

# PROCEEDINGS



## OF THE 2013 FULBRIGHT SYMPOSIUM

SOFT POWER, SMART POWER: THE MULTIPLIER EFFECT  
OF EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE



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**Dear Colleagues,**

In August 2013, the Australian-American Fulbright Commission hosted a Symposium entitled '**Soft Power, Smart Power: the Multiplier Effect of Educational and Cultural Exchange**'. This Canberra event, which coincided with the Centenary of Canberra, attracted over 150 individuals engaged with the Fulbright Program from around the world. The result was stimulating and inspirational discussions focused on the ability of the Fulbright Program to reach beyond academic and professional arenas and have real world impact.

It is an honour to present this publication containing a selection of papers from Symposium speakers and reflections from the Symposium Chairs. These individuals represent a cohort of almost 40 speakers and presenters who shared their insights, ideas and personal experiences during the 3-day program based at the National Convention Centre.

Professor Joseph S Nye Jr, University Distinguished Service Professor and former Dean of the Harvard Kennedy School, originally coined the term 'Soft Power' in 1990. He used this term to describe the way change can occur using cooperation rather than coercion in diplomatic settings. It was an absolute privilege to have a video message from Professor Nye and be able to use his insights to drive the thematic sessions within the Program.

The Symposium Program was representative in itself of the diversity of the Fulbright Program. The Program investigated the role for Soft Power and Smart Power in Public Diplomacy and Leadership, in Health, Society and Intercultural Exchange, in Creative Arts and Culture, in Public Policy, in Developing Educational Partnerships and in Research, Science and Innovation.

Public Affairs Counselor from the U.S. Embassy Mr Paul Houge officially opened the Symposium. Alongside Emeritus Professor Steven Schwartz AM, then Chair of the Australian-American Fulbright Commission Board, and I, guests viewed a Showcase of the work of twenty-five Alumni. This was an opportunity to see first hand the ongoing impact which can be achieved in the years after a Fulbright Scholarship and the long-term benefits of educational and cultural exchange in building lasting collaborations. Guests were entertained by the exceptional musical talents of Fulbright Alumni David Pereira and Monique di Mattina during musical interludes that added significantly to the varied Program.

Mr Tom Healy, Chair of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board delivered a poetry recital and delivered the opening plenary address. During his address he implored us to ask questions of each others, to gain power fro learning and to re-evaluate our own understanding of what power means to us. Throughout the Symposium his words were influential and the reflections of the Symposium Chairs reiterate this.

The Symposium closed with a fantastic speech by well known Australian writer and Fulbright Alumnus Dr Frank Moorhouse AM. Dr Moorhouse talked about his experiences as a writer, and some of his key inspirations including his meeting with Edith Campbell Berry and her role in the League of Nations.

The Symposium would not have been possible without the outstanding support of our Sponsors: Platinum Sponsor the Defence Science and Technology Organisation (DSTO), Department of Defence; Gold Sponsor the Australian Institute of International Affairs; Silver Sponsors the then Department of Industry, Innovations, Climate Change, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIICCSRTE) and Loaded Technologies ; and. Bronze Sponsors Macquarie University's Soft Power and Advocacy Research Centre (SPARC), Perpetual and the Australia Awards.

Since the Symposium took place in August 2013, the Australian-American Fulbright Commission has continued to focus on strengthening the multiplier effect of cultural and educational exchange. In 2014 we celebrated the **65<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Fulbright Program in Australia**. As part of this celebration we launched an online timeline entitled '*Australian-American Fulbright Program*'. This timeline, which is accessible through the Fulbright website [www.fulbright.com.au](http://www.fulbright.com.au) and is the work of Consultant Historian, Dr Alice Garner of La Trobe University, demonstrates the breadth and global impact of the Fulbright Program. Dr Garner's introduction to the timeline notes that 'For sixty-five years, Australians and Americans have been learning about each other through the Fulbright program. This timeline traces key events and developments in the life of the Australian-American Fulbright Program, from the negotiation period of the mid 1940s through to the current day'. At every stage there is evidence of multiplier effects, and within the detail there is evidence of soft power and smart power at work.

I invite you to read and I trust you will enjoy this selection of papers from the 2013 Symposium. The insights and comments continue to be relevant today and will continue to influence the work of the Commission heading into 2015. Building on our 65 year history, we move into 2015 with an open invitation to '**Partner with Fulbright. Share in our Success and Invest in the Future**'.

With Best Wishes, and my sincere thanks to all those who have contributed to this publication and contributed to the full Program during the Symposium,

Yours sincerely,  
Dr Tangerine Holt



Executive Director  
Australian-American Fulbright Commission



# Mr Tom Healy

Opening Plenary: Soft Power, Smart Power: The Multiplier Effect of Educational and Cultural Exchange

Chair, Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board

When I was trekking in Nepal a few years ago, I came down from the ice and snow of the Himalayan high peaks to the Khumbu Valley, where the great Tengboche monastery stands. As my friends and I trekked down from the Everest region into the warmth of spring, whole forests of rhododendron were in bloom: first white, then pink, then red as we dropped altitude. We could hear birds again. We could sleep at night without fear of frostbite. And for dinner, we had more than rice and yak meat stew on the menu. We had vegetables.

After almost a month of tough climbing, I was in a giddy, open frame of mind, attentive to the smallest things: folds of cloth, the grain of the wooden table. A monk from Tengboche caught me enraptured by the flutter of colourful prayer flags hanging from the roof of the temple. He told me there is an ancient Buddhist parable about the flags. A master overhears two students debating whether it is the wind that is moving or the flags. Back and forth they argued, each sure he was right. Finally, the master said, "Don't you see? Back and forth, argue and debate. It is, in fact, your minds that are moving."

## The banners or the wind?

I have always been suspicious of dichotomies: friend or foe, truth or beauty, rich or poor, dead or alive, sick or well, spend or save, win or lose, hearts or minds.

Think how many of these (and other) oppositions seem essential to our way of thinking. Think too, at least in English, how these words are often so basic, so often monosyllables of communication: love, hate; yes, no; left, right – perhaps even wired into our very cerebral makeup.

But there is trouble with us thinking either/or. As Catullus wrote in his famous poem 85, "Odi et amo."

I hate and I love. Why I would do so, you may well ask. I do not know, but I feel it and suffer.

Embedded here is the question that Kierkegaard said was the most important in philosophy: "Who am I?" In one of his first great works he answered with the contest of ideas and impulse, Either/Or. Our lives are a history of complicated, dialectical struggle between inner and outer, ethical and aesthetic, habit and hope.

The poet John Keats called the mature acceptance of our irreducible complexities "negative capability" – the strength, the gift of being able to live in and with contractions. Or, as the poet Emily Dickinson wrote, "I dwell in possibility, a fairer" – she means more beautiful – "house than prose." Or did she mean fairer as in more just?

This is all simply to say at the outside that I bring an innate suspicion to schemas and categories such as hard vs soft or even the alchemical triangulation that lead to what I fear risks being a too dangerously self-congratulatory third definition, if we claim that *our* power is "smart."

Smart to whom? As my mother-in-law has never ceased to tell me, "Smart is over-rated." «[Soft power] is the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments." Attraction rather than coercion or payments. I read this—Joseph Nye's definition of soft power—to my 84 year-old mother-in-law. She said, "We all pay."

She got me thinking.

Let's consider the argument. First of all, the activities of soft power—whether it's educational exchange like Fulbright or foreign aid programs or other projects—cost money. Nowhere near as much money as war. But interestingly, when you look at the history, the major expenditures and commitments to soft power usually come after war: funded through the sales of military surplus after World War II, the Fulbright Program was formulated along with other extraordinary achievements like the Marshall Plan. Budgets for educational and cultural exchange have always increased after violent events.

This does not diminish the urgency or the effectiveness of education and international cooperation, of all the engagements of friendship, trust, mutual understanding, but it does mean we must be wary of the kind of utopian confidence one can often hear in safe and prosperous places that programs of peace can overcome the habits of hate and war, that they can offer sufficient alternatives to defense, to our natural wariness of those who might do us harm.

Think of the brave man who stood down the tank in Tiananmen Square. Think of the massacres that followed. Think of the jasmine revolution and think now of Egypt. Think of Occupy Wall Street and remember the arrests and pepper spray.

The political scientist Benjamin Ginsberg says our beliefs about peace and violence are complicated and intertwined, that even advocates of non-violence can use and depend on the violence of others.

In a recent essay in the Chronicle of Higher Education, provocatively titled “**Why Violence Works**,” Ginsberg examines the American civil rights movement and the strategies of Martin Luther King, Jr, one of our greatest moral leaders in modern times, a brilliant and courageous hero of peace and justice.

He writes, “One of the most famous protests King organized, in March 1965 at Selma, Alabama is instructive. King picked Selma partly because racial discrimination there and in surrounding Dallas County was so obvious ... [King] was confident the state and county political leaders were fools. He expected them to respond with violence and, in doing so, imprint themselves on the collective consciousness of a national television audience as the brutal oppressors of heroic and defenseless crusaders for freedom and democracy. With network cameras rolling, Alabama state troopers viciously attacked marchers on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, seriously injuring many of them in what the news media called ‘Bloody Sunday.’”

The marchers knew what they were doing. They were extraordinarily brave. And they were powerful. They were successful. But was this power soft or hard?

I have traveled all over the world and talked to Fulbright scholars. I have been privileged to hear countless eloquent stories about *its* power, its impact. Again and again, whether the Fulbright scholar is 25 or 90, I hear this distilled in one short sentence, the same four words, “It changed my life.”

I am often moved to tears by those words, these stories.

But recently, I read those four words in the account of a very different story. Like Fulbright, it’s a story of mutual understanding. But it’s a story that occurred a year before the Fulbright program was founded. It’s a story that took place on April 11<sup>th</sup>, 1945. The story of **Harry Herder**, a young American soldier who was part of the liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Buchenwald means “beech forest.” Embedded in the gates of the camp in a fashionably modern sans serif all capital type font were the words, “Jedem das Seine.” Literally, this means “To each his own,” but its common meaning is “Everyone gets what he deserves.” To add to the perversity, the text was meant to be read by people on the inside who could not get out.

The blunt evil of the inscription at Buchenwald was the exception. Most camps had the hideous words Rudolf Hess commanded be inscribed in their gates, “Arbeit macht frei.” Work makes you free.

As Herber and his fellow soldiers tried to comprehend the horrors they found—the piles of dead bodies, the still raging furnaces, the living hell of the few survivors, he came upon a boy. Here’s what he writes about the encounter:

He was young, very small, and he spoke no English. He was dressed in bits and pieces of everything, ragged at best, and very dirty. He chattered up a storm and I could not understand one word. First, I got him to slow down the talk, then I tried to speak to him, but he could not understand a word I said. We were at a temporary stalemate. We started again from scratch, both of us deciding that names were the proper things with which to start, so we traded names. I no longer remember the name he taught me, and I wish so badly, so often, I could. Our conversation started with nouns, naming things, and progressed to simple verbs, actions, and we were busy with that. As we progressed I reached over into my field jacket to pull things out of the pocket to name. I came across a chocolate bar and taught him the word “candy”. He repeated it, and I corrected him. He repeated it again, and he had the pronunciation close. I tore the wrapper off the chocolate bar and showed him the candy. He was mystified. It meant nothing to him. He had no idea what it was or what he was to do with it. I broke off a corner and put it in my mouth and chewed it. I broke off another corner and handed it to him and he mimicked my actions. His eyes opened wide. It struck me that he had never tasted chocolate. It was tough to imagine, but there it was. He took the rest of the candy bar slowly, piece by piece, chewed it, savored it. It took him a little while but he finished the candy bar, looking at me with wonderment the whole time. While he was eating the bar, I searched around for the old wrapper, found the word “chocolate ” on it, pointed to the word, and pronounced the word “chocolate”. He worked on the correct pronunciation. I am sure that was the first candy the little fellow had ever had. He had no idea what candy was until then. We worked out words for those things close around us. He was learning a bit of English, but I was not learning a word of his language—I do not even know what language he spoke. This wasn’t something that happened consciously, it was just something that happened.”

Harry Herder said this encounter changed his life.

If there is ever a power I would ask you to privilege in the discussions you have today, in the work you continue to do when you leave here, it is the power of words, the power of stories and the power of questions like Harry Herder’s, trying to understand this encounter with a little boy, a stranger whose name he didn’t learn, whose life we know nothing more of.

I began by saying I was skeptical about our understanding of even the simplest words.

What is soft? What is hard? What is power? Can power be created or is there a finite amount, a zero sum game that means if I have the power, you do not? If power is the ability to get others to do what we want, have we asked who these others are? Who are we? Do we really know what we want?

I don’t mean to seem coy or self-indulgent with such questions. Life is full of real emergencies, the day-to-day demands of our own work and families and larger crises, the demands of billions of people whose most basic needs for safety, food and shelter go unmet day after day, hour after hour. All of us must put our shoulders to the wheel for ourselves and for one another and we must work.

But because we are human, we cannot escape ourselves. We are always asking how and why. We are always searching for meaning.

What I am asking is that we bring depth and discipline to our questions: not just any questions, but difficult questions as well as serious efforts to conceive of alternatives to the lives we are leading and the lives our governments, businesses, media, schools, families and even powerful strangers are constantly trying to persuade us-or force us-to lead.

What I am arguing for is the power of imagination. The late poet and activist Adrienne Rich said it is imagination's job is to "transcend and transform experience." This may not be the project for your commute to work in the morning, but it is where freedom really lies—not in simple consumer choices or ballot boxes, but in our capacity to imagine and to make our own lives. And how many of us truly have that ability? "Ultimately," Elie Wiesel—who was imprisoned at Buchenwald—has written, "the only power to which man should aspire is that which he exercise over himself."

So I just ask you to be wary of cognitive or political schemas that reward us with the comfortable belief that we are good and that we are right, that we have intentions and values it is important to persuade others to share.

In our culture of technology and measurement, we try to classify and contain things that might actually be indefinable. Too often we try to possess certainties, rather than share questions. If it is difficult to understand what power is, it's even more difficult to imagine what it really should be used for. How do we make it possible for people to flourish in a wounded world? How do we create the possibilities for happiness when there are shortages, greed, violence, differences of history and value? Whose happiness deserves to prevail?

One expression that has a long history in the exercise of power is the conviction that we must "win hearts and minds." In 1818, almost 200 years ago, in John Adams wrote a letter to a Baltimore newspaper editor named H. Niles describing where the American Revolution really took place: "in the minds and hearts of the people." "This radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments, and affections of the people," he wrote, "was the real American Revolution."

Skip a century forward and Franklin Roosevelt often employed the expression, seeking "the union of the hearts and minds of the people in all the states ... devoted with unity to the human welfare of our country." Then, 50 years ago, on April 2, 1963, John F. Kennedy began using the term in its current sense telling Congress how in Latin America "perhaps most significant of all [would be] a change in the hearts and minds of the people—a growing will to develop their countries."

And only two years later, Lyndon Johnson claimed that "ultimate victory [in Vietnam] will depend upon the hearts and the minds» of the Vietnamese people. From the American military point of view, the Vietnamese hearts and minds were obviously not so dependable.

Since Vietnam, both in earnest and with sarcasm, "winning hearts and minds" has been a way to describe our military engagements. It became a central theme in our counter-insurgency planning under President George W. Bush, with a newly published Army and Marine Corp counter-insurgency manual claiming, "Protracted popular war is best countered by winning the 'hearts and minds' of the populace."

What would it really mean for me to win your heart or your mind? Stop to think what that seriously. Such a "win" would be a kind of fragile miracle, wouldn't it? And what I had won would be an immense responsibility; it would be risk and trust. Would it be love?

If I had, through my charms and powers and persuasions somehow won your heart and mind, would you have also won *mine*? What if you then changed your mind – or had a change of heart?

No matter how decent our intentions or benign our strategies, one of the problems with persuasion is that it is not an effort of tender wonderment and questioning. Persuasion is not meant to explore truth, but to enforce it. Soft power is still meant to be power, *our* power.

Yet, the point of truth is not that it is possessed, but that it is sought, that it is provisional, that we are free to choose it—and to contest those who claim to know what the it is or are certain they have it.

Perhaps what we should struggle to look for, then, is not so much power, but a related idea: authority, in the sense of being the authors of ourselves, working toward an understanding of who we are, which would mean that power of saying who we are would belong to others as much as it would to us, because others see and hear what we say and what we do and form beliefs about what that means, who we are.

Our authority in presenting ourselves to the world and—using the same linguistic root—the *authenticity* with which we do, might convince others to bestow on us, however briefly, some power. Power not won, but freely given.

So let's not pose as power brokers today, but attempt to be authors, to use our words to make questions, to have conversations, to share the gifts of possibility and surprise, the power of learning from one another.

Speaking of questions and gifts, back in Nepal, when I was ready to leave the monastery, I saw the same monk who'd told me the parable about the prayer flags and the wind. I asked him how long it would take us to get down to the final base camp. And he said, of course, "Well that reminds me of a story."

A monk was traveling in a strange land and saw a woman working in her garden. He asked her how much further he had to go to get to the mountain temple. She looked at him but didn't say anything. He asked again. Nothing. So he shrugged his shoulders and walked on. When he was about a hundred yards up the road, the woman shouted to the monk, "It will take about two days." The monk was startled and turned around. He shouted back, "But why didn't you answer me earlier? I thought you were deaf!" She shrugged her shoulders too and shouted to him, "Well, you never know. I had to see how fast you walk."

You never know ...

So look, listen and ask lots of questions. It's what my favourite poet Emily Dickinson did her entire life. Let me give her the final thought on power:

“I know nothing in the world that has as much power as a word. Sometimes I write one, and I look at it, until it begins to shine.”

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## About the author

Tom Healy is a writer and poet and is the immediate past Chairman of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, which oversees the Fulbright scholars program worldwide, the U.S. Government’s largest and most prestigious international education and public diplomacy effort. Healy was appointed to the Board by President Barack Obama in 2011, and has been twice elected chairman. He also teaches at New York University and is currently a visiting professor at the New School.



Photo: Kyle Melinda Smit

# Dr Frank Moorhouse AM

## Closing Remarks at the Fulbright Symposium on Soft Power, Smart Power: The Multiplier Effect of Educational and Cultural Exchange

### The writer and the president's fur coat

The Fulbright program does invest in the arts including, occasionally, a fiction writer. As a fiction writer I was originally funded by the Fulbright Scheme in 1994 – to write a fictional trilogy – now known as the Edith Trilogy but which for some time was known as the League of Nations Trilogy. I completed the project just over a year ago with the publication of the third volume of trilogy – *Cold Light* – the writing of the three novels took 21 years on and off.

So last year, 22 years later, I acquitted my Fulbright Fellowship with the last volume of the trilogy.

I was made a Senior Fulbright Fellow to take up an appointment as a scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC which shares some of the activities of the Fulbright Program.

The Woodrow Center had invited me to accept a place as a visiting scholar to continue my work on volume two of my Edith Trilogy.

Senator Fulbright as a young man was a supporter of the League of Nations after WW1 – and which is the background to my novels – and, in fact after WW2 in the 1960s he proposed a new international body -- 'A Concert of Free Nations' – which would replace the UN as we know it, that is, open to all nations, with a union of democratic nations which would exclude dictatorships.

The first two novels follow the career of a young Australian woman, Edith Campbell Berry, in the League secretariat from the early years through to the formation of the UN in 1945 and election of an Australian, Dr Evatt, to the Presidency of the UN Assembly in 1948.

The early books follow Edith's work at the League of Nations in Geneva between WW1 and WW2 – the League of Nations is a memory lost to us.

'The League of Nations (1920-1946)...mankind's first effort at permanent, organised, world-wide international cooperation to prevent war and promote human well-being.'

It was history we preferred to forget. The Generation which invested its hopes and values into the League was left embarrassed and defeated by its failure.

Emery Kelen, another commentator who lived through and observed the formation of the League in Geneva said: *The League of Nations... was a failure too bitter...it is as if it had been swept under the rug and that all its grandeur has no power to sway us now, and all its misery cannot serve to teach us.'*

They were a lost generation. In a way, the novels are about people who were not given their proper space in history. Through my novels I was in a small way, *remaking contemporary memory* – adjusting contemporary memory.

Although the US never formally joined the League of Nations the US President Woodrow Wilson in 1920 was one the prime movers for its formation at the Peace talks following WW1 and a great believer in the possibilities of world mediation and planning through a world organisation.

A Fulbright Fellowship is a golden key which opens many remarkable doors.

Strange things happen during the research for my novels – actually, I think strange things happen in all research – we are led into dark corners of life and surprises leap from archive boxes.

In re-reading my diary and notes from 1994 I was delighted to find something that I had forgotten when I visited the Woodrow Wilson Museum in Washington which was the home of the Wilson's in the 1920s. The Museum of Peace, as it is now called is where Woodrow Wilson lived while in Washington in S street.

On display are objects from the White House, family items, memorabilia, and elaborate gifts of state from around the world. The house is also a living textbook of "modern" American life in the 1920s – from sound recordings to silent films, flapper dresses, and zinc sinks, says the brochures.

I was the only visitor on the day I went there and more or less had the run of the place although one of the curators accompanied me for some of the time.

In one room I saw the famous fur coat which figures in so many photographs of Woodrow Wilson.

I mentioned to my accompanying curator that everyone would recognise the fur coat from photographs of Wilson especially those at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1920 when the League of Nations was founded.

To my pleasure, the curator told me that Woodrow's coat collar was made from wombat and the body of the coat from kangaroo. It was not made in Australia but the skins were imported and the coat made in New York.

I said I would love to try the coat on. I remember she shook her head and then, looking into my eyes, she said that being an Australian Fulbright Fellow, a Woodrow Wilson Scholar, who was writing a novel about the League of Nations and seeing that the coat was made of Australian animals she would break the rules of curatorship and she invited me to try it on, guiltily looking down the stairway.

I couldn't resist.

With great care we took the coat from its hanger and found that it fitted me. As I ran my hands down the fur of the coat, saying hullo to the Australian wombats and kangaroos who had contributed to the making of the coat.

I like to think that the coat, because of the Australian animals and because of Woodrow Wilson, held *mana* and that there in his house standing in his coat I was absorbing or being charged by the mana of the coat.

Mana is a Maori word for that special force which we choose to believe can be found in some clothing or other objects — a force which can be used in all kinds of ways — for strength in battle, for its awe. Sometimes these objects are passed down generations as heirlooms and contain the power and memory of our ancestors or the greatness that the owner of the coat had achieved in his lifetime, as in the case, of President Wilson and the prestige and status he earned.

Other examples are perhaps the crown that monarch's wear, souvenirs we keep, things pass on to other generations — wedding rings — some people pay great prices for mementoes of the great — for Marilyn Monroe's dress and so on — we invest some objects with a special status and the possessing of them, or wearing of them, gives us something of that power, that status.

So in putting on the fur coat of the great man — one of the founders of the League — perhaps I hoped it would also give me the *mana*, something of the power of Woodrow Wilson's spirit to write my books.

I chose to believe that I was the only person since Woodrow Wilson who has worn the coat. I also chose to believe that not only was I taking unto myself the mana of President Wilson but also that of Senator Fulbright who through his work in international relations and the program he'd created which had carried me to the house and to the fur coat.

I carefully took the coat off and the curator replaced it. I thanked her. I left the house feeling somewhat stronger.

*"The [Fulbright] Program aims to bring a little more knowledge, a little more reason, and a little more compassion into world affairs and thereby to increase the chance that nations will learn at last to live in peace and friendship."* - J. William Fulbright

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## About the Author

Dr Frank Moorhouse AM is one of Australia's most eminent writers. He has written fiction, non-fiction, screenplays and essays and edited many collections of writing. *Forty-Seventeen* (released 1988) was given a laudatory full-page review by Angela Carter in the *New York Times* and was named Book of the Year by the *Age* and 'moral winner' of the Booker Prize by the London magazine *Blitz*. *Grand Days*, the first novel in *The Edith Trilogy*, won the SA Premier's Award for Fiction. *Dark Palace* won the 2001 Miles Franklin Literary Award and was shortlisted for the NSW Premier's Literary Award, the Victorian Premier's Literary Award and the *Age* Book of the Year Award. In 2011, Random House released the final chapter in *The Edith Trilogy*, *Cold Light*. The novel won the Queensland Literary Award and was shortlisted for The Miles Franklin and the Barbara Jefferis Award, recognising authors and their works that contribute to the positive representation of women in literature. Frank has undertaken numerous fellowships and his work has been translated into several languages. He was made a member of the Order of Australia for services to literature in 1985 and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Griffith University in 1997.



# Chair: Professor Kenneth Chern

**Soft Power and Smart Power: Public Diplomacy and Leadership**

**Adjunct Professor of Asian Policy**

**Swinburne University of Technology**

A key expected outcome of the Symposium on *Soft Power, Smart Power: The Multiplier Effect of Educational and Cultural Exchange* was to demonstrate the impact of such exchange to government, academia, the private sector and the Fulbright community. Another was to identify future opportunities for collaboration among stakeholders. The Symposium brilliantly fulfilled these expectations. An extraordinary group of academics, diplomats and community leaders shared their insights at six panels on soft-power potential in fields ranging from science and health to public policy and creative arts. The Showcase highlighted Fulbrighter achievements, while speeches by Ambassador Bleich, Chairman Healy, Professor Schwartz and Dr Moorhouse provided inspiration. That the benefits of educational and cultural exchange extend beyond the individual to communities and nations was richly demonstrated.

The speakers for the panel that I chaired, on Public Diplomacy and Leadership, wove a tapestry of experience and analysis vividly illustrating how the United States, Australia and other nations have built educational and cultural exchanges as an instrument of “soft power” in their public diplomacy, and why such exchanges offer unique challenges and opportunities for leadership in our networked, globalised generation.

The public-diplomacy issues addressed by our panel speakers bring to mind Joseph Nye’s definition of “soft power” as influence over others through attraction, in contrast to “hard power,” which relies on coercion or payment, and Nye’s comment that in a networked world, in the information age, a leader is not “king of the mountain” but operates “in the center of the circle,” and must attract people using emotional intelligence, a vision for the future, and both rhetorical and non-verbal communication skills (Gavel 2008). Also relevant is Nye’s counsel that “public diplomacy is more than broadcasting,” and that its real value lies in what the great journalist Edward R. Murrow called “the last three feet” of two-way “face-to-face communications” (Nye and Armitage 2007). It is also well to recall Senator Fulbright’s comment about power and wisdom in his 1966 book, *The Arrogance of Power*, where he warned that “power tends to confuse itself with virtue,” and expressed hope that the United States, then becoming mired in the Vietnam war, would “find the wisdom to match her power” (17, 23).

The panel on Public Diplomacy and Leadership highlighted how the Fulbright Program and similar public-diplomacy initiatives are a remarkable blend of power and wisdom, or what we might term the wise application of power by political and intellectual leaders in a win-win rather than a zero-sum sense – the attractive power of ideas, collaboration, and mutual understanding to advance the international common good.

The papers prepared for these Proceedings by key speakers on our panel richly illustrate the points made by Nye, Murrow and Fulbright. Exploring the rise of educational and cultural exchange as an instrument of public diplomacy, Melissa Conley Tyler and Giridharan Ramasubramanian delineate the differences between classical (“club”) diplomacy and contemporary (“network”) diplomacy, and explain why we need both; in an era of revolutionary communication technology, they demonstrate why personal connection remains crucial, alongside newer digital tools of public diplomacy. Mary Barrett shows how her on-the-ground experience as a Fulbright scholar transformed both her professional life and her understanding of conversational interaction across cultures. Caitlin Byrne explains how the networked and diffuse nature of public diplomacy and international education makes leadership in these fields difficult to identify and exercise; she presents an exciting four-dimensional leadership framework to align public diplomacy with national strategic objectives, organizational capacity, societal aspirations and symbolic dissemination of meaning.

These presentations capture the profound impact generated by the public diplomacy of educational and cultural exchange, the complexities of this field, and the opportunities for collaboration to create strong leadership in exercising such diplomacy as an instrument of soft power – the power to attract and to create relationships for the common good. At a time when issues of terrorism and changing geostrategic relations between Asia and the West are raising questions about the uses of “hard power” (Nye and Armitage 2007), the insights generated by the Fulbright Symposium are an important step in developing and deploying further the “soft power” so necessary to balance the use of “hard power” and help maintain peace and international understanding.

The Speakers in this session were:

- » Ambassador Nasir Anisha, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji
- » Ms Melissa Conley Tyler, National Executive Director, Australian Institute of International Affairs
- » Mr Peter Macfarlane, Director of Communications, Australian Information Industry Association
- » Professor Mary Barrett, Professor of Management at the School of Management and Marketing, University of Wollongong
- » Dr Caitlin Byrne, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Bond University
- » Dr Rebecca Hall, International Education Practitioner
- » Mr Neils Marquadt, U.S. Consul General Sydney
- » Mr Peter Howarth, Director of the Political & Strategic Issues Section, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

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## About the Author

Kenneth Chern is Adjunct Professor of Asian Policy at Swinburne University in Melbourne, where he served as Professor of Asian Policy from 2012-15 and was founding Executive Director of the Swinburne Leadership Institute. He returned to academia as a Professorial Research Fellow at Murdoch University in Perth, Western Australia in 2011, following a career in the United States Foreign Service. Ken was a strong supporter of Fulbright programs as United States Consul General in Perth from 2007-10, and as Deputy Consul General in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam from 2004-07. He was earlier posted to Beijing, Taipei, Hong Kong, Manila and Cebu. He served in the White House as Director of Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, helping to organise the inaugural APEC leaders meeting hosted by President Bill Clinton. At the U.S. Department of State, he served as Deputy Director of the Office of Philippines, Malaysia, Brunei, and Singapore Affairs, and worked at the China, Japan, and Australia-New Zealand Desks. Before joining the Foreign Service, he taught U.S.-East Asian history for two years at the University of Rochester and for ten years at the University of Hong Kong. He has a Ph.D. in history from the University of Chicago. He speaks Chinese, Vietnamese, and French.



# Chair: Professor Kim Rubenstein

**Soft and Smart Power: Health, Society and Intercultural Exchange**

**Director of the Centre for International and Public Law, College of Law**

**Public Policy Fellow**

**Australian National University**

Delighted to moderate this session, it is now my pleasure to reflect on the four interesting and varied papers presented, each drawing on the theme of *Soft Power, Smart Power* in the context of Health, Society and Intercultural Change.

I had the privilege of two separate trips to the United States as a Fulbright Scholar – first in 1991-92 to Harvard as a Postgraduate Scholar (LLM) and the second in 2002-3 to Georgetown University as a Senior Scholar continuing my research on citizenship and nationality in a globalized world. Both were outstanding and powerful experiences. They helped shape my thinking and scholarship, contextualizing and profoundly shaping my internationalist outlook. The Fulbright exchange enabled me to develop close relationships with US scholars (and those international visitors to the US) as an academic, and it also provided me with an opportunity to make extremely meaningful personal friendships that continue to this day.

Each of the papers concerned are germane to my own research interest – citizenship; in particular, the difference between small “c” citizenship and big “C” citizenship. Small “c” citizenship is the concept of membership of a community that is not only linked to those who are formal citizens (and who are recognized in law as citizens by the state) but includes temporary residents and permanent residents. These are people who we call our fellow citizens because they participate as members in the community regardless of their legal status – through their civic and social membership activity. In contrast, large “C” citizens are those recognized as citizens by the Australian Citizenship Act (and for the purpose of getting a Fulbright, say, need to be Australian citizens to be eligible to apply!) but their sense of membership may not be as high, as a matter of identity or practice as small “c” citizens. Ultimately it depends on a range of factors that I discuss in greater detail in my book *Australian Citizenship Law in Context* (2002) with the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition due out in 2015.

In some ways, the difference between the two concepts of citizenship is similar to the concept of soft power and hard power and encapsulates how soft power is smart. Soft power involves the realization that action, participation, personal connections and human relationships are foundational to the way individuals make decisions – just as those factors influence our sense of being active small “c” citizens and large “C” citizens. And, in the Fulbright context, these scholars we meet and connect with exercise varying and different forms of power in their own nation-state and play out their own citizenship in light of these relationships.

From Alice Garner and Diane Kirkby’s piece on the institutional history of the Fulbright foundation experience in Australia, to Iain Butterworth’s contribution on community capacity, to John Kleinig’s thoughts on police ethics and Richard Adam’s reflections on moral autonomy and military obligation, each draws upon aspects of our understanding of the relationship between the individual and the power of the state and how we navigate the exercise of power as individuals and through institutions.

I commend them all to you as expressions in themselves of the value of the Fulbright experience. They illustrate how the opportunities that arise from the visit continue to add to Australian citizens’ sense of self, their work and their sense of Australia, as well as to the international environment as global citizens.

The Speakers in this session were:

- » Dr Leanne Aitken, Chair in Critical Care Nursing, Griffith University
- » Dr Iain Butterworth, Community Psychologist, Victorian Department of Health
- » Dr Alice Garner, Australian-American Fulbright Consult Historian
- » Dr Richard Adams, 2012 Fulbright Professional Scholar
- » Professor John Kleinig, Professor of Philosophy, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
- » Ms Susanne Olberg, Head of Culture, Science and Press Section, German Embassy Canberra



## Chair: Associate Professor Kimi Coaldrake

Soft Power, Smart Power: Creative Arts and Culture

Head, Postgraduate Programs in Music

Elder Conservatorium of Music

The University of Adelaide

Creative arts and culture engagement is not simply about knowledge and its translation. It is about a way of life in which the artist is an embodiment of cultural practice that grows from deep understanding of specific forms. It is about knowing both the music and creative arts while making the arts come to life.

Naren Chitty's opening address at the Creative Arts and Culture Panel the 2013 Fulbright Symposium offered insights into the original concept of Soft Power, Smart Power reminded us of the fundamental ways which soft power that is built through cultural and political cultural levels has the potential to create a nexus by which both sides are empowered by the experiences. The two-way exchange through educational training and cultural interaction is a vital part of the Fulbright Program and a key element of Senator Fulbright's vision. It was integral to my own experiences as student and musician while a Fulbright Postgraduate Scholar during the three years of my PhD program studying Ethnomusicology and Japanese Music at The University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in the 1980s. I engaged as student and musician with the local community, across different disciplines in the institution and the broader professional networks. Similar experiences were described by other speakers on the panel such as Tim Nohe in his urban renewal project in Baltimore, Ross Woodrow in his visual arts projects, Monique diMattina in her experiences of song and song writing in New York and in Australia, Marcus West while working with script writers and others to create stories in film, theatre and television or Jonathan Paget on his journey of personal rediscovery as a musician involved in educational and cultural exchanges. Each presentation demonstrated how innovative practice in the creative arts has the power to transcend national and cultural boundaries, empower individuals and communities while forging relationships that endure beyond the timelines of a specific project.

This was a common message that could also be heard at formal sessions in the 2013 Fulbright Symposium, at informal gatherings at coffee breaks and in the official speeches at the Fulbright dinner to honour new award recipients. It was clear, however, that it is not only the quality of the specific project that is an expression of smart power and the so-called soft power of cultural exchange which will continue to be vital to the future prosperity of Australia and the United States. It is the talented people in the Fulbright 'family' who return from the formal exchange, changed profoundly, and continue to share their experiences of the Fulbright program in their personal and professional lives that are the most powerful embodiment of Senator Fulbright's legacy.

The Speakers in this session were:

- » Mr Marcus West, Founding Director, Inscription
- » Professor Tim Nohe, Founding Director, Center for Innovation, Research and Creativity in the Arts, University of Maryland Baltimore County
- » Dr Jonathan Paget, 1997 Fulbright Scholar
- » Ms Monique diMattina, 2000 Fulbright Scholar
- » Professor Naren Chitty AM, Director of the Soft Power Advocacy and Research Centre, Macquarie University
- » Professor Ross Woodrow, Director Queensland College of Art, Griffith University



# Chair: Professor Don DeBats

**Soft Power and Public Policy: The Relevance of Soft Power to Conceptualizing and Enhancing Policy**

**Chair, Australian-American Fulbright Board**

**Director, Center for United States and Asia Policy Studies**

**Flinders University**

Soft power is the power to advance positions and goals via co-option; its goal is to induce one person or state to act in a manner attractive to another person or state. They will act in this manner, the theory holds, because the goal presented by the “inducer” is understood by the “inducee” as legitimate and valuable. Soft power is all about values: it is a concept steered by value constellations. It achieves these outcomes in precisely the opposite manner of efforts at persuasion based on fear, coercion, or bribery.

Professor Joseph Nye, who coined the phrase and popularized the notion, opened this Symposium with encouraging words about the ways in which the Fulbright Commission could understand its purposes through the lens of soft power. Mr. Tom Healy, Chairman of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, offered his cautionary note: about the risks of being swept into dualities and the risks of rushing to embrace a values concept that makes us feel excessively, and naively, virtuous. Between these two views, of Joseph Nye and Tom Healy, we found the frame for this Symposium, and for this session focused on soft power and public policy.

The cautionary note echoes back to the beginning of the Australian-American Fulbright Commission 65 years ago and the debates on its Board in those difficult early years. As the new history of the Commission by Dr. Alice Garner and Diane Kirkby remind us, those early years coincided with the tensions arising from the most intense phases of the Cold War: McCarthyism rampant in the US and echoes in the Australian Parliament where legislation was pending to ban the Communist Party.

How easy it would have been for this new venture with Fulbright, funded at the Australian end by WWII debt owed to the United States, to be shaped from the outset by US Cold War policy aims. How can you resist following your banker? Wisely alert to such threats, those who drafted the legislation to create the Fulbright Program built institutional protection into the Program to shield it against politicization. These bulwarks included the Board of Foreign Scholars in the US and the bi-national commissions in partner nations. Australian negotiators reflected their concern by stipulating equal national representation on the Board of the Australian-American Fulbright Commission. A third level of protection followed in the careful appointments made to the Commission by both governments. Alice Garner and Diane Kirkby tell us the consequent happy story in Australia: the adherence to the enduring values of the Fulbright vision, largely free from national policy stances.

An earlier session of the Symposium explored the connection between the concept of soft power and a new public diplomacy, a development in which networks loom large and public stakeholders are significant. In this session we turn to harder-edged issues of public policy and the connections between developments in that sphere and the value notions associated with soft power and with Fulbright. Our question is whether we can and whether we should associate the notion of soft power with the Fulbright vision. Can we be blinded to the complexities and realities of the moment?

Tom Healey’s cautionary words reflect Reinhart Niebuhr’s doubts about both the naïve Children of Light and the grim Children of Darkness: for all of the attractions of the Children of Light, they require, he said, a realistic understanding of power and human society, something provided, in part, by the grim perspective of the Children of Darkness. Reality checks are required in a pragmatic evaluation of the utility of soft power and its relation to the Fulbright mission. That is exactly what this Symposium was designed to deliver.

This session provided seven examples of an efficacious connection between the concept of soft power and the development of specific public policies in pursuit of value objectives. Because it is slow to act, depending on the creation of a value consensus, soft power is a risky strategy for change. These papers help define circumstances in which soft power does work in the creation of public policy, enhancing the effectiveness of public policy, and also encouraging us to see the Fulbright mission in this same cautious context. Our speakers were:

- » Professor Hilary Charlesworth, Law, ANU: Connecting soft power to a developing form of international law that influences through suasion rather than command
- » Dr. Maxine Cooper, ACT’s Auditor General: Applying soft power to encourage willing and thorough compliance and effective communication
- » Professor Billie Gilles-Corti, University of Melbourne, Director, Center for Community Well Being: Applying the suasive power of soft power to enhance health outcomes
- » Dr. Bates Gill, CEO, United States Study Center, University of Sydney: Discovering the right policy balance in deploying the enhanced capacities of soft power capacities in contemporary societies

- » Ms. Tracy Logan, Director, Renewable Energy Purchase Program US Department of Energy: Using Fulbright programs on climate change and clean energy to build bi-lateral consensus and efficacious networks
- » Ms. Nyrie Palmer, President, Australian Fulbright Alumni Association: Mobilizing the soft power potential of the Australian-American Fulbright Alumni

Dr. Brendon O'Connor's paper from this session is printed in these proceedings. He looks specifically at the link between American soft power and the US presidential election process, arguing that for all its uncertainties and moments of inelegance, the intensive worldwide coverage of those elections does constitute an effective element of US soft power.



# Chair: Professor Peter Coaldrake

Soft and Smart Power in Developing Educational Partnerships

Vice-Chancellor and CEO

Queensland University of Technology

Partnerships and engagement are key elements of soft and smart power in developing educational partnerships across local, national and international levels. This session at the 2013 Fulbright Symposium focused on the importance of educational partnerships, how successful educational strategies are built and what the benefits are of academic and cultural exchange in enhancing soft power while building a platform of smart power through capacity building in higher education.

The session, chaired by myself, highlighted the importance of educational partnerships and the building of strategy around them. The speakers represented a range of international perspectives from the higher education sector including Vocational Education and Training education, academic perspectives and a very strong and blended international engagement interest. This offered insight beyond the original concepts of Soft Power and Smart Power, and instead noted the contribution that international educational partnerships make to the building of long-term relations that form the platform for Soft and Smart Power.

Ms Anne Baly, Fulbright Board member quoted former Australian Ambassador, The Honourable Dr Brendan Nelson who stated "while we celebrate the economic benefits of internationalising Australian education, its real transformational and enduring value lies in building a foundation in cooperative understanding between countries." Australia as a country has derived many benefits from its international engagement in education and in science and technology. These relationships have helped Australia to participate in world-leading science research, technology and innovation. It has helped us to obtain the knowledge that we need for a productive global economy. International engagement has helped us meet our skilled workforce needs, emphasising the importance of international students.

We also gained an understanding of the role of international education in capacity-building both at institutional and national levels. Australia has an enviable reputation for its international education. This has been achieved by continuously delivering a quality product, which has been successful by all stakeholders working together over a long period of time. These long-term partnerships that are built on trust at local, national and international levels have been the key to Australia's success in the international education sector. It is about bringing people together to share individual's expertise. Partnering with other groups is a strategic approach in leveraging key opportunities.

As the session progressed, it became increasingly clear that education cannot avoid the reality of Soft Power. We gained thoughtful insight into the role of universities in the execution of Soft Power. Soft Power is usually less perceived as a key component of our education exchanges in the tertiary sector and the issue lies in how we appreciate and understand that. Joseph Nye's concept of soft power contains three key elements but it's the third element of "developing lasting relationships with key individuals over many years through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences and access to media challenges" that is particularly relevant here. Each aspect is critical to the role of universities and specifically, higher education. The concept of Soft Power has been an adjunct to a by-product incidental to what universities do as part of their core business.

The concept of Soft and Smart Power are injected into universities through increasing international collaboration in research and training; teaching international students; transnational education and the increasingly greater number of Australian students that are studying overseas at international universities. The key vehicles for exercising Soft Power are alumni from Australian institutions, which provide access and influence in government and industry. Additionally, the positive image of Australia and Australian students studying abroad and acting as ambassadors for Australia permit the execution of Soft Power on a global scale.

The Speakers in this session were:

- » Ms Anne Baly, Head of the international Education and Science Division, Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education
- » Dr Rhonda Evans Case, Director Edward A. Clark Center for Australian and New Zealand Studies, University of Texas
- » Professor David Andrich, 1973 Fulbright Scholar
- » Dr Wendy Cahill, Director of Academic Leadership, University of Melbourne
- » Mr Martin Riordan, Chief Executive Officer of TAFE Directors Australia
- » Ms Belinda Robinson, Chief Executive, Universities Australia



## Chair: Dr Joanne Daly

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Smart Power and Research, Science and Innovation

Strategic Advisor, NRCA

Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation (CSIRO)

The Fulbright Program strives to build international cooperation and harmony through the sharing of ideas and experiences. Researchers are the obvious ambassadors of this ideal. Sharing of ideas and collaboration across cultural boundaries is the very essence of top research. To work in a modern research institution is like being immersed in a global village. Early career researchers travel for their training and the very best and brightest are attracted to world leading institutions. The Fulbright Program has enabled exchange of these people between the US and Australia for over half a century. Senior scholars also continue to nurture the ties that bind our two countries and continue the relationships often established earlier in their careers.

The 2013 Fulbright Symposium was an opportunity for a wide range of scholars and business community to come together to celebrate all that is achieved through education and cultural exchanges. For researchers, it is provided a glimpse into the broader context of soft and smart power. International collaboration not only enhances the intellectual endeavours that researchers are passionate about, but also builds understanding and compassion between nations.

This symposium was a welcome insight into the richness that is achieved when people come together to share their different experiences based on their common humanity.

The Speakers in this session were:

- » Dr John Foster, Associate Professor School of Biotechnology & Biomolecular Sciences, University of New South Wales
- » Dr Mark Tompkins, Associate Professor of Infectious Diseases, University of Georgia
- » Professor Michael Douglas, Professor of Environmental Science, Charles Darwin University
- » Dr Michelle Meade, Associate Professor of Psychology, Montana State University
- » Dr Tony Lindsay, Chief of the National Security and Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance Division, Defence Science and Technology Organisation



# Dr Richard Adams

Moral Autonomy and Military Obligation

Lieutenant Commander Royal Australian Navy

2012 Fulbright Professional Scholar

## Abstract

Traditionally, the military convention stipulates that soldiers “subjugate their will” to government, and fight any war which government declares. In this way, the characteristic military approach disables the conscience of individual soldiers, and seems to take soldiers for granted. And, rather than strengthening the military instrument, the prototypical convention of legislation and doctrine seems to weaken the democratic foundations upon which the military may be shaped as a force for justice. Denied liberty of their conscience, soldiers are denied the foundational right of democratic citizenship and construed as utensils of the State.

Concerned with the obligation of the State to safeguard the moral integrity of individual soldiers, this paper critiques the way military and legislative conventions overpower the moral agency of individual soldiers.

The paper draws upon research conducted by the author as a Fulbright Scholar to Yale University in 2012. A Version of the paper was presented to the Fulbright Symposium held in Canberra in 2013.

Note: “Soldiers” is gender-neutral, referencing those who serve, regardless of rank, in each of the armed services.

Key Words: conscience, democracy, military service, Rawls, soldiers’ moral responsibility

## Introduction

This paper contributes to discussion about the expectations democratic society may rightly impose upon citizens who choose to serve in uniform. The paper argues that volunteer soldiers are not indentured in military servitude, their lives are not nationalised. Soldiers volunteer — or at least they should volunteer — to advance the cause of justice, *justly*. Volunteering to advance justice, this paper claims that soldiers do not surrender the right to refuse service in a cause they find morally insufferable. Making these claims, the paper engages critically with the Just War tradition.

## Jus ad Bellum

The justice of war is considered in the combination of two parts: when it is right to go to war — *jus ad bellum* — and what may be considered a right act within the situation of war — *jus in bello*. Under the umbrella of *jus ad bellum*, questions are asked regarding justice of the cause. The modern *jus ad bellum* discourse continues to be richly informed by Thomas Aquinas (1225 – 1274 AD). In *Summa Theologica*, Part II, II, at Question 40, Aquinas claimed that only a sovereign authority might identify a just cause and declare war legitimately. This paper disputes that assertion.

This paper does not debate the elements that make war just or not just, but calls into question the claim that only a sovereign or national State might determine the justice of conflict. The paper argues that soldiers have relevant and important ideas about just cause. Soldiers enlist in order to advance the cause of justice by just means. They deserve the chance to fight, and perhaps die, with the fully formed moral assurance that their cause is just. If soldiers come to the conclusion that a cause is not just, then the legislative and doctrinal convention should acknowledge their right of conscientious refusal.

## lose moral legitimacy, lose the war

This reasoning finds resonance in the argument of Mark Osiel, who has advanced virtue ethics as a position upon which the conduct of military members might be critiqued. Noting virtue to be “a property of our character, not our relation to others,” Osiel observes that:

The duties we owe to (our adversary) should best be understood. . . as an inference from the duties we owe our fellow citizens to behave honorably, consistent with our identity as a people constitutively committed to the rule of law.

Osiel’s argument accords with concepts resonant in professional militaries around the world. Often tacit, the power and credence of the appeal to high-mindedness is made explicit in United States Army and Marine Corps counterinsurgency doctrine, which argues “lose moral legitimacy, lose the war”.

No soldier can act for justice and yet commit to action he or she considers evil. And, no just society can expect the soldiers defending its ideals to turn a blind eye. Volunteering military service, soldiers pledge — or should — to act conscientiously to advance right causes by righteous means. Soldiers therefore face a challenge when legislation and military doctrine is inattentive to their moral concerns.

## Democracy and Omelas

A democracy must not misread ideas of public duty for slavishness. Soldiers consent to the obligation to obey. But they do not agree to be henchmen. They do not agree to do *everything* the State commands. The society that would expect its soldiers to obey, no matter what, may be physically safe. But, like the Omelas conceived by Ursula le Guin, it would be fatally corrupted.

Recognising that use of force is a consequential expression of democracy, the democratic State should be mindful of the force it uses — both in terms of character and in terms of degree. A democracy must expect its soldiers to form individual moral judgements and to be properly mindful of critical human ideals. A democracy can expect soldiers to be obedient, and to fulfil their duties. But this expectation should not extend to the degree that soldiers are assumed to be powerless to exert constructive moral influence upon policies they enact.

Underlining this point, John Rawls explained that individuals are “always accountable for their deeds,” and unable to divest themselves of responsibility and transfer the burden of blame to others. Rawls acknowledged the importance of self-respect and personal virtue, and the importance of acting so as to avoid shame and injustice.

## The idea of justice

Though, as Adam Smith observes, the idea of “right” or “justice” is equivocal and interpreted in several relevant ways, the concept is foundational to democratic ideals. *Magna Carta* offers celebrated expression holding, at Chapter 40, that “to no one will we sell, to no one deny or delay right or justice”. Thus, in democratic society, legislation and doctrine should operate to secure background conditions within which the military can function well: as a just instrument and for justice. This is not to suggest that legislation or doctrine can be perfectly just. There is no chance of agreement on what such instruments would be like. Yet, manifest injustice -- such as the asphyxiation of soldiers’ conscience -- can be redressed; and if it cannot be removed, at the very least such clear injustice can be minimised.

Holding the equal liberty of conscience to be “one of the fixed points in [a] considered judgment of justice,” John Rawls recognized that a just society must take the moral convictions of citizens seriously. Rawls described the equal liberty of conscience as a primary good and constitutional essential. He advanced a view of people as morally responsible and equally free to exercise moral judgment. But this critical moral independence is typically suppressed by the militaries of even democratic States.

The military is a significant public institution — and its reform at the most basic level is critical. This is because just institutions, which advance individual liberty and fairness, are essential to just societies, which in turn are critical to global justice. The importance of this sort of philosophical reform is illustrated by Geoffrey Robertson, who observes; “at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the dominant motive in world affairs is the quest — almost the thirst — for justice. [This thirst is] replacing even the objective of regional security as the trigger for international action”.

## Those who die like cattle

In his play, *A Man for All Seasons*, Robert Bolt has the character of Sir Thomas More say: “when statesmen forsake their own private conscience for the sake of their public duties... they lead their country by a short route to chaos”. Bolt understands that the character of western arms should reflect the character and aspiration of western ideals. He would agree: “there is no substitute for honour as a medium for enforcing decency on the battlefield, never has been, and never will be”.

Serving to protect the democratic liberties of individual conscience, justice, to restate Rawls, should be the first virtue of the military institution. Soldiers must not be — as Australian doctrine claims them to be — *subjugated* by the State. Soldiers offer military service. They are not slaves fighting under duress and without moral commitment to the cause — or at least they should not be.

This thinking coincides with ideas John Ruskin expressed powerfully in *The Crown of Wild Olive* where he writes in the Third Lecture:

Whatever virtue or goodliness there may be in this game of war, rightly played, there is none when you thus play it with a multitude of human pawns.

Observing this statement among the most important passages he ever wrote, Ruskin underlines the moral insight, which must inform the military profession.

Military service cannot rightly be, Ruskin tells us, the mere amusement of those who “set unhappy peasant pieces upon the chequer of forest and field,” of those who sit dispassionately “on the sides of the amphitheatre...to urge peasant millions into gladiatorial war”.

Ruskin is an idealist, but not a merely wishful thinker. Applicable and influential, his thinking coincides with John Rawls, who explained the obligation of social institutions to impose nothing more than obligations to which people would assent voluntarily. Illuminating justice as critical to human activity; Rawls argued, “laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust”. He maintained each person:

Possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others. [Justice] does not allow that the sacrifices imposed on a few are outweighed by the larger sum of advancement shared by many.

In a just society, Rawls argued that individual moral freedom is paramount. This idea resonates within modern democracy which, in the words of Robin Williams, is more than a system of government and might be understood as “a culturally standardised way of thought...a tendency to think of rights [and] a deep aversion to acceptance of obviously coercive restraint”.

Even in the non-ideal world, certain minimal ideas of justice can be acknowledged and advanced. As a minimum, legislation and doctrine should enable soldiers to conscientiously refuse. Neither society nor the military instrument is served, as Wilfred Owen would have it, by “that same old lie” for those who “die like cattle”.

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## Conclusion

In democracies, soldiers fight as citizens committed to high ideals. It is an unconstructive legislative and doctrinal convention, which presume them to be the utensils of political power, serving without a mind to justice or human dignity, as morally mute instruments in *any* cause. The peril of this approach was put in a nutshell by General George Marshall. Serving as Secretary of State in 1948, Marshall argued before the General Assembly of the United Nations that “[g]overnments which systematically disregarded the rights of their own people were not likely to respect the rights of other nations and other people, and were likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field”.

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## Notes

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## About the Author

Richard was educated at the University of Tasmania (BA), the University of New South Wales (MA) and the University of Western Australia (B.Ed. Hons, MIR and PhD). He was a Fulbright Scholar to Yale University, where he was a Visiting Fellow on the Global Justice Program. A serving naval officer, Richard is a Visiting Fellow to the School of Humanities and Social Science at University College, the University of New South Wales.



# Professor Mary Barrett

A Fulbright Year is not limited to 12 months

University of Wollongong

1989 Fulbright Postdoctoral Scholar

A Fulbright year, I have found, lasts longer than 12 months. It stays with you and changes your thinking. When I began my Fulbright, I had a PhD in French literature, literary theory and language. I was teaching part-time in those fields, but getting full-time employment was difficult, so my day job for some years had been in university administration, especially employment relations. I was studying business to learn how to develop policies for staff in large, diverse organisations. I wanted to do two things during my Fulbright: to work in employment relations in the University of California Office of the President, and to do an employment relations research project that would be useful when I returned to my regular job. I was also – and still am – an enthusiastic quilter, keen to know more about this frugal but spectacular American art form which was undergoing a worldwide revival.

I did all the things on my Fulbright agenda, but my career took an unexpected turn: I was back in academia a year after returning from the U.S. This time, however, I was teaching in a business school, still trying to figure out how people operate in organisational settings. Of course, my Fulbright internship and research program were vital in making the shift, but I learned just as much from the “soft side” of the Fulbright year, especially incidental events and conversations which stayed with me after it was over.

Three such conversations turned on the kinds of expectations or categorisations I had of myself and other people, and which they had of me. I had categorised myself as an employment relations practitioner (at least an aspiring one), a researcher and a quilter to the Fulbright selection committee. In the U.S. I did the same thing. As a result, people assessed me in those terms. Sometimes this had wonderful consequences. Talking with women in the Bay Area quilting community led to one person judging that, as a *quilter*, I couldn't do without a sewing machine – certainly not for a whole year. She lent me one within weeks of my arrival. As a result my quilting continued unabated. I am still using the quilts I made during my Fulbright year, and remain in touch with U.S. quilters.

Another conversation – about our two countries' differing laws about wearing motorcycle helmets – led to some less comfortable categorisations and judgements. To my way of thinking, motorcyclists (obviously!) couldn't do without helmets, and it was fair enough that the law required riders to wear them. I was surprised at the reaction from some motorcyclists when the issue came up over dinner. To them, wearing a helmet was a good idea. However, not being *required* to wear them was part of the freedom they enjoyed as *U.S. citizens*. It was obvious, that as a *non-American* and as a *non-motorcyclist* (pillion-riding excepted) I might not understand that freedom....

The third conversation was less heated, but the issues were more complex. My Fulbright year coincided with the first Gulf War: Operation Desert Shield was launched in August 1990 followed by Operation Desert Storm in January 1991. It was a sobering time to be in the U.S. As an Australian visitor undecided about the war but with the strong affection for the U.S. that Fulbrighters tend to develop, I listened to conversations for and against U.S. military action, speculation about U.S. motivations for being in the Gulf, and concern about the possible outcomes. U.C. Berkeley, where my research was located, was alive with debate and some of my quilting friends had sons preparing for tours of duty. My status as a visitor seemed to invite people to discuss their reactions to the war.

At the same time, as a visitor I was thinking about what I would take home as a souvenir. I bought a sweatshirt that boasted a large American flag. No words, just the stars and stripes. I wore it on campus when office wear wasn't required, and off-campus to social events. Again to my surprise, I found I had created the potential for controversy. Someone asked me why I was wearing that particular sweatshirt. It occurred to me only then that – in the context of the war – wearing a sweatshirt emblazoned with a U.S. flag implied a certain position on the Iraq conflict. My reply to one questioner that I wore it simply as a visitor who loved the U.S. and not as a political statement came as a relief to both of us.

Reflecting on my three conversations reminds me that categorising people is part of making sense of the world. But even seemingly innocuous categorisations – quilter, motorcyclist (or not), visitor from another country, wearer of a patriotic sweatshirt – are likely to lead to judgements about activities or views that might be appropriate or inappropriate, necessary or unnecessary for particular kinds of persons. Sometimes the ways people categorised me – and I categorised them – reinforced a sense of what we shared: quilters who are never happier than when they are sewing. At other times, categories I had assumed we shared – such as freedom-lovers – turned out instead to reveal differences in what we assumed freedom meant. I am grateful to the person who took the time to check whether his assumptions about me ‘as a patriotic sweatshirt wearer’ were the same as mine.

In the light of these trivial but revelatory conversations, I have kept up with research into conversational interaction: fine-grained analyses of workplace and board meetings, police interviews, courtroom cross-examinations, conversations between patients and doctors, employment interviews and even university tutorials, which show how certain conversational moves can be used to hold people accountable for what they ‘must’ think or be. For example, a person in a meeting who categorises herself in terms of her gender, ethnicity or class and signals that this is important to what she says: ‘as a woman...’, ‘as a Chinese-American...’, ‘as the first in my family to go to university...’, may well be held accountable for what she (obviously!) must believe as a member of that group. Even without signalling their membership of a particular group, a person can be held accountable for other people’s ideas about the group’s rules. Analyses of students’ tutorial conversations shows how they subtly police the ‘rule’ of studenthood that it is not smart to appear too eager or too intellectual. This enforcing behaviour makes the student, the woman, the Chinese-American, or whoever, conduct future conversations or activities with an eye to how they are likely to be assessed. I became a little more cautious about airing my assumptions about freedom. I even chose my sweatshirt wearing occasions with more care.

The soft, barely perceptible power exercised in conversations is power nonetheless: it helps people control their situation in organisations. But there is also power in understanding this and how it works. Part of the power of the Fulbright year for me was to allow me to experience the power of conversations with people who thought of me differently from how I thought of myself, and later, to begin to understand it.

For information and references about interaction analysis in linguistics and related disciplines, see the following sites: <http://homepages.lboro.ac.uk/~ssehs/Publications1.htm>, <http://www.paultenhaven.nl/EMCA.htm>.

## About the Author

Mary Barrett BA (Hons German), BA (Hons French), PhD, MBA

Mary is Professor of Management in the School of Management, Operations and Marketing at the University of Wollongong where she teaches management to undergraduate and postgraduate students, especially general management; a range of human resource management topics; and business communication. She is also the Faculty Leader for student engagement in the UOW Business Faculty. She has been at the University of Wollongong for 11 years, but lived and worked mostly in Queensland universities before then.

Mary’s original training was in foreign languages and literature and her academic career began in that field. Following a Fulbright Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of California, Berkeley, and an MBA, Mary re-entered academia as a management academic.

Mary’s research interests and publications focus on family business, gender issues in management and entrepreneurship, and communication issues at work. Outside of work, Mary is a keen painter, quilter and occasional musician.





# Dr Iain Butterworth

Soft power, smart power: community psychology perspectives

Victorian Department of Health

Honorary Associate Professor, University of Melbourne

Fulbright 2003 Fulbright Scholar

## Abstract

This paper examines soft power and smart power from a community psychology perspective. It suggests that notions of soft power and hard power can be better understood by using the community capacity framework. Community capacity, defined as a community's ability to mobilize, identify and solve community problems, is an inherent component of the WHO Healthy Cities approach which I explored during my Fulbright. This paper provides a summary of how the Fulbright scholarship has contributed to community capacity since 2004. The Fulbright Program, Healthy Cities approach, community capacity framework and soft/hard power are seen as completely complementary and mutually reinforcing. It is suggested that to aid their documentation and dissemination, concepts of soft and smart power be linked to the community capacity framework.

## Introduction

Community capacity includes several components, including:

- » civic participation
- » mechanisms for community input
- » mechanisms for the distribution of community power
- » skills and access to resources
- » sense of community and social capital/trust
- » social and inter-organisational networks
- » community values and history, and
- » capacity for reflection and learning.

Changes to community capacity can be measured across five social levels of analysis, ranging from changes in individuals, to changes in civic participation, organisational development, inter-organisational activity and community-level changes.

From September 2003, it was my privilege to spend seven months at Berkeley in the School of Public Health. Working alongside co-founder Prof Leonard Duhl, I investigated the World Health Organisation's Healthy Cities approach.<sup>1</sup> Healthy Cities is an approach that has placed 'health' and community wellbeing on the agenda of thousands of cities and communities around the world, thereby building local constituencies of support for the public's health (Tsouros 1995). A Healthy City is 'one that is continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to mutually support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing to their maximum potential' (Hancock & Duhl 1988). Healthy Cities initiatives are characterised by a broad-based, intersectoral political commitment to health and well-being in its broadest ecological sense, a commitment to innovation and democratic community participation, and healthy public policy.

Most of the factors that affect health and well-being occur outside of the health sector, in domains such as infrastructure planning, urban design, architecture, the business sector, developers, environment, art, and culture (Ashton 1992). The Healthy Cities approach is based on the recognition that city and urban environments affect citizens' health, and that healthy municipal public policy is needed to effect change (Ashton, 1992). Health and well-being must be planned and built 'into' cities; this process must be seen and owned as everyone's business. Political endorsement is seen as crucial to ensuring intersectoral collaboration. Systems for participatory decision-making must be developed to ensure that all voices are heard, especially those of marginalised people (Baum 1993).

Community Psychology aims to promote positive change, health, and empowerment at individual and systemic levels. It goes beyond an individual focus to integrate social, cultural, economic, political, environmental, and international influences. From 1996 to 1999, I conducted doctoral research that examined adult environmental education from a community psychology perspective. I applied for my Fulbright Professional Award whilst working for the Local Government Partnerships Team within the then Public Health Group of the Victorian Department of Human Services. Our team had led the development and implementation of *Environments for Health* (DHS 2001), the municipal public health planning framework for the local government sector. *Environments for Health* drew strongly on the Healthy Cities approach.

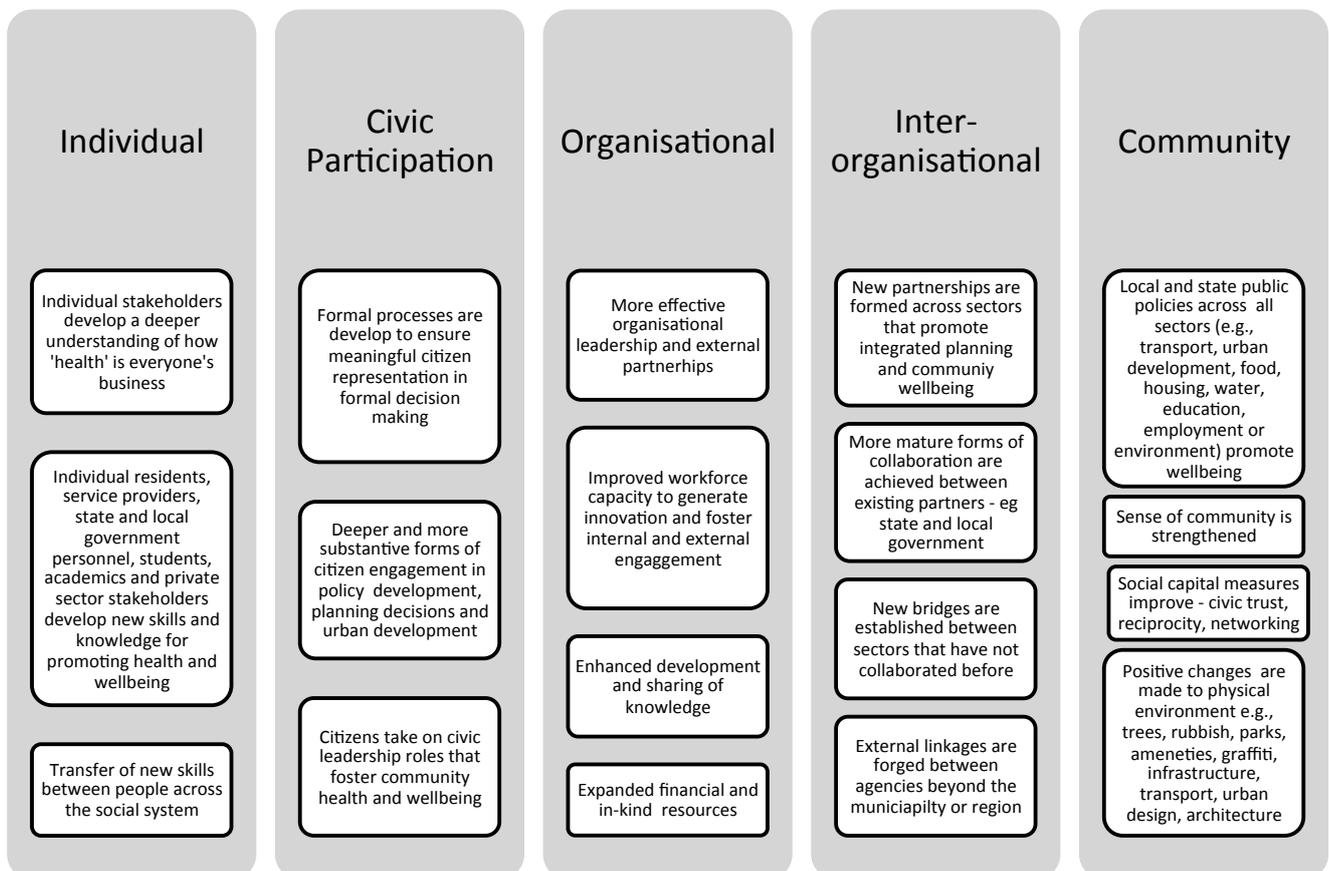
From this vantage point, I was interested to learn how Healthy Cities initiatives had fostered community empowerment, as well as an individual and collective sense of attachment and belonging to 'place'. My Fulbright research program aimed add value to Victorian municipal public health planning, Healthy Cities and other community building programs, and research in community psychology, by examining the role that community cognitions (sense of place, sense of community, place attachment) might play in community building, strategic planning and indicator development. The research was also intended to examine the impact that these community cognitions could have on general policies directed to enhance social well-being.

Fortuitously, my arrival at Berkeley coincided with the release of the Centre for Civic Partnerships' release of its evaluation of twenty initiatives funded through the Californian Healthy Cities and Communities Program (Kegler, Norton & Aronson 2003). Using community psychology perspectives, Kegler and colleagues framed their evaluation in terms of community capacity.

Empowerment research shows how community capacity 'radiates' between individual, organisation and community levels of analysis (Butterworth & Fisher 2001; Rappaport 1987). Kegler, Norton & Aronson's (2003) social ecology framework also demonstrated how actions taken can influence, and be influenced by, a range of changes, from the individual to the community level. The authors employed a detailed social ecology framework to assess changes in community capacity across the five social levels identified in Figure 1. As shown below, the community capacity framework embraces and embodies notions of 'soft power' and 'hard power'.

Since returning from Berkeley in April 2004, my Fulbright experience has informed and inspired virtually every domain of my professional life. The following paragraphs provide some potted examples of the reach and depth of the ways in which I have been able to harness the Fulbright experience.

**Figure 1:** Community Capacity Framework (adapted from Kegler, Norton & Aronson 2003, p. 17)



On my return to Melbourne, I spent five years working at Deakin University as a Senior Lecturer in the School of Health and Social Development, where I actively drew on my Fulbright experience to establish an interdisciplinary, cross-faculty postgraduate planning degree, similar to the joint Masters of urban Planning and Public Health that Led Duhl had established at Berkeley. I also developed and conducted several Healthy Cities short Courses that involved Len Duhl and his partner in establishing Healthy Cities, Dr Trevor Hancock. The three of us were invited to be keynote speakers at a Healthy Cities conference in Taiwan in 2004.

I went on to develop an active interest in university-community engagement (also championed by WHO's Healthy Cities), and co-led the Deakin+DHS Partnership. During this time I helped bring Prof Judith Ramaley, a world authority on university-community engagement, to Deakin University as a Fulbright Senior Specialist. I was able to use these experiences to help inform Deakin University's Strategic Plan, *Delivering Effective Partnerships 2008-2012* (Butterworth & Palermo 2009). Prof Ramaley returned to Deakin in 2008

After a brief sojourn as a private consultant, I joined the newly-formed Department of Health in 2010 as Manager Public Health and Western Area for the North and West Metropolitan Region (NWMR). I have drawn explicitly on my Fulbright experience in formulating a Regional Health and Wellbeing Implementation Strategy that embeds Healthy Cities approach in our region's innovative population health approach, including the way we influence and engage with existing governance structures and stakeholders. Importantly, I have had an opportunity to play a lead role in building our formal Partnership with the University of Melbourne (UoM) (Butterworth 2011, 2013). Table 1 below documents some of the myriad ways in which my own Fulbright experience has made multiple contributions to community capacity and, by extension, to soft power and hard power.

From this summary, it can be seen that the Fulbright Program and Healthy Cities approach are complementary and mutually reinforcing. Using the community capacity framework, I have been able to document how my own Fulbright experience has helped to generate soft power and hard power. I have found this personal documentation process extremely rewarding. It is suggested that concepts of soft and smart power could acquire enhanced economic, political, artistic, and international visibility if they were linked to existing frameworks such as community capacity.

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**Table 1:** Community Capacity outcomes generated since 2004

| INDIVIDUAL   | CIVIC PARTICIPATION  | ORGANISATIONAL   | INTER-ORGANISATIONAL   | COMMUNITY   |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| New skills and knowledge for students, Deakin staff, DHS staff, research partners, citizens and other stakeholders   | <b>Internal to Partnership:</b><br>Governance of Partnership increasingly involves staff, students, key faculty and research participants                | Adoption and enforcement of new organisational policies and/or practices within:<br>- the Partnership,<br>- Deakin University<br>- DHS<br>- Partnering organisations   | New and improved linkages between Deakin University, DHS, and other public, private, non-profit and community-based organizations  | Adoption of new Public policies that encourage community –level health & wellbeing, eg new urban planning regulations   |
| Transfer of new skills between students, staff at each institution, citizens and other stakeholders                  | <b>External to Partnership:</b><br>Research embraces participatory methods   | New programs and services established by:<br>- Deakin University<br>- DHS<br>- partnering organisations  | More mature form of collaboration – not only between Deakin University and DHS, but also between<br>- the Partnership itself and other agencies in Region<br>- other agencies in the region as a result of the Partnership’s influence | Through its initiatives and community engagement, Partnership helps to create changes that result in healthier, more equitable social and physical environments |
| Broader understanding and definition of health and wellbeing used by Partnership stakeholders, students and citizens | Research participants take on leadership roles in community  | New in-kind and financial resources identified for<br>- research<br>- teaching<br>- community education<br>- health programs<br>- other community building initiatives | Partnership instrumental in forging bridges between sectors that have not worked together in the past  | Partnership helps to foster new, empowering norms around community problem-solving and an increased sense of community  |
| Through the Partnership, students learn skills for civic engagement and leadership                                   | Students take on ‘service learning’ and related leadership roles in community, including policy development (this links to service learning initiatives) | Notions of ‘service learning’ are progressed, in which students receive credit for volunteer activity that relates to their professional training                      | Relationships formed and extended between the Partnership and organizations willing to take on student placements and service learning function  | The partnership helps to strengthen social capital as a result of its activities  |
|  | Partnership strategies actively support and encourage citizenship  | Concepts of health and wellbeing are incorporated into Deakin University’s next Strategic Plan 2008-2012   | Partnership has increasing influence on activities of Public Health Group at DHS Central office  |   |
|  | Partnership itself becomes identified as community stakeholder and resource  |  | New relationships formed between the Partnership and organizations outside of the Region   |   |

**Examples of community capacity generated by Deakin/DHS BSWR Partnership**

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## About the Author

Dr Iain Butterworth is a community psychologist with a strong interest in the interrelationship between urban design, planning, governance and well-being. He has worked in community development, government, higher education and consulting. Iain's doctoral dissertation on environmental adult education received the American Psychological Association's 'Emory Cowen Dissertation Award for the Promotion of Wellness' in 2001.

In 2003-2004 Iain was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the School of Public Health at the University of California at Berkeley. Iain explored how World Health Organisation's intersectoral Healthy Cities approach can help build community capacity, and connect people better to place. Whilst at Deakin University from 2004-2009, he helped to establish an interdisciplinary post-graduate planning degree and helped lead the university's community engagement agenda.

Iain is currently Manager of Public Health (and Manager of the Western Area) for the Department of Health's North and West Metropolitan Region. This is Victoria's most populated and diverse region. For this role, Iain has drawn on the Healthy Cities approach to engage stakeholders throughout and beyond the health sector in collaborative efforts to address the factors that affect liveability - and thus the health of the whole population. These factors include transport, housing, food, education, services, access to public open space, walkable neighbourhoods and access to local employment.

Iain is heavily involved in his department's Place, Health and Liveability research partnership with the University of Melbourne through his role as Honorary Associate Professor. He also contributed to the development of the 'Plan Melbourne' Metropolitan Planning Strategy.

From 2004, Iain spent five years on the Victorian Fulbright Selection Committee, and has been Chair of the Victorian Chapter of the Australian Fulbright Alumni Association since 2009.

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## (Endnotes)

- 28** 1 World Health Organisation's Healthy Cities. At: [www.who.int/healthy\\_settings/types/cities/en/](http://www.who.int/healthy_settings/types/cities/en/).



# Dr Caitlin Byrne

Recasting leadership of international education as public diplomacy:  
A four dimensional approach.

Assistant Professor of International Relations

Bond University

## Abstract

International education is an enduring and effective instrument of public diplomacy, contributing to the soft power of a nation. The Fulbright program, now entering its seventh decade is testament to this. Yet the soft power potential of international education activity beyond the scholarship exchange programs like Fulbright, is rarely fully realized. This presents a challenge for public diplomacy leadership. Given public diplomacy's diffuse and networked nature, leadership is neither easily identified nor exercised. Drawing on insights provided by the Fulbright program, and trends within Australia's international education sector, this paper identifies and explores four distinct dimensions of public diplomacy leadership: the strategic, structural, societal and symbolic dimensions. The paper considers the potential lessons for Australian international education, suggesting that public diplomacy leadership be recast to the four dimensional framework if it is to deliver effective and sustained soft power outcomes.

## Introduction

International education is acknowledged to be an enduring and effective instrument of public diplomacy. Yet, the inherent effectiveness of international education as public diplomacy though increasingly recognised is rarely fully optimised; a point highlighted most recently in the context of Australia's international education sector (Byrne and Hall 2013; IEAC 2013). While there may be many contributing factors at play, the most striking of these, particularly in Australia's case, has been an absence of effective public diplomacy leadership. However, identifying, supporting and exercising leadership within public diplomacy's diffuse program is not straightforward. Traditional notions of leadership struggle to gain traction within this framework.

This paper addresses the challenge of leadership and suggests a model of leadership that holds relevance for international education as public diplomacy. To this end, the paper firstly reviews international education as public diplomacy while also highlighting its limitations. Secondly drawing on the experience of Fulbright program and trends within Australia's international education sector, the paper presents four distinct dimensions of leadership: strategic, structural, social and symbolic. Applying these four dimensions to the broader context of Australia's international education sector reveals gaps, but also highlights the potential to recast leadership to better suit public diplomacy's broader agenda.

## International Education: Enduring and Effective Public Diplomacy

Founded on the notions of intercultural understanding, relationship building and leadership development, the Fulbright Scholarship Program now entering its seventh decade, is recognised globally as one of the more successful examples of education exchange as public diplomacy. Yet the full range of international education activity -spanning inbound student programs, outbound student mobility, offshore transnational education, aid and capacity building, research collaboration, and other niche studies programs can all contribute to a nation's public diplomacy efforts (Byrne and Hall 2013). This breadth of scope underscores international education's enduring relevance as public diplomacy. With an emphasis on two-way engagement and mutuality, international education in its many forms enables individuals, institutions, networks and states to share, exchange and collaborate, keeping pace with the expanding technology platforms of the globalised world. Furthermore, the effectiveness of international education as public diplomacy is underpinned by the universal appeal it holds out for individuals to seek out knowledge, experience and diversity of thought. Importantly, for public diplomacy, it is an appeal that crosses societies, backgrounds and cultures, leveraging the fact that "wonder and thirst for knowledge are immutable parts of human nature" (McHale 2010).

The inherent effectiveness of international education as public diplomacy though increasingly recognised is rarely fully optimised. The accumulated soft power potential of the relationships, networks and outcomes that are integral to the individual's experience are not easily harnessed or developed as public diplomacy. Rather, a tendency remains for public diplomacy benefits to emerge organically or serendipitously- an issue that has and continues to bedevil policy-makers and scholars alike. Institutionalizing the individual experience through scholarship programs like the Fulbright has gone some way to addressing this issue. Yet, as Nancy Snow (2011), a Fulbright alumnus and public diplomacy scholar notes, gaps remain. Such programs "lack a grander strategy" to build global connections or to promote international education. Snow also notes another school of thought advanced mainly by practitioners that cautions against the imposition of a systemic public diplomacy framework. For this group international education and exchange activities including the Fulbright program, reflect private people-to-people transactions that should not be attached to or contrived as the formal public diplomacy efforts of a nation. These views highlight the underlying tensions in harnessing and translating international education into public diplomacy. Further they cast light on both a significant existing gap in and potential opportunity for addressing leadership capacity in public diplomacy.

## Dimensions of Leadership

The prismatic structure of the international education sector presents a leadership puzzle. It is a puzzle that is familiar to the public diplomacy project more broadly. The diffuse and dynamic nature of public diplomacy evolving both as a instrument of and response to the increasingly interconnected environment makes it difficult for governments or organizations to fully grasp and maximize the broader potential that flows from it. Rather than emanating from a single source in a hierarchical framework, leadership is more likely to be found at different points or nodes within the network of actors and stakeholders who contribute to the public diplomacy mission.

Rather than focusing on a single view of leadership, consideration of a multi-dimensional approach to leadership encompassing i) strategic, ii) structural, iii) societal and iv) symbolic dimensions offers potential. None of these leadership dimensions is new. Each has received attention through literature and discussions within disciplines such as sociology, management and organizational behaviour though typically each is addressed in isolation (for example, Schoemaker, Krupp and Howland 2013; Winkler 2010). Applying the four dimensions together offers a framework for dealing with the issues that have hampered public diplomacy efforts, specifically the development of international education as public diplomacy.

The first dimension is the strategic. In public diplomacy strategic leadership rests most often with political masters. Such actors set the collective vision, values and aspirations of the community; engaging that community in their collective story, while conveying the same story to those outside the community. Schoemaker, Krupp and Howland (2013) note that in today's world, strategic leadership must be underpinned by six essential skills. These include the ability to anticipate both threats and opportunities, to challenge assumptions, to interpret complex information and make effective decisions balancing rigour with speed; to actively develop common ground with diverse stakeholders and finally to learn from both success and failure, fostering a culture of bold innovation rather than a culture of cover-ups. Importantly, strategic leadership in today's globalised environment depends upon the deployment and activation of all of these skills at any given moment.

Senator Fulbright revealed his interest in strategic leadership when he established the exchange program that bears his name in 1946. He notes his clear intent was to contribute to the "cultivation of human attributes of attributes of compassion and common sense, of intellect and creative imagination, and of empathy and understanding between cultures" (Fulbright 1987). A 2005 U.S. State Department assessment of the Fulbright program confirms the realisation of Fulbright's intent, "indicating a nearly unanimous belief that participation in the Fulbright program promotes mutual understandings" (Snow 2011). For participants in this study, particular value of the program came not only from learning about the society and culture of others, but also learning about their own society and culture through the eyes of others. Arguably, the personal skills and attributes that Senator Fulbright sought to engender through the Fulbright program, though expressed in different terms, is aligned to the skills of contemporary strategic leadership. Reflecting his personal "despair of America's diplomatic leadership" at the time, which was "...wedded to the outdated strategies of power politics and spheres of interest" (Woods 1987) Fulbright hoped to shape and develop a new strategic leadership cohort. While a deeper evaluation of the impact of Fulbright recipient leadership would be useful, it is valuable to note that many Fulbright recipients have over time come to fill "positions of importance and influence in their respective societies" (Fulbright 1987).

The Abbott Government's recently launched New Colombo Plan (NCP) posits student mobility at the centre of Australia's approach regional engagement signalling a positive shift in the strategic leadership of international education as public diplomacy. Building on the history and success of the 1950s Colombo Plan, the NCP is supported by funding of 100 million dollars of funding committed for a five year period. It reaffirms Australia's commitment to improving mutual relationships within the Indo-Pacific region while building an Asia-capable workforce. As such, the NCP goes some way to addressing the gaps in Australian strategic public diplomacy leadership so evident through and after the 2009 Indian student crisis (Byrne and Hall 2013; Wesley 2009). With a new emphasis on Australian students "living in the region, learning languages, forging friendships and exchanging ideas" (Bishop 2013) the NCP reinforces core Australian values of freedom, openness and intercultural tolerance for domestic and international audiences alike (DFAT 2014).

Importantly, the NCP also seeks to foster strategic leadership skills amongst young Australians reflecting language similar to that used by Senator Fulbright in his discussion of the Fulbright scholars' personal attributes. For example, 2014 NCP pilot program applicants are asked to consider how participation in the program will enhance their cultural awareness, resilience, flexibility, and adaptability (Australian Government 2013). They are also asked to provide ideas on developing and sustaining the relationships made beyond through the scholarship timeframe. While the success of the NCP rests in longer-term qualitative evaluations, the change in emphasis on student mobility as public diplomacy is welcome in the way that it both sets a strategic direction for Australia's engagement within the region and supports the ongoing cultivation of strategic leadership skills and capabilities amongst young Australians.

The second dimension, structural leadership, flows from and is the organizational mechanism by which institutions seek to implement the strategic vision and direction. Effective structural leadership rests at the organizational level and brings consistency and coordination to an otherwise diffuse network of institutions networks and activities. It reflects an organizational capacity to scope and plan at a program level, develop and disseminate policy, coordinate diverse networks and evaluate program outcomes over the long term. To this end, structural leadership in public diplomacy is about enabling other institutions, networks and individuals to act often-times by giving away rather than guarding perceived power and control. Effective structural leadership is about empowerment. By contrast, poor structural leadership is the 'spoiler', undermining coherent networks and inhibiting collaborations.

The U.S. Department of State has provided a model of structural leadership of international education exchange as public diplomacy through the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The Bureau provides oversight and coordination for several education exchange programs including the Fulbright program, while linking into and supporting broader U.S. international education networks. Within this structural framework, administration and management of the Fulbright and other scholarship exchanges, as well as a range of broader international educational activities resides with the Institute for International Education (IIE) an independent, not for profit organization with a global reach. With a mission to "advance international education and access to education worldwide" (IIE 2012) the IIE brings significant efficiencies to the administration and promotion of international education, while engaging a global network of partners, including across universities and private sector. Its stated goals to "develop leaders and encourage exchange" cohere neatly with Fulbright program values as well as those pursued more broadly by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. While the IIE primary responsibilities are focused on international education exchange and scholarship programs, it nonetheless provides research and best practice resources that are relevant and available to the wider group of international education stakeholders in the U.S. in support of public diplomacy outcomes.

By contrast, structural leadership deficiencies within Australia's international education sector have been all too visible in recent years, particularly in the aftermath of the Indian student crisis of 2009. With limited political and financial support the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) has struggled to develop a coherent structural approach to public diplomacy more generally, including where it intersects with international education. International education responsibilities spanning operational, commercial, promotional as well as public diplomacy aspects continue to be split across various arms of the foreign affairs and trade portfolio with some attracting greater prestige and therefore financial backing than others. At the same time, the Australian Education International, a key body responsible for international partnerships, scholarship exchange programs including the Australia Awards and Endeavour program and other student mobility matters appears to have been effectively sidelined within the education portfolio.

In the absence of any explicit public diplomacy mandate and coherent architecture the potential soft power outcomes of Australian international education have languished in a sector marked by competitive divides, policy inconsistencies and overarching uncertainty. More recently, provider institutions have responded proactively to sector difficulties playing a key role in national review and consultation processes and pressing for the alignment of sector interests with a public diplomacy approach (Byrne & Hall 2013). Additionally, several institutions have led the way on important initiatives such as improving the student experience and connecting students to the community. Since taking government in 2013 the new Ministers for Education and Foreign Affairs have signalled their joint intent to build a new architecture for international education that delivers sustained growth while improving Australia's place and relationships in the region (Pyne 2013). Additionally, suggestions of an expanded public diplomacy division within DFAT point to positive change in the structural leadership of public diplomacy including where it involves international education.

The third dimension of leadership is the societal dimension. The 2005 Outcome Assessment of the Visiting Fulbright Student Program notes that the Fulbright Program serves as a "platform for leadership" whereby:

Graduate students in a wide variety of fields – law, business, public health, international relations, to name but a few – grappled with new ideas and methods, established contacts with the wider intellectual and business communities during their stay in the United States, and returned to their home countries ready and able to become leaders, both in their respective fields and in their communities at large.

International education finds significant value in the development of leadership capacities that stretch well beyond the academic realm to have impact and influence positive change within the society as a whole. Anecdotal evidence, including that from the 'old' Colombo Plan era supports the societal leadership impact of international education, as a positive by-product of educational exchange. The complexity challenges faced by today's global environment suggests that societal leadership is increasingly relevant to the proposition of international education as public diplomacy.

Projects supported through Fulbright exchanges range across disciplines and more importantly are striking in their interdisciplinary scope and relevance to a wide range of pressing and global challenges. Furthermore, many Fulbright projects are a reminder of the power that comes from exposing the shared vulnerabilities of our humanity through exchange in the arts; that is through the story telling that is poetry, music, and literature. It is essential that strategic leadership in public diplomacy develops and supports the societal leadership capacity that is enabled through exchange and collaboration in the oft-overlooked, hard to evaluate, yet powerful fields of arts and culture.

The opportunities for Australia to contribute to societal leadership capacity of regional and global scholars exists through exchange scholarships such as the Australia Awards. These scholarships reach into the communities of Australia's nearest neighbours in the Pacific and Southeast Asia as well as further afield into Africa, and the Caribbean contributing to a wider culture of two-way engagement, understanding and collaboration as the new normal. The recently launched NCP, noted earlier also encourages participants to engage in community development and advocacy, and offers broader potential for building the societal leadership capacity of young Australians and contributing to regional and global development goals. Importantly, societal leadership is not bound by simply altruistic motives, but as Australian Foreign Minister, Julie Bishop (2013) noted will also "boost our productivity and innovation and facilitate further economic integration with Asia", and is therefore aligned closely to national strategic interests.

Symbolic leadership relates to the importance of using symbols to embed and give meaning to strategic leadership vision within our shared lived experiences at the community level. Symbolic leadership works on the basis that reality is socially constructed, where "meaning is created and maintained through behaviour and at the same time influences behaviour" (Winkler 2010). Symbolic leadership utilises symbols, in the form of material objects, behaviour or language to convey a shared meaning and framework for understanding. Symbolic leadership gives expression to shared values and beliefs within a community.

The Fulbright institution demonstrates symbolic leadership, in a variety of ways including by celebrating the accomplishments of its scholars and alumni recognising the value of the individual, the significance of their projects and their collective engagement with the Fulbright philosophy of mutuality and understanding. The showcasing of the Australia-US Fulbright scholars and alumni in Canberra in 2013 was such an example. The meaning conveyed through such examples of symbolic leadership is not only important for maintaining the support of those individuals and stakeholders directly involved with the program, but also for inspiring the participation of others.

The responsibility to provide symbolic leadership is a shared responsibility that resonates effectively at a local level within communities. For example, the work of the Brisbane City Council (BCC) in engaging and celebrating the contribution of international students within the city is a demonstration of symbolic leadership. Programs include a welcoming festival and student ambassador appointments orient and engage international students into the Brisbane community in a constructive and open way. The Brisbane City Lord Mayor's International Student Friendship Ceremonies, which "thank international students for choosing Brisbane as their study destination, and to encourage them to remain lifelong friends of the city" have been well received both within the international student community as well as by participating universities (BCC 2013). For BCC such symbolic leadership is aligned to the strategic objectives of establishing Brisbane as a hub for international education while enhancing social cohesion and extending Brisbane City's long term relationships and networks within the region. The challenge is to ensure that such symbolic leadership amounts to more than marketing hype and is supported, reinforced and evaluated via actual student experiences.

The four distinct elements of the leadership framework set out in this paper are not intended as isolated leadership approaches, but rather provide the scaffolding for an alternative approach to public diplomacy leadership, recast for the contemporary globalised world. The integration of the four dimensions presents challenges. It suggests a leadership model that extends beyond a single point of command that is so deeply embedded within traditional hierarchies. It is a framework that requires input and action from key stakeholders from across all aspects of the higher education sector, as well as from other tiers of government and layers of the community. It is a model of shared leadership that responds to public diplomacy's evolving agenda and its many touch-points.

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## Conclusion

International education in its many forms endures as an effective instrument of public diplomacy enabling mutual understanding, relationship building and collaborations between individuals and communities across cultures. As the opportunities to leverage international education expand and diversify in the coming decade, building a coherent leadership framework will be critical to underpinning its ongoing effectiveness and growth. Drawing on the insights provided by the longstanding Fulbright program as well as emerging trends within the Australian approach to international education, this paper offers a holistic leadership framework not just applicable to international education and exchange, but for public diplomacy more broadly.

The four-dimensional leadership framework described in this paper implies a program logic that is suited to the multi-faceted and multi-dimensional approach of contemporary public diplomacy. It aligns public diplomacy outcomes to strategic objectives, organizational capacity and societal aspirations while attaching and reinforcing the value of symbolic meaning. The framework confirms that leadership in public diplomacy reinforces and relies on relationships and therefore relational architectures. In this way, it is well suited to the diffuse nature of power and interests whereby that leadership capacity does not rest only with a political or policy elite, but is necessarily shared with differing emphases across all levels of the community, from the political elites and policymakers to students to the grassroots community.

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## Melissa Conley Tyler

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Diplomacy Goes Personal: Public Diplomacy and Educational and Cultural Exchange

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## Giridharan Ramasubramanian

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### Abstract

The traditional focus of diplomacy on official, state-to-state interaction is being supplemented with a modern, 21st century emphasis on public diplomacy. There is a continuing reorientation in the activities undertaken by diplomats as they move to greater collaboration with members of the public including initiatives that involve non-state, civil society actors. An instrument of public diplomacy that has gained prominence is educational and cultural exchange, which allows for an immersive experience that can potentially create positive long-term impressions that influence public perceptions. As public diplomacy has moved from the periphery of diplomacy closer to the centre, educational and cultural exchange has become an important part of countries' diplomatic strategy and deployment of soft power. Diplomacy is increasingly involved with enhancing the personal touch as a means of achieving national aims.

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### Introduction

The public perception of diplomacy is outdated. The traditional focus on official interactions has been supplemented with a modern, 21<sup>st</sup> century emphasis on public diplomacy. As characterised by Parag Khanna (2011: 22) diplomacy is no longer the stiff waltz of elites, but the jazzy dance of the masses.

Foreign ministries worldwide are focusing on people-to-people interaction as a way of promoting national objectives. There is a growing awareness that people-to-people contact is important in how a country is viewed abroad. While many public diplomacy efforts centre on increasing online media presence, the importance of direct, on-the-ground presence should not be discounted. In an era of instantaneous mass communication, a personal connection is needed to either substantiate or counterbalance the onslaught of information. Cultural and educational exchange is an important tool to fill this need. Whereas educational and cultural exchange programs once resided firmly on the outskirts of the diplomatic realm, secondary to a more top-down political focus, they have now earned a position of increased importance. Through participating in exchanges, citizens can promote their home country's values in a more candid way than members of the Foreign Service and are in turn more open to a host country's perspectives. The mutual sharing of information and experiences can have positive effects for both the sending and the receiving countries.

This article looks at the changing nature of diplomacy and provides a conceptual overview of the differences between traditional and new modes of diplomacy. It then gives an explanation of public diplomacy and outlines Australia's public diplomacy practice. Finally, it reveals the growing significance of educational and cultural exchange as an instrument of public diplomacy and the importance of encouraging personal contact.

## The Changing Nature of Diplomacy

Public diplomacy can only be understood within the context of the changes to the practice of traditional diplomacy. Diplomacy plays a significant role in the constitution of international society, with noted Australian international relations theorist, Hedley Bull, arguing that diplomacy fulfils four functions: facilitation of communication, negotiation of agreements, gathering of intelligence and minimisation of the effects of friction in international relations (Bull 1977: 170-171). While contemporary diplomacy remains primarily concerned with the “ways in which states deal with the external world”, this process involves efforts by states to enrol various non-state actors as well as efforts by non-state actors to act globally through states’ diplomatic outreach (Sending, Pouliot & Neumann 2011: 528). Thus, “The age of diplomacy as an *institution* is giving way to an age of diplomacy as a *behavior* (Kelley 2010: 286-305).”

When talking about the practice of contemporary diplomacy, it is useful to distinguish between two different models of diplomacy: “club” and “network” (Heine 2013). In the club diplomacy model, also referred to as “classical diplomacy”, diplomats meet primarily with government officials, other diplomats and the occasional businessperson, thus restricting themselves to fellow members of the club with whom they feel most comfortable, with a focus on negotiating agreements between sovereign states (Heine 2013: 60). By contrast, network diplomacy involves engaging a much larger number of players in the host country who are involved in the policy-making process and who might not be associated with the more exclusive group of decision-makers with whom diplomats previously interacted. This means that diplomats have to master different forms of communication to reach different types of audiences and will have to be comfortable with the complexity that one associates with a network (Heine 2013: 62-63). This includes the impact of the revolution in information technology where the fast-paced dissemination of ideas places new requirements on diplomatic communication (Copeland 2013).

There is some tension between the club and the network; by virtue of its inclusivity, network diplomacy pushes for more transparency (Heine 2013). It is more informal, ad hoc and therefore has its risks. For example, in the network paradigm, states may devolve public diplomacy functions to non-governmental organisations or treat them as partners, which mean lessened control. Despite this tension, the club model co-exists with the network model and remains resilient. By broadening channels of communication and increasing the spectrum of actors participating in such activities, diplomats have supplemented the ways they connect to other societies without jettisoning traditional tools. This allows them to engage in an approach that enables them to find the best way to promote a “balance of national interests” in a poly-lateral world of multiple actors (Thakur 2013).

This is a significance deviation from what has been described as the embedded obscurity that characterises traditional diplomacy (Kurbalija 2012). Thus, far from becoming redundant, diplomacy is more significant than ever. The interested public has become broader and public opinion now rallies faster and more powerfully around the world. This provides incentive for diplomats to change their style of communication to be more accessible and retain their relevance (Hanson 2012).

## The Role of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is diplomacy that focuses on the needs and perceptions of foreign publics. It has been defined as “an instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes, and behavior; build and manage relationships, and influence thoughts and mobilise actions to advance their interests and values” (Gregory 2011: 353).

Public diplomacy aims to achieve, alongside the official channels, a culture of cooperation that sets the tone for a more meaningful and positive relationship. While it is possible to gain a good reputation without investment in public diplomacy, the benefits of working exclusively through official channels are unlikely to last because they are not embedded. A central tenet of public diplomacy is that a genuine person-to-person bond can insure for the long-term against strained official relations (Melissen 2013). The emphasis is on making foreign individuals the carriers of a worldview that is friendly to campaigning states. The rise of public diplomacy is caused in part by increased understanding of the need to draw people into the diplomatic process (Hill 2003: 279).

For a long time, public diplomacy was not seen as a central part of a country’s international engagement but rather as something done around the edges. This has changed in recent years, as increasing numbers of policy-makers have begun to realise both the short-term utilitarian importance of public diplomacy and its deeper significance in building long-term relationships that will benefit the country.

Examples of Australia’s public diplomacy include international broadcasting activities through the Australia Network and Radio Australia, whose services provide 24/7 coverage to more than 46 countries across the Asia-Pacific and the Indian sub-continent (Australia Network 2014). As well as reporting events, this broadcasting engages the public of these different countries in interactive ways. These types of networked communications take advantage of two-way communication and peer-to-peer relations to facilitate cross-cultural communication, encourage awareness of Australia and build regional partnerships that connect audiences around the world through the lens of a uniquely Australian perspective. In recent times, the role of the Australia Network has received considerable attention with Foreign Minister Julie Bishop arguing that ABC should be mindful of the Network’s role as a tool of public diplomacy and its goal to promote Australia and Australian values (Leys 2014).

Australia also engages in cultural initiatives such as the Shanghai World Expo, 2010 Year of Australian Culture in China and the Australia Korea Year of Friendship 2011. In 2012, the Australian Government helped to organise Oz Fest, the aim of which is to encourage host country communities to view Australia as having expanded its cultural horizons and to be aware of Australians' cultural diversity and stories (Oz Fest 2014). This promotes increased communication and familiarity and creates a motivation for both sides to get to know each other better, forming closer connections in the process.

Ongoing contact is facilitated by the activities of foundations, institutes and councils such as the Australia-China Council and the Australia-Indonesia Institute to extend the reach and complement the public diplomacy work done by other sectors of the Australian Government. For instance, the Australia Korea Foundation works to increase public awareness of Australia in Korea and of Korea in Australia, develop partnerships in areas of shared interest and increase Australians' capacity to effectively engage with Korea (Australia Korea Foundation 2014). It funds scholarships, exchanges, internships and the BRIDGE program in order to set up meaningful connections between Korean and Australian people. A key aim of the Foundation's activities is to nurture a group both societies that has a good understanding of the other society's culture, politics and economy.

More generally, the Australian Government engages in cultural diplomacy through the Australia International Cultural Council which aims to "engage overseas audiences through the delivery of high-quality and innovative arts and cultural promotions to increase their understanding of Australia's contemporary identity, values, interests and policies" (Australia International Cultural Council 2014). Many of Australia's overseas posts and missions undertake cultural events as a means of engaging with the local population. These local cultural exchanges are seen as a good way to foster potential goodwill. Australia also provides funding to bring foreign media figures and other influential policymakers to Australia to foster a better understanding that will be communicated to home country audiences and influential constituencies.

Finally, social media and other new forms of information technology are also used as tools of public diplomacy. With the advent of digital communications, public diplomacy can be achieved more cost-effectively using digital tools as effective messaging systems with good multiplier effects. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade currently uses a number of centrally managed social media platforms including Twitter, YouTube and Facebook and an increasing number of Australia's overseas posts and missions rely on social media tools as a central plank of their local public diplomacy strategy (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2014).

## Educational and Cultural Exchange as Public Diplomacy

Educational and cultural exchange can be understood as an instrument of public diplomacy. As former diplomat Pamela Smith argues, a successful public diplomacy campaign must use cultural and educational programs to provide the context and deeper understanding of a country's society, values and motives for its positions (Smith 1998: 96). She claims that 'You could think, perhaps, of information programs as being the newspapers of a country's foreign affairs, and cultural and educational programs as being its literature. You can make do with the newspapers alone, but they will mean far more if you have read the literature' (Smith 1998: 96). This approach can potentially yield lifelong ties to a particular country.

Australia plays host to many overseas students who travel to Australia to pursue their education, whether self-funded or on government scholarships such as the Australia Awards. In 2012, the Australian Government invested \$334.2 million in Australia Awards enabling 4900 recipients from more than 145 countries to undertake study, research and professional development (Australia Awards 2014a). Indonesia, Vietnam and Papua New Guinea were the three largest recipient countries of Australia Awards, with 55 per cent of incoming recipients from the Asia region (Australia Awards 2014a). The Government is also acting to increase the number of Australian students studying overseas through its 'New Colombo Plan' and which aims to encourage Australians to have a more immersive experience when it comes to learning about Asia (Bishop 2013). These initiatives are further enhanced as Australian universities actively partner with overseas universities to provide students with greater international exposure.

In recent years, the Australian government has worked to establish a single Australia Awards brand to better market and raise the visibility of its educational efforts (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2012). It also developed a consolidated alumni database to help build the country's links with a strong network of Australian-educated leaders and to raise the profile of the Australian education system.

Case studies show the benefits of educational exchange as good public diplomacy. For example, Damdin Tsogtbaatar was working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Mongolia when he was awarded an Australian Development Scholarship (Australia Awards 2014b). After returning home he specialised in Economic and Trade Cooperation. He is now Mongolia's State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. When asked of his experience studying in Australia, he said that "There is a sense of community, a sense of union of common experience. You lived in a culture and a society that leaves very fond memories in you .... If [Australians] ask for something you know that they will be asking for something that is worth supporting. As friends you always try to support each other". He was clearly influenced by the Australian approach to higher learning, stating that "You become very pragmatic and efficient ... That's a very market economy oriented pattern of thinking".

Another example is that of Siaan Matthews who received an Endeavour Award for PhD fieldwork in Malaysia on the Australia-Malaysia bilateral relationship (Australia Awards 2014b). During her time in Malaysia, she participated in an extraordinarily wide-range of academic events, and was able to conduct a series of interviews with Director Generals and CEOs of some of Malaysia's key ministries: research that Siaan included into her PhD. The experience has given her the support and contacts to ensure that her research is of the highest calibre. Siaan now lectures on Malaysia at the Australian National University and has organised several Malaysia-related conferences. These activities, together with her ongoing research, ensure that she continues to remain part of the Malaysian academic community. She claims that 'the "award has also brought with it a myriad of personal changes. From new family to new friends, new food to new faith; a unique opportunity to take the next step in an academic or professional career"'.

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## Conclusion

ANU Professor Ramesh Thakur would argue that public diplomacy is no longer about speaking with one voice: the new public diplomacy is all about individuality and embracing nuance (2013: 78-80). It emphasises the personal factor and the lived experience.

Human beings seem to need personal contact in order for important relationships to be fostered and conducted, especially when cultural differences are involved. Trust and mutual respect seem best to be obtained by people on the ground; people that form opinions as a result of actual observation usually come away with a much more nuanced and realistic basis for whatever views they hold.

The personal touch has gravitated closer to the centre of the practice of diplomacy today.

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## About the Authors

Melissa H. Conley Tyler was appointed National Executive Director of the Australian Institute of International Affairs in 2006. She is a lawyer and specialist in conflict resolution, including negotiation, mediation and peace education. She was previously Program Manager of the International Conflict Resolution Centre at the University of Melbourne and Senior Fellow of Melbourne Law School. She has an international profile in conflict resolution including membership of the Editorial Board of the Conflict Resolution Quarterly. In 2008 Ms Conley Tyler was selected as one of the nation's 1,000 "best and brightest" to participate in the Australia 2020 Summit convened by the Prime Minister to discuss future challenges facing Australia. Later in 2008 she was selected by the Fletcher Alumni Association of Washington D.C. to receive its Young Alumni Award for most outstanding graduate of the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy under 40. She is a member of the International Advisory Council of the U.S. Center for Citizen Diplomacy. Her recent research includes book chapters on Australian foreign policy making and Australia's role in the G20 and publications on public diplomacy and Australia as a middle power. With more than 15 years' experience working in community organisations in Australia, South Africa and the U.S.A., Ms Conley Tyler has a strong interest in non-profit management. She has served on the Board of Directors of the Charities Aid Foundation Australia, one of Australia's largest grant-givers, and the Committee of Management of the Victorian Foundation for Survivors of Torture. She is listed in Routledge's Who's Who in International Affairs and International Who's Who of Women.

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Giridharan Ramasubramanian is a former intern at the Australian Institute of International Affairs who recently completed a Master of Arts (International Relations) and a Master of Diplomacy at the Australian National University. He will be commencing a Doctor of Philosophy in the School of International, Political and Strategic Studies at the Australian National University in 2015.



# Dr Rhonda L. Evans

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Partnering to Promote Educational and Cultural Exchange

Director, Clark Centre for Australian and New Zealand Studies

The University of Texas at Austin

University-based research centres offer an important means of multiplying the effects of the Australian-American Fulbright Commission's exchange programs in that they can expand the scope of educational and cultural exchange and promote continuing collaboration. The Edward A. Clark Centre for Australian and New Zealand Studies at the University of Texas at Austin illustrates two key ways in which this can be done. First, it has provided opportunities for Fulbright Scholars to interact with students and faculty at UT-Austin; and second, the Centre has provided institutional resources and leadership to support collaborative projects spawned by these interactions.

With its Fulbright Distinguished Speakers Series, the Clark Centre allows US-based scholars who have recently held the Fulbright Flinders Distinguished Chair in American Political Science to present their research on Australia to an American audience. Malcolm Feeley (Berkeley Law School) delivered the inaugural lecture in the series in which he compared the experience of prison privatization in the US and Australia. Of note, he observed that what he learned about prison privatization in Australia changed his way of thinking about prison privatization more generally. Burdett Loomis (University of Kansas) spoke about his experience as a Fulbright Flinders Distinguished Chair in the context of his work for the US State Department, and Howard Schweber (University of Wisconsin) delivered a provocative talk about the ways in which executive power and judicial review animate the Australian Constitution. The Clark Centre has also worked with Fulbright Professional Scholars who travelled from Australia to UT-Austin, including the 2009 Fulbright DFAT Professional Scholar, Cameron O'Reilly, and the 2012 Australia-U.S. Alliance Studies Scholar, Andrew Blythe. While in Austin, both O'Reilly and Blythe worked with faculty from across the campus and delivered lectures to students enrolled in a course on Australian politics.

O'Reilly's visit in the spring of 2009 spurred a much deeper level of engagement between UT-Austin and Australian universities. Partnering with the Clark Centre and the University of Sydney's US Studies Centre and Centre for Climate and Environmental Law, in 2011 O'Reilly organized a week-long workshop in Sydney and Canberra that brought US- and Australia-based researchers together to assess energy challenges common to both countries. Participants presented papers comparing problems of carbon capture and storage, use of renewable energy sources, electricity grids and markets, and the policy dilemmas that these and other issues pose for politicians and administrators.

They also inspected energy production sites near Sydney and Canberra. Two years later, the Clark Centre hosted a delegation of researchers from the University of Queensland for similar meetings and site-visits in Austin. These meetings have had enduring results. Participants subsequently collaborated on several grant proposals. UT-Austin's Energy Institute and UQ's Energy Initiative are negotiating a Memorandum of Agreement that will strengthen collaboration between the universities in teaching and research in the energy sector. A delegation from UT-Austin plans to visit Queensland in 2014.

In these ways, the Clark Centre can serve as a model for other research centres to amplify the work of Fulbrighters and thereby promote soft and smart power.

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## About the Author

Rhonda L. Evans, J.D., Ph.D., is Director of the Edward A. Clark Centre for Australian and New Zealand Studies at the University of Texas at Austin, where she is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Government. She studies Public Law and Comparative Politics, with an emphasis on Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand. Her research lies at the intersection of law and politics, paying special attention to issues concerning human rights, discrimination, and asylum seekers. She is conducting new inquiries into the policy agendas of political and judicial institutions in Australia and New Zealand as part of the Comparative Agendas Project. She is the co-author of *Legislating Equality: The Politics of Antidiscrimination Policy in Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2014) and currently has a book on the Australian Human Rights Commission under review. Her work has appeared in various edited volumes as well as the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, *Australian Journal of Political Science*, *Congress and the Presidency*, and the *Journal of Democracy*.



# Associate Professor John Foster

Smart Power: The People Component

University of New South Wales

2009 Fulbright Senior Scholar

## Introduction

Academics are increasingly asked to justify their research in relation to its benefits to society. Each year, the wider benefits of my research are assessed as having 'saved a life', 'been manufactured' or had 'no impact at all'. With a number of recent initiatives, such as the "Excellence in Innovation Trial (EIA)" conducted by a number of Australia's universities<sup>1</sup> and the government discussion paper assessing the 'wider benefits of university-based research',<sup>2</sup> the impact academic research has on society in Australia is likely to join that in the USA and become the most significant driver of funding allocated to universities. Soft power is being exerted by government research funding bodies to direct research outcomes it deems to be in the national interest.

In his article to The Australian Newspaper,<sup>3</sup> Prof. Field, Vice-chancellor for Research at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), eloquently dissected the flaws in government attempts to assess the impact of university driven research. However, his article, and the proposed assessment strategies, are quite damning in their failure to consider the main outcome of university research: educated and open-minded individuals capable of both logical and lateral thinking.

While science research at Australian universities has been directly responsible for many advances that have benefited society, (take for example the Gardasil vaccine for cervical cancer developed at the University of Queensland), Academic research is not just about the project, it's about the people. - The people component is where the Fulbright Program excels.

## My Fulbright Perspective

In my Senior Scholarship, soft power was exerted by the Fulbright Association to support the innovative combination of two technologies and the mutual training of two scientists:

In America, my host, Prof. Badylak had developed biomaterials based on the body's own extracellular matrix which cements our cells together. His team uses these biomaterials for tissue engineering and regeneration. While not fully characterised, these biomaterials are officially approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in the USA and readily used in over a million patients, with impressive results. However, the outcomes of the 21<sup>st</sup> century technology of tissue engineering are restricted by the enabling technology of sutures developed in 3,000 BC.

In Australia we had developed a laser-activated, thin film surgical adhesive that overcomes all the disadvantages of current commercial glues, while avoiding the physical trauma of sutures, or 'stitches'. More recently we have adapted the technology to also locally deliver therapeutic agents or drugs, avoiding whole body effects currently observed in their generic use. This novel sutureless technology can be applied in a variety of surgical conditions and not only seals wounds but, as with Badylak's biomaterials, promotes the functional regeneration of tissue.

Consequently, my Fulbright sought to combine our two complementary technologies with a view to their application in repairing nerve trauma. A medical scenario where the avoidance of further physical wounding caused by microsuturing, as well as enhanced functional repair, are desired outcomes not supported using current practise.

So we could claim that similar to the Australian Government's academic funding structures, soft power was directed by the Fulbright to control a research outcome that could directly benefit society. However, while our research could be considered as smart and innovative, there is apparently no hard component that constitutes smart power according to Nye's original definition.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, while the outcomes of this research will advantage Australia and America primarily, the ultimate benefit is to mankind; which is entirely consistent with Fulbright's original vision.

## The Multiplier Effect

During my Fulbright at the McGowan Institute for Regenerative Medicine in Pittsburgh, we developed strategies to successfully combine our two technologies. I gained expertise in the preparation of their biomaterials and I trained them in the application of our surgical adhesive. The US group now has one of our laser systems and are performing animal trials on the combined technology.

The project investigating the application of the Australian-American technology for nerve repair is ongoing. However my original stay also permitted mutual brainstorming that served to expand our collaborative research. Further support in 2012 in the form of the Fulbright Alumni Grant, allowed me to revisit the McGowan to initiate another research area investigating the application of our technology for sealing defects in the dura mater during brain surgery. During the 2012 visit, yet a third innovative concept was formulated and preliminarily tested. In addition, we were able to design other research strategies based on our individual strengths that did not relate to the combined technology. Some of these new research directions have already born fruit; others are still under investigation.

Thus, the Fulbright had a multiplier effect where the original concept of combining the two technologies was achieved and a research collaboration investigating its application to nerve repair established, but also led to two other research projects related to the technology and now two more in alternate directions. These outcomes would not have occurred if the Fulbright had not provided the opportunity for two researchers to come face-to-face for an extended period; i.e: the people component.

Whilst the McGowan is part of the University of Pittsburgh, its research is distinctly applied, funded by its numerous patents and industry collaborations, and conducted primarily by postdoctoral researchers and research associates. This organisational structure may show us in Australia the eventual outcome for an educational system where the funding for research is evaluated on the impact the project will have on society, without apparent consideration for the impact the people will have.

My Fulbright Scholarship was not restricted to the McGowan, I also visited colleagues at the Universities of Alabama and Massachusetts. I met with a number of academics from these and other organisations such as MIT. It was quite ironic to find that while soft power in Australia was being applied to direct academic research to potentially have a greater impact on society, academics in the USA were envious of our current freedoms for fundamental research, recognizing the long-term benefits this may have.

The Fulbright is not just about the project it's about the people, and not just people dealing directly with the collaboration. In true Fulbright Spirit, I, and a number of my research students who have visited the McGowan immersed ourselves in the local culture.

The campus experience is still celebrated in Pittsburgh. The start of a new university year saw the local cathedral packed with students, and later in the evenings the bars! Not so different from our Australian Universities. During my visits to Pittsburgh I met and talked to many Americans from all walks of life: The renowned academic whose research may change the world, the exuberant undergraduate curious about Kangaroos, the grizzled old steel worker with a heavy polish accent who bought me a beer and the cheery 97 year old gentleman who delivered free newspapers to the hospitals.

While the multiplier effect of a Fulbright Scholarship may be apparent in the outcomes of the research project and its innovations. It is with the people that it has currently had the greatest impact. True to Senator Fulbright's vision, the cultural exchange of my scholarship has spread far outside the laboratory.

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## Conclusion

So in conclusion, the current dissociation between academic research and the students conducting it should give cause for concern. The greatest impact of university based research on Australian society is most likely to come from the students conducting it. While I could not tick that 'saved a life' box for the impact of my research, Fulbright soft power in my scholarship has had a number of successful outcomes that has already directly benefited society. It has established professional collaborations and friendships between our two countries. It has generated new scientists who will contribute to the peace and prosperity of Australia and America, and it has sown the seeds of new innovative ideas that, if nurtured correctly will prosper to benefit mankind. - How do you measure that impact?

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## About the Author

A/Prof. John Foster has an international profile in the production, characterisation and potential application of novel, bio-based polymers as biomaterials. His applied, multidisciplinary research is founded on a track record of positions in both academia and industry. John's research asks fundamental questions and engineers medical solutions. His research has featured internationally in the media. John leads the Bio/Polymer Research Group (BRG), at the University of New South Wales and is an adjunct at the Save Sight Institute at the University of Sydney. Prior to joining UNSW he was a Research Scientist at Bayer AG in Germany. John was a Fulbright Senior Scholar in 2009 and holder of the Alumni Grant in 2012. He has also held a 'Johnson and Johnson Fellowship' (1993-1995) at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst and a 'Marie Curie International Incoming Fellowship' (2005-2007) at the Institut für Festkörperforschung at Forschungszentrum Jülich GmbH in Germany. John has published over 90 peer-reviewed publications including 2 books and 6 book chapters, he is frequently an Invited Speaker and international conferences. John is a life member of the Fulbright Alumni Association and currently serves as Chair on the NSW committee.



## Dr Alice Garner

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Behind the scenes of the Australian-American Fulbright program since 1949

Honorary Associate

La Trobe University



## Professor Diane Kirkby

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La Trobe University

1985 Post-Doctoral Fulbright Scholar

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### Abstract

This paper explores some significant moments in the behind-the-scenes history of the Australian-American Fulbright program since 1949, exploring challenges administrators have faced over six decades of running a bi-national scheme of educational and cultural exchange covering a very broad range of fields, career stages and institutions. We have found that the search for mutual understanding has been a task for program managers and advisers just as it has for scholars, but that careful attention to and regular revision of processes and policies have kept the program afloat through some difficult times. We draw on extensive research in Australian and U.S. government and university archives.

On Saturday 26 November 1949, a clear, warm Canberra morning, Australian Minister for External Affairs Herbert Vere Evatt and US Ambassador Pete Jarman met in the library at Parliament House to sign the first ever official treaty between their two countries: an executive agreement establishing the Fulbright educational exchange program.<sup>1</sup> Press reports were celebratory, and yet noted that the inter-governmental negotiations had taken more than three rocky years (Sydney Morning Herald editorial, 28 November 1949, p. 2). Discussions had begun with the June 1946 Lend-lease Settlement agreement establishing the amount owed by the Australians to the US for wartime materiel and services. They picked up pace when US Congress passed Senator J. William Fulbright's proposed Amendment to the Surplus Property Act 1944, known colloquially as the Fulbright Act.<sup>2</sup> This Act authorised State Department to negotiate agreements with Lend-lease debtor nations with the specific purpose of using funds, in counterpart (non-US) currencies, for scholarly exchange (Johnson & Colligan 1965, p.329; Woods 1995, ch. 6).

The agreement created the bi-national United States Educational Foundation to administer the scheme from Canberra, and required the Australian government to set aside, for the purposes of educational exchange, the equivalent in Australian pounds of \$US 5 million, with no more than \$US 500,000 to be spent in any one calendar year.

During their long-drawn-out negotiations, US State Department and Australian External Affairs representatives had haggled over the shape and control of programming and administration. The balance of nationalities on the Foundation board was one concern – the Australians fought hard for (near) parity – and taxation of scholarship income, the exchange rate applying to program funding, and whether ‘cultural’ (as opposed to purely educational) activities would be funded were other sticking points. Mounting Cold War tensions exacerbated disagreements between the two governments. And yet, they managed eventually to hammer out a robust arrangement, urged along by the flood of mail coming in from Australian university students, school teachers and academics keen to apply for an exchange.<sup>3</sup> The post-war powerhouse across the Pacific was at once anxiety-inducing and immensely attractive.

Once the agreement was signed, there were numerous challenges in setting up the program, including a shortage of shipping due to wartime losses, a serious accommodation shortfall in Australia, and frustrating communication delays and mishaps caused by different academic calendars and time zones. There was also, initially, a disappointing lack of interest in Australia amongst senior American academics considered particularly desirable in this post-war time of feverish re-building. The Foundation’s first executive officer, Western Australian Rhodes scholar, historian and decorated air force veteran Geoffrey Rossiter, made the best of a difficult situation, in his isolated and understaffed Canberra office, housed initially in one room in the American embassy, then in an office at the ANU, and finally in a residential house on Northbourne Avenue bought especially.

Rossiter understood that the Foundation needed to ensure the program was untainted by political interference if it were to attract the support of Oxbridge-oriented Australian academics who were becoming increasingly concerned about intellectual freedom, in a period when the newly elected Menzies federal government was embarking on a major domestic anti-communist campaign, and when President Truman was referring publicly to the Fulbright program as a tool in his Campaign of Truth abroad.<sup>4</sup> Rossiter also had to work around an ingrained perception on Australian university campuses that the standard of American educational institutions was ‘open to question’.<sup>5</sup>

The first Australian scholars, 27 of them, including two women, from seventeen research fields noticeably weighted towards the sciences, headed across the Pacific in 1950. The first Americans (23 men and, again, two women) came to Australia in 1951, converging on Melbourne and Sydney, with a smattering heading to other states, one to the brand new ANU, and another to CSIRO. The Americans’ fields leant heavily towards the social sciences and humanities, which led to regular debates over the ideal mix, and whether scientists or humanities scholars were better equipped to act as ‘ambassadors’.

With guidance from the US Board of Foreign Scholarships, Rossiter and the Foundation trialled and reworked selection procedures and programming policies appropriate to the Australian context. They faced many dilemmas:

- » Should they favour older or younger scholars? (The answer varied according to nationality).
- » Should married scholars receive an allowance for their dependants? (No and then yes, but not for postgraduates).
- » Should they agree to the establishment of an American Studies Institute under Fulbright auspices, or might Australian academics interpret this as propagandistic? (The proposal was rejected in 1953 for that very reason).
- » How should they deal with applicants in what were then non-academic fields – in Australia at least – like nursing, journalism, and social work? (They created a Special Categories award in 1955, with a possibly unintended consequence of benefiting many women who would otherwise have missed out).<sup>6</sup>
- » What fields would most benefit from the contribution of visiting Americans and how should the Foundation determine this? (They relied on advice from universities in the main, and tracing changing research emphases has proved a revealing historical exercise).

The initial \$US 5 million lasted fifteen years—five more than expected—during which time roughly 1500 scholars participated in the program, including a number of Distinguished Visitors from the US who made a powerful impression. Theodore Schellenberg, from the US National Archives, played a crucial role in the early development of the Australian national archives in 1954 (Stapleton 1985, pp. 15-16), while Professor John Hope Franklin, a historian of slavery and the first African-American scholar to arrive under the program, was surprised to find himself was a national household name during his 1960 tour (Franklin 2005). Women professors from the US also cut a swathe in Australia, especially in the 1950s, demonstrating that it was possible for women to pursue a profession to the highest levels. Professor of Accounting Mary Murphy, for example, went so far in 1953 as to predict wage parity between men and women in the near future (*The Argus* 30 June 1953, p. 4).

In 1964, a new executive agreement had to be forged, unleashing a fresh rush of diplomatic correspondence – though rather less combative in tone than in the late 1940s. This second agreement established co-funding of the program, and renamed the bi-national commission the Australian-American Educational Foundation. Australia was one of the first Fulbright partner countries worldwide to take this co-funding step. Prime Minister Menzies signed the document, demonstrating his desire to cement ties with the US, just as the controversial war in Vietnam was developing momentum.

The re-negotiation had entailed an internal debate over which Australian government department should be responsible for the program – External Affairs or Office of Education? This went to the heart of a question hovering around the Fulbright program: was it primarily educational, or was it an arm of public diplomacy? There had always been a tug in both directions, with External Affairs officers closely involved since the program's inception, even while they explicitly acknowledged its primarily educational focus.<sup>7</sup> Educational exchange was generally considered an arm of public diplomacy, but one very different in nature from information programs, or 'fast media'. Scholars of integrity would not be told what to say in their person-to-person encounters, and so there was always a degree of uncertainty about the possible outcomes of Fulbright-funded interchange.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the nature of intellectual ambassadorship and its potential pitfalls fed a lively public debate as many Fulbrighters developed grave doubts about joint US and Australian military intervention in South-East Asia. To what extent and in what manner were they expected to represent their country? What freedom did and should they have to express dissent, at home and abroad? Many were active in anti-war protests over this period. Senator Fulbright himself became an increasingly vocal opponent of the US intervention in South-East Asia and argued in *The Arrogance of Power* that 'In a democracy dissent is an act of faith' (Fulbright 1967, p. 25). The Senator's public investigations into and criticisms of US foreign aid and military policies, in his role as leader of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, infuriated the President so much that in retaliation – so the story goes – Johnson made serious cuts to Fulbright program funding worldwide in 1969 (Woods 1995, p. 490).

Fulbright board meeting minutes reflected the turmoil of the time: what should be done about draft resisters applying for Fulbright awards? Would the awards continue to be known as 'Fulbrights'? In 1968, the board rejected a United States Information Service proposal that they name an award after the recently deceased Prime Minister Harold Holt, noting that 'that the Foundation has been at great pains to avoid any political implications in its operations and the Board felt that in the long-term if such a memorial scholarship were instituted, the effect might be the opposite to that hoped for.'<sup>8</sup>

The late 1970s and 1980s brought new hurdles. Fiscal tightening by the US government threatened to compromise the program, and led to multiple program reviews by the Board of Foreign Scholarships and bi-national commissions everywhere. One mid-1980s review criticised the Australian program for operating like an 'old boys' network'. This hit home, and in 1985, the first woman was named to the bi-national board: Australian visual arts curator Jacqueline Hochmann (later Taylor).<sup>9</sup> This ushered in a period when the number of women Fulbrighters began slowly to increase – from around 10% in the 1980s to rough parity by the late 1990s.

1987 brought the Wall Street Crash. But on the morning of 20 October – 'Black Tuesday' (or Monday in the US) – the Australian government announced a surprising 50% increase in funding to the Fulbright program. There was a condition, however: the Foundation had to match the increase with private (or non-federal-government) money. Suddenly the Fulbright board members and executive had to learn how to fundraise – something of a shock. Trying to lure dollars out of the corporate world straight after the financial crash and heading into the Australian Bicentennial year was nearly impossible. It took a long time to establish sponsored awards and refine policies to ensure program integrity and maintain firm control of selections.

In the following years, the Foundation faced the introduction by the Australian government of Overseas Student Charges, the transfer of administrative functions from the Education Department to the Foundation, the decline in the value of the Australian dollar, and a sixteen-year battle to gain tax deductible gift recipient status from Treasury, finally granted in 2003. Other developments included a gradual move towards dollar parity between Australian and US awards, the establishment of the Australian Fulbright Association in 1990, formalising an alumni network which had existed unofficially since the 1950s, and the inaugural Fulbright Symposium on the (telling) theme 'Managing international economic relations in the Pacific Region in the 1990s'. In 2000, the Australian-American Educational Foundation changed its name to the Australian-American Fulbright Commission.

We have explored here only one of many possible threads in the story of the Australian-American Fulbright program since 1949. The heart of the program is of course the scholars and their exchange experiences. With nearly 5000 scholars having made the trip both ways across the Pacific, between a vast array of institutions in an ever-broadening range of research fields, it is a daunting task to carve a seamless narrative out of their experiences, the impacts on their personal and professional lives, and how these may have shaped Australian-US relations more broadly. But this is a task we are undertaking, and we look forward to sharing more of our findings in the near future.

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## About the Authors

Alice Garner is a Melbourne-based researcher, writer and teacher. As Consultant historian to the Australian-American Fulbright Commission, she researches and shares findings on the exchange program's rich history. She first began exploring the Fulbright program as postdoctoral fellow on an Australian Research Council Linkage project, alongside Fulbright alumna Professor Diane Kirkby, based at La Trobe University. As well as conducting oral history interviews in partnership with the National Library of Australia, and exploring Australian and US national archives, Alice created a web-based timeline of the Australian-US program, which she continues to develop (see [www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/293784/Australian-American-Fulbright-Program](http://www.tiki-toki.com/timeline/entry/293784/Australian-American-Fulbright-Program)).

She has presented many conference papers on the Fulbright history, and co-authored an article in *Australian Historical Studies* with Diane Kirkby on the negotiation and early years of the exchange scheme. Alice has also published two books: *The Student Chronicles* (Miegunyah Press, 2006), which she wrote while a Vice-Chancellor's Fellow at the University of Melbourne, and *A Shifting Shore: Locals, Outsiders, and the Transformation of a French Fishing Town, 1823-2000* (Cornell University Press, 2005), which was shortlisted for the NSW Premier's General History Prize.

Dr Diane Kirkby is Professor of History and former Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at La Trobe University, Melbourne. She teaches US history and has published extensively on the intersection of US and Australian history. Her publications include a prize-winning biography of Australian suffragist and journalist Alice Henry, (Cambridge University Press 1991) *Barmaids: A History of Women's Work in Pubs* (Cambridge University Press, 1997) and *Voices From the Ships* (UNSW Press, 2008). She is an elected Fellow of the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia and of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. She was a recipient of a Fulbright postdoctoral award in 1985 and has served on the Australian-American Fulbright Selection Committee, the Executive of the Australian Historical Association, and is a founding member and past President of the Australia-New Zealand Law and History Society.

## (Endnotes)

- 1 For a full account of the negotiation and early years of the program, see Garner & Kirkby 2013.
- 2 Public Law 584, 79th Congress, 60 Stat 754, approved August 1 1946. Amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944.
- 3 A1067 A46/2/4/10, NAA.
- 4 'Truman Commends Fulbright Exchange Program', press clipping from ACB no. 115, Sydney, filed by Department of External Affairs, Canberra in 'United States of America - Relations with Australia - Requests for Information on Fulbright Agreement', A1838 250/9/8/3 PART 1, NAA.
- 5 26 Oct 1953, United States Educational Foundation Board (USEF) board minutes. Appendix 1: USEF Memo No 169 to DOS (IES), Oct 28 1953. On: Selection of American Grantees.
- 6 USEF Board minutes, February 1950 onwards.
- 7 21 Feb 1950, Note of meeting in Department of External Affairs with representatives of New Zealand High Commissioner's Office and the South Pacific Commission. 'United States of America - Educational Foundation Programmes', 250/9/8/7 PART 1, NAA.
- 8 AAEF Board minutes, 21 March 1968.
- 9 AAEF Board minutes, 7 February 1985.



# Professor John Kleinig, PhD, FAHA

Intercultural Exchange: A Case Study for Police Ethics

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## Abstract

Drawing on my own Fulbright experience, I indicate how, perhaps in unexpected ways, the Fulbright Program may not only assist in the international and intercultural transfer of knowledge and value but also foster new developments and create novel cosmopolitan synergies. I focus on my emerging interest in police ethics.

Although somewhat self-involved, this case study illustrates well the Fulbright commitment to and leadership in the development of soft and smart power.

A good deal of life is a matter of serendipity, but some serendipities are more significant than others. One of the great serendipities of my own life – as well as my academic life -- was the phone call that diverted me one Saturday morning in 1984 while I was weeding the garden at my Epping (NSW) house, a call in which I was offered a year as Fulbright Scholar at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York. At the time I had no idea why I was invited – unlike most others, I had not applied for the fellowship – but the offer happened to coincide with a very small but fraught connection that I had developed with the NSW police. Its reformist Commissioner at that time, John Avery, a graduate of Macquarie University where I taught, had asked me to speak on ethical issues in policing at a couple of training conferences in Manly. I knew nothing about police ethics – there was no literature to speak of – and though I consulted with those who invited me, my ignorance and outsider status was obvious. It was a PR disaster. In any case, the Fulbright offer was intriguing, and after a wonderful year I returned to Australia, intending to remain here. Even though John Jay College had offered me a position in New York, I resisted.

Nevertheless, piqued by the year away, I decided to offer an experimental course in police ethics at Macquarie University. When he heard about it, Commissioner Avery sent two of his up-and-coming staff members to enrol in it. (Subsequently – some 12 years later – one of them became the police commissioner in Victoria and the other would have become the commissioner in NSW had not a series of later scandals within the NSW police led to the decision to appoint an outsider.) I then changed my mind about the New York offer, and eventually received a waiver from Australia that enabled me to go back sooner than the Fulbright rules ordinarily permitted. When I arrived at the College, a combination of unexpected circumstances (a euphemism for academic politics) led to my being assigned to teach a course on police ethics that existed only as a catalogue entry. It was not being taught and there was no syllabus or text. Ironically the course was cancelled in my first semester for lack of student enrolments. Perhaps I should note that in this last semester (Spring 2013) – my last semester at John Jay – well over 200 students were enrolled in this 300-level police ethics course. Moreover, the academic field has grown from virtual non-existence in the mid-eighties to perhaps fifty monographs since then. I believe I have had some role to play in that development.

In addition to my fairly radical transformation from a philosopher who wrote mostly on issues in social philosophy and medical ethics to one who now helped to establish police ethics on a firm academic footing, for the next 25 years I edited *Criminal Justice Ethics*, an international journal sponsored by John Jay College<sup>1</sup> and also directed a City University-wide Institute for Criminal Justice Ethics that often provided an international forum for workshops and publications on a diverse range of neglected or pressing issues in the area.<sup>2</sup>

The next stage of international exchange began in 2004, some 18 years after I joined John Jay, when I accepted an arrangement with Charles Sturt University and the ARC-funded Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics in Canberra<sup>3</sup>, whereby I would spend six months a year back in Australia heading up the Centre's Criminal Justice Ethics Program, an initiative that itself has fostered the kinds of international and intercultural exchanges that the Fulbright Program has so well exemplified. To give just one tiny example of that, at Charles Sturt University I am currently supervising the doctoral dissertation of a Chinese police officer who is writing on the ethics of police interrogations, with special reference to China – a project that has required a review of police interrogational practices in the UK, Europe, the US and Australia and the significance they might have for the evolving Chinese situation.

I want to note three things about this Fulbright exchange that are particularly relevant to the theme of the symposium that sponsored this presentation. First of all, in fostering – albeit accidentally – the development of police ethics, the Program was fostering the softening of hard power – of tempering police force with ethical constraints, of encouraging police-citizen engagements that respected the dignity of those whom police were there to serve, of tempering enforcement ends with acceptable means.

Second, there is a feature of this intercultural exchange that is easily overlooked, though it was presaged by Commissioner Avery's 1986 letter in support my waiver. It was his view that even though the study of police ethics was at that time virtually non-existent in Australia, I could do more for its development in Australia if I returned to the rich criminal justice environment of John Jay College. And that indeed has been the case. John Jay College provided not only opportunities, but also the resources and practical contacts in the US and elsewhere (including an exchange in the UK) that enabled me to write a book that is now used in the UK, the European Union, China, Turkey and Australia as well as in the United States. Even though my knowledge of policing was minuscule when I left Australia and so the book in question – *The Ethics of Policing*<sup>4</sup> – largely reflects a North American conceptualization of policing institutions, I have no doubt that bringing my essentially Australian sensibilities and heritage, as well, of course, as my academic background in moral philosophy, to bear on the challenges of policing in the United States enabled me to make a contribution to the literature that has helped to bridge a diversity of policing traditions. Even though *The Ethics of Policing* was US-oriented, it was not as parochial as it might have been.

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This bears on a final issue that was sometimes underplayed in the Fulbright circles in which I moved in the 1980s. My early encounters with Fulbright rhetoric suggested that the exchanges were intended to offer an opportunity for those in other countries – whether developed or developing – to share in the richness of US academic and artistic culture and then to disseminate those riches in one's home country. That, I was told, was one of the reasons for the two-year minimum return. Clearly, however, there was and is more to it than that, as of course we see from two-way exchanges. But even that may mislead us into thinking of mutual enrichment by way of a simple transfer of intellectual and cultural bounties.

As I found in my work in police ethics, Fulbright exchanges have a synergistic potential that can transform a field or enable a field to develop in more cosmopolitan ways than would otherwise be easily attainable. Intercultural exchanges do not simply widen choice and experience but may enable the enhancement of that which is to be shared. The engagement is not merely additive but multiplicative. The outcome is more than the sum of its parts, because the parts interact to reconfigure their subject by introducing new questions, new perspectives and new sensibilities. What is taken for granted or viewed as obvious comes to be seen in a new light or as refracted through a prism that enables something that was monochrome to be seen as a wide spectrum of colours. That has certainly been the case with police ethics.

Speaking more generally to the conference theme, although we may live in a world that will never be able to relinquish its need for hard power, we may help to alleviate or moderate that dependency through the smart use of soft power. And both structurally and in other ways the Fulbright program exemplifies the smart use of soft power.

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- 2 <http://johnjayresearch.org/cje/>.
- 3 [www.cappe.edu.au/](http://www.cappe.edu.au/).
- 4 CUP, 1996.

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## About the Author

Recently retired from his New York position, John Kleinig served in the doctoral Programs in Philosophy and Criminal Justice at John Jay College and the Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York. He continues his research with the Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics at Charles Sturt University. He is the author, co-author and editor of over 20 books, including *The Ethics of Policing* (CUP, 1996), *Ethics in Criminal Justice* (CUP 2008), *Professional Police Practice* (OUP, 2013, ed., with PAJ Waddington & Martin Wright), *On Loyalty and Loyalties: The Contours of a Problematic Virtue* (OUP, 2014), *Prisoners' Rights* (Ashgate, 2014, ed), and *The Ethics of Patriotism: A Debate* (Wiley Blackwell, 2015, with Simon Keller and Igor Primoratz).

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## (Endnotes)

- 1 <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcrc20#.UubCGWwo4dU>.
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- 3 <http://www.cappe.edu.au/>.
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# Dr Tony Lindsay

Smart Power: Some Technology Implications for Defence and National Security

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## Abstract

Since its introduction by Nye (Nye 2009) in 2003 the concept of "smart power" as an approach for Nation-states to deal with the complexity posed by asymmetric threats to their international policy aims has been increasingly recognised. While the overarching concepts are straight-forward, the inherent intricacies and uncertainties associated with "whole of Government" responses to the spectrum of potential threats presents challenges when distilling these concepts into practice. This paper discusses some technology implications that arise from consideration of this complexity.

## Enduring Characteristics of Smart Power

An idealised application of smart power by a nation might require the means to:

- » achieve ubiquitous and timely warning of an asymmetric action against it;
- » contextualise the nature of the threatened action;
- » develop timely response options that are informed by both the context of the action and the projected consequences of the response;
- » synchronize and activate the elements of Government needed to execute the response;
- » monitor and if necessary pro-actively shape the aftermath of the response; and
- » review and capture "lessons learned" so that a growing corpus of experience can be used to inform the analysis underpinning future threat contextualisation and response option planning.

In purely military terms, several of these capabilities correspond to well-recognized doctrinal functions, namely Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR) and Information Operations (IO).

Unfortunately, in a "smart power" scenario, the already complex and ambiguous nature of these activities as executed in military "hard power" contexts becomes even more fraught. These intrinsic difficulties can be compounded by structural impediments such as (1) the necessity to coordinate across Government Agency boundaries; (2) the legitimate application of "need to know" principles; (3) unclear, inappropriate or overlapping legal authorities and (4) contradictory or lacking policy settings, to name but a few.

It has been suggested (CACI International 2009) that the art of *execution* of these idealised elements of smart power lies in the attributes of *Balance* (i.e. the right mix of hard and soft power for the right issue), *Agility* (i.e. the ability to think, draw conclusions, act and execute quickly); and *Sustainability* (i.e. the political persistence and measured application of resources for the duration necessary to achieve a *societal attraction* to the policy objectives of the influencing nation).

Rather than looking at these intrinsic complexities and uncertainties as impediments, can they be used as what they are – what a mathematician would call "*boundary conditions*" – that help us to identify useful technologies that are equally characteristic of what is, undoubtedly, a "wicked problem"?

## Intelligence Integration

At the core of the dynamic of smart power application is *situational awareness*. This comprises the first two aspects of the idealised smart power capability discussed previously – *cueing* (i.e. responding to indicators and warnings prior to the event) and *contextualisation*. It is also critical to the post-response monitoring function.

Contextualisation, in particular, provides the critical nuances that differentiate intelligence from data, and also informs the consideration of *projected consequences* of a given action – an essential aspect of command decisions undertaken when determining the appropriate *balance* of the mix of response options and a concept fundamental to executing a "Smart Power" strategy.

While the span of sensing modalities that might contribute to situational awareness is vast, there are key, specific technologies at the core of *intelligence integration*. These are:

- » the definition and enforcement of metadata standards, which enable the automated:
  - cataloguing of information on input;
  - discovery of information by others (including cross-domain / inter-Agency users via metadata-enabled cross-domain security guards); and
  - “fusion”, “association” or “correlation” of otherwise disparate input data.
- » The definition and enforcement of a common, open architecture information integration framework (e.g. based on Web standards), that allows all Agencies to build to a common, interoperable, information management standard;
- » The development of information integration/fusion technologies that operate from low-level data fusion all the way up to high-order logical inferencing engines capable of semantic analysis; and
- » The development, validation, accreditation, governance and sharing of modular applications that execute intelligence data manipulation, display, dissemination and alerting functions.

These technologies are key enablers to realising the smart power attributes of *Balance* and *Agility* – the right response executed in a timely manner.

These fundamental technologies underpin any credible ability to sift through vast amounts of input to discern the subtle, fleeting signatures that are typically the indicators and warnings associated with asymmetric threats. It is essential that we allow the “machines to do the work” of discovery and the intelligent provision of contextualising information, thereby allowing the human decision makers to focus their energies on those subtleties and complexities that require intuition, empathy and ethical considerations, and reasoning that is not bounded by computational rules. Focussing the human elements down to the critical decision-making essentials is also potentially a useful contributor to the *Sustainability* of the smart power effort, since scarce and expensive human resources are primarily applied to the high “value-added” activities.

## 50 From Precision to Discrimination to Discernment

It has been suggested that one aspect of the attribute of *Agility* in the application of smart power lies in the ability to apply smart power easily and quickly (CACI International 2009). Lessons learned over the last decade however have emphasised that the longer-term strategic goals of smart power can all too easily be undone by individual, local acts of ill-considered, rapid action.

Nation-state aversion to mass civilian casualties has driven the technology of precision targeting. Over the years, this technology has improved to the point where target discrimination (i.e. the ability to discriminate between objects or individuals), is high. However, smart power requires more than discrimination – it demands *discernment*. Discernment requires the contextualisation of discrimination through *intent* e.g. in parts of the world a fighting-age male carrying an AK-47 could be part of a terrorist group or part of a wedding party.

Discernment suggests a need for both disparate sensing modalities (e.g. high-resolution imaging combined with wedding notifications published in local papers), and higher-level inferencing technologies (e.g. the ability to extract sentiment from text, not just keywords such as “wedding” or “attack”). Achieving discernment requires research into improved understanding of linguistics, cultural norms etc.

At a time when there is a view that we are already “swimming in sensors and drowning in data” (Magnusson, 2010), these considerations point to a counter-intuitive driver – increased fidelity and even more ubiquitous sensing. These trends must nonetheless be (more than) compensated for by the considerations outlined in the previous section – we must enable “the machines to do the work.” Better sensing enables improved automated extraction of information and hence generation of derived metadata, which in turn improves the accuracy of the information integration process.

One obvious aspect to this evolution is, however, the broader societal consideration of “how much monitoring is enough?” – a topic of current international discourse.

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## Conclusion

In conclusion, the “wicked problem” nature of the smart power philosophy itself suggests a number of technologies that are enablers for the attributes of *Balance*, *Agility* and *Sustainability*.

The fleeting and subtle nature of the indicators and warnings of asymmetric threats, along with the need to be *discerning* in any response, drives a research requirement for disparate, high-quality sensing modalities. Further research into higher-level, semantic reasoning, informed by cultural understanding is needed to contextualise information and provide improved decision support that enables the critical levels of *discernment* that characterise the “Smart Power” concept.

Further research and development is needed to address the subsequent problems of data overload, fusion, discovery, inferencing and information sharing, enabled at a technical level by metadata and architectural standardisation of information integration frameworks. More importantly however, the *policy framework* for improved information sharing across multiple Government agencies must be addressed.

quoting LtGen D. Deptula, USAF, 2010

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## About the Author

Dr Tony Lindsay was appointed Chief National Security and ISR Division in May 2013.

Dr Lindsay graduated in Science with a double major in Physics and Mathematics from the James Cook University of North Queensland in 1983. He completed an Honours degree in Physics there also, and in 1989, was awarded a PhD for research in atomic spectroscopy.

He joined DSTO in 1988 as a researcher in communications and non-communications electronic warfare (EW). The areas this encompassed were:

- » Radio frequency optoelectronics
- » Wide bandwidth photonic signal processing (acousto-optics, fibre optics)
- » Ultrafast sampling and analogue-digital conversion
- » Advanced technology demonstrators for electronic support and electronic attack systems
- » EW applications for mini-Unmanned Aerial Vehicles
- » Integration of electronic warfare systems with synthetic environments
- » Modelling and simulation of electromagnetic combat interactions.

In 1996, he spent twelve months on attachment at the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency in Malvern in the United Kingdom working on microwave optoelectronic devices. He has also participated in and led major collaborations with United States scientists on the NULKA anti-ship missile decoy program and on aircraft survivability, with the latter being the largest-ever Project Arrangement research program undertaken between the two countries.

From 2000 to 2005, he served as Research Leader, Air Electronic Warfare, in DSTO's Electronic Warfare and Radar Division. He was responsible for managing and coordinating all research and development, and operational support, for airborne non-communications EW for the Royal Australian Air Force.

From December 2005 until February 2008, he held the diplomatic post of Counsellor, Defence Science, at the Australian Embassy in Washington, after which he returned to Australia to take up his current position.

He has authored or co-authored over 55 refereed conference, journal and DSTO papers.

Awards Dr Lindsay has received include:

- » 2000 DSTO Electronics and Surveillance Research Laboratory Award (presented to Dr Lindsay and team)

2006 Defence Minister's Award for Defence Science for outstanding leadership in EW systems, and for enhancing the survivability of current and future generations of ADF aircraft.



# Associate Professor Michelle Meade

Soft and Smart Power in the Study of Human Memory

Montana State University

2013 Fulbright Senior Scholar

## Abstract

The concepts of soft and smart power are explored in relation to the study of human memory. While the majority of memory research examines individuals remembering in isolation, researchers have recently begun to explore the role of social context on individual memory. How does remembering with others influence memory? This article will discuss the role of soft and smart power in shifting the field to examine social memory and also the role of soft and smart power in shaping my personal Fulbright experiences.

According to the Australian American Fulbright Commission, soft and smart power refer to "...educational and cultural exchange, innovative and creative collaborations, knowledge translation, capacity building, diplomacy, and professional partnerships, but most of all it is evident in building lasting friendships, goodwill and mutual understanding among nations and peoples...." The purpose of this article is to discuss the concepts of soft and smart power within the context of my own research on human memory. The paper will focus both on the role of soft and smart power in shaping research directions in the field of cognitive psychology, and also the role of soft and smart power in shaping my Fulbright experiences.

My research focus is on human memory. I'm interested in how we remember information, why we forget, and also how memory changes as we get older. Very broadly, how does memory work and what factors influence what we remember. More specifically, I'm interested in extending what we know about individual memory to understanding how memory works in groups. Remembering with other people is a critical part of our lives as we frequently reminisce with others about past events. For example, students work together in the classroom, teams work out procedures, and older adults rely on each other to remember critical details. I'm interested in the impact that such collaboration has on individual memory. For example, when others make errors in memory, are we able to correct those errors, or do we incorporate their errors into our own memories, so that our lasting memory has been influenced by the conversation? Can we improve memory via collaboration, such that others can cue us to remember additional information that we might not have recalled on our own? These kinds of questions help us identify the psychological processes that differentiate successful from disruptive patterns of collaboration.

Understanding the mechanisms that predict successful collaboration has important implications. One very significant implication is memory in older adults. Individual memory declines in healthy aging (e.g. Balota, Dolan & Duchek, 2000), and that memory decline is accelerated in diseases like Alzheimer's disease (Balota et al., 1999). Memory decline is a critical issue for older adults, and finding ways to compensate for age-related memory decline is of utmost importance. One very exciting idea that I am working on with Associate Professor Amanda Barnier and her team at Macquarie University is that older adults may rely on other people as cues to aid their memory (Harris, Keil, Sutton, Barnier, & Mclwain, 2011; Blumen, Rajaram & Henkel, 2013). That is, older adults may manage memory decline by looking to other people for reminders or cues about past events. Anecdotally, you see this in a long term married couple when the husband can't remember the name of their new neighbor, and the wife fills it in for him. In this example, the wife has cued the husband to remember more than he could remember on his own. We are working to experimentally identify the psychological processes that predict successful collaboration among older adults.

However, others' suggestions do not always benefit individual memory, and there are many ways that collaboration disrupts individual memory. For example, working with others may be disruptive to one's own idiosyncratic retrieval organization, i.e., the output from a partner can disrupt one's own strategy for remembering (Basden, Basden, Bryner, & Thomas, 1997). Working with others also impairs memory when information is omitted from discussion (Cuc, Koppel, & Hirst, 2007). Listening to another person recount an event in which certain details are omitted renders the listener also less likely to remember the omitted details on subsequent memory tests (Stone, Barnier, Sutton, & Hirst, 2010). Much of my research has demonstrated that collaboration impairs memory when we incorporate other people's errors into our own memory reports, a phenomenon we termed the "social contagion of memory" (Roediger, Meade, & Bergman, 2001; Meade & Roediger, 2002). Thus, we still need to figure out the psychological mechanisms that predict who exactly benefits from collaboration, how they benefit, and under what situations.

Once we understand the processes that predict successful collaboration, we can use those processes to develop training programs. Training people to more effectively rely on others for memory cues is an accessible and practical strategy that may benefit memory performance in a range of settings. For example, older adults suffering memory decline might learn to derive cues from other people and students working together in a classroom might better utilize collaboration to enhance memory. More generally, understanding the processes that underlie successful collaboration has important implications for practical and theoretical aspects of memory.

How do the concepts of soft and smart power relate to the study of human memory? Traditionally, memory research has focused on memory of individuals in isolation. It is good science to establish the fundamentals (Barnier, Harris & Congleton, 2013), and psychologists have worked out many parameters and functions and workings of human memory. Drawing on this strong knowledge base, my collaborators and I have been working to push the study of memory to include discussion of memory in social settings, an effort that exemplifies the use of both soft and smart power. Specifically, the emergence of collaborative memory began with just a few isolated researchers reaching out to begin a dialogue with each other. From there, new ideas and research questions emerged and the field gained momentum. Creating a new research focus has required innovative and creative collaborations with partners from around the world, knowledge translations in shaping coordinated new directions for the field, and also professional partnerships that put forward a unified front so that we could begin asking bigger questions. Social memory is now a burgeoning field, the collaboration between interested scientists has resulted in research ideas and research questions that are pushing the field of cognitive psychology in new directions.

Soft and smart power have also been an important part of my personal experience as well. The Fulbright has given me an extraordinary opportunity to visit Australia and spend time at Macquarie University. The collective memory research group at Macquarie is really the best in the world, and it is an amazing opportunity for me to spend time there learning research and mentoring skills and having the opportunity to contribute to the dialogue of cutting edge research. I've also been amazed at the personal connections I've made. The professors and students at Macquarie have been extraordinarily generous and welcoming. My husband and daughter accompanied me to Australia, and we have all had tremendous experiences. I am so grateful for my Fulbright experience; my time in Australia has been both professionally and personally transformative.

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## About the Author

Michelle Meade is an Associate Professor of Psychology at Montana State University, in Bozeman, Montana. She is a US Senior Scholar who spent the academic year (2013-2014) at the ARC Centre of Excellence in Cognition and its Disorders (CCD) and Department of Cognitive Science at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. Michelle received her B.A. from Grinnell College and her M.A. and Ph.D. from Washington University in St. Louis. She completed postdoctoral training at the University of Illinois Urbana Champaign. At Illinois, she was awarded a Beckman Fellowship and studied in the Beckman Institute for Advanced Science and Technology.



# Associate Professor Brendon O'Connor

US Presidential Elections and Soft Power: The impact and limits of this unrequited love.

US Studies Centre University of Sydney

2006 Fulbright Professional Scholar in Australia-United States Alliance Studies sponsored by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

## Abstract

This article makes four arguments about the global impact of American presidential elections on American soft power. The first argument is that presidential elections are far more about symbolism than policy thus making them easily followed across the globe. Secondly, much of this symbolic rhetoric is the equivalent of positive “self-talk” (and self-promotion) which aims to keep conceptions like economic mobility and American exceptionalism alive and well domestically and internationally. Thirdly, I make the case that US elections are not just “politics” but part of global popular culture. This increasingly makes them a form of US soft power, which is under-analysed and potentially insidious. I conclude by making the observation that the world’s interest in American politics is rarely reciprocated. The American people are largely disinterested in elections outside their home country; this outlook, when combined in particular with the election of Republican politicians, can lead to a rise in anti-American sentiment and a concomitant decrease in American soft power. As for my understanding of soft power, I define this as influence achieved through the culture, ideas, and beliefs of one nation spreading into another. The increasing receptiveness of other nations to following American presidential elections does not of course always translate into American interests being endorsed and agreed with; however, it generally makes countries more open to considering these interests and at the very least tolerating them.

## Introduction

Is US soft power enhanced by the enormous amount of attention given to US presidential elections around the world? The short answer is yes. These presidential elections not only shape our sense of the possible, but also provide an opportunity to create greater concern, understanding, sympathy and familiarity with American interests, policies and politicians. The obvious explanation for this global fixation is US hard power; however, the attention these elections receive is greater than America’s relative hard power advantages in the world, so much so that global coverage of US elections is now greater than the international coverage of all other national elections combined. It is not just America’s influence that makes these elections attractive. There is the info-entertainment these often bizarre and drawn out dramas provide. Candidates who seem custom made for caricaturising give us the opportunity to react with an “only in America” amazement, smugness or horror. Think of the entertainment, alarm and curiosity provided in recent times by candidates Cain, Bachmann, Palin, Santorum, Obama, Dean and Clinton. This popularity is driven by demand but also by the supply side of the equation. The spread of Rupert Murdoch’s media empire means US content has gone global. Murdoch’s FOX News and CNN provide constant election commentary to households and hotel rooms around the world. Meanwhile local news stations with an increasingly 24-hour schedule fill their content with easy and accessible stories on the US elections. US elections have moved beyond news to become part of global popular culture, gaining a place in the mass global public’s diary of must-see events alongside the two other major quadrennial events, the FIFA World Cup and the Olympics. As a result, a global audience is familiar with the rhythm and sequence of events in American presidential elections: endless candidate debates, primaries, the conventions and the big event itself in November. This familiarity can of course cause contempt; with some candidates, the more foreigners learn about them the more they come to dislike them and their supporters (O’Connor 2007).

## Symbolic Elections

With much of the rhetoric in presidential elections occurring at the symbolic level, foreigners often interpret American election results as referenda on America as a force for good or ill in the world. This leads to a view that American politicians are the personification of American society and beliefs. While many people around the world are happy to dismiss their own politicians as unrepresentative chameleons, they often view American politicians, particularly presidents, as truly representative of America and Americans. It also reflects an electoral system with a direct vote for its head of state rather than the local candidates and political parties of the Westminster system. (Fiorina, Abrams & Pope 2010; Edwards 2011).

Presidential elections are instead principally about selling America to itself (and sometimes to the rest of the world). At the rhetorical level presidential elections focus on re-animating national myths and ideals and selling America as a noble, hopeful and virtuous nation. Americans are susceptible to such symbolism because they have historically mythologised their own country as special and exceptional; as “America” being an ideology as Richard Hofstadter (1963) famously put it. Where other nations make choices between opposing ideologies, Americans spend their time continually attempting to renew their national myths and ideals. This is not to totally dismiss the conflicts between parties and movements that occur within America; however, with some geographical distance from events one is more likely to see more consensus within the rhetoric of America presidential politics than is generally acknowledged within the US.

## US Presidential Elections as popular culture

I now want to tease out my contention that American presidential elections feature not only in the political realm but also in the realm of global popular culture. In other words, they have moved from a limited sphere of interest to become events that have captured a mass global audience. No other elections have anything like this level of influence, reach and grip globally. The reason for this is partly US power and partly the soap opera/movie-like nature of American politics that draws viewers into the spectacle. This reality has real advantages for America’s power and influence in the world because as part of global popular culture, US presidents are widely recognised and more listened to than any other politician or spokesperson on earth. Much of the coverage of presidential politics is a hybrid of gossip columns and horse racing tips that does little more than detail who is up in the poll/primaries and who is down. This shallow constant stream of information often depoliticises something that is innately political. Facts and information that are ubiquitous and seemingly innocuous, and in fact often downright goofy, are easy to digest without questioning, rather than being critiqued, as all politics deserves to be in a democracy.

The roots of the modern world’s obsession with the American election date back to the 1960s and America’s dominance of early television. America’s starring role in television’s first decade crowded out events and developments elsewhere in the world, making the American experience seem not only compelling but also universal. Events such as the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the 1963 civil rights march on Washington D.C. and Martin Luther King’s “I have a dream” speech, the assassination of John F. Kennedy, images from the Vietnam War, notably the Tet Offensive, and the riots during the 1968 Democratic party convention in Chicago created a set of extremely influential and enduring images. These powerful televisual images from the “American” 1960s created path dependence in our global political habits. America had both stories that fascinated a global audience and the capacity to capture these stories live on film and send them around the world.

Interest in presidential elections gradually increased in the subsequent decades but the tipping point for the quantum leap in global interest was the 2000 election campaign. Before then, the Iowa caucuses, the New Hampshire primary, Super Tuesday and the intricacies of the Electoral College were the province of American politics junkies. This all changed with the Florida recount controversy and the aftermath of a globally unpopular American president (New York Times 2001; Dionne & Kristol 2001; Toobin 2001). Since 2000, there has been a growing global fascination with the micro-details of American electoral politics and as a result an extraordinary level of attention globally is now focused on the presidential primaries. The spread of 24 hours news channels is also an important factor here. The highest level of interest to date was with the 2008 primaries which featured on newspaper front pages and often as the lead story on television and radio news bulletins around the world. This is an extraordinary shift over a short space of time: in 1996 in Australia, Bill Clinton’s re-election as America’s president did not lead the national broadcaster’s nightly television news. By 2008 it was the primary victories of Mitt Romney and Newt Gingrich that were leading the bulletin. In Australian based media, coverage of US elections certainly rivals that of Australia’s own national elections. Furthermore, given the length of the US campaigns, eventually this coverage probably takes up more media space in total than that allocated Australia’s own domestic elections. This volume of coverage creates the possibility of sympathy towards certain American ideals, agendas and politicians.

For the rest of the world, the benefits of watching countless hours of primaries and the general campaign are not particularly clear. It is undoubtedly a form of Americanisation that makes us more and more familiar with the US but this possibly comes at the expense of either learning about events elsewhere or engaging with America in a critical way. The reality is that the opinion of foreigners has little influence in America, and when it does, it tends to be deleterious. An example of backlash against foreign influence was the *Guardian* newspaper’s 2004 Operation Clark County. The *Guardian* facilitated a letter writing campaign for voters in Ohio to unseat George W. Bush with fairly disastrous results (see ed. O’Connor 2007; O’Connor 2007).

Likewise in 2008, Obama's greatest moment of poll vulnerability against McCain came after the extremely enthusiastic reception he received during his July trip to Europe (particularly in Berlin where 100,000 gathered to hear him speak) (Walker & Schor 2008). There is no real evidence that international knowledge of US politics necessarily leads to change. What is more certain is that knowledge about American elections creates the conditions for more and more coverage.

However, this fascination has limits with Republican candidates often incurring a global backlash; this was true of Nixon, Reagan, George W. Bush and most of the GOP primary candidates of 2012. The social and economic conservatism of Republicans is not popular globally; the populist and/or moralist style of their rhetoric is generally disliked; and their lack of interest in foreign societies and important global foreign policy challenges such as global warming is seen as a slap in the face to much of the global community. Because of these factors, global support for McCain in 2008 and Romney in 2012 was very limited. In Australia in 2012 support for Romney was 6% compared to 67% support for Obama which was typical across a wide range of nations (Globescan 2012) Furthermore, Republican presidents and presidential candidates clearly have a negative impact on global opinion of the US. A mountain of global opinion polling data shows that America's global reputation suffers under Republican presidents or when prominent GOP candidates appear in the global media spotlight (MacAskill 2012; Kohut 2003). George W. Bush and Sarah Palin are the best examples of recent Republican politicians engendering an overwhelmingly negative response from non-Americans (O'Connor 2007a; O'Connor 2008a; O'Connor 2008b; O'Connor 2008c; O'Connor 2008d).

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## Conclusion

In conclusion, we watch American elections because they are like Hollywood movies: alluring production, familiar story lines, and a range of characters both appealing and repugnant captivate our attention. We also watch them because we have become habituated to content about America. Sometimes, much like the movies, these elections disappoint (the 2012 presidential debates come to mind) but people everywhere keep coming back for more, partly because more is always available and partly because they just never know if something truly important might happen.

The real power of US elections is their ability to shape how we see our world. For example the 2012 Presidential and Vice Presidential debates made it clear to the world that a Palestinian state is less likely in the short to medium term, and that the Netanyahu government is unlikely to be strongly criticised for the expansion of Israeli settlements. This message was largely aimed at a domestic audience, but given the widespread global coverage of the debates, it has a significant role in shaping an international mindset about peace options between Israel and Palestine. Specifically it plays into the belief that little can be done to change the status quo.

Presidential elections also provide an opportunity to create greater concern, understanding, sympathy and familiarity with American interests, policies and politicians than with the concerns and interests of other nations. This has become less politicalised and thus less contested over time as American elections become part of global popular culture. There are at times clear backlashes against American ideas, such as during the Bush Jr. administration; however, despite the negativity, this period actually saw interest in American elections increase as global hope shone the spotlight first on John Kerry and then Barack Obama. If we are to question what constitutes the right amount of American politics in our global media intake, we need to consider what we are learning and whether the continual increase in our knowledge is having any impact on American politics and global behaviour. Absent of this questioning, American presidential elections will continue to serve as a fairly restrained form of American soft power.

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## About the Author

Brendon joined the United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney in 2008 as Associate Professor in American Politics. He is the Director of Teaching and Learning at the Centre and the coordinator of the American Studies program at the University of Sydney. Brendon was a Fulbright Fellow at Georgetown University in 2006, the Australian Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington DC in 2008 and a Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge in 2012. He is the editor of seven books on anti-Americanism and has also published articles and books on American welfare policy, presidential politics, US foreign policy, and Australian-American relations.



# Dr Jonathan Paget

Musical Exchange and Soft Power: The Potential Benefits and Risks

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## Abstract

Sharing music across cultures can increase mutual understanding between nations and the sharing of musical traditions can be an ideal vehicle for international discourse. However, while the moral superiority of soft power over hard power is obvious, the notion of artistic exchange as an exertion of national power is not without inherent risks. Is soft power, for example, a form of soft colonialism? This paper explores the potential ethical pitfalls inherent within the notion of musical exchange as soft power and also suggests some of its unexpected positive effects. Using the example of Peter Sculthorpe's music, exploration is made of some of the ethical dilemmas of music synthesizing cross-cultural influences. Furthermore, Sculthorpe's example illustrates the way that exchange experiences involving international travel can precipitate an individual musician's personal (re)discovery of their own national and artistic identity. Ultimately, international cultural exchanges are potentially enriching, and have significant power to effect change. But we must be careful to celebrate other musical cultures with sincere respect, to afford them similar rights and copyright protections, and to preserve the diversity of worldwide musical cultures.

Few would doubt the ability of music to transcend national and cultural boundaries. The sharing of music between people of different cultures is not only gloriously enriching and life affirming, it can also give rise to powerful transformative bonds between peoples and nations. As a case in point, the classical guitar—my own musical specialisation—has become a global phenomenon and has brought together a multitude of people from disparate and diverse cultural backgrounds. It is striking to note that this instrument of erstwhile Spanish origins is now happily global, with music being written for it by exponents from almost every country on earth.<sup>1</sup>

Despite its ability to bring people together, music—despite popular notions to the contrary—is not a universal language: rather, it is culturally situated. While certain types of music may become part of a shared global culture, many types of music are a cherished part of the cultural heritage of nations, peoples, or ethnicities. As such, music is intricately bound up with notions of identity. Moreover, like any art form, music is never apolitical, even when there is no overt or obvious agenda. As musical cultures make contact on the international stage, the changes observable within music reflect the broader political landscape—for good or evil. What is, then, the ethics of soft power in the musical and cultural arena?

In this paper I not only explore some of the potential pitfalls of musical exchange as soft power, I also trace its (perhaps unexpected) transformative effect. Throughout, I use the well-known Australian composer Peter Sculthorpe as an example for discussion. I will argue that issues of identity are pivotal and will also suggest that soft power cultural exchanges have the potential to transform the doer as well as the receiver. Although there are many associated risks, I ultimately affirm the positive moral potential of international cultural exchanges.

It is useful to step back for a second and to examine the notion of soft power itself, as used in the context of diplomacy and international relations. The concept of soft power is attributed to Joseph Nye, who defines it as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” (See Nye, 2004, p.x). With this definition, the moral superiority of soft power over hard power seems obvious. But the very notion that artistic exchange can be an exertion of national power is fraught with danger. To some, soft power might be equated with soft colonialism, whereby one musical culture is repressed by the dominance of another. Does, for instance, the Western exertion of soft power through musical exchange portend the dominance of Western musical culture and the exploitation or gradual extinction of others?

There are several issues at stake here, the first being the potential risk of cross-cultural exploitation, especially the lack of copyright protection for traditional musical heritages. In recent decades there have been multiple expressions of concern regarding the widespread commercial exploitation of non-western, traditional music from anthropological recordings (Feld, 1996). In particular, Feld refers to the use of excerpts of traditional music (sourced from anthropological recordings) in new recordings, for which little or no royalty revenues flow back to traditional owners (Feld, quoted in Seeger 2004). As Seeger points out, "the exclusion of traditional knowledge and folklore from copyright legislation resembles colonial relationships established by military might in an earlier era" (Seeger, 2004, p.160). With a series of recent international agreements acknowledging the intangible cultural heritage of Indigenous peoples, attempts are being made to address these issues at a global level (Paget, 2013, p.88). Even the idea of musical appropriation (taking melodies or stylistic devices from other cultures) is fraught with ethical issues, some arguing that it is healthy and beneficial, others equating it with theft (Boyd, 2006, Currie, 1991, Howard, 1991, Knopoff, 2006, Schultz, 1991, Yu, 1991).

One problem is that musical appropriation is inherently subjective. What one person considers legitimate stylistic inspiration, others might consider subtly exploitative. Even the apparently more benign concept of musical influence can have disturbing side effects. Representations of foreign musical cultures within the framework of a piece of Western music can be politically ensnared. Is the music a caricature of another musical culture or a sincere homage? Does the composer have the right to represent another culture, or is it a subtle exploitation reminiscent of colonial paradigms?

In this global age, information about other people's music is easier to access than ever before. The potential for new syncretic musical styles that blend influences from multiple cultural sources is limitless. However, how does a musician create a syncretic style with sincere respect and appropriate acknowledgement (and perhaps permission) of the cultural sources?

One recent trend has been cross-cultural collaboration. In other words, if two musicians from different cultures come together to make a new musical style, then they are on an equal footing. In a 2006 paper discussing cross-cultural collaborations with Indigenous Australian musicians, Lim advocates a model of "equal co-contributors," suggesting that other approaches "perpetuate colonizing attitudes" (Lim, 2005, p.12). It could be argued, however, that we should exercise caution before being too dogmatic in insisting exclusively on collaborative approaches to cross-cultural synthesis. Elsewhere, in a paper exploring the ethics of Sculthorpe's use of Indigenous melodies (a complex issue that I do not intend to fully unravel here), I have argued that there are limitations to the equal co-contributors approach, particularly in a medium such as classical composition where single authorship is accepted standard practice, where collaborative processes are less natural, and can lead to uncertain artistic outcomes (Paget, 2013, p. 89). While the paradigm of classical composition typically followed is indeed rooted in the Nineteenth Century, I would hesitate to say that the medium itself has ideological baggage. Either way, it would seem unfair to fault a composer for not wanting to share authorship.

On the other hand, perhaps a composer in this medium should restrict themselves to representations of their own ethnicity. This would be the morally safe path, but also creatively restrictive, severely inhibiting the cross-cultural exchange of ideas.

To continue further the example of Peter Sculthorpe, what could be said of his absorption of Asian musical styles? While Sculthorpe has taken inspiration from a multiplicity of musical cultures, his continuing fascination with the music of Bali and Japan is notable. In effect, he has moulded his own compositional style around these two foreign musical influences, creating true stylistic hybridity. How then do we interpret this? While this could still be viewed as assimilation and colonization, it could also be viewed positively as a sincere homage, an opening of Australian music to multicultural influences (Paget 2013, p.106).

The second key issue that arises from these cross-cultural musical exchanges is the risk of the gradual extinction of traditional musical cultures outside of the global mainstream. There is no doubt, for instance, that classical music, once considered a European cultural heritage, has become a global phenomenon. Growth of classical music within Asia, for instance, is booming—particularly in those nations with long-lasting Western influence. But does this growth come at the expense of the traditional musical heritages of these regions? As the influence of Western musical styles is increasingly felt in Asia, and hybrid syncretic styles also emerge, this has inevitably resulted in the gradual waning of older traditional or Indigenous musical practices. How, therefore, do we work to ensure the sustainability of traditional musical practices?

We might consider, for instance, the sad demise of Wayang or Chinese street opera, which is a key component of the Peranakan musical heritage in Singapore. This traditional musical genre is becoming increasingly rare, as Western musical styles (both classical and popular) thrive among Singaporean youth. If we consider the many Asians who study music in the USA, undoubtedly many on Fulbright scholarships, the gradual waning of traditional Asian music would seem to be the collateral in this process of Asia's escalating assimilation of Western practices. On the other hand, significant steps are being taken to preserve the Peranakan musical heritage, in both authentic and syncretic forms (Cai, Lee, 2002, Lee, 2009). It is encouraging to remember that the Fulbright program is a two-way exchange, and also sends Americans to study in Asia, some whose study (presumably in the field of ethnomusicology) would contribute to the preservation of traditional musical practices.

The December 2013 issue of *Musicology Australia* is devoted to the topic of "Sustainability and ethnomusicology in Australasia" indicating that this is widely viewed as a crucial topic for our time. An emergent theme from this issue is the role of recording as a tool for the preservation of Indigenous music, and also for its ongoing propagation (Corn, 2013, Barwick, 2013, Campbell, 2013). That recording has the potential to aid in the continuation of oral traditions is an intriguing concept, and one that highlights the fact that these are desperate times for waning musical practices.

Despite these ethical considerations, cross-cultural musical exchange is still potentially healthy and enriching. I would like to cease the discussion of ethics here and consider the different ways that musical exchange can take place when an artist or musician travels internationally on a Fulbright scholarship (or some similar program). Musical exchanges that involve international travel are arguably transformative in multiple ways. Firstly, they have the potential to transform the nation visited, through the music shared. Secondly, they can also transform the sending nation through acquired cultural knowledge brought back. Thus, the exertion of soft power through cross-cultural exchange can transform both the giving and receiving nation. Lastly, such experiences can profoundly stimulate an artist's personal growth, particularly their sense of identity.

It is often in and through the act of international travel for the purposes of cultural exchange that individuals discover or reaffirm their own cultural identity. Many musicians who travel and work abroad report this moment of personal epiphany, apparently precipitated by the experience of culture shock, ultimately leading them to re-evaluate their own artistic identity. In the case of Peter Sculthorpe, his studies in Oxford arguably saw him gain a new conception of his Australian roots. Rebelling against the prevailing serial idiom and his earlier post-colonial style, Sculthorpe began to consolidate a new musical idiom in such works as the *Sonata for Viola and Percussion*, which he has described as showing "feelings of longing for Australia and also ...feelings of apprehension towards Asia" (Sculthorpe, 1999, p.49). This idiom is one that has continued to define the essence of his musical style ever since. In short, time abroad induced in Sculthorpe a sharper focus on his identity as an Australian composer, just as Astor Piazzolla (famously) rediscovered an explicit Argentine connection in his music while studying in France with Nadia Boulanger.

In a similar fashion, my time spent in the USA on a Fulbright scholarship brought about a new awareness of my own Australianness, and a stronger affinity with treasured Australian things. It was at this time that I became increasingly attracted to the music of Peter Sculthorpe (particularly the guitar music), which became the subject of my doctoral research.

The eminent musicologist Richard Taruskin employs some intriguing ideas regarding the critical importance of international exposure as a precondition to the formation of cultural icons. For Taruskin, cultural icons are formed through a cultural compact or unwritten agreement between a composer and their public (Taruskin, 2005, p.449). But like an honorary doctorate or a knighthood, the arrangement needs to be mutually beneficial. Moreover, Taruskin's notion implies that composers become international cultural ambassadors first and celebrated cultural icons second. The 'chosen one' must, among other things, be successful and internationally respected, so as to be fit to represent the specified national identity in the international arena. Note that cultural icons are a matter of identity: they involve an artist creating or subsuming an artistic identity that stands as a representative of a national identity. Certainly, just as Sculthorpe rediscovered his own Australianness in England, his international success facilitated his acceptance in Australia as a cultural icon. And as a celebrated cultural icon, Sculthorpe's music has ultimately reshaped notions of what Australian music can and should sound like.

It is intriguing to probe further why international travel has this power to alter the identities of individuals and nations. In his book *Situations Matter: Understanding How Context Transforms Your World*, psychologist San Somers argues that "even the most private of perceptions—our very sense of self—is shaped by where we are and who we're with" (Somers, 2011, quoted in Tartovsky). I have frequently heard, for instance, that groups of young Australian Christians travelling abroad on so-called "mission trips" to the third world frequently report that they receive more personal benefit than the aid they were attempting to give. The same is often true of recipients of a Fulbright scholarship. Whereas study abroad is undeniably a recipe for personal artistic excellence, its contribution to altered perceptions and identity can easily be overlooked. International exposure arguably lifts the veil on how others perceive us, distorting personal perceptions and triggering new levels of self-awareness. Or, as I once heard a preacher put it "you are not who you think you are, you are not who others think you are, you are who you think others think you are..." Through exposure to difference we better know ourselves, which (according to traditional Socratic wisdom) enables us to better understand others. A Fulbright scholarship, therefore, has benefits that are difficult to measure.

I think that Senator William Fulbright had exactly the right idea in creating the Fulbright program as a two-way exchange. He saw the benefit of having foreigners study in America, but also saw great benefit in Americans studying abroad. Musical exchanges can be richly rewarding and transformative experiences to all parties involved. But they are also fraught with ethical complexities. So let us also heed the lessons of the past. Let us celebrate and enjoy each other's musical cultures with sincere respect. Let us not inhibit the creation of new syncretic musical styles, but let us also do all we can to preserve traditional musical heritages. Let us distribute our music globally but also afford the same rights to other musical cultures as we do to our own.

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## About the Author

Jonathan Paget is a senior lecturer at the Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts, Edith Cowan University, where he is coordinator of Honours and postgraduate music, teaches classical guitar and music history, and supervises research. Paget has been a recipient of numerous prestigious academic awards, including the Beazley Medal, the Hackett Studentship, and a Fulbright Postgraduate Award. He completed six years of postgraduate study at upstate New York's prestigious Eastman School of Music, culminating in the Doctorate of Musical Arts with research on the guitar works of Peter Sculthorpe. He has published on the music of Peter Sculthorpe, Australian guitar music, and historical music theory pedagogy.

As a professional classical guitarist, Paget has won prizes in several international competitions, has performed widely throughout Australia, and has appeared at numerous festivals of international repute, including the Shell Darwin International Guitar Festival, the Perth International Arts Festival, the Australian Festival Baroque, and the Port Fairy Spring Music Festival. His performances continue to garner stunning reviews, being described as "subtle, intimate artistry" [*The West Australian*], "a fine musician with brilliant technique" [Soundboard], "up there with some of the best" [*Classical Guitar*]. His recordings include two solo guitar discs: *Kaleidoscope* (a celebration of the guitar's multicultural horizons) and *Midsummer's Night*, released on the Melbourne-based Move Records label ([www.move.com.au](http://www.move.com.au)) and featuring music by Barrios, Walton, and Sculthorpe.

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## (Endnotes)

- 1 One example is that of US Fulbright scholar Nathan Fischer, who (while in Egypt) began the Cairo Guitar Society, which took on a booming Facebook presence and has been an ideal vehicle for musical discourse and shared international goodwill, despite periods of significant political unrest.



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The Commission is overseen by a binational Board appointed by invitation from the Honorary Co-Chairs. The Commission is led by Dr Tangerine Holt, Executive Director, together with a dedicated and highly qualified team in Canberra.

The Commission is grateful for the commitment, leadership and strong administrative support provided by the U.S. Embassy and its offices across Australia; the Department of Industry, Innovation, Climate Change, Science, Research and Tertiary Education (DIICCSRTE); the U.S. Department of State - Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and two administering agencies – the Institute of International Education (IIE) in New York and the Council of International Exchange of Scholars (CIES) in Washington, DC.

The Fulbright Program's legacy, credibility and legitimacy are an important source of soft power and smart power. The history of the Australian-American Fulbright Commission and the continued strengthening of our binational relationship between Australia and the U.S. begin with the selection of talented Scholars from both countries.

The Fulbright program takes the concept of soft power and smart power to include the outcomes both countries want to achieve, building effective partnerships, creating a 'win-win' situation through cooperation and collaboration. The establishment of the Fulbright Program in 1946 was intended to offer a pathway alternative to the hard power of World War II.

As intangible assets our Fulbright landscape is embodied by dynamic personalities, innovative research, and an openness to share and learn about each other's culture, political values, institutions, and policies.

For Senator Fulbright, there was an obvious, essential link between education, the exchange of ideas, and the creation of a world community through brain circulation harnessing the smart power, goodwill and strengths of us all.

As Mr Tom Healy, Chair of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board notes in his memoir to honour Senator Fulbright's birthday:

Fulbright is a leading international exchange program, sending our best students, scholars and professionals in almost every field to study, teach and engage with people around the world in return for the world's best students, scholars and professionals spending time studying, teaching and living in the United States.

The Fulbright Scholars and Alumni are our assets that lead to creating a multiplier effect that is generation of knowledge translation, capacity building, diplomacy but most of all lasting friendship, goodwill and mutual understanding.

**Emeritus Professor Steven Schwartz AM**

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**Dr Tangerine Holt**

Executive Director  
Australian-American Fulbright Commission

## ADDRESS FROM HONORARY CO-CHAIRS



Australian Government



Those that take part in educational and cultural exchange understand directly how the experience transforms their lives. This is so even when the exchange is between two countries such as Australia and the United States that enjoy a solid and long-term partnership.

This symposium is a welcome opportunity to acknowledge how these exchanges benefit our two countries. To paraphrase Senator William Fulbright, by bringing a little more knowledge and a little more compassion into the world, these exchanges increase the share of peace and prosperity between nations.

In this regard, the Australian-American Fulbright Commission deserves recognition for their support of the Fulbright Program. I am sure that over the course of this symposium, there will be an opportunity to reflect on the remarkable influence of the Fulbright Program and its role in forging international goodwill.

As Honorary Co-Chair of the Australian-American Fulbright Scholarship, I wish all future Fulbright Scholars every success. Their commitment to study abroad and benefit from experiences overseas contributes significantly to the peace and prosperity that both Australia and the United States enjoy.

**The Honourable Kevin Rudd MP**  
Prime Minister

I'm very pleased to welcome you to the 2013 Australian-American Fulbright Symposium. For nearly 65 years, the Fulbright program has been at the center of U.S. Australia relations. Fulbright was established through one of our earliest treaties, and ever since it has produced scholars who reflect the great breadth and diversity of ties of Americans and Australians. This work has ranged from efforts to understand and protect our planet, to breakthroughs that will prolong and improve human life, to arts that forge cultural bonds, and pioneering new technologies to solve shared challenges. Today, our relationship with Australia has never been stronger, precisely because of these deep connections across all disciplines. The Fulbright program is both a reason for, and the proof of, our unbreakable bond.

It is especially fitting that this year's theme concerns soft and smart power. Since its creation by U.S. Senator J. William Fulbright in 1946, the Fulbright program embodied these ideas. Fulbright demonstrates the genuine power of connecting and sharing wisdom across borders. In the 2011-2012 academic year, more than 4,800 participants hailing from fields as diverse as law, disaster management, public health, the arts, and medicine again shared their knowledge, built lasting relationships, enhanced their expertise through scholarship and discussion, and helped shape our relations.

I am thankful to experience the essential truth of Fulbright, and witness how the more time we spend together, the closer and more capable we both become. As you enjoy this year's symposium, I hope you will not only come away smarter but also that you will forge bonds that last a lifetime.

**Jeffrey L. Bleich**  
U.S. Ambassador to Australia

# AIMS

Entitled *Soft Power, Smart Power: The Multiplier Effect of Educational and Cultural Exchange*, the Symposium aims to:

- 1 Showcase the impact of soft power through the Fulbright program addressing contemporary issues across key themes of leadership and diplomacy, culture, educational partnerships, public policy, arts and culture, science and innovation;
- 2 Demonstrate how smart power has led to partnerships, collaborations and linkages that are beyond the individual;
- 3 Share current thinking, and creative and innovative trends that benefit the individual, and the broader community.

## QUESTIONS FOR SPEAKERS

- » How do you define soft and smart power in your profession?
- » What have been the benefits of this concept of soft power within your own Fulbright experiences?
- » How have the concepts of soft and smart power impacted on your field or discipline?
- » Are there new ways in which the concepts of soft and smart power can acquire economic, political, artistic and international visibility?
- » Can you give exemplars of best practice of soft and smart power outside of the Fulbright Program?

## RELATIONSHIP TO THE GLOBAL OBJECTIVES OF THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM

This Symposium will bring together a number of prominent thinkers to stimulate discussion on soft power and smart power using the Fulbright Program as an exemplar of the multiplier effect across culture, education, diplomacy, leadership, partnerships, public policy and research innovation. These include invitations to the:

- » Fulbright community – Scholars, Alumni, Partners, Sponsors including our counterparts across the East-Asia Pacific Region;
- » Members of the diplomatic corps based in Australia;
- » Government bodies, universities and private organizations from diverse institutional backgrounds and disciplines in Australia and the United States.

## EXPECTED OUTCOMES

The Fulbright Program emphasizes the importance of international relations through expanding our knowledge through international exchange, knowledge translation and innovative solutions. The expected outcomes of the proposed 2103 Symposium include an exceptional opportunity to:

- » Demonstrate the impact of *Educational and Cultural Exchange* to Government and private organizations, universities, international diplomatic community and representatives of Fulbright Commissions and the Fulbright community;
- » Build strong dialogue through the establishment of a network of a broader Educational and Cultural Exchange with key partners;
- » Strengthen the bilateral relationship between Australia and the U.S.;
- » Identify future opportunities for collaboration among stakeholders;
- » Publish the conference proceedings.

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



### Mr Tom Healy

Mr Tom Healy is the chairman of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, which oversees the Fulbright program worldwide through the U.S. Department of State. He was appointed to the board by President Barack Obama in 2011, and as Chairman, has travelled extensively to promote Fulbright through the Americas, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Under President Bill Clinton, Tom served on the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS, working on AIDS prevention and anti-poverty projects around the world. He was recently elected to the Council on Foreign Relations.

Tom is also a noted poet and writer. He is the author of two books of poems, *Animal Spirits* and *What the Right Hand Knows*, which was a finalist for the 2009 L.A. Times Book Prize and the Lambda Literary Award. He writes frequently about the Fulbright Program and international issues for the Huffington Post. Two books of his essays are forthcoming.

Earlier in his career, Tom pioneered New York's Chelsea arts district and opened one of the first art galleries there. He later served as president of the Lower Manhattan Cultural Council and was awarded the New York City Arts Award by Mayor Michael Bloomberg in 2005 for leading rebuilding efforts for the downtown arts community in the years after 9/11.

Tom teaches literature and writing at New York University and is currently a visiting professor at the New School. He will be a fellow at the Civitella Ranieri Foundation in Italy in the fall of 2013.

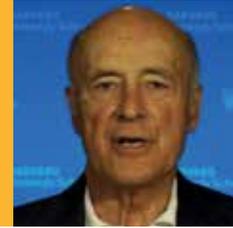


### Dr Frank Moorhouse AM

Dr Frank Moorhouse AM is one of Australia's most eminent writers. He has written fiction, non-fiction, screenplays and essays and edited many collections of writing. *Forty-Seventeen* (released 1988) was given a laudatory full-page review by Angela Carter in the *New York Times* and was named Book of the Year by the Age and 'moral winner' of the Booker Prize by the London magazine *Blitz*. *Grand Days*, the first novel in *The Edith Trilogy*, won the SA Premier's Award for Fiction.

*Dark Palace* won the 2001 Miles Franklin Literary Award and was shortlisted for the NSW Premier's Literary Award, the Victorian Premier's Literary Award and the Age Book of the Year Award. In 2011, Random House released the final chapter in *The Edith Trilogy*, *Cold Light*. The novel won the Queensland Literary Award and was shortlisted for The Miles Franklin and the Barbara Jefferis Award, recognising authors and their works that contribute to the positive representation of women in literature.

Frank has undertaken numerous fellowships and his work has been translated into several languages. He was made a member of the Order of Australia for services to literature in 1985 and was awarded an honorary doctorate from Griffith University in 1997.



### Professor Joseph S. Nye Jr

Professor Joseph S. Nye Jr, is University Distinguished Service Professor, Harvard Kennedy School, and former Dean of the Kennedy School.

Joseph coined the term "Soft Power" in 1990 to describe the way in which change can occur using co-operation rather than coercion in the diplomatic setting. His virtual address will be shown at the beginning of the Symposium to set the scene for the Symposium's themes:

- » Soft Power, Smart Power: Public Diplomacy and Leadership
- » Soft and Smart Power: Health, Society and Intercultural Exchange
- » Soft Power, Smart Power: Creative Arts and Culture
- » Soft Power and Public Policy
- » Soft and Smart Power in Developing Educational Partnerships
- » Smart Power and Research, Science and Innovation.

## DAY 1 - FULBRIGHT SHOWCASE

### SNAPSHOT OF SHOWCASE PARTICIPANTS

#### 2013 U.S. Scholars



##### Mr Alex Carter

Mr Alex Carter, a PhD candidate in Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst will come to Australia to further his PhD research in Afro-American Studies. He will explore the influence of the Black Arts Movement in America on Australian cultural and political activists.



##### Mr James Matthew "Matt" McCrary

Mr James Matthew "Matt" McCrary will come to the University of Sydney Medical School's Elite Music Performance Laboratory for a year to conduct a Master's research project investigating the utility of core activation in preventing upper extremity pain and injury in musicians.



##### Mr Yuriy Veytskin

Mr Yuriy Veytskin, is a PhD candidate at North Carolina State University. He will spend 12 months with CSIRO in Melbourne and Perth. Working with CSIRO's newly merged Energy flagship and engaged by CSIRO Earth Science and Resource Engineering, Yuriy plans to conduct atomic force microscopy (AFM) on two types of materials, shales (a sedimentary rock) and thin-filmed polymers.



##### Ms Katherine Lacksen

Ms Katherine Lacksen, a recent Ecology graduate, will work with fellow Fulbrighter Professor Michael Douglas for a year in Australia. Katherine will further her research into protecting tropical rivers from nutrient pollution. Katherine's proposed research will focus on the Daly River in the Northern Territory.



##### Ms Tierney O'Sullivan

Ms Tierney O'Sullivan, a recent graduate in ecology from the University of Georgia, will work with Tasmanian Forest Practices Authority and University of Tasmania for a year to undertake research into the breeding success of the Tasmanian wedge-tailed eagle. Tierney's project aims to understand how habitat disturbance affects the behaviour and breeding success of the threatened Tasmanian wedge-tailed eagle.



##### Mr Nathan Pensler

Mr Nathan Pensler will come to The Australian National University (ANU) for a year to further his studies in Philosophy. While in Canberra, he will investigate two philosophical theories of scientific rationality. Nathan will determine whether Bayesian Confirmation Theory, a mathematical model, can be unified with Inference to the Best Explanation, a qualitative account.

## 2013 Australian Scholars



**Mr Robert Mason**

Mr Robert Mason will go to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa for a year to further his research into coral bleaching. His aim is to determine the mechanism by which ocean acidification may cause coral bleaching.



**Mr Andrew Tyndale**

Mr Andrew Tyndale will go to the U.S. for four months to further his research in social investment. His focus is on mechanisms to attract wholesale capital into the infrastructure necessary to deliver social services, such as affordable housing, aged care, disability accommodation, education and health.



**Mr Abel-John Buchner**

Mr Abel-John Buchner will go to Princeton University for a year to further his PhD research into a technical process which he hopes will help further the area of wind technology.



**Mr Iain Henry**

Mr Iain Henry will undertake research towards a doctorate in Political Science. He plans to study military alliance dynamics within Asia, with particular focus on the alliances between the United States and Japan, South Korea and Australia. He works at ANU and the National Archives of Australia, and has previously worked as the Manager of Threat Analysis and Liaison at Qantas.



**Mr Matthew D. Norris**

Mr Matthew D. Norris, a PhD candidate at Flinders University in Adelaide, will go to the U.S. for 12 months to further his research into the synthetic preparation of rare and highly complex natural medicines. The primary motivation of his research is to develop new methods of synthesis in which chemists can rapidly access highly complex structures in a cost-effective manner from simple, cheap starting materials.



**Dr Andrea Gordon**

Dr Andrea Gordon, Research Fellow at the University of South Australia, will go to the U.S. for nine months. Through her scholarship she will further her research into treatment options using methadone and buprenorphine for pregnant women who are dependent on opioids.

## SNAPSHOT OF SHOWCASE PARTICIPANTS

### 2012 U.S. Scholar



#### Mr Steven Limpert

Mr Steven Limpert, will spend a year at the University of New South Wales (UNSW), undertaking work towards a PhD at the UNSW School of Photovoltaic and Renewable Energy Engineering where he will conduct research in the area of high efficiency, hot carrier, and nanostructured solar cells.

### Anne Wexler Scholar



#### Ms Katherine Thurber

As an Anne Wexler Scholar, Ms Katherine Thurber completed a Master of Philosophy at the National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health (NCEPH) at The Australian National University, focusing on Indigenous health. Using a life-course approach, Katherine's Masters thesis explored the influence of birth weight on the development of obesity among Indigenous children.

### Alumni



#### Dr Clare Sullivan

Dr Clare Sullivan is a cyber-law lawyer and faculty at the School of Law at University of South Australia. During her Fulbright scholarship in 2011 at the Law School, George Washington University, she examined the legal implications of digital identity and cyber security under US and international law, which built on Dr Sullivan's comparative research in Australia and Europe.



#### Mr Dominick Ng

Mr Dominick Ng is a PhD candidate in computer science at the University of Sydney. His research is focused on natural language parsing - developing computer systems to understand the structure of human language using statistical techniques from artificial intelligence.



#### Ms Laura Crommelin

Ms Laura Crommelin is a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Built Environment at the University of New South Wales. Her PhD research examines how current trends in urban planning such as DIY urbanism, place-making and place branding are being implemented in post-industrial cities, and how these practices are affecting the image of these cities.



#### Mr Matthew Perez

Mr Matthew Perez completed a Masters in Fine Arts at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence and spent nine months at the Glass Workshop at the ANU School of Art, through his Fulbright. He focused on the annealing factors of "shape induced stress", a symptom of complex and intricate glass sculptures. He aimed through this research to be able to increase the rate of successful casting for glass artists.



#### Associate Professor Paul Chang

Dr Paul Chang is an Associate Professor at Edith Cowen University. His research is based on the idea that soft power is a driver for change in human behaviour. This has been demonstrated to be the case, and supplements current health promotion messages.



#### Dr Caroline Smith

Dr Caroline Smith is a Director with Skills Australia. Caroline was the 2012 winner of the Fulbright Professional Scholar in Vocational Education and Training (VET). Through her Fulbright, Caroline went to Rutgers University, New Jersey for four months to examine the role of Regional Partnerships for Vocational Education and Training and Workforce Development.

## Virtual presentations



### Ms Rebecca Erin Smith

Ms Rebecca Erin Smith is a 2013 Fulbright Australian Scholar. She is a musician from Western Australia and will go to the U.S. to undertake a two year Master of Music degree. The specialised courses she will undertake are instrumentation and orchestration, form and analysis, and operatic and collaborative composition. She has won several awards and prizes including the Western Australian Barbara MacLeod Scholarship and Dr Harold Schenberg Music Prize.



### Mr Robert Jensen

Mr Robert Jensen is Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs at the U.S. Department of Homeland security, the senior career official overseeing the department's public affairs efforts and career field development. He is the first international Fellow with Emergency Media and Public Affairs of Australia and completed a speaking tour of Australia as a Fulbright Senior Specialist in 2013.



### Mr Steve Yates

Mr Steve Yates is a three-time Fulbright Scholar: USSR 1991, Russia 1995 and 2007. He has a Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA), Masters of Arts (MA) and Masters of Fine Arts (MFA, doctoral degree with dissertation) including Ford Foundation Fellowship for research at the University of New Mexico. He is a photographic artist who worked as a museum curator at the Museum of New Mexico and is founder of the Photography Department, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

## MUSICAL INTERLUDES



### Mr David Pereira

Mr David Pereira is well established as one of Australia's most significant practicing musicians and has an increasingly rare depth and breadth of experience and knowledge - not only as a cellist and cello teacher, but also as a writer on these areas of expertise, and as a composer. He will play at the welcome reception one of his own pieces - "Black Mountain Views" - the movement titled "Early".



### Ms Monique diMattina

Ms Monique diMattina is also a speaker in Soft Power, Smart Power: Creative Arts and Culture. She will play a piece from the new cd Nola's Ark that she wrote on the song-in-an-hour segment on 3RRR, called "No More Coffee".

## CHAIRS FOR SYMPOSIUM



### **Professor Ken Chern** **Soft Power, Smart Power: Public Diplomacy and Leadership**

Professor Kenneth Chern took up his duties as Professor of Asian Policy and Executive Director of the Swinburne Leadership Institute at Swinburne University in Melbourne in January 2012. He returned to academia as a Professorial Research Fellow at Murdoch University in Perth, Western Australia in January 2011, following a career in the United States Foreign Service



### **Professor Kim Rubenstein** **Health, Society, and Intercultural Exchange**

Kim Rubenstein is Professor and Director of the Centre for International and Public Law (CIPL) in the ANU College of Law; The Australian National University, and she was the Inaugural Convenor of the ANU Gender Institute 2011-2012. She is currently on sabbatical working on a range of research projects, including three Australian Research Council funded projects. She is the co-series editor of the Cambridge University Press series Connecting International with Public law.



### **Associate Professor Kimi Coaldrake** **Soft Power, Smart Power: Creative Arts and Culture**

Associate Professor Kimi Coaldrake is a Fulbright scholar who is a member of the SA State Fulbright Selection Committee and previously was its Convenor. She received her M.A. (Asian Studies) from The University of Hawaii and her Ph.D. from The University of Michigan with a specialisation in ethnomusicology with a focus on Japan.



### **Professor Don DeBats** **Soft Power and Public Policy**

Professor Don DeBats is a political historian, and he heads the Department of American Studies at Flinders University. Don hails from the state of Michigan in the United States. His research has been supported by national research program in the United States, Canada and Australia, with principal funding from the Australian Research Council and the United States National Endowment for the Humanities.



### **Professor Peter Coaldrake** **Soft and Smart Power in Developing Educational Partnerships**

Professor Peter Coaldrake is Vice-Chancellor and President of Queensland University of Technology (QUT). A dual Fulbright Scholar, and a former Chair of the Board of the Australian Fulbright Commission, he served as Chair of Universities Australia, the peak body of Australia's universities, for a two-year term to May 2011.



### **Dr Joanne Daly** **Smart Power and Research, Science and Innovation**

Dr Joanne Daly has research expertise in evolutionary biology. She was a Fulbright Post-doctoral Fellow in the early 1980's. In more recent years she has been involved in the selection of Fulbright Fellows. Most of her research career has been in CSIRO focused on the life and agricultural sciences.

## SOFT POWER, SMART POWER: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND LEADERSHIP

The notion of soft power, coined by Joseph S. Nye almost two decades ago has been of interest to many countries where they have begun to redefine their international strategy where the emphasis is on public diplomacy and engagement rather than government diplomacy. This session will focus on how countries embark upon the use of the concept of “soft power” and “smart power” through educational and cultural exchanges as an integral part their public diplomacy program, along with the effects of soft and smart power leading to desired outcomes. In particular we will hear from diplomats who represent the highest and most positive expression of cultural exchange, mutual understanding and leadership of their countries in Australia.

### KEY SPEAKERS



#### Ambassador Nasir Andisha

His Excellency Nasir Ahmad Andisha is the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan to Australia, New Zealand and Fiji. He is a 2007 Fulbright Alumnus. In 2008 Mr. Andisha briefly served the Permanent Mission of Afghanistan at the U.N. Headquarters in New York City.



#### Ms Melissa Conley Tyler

Ms Melissa Conley Tyler was appointed National Executive Director of the Australian Institute of International Affairs in 2006. She is a lawyer and specialist in conflict resolution, including negotiation, mediation and peace education.



#### Mr Peter Macfarlane

Mr Peter Macfarlane has been seconded to the AIIA from the DFAT and Trade as its inaugural Director of Communications. Mr Macfarlane has worked across a wide spectrum of global issues, with a particular focus on Asia and international security, including the Cambodia Peace Process, the first Gulf War and, most recently, Afghanistan.



#### Professor Mary Barrett

Professor Mary Barrett is a Professor of Management at the School of Management and Marketing at the University of Wollongong where she teaches management, especially human resource management and business communication.



#### Dr Caitlin Byrne

Dr Caitlin Byrne is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at Bond University, Queensland. Her research interests are focused on the theory and practice of traditional and public diplomacy and she has recently been exploring international education as an instrument of Australian public diplomacy.



#### Dr Rebecca Hall

Dr Rebecca Hall is an international education practitioner with 18 years experience in the field. During her career she has held senior leadership roles with various international education stakeholders.



#### Mr Neils Marquardt

Mr Niels Marquardt has been U.S. Consul General in Sydney since 2010. A career member of the U.S. Foreign Service, he previously served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Republics of Madagascar, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea and the Union of the Comoros.



#### Dr Peter Howarth

Dr Peter Howarth is Director of the Political & Strategic Issues Section of the Policy Planning Branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

## SOFT AND SMART POWER: HEALTH, SOCIETY AND INTERCULTURAL EXCHANGE

This session will focus on health, culture identity, history, society and worldviews through inter-cultural exchange. Under a “realist” view, soft power might be used as a cynical tool of domination: a subtle way in which one of the parties engaging in cultural exchange obtains benefits at the expense of the other (resulting in a “win-lose” situation). Nothing could be farther away from the Fulbright Program’s mission. This Panel will discuss the way in which Political Science/ Moral Philosophy/Ethics/ Sociology/ Health/ Cultural Studies/International Development perspectives and engagement brings about bi-national benefits while being mindful of differences in identity and worldviews across societies and regions. “Soft power” becomes then a meaningful and truly humanitarian concept, generating sincere understanding among peoples and producing deep intercultural exchange—a “win-win” situation for all those involved.

### KEY SPEAKERS



**Dr Leanne Aitken**

Dr Leanne Aitken is the Chair in Critical Care Nursing at Griffith University and Princess Alexandra Hospital in Brisbane, Australia. These roles incorporate the conduct and implementation of a range of clinical research and practice improvement projects, as well as postgraduate teaching and supervision. Mentoring clinical staff through the research process is an important component of the role.



**Dr Iain Butterworth**

Dr Iain Butterworth is a community psychologist with a strong interest in the interrelationship between urban design, planning, governance and well-being. He has worked in community development, government, higher education and consulting. Iain’s doctoral dissertation on environmental adult education received the American Psychological Association’s ‘Emory Cowen Dissertation Award for the Promotion of Wellness’ in 2001.



**Dr Alice Garner**

Dr Alice Garner is writing the history of the Australian-U.S. Fulbright exchange since its beginnings in 1949. With ARC support, she has conducted extensive research into the program in Australian and U.S. archives, interviewed Fulbright scholars for the National Library of Australia oral history collection, conducted surveys and developed a detailed research database.



**Dr Richard Adams**

Dr Richard Adams was educated at the University of Tasmania (BA), the University of New South Wales (MA) and the University of Western Australia (B.Ed. Hons, MIR and PhD). He was a Fulbright Scholar to Yale University, where he was a Visiting Fellow on the Global Justice Program.



**Professor John Kleinig**

Professor John Kleinig is Professor of Philosophy in the Department of Criminal Justice, John Jay College of Criminal Justice and in the PhD Program in Philosophy, Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York. He is also Strategic Research Professor at Charles Sturt University and Professorial Fellow in Criminal Justice Ethics at the Centre for Applied Philosophy and Public Ethics (Canberra, Australia).



**Ms Susanne Olberg**

Ms Susanne Olberg is the Head of Culture, Science and Press Section of the German Embassy in Canberra. Before joining the German Federal Foreign Office in 2010, she worked as a research assistant at the law faculty of Humboldt-University Berlin.

## SOFT POWER, SMART POWER: CREATIVE ARTS AND CULTURE

This session seeks to examine some of the ways in which the Creative Arts have contributed to Fulbright's vision of furthering cultural understanding and mutual respect between nations. It could be argued that the Creative Arts in particular, with their emphasis on the universal appeal of creative expression, have an exceptional ability to transcend cultural boundaries and so facilitate the sharing of cultural ideas and insights across national boundaries. Whether it be through the temporal medium of music; the visual medium of art and photography; through dramaturgy and film; or through literature and poetry, the Creative Arts have an ability to transcend boundaries and make connections across time and space.

### KEY SPEAKERS



**Mr Marcus West**

Mr Marcus West is the founding Director of Inscription – which scripts, sharpens and presents Australian stories for theatre, film and TV. He graduated with honours in Modern Australian Drama from UNSW. He has also helped to train news reporters, as well as a host of lifestyle and sports “talent” to perform at their best.



**Professor Tim Nohe**

Professor Tim Nohe is an artist, composer and educator engaging traditional and electronic media in civic life and public places. Nohe is Founding Director of the Center for Innovation, Research and Creativity in the Arts [CIRCA] at UMBC. He is an Artist-in-Residence at the Centre for Creative Arts, and was granted the rank of Adjunct Professor at La Trobe University.



**Dr Jonathan Paget**

Dr Jonathan Paget is a leading Australian exponent of the classical guitar whose interests also extend to early plucked instruments. His publications include several solo guitar CDs as well as research on Sculthorpe, minimalism, and music theory pedagogy. A Fulbright and Hackett scholar, Paget completed doctoral studies at the Eastman School of Music, Rochester (New York).



**Ms Monique diMattina**

Fulbright Scholar in 2000, Ms Monique diMattina has released five original albums on Jazz Head/MGM - two exquisite solo piano collections, the acclaimed jazz-pop inflected 'Welcome Stranger' - and in 2013, Nola's Ark - recorded in New Orleans, Louisiana with an all-star group of musicians from the bands of Harry Connick Jnr and Dr John. Monique recently represented Australia at the International Association of Jazz Educators conference in Toronto.



**Professor Naren Chitty AM**

Professor Naren Chitty AM is Associate Dean (International) of the Faculty of Arts and Inaugural Director of the Soft Power Advocacy & Research Centre (SPARC) at Macquarie University. He is Editor-in-Chief of *The Journal of International Communication*.



**Professor Ross Woodrow**

Professor Ross Woodrow is Director (Research and Postgraduate) at the Queensland College of Art, Griffith University. He is an artist, curator and senior academic who has published internationally on his specialist research interests in visual image analysis, racial science and the related areas of physiognomy and phrenology.

## SOFT POWER AND PUBLIC POLICY

In Nye's original specification, the foreign public's affinity for (American) values, culture, institutions, and past policies of all sorts are "currencies" of soft power. The aim of this session to focus on key issues that relate to Australia-US strategic relationship leading to a deeper understanding in Australian-American capability, business, culture, history, politics and its impact on public policy.



### Professor Hilary Charlesworth

Professor Hilary Charlesworth is an Australian Research Council Laureate Fellow and Director of the Centre for International Governance and Justice in the Regulatory Institutions Network at ANU. She also holds an appointment as Professor of International Law and Human Rights at ANU College of Law.

## KEY SPEAKERS



### Dr Maxine Cooper

Dr Maxine Cooper is the current Auditor-General for the Australian Capital Territory (ACT). She is a Fulbright Fellow (USA) and Commonwealth Scholarship holder (Canada) and is a Fellow of the Planning Institute and the Australian and New Zealand Environment Institute.



### Dr Bates Gill

Dr Bates Gill is Chief Executive Officer of the United States Studies Centre (USSC) at the University of Sydney (since October 2012). Dr. Gill has more than 140 publications, including seven books, focusing primarily on U.S.-China and U.S.-Asia relations.



### Dr Brendan O'Connor

Dr Brendon O'Connor is the Director of Teaching and Learning at the USSC and the coordinator of the American Studies program at the University of Sydney. Brendon was a Fulbright Fellow at Georgetown University in 2006, the Australia Scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington DC in 2008 and a Visiting Fellow at the University of Cambridge in 2012.



### Professor Billie Giles-Corti

Professor Billie Giles-Corti is Director of the Melbourne University School of Population Health, McCaughey VicHealth Centre for Community Wellbeing. A leading public health researcher in Australia and recognized internationally for her research on the health impacts of the built form, Professor Giles-Corti serves on numerous international, national and state committees and boards.



### Ms Tracy Logan

Ms Tracy Logan leads the Renewable Energy Purchase (REP) Program at the United States Department of Energy. In this role, she helps federal agencies meet renewable energy purchase and greenhouse gas (GHG) reduction goals. She is also a participant in the Fulbright Symposium Showcase.



### Ms Nyrie Palmer

Ms Nyrie Palmer is the President of the Australian Fulbright Alumni Association (AFAA) and Secretary of the NSW Chapter of the AFAA. Nyrie was awarded the Clough Engineering Award in 2002 which enabled her to study Energy Policy at Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

## SOFT AND SMART POWER IN DEVELOPING EDUCATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS

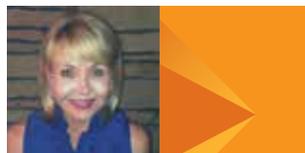
The concept of power has been changing and evolving over time. Partnerships and engagement are key elements of soft and smart power in developing educational partnerships across local, national and international levels. This session will focus on the importance of educational partnerships, how successful educational strategies are built, and what are the benefits of academic and cultural exchange in enhancing soft power while building a platform of smart power through capacity building in higher education.

### KEY SPEAKERS



**Ms Anne Baly**

Ms Anne Baly is the Head of the International Education and Science Division in the Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education. Anne has extensive experience in tertiary education policy development and program management in the Australian Government. From 2010–2013 she was head of the Science & Research Division.



**Dr Rhonda Evans Case**

Dr Rhonda Evans Case has served as Director of the Edward A. Clark Center for Australian and New Zealand Studies at the University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin) since August 2012, where she is also an Adjunct Associate Professor in the Department of Government. She is on leave from the Department of Political Science at East Carolina University, where she is an Associate Professor.



**Professor David Andrich**

Professor David Andrich received a Fulbright Scholarship in 1971 for PhD study in the Measurement, Evaluation and Statistical Analysis Program at The University of Chicago. In 1973, his dissertation earned the Susan Colver Rosenberger prize for the best research thesis in the Division of the Social Sciences.



**Dr Wendy Cahill**

Dr Wendy Cahill has served as teacher and school principal in both primary and secondary schools and in several senior administrative positions in education, including the role of director of academic leadership at University of Melbourne. During this time she consulted widely also to private and public sector organisations.



**Mr Martin Riordan**

Mr Martin Riordan is Chief Executive Officer of TAFE Directors Australia, the peak incorporated body representing Australian TAFE and technology institutes. Martin was appointed as CEO to 'TDA' in 2006, following executive appointments with Federal Education (DEST) in Canberra, and an extended posting in Singapore.



**Ms Belinda Robinson**

Ms Belinda Robinson is Chief Executive with Universities Australia, and comes with an extensive background in public policy and in the private sector. Belinda came to UA from the Australian Petroleum Production & Exploration Association. She has also been Chief Executive of the peak industry body representing the paper and timber manufacturing industry and spent nine years in the Federal Government.

## SMART POWER AND RESEARCH, SCIENCE AND INNOVATION

The concept of smart power suggests the importance of coordinating both soft and hard power to encourage mutual benefits and successful strategies. A multi-disciplinary panel will showcase the smart power of innovation in science and research; its impact of knowledge translation through international scholarship exchange. Exemplary Fulbright researchers and key sponsors will reflect on a wide range of research, outreach and key outcomes of the Fulbright Program as they discovered new knowledge. They will share their innovations, experiences and lessons learned across their professional lives.

### KEY SPEAKERS



**Dr John Foster**

Dr John Foster is an Associate Professor in the School of Biotechnology & Biomolecular Sciences at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Sydney. John received his doctorate from Aston University (UK) in 1993, working with commercial partners on centrifugally-spun biomaterials as wound scaffolding devices.



**Dr Mark Tompkins**

Dr Mark Tompkins is an Associate Professor of Infectious Diseases at the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. He received his doctorate in Immunology from Emory University in 1997 and then studied immune mechanisms of autoimmune diseases as a National Multiple Sclerosis Society Postdoctoral Fellow at Northwestern University Medical School.



**Professor Michael Douglas**

Professor Michael Douglas is a Professor Environmental Science at Charles Darwin University. He is passionate about northern Australia and has been researching the ecology and management of tropical rivers and the biodiversity of the region for over 20 years.



**Dr Michelle Meade**

Dr Michelle Meade is an Associate Professor of Psychology at Montana State University. Michelle received her BA from Grinnell College and her MA and PhD from Washington University in St. Louis. Michelle received a Beckman Postdoctoral Fellowship from the Beckman Institute for Advanced Science and Technology at the University of Illinois. She is also a participant in the Fulbright Symposium Showcase.



**Dr Tony Lindsay**

Dr Tony Lindsay graduated in Science with a double major in Physics and Mathematics from the James Cook University of North Queensland in 1983. He completed an Honours degree in Physics at the same institution, and in 1989 was awarded a PhD (the research topic being atomic spectroscopy).

2013

FULBRIGHT  
SYMPOSIUM

RECEPTION AND SHOWCASE, MURRAY  
AND FITZROY ROOMS

PROGRAM OVERVIEW  
DAY ONE 21 AUGUST 2013

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 4:00        | <b>REGISTRATION</b>   |
| 4:45 – 5:00 | V.I.P Guests arrive   |
| 5:00 – 5:05 | <b>Welcome Address</b><br>Emeritus Professor Steven Schwartz AM, Chair,<br>Australian-American Fulbright Commission Board           |
| 5:05 – 5:10 | <b>Symposium Overview</b><br>Dr Tangerine Holt, Australian-American Fulbright Commission<br>Executive Director                      |
| 5:10 – 5:15 | <b>Musical Interlude</b><br>Mr David Pereira, 1976 Fulbright Alumnus, <i>Black Mountain Views</i><br>– movement titled <i>Early</i> |
| 5:15 – 5:25 | <b>Showcase Opening</b><br>Deputy Chief of Mission Mr Tom Dougherty, Deputy Chief of Mission,<br>U.S. Embassy (TBC)                 |
| 5:25 – 6:40 | <b>SHOWCASE AND NETWORKING DRINKS</b>   |
| 6:40        | <b>Professor Steven Schwartz, call to order</b>   |
| 6:45        | <b>Musical Interlude</b><br>Ms Monique diMattina, 1999 Fulbright Alumnus, <i>No more coffee</i>                                     |
| 6:50        | <b>Mr Tom Healy, Chair, Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board</b><br>Poetry Recital   |
| 6:55 – 7:00 | <b>CLOSING REMARKS</b><br>Professor Steven Schwartz   |

**PROGRAM OVERVIEW  
DAY TWO 22 AUGUST 2013**

2013

**FULBRIGHT  
SYMPOSIUM**

|               | SESSION  | ROOM   |  |  |
|---------------|--|--|--|--|
|               |  | FITZROY ROOM   | MURRAY ROOM  | DERWENT ROOM   |
| 8:00          | <b>REGISTRATION</b>  |  |  |  |
| 8:45 - 9:00   | <b>WELCOME</b><br>Emeritus Professor Steven Schwartz AM, Chair, Australian-American Fulbright Commission Board introduces Joseph Nye's special video message for the Symposium |  |  |  |
| 9:00 - 9:45   | <b>FITZROY ROOM: OPENING PLENARY ADDRESS</b><br>Mr Tom Healy, Chair, Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board   |  |  |  |
| 9:45 - 10:15  | <b>MORNING TEA</b>   |  |  |  |
| 10:15 - 12:15 | <b>PRESENTATION AND PANEL DISCUSSION</b>   | <b>1A - Soft Power, Smart Power: Public Diplomacy and Leadership</b> | <b>2A - Soft and Smart Power: Health, Identity, Society and Intercultural Exchange</b> | <b>3A - Soft Power, Smart Power, Creative Arts and Culture</b> |
| 12:15 - 13:15 | <b>LUNCH</b>   |  |  |  |
| 13:15 - 15:15 | <b>PRESENTATION AND PANEL DISCUSSION</b>   | <b>1B - Soft Power and Public Policy</b>                             | <b>2B - Soft and Smart Power in Developing Educational Partnerships</b>                | <b>3B - Smart Power and Research, Science and Innovation</b>   |
| 15:15 - 15:45 | <b>AFTERNOON TEA</b>   |  |  |  |
| 15:45 - 16:30 | <b>FITZROY ROOM: CLOSING PLENARY ADDRESS</b><br>Dr Frank Moorhouse AM, 1994 Fulbright Alumnus  |  |  |  |
| 16:30 - 17:00 | <b>CLOSING REMARKS</b><br>Professor Steven Schwartz  |  |  |  |
| 6:30          | <b>Gala Dinner, The Gandel Hall, National Gallery of Australia</b>   |  |  |  |

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