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Annette Insanally

Caribbean universities, largely operating in small island states (small-scale economies, populations, and political structures) represent catalysts for national and regional development. In this context, some have been more successful than others in responding to social demands, characterized by their degree of success in developing a critical mass of expertise, maintaining professional and intellectual legitimacy, their efficient use of resources while maintaining qualitative objectives and establishing external links. At the operational level, creating evaluation mechanisms, networks, regional centers, the use of new information technologies and delivery systems, advances in science and technology. (See OECD Publishing, **Beyond GDP: Measuring What Counts for Economic and Social Performance -** *Country-experiences with using well-being indicators to steer policies***, November 27, 2018).**

An important consideration for Caribbean higher education institutions (HEIs) is how to ensure that they are not left behind in the global thrust for resilience and survival amidst a multiplicity of man-made and natural disasters. In this context, the institutions' focus on continuous quality improvement can be a worthy mechanism if a multi-pronged, institution-wide approach is taken for a rational response to the inherent challenges.

Increasingly, Caribbean institutions are recognizing that a value-added mechanism could be transformational partnerships to cultivate global dialogue and expand the capacity of each institution for educating students, conducting research and serving communities. This calls for complementary regional action, whereby the combined strengths of the network of institutions can be harnessed and weaknesses mitigated, strategic action and best practice can be shared and emulated and challenges and failures analyzed. Of merit would be the production of a regional database informing on successful activities and new ideas of higher education practitioners working on solving global problems through innovative international collaboration. This would set the agenda and establish partnerships for future initiatives in key development areas: Priorities for LAC countries; Strategy and Policy; Research Collaboration; Student Mobility (including short-term, project-based and practical professional experiences); Faculty Mobility and Collaboration; Collaboration with the Productive Sector to Address Global Challenges; Innovative Use of Technology for International Collaboration; Resource Mobilization and Partnership Building for Sustainable Development; Transformative agendas; Curriculum revitalization and cross-cutting themes; Teaching and Learning Effectiveness and implementation of Quality Policy.

An important point of departure is the fact that 2019 is a milestone year for the Sustainable Development Goals (Agenda 2030). It includes the first comprehensive review of progress on the entire 2030 Agenda since implementation began in 2016. This review will be held as the 74th Session of the UN General Assembly (UNGA) kicks off in September 2019. Twenty-one (21) of the SDGs'169 targets will mature in 2020, and with 12 of them focused on biodiversity, they are essential for the success of the SDGs and the Paris Agreement on climate change. The Caribbean has a critical window of opportunity for clear and coherent action by Member States to address the future of these targets.

In January 2019, The University of the West Indies (The UWI) was selected by the International Association of Universities (IAU) as its global leader in the mobilization of research and advocacy for the achievement of a climate-smart world. The UWI has already selected a global cluster of universities from Europe, Africa, Asia, the Americas and Oceania to assist in the task of achieving SDG 13 having recognised decades ago that climate change, rising sea levels and ocean temperatures, were an existential threat to the Caribbean, small island states, and the world, and to this end provided a body of scientific knowledge to prove and promote the case. The UWI's commitment to supporting the Caribbean region in the development of a culture of resilience and resilience planning as part of its Triple A Strategic Plan 2017-2022 is evidenced through a number of initiatives with global impact. In August 2018, The UWI was selected by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the World Bank, and Virgin United to host the launch of the Caribbean Climate-Smart Accelerator, a ground- breaking initiative to support the Caribbean becoming the world's first 'climate-smart zone'. (Sir Hilary Beckles, www. uwi.edu)

Caribbean HEIs would do well to participate in Forums which provide a unique interface for them to share their experiences and strategies for advancing the sustainable development agenda. The Higher Education Sustainability Initiative (HESI), a partnership between UN-DESA, UNESCO, UNEP, UN Global Compact's Principles for Responsible Management Education (PRME) initiative, UNU and UN-Habitat, is one of the key implementation partners of the Global Action Program on Education for Sustainable Development (GAP)¹ and is a forum for dialogue and for sharing how universities are integrating the SDGs into sustainability strategies in the form of research, teaching, pedagogy, and campus

¹ GAP, which was launched in 2014 in the follow- up of the Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (2005-2014), seeks to generate and scale-up Education for Sustainable Development and accelerate progress towards sustainable development. All higher education institutions may join the network freely.

practices. Students could join, and be actively engaged in national and international student organizations, to ensure their voice is heard and receive the necessary support.

UNESCO-ISEALC has an integral role to play in this and is galvanizing the endorsement by regional HEIs of a consistent and coherent plan of action (CRES 2018 Plan of Action) and so guarantee their commitment to joint action for the sake of the region's sustainable development and to ensure that the region is not left out of global efforts and achievements. It is envisaged that regional networks will contribute to the creation of a Regional Common Knowledge Space intended to harness the productive good of regional HEIs and be conducive to the creation of harmonized accreditation systems, increased facilitation of joint programmes and increased accessibility to the regional HEI product. An important partner would be the Caribbean Nucleus of the Regional Center for Cooperation in Higher Education (CRECES) with which the Universities Caribbean Association has a Cooperation Agreement.

Current strategies and practices at Caribbean HEIs are trending towards a value-creating use of knowledge resources for innovation and entrepreneurship. This stems from an increasing awareness that to effectively support entrepreneurship and innovation, HEIs themselves need to be entrepreneurial and innovative in how they organise education, research and engagement with business and the wider world. Several HEIs have taken a proactive approach and piloted new ways of integrating new teaching methods into their curricula, developing activities to stimulate the entrepreneurial mindset, supporting start-ups, strengthening collaboration with business and the wider world, and taking a more international approach to their activities.

The Youth Progress Index is one of the first ever concepts for measuring the guality of life of young people independently of economic indicators. This framework can be a significant contribution to the policy debate, including for advocacy, as well as scholarly research, on measuring performance of societies related to youth matters, and defining progress beyond economic achievements. Young people from around the globe must be encouraged to take advantage of opportunities to discuss, understand, share, find solutions to and develop strategies on Caribbean and global issues pertaining to ocean conservation and preservation, marine pollution, climate change-related impacts on the oceans, sustainable blue economy, coral reefs and fisheries, among others. Young people are directly affected by these problems, and actively engaging youth on sustaining and improving the health of our oceans is imperative if we want to successfully implement the SDGs, especially Goal 14 (life under water). (POLICY TOOLKIT Youth Entrepreneurship for the Green and Blue Economies, published by The Commonwealth Secretariat, 2018). Linguistic differences must not constitute a barrier to integrated action for development.

Science and technology is generally considered key to the future of all developing countries and an important solution to inequality in our societies. Caribbean HEIs must participate in inter-related local and global action to encourage our children to think as innovators; increase the number of science academies in our communities; increase access to education using internet technology to greater numbers of our population and mobilize policy support for development and capacity.

The articles in this edition address these issues of human capital management and development and provide us with important information for a better understanding of the challenges facing our higher education sector.



Topic 3:

The transformative role of Caribbean Higher Education

- L'ignorance commune, obstacle à la construction caribéenne
 Dr Fred Reno, Professeur de science politique,
 Université des Antilles, Pole Martinique
- Transatlantic intellectual networks in the General Studies university reform movement: the role of Puerto Rico Jorge Rodríguez Beruff
- Les représentations des dirigeants des écoles supérieures et universités haïtiennes du rôle des professeurs dans le développement la recherche en Haïti. Jean-Michel CHARLES Bureau de l'UNESCO en Haïti
- An analysis of a framework of internal influential factors affecting the progress and outcomes of accreditation processes at the University of Curaçao

Sharine A. Isabella University of Curaçao Dr. Moises da Costa Gomez

Transatlantic intellectual networks in the General Studies university reform movement: the role of Puerto Rico

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff

:: ABSTRACT

Although the General Studies movement had its beginnings in the United States in the 1920s, it developed important intellectual and institutional linkages with other related movements in Europe, the Caribbean, Central America and Latin America. Puerto Rico became part of that movement in the 1940s on the initiative of Chancellor Jaime Benítez and his collaborators. The influence of José Ortega y Gasset's ideas on university reform in Puerto Rico predate the linking up with the General Studies movement in the United States. To a great extent, the links the University of Puerto Rico developed with both networks, the General Studies movement in the US and Ortega's own political and philosophic networks in Spain and Latin America, were an important aspect both of its own reform process and the international prominence it gained during this period. The academic relationship with Costa Rica was particularly close. Puerto Rico's role in these movements offers new insights into the mid 20th century university reform process by placing it in a broad international scenario.

Keywords: university reform, general studies movement.

Réseaux intellectuels transatlantiques dans le mouvement de réforme universitaire des études générales: le rôle de Porto Rico

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff

:: RÉSUMÉ

Même si le mouvement des Études Générales a initié aux États-Unis au cours des années 1920, il a créé des relations intellectuelles et institutionnelles importantes avec d'autres mouvements liés avec l'Europe, les Caraïbes, l'Amérique Centrale et l'Amérique Latine. Le Porto Rico a fait partie de ce mouvement en 1940 grâce à l'initiative du Chancelier Jaime Benítez et de ses collaborateurs. L'influence des idées de José Ortega y Gasset sur la réforme universitaire au Porto Rico est préalable à son lien avec le mouvement des Études Générales aux États-Unis. En grande partie, les liens que l' Universidad de Puerto Rico a créé avec les deux réseaux, le mouvement des Études

Générales aux États-Unis et les réseaux politiques et philosophiques propres d'Ortega en Espagne et en Amérique Latina, ont été un aspect important pour son propre processus de réforme et pour la proéminence internationale qui a gagné pendant ce période. Le lien académique avec le Costa Rica a été particulièrement étroit. Le rôle du Porto Rico avec ces mouvements offre de nouvelles connaissances sur le processus de réforme universitaire au milieu du XX siècle le plaçant sur une scène internationale vaste.

Mots-clés: réforme de l'université, mouvement des études générales.

Redes intelectuales transatlánticas en el movimiento de reforma universitaria de Estudios Generales: el papel de puerto rico

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff

:: RESUMEN

Aunque el movimiento de Estudios Generales tuvo sus comienzos en los Estados Unidos en la década de 1920, desarrolló importantes vínculos intelectuales e institucionales con otros movimientos relacionados en Europa, el Caribe, América Central y América Latina. Puerto Rico se convirtió en parte de ese movimiento en la década de 1940 por iniciativa del Canciller Jaime Benítez y sus colaboradores. La influencia de las ideas de José Ortega y Gasset sobre la reforma universitaria en Puerto Rico es anterior a la vinculación con el movimiento de Estudios Generales en los Estados Unidos. En gran medida, los vínculos que la Universidad de Puerto Rico desarrolló con ambas redes.

el movimiento de Estudios Generales en los Estados Unidos y las redes políticas y filosóficas propias de Ortega en España y América Latina, fueron un aspecto importante tanto de su propio proceso de reforma como La prominencia internacional que ganó durante este período. La relación académica con Costa Rica fue particularmente estrecha. El papel de Puerto Rico en estos movimientos ofrece nuevos conocimientos sobre el proceso de reforma universitaria de mediados del siglo XX al ubicarlo en un escenario internacional amplio.

Palabras clave: reforma universitaria, movimiento estudios generales.

Redes intelectuais transatlânticas no movimento de reforma universitária dos Estudos Gerais: o papel de Porto Rico

Jorge Rodríguez Beruff

:: RESUMO

Ainda que o movimento de Estudos Gerais iniciou nos Estados Unidos na década dos anos 1920, ele desenvolveu importantes relações intelectuais e institucionais com outros movimentos relacionados com Europa, o Caribe, América Central e América Latina. Puerto Rico converteu-se em parte desse movimento na década de 1940 por iniciativa do Chanceler Jaime Benítez e seus colaboradores. A influência das ideias de José Ortega y Gasset sobre a reforma universitária no Porto Rico é anterior à conexão com o movimento de Estudos Gerais nos Estados Unidos. Em grande medida, os vínculos que a Universidad de Puerto Rico desenvolveu com as

duas redes, o movimento de Estudos Gerais nos Estados Unidos e as redes políticas e filosóficas próprias de Ortega na Espanha e América Latina, foram um aspeto importante para seu próprio processo de reforma e para a prominência internacional que ganhou nesse período. O vínculo académico com Costa Rica foi particularmente estreita. O papel do Porto Rico nesses movimentes oferece novos conhecimentos sobre o processo de reforma universitária de meados do século XX colocando-o num cenário internacional amplio.

Palavras-chave: reforma universitária, movimento estudos gerais.

:: University reform movements, intellectual networks, University of Puerto Rico

The development of a General Studies curriculum and the founding of the General Studies Faculty were important innovations introduced in the 1940s and 1950s as part of the *Reforma Universitaria* of the University of Puerto Rico. The changes introduced in the Puerto Rican university from 1940 onwards were not limited to a curricular or organizational component but were part of a broader revision of the structure and role of the university. They were instrumental in the transition from a very incipient and weak university to a respected institution both in Puerto Rico and internationally. The changes were tantamount to a refoundation of the institution. This reformed university was key to the modernization of the country and the development of its post war higher education system.

The University of Puerto Rico also served as a model for university reform in other countries, mainly, but not limited to, Costa Rica and Central America. Although the changes in the University of Puerto Rico responded to internal political and social dynamics, related to the rise to power of the Popular Democratic Party and its promotion of wide ranging reforms, they were also expression of transnational academic networks that inspired the character and direction of university reform, with Puerto Rico simultaneously becoming a major promoter and agent in these transnational institutional and intellectual networks.

We will analyze here the role of Puerto Rico in the General Studies movement, as it is known in the United States, and other associated international intellectual networks. These other networks were mainly related to what is more broadly defined in Spain and Latin America as a particular strand of the university reform movement inspired by the educational thinking of José Ortega y Gasset. The General Studies movement adopted the medieval concept of Studium Generale (Pedersen, 1997, p. 133), the original denomination of universities, since it sought to recover the Humanistic character of higher education based on a critique of what it perceived to be its intellectual weaknesses. It placed emphasis on the reform of the undergraduate curriculum, but sought a broader transformation of higher education and even of secondary education. Although its influence varied from country to country and among regions, the breadth of the General Studies movement, defined broadly as encompassing other related intellectual movements of university reform in Spain and Latin America, was truly Transatlantic. Its roots can be traced to the post First World War years in the case of the United States. The period during which this movement gathered momentum and reached its greatest influence was mainly between the 1930s and 1960s, when it began to lose dynamism, but its impact and relevance have endured beyond these three decades to the present.

Although the General Studies movement had its beginnings in the United States in the 1920s, it developed important intellectual and institutional linkages with other related movements in Europe, the Caribbean, Central America and Latin America. These networks were of a personal or institutional nature, embracing universities and foundations, publishers and publications, and leading intellectuals in diverse disciplines. It facilitated international flows and transits of academics and ideas, the sponsorship of major events, and even interacted with political networks, forming a complex and dynamic "macronetwork" of Transatlantic reach.

Puerto Rico became part of that movement in the 1940s on the initiative of Chancellor Jaime Benítez and his collaborators, among them as Angel Quintero Alfaro and Domingo Marrero Navarro. But the influence of José Ortega y Gasset's ideas on university reform predate the linking up with the General Studies movement in the United States. Puerto Rico provided a fertile intellectual ground for the implementation of his proposals on higher education. Ortega's design for university reform had been formulated in the 1930s and rapidly disseminated throughout Latin America. To a great extent, the links the University of Puerto Rico developed with both networks, the General Studies movement in the US and Ortega's own political and philosophical networks in Spain and Latin America, were an important aspect both of its own reform process and the international prominence it gained during this period.

This was an expression of the strategy of the Puerto Rican academic leadership of acting as mediator between Spain and the United States, while simultaneously promoting the new academic model in Latin America. The links with Spanish intellectual networks went beyond Ortega's as they included more broadly Republican exiles (Ayala, 2006, p. 412). It should also be noted that this initiative took advantage and contributed to Puerto Rico's international role as a regional political and economic model, with particularly strong political links in Central America and the Caribbean through what has been called the *"izquierda democrática"* or democratic left. The academic relationship with Costa Rica was particularly close. Puerto Rico's role in these movements offers new insights into the mid 20th century university reform process by placing it in a broad international scenario.

:: Movements and networks

Before we continue our analysis, we should clarify the sense in which we use the concept of intellectual movement. After the events of May 1968 in France, there was a broad theorization by sociologists on both sides of the Atlantic about the "new social movements". Mario Diani (1992), in a text that assessed these analyses, mentions four main aspects of a social movement: 1. existence of networks of informal relations, 2. shared beliefs and sense of solidarity, 3. collective action on conflicting matters and 4. action mostly outside the institutional sphere and routine procedures of everyday life. Other authors (Polleta and Jasper, 2001) have emphasized the importance of the issue of collective identity in social movements. Some of these general dimensions are relevant to defining an intellectual movement, but they fail to fully grasp its specificity.

Scott Frickel and Neil Gross (2005) proposed a general theory about what they named "Scientific/Intellectual Movements" (or SIM for its acronym in English). They argued that a scientific movement presupposes a conceptual nucleus with a coherent program for intellectual change and the advancement of knowledge, intellectual practices that are controversial in terms of normative expectations in an intellectual field, the ability to manage scarce resources (its political aspect) and organized collective action. According to them, a SIM tends to have a episodic or transient character and can have broad or restricted goals.

It is also pertinent to the understanding of the Genera Studies or general education movement the concept of "transnational intellectual network" used by Christophe Charle, Jurgen Schriewer and Peter Wagner (2004) in a recent book about academic networks entitled *Transnational Intellectual Networks, Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities.* It explores the transnational character of knowledge and the formation of intellectual networks in different disciplines such as sociology, mathematics, and by institutions such as the Pasteur Institute, inter-university networks between the universities of Berlin and Paris, and historiographical movements as the Annales. The authors argue that "all cross-border exchange and internationalization is effected via a specific social form". They also develop the concept of intellectual cartographies.

In the case of Latin America, Eduardo Devés (2000) has used the concept of intellectual network to analyze various movements such as *Aprismo*, Theosophy, *Arielismo* and *Cepalismo*. Devés (2007, p.30) defines an intellectual network as "a group of people devoted to the production of the knowledge, that communicate by reason of their professional activity over the years". The form

of communication can be varied but the temporal aspect is crucial to distinguish sporadic or casual encounters to the existence of a network. Other authors such as Claudio Maíz, one of the collaborators of Devés, Marta Casaús, and Ricardo Melgar-Bao have applied the concept of network to study literary, artistic and politico-religious movements. A recent volume edited by Alexandra Pita González (2016) focused on transnational intellectual networks in Latin America during the interwar period.

The concept of network, in addition, as noted by Diani, was developed in studies on social movements. It could be said that every movement, including intellectual and academic, involves the construction of networks of different types. Intellectual and scientific movements presuppose a community of action that crystallizes as networks which articulate diverse actors including institutions (not just individual scholars, as suggested by Devés), mobilize resources and develop channels of communication. This is the case of the General Studies movement.

:: The General Studies movement in the United States: from the orientation courses in Columbia College to the Harvard *Red Book*

Ann Stevens (2001) has described the development of the General Education movement in the United States. According to her, the origins are to be found in a group of academics in the universities of Chicago and Columbia who saw themselves as agents of change in higher education in what they denominated the "general education movement". Although Robert Hutchins, through his *New Plan* promoted from the presidency of the University of Chicago, played a major role in this movement, it would be a mistake to attribute it to solely his initiative. In fact, the early stages of this university reform movement predate Hutchins' curriculum reforms at Chicago and are to be found at Columbia University. It should be noted that both institutions were major universities located in urban centers of great economic power.

The sociologist Daniel Bell (2011) analyzed Columbia's experience in a book entitled *The reforming of General Education*, originally published in 1966. He quotes from the Carman Committee report of 1946 which points out that general education began at Columbia with the establishment in 1919 of the course of *Contemporary Civilization* and three sequences of two years in the Social Sciences, the Natural Sciences and the Humanities. These innovations, in part aimed at returning First World War veterans, were promoted by prominent professor John Erskine. According to Bell (2011, pp. 12-13), it was in that university that began *"a quiet and gradual revolution in undergraduate education... throughout the United States"*. He mentions three factors which contributed to this "revolution": the fight against the German tradition in the universities with its emphasis in professionalization, the abandonment of a sterile classicism that emulated the English model, and the change in the composition of the student body as the children of immigrants began to prevail intellectually.

Donald N. Levine (2000), the outstanding sociologist of the University of Chicago, has also pointed out that the movement emerged in the 1920s and spread through various universities and *colleges* such as Columbia University, Antioch, Lawrence, Reed, and Swarthmore. The intellectuals who Levine mentioned as forming part of that movement represent an extremely prominent contingent of academics from diverse disciplines.

Robert Maynard Hutchins became President of the University of Chicago in 1929, after having stood out as a young academic leader and innovator as Dean of Yale Law School. When Hutchins began his incumbency in Chicago an alternative General Studies curricular proposal was already brewing among the faculty (Hutchins, 1930, pp. 5-12). The philosopher Mortimer Adler, who had gone through the experience of the course of *Contemporary Civilization* in Columbia, became a close collaborator of Hutchins who helped him conceptualize the new undergraduate program. Hutchins found support in part of the faculty, as well as strong resistance from academics that adhered to positivist and pragmatic positions inspired in John Dewey's thinking and other alternative proposals for higher education reform.

The model of the German research university advocated by Alexander von Humboldt was on the rise in U.S. higher education since the late 19th century in what is known as the *University Movement*. It found expression in the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, as well as in Stanford and the University of Southern California (Levine, 2000). The General Studies movement emerged as an alternative to the German model of university and in response to what were considered weaknesses and shortcomings of the U.S. university system, despite the remarkable expansion it had attained during the 19th and early 20th century. Abraham Flexner, a critic of the system regretted, in a book published in 1930, the *"low quality of college education"*, the low cultural level of students graduating from high school, the excessive cult of sports, the commodification of university education and the trivialization of a curriculum populated by a large number of "absurd" vocational courses, among others things. According to him, there were exceptions, but the general picture was not encouraging (Flexner, 1930, pp. 53-73).

The other reform proposal for undergraduate studies at the beginning of the 20th century was the *Progressive Education Movement* promoted by John Dewey. It had a different conception of what the university experience should be as a component of education in general. Between Dewey and Hutchins a sharp debate took place regarding undergraduate university education that made evident the divergent approaches between these reform movements (Dewey, 1937, pp. 103-104.

Hutchins proposal sought the revaluation of undergraduate education and its academic strengthening. By 1931 Chicago had established four courses as general education requirements under Hutchins' *New Plan.* A general education program was eventually designed to cover the first two years of studies. From 1937 a *College* of four years was created (incorporating for a time the last two years of the University High School). It will formally become the *College* of Chicago in 1942. In 1936, Hutchins explained his proposal in the very influential book *The Higher Learning in America*, where he argued that general education was an antidote to the anti-intellectual environment that prevailed in universities and was necessary for the students to understand the intellectual foundations of the disciplines (Hutchins, 2008, p. 52, 91).

By the late 1930s the general education model had gained strength in higher education in the United States beyond Chicago and Columbia. A 1938 article by B. Lamar Johnson already mentioned, as part of the curriculum reform movement, the General College of the University of Florida, the General College of the University of Minnesota, Mount Pleasant (Michigan) State Teachers College, Hendrix College and Stephens College (Johnson, 1938, p. 71) Kevin Zayed (2012, pp. 141-175) argues that the general education movement was not imposed from "above" by prestigious universities but developed in the form of a matrix of diverse relationships. The General Studies movement became strongly identified in the U.S. with teaching through the reading of Great Works of Western culture, a movement initiated by Professor John Erskine in Columbia and continued by his disciple Mortimer Adler and Hutchins himself (Carmack, 2000). However, according to Donald Levine (1992), there was no unanimity regarding the Great Books approach which Adler and Hutchins promoted with great success. He argues that all the elements of Hutchins' New Plan were present in the outlook of the Chicago faculty before Hutchins and that: "the College faculty subsequently considered but firmly rejected his aspiration for a curriculum organized around the Great Books curriculum, after which the plan for a Great Books curriculum got transported to St. Johns College in Annapolis, Maryland."

Another milestone in the movement's development was the general education report prepared by Harvard University and published as a book in 1946 under the title General Education in a Free Society, also known as the Harvard Red Book, and in whose writing played an important role. The report had been commissioned by the president of Harvard James Bryant Conant in 1943. This influential scholar had directed the National Defense Research Committee during the war years and played a key role in the Manhattan Project. He was the first postwar U.S. ambassador in West Germany, where he tried to push the general education model for the reform of German universities in the postwar period, generating a strong debate. Other leading scholars associated with the movement as William H. McNiell held important posts during the Cold War. An interesting fact about the *Red Book* is mentioned by Nathan Sorber and Jordan Humphrey (2011, pp. 13-40.). They mention that it not only reflected the perspectives of the faculty, but also the aspirations of the student leadership and that science historian Thomas S. Kuhn, then a student leader, was one of its proponents.

With the *Harvard Red Book* general education received a key endorsement from another high-prestige university, though the Harvard position expressed a more open stance on the subject of "Western" culture. Stevens (2001) argues that "The Redbook's influence was tremendous. Most colleges in the country instituted some version of general education requirements in the years following its publication." In that same year of 1946, the *General College* University of Boston and the *Journal of General Education* under the direction of Earl Mc-Grath were created (Butler, 1953). McGrath was appointed in 1949 Secretary of Education of the United States by President Truman, a post he retained under Eisenhower until 1953. By then, the General Studies movement had not only become a major force in higher education but also gained political relevance in US foreign policy during the early phases of the Cold War.

:: Spain: Ortega and the impossible university reform

José Ortega y Gasset's thinking about higher education reform became the main European intellectual counterpart to the General Studies movement in the United States, although there is no evidence of existing links before the mid 1940s. Ortega sponsored and participated in broad philosophical and political networks in Europe and Latin America. He was Spain's most influential 20th century philosopher. His educational ideas drew on the valuable legacy of thinkers as Miguel de Unamuno and Fernando Giner de los Ríos, in whose *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* he studied. Other European post war intellectuals as Karl Jaspers, with his humanistic vision of the university and his critique of the

authoritarian university under Nazism, were also well respected on the other side of the Atlantic. The General Studies movement also influenced the European Catholic Universities, but this is a subject that we cannot address here.

Although Ortega's ideas about higher education are present in his early writings, his vision of the university is contained in two key texts, both of 1930, *La rebelión de las masas and Misión de la universidad*, which should be considered as foundational works on university reform. These texts are based on a diagnosis of the European university of the time and the Spanish as an instance of it. As he expressed at a conference at the University of Granada in 1932 (Ortega, 2005 A) "... It is not possible to clarify what has been the Spanish university if we do not contemplate its peculiar destiny against the background of what has been the whole European University." However, they also have as their context the crisis of the universities provoked by the dictatorship of general Primo de Rivera (1923-1929) that, among other things, provoked the closure of the University of Madrid where Ortega was a professor.

According to Ortega, a scientism grounded on positivism had become dominant in European universities. It emphasized the training of scientists and relegated the humanistic disciplines to the function of providing a "general culture" of ornamental value. For him, the general subjects had remained in the curriculum as a residue of what had been the medieval university, an institution devoted to the transmission of culture. It was vital for the universities to recover their fundamentally cultural and intellectual character, without abandoning their role in professional training and the development of science. To achieve this, he proposed (Ortega, 2005 B) the creation of a "Faculty of Culture" devoted to the integration of knowledge.

The reform of the university had the function of creating the intellectual conditions necessary to counteract authoritarian movements. It required, in turn, to overcome the fragmentation of the knowledge that characterized the modern European university. As noted, the immediate context of *Misión de la universidad* was the authoritarian and clericalist measures imposed on Spanish universities under the dictatorship of general Primo de Rivera, but also fascism was already on the rise in Italian universities, while in the USSR a totalitarian model had been imposed (La Rovere, 1999, pp. 5-12).

However, Ortega (2005 C) considered that there were no conditions in Spain for governmental or university reform. In a short time, the Spanish university, like the entire society, would be immersed in the catastrophe of the Civil War. The Complutense University of Madrid, for example, would literally become a battle front. The war also provoked the mass exile of many academics, who in some cases would contribute to the construction of other universities such as UNAM (Mexico) or the University of Puerto Rico. Then, the Franco dictatorship would purge the universities of Republican scholars or those under suspicion, leading to an epoch of authoritarian mediocrity in Spanish cultural institutions (Otero Carvajal, 2006).

Ortega's proposals for university reform had a greater impact in Latin America than in Spain. We cannot exaggerate the relevance of Ortega y Gasset's thinking and the wide dissemination of his work on the other side of the Atlantic. The historian Tzivi Medin (1991), for example, has highlighted the breadth of dissemination of his works, including those containing his educational proposals, such as La rebelión de las masas, which was published several times in large printings in Argentina. It should also be noted the intellectual importance of its visits to Argentina in 1916, 1928 and then from 1939 to 1942. José Luis Abellán (2009) has also explained the importance of Ortega for Latin American philosophical thinking and the role of his disciple José Gaos in México. The Revista de Occidente journal founded in 1923 was another communication channel for Ortega and his Transatlantic intellectual network of philosophy. In Latin America Ortega's ideas about the university remained as an intellectual sediment that would contribute to create fertile conditions for the development of the postwar general education movement in some countries. His influential book Misión de la universidad would be belatedly published in 1944 by Princeton University Press in an English translation. Its reviewer, Robert Hutchins (1945, pp. 217-220) would claim that "Ortega recalls us to the true task of the university."

The *Instituto de Humanidades*, founded in 1948 by Ortega y Julián Marías upon their return to Spain, was in a small scale what these intellectuals would have wanted to promote in the universities. Julián Marías (1989) described in the intellectual role of the Instituto, but added "the mission of these new forms can never replace the university" and "the university is between the sword and the wall: the best conditions for struggle." (Author's translation) He (1951) noted with sadness the state of the Spanish university claiming that it "hardly had similarity with that in which I had lived excitedly for five years." It was evident that Ortega's proposals would not find space in the postwar Spanish universities, controlled intellectually and politically by Franquismo and National-Catholicism.

:: Jaime Benítez and the search for an encounter

Jaime Benítez would be exposed as a graduate student to the intellectual effervescence of the University of Chicago during the presidency of Robert Hutchins. There he studied for an M.A. with a thesis about José Ortega y Gasset which he completed in 1939. Robert Hutchins will become for him a model of an intellectual and university leader, and eventually his friend and ally. Benítez also considered himself a disciple of Ortega since he discovered his work in 1931. His ideas were influential in academic circles in Puerto Rico since the 1930s as the work of Antonio S. Pedreira (1985, first edition 1934) attests. Benítez (1962) remarks that since 1937 he required his students to read *La rebelión de las masas*.

Benítez saw himself as an intermediary and interpreter between the Ortega's Hispanic network and thinking on university reform and the General Studies movement in the United States, particularly its Chicago variety led by Robert Hutchins. He (1962, pp. 31-46) claims that the reforms at the University of Puerto Rico were inspired by both in this very revealing statement:

Thirteen years ago I participated in a university reform. I wish to think that the best of my contribution reflects the spirit and intellectual perspective of that great teacher José Ortega y Gasset. It is not surprising that when reference is made to our reform it is associated with that of Robert Hutchins in Chicago. Hutchins, in turn, has recognized on several occasions his debt with Ortega. (Author's translation)

In another text Benítez calls the University of Puerto Rico "the intellectual dwelling of Ortega y Gasset's thought" and remarks that the entire *Reforma Universitaria* was inspired by his thinking. In particular, he claims (1956, 1985) that the General Studies Faculty was the "Faculty of Culture" proposed by Ortega and that even its curriculum was based on *Misión de la universidad*. This Faculty was the first of its kind in Latin America and served as a model for the one established at the University of Costa Rica among others.

The university became not only the "dwelling" of Ortega's thought but a promoter of his intellectual network and publications, such as the *Revista de Occidente*, in Latin America. The Puerto Rican model of university reform was also promoted internationally through various institutions, as the prestigious official journal *La Torre* and the *Editorial Universitaria* that Benítez entrusted to Francisco Ayala, an outstanding Spanish exile intellectual. As we have mentioned, Benítez also invited Julián Marías and Antonio Rodríguez Huéscar to Puerto Rico, who were close collaborators of Ortega. Segundo Serrano Poncela, another Spanish exile employed by Benítez, would play an important role in the creation of the Simón Bolívar University in Venezuela and its Deanship of General Studies in 1972.

After leaving the Presidency (1929-1945) and the Chancellorship (1945-1951) of the University of Chicago, Hutchins held other key positions, such as Associate

Director of the Ford Foundation, from where he continued to provide support to the General Studies movement and various democratic causes. The Rockefeller Foundation also promoted the General Studies model internationally. Jaime Benítez, who became Chancellor of the University of Puerto Rico in 1940, used very effectively his influence with these foundations. For instance, he endorsed a research project submitted by Julián Marias who was a close collaborator of José Ortega y Gasset and cofounder of the *Instituto de Humanidades* of Madrid.

Among Hutchins' cultural initiatives was the creation, along with Walter Paepke, a successful business patron of the arts who had financed the establishment of the new Bauhaus in Chicago, of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. Paepcke consulted José Ortega y Gasset, who had founded in 1948 the Instituto de Humanidades with Julián Marias, regarding the character and role of the Aspen Institute. Ortega obliged submitting a detailed proposal. He was invited to Aspen by Robert Hutchins the following year to give a major address during the celebration of the bicentennial of Goethe. It was the first time he visited the US and the occasion to meet Jaime Benítez, his devoted disciple, as well as Hutchins, who had praised his ideas on university reform, and many of his collaborators including Mortimer Adler. Soledad Ortega (1983), the philosopher's daughter, has described the significance of the 1949 event as an encounter with "the Chicago group" which promised greater future collaboration: "...that year 1949 in Aspen, the group, also called "of Chicago", because they are mainly university professors gathered there, advocated a reform of all American universities, a reform expressly inspired in the ideas exposed by Ortega in Misión de la universidad." (Author's translation) According to her, the relationship could not achieve its full potential due to Ortega's death in 1955. He was never able to accept Benítez invitation to his Puerto Rican "dwelling", an invitation which was reiterated by Francisco Ayala in 1953, taking advantage of planned a trip to Havana that was never undertaken, to participate in the launching of an issue of La Torre.

:: Costa Rica and the construction of Latin American networks

The General Studies movement will develop in Latin America in different ways and associated with diverse networks. The prestigious ITAM of Mexico, which established a Department of General Studies in 1969, had its own international links apparently related to Catholic humanism (Benito Alzaga, 1973). Progressive Catholic thought also had to do with the development of General Studies in

Peru, where Felipe MacGregor founded the prestigious Catholic University with not one, but two, General Studies Faculties. Catholic intellectuals as Jacques Barzun, José Luis Aranguren and Jacques Maritain played a role in the movement of Catholic higher education which was inspired in the ideas of John Henrv Newman (1854). He was a leading 19th century Catholic philosopher who defined the university as a Studium Generale: "If I were asked to describe as briefly and popularly as I could, what a University was, I should draw my answer from its ancient designation of a Studium Generale, or "School of Universal Learning." In Venezuela, the Universidad Simón Bolívar, with its Deanship of General Studies, was founded Ernesto Mayz Vallenilla, a leading member of Ortega's philosophical network. Mayz, as we have mentioned, had the collaboration of Segundo Serrano Poncela, a Spanish exile intellectual that had previously worked in the General Studies Faculty of the University of Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico sought to develop links with Latin America, as the invitation in 1951 of Luis Alberto Sánchez, who was on three occasions (1946, 1961 and 1966) Chancellor of the Universidad de San Marcos and a prominent politician, exemplifies. But the main relationship of the University of Puerto Rico was with Costa Rica.

The General Studies model was present in the discussion Latin American postwar discussions on university reform as evidenced by the book *La universidad en el siglo XX* (Cueto Fernandini, 1951) that was published in Lima, commemorating the fourth centenary of the *Universidad de San Marcos*. Significantly, its publication coincided with the invitation of Luis Alberto Sánchez to Puerto Rico. The volume was in charge of Carlos Cueto Fernandini, then Dean of Education, and included writings of very prominent intellectuals from Europe, the United States and Latin America, convened by the *Universidad of San Marcos* to discuss the future of the university. It was mainly an encounter of leading exponents of the General Studies university reform movement, although it included other perspectives.

Among Latin American intellectuals were Juan David García Bacca of Venezuela, Jorge Basadre of Peru, Fernando Azevedo of Brazil, Rodolfo Mondolfo, an Italian exiled in Argentina and contributor to *La Torre*, Alfonso Reyes of México, and Francesco de Vito, the Chancellor of the Sacro Cuore University of Milan. García Bacca was a philosopher very close to Ortega y Gasset and promoter of his ideas in Venezuela. Ortega's network was also represented in the publication by Julián Marías. James Conant Bryant, the president of Harvard University since 1933, was a leading intellectual of the US General Studies movement and included in the volume. De Vito's participation was also significant since the Catholic Sacro Cuore University of Milan had adopted a General Studies perspective in its curriculum. Pedro A. Cebollero, a Puerto Rican functionary of Education Division of the Pan American Union, based his presentation Ortega's views on leadership formation and made reference to the "Chicago plan". The Brazilian Fernando Azevedo expressed a dissenting point of view as he was a follower of John Dewey. The triumph in 1948 of the movement of José Figueres in Costa Rica, with which the Partide Papular Demogrática of Puerte Pise had close tigs, granted

The triumph in 1948 of the movement of José Figueres in Costa Rica, with which the Partido Popular Democrático of Puerto Rico had close ties, created the conditions for an encompassing university reform with had General Studies as a central element. The Costa Rican reform was approved on 25 November 1952 by the University Council and was ratified unanimously by the University Assembly consisting of 300 members from all sectors of the university. Rodrigo Facio played a key role in university reforms. He was a close collaborator of José Figueres and one of the founders of the Social Democratic Party in 1945 and the National Liberation Party in 1948. Facio (1958, pp. 24-25) explains the goals of the reform as follows: "What was intended, what, specifically, was sought? Making out of diversity, University; of the archipelago, a continent; of the parts, a whole". (Author's translation)

As part of the university reform promoted by the Chancellor Facio, the Faculty of Sciences and Letters was created in 1957 and, within it, the Department of General Studies. The General Studies model became an integral part of the higher education system of the country and Costa Rica became an example for the rest of Central America. Peru is possibly the other Latin American country where General Studies has played so prominent role. The foundation Faculty of Sciences and Letters and the Department of General Studies in Costa Rica were documented with a publication significantly entitled *Teoría de los Estudios Generales* (Facultad de Artes y Ciencias,1958) whose content reveals some of the intellectual sources of university reform. It is a sort of intellectual map of the General Studies with texts by Ortega and Karl Jaspers, and an analysis by Clarence Faust about the Hutchins university reform in the United States. Eduard Fueter, on the other hand, discussed the debate and reform efforts in Germany. It is significant that Ángel Quintero Alfaro, the Puerto Rican Dean of the Faculty of General Studies, was among the main authorities included in the publication.

The example of Costa Rica was important for the dissemination of the general studies model in Central America, particularly in Nicaragua and Honduras. The Central American niversity Council (CSUCA), founded in 1948, and a UNESCO mission of 1962 also contributed to promoting changes in the universities of the region. UNESCO's mission report (UNESCO, 1962) highlighted the academically innovating character of the General Studies program instituted in Costa Rica. In 1961, the US educational consultant Rudolph P. Atcon (Atcon, 2009)

proposed that General Studies programs be established in Central America, but already the Cold War strongly conditioned the university reform debate and the existing programs were abolished in Guatemala and El Salvador. They were maintained in Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Honduras. We cannot discuss here the diffusion of the movement in Latin America, but as we have seen Puerto Rico played a very prominent role, particularly in Central America.

The internationalization of universities are a fundamental component of university policy. Puerto Rico knew how to participate in several international academic and intellectual networks of Transatlantic reach. The General Studies movement, broadly defined, was one of the main vehicles for the construction of the international presence of the University of Puerto Rico. By recovering that experience we can learn how an institution can successfully exercise international leadership.

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