 2007, published by the Institute of International Education (IIE).

the world is badly tarnished. International students who study in one of our colleges or universities will have an opportunity to meet and talk with American students and others from diverse backgrounds, to experience the diverse American culture, to learn about American democracy, to learn about American institutions, and to obtain a valuable undergraduate education that will be a strong asset in their life pursuits. Many of these students are expected to become future leaders within their respective countries. They will bring with this new responsibility a better understanding of the United States that should enhance their countries' relationships with the United States.

The USA Program is an important program and I wish for you success in moving this program forward.

Thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to appear before these distinguished subcommittees.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, thank you so much, Dr. DeLauder.

Let me note for the record that I am an enthusiastic supporter of the Simon Bill, and you are absolutely correct. That is the other half. My excitement to combine both of these efforts has no boundaries because I really do have a profound belief that, with this effort, we can do more, in terms of public diplomacy, and I love your term, "educational diplomacy." I will plagiarize it in the future when I speak on this subject.

Mr. DELAUDER. I would say, Mr. Chairman, it is not my original idea, but it was included.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, I will attribute it to you from now on, then. But thank you.

Now, Ms. Ochako.

**STATEMENT OF MS. RACHEL C. OCHAKO, SCHOLAR, DAVIS UNITED WORLD COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROGRAM, MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE**

Ms. OCHAKO. Good morning. It is an honor, indeed, to be before you, Mr. Chairman, and the rest of the esteemed members of—

Mr. DELAHUNT. Can you speak a little more into the mike?

Ms. OCHAKO. Sorry. I was just saying it is an honor to be before you, Mr. Chairman and other members of the two subcommittees present here today and the audience, too.

As you heard, my name is Rachel Ochako. I come from Kenya. In Kenya, I live in a very small town called Kilifi, a very beautiful town with a very warm, friendly community. In Kilifi, every day at noon, I am used to seeing a swarm of students running out of primary school, running for their 1½-hour lunch break. This is never really the same case with high school students nor high school leavers.

At home, I am used to seeing high school leavers sitting under the shade. It is a very hot town. DC is probably nothing close to it—it is on the coast—and, at this hour, you will find the girls who have left high school probably preparing lunch, and, for the boys, relaxing under the shade, you know, just passing time, waiting to see what happens the next day.

This is the case for the common man in my town. I am part of the common man. We wait for 2 years to get into a university, and, for most cases, we probably cannot even pay for the public universities because the costs are high.

In Kenya, primary education is free, but once you go beyond primary education, many people are stuck. You do not know what happens after that. This was my case.

I come from a family of four. My father died before I got to primary school, and I had a mother and a younger brother. At the age of 13, my mother died, and I was left with myself and my brother.

Since then, I have realized a different burden of death. There is death, where you feel the sorrow of losing someone you are closed to, and then there is the burden of death of supporting yourself after that. I had no means of supporting myself. I had accommodations from my relatives. However, the one difficulty was my education.

Even as I am here right now, we are still struggling to support my brother's education. There are well-wishers who come up once in a while, but he is still struggling.

I am fortunate. I am here on a full scholarship at Middlebury College in Vermont. It is such situations that make you realize how important it is for such a proposal to be successful. I have been fortunate. Doors have opened. Opportunities have opened up for me.

Once I left high school, I applied to many scholarships I saw in newspapers. I applied to scholarships, international and local. I only heard back from one organization, which is the United World College that Dr. Geier works for. I got accepted to join a United World College in Singapore to study IB (International Baccalaureate), which is a pre-university program, for 2 years. I accepted the offer very enthusiastically, even though I had no idea what the IB was, and I had no idea where Singapore existed on the map. I was not sure it was in Asia. I did not know. I got on the plane, "Where are you going to take me?" and I land there.

The reason why I took this opportunity so willingly is because I knew, even without this, I am still going to be stuck. I have no way forward.

The opportunity I had in UWC opened up greater doors for me. After my UWC education, I got the Davis Grant to attend the college I am in right now in the U.S. This is how important such scholarships are. They open one door, and they keep on opening a door. It is somewhat a multiplier effect.

Now, you might ask yourself, there is the benefit of education, but I have a greater benefit. I have received an international education. This is what is key. This is one benefit I treasure. It is priceless, and that is very sincere.

You know, coming from a very rigid education in Kenya, where you are basically reiterating all that the teacher says back on your exam paper and all that you read in books, in the exact way it is written in the textbook, I have been able to sit in a classroom here in the U.S. where the discussion in the class is two ways, not one way. I am able to question a teacher's comments without fear of prosecution effect, a bad effect, on my grades.

This is what makes such an education priceless. If this proposal is supposed to make the leaders that are going back to the different developing countries, this is education that is an asset, to make the bright leaders that you are taking back. It is this coagulation of ideas that you get here.

It is somewhat like a soup. When you are making a soup, you have to add salt, you have to add tomatoes, you have to add all of these vegetables. Then it makes a soup, a good soup. If it is just water, it is not soup. You have to put in all of the right things.

In the U.S., in Middlebury College, I am in class with people who are liberal, some conservative, and then there are all of the international students with completely different viewpoints, but you agree to disagree.

When you agree to disagree, you are creating ideas that are stronger, and this is what you are taking back. This is what such an education is going to take back to the developing countries.

It is this broadened horizon and colleges' open-mindedness, and this is what is most important to me while I am here. At Middlebury College, I am focused on studying African studies and economics. Before, I dreamt of studying medicine. This is a prestigious career back home. But now I understand, after taking an African politics class, I understand the politics of Africa in a way I had never seen before. My eyes have been opened to see tyranny in Africa, which is a sad story, something you want to see a change in.

I am not saying I will get into politics, but I want to be an agent of change in that area, and, more so, I want to be an agent of change to create policies to protect children, especially orphaned children, for I know how much difficulty you can go through in such a situation.

Just to respond to something Mr. Rohrabacher commented, there was an argument of you are bringing in the cream of the countries to the U.S., and they are staying here. I would strongly like to disagree with that. I think there are many international students here who feel the call to work with their countries.

As I am talking right now, I have a roommate from Afghanistan who has returned to her country for the summer, for 3 weeks, to have her own project. Before I came to Middlebury College, I deferred a whole year, and I went back to Kenya to take—project in rural Kenya, not even in my own hometown, in a different tribal town, to take part in education, and I committed a whole year to that.

This is what you are instilling in international students who will benefit from this proposal. I believe in this proposal, and I am sincerely grateful to Chairman Delahunt. It is inspiring to see the amount of commitment and effort you are putting into such a proposal. I believe in the future of this proposal, and, in this, I know there is peace and progress that is going to come out of such leaders instead of money- and power-minded leaders coming out of it.

Just to conclude, I am going to add a comment made by Mr. Shelby Davis, the philanthropist who pays for most of my school fees in the U.S. A peer of mine asked him, "Why is it that you would spend this amount of money on a single student from a developing country, yet you could as well use this money to build a billion schools in places like Africa or other developing countries?"

And Mr. Davis stood back and told my friend, "Well, I would rather invest on this one student to receive an international education, not a local education. Let the student receive an international education, and understand how important international understanding is, and they return back to their country and make a greater difference than being open to only a local education."

This is the benefit. This is how he sees the benefit, and he has seen it. That is why he is increasing his scholarships. There is no

reason why the U.S., as privileged as it is, should not open up its doors to offer such opportunities.

I look forward to your questions, and I look forward to answering them. I am looking forward more to see the reality of his proposal out of paper and in action. Yes, I am very grateful for your time.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Ochako follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MS. RACHEL C. OCHAKO, SCHOLAR, DAVIS UNITED WORLD COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROGRAM, MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE

I am truly grateful and honored to receive this opportunity to speak before this committee and more so to take part in a discussing a proposal that aims to improve America's Global Reputation by providing undergraduate scholarships to deserving International students from developing Countries as explained by the 'Uniting Students in America (USA)' proposal.

My testimony today will be an explanation from a personal point of view on the greater benefit this venture will have on many intelligent youth who have limited opportunities to further their education for various reasons. These students could be orphaned, or reside in areas prone to detrimental diseases like malaria and typhoid hence most finances are spent on health care. Others shelter in refugee camps where an advanced education is rarely an option. However, it is also important to realize that not all students face such challenges which are often assumed to be omnipresent in developing and third world countries. Even for the middle and upper class in many developing and third world countries, many still find the fees for an international student in the US to be unfeasible even with years of monthly wages saved. This is the reality.

I do not live in extreme poverty, nor am I homeless, nor am I from a natural calamity prone area. However, I am still similar to the people facing these challenges for we are all looking for options to further our education. I have a full comprehension of what a barrier my education would have faced if it were not for immense scholarships I have received.

Even though it is undeniable that this huge federal expenditure on International Students being advocated in the 'Uniting Students in America' proposal will have a powerful positive outcome on the global reputation of the USA, I strongly believe that in a similar manner it is undeniable that the benefits for these youth, their families and their countries of origin are copious. The United States is immensely privileged, with high standards of education, and with resources that surpass those of many developing and third world countries. You have the means to act to make many student live through my experience, in which I have seen and am still seeing the benefits to my life. It is undisputable that this proposal will be of greater good than harm to those who will receive this sponsorship to attend undergraduate studies in the US.

In my testimony, I will offer unshaken support for the 'Uniting Students in America' proposal through my personal experience. It is said that experience is the best teacher; I therefore hope my experience will hold an upper hand in this discussion.

*For many students in Kenya, just as me, life has innumerable hurdles making life a daily struggle. Education, as essential as it is, remains the greatest hurdle, for its costs are enormous.*

I am a student who has gone through most of my education on scholarship. I have grown up in a family of three, my mother, myself and my brother. This is not a special case, as single parenting is common all over the world regardless of the economic strength or weakness of the particular country. My mother passed away before I got to thirteen years of age. Since then I have lived with three different guardians, and I am fortunate in comparison to the hundreds of orphaned children left homeless. I have also been more fortunate to have received sponsorship for my education through a government bursary which was not sufficient to cover the full costs but the bursary<sup>1</sup> still lightened the burden. In Kenya many needy children still miss out on this opportunity for reasons like corruption or insufficient availability of these funds.

I have grown up to see the loss in death. Death not only brings sorrow but also a struggle to not only succeed but try to survive, especially when it is the death of a sole provider of a family. My brother and I have been unendingly dependent on outside sources of finances for our education after my mother's death. It is hard

<sup>1</sup>A government scholarship granted to students in need. In Kenya it is based on your constituency and school. Some constituencies get higher bursaries handed out than others.

to live under someone else's care other than your parents. It is even harder to hope that finances will come through that will allow the completion of education so as to make the most of life.

*International understanding and the benefits*

When I completed my high school, I dreamt of becoming a pediatrician. While growing up, studying medicine was considered to be a prestigious career. After high school, I was selected by the Kenya National UWC committee to attend the United World College of South East Asia (Singapore) on a full scholarship. Here I studied the IB (International Baccalaureate). This is when my dream began to detour. I began to realize the difference between the commonly labeled "successful careers" and careers that yield success, careers that change lives. While in Singapore, I was exposed to a diverse international body and a community that strongly encourages positive involvement in both the local and international community. My eyes were opened to see the power found in the youth, to create positive change. It was this attitude that encouraged me to take a year off before joining Middlebury College in the US and take part in a project in western Kenya (Kiritu). This is the benefit of an education that allows international understanding. I will not claim to see no value in studying medicine, as these are the people who we are consistently dependant upon for health care. However, I will claim to have a better understanding now on what career I would like to see myself involved in a career that is self-satisfying but also yields satisfaction to others, without societal influence especially in terms of the prestige.

It was while I was in Singapore that I realized the societal differences between Africa and Asia, especially economically and culturally. I also realized that poverty is not a problem that is common only to Africa, but also exists in other parts of the world. This I grasped when I left my country and ventured into a different world. If we can all use products from different parts of the world through international trade, there is not reason why we should not understand the cultures and economics of these "other" countries.

*Receiving a 'less rigid' education and the benefits.*

I am currently attending Middlebury College as a rising sophomore. I am a recipient of on a scholarship most of which is a from a Davis Grant award of 40,000 US Dollars. If I was asked to return to University in Kenya, I would accept, but with a slight resentment. Why? As demanding as my college experience has been so far, I have thoroughly felt academically enriched. I have exceedingly enjoyed learning in classrooms where the discussions lack boundaries. I treasure sitting in seminar room where my very knowledgeable professor discusses the political issues of my home country in a manner very unfamiliar to me. I have been in classes where economic policies are debated and we, the students, are not penalized for disagreeing with the professor.

It is this aspect of education which I have attained outside my country that brings out the beauty, worth and true purpose of education: *it is meant to be a coagulation of ideas originating from multiple directions regardless of whether these ideas are in agreement or disagreement.* In this age when the rest of the world is aware of the high poverty levels in many third world and developing countries, there are communities, international organizations and countries working to improve this situation. One answer is in provision of education, but a better answer is in provision of an all-round education. If the youth who are always referred to as 'the leaders of tomorrow' are educated through systems that do not permit them to question society, then how will these leaders gain the courage to resist conformity and negative influence? It is such an education that begins to build the skills in the future leaders—not necessarily executive leadership in terms of presidency, but also at local levels. For example a local primary school headmaster can question corporal punishment for school children and instead opt for more humane methods of punishment. Such a line of thought is not encouraged to the maximum in rigid education systems. Education through an international system will therefore create broader perspectives for students. This is essential as it will enrich their leadership qualities. Such a program will succeed in creating leaders who will not act in complete disregard of foreign techniques and ideas, nor persistently attempt to conform to societal expectations. This can be achieved through an international education, and more so through a liberal arts education.

I am African. I can therefore only speak of a place I have had experience with: Kenya. In my hometown we need youth who are able to question the ways of society. Questioning normality stimulates progress. I live in a country where corruption is incessantly crippling many livelihoods. If education does not entirely encourage and permit the new generation of leaders to create better policies that will curb cor-



ruption, then it is not a successful education system. Such openness is very limited, especially in the local schools in Kenya, which educate most Kenyan students. Having exposure to an American college would definitely change such occurrences, and provide not only an ability to reiterate knowledge taught in class and read in books, but also to think critically about knowledge received.

From a personal point of view, I realize now that my previous silence was among many other silent voices in my country and other countries like mine. We are silent because of fear or we are ignorant of the unfolding of events. We need to speak up for I believe that being granted an opportunity to experience an international system of education in the US can be a major step to achieve positive change among the youth in developing countries.

*Education and long term effects (Opportunities)*

In Kenya, we often say “*Elimu ni kifungu ya maisha.*” This is a Kiswahili saying that translates to ‘education is the key to life’. I strongly concur. Especially for the needy students, education is the only way break them out of this cycle of poverty. Education is the key that opens the door for opportunities. If the US government agrees to sponsor students from developing countries, this will be an investment that will have a great result the recipients of this scholarship in the long term. Through their education, they will own the keys that open the doors of skilled job opportunities. I have more peace in my heart for I know I will be employed in my area of academic specialization.

In conclusion, I can only agree with what Franklin Roosevelt, one of this country’s most loved presidents, once stated:

*“The school is the last expenditure upon which America should be willing to economize.”*

Education is more than a necessity; an appropriate all-round education is more than a privilege. This is one commitment that the US government need not debate about. The benefits are enormous, not only to the image of the US but in a greater scale to the recipients of these scholarships and to their countries who will receive the benefit of their education. This is not an expenditure that should be economized, but instead maximized. However many, the US government will have given enabled the eyes of these students observe their countries and the world through different lenses be it culturally, socially, physically, religiously and economically among other differences.

I want to see the US become part of the penetrating arms that are stretched out in provision of an opportunity to students from other developing countries to have an invaluable experience. If Mr. Shelby Davis, who has already offered scholarships to over two hundred international students just last year, has seen the benefits and is still opening up more scholarships, why should the US, which is one of the richest countries, deny itself such an opportunity to create positive change?

I am still receiving education nine years after my mother’s death through financial support of well wishers, but mostly through scholarships. I am not doubtful of future employment opportunities because my degree and further studies will allow me employment in vast sectors of the economy. I know I can become involved in various activities back at home and influence some positive changes because I have tasted vast worlds and therefore have a better judgment. I love and I am immensely proud of my home and my country, which is why I would be passionate to be one of those who make a difference. This is the benefit to me and to my community and country. This is why I believe in this proposal in discussion today—because I have seen the benefits.

Thank you so much for taking your time to read through this written testimony. I look forward to hearing any questions, comments or any further discussion. More than this, I look forward to seeing this proposal become a reality.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, thank you, and we are very grateful for your very powerful testimony. You are right, Ms. Ochako. It is about international understanding. That is what educational diplomacy is about.

Mr. Clay, please.

**STATEMENT OF MR. PHILIP O. CLAY, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL ADMISSIONS AND SERVICES, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-PAN AMERICAN**

Mr. CLAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished subcommittee members, for the opportunity to address you this morning.

This type of program, we feel, will be a tremendous asset to our universities, as we have this interchange between American students and our foreign colleagues, our international students who are coming in. Yes, we have this on a basis right now, but the majority of students that are coming in are from upper-class or upper-middle-class families, not the low-economic, needy students who would never have such an opportunity as this to come to the United States.

We look forward to having this participation with the government in seeing that these kinds of students can come in and interact with our American students to bring this knowledge, this experience-based opportunity, to learn not only of the upper-class students that have come in with plenty of money but also to know the typical student from another country who struggles, like many of our students do, to pay their bills, whose family struggles to meet their needs, who can come in, have an American education, and interact with our students.

It is part of the educational experience of our students that is necessary, to be able to interact on that level. It is also through this opportunity of knowing our students, the American students, that these students have access to learn of our strongest asset in our country, the American student.

As they interact with our students, they learn not the governmental face of America, but they learn what the typical American is like, and it is this image that they carry back to their country, not the image of the government but the image of the typical American. I feel that that is why this program is so important for us, as a country.

One of the things I wanted to address is that the majority of American universities have in place an infrastructure necessary for these types of programs. We already have international students coming in. We are set up to do immigration advising. We are set up to do housing. We are set up for all of the essentials that this program will provide. We can meet those needs of these international students that will be coming in under these programs.

There are some additional things that would be required that would be a minimum of cost to the institution itself. The infrastructure is already in place.

One item that we do see with this program that would need to be addressed would be the item of these students returning to their home country. Under the current visa types that they have, at this moment, the F-1 or J-1 visas, a large majority of the students come into the United States, get their 4-year degree, and then they immediately file for an H-1B or a TN visa, which allows them to stay inside the United States, a working visa.

So many of these students do not return to their home countries, and that would be one weakness of this program because the program is to train them here to get their degree and send them back

as advocates to their home countries. If they stay here, that purpose is defeated.

So one of the issues that would have to be addressed, either a new type of visa or a new category of visa or some new type of annotation on the F-1 or the J-1 visa that would mandate that they return to their home country, if they participate in this program. The current F-1 visa and the current J-1 visa allow for exceptions, allow for waivers, but this type of program needs to have some type of visa that would mandate, compel them to return to their home countries, if it is to be a success.

Another weakness perhaps that would deal with this program would be how to determine economic necessity. I understand it would not be the role of the institutions themselves that are currently involved in a similar type of program, which is the Texas Border County program, where we assess the economic need of Mexican nationals who are coming here to study.

One of the problems we have come across, not only our institution but as a State, is how do we determine economic necessity? How do we determine the financial need of these students? We have come across many times where these students are aware that the program is based on economic necessity, so accounts are hidden, and there is no way for us to know. There is manipulation, there is fraud, and there is no way to determine exactly, from our institutional point of view. How can we determine exactly what their true financial need is?

I understand that perhaps this would be on the part of the Department of State that would be doing this, but there would still be that same issue: How do you prevent fraud?

Many students, if they can save thousands of dollars, their families are going to do everything possible so they can qualify for this program. It is typical to think that way. It is very common to think that way.

I think it is necessary that the committee evaluate this, not only the visas but also how to determine the economic necessity of a family.

I am giving you the nuts and bolts. My colleagues here have given you an overview of all of the good, positive things. I work in the office, day to day, the immigration admission stiles.

One of the other things that would need to be addressed would be exactly the process through which this program would go and the application process.

Currently, as it is set up, the student would apply for admission to the university, the university, once it accepts a student, the student would go back to the program and say, "I have been approved for admission." Depending on the amount of time that it would take, this could cause delay in the admissions process, and it could cause denial of visas because it is not done in a timely manner.

So I would like for the committee, if possible, just to look at the timelines that it would take and perhaps encourage these students, if the program goes forward, that they need to apply early to these universities. They need to apply early in the process to this program in order to that everything can be done in a timely manner and that the visa be approved.

As I said, our university, like most universities, I think, would be very much in favor of a program like this. We value the interaction of our students. We value our campus being internationalized by these students.

If you have any questions, I would be happy to answer your questions. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Clay follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. PHILIP O. CLAY, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL  
ADMISSIONS AND SERVICES, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS-PAN AMERICAN

INTRODUCTION

Thank you, Mr. Chairmen and distinguished sub-committee members for the opportunity to address these committees today. My name is Philip Clay, and I am privileged to serve as the Director of the Office of International Admissions and Services at the University of Texas-Pan American in Edinburg, Texas. The University of Texas-Pan American is the 10th largest university in the state of Texas and the fifth largest in the University of Texas System. We are a university with an enrollment of almost 17,500 students. We are second in the nation in the number of bachelor's degrees awarded to Hispanics, fourth in the number of master's degrees awarded to Hispanics, and seventy-seventh in the number of doctoral degrees awarded to Hispanics. We currently enroll 1000 international students from 47 different countries. Being a university only 17 miles from the Texas-Mexico border, seventy-five percent of our international student population is made up of Mexican Nationals.

I come before you today to express appreciation to the members of the committees for considering the USA Scholarship Program. This type of program will give our university and other institutions the opportunity to partner in this experience with government agencies. As we know, the United States has one of the world's largest and finest university systems with outstanding programs in virtually all fields. U.S. degrees are recognized throughout the world for their excellence.

The potential of this program is huge, particularly in its value of dispelling negative attitudes towards the United States that currently exist in some regions of the world. Through a cooperative effort, such as the USA Scholarship Program, we, as Americans, can reduce the negative opinions and harsh criticisms of American policies and leadership that have increased in foreign countries in recent years.

During my 20 years of working in international education, I have seen personally how international education changes the lives of those students who have had the opportunity to come to the U.S. to study. Not only do foreign students coming to America gain new language skills and knowledge about the American culture but also they obtain a better understanding and appreciation of our values. It is through their chance to study in America that they have the opportunity to come to know our strongest asset—the American people.

In building relationships with Americans, foreign students are exposed to the values, beliefs, and pride which characterizes and shapes our country. Looking at America through the lens of personal experience, these students return to their home countries, not as adversaries, but as advocates for America. It is through their testimony and their advocacy that the image of America changes, for they speak with an integrity that no American could possibly possess—the integrity of “one of their own.”

This morning, I would like to address several items which are relevant to the “Restoring America's Leadership Through Scholarships for Undergraduates from Developing Countries: The Uniting Students in America (USA) Proposal.”

The first item is that that many American institutions of higher learning are ready and eager to participate in this joint effort with the government agencies indicated. Most universities already have well-established international offices which not only help in the immigration advisement part of the student's stay but who are also set up to assist the student in housing, transportation, medical insurance, cultural orientation, banking services, and other practicalities of everyday life. In our university, our international office is the first face of America with which the foreign student comes in contact. In this initial contact, an impression will be made that will influence to some extent all succeeding impressions of our country. Our staff is trained to help foreign students navigate through all the international admission processes to the point where they have successfully been admitted.

Once admitted, the school immigration documents (I-20 or DS-2019) are issued, which are part of the necessary requirements for students to apply for a visa at the

U.S. consulate in their country and a pre-arrival packet of information explaining the visa application process. Upon arrival at our university, community volunteers are available to provide airport pickup services, if the student so desires. This is the second face of America that the student sees—the “typical American.”

Upon arrival at the university, our international office provides an International Student Orientation, which covers many aspects of the student’s new stage of life in the U.S. This orientation covers immigration, cultural, and practical matters. The international office also has student activities planned throughout the course of the semester which permit the foreign student to interact not only with other international students but also with his/her American counterparts. In the past, our international office has also had a Host Family Program in which American families volunteer to spend time with an international student during weekends and on holidays.

Our university, as well as all institutions which enroll international students, are authorized by the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State to enroll such students and are required to monitor them through SEVIS (the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System). As stated before, American institutions of higher learning already have in place programs and processes in place that will enable them to be an active participant in the USA Scholarship Program.

The second item for discussion deals with the area of visa qualifications for international students who will participate in the USA Scholarship Program. Under current regulations, visa applicants have a responsibility to prove they are going to return to their home country after their time of study in the U.S. Immigration law requires consular officers to view every visa applicant as an intending immigrant until the applicant proves otherwise. Section 214(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act states: *Every alien shall be presumed to be an immigrant until he establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer, at the time of application for admission, that he is entitled to a nonimmigrant status . . .*

The primary reason that most international students are denied a student visa is the inability to meet the requirement that “the prospective visitor or student possess a residence abroad he/she has no intention of abandoning.” The consular office looks for evidence of “strong ties” to their home country, which would compel them to leave the U.S. at the end of the temporary stay and return home. “Ties” are defined as family, possessions, and opportunities which would compel one to return to his/her home country. Family, in and of itself, is not seen as a sufficiently “strong tie” that would compel students to return to their home country.

Seeing that the target recipients of the Uniting Students in America Proposal are “needy international students from developing countries,” there exists the problem of how these students would be able to demonstrate such ties and therefore qualify for a non-immigrant visa. The “strong ties” for such students might not exist.

One possible solution is the creation of a separate visa category that would mandate that the student leave the U.S. upon completion of study. This would enable the student to overcome the INA 214 (b) hurdle.

Another common issue that occurs, after having obtained obtain a student visa and enrolling in a U.S. university, is that a large percentage of international students do not return home after their completion of studies. Instead, many opt to file for an employment-based visa such as the H-1B or TN visa. The option of doing this would undermine the purpose of the USA Scholarship Program.

In order to circumvent this issue, if a new visa category was created that would prohibit the student from remaining in the U.S., it could also include a provision that would prohibit the student from applying for a change of status upon obtaining a degree. A second option would be to require a minimum home country requirement, similar to that of some of the Exchange Visitor visas, but without the option of requesting a waiver of this condition.

Both of these options would eliminate the possibility of the student remaining in the U.S. once they have completed their degree. In order to succeed in its purpose, the USA Scholarship Program must assure that it includes a provision to compel students to return to their country of origin.

The third area that I would like to discuss is that of our experience with a similar “needs-based” program that is currently offered by the State of Texas. The “Border County Program” was a program created with the purpose of encouraging students from Mexico with “limited financial resources” to enroll in certain Texas public institutions of higher education (*Texas Administrative Code Chapter 21. Subchapter BB*). A student is eligible, if he/she: (1) is a citizen of Mexico, (2) meets the admissions requirements and any restrictive enrollment criteria of the institution in which he/she enrolls, (3) enrolls on a full-time basis, unless fewer hours are needed for graduation, and (4) shows financial need after the financial resources of the foreign student and the student’s family are considered in keeping with Board guidelines. If

a student meets these requirements and qualifies, he or she is eligible to pay tuition rates as a resident of the State of Texas, instead of non-resident tuition rates, that an international student would be subject to paying.

Our university currently has 340 students participating in the Border County Program. In order to qualify, students submit an application along with documents giving a complete picture of their financial situation. Such documents include, but are not limited to, tax documents, pay stubs, bank statements, saving account statements, and copies of monthly bills. A review of all documentation is conducted by our office to determine if the family has indeed demonstrated "financial need." If a family is unable to establish financial need, it does not qualify and must pay tuition at a non-resident rate. If a family is able to establish that there is financial need, the family will qualify for the program.

The greatest difficulty for our office is determining the veracity and completeness of the financial documents submitted with the application. Since families are aware that the program is based on financial need, it has been discovered that some families do not document their complete income or do not disclose all of their bank accounts. This is an area of difficulty that the Uniting Students in America Program also may encounter.

In order to be successful, I feel that the Uniting Students in America Program must have in place a sound process that will enable the selection committee to determine "financial need" while at the same time eliminating fraud.

The fourth item that would need to be addressed is the amount of additional time that would need to be allocated for the granting of the USA scholarship to eligible students who have been admitted to partner institutions. This additional time could create a significant delay that may conflict with university deadlines for issuing immigration documents. It would also create an additional workload for admissions processes in partner institutions since a large number of candidates may apply and be accepted but then not receive the scholarship. It should be noted that candidates for the USA scholarship should be encouraged to begin the application process well in advance of the institution's application deadlines.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I want to once again express that we see programs of this nature as an investment not only in changing the world's perspective of America, but also an investment in the security of our country as American-educated students assume roles of leadership in their countries.

Mr. Chairman, I want to thank you and the other Members of this distinguished Subcommittee for the chance to appear before you today. I would be happy to answer any questions you have.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, thank you, Mr. Clay, and the issues you raise are very valid, and we will welcome your continuing input in helping us address them because, as you suggest, the devil is in the details.

This is going to require work, and it is going to require a continuing collaborative effort between these committees. In fact, it is going to be the Education Committee that will take the lead role, in terms of the development of this program. But thank you for raising those issues.

Mr. North?

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID S. NORTH, FELLOW, CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES**

Mr. NORTH. Mr. Chairman and members of the committees here assembled, thank you for inviting me. For those behind me, please excuse my back, but this is dictated by the architecture of these hearing rooms.

My testimony comes in two parts: First, some comments on the proposed student import program and, secondly, some data on how strongly the U.S. currently supports international students, particularly at the graduate level, and how one academic institution that has already been mentioned, IIE, falsely, I think, reports that

foreign students bring \$14.5 billion to the United States as kind of a balance-of-payments thing, and I think that is just totally wrong, and I will tell you why.

As one who has been looking at immigration policy for 47 years since I came to this town as a very junior appointee of the Kennedy administration, lo these many years ago, let me comment on the proposed program.

First of all, as my colleague to my immediate right said, there should be a much tighter, more comprehensive policy about how to assure that the foreign students, once they have seen America and all of its glories, do, in fact, return home and, preferably, stay there. No existing visa category, again, as Mr. Clay has suggested, and there are lots of them, will meet the needs of this program.

What is needed is a binding contract written into the legislation that is signed between the incoming student and the U.S. Government that the funded student will not apply for any kind of immigrant or nonimmigrant visa to the United States for a period of, say, 3 or 4 years. This includes a visa to marry a U.S. citizen.

The point of this program that you have in mind is that one-time students will become overseas friends of the U.S., not just another segment of the foreign-born population here.

Further—nobody has mentioned this—at the end of 4 years of comprehensive institutional support in the United States, the student is expected to return to his or her place of birth, probably in a Third World country, and start his or her adult life. That would be a shock for many of them. Maybe there should be a small re-entry allowance for them, say, \$1,000, to be paid to them in their nation's currency, not in dollars, by the local U.S. Embassy or consulate, after they have arrived back in their home country. This is to be financed out of the universities' \$30,000-a-year grant.

Meanwhile, here in the United States, for the last couple of decades, we have been told by the Institute for International Education that foreign-born students contribute \$14.5 billion annually to the U.S. economy. This is carefully cultivated nonsense.

There are huge subsidies that come to foreign students, not that any one of them gets a whole a lot of money themselves, but, en masse, there are huge, hidden subsidies that help these students from programs other than those designed to specifically help foreign students, for instance, the massive research grants that come from NIH and various other government agencies.

This is how most of the graduate students are funded, not by a direct State Department grant but because they have been hired to do research by a department, their department, and that department gets subsidies from the U.S. Government, and nobody involved, including most of the students, are aware of that.

So one of the problems with the IEE's math on this point is that they totally ignore these subsidies.

Secondly, the Institute uses highly flawed methodology to get its multimillion-dollar, balance-of-payments estimate, as I described at some length in the background published by the Center for Immigration Studies here in Washington.

The key question is, What percentage of the funds used to pay for foreign students come from U.S. sources? Does the IEE ask the

foreign students? No. Does IEE seek financial data from the universities? No.

What it does is it asks its constituents, the Foreign Service advisers, to estimate the source of their tuition and living expenses. These are estimates. They are based on no statistics at all.

While some of my best friends are precinct captains, and some of yours may be, too, I would not conduct a study of the government of the City of Chicago, for instance, by talking only to Mayor Daley's precinct captains, but that is exactly what IEE has done. They do not look at financial data. They go to their precinct captains, in this case, the foreign student advisers.

Thirdly, there are far better reports on this subject, such as the annual survey of people getting doctorates in this country, and it is supported by six major Federal agencies and conducted by the highly respected National Opinion Research Center in Chicago, with which I have no ties.

Well, the IEE reports that money from overseas is the main source of financial support for 55 percent of the foreign doctoral students, the National Opinion Research Center's publication, the Summary Report, places that figure at 5.3 percent. When you ask the people who are handling the money, "Where did it come from?" you get a very different answer than when you ask the foreign student advisers.

While, in many years, only about half of the foreign student advisers participate in the financial aspects of the IEE's annual survey, a low turnout at the polls, if you will, the participation of the new Ph.D.s, in the Summary Report, is close to 100 percent. I gathered from my own research for the Sloan Foundation that you do not get that long-sought Ph.D. degree until you complete the survey, which helps supply good data on that point.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your invitation.

[The prepared statement of Mr. North follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. DAVID S. NORTH, FELLOW, CENTER FOR IMMIGRATION STUDIES

My testimony today deals with one key, but narrow, part of this dialogue: to wit, who currently pays for the education, particularly, the graduate education, of foreign students now studying in the U.S.? We need a better understanding of where we are now before we start to change things.

Stepping back a moment from this dollars-and-cents discussion, one could make a totally non-economic argument for the importation of at least some students from overseas. For several decades in the last century many foreign leaders, particularly from the former colonies, had been educated in America, and were friendly to the U.S. That was and is a purely good thing.

Further, at the university level, it is helpful to U.S. students to have non-U.S. students in their classes—particularly in the fields of the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences. It makes for a more cosmopolitan experience for the Americans involved.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, most foreign students, particularly at the graduate level, are studying science, mathematics, and engineering, fields where the students' overseas backgrounds are of lesser value.

But, foreign students, like soy beans grown in Iowa and exported to China, as a plus for the American balance of payments? Although the Institute for International

<sup>1</sup>I was a graduate student, once upon a time, in political science. Unfortunately, I missed most of the cultural stimulation noted above. As a Fulbright and the only American in a small graduate program at Victoria University College in Wellington, New Zealand, I had an American education, an experience as a sacrificial candidate for my party for a seat in the New Jersey state legislature, and some time with an assertive American advertising agency—capitalism was then pretty passive in New Zealand—so I was the exotic presence.



Education (IIE), a New York-based advocacy organization, has been pressing this point, but the facts suggest otherwise.

It has been argued for years by advocates that foreign students contribute to America's balance of payments because of money they bring with them from abroad. A careful analysis shows that such arguments have three fundamental flaws: 1. the calculations ignore the massive, partially-hidden subsidies to higher education coming from American tax dollars and endowment funds; 2. the calculations supporting the balance-of-funds argument use highly questionable data-collection techniques; and 3. other, stronger studies show that foreign students are heavily reliant on U.S. funds to support their graduate educations.

But before we tackle these issues, a few facts about foreign or international students (the terms will be used interchangeably) in the U.S.

First, there are a lot of them. *Open Doors 2007*, the most recent of IIE's annual reports on the subject, reports that there were 582,984 of them in the 2006–2007 academic year, or 3.9% of the universities' total enrollment. Further, their numbers, after a mild post-9/11 dip, keep rising.

Second, most of them are graduate, not undergraduate students; most are here to secure academic credentials that will help them find jobs, either in the U.S. or elsewhere. Thirdly, the big majority of them are from Asia, with the largest single groups, again according to *Open Doors 2007*,<sup>2</sup> coming from India, 83,833, and China (including Hong Kong), 75,445.

Finally, most graduate students (both domestic and foreign) are *both* workers and students; they are usually employed on campus, at least during the school year. The lucky ones are hired to do research for their professors, often on subjects useful to their own dissertations; less lucky ones teach underclassmen or perform other chores around the campus; members of a small third group have the mixed blessings of a fellowship, which provides money for living expenses without requiring work; this arrangement, however, does not bring the student into the close touch with his or her professor that goes with a job as a research assistant.

Graduate students, as a group, play an important role in the academic labor force, particularly of the larger universities. Without them, and their often ill-paid work, much academic activity would slow considerably.

One of the principal impacts of the large numbers of foreign graduate students, I concluded after an extensive study for the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, was that they had made a profound impact on the labor market of America's graduate schools, loosening it and thus tending, indirectly, to undermine a motive for the recruitment of American women and minorities by these graduate schools. Further, their presence resulted in the lowering of the wages for everyone enrolled in them, and in science and engineering generally.<sup>3</sup> America's academic Establishment does not agree.

Let's return to the economic arguments.

"International students contributed \$14.5 billion to the U.S. economy in 2006/2007."<sup>4</sup>

That's the IIE claim. It is a balance-of-payments argument that is annually reported by—and never examined by—the media. It is an argument totally without merit.

First, as most people with the slightest exposure to the finances of higher education know, there is a huge factor in this equation, the partially hidden subsidies from tax payers, at state schools, and from endowments at private ones. These subsidies are overwhelmingly from U.S. sources, and are completely excluded from IIE's statistics.

Secondly, The Institute uses, and knowingly uses, highly flawed methodology to get its multi-billion dollar balance of payments estimate, as I describe at some length in the attached backgrounder published by the Washington's Center for Immigration Studies. The key question is what percentage of the funds used to pay for foreign students comes from U.S. sources.

Does the IIE ask the foreign students? No. Does IIE seek financial data from the universities? No.

What it does is it asks its constituents—the foreign student advisers—to estimate the source of their tuition and living expenses. While some of my best friends are precinct captains I would not conduct a study of say, Chicago's government, by col-

<sup>2</sup>Bhandari, R and Chow, P (2007). *Open Doors 2007: Report on International Educational Exchange*, New York, Institute of International Education, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup>North, D, 1995 *Soothing The Establishment; The Impact of Foreign-Born Scientists and Engineers on America*, Lanham, Maryland, University Press of America.

<sup>4</sup>*Open Doors 2007, op cit.* p 14.

lecting all my data from Mayor Daley's precinct captains—but that is what the IIE does to get its key estimates—it goes to its foreign student advisers.

Thirdly, there are far better reports on this subject, such as the annual survey of people getting doctorates in this country. It is supported by six major federal agencies and conducted by the highly respected National Opinion Research Center in Chicago—an organization with which I have no ties. While the IIE reports that their own resources (i.e. money from overseas) is the main source of financial support for 55% of the foreign doctoral students, the National Opinion Research Center's publication, the Summary Report places that figure at 5.3%—a remarkable difference.<sup>5</sup>

The really significant number in the Summary Report is this: when PhD candidates on temporary visas (F-1 and J-1) are asked to name the primary source of their financial support, 90% of them say American sources. Ninety percent.

And while in many years only about half of the foreign student advisers participate in the financial aspects of IIE's annual surveys, the participation of the new PhDs in the Summary Report is close to 100%—I gather, from my own research, that you don't get that long-sought PhD degree until you complete the survey.

I conducted my own study of the budgets of foreign born doctoral students in science and engineering for the Alfred P. Sloan foundation and my findings were quite similar to those of the Summary Report. I have also, for several years, been running a program at the University of Maryland to help graduate students with their income tax filings, and encounter only relatively minor infusions of overseas moneys in the foreign students' finances.

I might add that the bill before you deals with supporting overseas undergraduates with American scholarships. My sense—which does not disagree with IIE's statements on this point—is that the degree of American support for foreign undergraduates attending US institutions is far lower than it is for graduate students—which is my area of expertise.

But before creating a major program to spend more U.S. money on foreign students—which is the subject of this hearing—we, as a nation, ought to consider how much we are already supporting the foreign students outside any federal program specifically created for that purpose.

A more comprehensive, statistics- and footnote-filled essay of mine on this subject, published by the Center for Immigration Studies in Washington, entitled "Who Pays: Foreign Students Do Not Help with the Balance of Payments," is attached to my testimony. It is also available on-line at <[www.cis.org/publications](http://www.cis.org/publications)>.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. North. Dr. Geier?

Let me note, too, that we have been joined by the distinguished gentleman from Delaware, Mr. Castle, who serves on the Education and Labor Committee. Welcome, Mike.

**STATEMENT OF PHILIP O. GEIER, PH.D., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DAVIS UNITED WORLD COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROGRAM**

Mr. GEIER. Thank you, and it is a pleasure to return. A year ago, we talked, at a very conceptual level, about this, and now we seem to be sharpening the pencil, and I hope we can—

Mr. DELAHUNT. That is exactly what we are doing, Phil. We are continuing to sharpen these pencils.

Mr. GEIER. Let me make a couple of very brief points. I have submitted a formal bit of testimony, which I am not going to read from, and, I think, is open and available to anyone who would like to see it.

As you know, I have started and run what is the largest, privately funded, international scholarship program for undergraduates, and it has been a privilege to help advise the conceptual thinking up to this point with regard to this proposed legislation.

<sup>5</sup>Hoffer, T.B., Hess, M., Welch, V, and Williams, K. 2007. *Doctorate Recipients from United States Universities: Summary Report 2006*. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center. (The report gives results of the data collected in the annual Survey of Earned Doctorates; it is financed by six federal agencies, NSF, NIH, USED, NEH, USDA, and NASA and conducted by NORC.) Table 22.

So let me just make three or four key points and then maybe answer some questions that might arise from the members of the two subcommittees.

In terms of the American leadership opportunity that Congressman Delahunt was making clear, I think this is the key point: This is a program that really is structured to improve our relationship with Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East and to build our public face in those regions.

In my written testimony, I quote Secretary of Defense Gates, who talks about the “people in between,” “in between” being our friends and being our adversaries, and the impact on transforming the perceptions of those people “in between.” So I think that is a real American leadership opportunity, this program, in that regard.

Second, this program invests in American institutions for America’s benefit, and it further builds the capacity that members of this panel have already underscored significantly, in terms of being better capacitated to advise and counsel international students, and, more importantly, from my point of view and watching the impact on 88 American colleges and universities through our program, the nature of this presence on those campuses internationalizes the majority students, the American students, opens their eyes to the world and their engagement.

So the capacity building is not just institutional, it is not just subsidies, and it is not just foreign students.

Now, the target of this program, for needy students, as opposed to the elite and largely affluent students who do come to this country. I think the numbers that you tend to cite are disproportionately tilted toward graduate students and their subsidies. So it is really important to underscore the fact that, both in terms of policy and appropriation and focus, of foreign students within American institutions these days, it has largely been, in the past, on graduate students, and for good reason.

But if we have different objectives in a shifting world, this is a time to shift those objectives, not to take anything away, and I think we should underscore the point that, whether it is the Fulbright program or others that are well established in both our foreign policy and our educational objectives in this country, that we are not talking about robbing Peter to pay Paul here. It is an additive process, and it will provide leverage.

So I think focusing on those needy, prospective future leaders is critical, and I think the fact that it is a 4-year, undergraduate program, by design, implicitly underscores the point about our foreign policy objectives, which is what happens most in an undergraduate experience as opposed to a graduate experience.

The graduate experience is a professionalization of a set of skills, building on what we learned how to learn as undergraduates. So what is happening at the undergraduate level is, in effect, learning how to learn while focusing one’s professional choices, but, at the same time, the fostering of the relationships and the friendships.

So, the lifelong relationships that will be fostered between Americans and non-Americans are so essential to this program and happen much more effectively when you are growing up and maturing in an undergraduate format, and they could, by the way, I think, happen as much in a 2-year as a 4-year format. But to come in a

short-term exchange, the International Visitors program is great, but it is not going to accomplish the objectives intended in this concept.

So this is timely, opportune, and it is scalable. It does not have to necessarily march at the same rate of dollars or time that is outlined here, but it is very scalable, and I think it will help the United States remain globally competitive in the 21st century. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Geier follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PHILIP O. GEIER, PH.D., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DAVIS  
UNITED WORLD COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROGRAM

#### INTRODUCTION

Thank you for this opportunity to once again speak to Congress about mobilizing America's institutions of higher education in service to our country's long term strategic interests with regard to the developing world.

#### A VIEW FROM THE PRIVATE SECTOR

I have had the privilege of designing and launching what has become, quickly and quietly, the world's largest privately funded international scholarship program. The Davis United World College Scholars Program, funded exclusively by philanthropist Shelby M.C. Davis, now supports over 1,500 scholars annually from over 130 countries and is still growing. To illustrate the exponential growth of this program, it began in the year 2000 with approximately 40 entering freshman scholars at five pilot schools and this year (2008) we anticipate over 600 entering freshman scholars at 88 American colleges and universities.

Our program is about realizing the potential of private philanthropy to promote international understanding through the education of exceptional and motivated young people from all over the world at selected American institutions of higher learning. We are providing high potential individual students from many very different ethnic, national, cultural, linguistic, socio-economic and racial backgrounds with the opportunity to take advantage of and benefit from an American undergraduate education.

As much as we are committed to these international scholars and their potential, we are also committed to having a transformative impact on the American undergraduate experience—transforming it to a globally engaged experience, to bringing the world to the campus. Our program seeks to build clusters, or critical masses, of international scholars on the campuses of our now 88 partner schools across America. We believe that the presence of such clusters of internationally diverse students on American campuses will be beneficial to the large majority of American students—through their personal interaction and shared experiences with one another. This experiential interaction promises to make America's future decision-makers more globally competent, culturally sensitive and ultimately more effective competitors in the global marketplace.

We are leveraging the power of private philanthropy through partnerships with American colleges and universities which have sought us out in their quest to reshape their campuses to become more reflective of the real world around us. We share a common belief that the world's future depends on succeeding generations of the world's leaders sharing a commitment to and the skills necessary for realizing international understanding and mutual respect in spite of tremendous diversity.

Building this commitment, we have discovered, is effectively fostered through shared and meaningful experiences as undergraduates together. For a detailed explanation of our program, I invite you to read our annual report, *To Move the World*.

#### AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP ROLE, TODAY AND TOMORROW

Much has been written about America's role and reputation in today's post Cold War and post 9/11 context. Much of that literature is ideological, lacking both balance in perspective and a constructive long term strategic view of America's special place in the world. While an exhaustive discussion of this literature is beyond the scope of this hearing, this does seem an appropriate place to suggest a few ways to achieve greater balance and a greater focus on long term approaches to America's positive engagement with the rest of the world.

We would be well served to find a greater balance between our “hard power” and our “soft power.” We would be equally well served to find ways to build in-depth, personal relationships between the most promising future leaders in our country and their counterparts from elsewhere in the world.

Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates articulated these objectives clearly in a speech given on November 26, 2007. He said, “. . . based on my experience serving seven presidents, as a former director of C.I.A. and now as secretary of defense, I am here to make the case for strengthening our capacity to use ‘soft power’ and for better integrating it with ‘hard power. . . .’ We are miserable at communicating to the rest of the world what we are about as a society and a culture, about freedom and democracy, about policies and goals. . . . We can expect that asymmetric warfare will be the mainstay of the contemporary battlefield for some time. These conflicts will be fundamentally political in nature and require the application of all elements of national power. Success will be less a matter of imposing one’s will and more a function of shaping behavior of friends, adversaries and, most importantly, the people in between.”

Secretary Gates was drawing from the work of Joseph S. Nye Jr.’s *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (2004) which contends that effective public diplomacy includes “building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies.” Nye maintains we need to develop “lasting relationships with key individuals. . . .”

Similarly, in January 2008, we were presented with the report of the Secure Borders and Open Doors Advisory Committee constituted jointly by the Department of Homeland Security and the Department of State. Its co-chairs’ message stated: “Our long term success requires not only that we deter and detect determined adversaries, but also that we persuade millions of people around the globe of our ideals—democratic freedom, private enterprise, human rights, intellectual pursuit, technological achievement.”

One of the key recommendations of the Secure Borders and Open Doors report was that “the U.S. should articulate a comprehensive policy for attracting international students. . . .”

In my view, we are approaching an opportune time for some reformulation of our foreign policy. While we must continue to take all necessary measures to ensure our security, we should also become more pro-active in promoting our nation’s values and opportunities to others so that they can truly understand and benefit from our way of life. In this context, we can leverage one of our country’s most unique strengths, its institutions of higher learning. While worldwide opinion polls would suggest that America has lost its allure, there is no question that America’s colleges and universities remain the envy of the world and that an opportunity to gain a degree in the U.S. is without compare.

#### COMMENTARY ON DRAFT LEGISLATION

An initiative such as this is a great opportunity to become pro-active and positive in our overseas, on-the-ground deployment of our diplomatic resources. This legislation is far more important than simply trying to improve America’s image overseas. It has the potential, if embraced fully by all parties, to genuinely alter the way we interact with the developing world, especially with those referred to by Secretary Gates as “the people in between.”

This legislation gives tangible form to sharing America’s sense of possibility and opportunity with others. It affirms our country’s most basic values. It provides a mechanism to build relationships with key future leaders. At the same time, it invests in our own people and institutions. It has both immediate and long term promise. It would be a great mistake to see this as simply providing scholarships to foreigners.

One might reasonably ask why spend all this time and money for a full four year undergraduate degree for foreign students. Short-term alternatives would indeed be far less expensive. Our experience with the Davis United World College Scholars Program may be instructive. America’s approach to undergraduate education is rather unique in the world. It is not just a time of intellectual development and pre-professional preparation, it is a time of building character and lifelong friends. It sets a tone and forms a group of relationships which are not just episodic but central to much of what follows, professionally and personally, throughout the rest of one’s life.

Imagine sharing this special American experience with tens of thousands of motivated young and impressionable people now “in between” in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Imagine the relationships fostered here in America

between Americans and non-Americans and the potential of those relationships in the future.

This initiative can fortify, reinvigorate and motivate our own diplomatic corps. Picture this as a sort of reverse Peace Corps concept.

This initiative can strengthen our own institutions of higher learning by investing in them and using their great resources for greater purposes.

This initiative provides a pro-active way to attract and nurture the most promising and motivated young men and women in developing countries who are otherwise unable to even think about seizing on the opportunities of coming to the U.S. for an educational degree and a future they can only dream about.

This legislation fills an unoccupied niche in how the U.S. government invests in international education. It targets an age range that is critical and does so in long term and strategic ways. It calls for the best in our own educational institutions, to step up in capacity and commitment to global engagement and cross-cultural communication. It complements existing programs, such as Fulbright; it borrows the best management practices for effective oversight while empowering our country's fine educational institutions by delegating much of the responsibility for "deliverables."

#### THE DAVIS UNITED WORLD COLLEGE SCHOLARS PROGRAM PERSPECTIVE

The experiences and rapid growth of the Davis United World College Scholars Program has taught us some relevant lessons:

- there is a tremendous desire "out there," in spite of what opinion polls might suggest to the contrary, to come to the U.S. for an undergraduate education and the implicit opportunities that come with it;
- there is an equally enthusiastic desire among our partner schools throughout America to make their campuses better and more "real" through international diversity;
- the use of leverage—shared costs and responsibilities—works, and works better than a more traditional top-down approach;
- it is essential to have a fully accountable "point person" on each campus, someone who believes deeply in the mission of the program, is student-centered, and has the ear of the school's president.

Because the Davis United World College Scholars Program is a private philanthropic initiative and because our scholarship opportunities are limited to graduates of the worldwide United World College (secondary) schools, our experience does not overlap with some aspects of the proposed legislation. Nonetheless, our program's larger purposes as well as the many lessons I've learned throughout my career in international education suggest that this legislation would be hugely favorable to our overseas diplomatic deployment, to our country's institutions of higher learning, and to our global aspirations *vis a vis* peoples around the world.

I look forward to the hearing on June 19 at which time we can discuss these issues further and possibly delve into the proposed program's operational details and possible consequences as they may be of interest to Congress. Thank you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Dr. Geier.

I am going to be just very brief and try to explain, for one moment, what I see as this concept, and you hit on it, Dr. Geier. This is the filling of a gap, and I think that George Scott indicated that, in terms of government support, the focus has always been at the graduate level, and for good reasons.

In terms of government support at the undergraduate level, it has been minimal, some 320 grants/scholarships. That is what the data reveal, which is minuscule, particularly when compared to other nations, such as China, such as the U.K., the whole array.

Part of my purpose, in terms of focusing on the undergraduate, is, yes, it is about learning and developing a body of knowledge and becoming conversant with issues of concern in this global village that we live in, but also to have an experience, to have the American experience, if you will, to learn about Americans and American culture, to become aware of the generosity, if you will, and the goodness of Americans, not the government but Americans.

It was de Tocqueville who once said, or, at least, Ronald Reagan said he said, "America is great because America is good," and we do want young people, such as our witness today from Kenya, attending Middlebury College, to return to Kenya and explain to people in Kenya and elsewhere, those students that might have come and spent time here, to go back and lift, if you will, or remove the misperceptions and misunderstandings about America and Americans to their fellow citizens.

So that is the view, if you will, very simple as it is, from this particular member. Dr. DeLauder, you indicated whether the program would encompass 2-year programs, as well as 4 years. My response is, yes, and, hopefully, that 2-year experience would evolve into a 4-year experience with an appropriate degree at the end of that time.

Let me just say that all of you on this panel have been listening to has been very informative and educational, no pun intended.

Now, let me yield, for as much time as he may consume, to the chairman of the Subcommittee on Higher Education, my friend from Texas, Mr. Hinojosa.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I agree with you that this panel has been extremely interesting, and I wish that we could have a couple of rounds of questions because we are limited to 5 minutes, and that may not be enough time.

Mr. DELAHUNT. On this committee, Mr. Chairman, take all of the time you need.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you, sir. Thank you very much. I will then start by asking my first softball question to Ms. Ochako.

I was very, very impressed with your powerful, yet very informative, testimony. I love your enthusiasm. I think your spirit is fantastic, and there is no doubt that the saying, "One person in the right time in the right place," will be very applicable to you and what you will be able to do for your community and your region and your country.

Ms. OCHAKO. Thank you.

Mr. HINOJOSA. I want to ask you, can you describe for us your experience in Kenya before you entered the Davis program?

Ms. OCHAKO. Is this after high school or the whole—

Mr. HINOJOSA. Particularly, at high school.

Ms. OCHAKO. I did finish my primary school in a different town, and I moved in with a different guardian. I have gone through high school on scholarship, which was not even sufficient. By the time I finished high school, I was still struggling to pay the rest of my bills, which was paid by a well-wisher who was a friend of my mother's.

After high school—it is not like the U.S., where when you are not in school, you could work. There are no employment opportunities for people my age. I spent the days at home, and I was volunteering at a hospital nearby just to pass time and to see what was going to happen to my life.

I did apply to the local university, and I did get accepted. I applied for a scholarship there. I did not get it. It is very competitive, and it is overburdened. Yes, that was basically it before I came to the United States.

Mr. HINOJOSA. How did you acquire the writing and reading literacy, love for books?

Ms. OCHAKO. To be sincere, I acquired my love for books, real books, in the U.S., not as much in Singapore. The U.S. has a very interesting reading culture. People read novels here a lot, and that, I acquired most of it here. But the IB is a very impressive program.

Mr. HINOJOSA. The IB being the International Baccalaureate.

Ms. OCHAKO. The International Baccalaureate. Right. It is a very impressive and comprehensive education system.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Yes. It is very rigorous.

Ms. OCHAKO. Yes. I definitely, undeniably, I can confidently say I benefitted a lot on my writing skills through the IB.

Mr. HINOJOSA. May I then ask you, what do you think your college education would have been like, had you not had a scholarship to an American college and had attended a public Kenyan institution?

Ms. OCHAKO. I would definitely have a different line of study. It is unfortunate for me to say this, but it would be very closed. I would not want to say that about a country I am very proud of. I would not have a vast array of knowledge. I am now studying African studies and economics, but I have taken classes from different areas.

It would not be the same. It would not be as in depth. I would not have critical thinking. I think that is one great benefit, my ability for critical thinking, my ability to agree to disagree, you know, and accept opinions openly. I think that is—

Mr. HINOJOSA. As I listen to your answer, it reminds me of an experience we had in China.

Ms. OCHAKO. Yes.

Mr. HINOJOSA. As I mentioned earlier, a CODEL went to study how Chinese are able to produce so many college graduates going into the STEM fields. When we were in their college cafeteria, the students were just as enthusiastic as you are and asking us lots of questions, and when I asked them, "How is it that you all can beat our American students when we have international competitions of scholastic programs?" and their response was "rote memorization."

Then I asked, "What is it that you think differs from your studies and your students from American students?" and their response was what you just said. They have critical-thinking abilities that we do not have, and they are far more creative and innovative than we are, even though we score higher on standardized tests.

Ms. OCHAKO. That is what makes it a challenge to study here.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Well, thank you. Then I will ask another question to Mr. Clay.

How do we ensure that once students finish college, and they return to their country of origin, at least for a period of time, do you agree with one of the witnesses who talked about there being a contract when the visa is issued?

Mr. CLAY. I think that would be a very good idea, to have some type of contract when the visa is issued. One of the elements in order to obtain a student visa from a U.S. consulate is you have to prove that you are going to return to your home country after you complete your studies.



Mr. HINOJOSA. Would it be for 100 percent of the students who come to study here, or would there be any exceptions?

Mr. CLAY. I would say, with this new program that is under consideration, it would be for 100 percent of the students, with no exceptions.

Mr. HINOJOSA. What would you do if there happens to be a graduate student who marries an American student, male or female, and there are possibly children now involved during that 4-year period? How would you handle that?

Mr. CLAY. That is a very good question, sir. I would say that there is some type of contract in which there would be a stipulation that there would be a payback to the government. If some type of marriage contract or something like that took place, there would have to be some type of repatriation to the government of the funding.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Lastly, and I am going to talk from experience, I come from a very, very poor region that, I would say, 40 percent were below the national poverty level, where small-to-medium businesses were always having difficulty acquiring capital, and the brain power to be able to start a business or to expand a business.

I, personally, 20 years ago, was president of a food-processing company and very active in the college where I graduated with my M.B.A., your university. I went back to listen to the graduates of the M.B.A. program that year, and there was one person from India who was the top student, the top graduate, of the M.B.A. program, who had an engineering degree from India but surpassed all of the other students in his graduating class. I instantly offered him a job.

He and I partnered in the way that we structured this food-processing company, and we took it from \$10 million to \$50 million in sales. Had it not been for his help, his collaboration, and the way that we worked together, we could never have done what we did. We won the Outstanding Minority Business in America from SBA and the Outstanding Minority Business by the Department of Commerce, here in Washington. Had it not been for him, I do not believe that we could have done what we did.

So I think there should be some exceptions because regions of the country, like ours, are so poor that they cannot afford to go bring a \$100,000 person into their business, and this young man married a woman from India, brought her home, they live in Houston today, and he runs a big business in Houston.

All of this is to say that I would differ with you in saying that 100 percent must go back. There has to be a way in which we can discuss that and come to some compromise.

I will move forward and ask Dr. Clay, how does the University of Texas-Pan American collaborate with 2-year community colleges and/or 2-year, technical-training colleagues like we have in South Texas?

Mr. CLAY. At this point in time, what we would do is, for 2-year community colleges in South Texas, we have a system where students who are studying there would be able to transfer their credits into our university and be able to complete their education with our university.

Mr. HINOJOSA. So then why did you say, then, that there needed to be a 4-year program for the international students and that the 2-year experience was not going to be what you would recommend?

Mr. CLAY. That was not me, sir.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Okay. One of the other witnesses, so I will wait and ask that question of him.

I think that much of what you said I could identify with, and I think that your university has grown from 8,000 students to 18,000 students in the short time I have been in Congress, and I applaud the support that you all have for international studies and the work that your president has done in leading your university to do what it is doing today.

Mr. CLAY. Thank you.

Mr. HINOJOSA. My last question is going to go to Dr. Geier. I heard you say that your program is the largest of its kind in the United States 4-year undergraduate program. What is the name of your school?

Mr. GEIER. The program is called the Davis United World College Scholars program, and it is fully explained in this report called To Move the World. I would be happy to elaborate on that but not take undo time to do it.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Okay. I would like to see your book and see what has made you the largest, most successful undergraduate international program.

Mr. DELAHUNT. If my friend would yield for a moment.

Mr. HINOJOSA. I will.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I have become familiar with the program, and it is truly remarkable. Its impact is enormous. The benefactor, the philanthropist, that initiated this program is unique in his vision. He was featured on a "NBC Nightly News" segment.

I would enjoy, at some point in time, having him come before the committee. But it has, in our terms, established a network of prep schools all over the world, and, after students successfully complete those preparatory initiatives, they then have an opportunity to matriculate at almost 90 colleges with their expenses fully paid for. It is a world changer, if you will. It is moving the needle significantly. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Chairman, I am going to yield, in case someone else wishes to ask questions, but I am seeing the screen and seeing that votes have started, so I hope that there will be additional rounds of questioning.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I am going to yield now to Mr. Rohrabacher.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. DeLauder, your testimony suggested that there are, and I noticed, in your written testimony, it is here as well, there are 582,984 international students enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, and that is for the 2006–2007 academic year.

We have almost 600,000 foreign students enrolled, and there is a problem? We are going to spend \$1 billion to bring more students in; 600,000 are not enough students in the United States?

I do not understand the necessity of even discussing that we would spend \$1 billion to bring more foreign students, when we have almost 600,000 already, especially when the foreign students that we are talking about, and I do not believe this is a cheap shot

at all, when we are willing to give them \$30,000, and, in fact, I believe your testimony was we should give more than \$30,000, when we give our own students a pittance.

I would hope this bill does come to the floor because I think it will demonstrate a difference between the philosophies of both sides of the aisle here: \$1 billion, when we have 600,000 students already here, and we are going to spend \$1 billion or more, giving 30,000 more students a tremendous amount more money than we give our own students. It does not make sense to me.

Mr. DELAUDER. If I could just make a few comments.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Sure.

Mr. DELAUDER. My comment on the \$30,000 was, in terms of the expectation in the concept paper as to what institutions were expected to do, based on that amount of money, my observation was that many of our institutions, when you look at their tuition and fee costs and other costs, they would be unable to meet all of those requirements without adding their own resources, and what that would do would be that certain institutions, particularly smaller institutions and some of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, would have difficulty participating because they would be unable to make up those additional costs.

I would just suggest that, even though we may be talking about 480,000 students in this country, and I think the data that comes from the Open Doors Report, which comes out of the Institute of International Education, suggest that about 40 percent of those students are undergraduate students, but we have to keep in mind that we have 16 million college and university students in this country, so that represents, still, a small percentage of the total—

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I think it is 16 million that we are talking about.

Mr. DELAUDER. But I think, when you look at the purpose that is being brought forth, in terms of improving our image abroad, there is a need for us to—

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Of the 16 million, how many do you believe are, number one, foreign born, but are U.S. citizens or legal residents, and how many are the sons and daughters of foreign-born people? I am just guessing. We do not have the figures at our fingertips. If you have got it, please let me know. We are probably talking about well over 1 million or 2 million of them.

At universities in California, when I visit different schools, there are people from all over the world whose parents came from all over the world, or they, themselves, came from all over the world. I mean, I have friends from Africa who live in our neighborhood. My surfing partner happens to be from Ethiopia. His family came here 20 years ago.

I just do not see this great problem that will require us to spend \$1 billion on foreigners when we have needs of our own people right here.

Mr. DELAHUNT. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Of course, I will.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I am sure he must have supported the increase in the Pell Grant funding that was promoted by the now-majority party when it came before Congress.

I just want to note that we have got about 5 minutes left. My understanding is that there is a series of votes. It will probably take 45 minutes.

It might be best if you could wrap up, and then, if the panel could wait, and we could return maybe in 45 minutes. I do not want to keep you here. I see Mr. Scott saying, "I can't."

What if we left it like this? I will come back, Mr. Hinojosa will come back, and, hopefully, we will be joined by Mike Castle, and we will go through with Mr. Rohrabacher's questioning, at this point in time.

Mr. ROHRABACHER. I guess we have a couple of minutes anyway.

I would just suggest that this does seem to work at cross-purposes. We also have in place the STEM program, which is already in place, which we are encouraging young people from other countries who come here in math and science, to stay here.

So now we have a program to encourage them to come and go back. Now we have a program that encourages them to stay here. It seems to me that this is, while based on very benevolent and humane motives, certainly trying to help other people, especially young people, of other countries, is certainly a sign of benevolence and good-heartedness, it seems to me to be wrong-headedness, especially in terms of what is in the interests of our own young people.

I would have to say that I disagree with my friend and colleague. No, I do not want to increase the number of people who come here.

I am very proud, let me note, that we have a country that we permit more legal immigrants to come into our country every year than every other country of the world combined, and this is a big debate, and there is about a third of the Members in the House who are like myself, who think that that is good enough and that we should not be expanding the amount of immigration into our country because, at some point, it becomes deleterious to our own people, whether or not they become partners in your business, someone from overseas.

Someone else might have become a partner in someone's business who was an American who needed that job, or maybe some young student, like I was a janitor, maybe an American student who has that job as a janitor is going to have to give up that job for a foreign student who comes in and takes that job for even less money. That is not right.

We are supposed to represent the interests of the American people, and, while we care about other people—we do care—we have foreign aid, we have scholarships, and we have 600,000 foreign students already in our country—I think that it behooves us to focus more on our own people in need rather than for foreign people. Please, our friend from Kenya, please feel free to comment on that.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think we are going to ask you to hold your response after we return.

I thank the gentleman, and we will recess for about 45 minutes, and, Mr. Scott, you are excused.

If there is any member of the panel who has another commitment, we understand, and if you can bear with us, that is fine, or if you have other obligations, we do appreciate your testimony. Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 11:32 a.m., a short recess was taken.]

Mr. DELAHUNT. The subcommittee will come to order. We will reconvene, and I want to thank our remaining witnesses for bearing with us.

Let me immediately go to the gentleman to my left, who I introduced earlier, Congressman Castle from Delaware.

Mr. CASTLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am pleased to be here. I am pleased with your efforts in this area.

You all probably cannot see it, but I just asked the chairman, we have little TV sets up here. I am not a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee. I am on the Education Committee on another committee. We do not have little TV sets. I am convinced that, at about 4:00, they turn on ESPN on these TV sets or something of that nature.

Mr. DELAHUNT. And watch the Boston Celtics win another NBA championship, or the Red Sox—I am sorry.

Mr. CASTLE. I was not here when Dr. DeLauder was introduced, but, obviously, we have been affiliated for many years together, and his wonderful work as the president of Delaware State University and his continuing wonderful work as a citizen of the State of Delaware; I think I know about international studies probably comes from meeting him in the train station as we go from Wilmington to Washington from time to time, so he educates me on a regular basis. It is one of the best lobbying efforts I know of out there, and I just appreciate all of that.

Mr. Scott is not here and, I guess, not coming back. I was going to ask him, and maybe I will write him a note, Mr. Chairman, about surveying all of the existing programs. I am basically supportive, certainly conceptually supportive, of what you are trying to do, but I know there are other existing programs, and I just do not know them well enough to be able to even discuss them intelligently, much less really understand that we are dealing with duplication or—

Mr. DELAHUNT. If my friend would yield.

Mr. CASTLE. I will yield, sure.

Mr. DELAHUNT. You were not present when, earlier, I, in a rather terse way, just described the concept as one that is focused on the undergraduate level, and, in no way, detracting from the efforts that we have made, as a government, as a matter of public policy, in terms of attracting graduate students, and if Mr. Geier was still here, he could amplify what is being done, through private philanthropy, in terms of the creation of what I described as the equivalent of prep schools that are located all over the globe that train young people, such as Ms. Ochako—am I pronouncing it properly?—

Ms. OCHAKO. Ochako.

Mr. DELAHUNT [continuing]. Ochako to have the skill level, or the education level, to matriculate at an American university.

So the focus is on the undergraduate level, and what concerns me, and why I commissioned the GAO to do that initial survey, was what I had heard anecdotally, that there was a gap, and the gap was at the undergraduate level, and the GAO report indicated that government-sponsored grants amounted to supporting some

320 foreign students all over the United States, which, when compared to what other nations are doing, is almost embarrassing.

Mr. CASTLE. I also see, if I may speak to you, Mr. Chairman, about this, that this is aimed at low-income students.

Mr. DELAHUNT. The purpose would be to have a particular appeal. Earlier, there were questions that were posed by the ranking member, and Dr. DeLauder acknowledged that there are some 580,000 international students here in the United States. But, again, I do not know what the numbers are, but I dare say that most of them are at the graduate level, or they are here because of the fact that they come from affluent families.

Many of them will come from parts of the world where their economies are healthy, and I am only speculating now, but I am sure there are data available. Maybe, Doctor, you have some information, but many of them probably come from Western Europe.

My concern, in terms of the foreign educational diplomacy aspect, is to focus on emerging nations—Africa, Asia, the Middle East, if you will—where, to indulge the cliché, earlier hearings have indicated we are losing the hearts and minds, if you will, of generations in those countries that are being influenced by other world views, by other perspectives that are not necessarily compatible with how we perceive ourselves. Doctor?

Mr. DELAUDER. I think that when you look at the data, and the data that I was quoting come from the so-called Open Doors Report that comes out of the Institute of International Education, and they try to collect this information, though, I think Mr. North raised some issues about how they collect the financial information. I share the concern with that because most of it is done through surveys, but about two-thirds of those students, based on the IEE Report, are students who pay with their own resources.

My guess, then, is that most of those are coming from upper-middle-class or middle-class families and certainly not coming from needy families because most of them are paying their own way.

About 40 percent of that 583,000 students, based on the Open Doors Report, are undergraduate students. The remainder are mostly graduate students, and most of them are paying their own way.

Mr. DELAHUNT. So that is 40 percent undergraduates, and 60 percent are at the graduate level.

Mr. DELAUDER. There about, I think, 45 or 46 percent at the graduate level and then some of them are in nondegree programs, but they are being counted in the numbers.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Let me pose this question. The duration of their experience is usually 1 year, even shorter, or maybe 2 years.

Mr. DELAUDER. Well, a good number of these students are in degree programs, and so they are going to stay here, if they are undergraduates, for 4 years to get a bachelor's degree, or if they are doing a 2-year program, at least, to get an associate degree.

Mr. DELAHUNT. But I am talking about the graduate students.

Mr. DELAUDER. The graduate students, many of them, they are in both master's programs and doctor programs, so some of them are here for 2 years, and some will stay until they finish their doctor program, which may take 4 or 5 years.

You mentioned the countries, and this is what the IEE data show. India is the largest country of origin of those students. They represent about 14 percent of those 580,000 students.

China is the second-largest group, and then comes Korea and Japan and Taiwan, but when you are looking for other developing countries, they do not show up in the top ten. Then you have Canada and Turkey and Thailand and Germany, in terms of the countries of origin.

I was at a meeting—it was a joint meeting, a Japan-United States meeting—at which we were talking about international education, and we had a number of overseas guests from Japan, and they have some very ambitious goals because, of course, they are trying to increase the diversity of their population because it is so homogeneous, and they want it to be more international in scope. They have some very bold goals for increasing the number of international students who come into Japan. I do not remember the exact number, but it is more than doubling the numbers that they now have.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Mr. Castle?

Mr. CASTLE. A couple of questions. Ms. Ochako, are you still at Middlebury now? You may not even know this. I certainly did not when I was your age. Do you have any ideas about where you may live when you graduate and what you may do when you graduate?

Ms. OCHAKO. I am not very certain of where I will live, but I do know that my wish is to go back home. I live with my brother, and I have three other small siblings who are my cousins. I would not say certainly I am going back to Kenya, but I do know I want to work with children. I did want to say something about what was said earlier.

When Mr. North was speaking, I remember his argument. I just wanted to pose a question.

If we are making a difference in the world in our home countries, is it where you are that you are making the difference or how you make a difference? I could make a difference to the people in Kenya while working for a U.N. office in Tanzania. I am not sure where, but I am sure of what I am going to do. That is for sure.

Mr. CASTLE. Well, I guess that leads to my question, so maybe if Dr. DeLauder or Mr. North or whoever wants to volunteer, and that is, are there actual studies, not just anecdotal evidence, of the effect of students coming to America and then going back to whatever country they came from, and the effect that they might have there, perhaps economically, but from a sociological point of view, perhaps entering into academic, politics, or whatever it may be?

I always hear this, and I believe it, but I was just wondering if there is real analysis of students who have come to America and gone back to their home countries.

Mr. DELAUDER. We do, Congressman, have good data on graduate education, particularly programs that the USAID was involved in in the sixties, seventies, and eighties, programs in which they were trying to address an issue of enhancing agriculture and food development, particularly, in Africa, and we had large numbers of students coming to this country to receive training at the doctorate level, and there was a very formal study that was done

that showed that 90 percent of those individuals did return to home countries.

The difference, of course, is that they were returning to significant positions in their home countries. Many of them became ministers, whether it was agriculture or education, and top government jobs, or returning to universities in top positions. So I think a lot depends upon what there is to return to, and if there is an opportunity in the home country, and they are interested in being of service, then they are more likely to return.

I did try to find information on undergraduate programs, and I did talk with the people at the Institute of International Education because they do a good bit of the data collection, and I was unable to find any data on undergraduate students, but, again, one of the reasons is we do not have any really government-sponsored programs where we involve a significant number of undergraduate students to be able to do some tracking.

You probably maybe could identify some institutions that get a lot of international students, and, maybe through their alumni database or something, be able to identify that, but, Congressman, I have not been able to find any actual studies of any significance for undergraduate students.

Mr. CASTLE. Thank you. Mr. North, do you have anything to add to that? Mr. North?

Mr. NORTH. Let me add an element to that. It is perfectly possible, particularly at the graduate level, to give somebody from the Third World super-education in science and mathematics and engineering, and educate them to the point where they are virtually unemployable in their home country.

If you are a microbiologist, and you come from Haiti, when you go back to Haiti, you can be sort of employed as kind of a bachelor's level, maybe teaching biology, but all of the things that you have learned are of no particular use unless you have a high-scale laboratory, which they do not have.

So there is that danger, which has not been mentioned, and it is less of a problem at the undergraduate level than at the graduate level.

There is another problem which I do not think has been mentioned, which is, though I am an egalitarian and a Democrat, and I want the minimum wage raised, and I want the Bush tax cuts for the rich to be repealed, I worry a little bit about a program like this that aims deliberately at low-income foreign students.

If you eliminate any possibility for the local elite in Malawi, or what have you, to come to the United States, you are eliminating the people who are more likely to be in power, more likely to get things done because of the traditional ways of those places, and I am not so sure that there should be a total bias against children of the elite.

The children of the elite are the ones who, historically, in this country and others, go on to become the power brokers and the people who make decisions, and if those people cannot come to the United States because they are too well off, that may be a problem.

Mr. CASTLE. Let me just ask one more question. Mr. Hinojosa raised this issue, and that is, and I do not know if it was you, Mr. North, or who actually testified to this, but the concept of there



should be a mandate that you cannot stay on in America—visas or whatever—

Mr. NORTH. I did.

Mr. CASTLE [continuing]. But there are circumstances in which it may be beneficial that you actually sort of pointed out just now, as a matter of fact, as did Ms. Ochako, beneficial to have the person be able to stay in the United States. I worry a little bit about absolutes, as far as that is concerned. I agree with the concept: You want to expose these young, bright people to the United States, and perhaps let them go back and help in their countries and help say what America is all about. But, on the other hand, there may be circumstances in which it is beneficial to have them stay.

We worry about the brain drain here. Now, maybe that is more in the graduate area. We educate some of these students, we give them a Ph.D., and, all of a sudden, they know a heck of a lot more than our students do, and we would not want them to necessarily leave in that particular circumstance.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. CASTLE. Certainly.

Mr. DELAHUNT. There are conflicting interests, in terms of this nation's needs. We do have H-1B visas, for example, to attract those with expertise in IT, and I tend to agree with Mr. Castle.

I think, as a policy, my sense and purpose is to see people return to their countries, but it cannot be inflexible, and maybe there is a way to, in exceptional circumstances, to create not the exception within the program but some sort of expediting the determination as to whether another visa program might be available to accommodate that microbiologist that we might need in the biotech sector in Massachusetts, for example.

I am constantly getting calls from significant businesses in the biotech area requesting H-1B visas and expressing concern that we are losing people to overseas as far as the ability of other nations now to compete for that talent. It is just an observation. Mr. North?

Mr. NORTH. We are talking about two different things. We are talking about the current immigration laws, which cover most folks, and we are talking about this bill, this proposal.

This proposal does not create people with remarkable credentials at the—

Mr. DELAHUNT. At the onset.

Mr. NORTH [continuing]. At the onset. I mean, they have been here for 4 years, and they have got a B.A., like probably most of the people in this room do, and you have plenty of opportunities, and I have been watching immigration policy and ways of manipulating it over the years, there are plenty of possibilities, under the current system, to move from a F visa to a J visa to an H-1B and then on to a green card. I would not worry about that. We have a very large quantity of people in this country who are working on these various visas.

Further, and you do not hear this from the employers, Mr. Chairman, that tends to lower the wages and working conditions for the high-tech folk, and then there are fewer Americans pursuing these jobs because there are so many people from other parts of the world, particularly India and China, who take these jobs. An offer

of \$50,000 a year, may not do much in the American labor market for a Ph.D., but for a person from China, he not only has an offer of \$50,000 a year; he also has an opportunity to get the green card. So he will work, and a colleague born in the United States will not work, for that corporation. So there is that element, a loosening of the labor market, which concerns me.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Ms. Ochako?

Ms. OCHAKO. Sorry. I would just like to add a few comments on that.

I am not sure if the system that works for the business selection would work for such a proposal, but I feel like selecting students who you see are passionate about their country, who have been involved in their country, it is impossible to judge, but I feel like that is key. For our selection, you have to choose not people who would rush for the opportunity to stay abroad but, rather, people who would be able to—because it is impossible to draw the line on where you would make an exception and where you would not make an exception.

But I feel like if the selection process would involve looking at a person or the character of a student and seeing how much they have already put into their community, I think that can be a fair judgment of how much they could put after because that is, I think, the basic thing, investing back into your country in order to receive the investment, and you are putting it back.

Mr. CASTLE. Well, thank you, all. I appreciate it. It has been an interesting discussion, an interesting panel, and I appreciate it, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Thank you, Mr. Castle. My friend from Texas, Mr. Hinojosa.

Mr. HINOJOSA. I apologize, Mr. Chairman, for being a little bit late. I had to give a report at one of the caucuses where I am chairman of the Education Task Force, and I apologize for that. Let me see if I can get my questions that I had set up. Give me one moment, please.

Mr. DELAHUNT. While you are doing that, let me just make an observation.

What we are talking about now, some of the points that, I think, Mr. North makes, is the reality of globalization, both economically, in terms of communication, and it was you, Dr. DeLauder, that talked about mobility. Mobility, at this moment in the history of humankind, is extraordinary, our ability to travel.

I guess what I am saying is, to prepare Americans for this emerging global community requires the Simon-type proposal and also the complimentary part, which is bringing these students here, not just simply—there is a dual purpose here—not just simply to see them return to their countries to become leaders in all aspects of their national life but also to provide an internationalization here on American campuses.

My own daughter went to Middlebury, as well as myself, and I can remember taking her to school. This was 10 years ago. She is an adopted child; she was born in Vietnam. I was fascinated to find out, in a campus with an enrollment of 2,300 to 2,400, something like 60 or 70 countries were represented there. It is going to Vermont and meeting Africa and learning about Afghanistan and

understanding and developing these kinds of connections that are so important if we are going to see this nation continue to advance. Let me just use that word.

So I just see multiple benefits, and everybody has posed issues that have to be addressed—Mr. North and Mr. Clay—in very practical terms, but I think the ultimate goal is of such value that all of us coming together and working on it can come up with a final product that is of consequence, real consequence.

Mr. Courtney's remarks, when he was here earlier, about the madrassahs; I want to go into those countries. I want to see those students here in the United States having the American experience. This is not because of some xenophobia, but I do believe that having the American experience and having that kind of exchange of ideas, sometimes in a very vigorous and robust way, is the best demonstration of the democratic process. One only has to listen to myself and Mr. Rohrabacher on a regular basis. But I think that is the lesson that we learn.

Earlier this morning, I met with some people from the motion picture industry, and we were talking about the impact of Hollywood, for lack of a better term, on the rest of the world, and it is those pictures that are not necessarily about a specific political issue.

But when you have a movie that is well done, for example, that speaks to a courtroom trial where due process, at least, is enacted, where there is the ability of people to observe and adversarial system with its imperfections, but, at the same time, in an effort that is public, that is transparent, where people are represented by counsel and where there is an imperfect but an effort to search for the truth, that has real power abroad because so many nations do not have that. They do not have that. That is that experience, and that is why I believe in distance learning and using, you know, the technologies that we have available.

As I said earlier, it is not just simply about coming and leaving with a body of knowledge. It is far more than that. It is having the experience of having lived here. That is understanding America, and that will dispel, in my opinion, much of the unfair criticism, often, that this nation receives. Dr. DeLauder?

Mr. DELAUDER. Just to follow up on your comment, in talking with Ms. Ochako, she was talking about the difference between her experience in American classrooms as opposed to experience in a Kenyan classroom. Now, obviously, those are two different approaches. They are in a more formal educational system, in terms of the relationship between the professor and the student. The professor is the authority person, and he or she has the knowledge, and the students do not challenge that.

In the American classroom, there is more engagement between the student and the professor, and so you get involvement in conversations and challenging ideas, and so forth. So it is a different kind of experience for a lot of students that are coming from a different kind of an educational system. So there is a great value that comes with that.

Mr. DELAHUNT. And also going out—

Mr. DELAUDER. Yes.

Mr. DELAHUNT [continuing]. Of the classroom and seeing people like myself and Mr. Rohrabacher scooping ice cream.

Mr. DELAUDER. Absolutely, right, right.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That is a learning experience for people from elsewhere.

Mr. DELAUDER. Absolutely.

Mr. DELAHUNT. That is important, and those observations, when they return to their home countries, are passed on. As I said in my opening remarks, there is a multiplier effect there of 30 or 40, some would estimate.

Mr. Chairman, do you have any further questions?

Mr. HINOJOSA. My question is directed to Dr. DeLauder. Do you feel that bringing more students to the U.S. would help relieve the overcrowded and underfunded universities in many parts of the developing world?

Mr. DELAUDER. I think it certainly will contribute to that. Now, the magnitude of that problem in some countries is even beyond the scope of what is being proposed here, but it will open up opportunities for students who, if they stayed in their home country, would not have an opportunity to get a tertiary education.

Mr. HINOJOSA. My next question: By supplying education to students from underdeveloped countries, could this be seen as a development program to relieve poverty and increase job training and skills in the sending countries?

Mr. DELAUDER. Yes. I do think that that is the case, absolutely.

Mr. HINOJOSA. You spoke, in your presentation, about the historically black colleges and what role they are playing in helping improve quality of life for those families.

I have been working very closely with the stakeholders in our Higher Education Committee who represent the HBCUs, who represent the predominantly black institutions, like Danny Davis from Illinois, and also the Asian-Pacific-Serving Institutions, where David Wu is one of the champions. I see that we just have not been able to find the thread that sort of brings together all of these minority-serving institutions.

Tell us, how can Congress help us do that so that we can increase the recruitment numbers coming to universities and definitely increase the graduate program graduates coming from minority families?

Mr. DELAUDER. Yes. That has been an issue because, in many cases, it appears as though the minority groups are competing for programs and funds that are directed toward minorities.

There was one program that I was a part of that was a joint program between NAFEO, which represents predominantly and Historically Black Institutions, HACU that represents the Hispanic-Serving Institutions, and AHEC that represents the Native American colleges and universities.

It was a leadership program that was funded by the Kellogg Foundation, and it was designed to have a 1-year program in which promising individuals at these institutions, administrators, would go through a training program that would prepare them as future leaders of minority-serving institutions, a very successful program. That was the one area where I saw great cooperation between the

groups that you are talking about, and we had a very successful program.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Did they put out a report after that 1 year?

Mr. DELAUDER. It was actually a 3-year program, and there is a report, as a result of that, and I will see if I can get a copy of that.

Mr. HINOJOSA. If you would be kind enough to get us a copy of that.

Mr. DELAUDER. I will do. Right.

Mr. HINOJOSA. I have been in Congress 12 years. In that period, we have made some progress in working together.

Mr. DELAUDER. Yes.

Mr. HINOJOSA. We see the strength of all of those members of those communities coming together and making a difference in legislation, but, still, we have a long ways to go when we see the results of how many have actually graduated with a bachelor's degree in each group—

Mr. DELAUDER. Right.

Mr. HINOJOSA [continuing]. And the extremely low percentages that we have with master's and Ph.D.s.

Mr. DELAUDER. Absolutely.

Mr. HINOJOSA. So I would appreciate hearing from you.

My question to Mr. North: As many have mentioned, our educational system is one of the finest and most sought after in the world. I have heard members of foreign relations task forces that represent Africa, and they talk about the potential that there is in Northern Africa right now. Those nations have prime ministers. They have kings and other titles for whoever runs those countries who were educated in the United States in some of our Ivy League schools.

So tell me, do you feel we have a duty to share this with the world, and, particularly, families who could not otherwise afford it?

Mr. NORTH. I am not opposed to the legislation. I think it is a good idea, and, as I said, we should be spending more money on these kinds of social purposes and less on tax breaks for the rich. So I do not have any basic philosophical problems with it.

I am a little worried, however, and you just raised the issue, that, for a while—I am not sure that that is still true—there were a number of people who were running these various countries who had been to the United States for their education. Those are the kinds of people who would be excluded from this program because you are just dealing with low-income people.

It was not the children of the farm worker who got to be prime minister or king, certainly, of these various places; it was a child of the elite, and I am a little worried. It sort of runs against my democratic tendencies, but I worry about the focus on low-income, potential students. I do not worry about the focus on undergraduates, which, I think, is appropriate.

Mr. HINOJOSA. Thank you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Would the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. HINOJOSA. Yes.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I think it is important to remember that Nelson Mandela was a goat herder.

Mr. HINOJOSA. I understand that.

Mr. DELAHUNT. I do. I think your point is well taken, and it is something that I think that we have to think through. But my experience has been, and, obviously, in serving on this particular committee and chairing this subcommittee, I do far too much international travel, but when I speak of this concept to either ambassador here in Washington from foreign nations, as I got to Latin America or to the Middle East, the enthusiasm that this generates is extraordinary.

It does have that impact, and when I speak of it in terms of reaching out to those who would not have any hope, or even have had the dream, of the possibility of this kind of a program, the enthusiasm is unbridled.

So I would hope that we could continue the core of reaching out to those regions of the world where there would be a benefit. I hear you, and I am trying to think of a creative way to ensure that we, hopefully, are producing the leaders, even if they are not members, if you will, of the elite, whether that be an economic elite or a political elite, whatever, and maybe that requires some sort of a component with the government of the students who receive these grants. I do not know, but it is something that we should be talking about.

You know, your point about tax policy in this country, I agree with as well, but I think it is really important to put this in another context.

Estimates of the cost of the War in Iraq vary from one trillion to three trillion, and I am sure, when we examine the cost of gasoline at today's prices and remind ourselves that it is not just the oil; factored in there is what the experts call a "risk premium" of some \$30 to \$40 because of the volatility of those nations that are the major producers of oil.

If, over time, and the problem is this is tough to quantify, but, over time, if a program such as this had the impact that those of us who, I think, are here today hope for and create societies elsewhere that enjoy economic development, that embrace their own form of genuine democracy, that it is not just making the world a better place; it is making the world a safer place, and it is providing us, hopefully, with the avoidance of a war that we have not even thought about sometime 20 or 30 or 50 years down the line.

It is a cheap investment, a billion, compared to what we have observed over the course of the past 6 or 7 years in the Middle East. Rubén?

Mr. HINOJOSA. Mr. Chairman, I agree with your closing remarks, and I want to, again, thank you for calling this hearing and thank you for wanting to reach out and partner with our Higher Education Committee because I believe that, together, we can hit a grand-slam home run and turn the chart—I think it was in Mr. Scott's presentation—which showed that there had been a constant increase in international students coming to the United States, but, after 9/11, they seem to have stopped and then started dropping, and, for the 7 or 8 years, it dropped down to 550,000.

So showing this graph, if we do not turn this back around, I think we are going to be stagnant, we are going to be very slow in showing progress, and that is going to be bad for our country. So, with that, I look forward to working with you.

Mr. DELAHUNT. Well, thank you, and, again, for this very distinguished panel, our gratitude: Mr. North, Dr. DeLauder, and Ms. Ochako—Go Panthers. The subcommittees are adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:56 p.m., the subcommittees were adjourned.]

