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MARK C. ELLIOTT

THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL UNIVERSITY

Remarks at the Marsilius Kolleg, Heidelberg University, 26 March 2025

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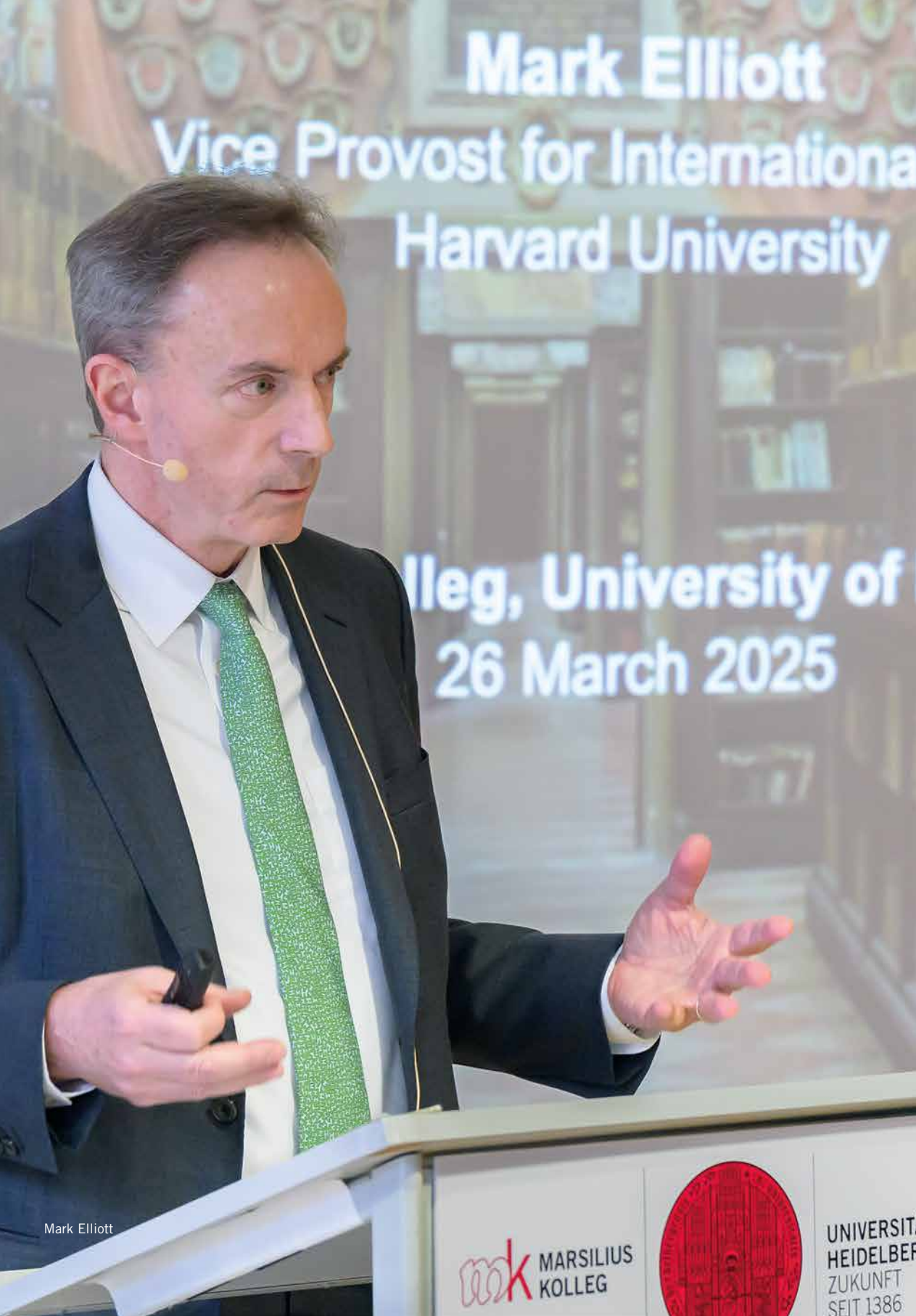

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THOUGHTS ON THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL UNIVERSITY

Remarks at the Marsilius Kolleg, Heidelberg University, 26 March 2025

Mark C. Elliott · Vice Provost for International Affairs, Harvard University

Mark Elliott is Vice Provost of International Affairs at Harvard University and the Mark Schwartz Professor of Chinese and Inner Asian History in the Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations and the Department of History.

ABSTRACT:
The dominant trend in higher education around the world for many decades has been toward ever higher levels of international collaboration and exchange. The number of students seeking degrees at institutions located outside their native countries has steadily increased, while a growing proportion of the world's scientific papers are published by multinational teams of scholars. This trend, observable for much of the post-WWII era, accelerated during the period of intensified globalization following the end of the Cold War. In recent years, doubts about the virtues of globalization, shifts in geopolitics, and systemic shocks such as the COVID-19 pandemic, have led to questions at many research universities about future trends in international academic collaboration. This talk considers where we have been, where we are heading, where we might want to go, and how we might get there.

GEDANKEN ZUR ZUKUNFT DER GLOBALEN UNIVERSITÄT

Vortrag im Marsilius-Kolleg, Universität Heidelberg

26. März 2025

Mark Elliott ist Vice Provost of International Affairs an der Harvard University und Mark Schwartz Professor für chinesische und innerasiatische Geschichte am Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations sowie am Department of History.

Über Jahrzehnte hinweg war die internationale Öffnung der Hochschulen ein klarer Trend: Immer mehr Studierende zieht es für ein Studium ins Ausland, und ein wachsender Anteil wissenschaftlicher Publikationen entsteht in multinationalen Forschungsteams. Diese Entwicklung, die sich seit dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs beobachten lässt, gewann nach dem Kalten Krieg in einer Phase rasanter Globalisierung noch einmal deutlich an Dynamik. In jüngerer Zeit jedoch haben Skepsis gegenüber der Globalisierung, geopolitische Verschiebungen und globale Krisen wie die COVID-19-Pandemie viele Universitäten dazu veranlasst, die Zukunft internationaler wissenschaftlicher Zusammenarbeit neu zu bewerten. Am Beispiel der seit dem 19. Jahrhundert gewachsenen und bis heute wirkkräftigen Verbindung zwischen der Harvard University und der Universität Heidelberg zeigt dieser englischsprachige Beitrag, wie stark historisch gewachsene internationale Verflechtungen die Entwicklung leistungsfähiger Forschungsuniversitäten prägen. Er fragt danach, wie wir zum heutigen Stand gelangt sind, wohin wir uns bewegen, welche Ziele wir uns setzen sollten – und wie wir sie erreichen könnten.

My subject today is the future of the global research university. The topic is timely, given the shocks to the prevailing world order we are now experiencing. That order, in which all of us came of age and which most of us accepted more or less as a given, today appears to be undergoing substantial transformation. Where that transformation will lead, we do not yet know, but it is not too early to begin thinking about how it will affect our universities. I will offer a few preliminary thoughts in that regard toward the end of these remarks. What I say, though, will inevitably be shaped both by reflection on the historical development of the research university generally – a history in which the connections between Harvard and Heidelberg are of more than passing importance – as well as by my experiences over the last ten years as Harvard's chief international officer, so let me start there.

When I assumed the role of Vice Provost for International Affairs (VPIA) in 2015, one of the questions I was often asked was whether Harvard was a global university that happened to be based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, or whether it was an American university that happened to have a prominent international profile. For a long time, I have thought about this question, and I have come to the conclusion that the answer is the second of these: we are an American university first and a global university second.

I say this for a couple of reasons. One is that, frankly, recent changes and developments in American society have raised questions about the value that Harvard and other leading research universities, public as well as private, bring to the United States. This has caused many of us in university administration to reflect more intently upon the need to demonstrate how the many ways in which we carry out our academic mission – teaching, research, the dissemination of knowledge, the creation of solutions to real-world problems – contribute vitally to the national interest and have done so for the entire history of the country, and indeed even before the country existed. After all, by the time the U.S. declared its independence of the British crown, Harvard had already been around for 140 years.

The other reason I have concluded that we are an American university first and a global university second is that there is no single way in which a university is "global," and the qualities inherent at an institution like Harvard – the qualities that define us as an American institution – are very much the qualities that also define us as a global university. Thus a global research university in an American context does not look

the same as a global research university in a German, Chinese, Japanese, or Australian context.

Having said that, I think it is without question that any major university in the world today that seeks excellence, even greatness, must both serve its national interests and find ways to enmesh itself in global networks – networks of talent, of research, of funding – to provide the necessary opportunities for its faculty and students to realize their own individual academic goals. In this way, there is in fact a set of shared characteristics we will see expressed at most global universities, even if expressed differently and to different degrees. This has been the trend for some decades, and this trend has fundamentally shaped the way that research is done in the world today. It may be true that this trend was accelerated during the period of what my Harvard colleague Dani Rodrik calls "hyperglobalization" (what some of us used to just call "globalization"), but it did not begin in the 1990s, and as far as I can see, it is not about to come to an end. The structures of what we might call academic globalization have proven too effective and too attractive to too many people, I think, for them to be abandoned altogether.

Let me pause here to identify a few key characteristics of what I am talking about when I talk about "the global university." Its main features include the following:

1. embracing a commitment to enrich the University community by seeking talented students, faculty, researchers, and to some degree senior administrative staff, from around the world, as opposed to depending on a more limited talent pool derived mainly from the home country;
2. supporting research in all disciplines, and across disciplines, that is worldwide in coverage and that is engaged at scale in the collaborative investigation of a wide range of problems and subjects, in STEM fields of course, but also in social sciences, humanities, policy, medicine, public health, environment and climate, entrepreneurship and innovation, education, etc.
3. creating and maintaining the support structures to sustain and support both a highly international community on campus and a student and faculty population that is constantly seeking opportunities to take their work abroad.

At Harvard, I would add to this list two other things:

4. the maintenance of some set of high-level partnerships with peer institutions abroad, or of a physical presence in overseas locations; and
5. the ability to build and nourish a substantial international network of alumni.

Not all global universities will have the resources for all five of these, but the most successful probably will, or will come close.[1] I note here that Heidelberg has four overseas locations (Santiago, New York, Delhi, Kyoto), and an extensive overseas alumni network, so this model evidently also has an appeal for you.

Whatever one thinks of the system of international rankings, a glance at any table of the world's leading universities as indicated by the number and quality of publications, competitiveness in attracting the brightest students and scholars reveals that the top institutions in every country in the world are institutions that to some degree qualify as "global universities." I would like to make clear that I draw a distinction between "world-class" universities and colleges and "global" universities. If we take a look at the THE list of "most international universities" (compiled using international student score, international staff score, international co-authorship score and international reputation metrics), we can see that there is poor correlation between that ranking and the overall rankings of top universities (Harvard is #45 on this list, right between the University of Auckland and the University of Alberta, though its overall ranking on the THE list is #3; Heidelberg is #79, #47 overall).

Whatever the rankings say, two things are worth noting. One is that the increasing globalization of universities has resulted in an overall improvement in the quality of institutions worldwide as measured in terms of research output. The other is that it has resulted in a kind of redistribution of excellence, with the US and UK share of the top rankings declining as universities in other parts of the world find ways to up their game by recruiting better students and more talented faculty. This is good for the world. We have a lot of problems to solve in this world, and universities are the most important places where those problems get careful attention and where solutions will be found.

The success of the global university in recent decades has been driven by a number of things, including perhaps most obviously the interconnectedness facilitated by the internet and by the lowered cost of personal mobility. Assuming that the direction of flows of international students continues on the same course as in recent decades – which I think is not unreasonable – and assuming likewise that bright young scholars and researchers will be looking around the world for an academic home where they are truly valued and given the chance to flourish, then we should assume that international higher education will continue on a course of steadily increasing globalization, and that, irrespective of domestic variability in one or another individual country, such conditions will be conducive to the continued growth and viability of the global research university. This alone gives me reason to be optimistic about the future of the global research university.

Another reason I am optimistic comes from what I have come to understand about the evolution of Harvard as a global university. Now, when speaking before audiences, I usually boast that Harvard is the most globalized university in the world. I say this on the basis of the very high number of foreign students (approximately one-quarter of degree-seeking students), the number of faculty (one-third born outside the US and/or earned their PhDs abroad), the nature of the curriculum (e.g., number of foreign languages), the number of international travelers (10,000 annually), the number of international research centers (16 in a narrow sense, another 40+ in a broader sense), our physical representation abroad (two dozen offices/centers), the number of alumni living outside the U.S. (77.000, about one-seventh of living alumni), and the number of Harvard graduates serving as prime ministers, presidents, cabinet ministers, supreme court justices, and CEOs of global Fortune 500 firms. In short, Harvard is "Harvard" precisely because is it so very international and enmeshed in the world in so many ways.

Let me put this a little differently: Harvard became "Harvard" in significant measure by becoming ever more international. I hope you will indulge me by allowing me to explain how I see that process unfolding over a period of some two hundred years. It will interest you, but probably not surprise you, to learn that German universities, including Heidelberg, played a crucial role during this process, especially in the 19th c., when – had there been THE or QS rankings in those days – all the top slots would have been held by German schools. Given today's setting, it seems appropriate that a highlight this aspect of things.

A review of the history of Harvard's internationalization, which goes back to the turn of the 19th c., shows that this process has proceeded in four discernible stages, and that it has very much been subject to shifts in global events as well as in domestic policy and, from time to time, internal university strategy. Setting aside the fact of Harvard's founding as a sort of "colonial branch" of the University of Cambridge, with the curriculum modeled on that of Cambridge and nearly all faculty coming from England, what we could consider the first phase of Harvard's internationalization involved the experiences of Harvard faculty, and later students, going abroad for study and to earn the credentials they needed to become university professors. This process went hand in hand with the professionalization of higher education in the U.S., with the gradual move away from instruction by "gentleman scholars".

For much of its first two centuries, Harvard was a small college focused mainly on training clergymen. With the founding of the United States, its mission began to shift, and the need to train young men (it was only men) in various professions soon became clear, which is why we see the establishment of the law school and the medical school in the early 1800s. Expanded instruction in the sciences and in modern languages also began at around this time, and to get the training they needed to be able to teach their subjects, young American academics turned most often to the German universities. This led to the first of the four stages I mentioned, lasting for most of the 19th c. The second phase was from the late 19th c. to the 1930s; the third from the 1930s to the 1990s; and the fourth from the 1990s to the present.

Awareness of the importance of German scholarship not just in the sciences but in law led Harvard at its bicentennial in 1836 to award one of its very first honorary degrees to a Heidelberg professor, Carl Joseph Anton Mittermaier (1787–1867), a leading theorist of judicial reform and a student of the American constitution. In one

of his writings, Mittermaier, who later helped draft the Paulskirche constitution of 1848, urged his colleagues "to turn to the experience of America.... Let us follow the American example, and we shall harvest the most splendid fruits."[2] (Good advice then, perhaps?) The rising tide of Germanophilia at Harvard meant that by 1860, all students were required to study German, which doubtless served them well when they went on to German universities for advanced study, as quite a few did. According to one study, between 1830 and 1870, 322 Americans formally attended Heidelberg, among whom were many Harvard graduates and professors.[3]

Many more just passed through. Among those was one the future Harvard president Charles Eliot (1834-1926), who spent a couple of years in the early 1860s in Germany, based mainly at Marburg, where he attended lectures in chemistry. Eliot was impressed both by the scope and number of courses offered in various disciplines, which far exceeded that available at any American university at the time. In 1869, after he became president of Harvard, Eliot resolved to transform the institution so that it might one day rival German universities like Heidelberg in terms of advanced research and training at the doctoral level. But he could not do this without the help of the German universities themselves, who took in many Harvard scholars.

In 1886 Harvard celebrated its 250th anniversary, which became an opportunity for taking stock of how far things had changed over the course of the preceding decades. Among the speeches at those celebrations was one by Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, president of the Johns Hopkins University, which had been established just ten years before on the explicit principles of integrating teaching and research that were the hallmark of German research universities such as Heidelberg. Gildersleeve was generous in praising Harvard's academic standing, even comparing it to Heidelberg, which had just celebrated its 500th anniversary.[4]

In a sense, Heidelberg was itself present at that anniversary, the university's leadership having sent greetings in lieu of a representative to mark the occasion:

Der Harvard Universität sagen wir besten Dank für die Einladung zur Feier Ihres zweihundert und fünfzig jährigen Bestehens. Leider gestatten die Umstände nicht, Vertreter aus unserer Mitte zur persönlichen Teilnahme an dem schonen Feste zu entsenden, und so können wir nur auf diesem Wege unsern, warmen Gefühlen für das Wohl und Gedeihen der stamm- und geistes verwandten Schwester Ausdruck verleihen. Möge Ihr Bestehen in dem

zweiten Jahrtausends Viertel ein ebenso gesegnetes sein wie in dein ersten, möge die Wirksamkeit entsprechend dem Aufblühen Ihres Landes noch ausgedehnter werden, und möge insbesondere der Zusammenhang zwischen amerikanischer und deutscher Wissenschaft und Lehre in alle Zeit unwandelbar ausdauern und Frucht bringen.
Prorector und Senat der Grossherzoglich Bädischen Universität
zu Heidelberg, T. BEKKER.

We would like to thank Harvard University for the invitation to celebrate its two-hundred fiftieth anniversary. Unfortunately, circumstances do not permit us to send representatives from our midst to participate personally in this joyous celebration, and so we can only express our warm feelings for the well-being and prosperity of our kindred sister in this way. May your existence in the second quarter of the millennium be just as blessed as in your first, may your activities become even more extensive in line with the flourishing of your country, and may the connection between American and German science and teaching in particular endure and bear fruit unchangingly for all time.

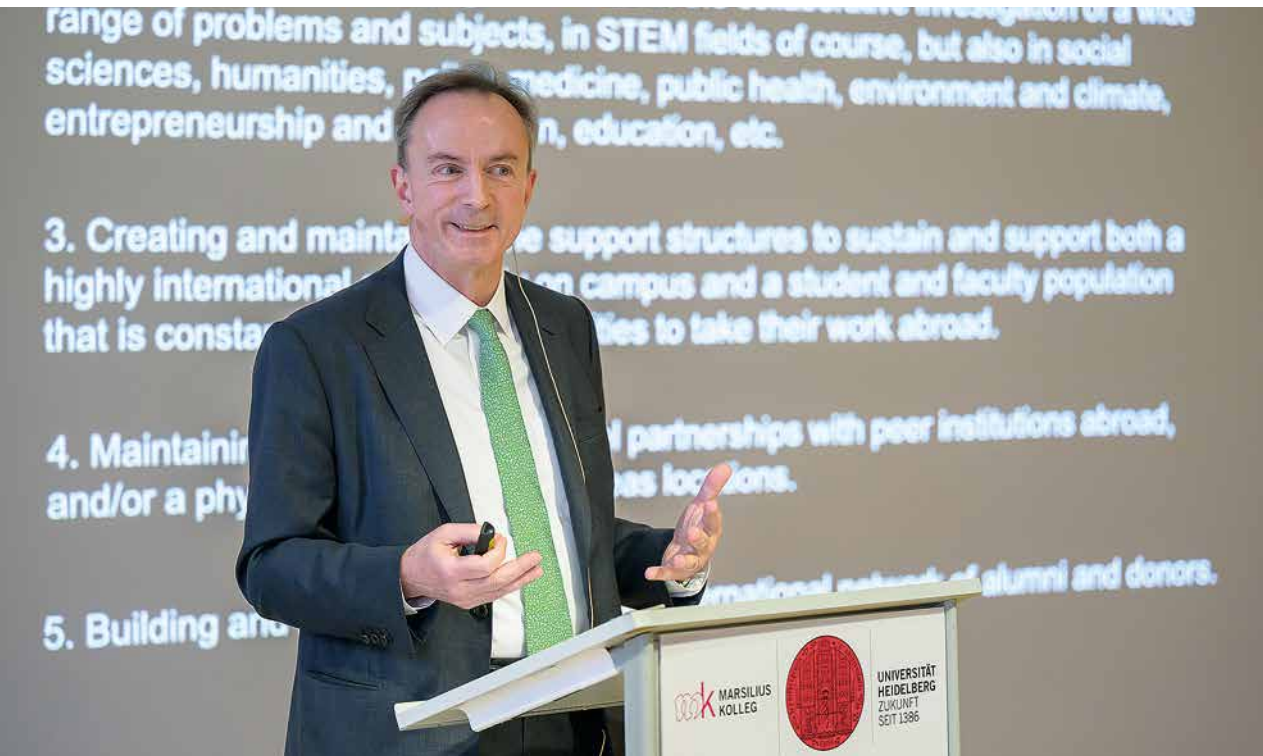
I am relieved to be able to tell you that Harvard was also present at Heidelberg's 500th anniversary, which took place earlier that same year. Its formal representative was a professor of medicine, Dr. J. R. Chadwick; if he made any remarks, I have not found evidence of those. But I have found commentary by another Harvard representative, Arthur M. Cummings, Class of 1887. Cummings, then an exchange student, submitted three long articles to the Harvard Crimson all about the Heidelberg Jubilee, which he witnessed. As might be expected from a student reporter, though he was impressed by the pageantry of the week-long celebration, his tone was lively but not entirely reverent. In describing the two-and-a-half-hour speech of the featured speaker, Professor Dr. Kuno Fischer, a renowned philosopher, Cummings wrote,
There is no more noted man in Heidelberg today than Kuno Fischer, and none whose works are better known in the United States. American students at Heidelberg are always partial to him, both because of his celebrity and because of his exceptionally clear and distinct pronunciation of his mother tongue. But still he is not to be recommended to the young beginner in German.

Regarding Fischer's speech, he had this to say:
It was an impressive scene in the old church, and one which called up many memories. On this very spot and in a church of the same name, Ruprecht I five hundred years before dedicated the university to religion and knowledge. The building was filled to the last man

possible. The oration was a masterly production and was delivered in a manner befitting the great occasion. Like all Germans, Doctor Fischer is nothing if not exhaustive; and in the course of the two hours and a half that he occupied, he succeeded in exhausting not only his subject, but his entire audience.

Cummings's three articles on the Jubilee were but one of a number of articles in the Crimson by Harvard students writing from Heidelberg during these years.

The cumulative effect of this active academic exchange was that by the early 1900s, probably the majority of Harvard faculty had spent at least some time in Germany, and many had earned their doctorates at Heidelberg. What's more, a number of the faculty were in fact German graduates of Heidelberg, having been recruited to teach at Harvard. The make-up of the Harvard faculty by the turn of the twentieth century reflected a highly internationalized group, very many of whom had earned their qualifications by virtue of time spent at European institutions, principally at one of six German universities. One recognition of this achievement was the inauguration in 1905 of Harvard's first international exchange program, between Harvard and the top German universities – what could now be called "peer institutions" – the result of efforts by Harvard's Kuno Francke, professor of German literature and art history.[5]



As I said: Charles Eliot's ambitions upon returning from Europe in 1865 were to turn Harvard into a great American research university that could compete for talent with German institutions. But were it not for the openness of German universities, which provided advanced training for so many, Harvard would have had a much harder time arriving at a level where it could compete for the best students and faculty, no matter where in the world they were from. That brings us to the second stage of Harvard's evolution into a global research university, which begins with the arrival of the first international students at Harvard in the late 1800s. As late as 1853, 75% of Harvard undergraduates still came from New England,[6] with the rest primarily from New York and the mid-Atlantic states. Very few, if any, hailed from outside the United States. There was honestly no reason for them to seek a Harvard education at that time.

Though records are incomplete, it seems that foreign students probably began matriculating at Harvard no earlier than the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and probably not until the 1890s.[7,8] By 1914, The Harvard Crimson noted that Harvard had the seventh-highest number of "foreign men" of any school in the country, with 137.[9] During the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of international students began to grow at colleges and universities across the U.S., from a total of 5,000 in 1912 to 10,000 by 1932.[10] This increase, which reflected an eightfold uptick in the number of German students, augured the emergence of American higher education as a destination for students from around the world. By 1931, Harvard was home to 304 foreign students, up significantly from 182 in 1920. However, a decade later, in 1941, the number had not grown much, with 365 non-American students representing 38 different countries, most in the graduate and professional schools. This was in part because of an increasingly difficult global political situation, both with respect to isolationism and the question of whether to cut academic ties with universities operating under regimes hostile to the United States.

President James Bryant Conant, an outspoken interventionist, sought to keep connections open wherever possible; his stance, and that of his successors Derek Bok and Neil Rudenstine, heralded the third phase of Harvard's globalization, when the University became a far more powerful magnet for talented scholars and students than ever before, partly because of external influences but also owing to internal strategic choices and administrative innovations. Thus the late 1930s saw an influx of students and scholars fleeing violence and persecution in Europe who sought refuge in the U.S. In 1938, Harvard launched its first emergency scholar assistance

program, establishing scholarships for twenty German refugee students.[11] In January 1939, with backing from Phillips Brooks House, a graduate student rented space from the College and turned it into an "International Club House" for ten international students and ten Americans.[12]

The outbreak of the war saw a rise in the number of internationally focused groups and speakers, and demand on University resources soared. In 1944, the Harvard International Office (HIO) was established to respond to the needs of the growing number of international students and scholars who had been displaced from the closing of universities in Europe and Asia. The passage of the Fulbright Act following the end of the war led to an increase in the number of foreign students in the United States generally, including at Harvard, where the number went up from 650 in 1950 to 878 in 1959, leaving Harvard ranked second in the country after MIT for its international student presence.[13]

In contrast to the gradual growth seen in the 1950s, international student enrollments on campus rose rapidly throughout the 1960s. By 1970, this number reached 1,446, from 91 countries, a surge of over 50%.[14] It is during this era that we see a truly international Harvard begin to take shape: a late 1966 issue of the Harvard Alumni Bulletin observes, "The Harvard accent, if there ever was such a thing, is being replaced by a welter of accents from every part of the globe."[15]

The most significant area of growth in Harvard's international population at this time was not among students, however, but among foreign scholars and postdoctoral fellows: one-third of Harvard internationals were visiting scholars, twice the figure from ten years before.[16] This change marked the beginning of a new aspect of Harvard's opening to the world, which only accelerated in the second half of the twentieth century. For some decades now, Harvard has led American universities in the number of international scholars it hosts. The immense contributions these researchers have brought with them are impossible to quantify.

The last quarter of the 1900s may be said to mark the true beginning of the internationalization of higher education worldwide. The number of foreign students in the United States increased dramatically, rising from roughly 179,000 in 1975 to 337,000 in 1982, then to 583,000 by 2001 – a tripling in just twenty-five years.[17] Harvard leadership accurately read the geopolitical moment. Building on the founda-

tion established by Conant, under the presidencies of Derek Bok and then Neil Rudenstine, the University moved forward decisively toward "modernization," of which an explicit strategy of internationalization was a key part. Recruitment efforts intensified during these decades, as the number of international students swelled to a record high of 2,652 international students in the 1992-93 academic year.[18] By 1998, the figure had jumped 22% to 3,238 international students, amounting to 17.7 percent of total enrollment.[19] In 2025, we are at 27% internationals among degree students.

Global engagement went further than this, however. Bok actively encouraged Harvard students to study abroad and signed multiple scholarship agreements with foreign governments; the number of international research centers on campus doubled, the curriculum at different Schools grew to encompass more non-American-centered content, and Harvard became more involved in international development projects (not always to good effect). At a famous speech at Commencement in 1987, Bok announced an even more aggressive program of internationalization, expressing hopes that study abroad would become a requirement for Harvard students, and that the University would open campuses abroad within the next two decades. With Bok's backing, in 1989, the Faculty of Arts and Sciences appointed an associate dean for international affairs who developed a working paper on internationalization that proposed a new concentration in International Studies and argued for an expansion of the size of the College in order to accommodate more foreign students.[20] None of these efforts was successful, but they demonstrate how front-of-mind the issues were at the time.

By the early 21st c., "global Harvard" had already clearly taken shape, and the University entered what I am calling its fourth phase of internationalization. If its leaders over the last twenty-five years have not been as vocal as previous presidents about the need to internationalize in order to compete for talent, it may in part be because they did not need to be: worldwide trends of "hyperglobalization" ensured that Harvard – and increasingly, other universities around the world – would remain on the same path, such that hindrances to mobility arising from such events as 9/11 and even the COVID-19 pandemic proved to be only temporary downturns in an ongoing and seemingly irreversible flow of talent around the world.

Thus we see that from 2005 to 2019, Harvard's total student population increased by 19%, but its international student population increased 54%, to over 6,000,

where it stands today. The number of international scholars reached a similar level around the same time, and the number of Harvard offices abroad grew from two in 2002 to twenty in 2018. Increasingly, international teams of researchers, especially in STEM fields, have come to write more and more of the most influential articles driving their fields forward, such that today nearly 50% of articles written by Harvard scholars are with international co-authors. To protect these gains, when it has appeared that policy action (or inaction) threatened to limit the flow of students and scholars, Harvard's leaders, together with the leaders of other American research universities, have been quick to point out the risks and to argue that the long-term benefits, both to science and to the country, were such that it was in everyone's interest to continue with the policies that had worked so well for so long. And if it meant taking action to protect those interests, we would do that.

Which brings us to the present day, and to the conclusion of my remarks. I will tell you that the level of uncertainty in higher education in the United States is at a level I think none of us have ever seen before, and had not expected to see. That this uncertainty is complicating efforts to realize our academic missions is unquestionably true, but it is not deterring us from those missions. As yet, it is hard to say how many of the changes that are being proposed will be carried through or what the long-term effects will be on our institutions.

But the challenges we are presently seeing to the American university research model do put the question of the future of the global research university in a new light. If those challenges represented a response to internal problems in the selection of talent, the allocation of resources, the identification of research problems, the sharing of non-classified research results, or the utility of those results in terms of addressing actual problems – whether in engineering, medicine, public health, physics, language acquisition, political polarization – I would be more worried. As it is, it seems that for the most part the systems that have evolved to guide these processes at American universities work reasonably well, or at least not worse than before, and confirms that the path to globalization we have pursued – at Harvard for at least 150 years, sometimes deliberately, sometimes not – has been the right path. It may not have been the only path, but it is hard to disagree with the proposition that scholars and scientists at the world's global research universities have made countless contributions to improving the human condition, human life, and the life of our planet. I see no reason to believe that those contributions are slowing, or that they will stop coming any time soon.

Looking ahead, it may well be that in the near future we at American research universities will spend more time dealing with new sorts of problems; and it may be that in dealing with those problems we will find new ways of doing things. In other words, we are looking at a period of change. As a historian, I recognize that change is nothing new, and nothing to be frightened of. We will adapt, as we have adapted in the past. Come what may, we will remain globally engaged, as we have been for so long. It is now inherent in our DNA. What is harder to say is how the changes that may take place in the United States might reshape the overall landscape for global research universities elsewhere in the world. Again, speaking as a historian, when we look at the longue durée of the global research university, we can see that it had its start here in Germany, indeed right here in Heidelberg, two hundred years ago. There have been ups and downs, and in the twentieth century one would probably argue that the momentum passed to the United States. Perhaps now we are at some kind of turning point, where the model we have developed is entering a new phase of growth. Let us recall again that this model, while based on the example set by the German universities of the 19th c., in a sense goes back to the very beginnings of the European university, in 11th-c. Bologna, which opened its doors to students and scholars from all over the continent. This reminds us that the university first and foremost is not a national project, but a knowledge project; it can and should serve both interests, but it can only serve the former mission by remaining true to the latter. And to achieve that, given the very nature of the pursuit of knowledge, the university thus is and will likely remain a globally-oriented institution.

To be sure, the modern world has witnessed an intensification of this aspect of the university's way of fulfilling its social and intellectual mission. What I am saying is that, insofar as it is built into the very idea of the research university, globalization is here to stay. The question is only how it will further develop and manifest itself in the decades ahead. As I say, perhaps this represents a turning point. Maybe we will see the emergence of more transnational university consortia, along the lines of the Erasmus and Erasmus+ Programs, or the formation of more, and larger, university partnerships dedicated to tackling key research problems in those fields where an approach at scale makes sense – such as in astronomy, where the Harvard-Heidelberg Star Formation Workshops have been happening since 2016. Perhaps there will be more in the way of international campuses. We are already seeing the success of such ventures in many places, aided by the internationalization of English, by various communication technologies that lessen the distance between us,

and of course by generative AI, the possibilities of which we are only now beginning to discover.

These larger forces – not to mention the most powerful force of them all, the hunger for the discovery of new knowledge and the innate human desire to share those discoveries with the world – will, I am confident, combine to create the conditions for the continued success of the global research university in the 21st c. It may not look the same as the 20th, but then, the 20th-c. version did not look the same as the 19th-c. version, and we managed. We actually did pretty well. We should take confidence and inspiration from that record and find ways to collaborate as members of a single academic community to achieve shared goals as we press forward with our work. The world has never needed it more.

1 This list parallels in most regards the qualities of a global research university listed in Mohrman et al., 2008.

2 Quoted in A.E. Dick Howard, "America's Constitution Inspired the World," *American Heritage* 64.1 (Winter 2020).

3 John T. Krumpelmann, "The American Students of Heidelberg University 1830-1870," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 14 (1969), pp. 167-184.

4 "Speech of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve," *Record of the Commemoration, November Fifth to Eighth, 1886, on the Founding of Harvard College* (New York, 1887), p. 308.

5 "About 27 percent of the entering Class is from outside New England. This proportion will not again be equaled until 1850 or surpassed until 1853. In Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, p. 198.

6 "About 27 percent of the entering Class is from outside New England. This proportion will not again be equaled until 1850 or surpassed until 1853. In Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, p. 198.

7 In his history of Harvard, Morison refers to the presence of prominent members of the Philosophy faculty such as William James and George Santayana in the 1880s, who attracted graduate students "from all parts of the country, and from overseas" (*Three Centuries of Harvard,* p. 354).

8 "Registration by States," Harvard Bulletin, February 5, 1902.

9 "Foreign Students in America," *Harvard Crimson,* January 22, 1914.

10 Marie Didelot, "Universities and World Affairs," *World Affairs* 95.3 (Dec 1932), p. 171.

11 Morton and Phyllis Keller, *Making Harvard Modern: The Rise of America's University* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 157-58. This decision came after five years of internal debate on the question.

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[14] *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, February 4, 1961, p. 345 and *Harvard University Gazette*, January 22, 1971, p. 1.

[15] *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, December 17, 1966, p. 12.

[16] *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, January 8, 1966, pp. 296-97. Accessed at https://harvarduniversityarchives.quickbase.com/db/bqw3wzqnu?a=dr&rid=5036&rl=fxm.

[17] Vinod B. Agarwal and Donald R. Winkler, "Migration of Foreign Students to the United States," *Journal of Higher Education* 56.5 (Sept-Oct 1985), pp. 512-515; IIE Open Doors data.

[18] Ariadne Valsamis, "International Enrollment Up; Sets Record for 1992-93," *Harvard Gazette*, January 15, 1993.

[19] Matthew W. Granade, "Harvard to the World," *Harvard Crimson*, December 11, 1997.

[20] Lan N. Nguyen, "Plans for International Harvard Becoming More Focused," *Harvard Crimson*, December 11, 1990; Keller and Keller, p. 346.