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FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
N° :



STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE
OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

The US Cultural Diplomacy after 9/11

Case study: Fulbright Program

**Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master
Degree**

By:

Dalila BOUSSEFSAF

Imane KHOMS

2016 /2017

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the US cultural diplomacy after 9/11. It tackles the evolution of United States' cultural exchange programs from the Cold War until the present time. It focuses on the period after 9/11 attacks. The significance of this study lies in demonstrating the role of cultural diplomacy in empowering the US foreign policy after 9/11 attacks which were considered as a turning point in the US history. Selectively, the largest educational program, Fulbright, is chosen as a case study. In addition to that, this work also shows the aims of the cultural exchange programs, including the US achievements through Fulbright program, as well as its benefits for other countries. This examination revealed that the Fulbright program could strengthen the US foreign policy through its educational exchange activities with other countries. That is, changing attitudes towards United States, mainly in Muslim countries like Pakistan and Indonesia.

Key words: the US Cultural Diplomacy, Fulbright Program, 9/11 attacks

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DEDICATION

Special thanks go to my lovely family, my parents, my brothers and my dear sisters for the continuous support they provided.

To my beloved friends especially *Dalila, Abir, Salima, Amira*, and *Sam* who have always supported me.

Imane.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to all my beloved ones:

To my *parents*, my *brothers*, and my *sisters*.

To my dear husband *Samir*.

To all my friends especially my partner Imane.

Dalila.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCP Ambassador's Fund for Cultural Preservation

CBYX Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange Program

CIES International Exchange of Scholars

ECA Educational and Cultural Affairs

ED Department of Education

FFSB Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board

FLTA Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant

ICA of the United States International Communication Agency

IIE Institution International Education

IVLP International Visitors Leadership Program

IVP International Visitors Program

NFSC National Framework for Strategic Communication

NGO Non Governmental Organizations

OWI Office of War Information

US United States

USEFP United States Educational Foundation Pakistan

USIA United States Information Agency

USIS United States Information Service

USICA the United States International Communication Agency

VOA Voice of America

WWI World War I

WWII World War II

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

US has occupied a great and unique position in the world .It has emerged as a superpower since the 19th century, becoming a model for countries all over the world. It is known as the country of freedom, democracy, and equality. As the US emerged from the Second World War as a hegemonic power. Efforts became necessary to convince the international community that the US merits an unprecedented degree of global activism and leadership. One example of these efforts is the US adoption of the policy of containment to make other countries prosperous enough to avoid the temptation of communism, and in order to be more successful the US competes to produce greater armies and superior military technology..

Later, as the Cold War settled in, the political elites understood it as not only a political power struggle between US and Soviet Union but also an ideological battle. At that time, Cultural diplomacy was extensively sponsored and supported by US government. This latter included educational, professional, and cultural exchange programs, such as Critical Language Scholarship Program, international Military Education and Training Program, in addition to the famous educational program “Fulbright”. These programs helped to solidify the view of the US with the international community. However, the decade after the Cold War threat had dissipated and international tension relaxed. Policymakers in the US government saw little need for cultural programs so cultural diplomacy began to become obsolete.

The US has been affected by many historical events . The September attacks were considered as a turning point in the US history. In the aftermath of these attacks, the external image and security of the US became a top priority once more because its image of power was threatened .As part of this post 9/11 events, the American government increased funding for educational and cultural exchange programs as an attempt to inform, to engage, and to influence global audiences to promote greater appreciation and understanding of US society,

culture, institutions, values, and policies. Fulbright is the best example. That's why we have chosen it to be the core of this research .We have selected two Muslim countries, Pakistan and Indonesia which are the prominent where the effect of Fulbright is clear.

What pushed forward to dealing with such topic is that it creates a kind of curiosity to explore the real reason behind the extensive use of cultural diplomacy by the US and to investigate the great role of cultural diplomacy in the American foreign policy.

The 9/11 attacks had an effect on the American foreign policy and might be a historical reference in changing some strategies and affairs toward the world. One of the aspects that were affected by these events is the cultural diplomacy. The main issue that will be treated in this research is the cultural diplomacy after 9/11 attacks. Therefore, this research will probe into the following questions: How did the process of cultural diplomacy develop in America before and after the 9/11 attacks? In what ways did the cultural diplomacy change after 9/11 attacks? What are the aims and objectives of cultural diplomacy in general, and Fulbright program in particular?

This topic was discussed by many authors and historians, such as the director Cynthia P. Schneider who wrote about the American foreign policy, specifically the cultural diplomacy .In her journal "The Brown Journal of World Affairs", that contains papers entitled the cultural diplomacy (from page 191 to 203) .The author talked about the cultural diplomacy, and mentioned some strategies to be used in the future. Cynthia presented the cultural diplomacy as a way to increase understanding between the US and the other countries and cultures, specifically the Arab and Muslim world, and as a solution to get rid of the bad image of the US that was shaped after the 9/11 events.

Furthermore, a dissertation was written by Stephanie Tatenburg entitled by *Diplomacy in Post 9/11 Era: An examination of the role of diplomacy in containing the terrorists' threat.*

Stephanie divided her dissertation into three chapters, in which she tried to define and explain the term of terrorism in general and Al Qaeda in a specific way. Also she mentioned its goals from 9/11 attacks. In the other two chapters she demonstrated two applications of diplomatic tools: Negotiation and intelligence gathering as traditional diplomacy, to end up her dissertation talking about the new cultural diplomacy tools.

In addition to R.S Zaharna's article 'Obama , US Public diplomacy and the Islamic world'', the writer started first by giving a general overview about the period of presidency of G. Bush and Obama and their administrations, moving to talk about them specifically with more details and with providing some examples, as if the writer is comparing between them. To conclude by the fact that both of the two presidents has used his own strategies to achieve the same aim which is improving relations with the other nations mainly with Muslims, and to restore the old image of America depending on cultural exchange programs.

Moreover, in the report 'Cultural diplomacy and the National Interest: In search of 21st century perspective'' the writer of this work starts by defining the term of cultural diplomacy. Then, giving a historical background about it, and describing its situation starting from its creation to the present time,by mentioning some famous programs such as the Fulbright program.

These writings tackled the topic of American cultural diplomacy from a broad point of view rather than exposing it deeply. Therefore, this research will demonstrate the shift of emphasis in US cultural diplomacy, mainly after 9/11 attacks. In addition to that it will identify the major objectives of cultural exchange programs. Second, this scrutiny will provide an informational background and a complete overview of the Fulbright program and its objectives, regarding its importance for bringing success and support to US foreign policy.

This investigation treats the American foreign policy, highlighting the American cultural diplomacy, and the educational program, Fulbright, and its necessity. As a way of examining these subjects, an analytical descriptive approach will be used in order to describe the US cultural diplomacy, mainly after 9/11 Attacks, and to analyze the strategies and measures which have been taken by the American government toward the world to change its image.

The work will be divided into two chapters. The first one is entitled “*Historical Background of Cultural Diplomacy*” in which the history of the US Cultural diplomacy is exposed, and the steps of its development through time are mentioned, placing the focus on the period after 9/11attacks, as well as the exhibiting aims. the chapter covers the definition of the term Cultural diplomacy and its aims as a part of the United States foreign policy .Then we talked about the evolution of the US cultural diplomacy; even before 9/11 attacks.

The second chapter entitled “*Fulbright Program after 9/11 Attacks*” will be about Fulbright program, the largest educational exchange program in the US The first part of this chapter deals with the history of Fulbright program; its origins , foundation, its administration and funding, its types, and its aims. In the second part, we tackled the Fulbright program after 9/11 events. We concentrated on Indonesia and Pakistan because the US turned its attention to the Arab and the Muslim world and the Fulbright program got ample attention.

Chapter One:

Historical Background of Cultural Diplomacy

Introduction

History has shown that the US is the most prolific user of cultural diplomacy. They have used it extensively since 9/11 and have increased its budget each year. In this chapter we will define the term of cultural diplomacy tackling its aims. Then we will talk about the historical background when dealing with cultural diplomacy before and after 9/11 to determine the changes that have occurred on cultural diplomacy.

I-1- Interpretations of American Cultural Diplomacy

Nowadays, due to globalization, countries and their cultures are interacting on a level never seen before. This level of interaction and cooperation has given rise to what is called, cultural diplomacy. To understand this term, it is important to know what is meant by the words “culture” and “diplomacy”. Culture usually refers to the characteristics and knowledge of a group of people which helps form their identity; in other words, it is defined as “a learnt meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, meanings, and symbols that are passed down from one generation to the next and are shared by varying degrees by interacting members of a community” (Ryan 66). While, the term diplomacy means the act of conducting negotiations between nations, it is defined by Hedley Bull as “the conduct of relations between sovereign states with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means” (qtd. In Murray 2).

Different attempts were made by scholars to determine the meaning of the term cultural diplomacy, they tackled it from different perspectives and as a result great variety of definitions and interpretations were established. Some who considered it as a mean of

propaganda to influence people stopping just short of calling it a weapon and some who considered it as a way to communicate and interact with others to show the culture.

Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht and Mark C. Donfried directors and founders defined cultural diplomacy as a contentious term which can be substituted by the terms public diplomacy, cultural exchange, and propaganda. They said that cultural diplomacy is “a communication between governments and foreign people” (13). It is a government’s attempt to interact with foreign audiences and allow them to understand the culture of their nation. This is alike the official definition from the US State Department in 1959: “the direct and enduring contact between peoples of different nations” (13).

The view of a giant propaganda machine for the masses, to exert control and influence, continues with others; including Frederick Barghoorn who said that cultural diplomacy is the act of using cultural materials with the aim of influencing the opinions and behavior of people from different nations. He also added that it is “a branch of intergovernmental propaganda”. He intended to say that governments rely on cultural diplomacy to gain respect and better understanding with other foreign countries using cultural exchanges (13). In support, the former cultural diplomat Richard Arndt stated that Cultural Diplomacy is the employment of cultural exchanges as a tool for achieving national interests (14).

Some of the sterner definitions are not so shy to avoid describing cultural diplomacy as a weapon. These definitions call it a type of “soft power” which allows for achieving goals through attraction rather than using coercive methods (Hecht and Donfried 23). A silent weapon, if you will, in gaining control over another nation using non-violent methods via cultural influence.

Many scholars, including Nick Cull, have described Cultural diplomacy as the "linchpin of public diplomacy" because cultural activities aimed to display the nation at its best thus;

cultural diplomacy and public diplomacy are linked together, with cultural diplomacy considered a subarea of public diplomacy. Nick Cull stated that Cultural Diplomacy is how cultural transition abroad is facilitated and the cultural accomplishments of a nation become known overseas (14).

In other definitions, however, cultural diplomacy takes on a very different viewpoint. Many maintain that it is a vital step towards better relations between two countries. The American scholar Milton Cummings defines cultural diplomacy as “the exchange of ideas, information, art, and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding” (Zamorano 169). He refers to it as a communicative channel between nations and societies allowing them to communicate, and to equally share knowledge, language principles, customs, and even beliefs ,lifestyle, and to ensure good and mutual understanding between them (Zamorano 169).

Other scholars like Louis Bélanger relate the definition with a nation’s foreign policy and its activities such as culture, education, science, and more (169).Diplomat M.Kurucz added that cultural diplomacy is “a specific activity oriented on exchange of cultural values, in line with the goals of foreign policy” (100). G. Szondi describes its ultimate goal as creating a positive image of the country (Kieldanowicz 07). Myungsub Kim adds that cultural diplomacy is a set of “self-interest strategies of foreign policy chosen by a nation’s cultural interests” (07). Gifford Malone states: “If we strive to be successful in our efforts to create understanding for our society and for our policies, we must first understand the motives, culture, history, and psychology of the people with whom we wish to communicate and certainly their language” (Appel et al. 9).

In conclusion, there are two polarizing views of exactly what cultural diplomacy is and how it works and how it advances a country. One side believes in a more sinister approach while

the other believes in a harmonious goal. Some believe it is a large propaganda machine, dedicated to influencing weaker nations through “soft power” and forcing them to conform. While on the other hand many others describe how it is a vital part of foreign policy, to integrate and advance relationships between societies and countries. The reality is that cultural diplomacy is both of these. The two definitions are heavily entwined. You cannot have one without the other.

I-2 Aims of Cultural Diplomacy

Generally speaking, cultural diplomacy is considered to be an effective strategy in promoting understanding between countries and their peoples, especially between the US and other countries. As we have mentioned before, this strategy was adopted by the US and it took the lion’s share of the US foreign policy budget in recent times.

The US used cultural diplomacy to support its foreign policy and to achieve some specific goals. Cultural diplomacy aims to foster cultural exchange with other nations or countries in art, traditions, customs, values, languages, music, and much more, so as to give each of the societies the chance to explain themselves to the other through providing a clear image, and demonstrating their values and principles to achieve better understanding between themselves and their people, or to facilitate cooperation, connection , and communication between people from different nationalities, while at the same time to enhance and to establish lasting relationships and to create a foundation of trust.

Cultural diplomacy aims to spread peace and security, as President Harry Truman said in his address on April 12, 1945:

Ignorance and its handmaidens, prejudice, intolerance, suspicion of our fellow men breed dictators. And they breed wars. Civilization cannot survive an atomic war ...And so we must look to education in the long run to wipe out that

ignorance which threatens catastrophe .Intelligent men do not hate other men because their religion maybe different, because their habits and language may be different .It is up to education to bring about the deeper international understanding which is so vital to world peace (Graham 134).

From this small quotation, it seems that Truman is calling for peace in the world, for building strong lasting relations with other countries in order to create a mutual understanding between them, and in turn peace and security. He shows that he is against wars by demonstrating that it is not a sign of civilization.

Cultural diplomacy plays an effective role in strengthening ties and reaching political, economic, and even military agreements. It aims to “increase respect and understanding of themselves amongst other countries in the world” (Appel et al.9). Besides Cultural exchange gives us the opportunity to discover the shared points in cultures and at the same time to notice the differences between them. Through understanding mutual connections societies can connect, through understanding their differences they can grow to admire and respect each other for those differences.

I-3 Fluctuation in cultural diplomacy

I-3-1 Cultural diplomacy before 9/11

I-3-1-1 Cultural Diplomacy During WWII

The first efforts in US cultural diplomacy date from World War I, but Many researchers have shown us that the real beginning of cultural diplomacy was in 1930, when the US responded to the cultural propaganda or the cultural offensive in Latin America exactly the Nazi one. Because at that time some US officers considered that some German activities were organized to make the relations between the US and Latin America getting worse and weak.

Walter C. Thurston the Chief of the Division of Latin American Affairs in the Department of State gave us clear image about the success that was achieved in cultural exchange and interaction between the US and Latin America at that time with stating some sources of this growing communication and contact for example: colleges, universities...etc.

In a meeting in Philadelphia he addressed:

‘Whereas less than a dozen colleges and universities in the United states offered courses in Latin American history, literature, art and institutions at the close of the World War, constitute more than 200 do so today, and...There are now more than 1,200 students from Latin American republics enrolled in our schools. The accomplishments which already have rewarded the activities of these agencies amply warrant the conviction that the cultural ties between the United states and Latin & America will become increasingly numerous and strengthened and that the good understanding which they will bring about will the greatest monument to Pan Americanism ‘’(qtd.in graham 27).

More efforts were made to stimulate Inter-American cultural relations and to conduct strong relations between countries as we have mentioned before, the first experience was Latin American countries. One of the efforts was the organization of a Conference Special for the Maintenance of Peace in Buenos Aires in 1936 (Hecht and Donfried 15). After two years, 1938 marked the establishment of a division of cultural relations and the Department of State’s Division of International Communication (in charge of media).

The Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Affairs for the American Republics Nelson Rockefeller invited 130 Latin American journalists to the United States, to initiate the exchange of persons program in 1940.

After WW2, The Division of cultural relations expanded many activities, for example: building up many officers to manage the cultural exchange programs that were initiated with China in 1942 and some other countries.

In the same year, the US created the Office of War Information whose purpose was to control all war-related information given to the public, to justify the objective of the US with the help of its component: the United States Information Service (USIS). And at the same time to remove anything that can affect the war negatively. This latter was terminated in later by the president Harry Truman

They depended on the International Broadcasting Voice of America (radio and TV); a radio station was launched in February 24, 1942 to promote the American way of life to some other countries like Iran. VOA provides news and information in dozens of languages to an estimated ninety million auditors.

I-3-1-2 Cultural Diplomacy During the Cold War

WWII ended and Cultural diplomacy progressed with the beginning of the Cold War. There were encounters between the west (US) and the east (the Soviet). At that time the Soviet Union and communism created a threat for the US Americans were fearful of the success of this ideology to colonize people's minds and souls, this what drives the political leaders to give much importance on international communication and interaction. So they designed and created some cultural programs that were known later on as cultural diplomacy which gained a great importance during the cold war and which came as response to what was called ‘‘gigantic propaganda offensive’’ of the Soviet Union.

There was a great cultural exchange programs between the US and Germany, these programs made the relation between the two nations too close. The same program was applied with Japan in 1945. In the same year the two agencies of the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs were transferred by Harry Truman to the Department of State. These agencies worked with Division of Cultural Relations and they form together the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs

that was called later on the Office of International Information and Educational Exchange (Cummings 4).

There were many international educational exchanges, scholarships, and training programs and the two famous programs that were conducted are: First, Fulbright which was the largest US exchange program that was introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright in 1946 and that will be our case study. Second, The (IV) Program International Visitors Program whose origins traced back to before World War II. It brings professionals to the US to meet and to confer with experts and professional counterparts in their own areas of specialization and explore areas of particular personal interest. And to experience firsthand the US and its institutions (Epstein 6). Both of these two programs encouraged scientific collaboration and discovery, to promote peace and better understanding amongst the individuals in specific and the people of the United States and the people of other countries in general.

Many offices and institutions were established such as the Office of Citizen Exchanges which develops professional, cultural, and youth programs with non-profit American Institutions, including voluntary community organizations (Epstein 6)

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was created in 1947 by the National Security. It was another key for the US to support and help the US cultural diplomacy during the cold war. Its mission was to manage Americas intelligence, it sponsored intellectuals and some publications abroad manly in the US, Europe, India, Latin America and other countries (Ivey7).

The international educational and cultural programs were extended later on, many acts were passed by the congress such as The US Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, popularly referred to as the Smith-Mundt Act That was first introduced by Congressman Karl E. Mundt in 1945 and signed later by President Harry S. Truman on

January 1948. It created an additional exchange program beyond the original Fulbright program.(Cummings⁷)The Smith-Mundt Act formalized a definition of American cultural diplomacy as a “positive action”(Graham 146).

We can say here that the two acts of Fulbright of 1946 and of 1948 and the Smith Mundt Act of 1948 represented the first efforts of the cultural diplomacy that was applied by the US during the cold war.

In1953, The United States Information Agency (USIA) was established to support cultural presentations abroad and to convince the other countries that the US’s goal is spreading freedom, peace and security.(Hogan and Paterson 261). This letter was joined with the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) to form the US International Communications Agency (USICA) in 1977.

During Eisenhower Administration (1953-1961) cultural and educational exchange continued to play a vital role in international relations this led to the establishment of an Emergency Fund for International Affairs and passing of International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation legislation act in 1954 and 1956.

Eisenhower imagined governments being able to work on a much more personal government-to-government level. His vision was to allow people to jump between governments so as to learn more about each other, because During the cold war both the people of the US and the Soviet Union knew very little of each other. The little they did know was mostly based on propaganda and stereotypes.

“It is hard for us now to imagine how distant we were from each other and how little we understood each other,” writes Sergei Khrushchev, son of Nikita Khrushchev, he added “Living on either side of the iron curtain,” he continues, “we knew nothing about each other. Diplomats and intelligence agents supplied their leaders with information, of course, but that

was not enough to gain an understanding of the other side. We had to look into each other's eyes" (Richmond,14)

For that reason, In the October of 1955, the Geneva Foreign Ministers Conference was formed by the three main capitalist leaders, the US, United Kingdom, and France proposed, aiming to facilitate the cultural agreement and remove barriers that were preventing the two sides from exchanging.

In 1955, two years after Stalin's death, the soviet All- union society for cultural relations with foreign countries stated that the year had marked the revival of Soviet –American cultural exchange ” (Hecht and Donfried 50). So, Khrushchev encouraged the cultural exchange between the two world powers and he considered it as a chance to know more about each other and as a way to benefit from the Americans (Richmond 14).

‘During the heyday of cultural diplomacy from about 1950-1975, America's greatest actors, musicians, artists, writers, and dancers were sent abroad by the U.S. government’(Schneider 2). As we can notice here the US depended also on art and music rather than propaganda or weaponry to represent a good image of America and the cultural life there throughout the world.

Artists acted as cultural ambassadors ,the most famous musicians were John Birks “Dizzy” Gillespie , Benny Goodman “King of Swing” who became the first officially sanctioned jazz musician to play in the Soviet Union, and Louis “ Satchmo ” Armstrong who were Jazz musicians ., and the dancer Martha Graham and others. They were sent in 1955 and 1956 to perform in many countries in the Middle East, Africa, South America, Asia, this was ‘ Under International Cultural Exchange legislation passed in 1954 and 1956 ‘ and was signed by Eisenhower (Cummings 8).

‘Agreement Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Exchanges in the Cultural, Technical and Educational Fields’ (qtd. in Croft et al.210). On the 27 January 1958, the Soviet and the US signed an official agreement on cultural, educational, Technical, and scientific exchanges, known as the ‘Lacy–Zarubin , It includes even exchanges in science and technology, agriculture, medicine and public health, radio and television...etc

In 1959, the exchange programs or functions were separated from the Public Affairs Bureau to be assigned to a newly created Bureau of Educational and Cultural Relations. In 1961, Congress passed the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act or as it is known as Fulbright-Hays Act (Cumming 10) . In the same year the US got involved with fifty four nations in an International Film Festival, in Moscow.

In 1978, Jimmy Carter was the president of the US, his period was one of reorganization, the Department of State’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs was joined to the United States Information Agency (USIA), to form the United States International Communication Agency (USICA), and there was an attempt to link and join also management of the exchange Cultural Affairs and their administration overseas programs. This period has witnessed also the creation of the United States International Communication Agency (ICA) (Cummings 10). One of its functions was to enrich the supplies of information among peoples to enhance and achieve better understanding. In 1982, Reagan on October 14th reconstituted USIA and abolished the International Communication Agency.

In 1983, The Congress-Bundestag Youth Exchange Program (CBYX) was established by the US Congress and the German Bundestag , it is a program that gives the chance to both the US and German young professionals and high students scholarship for an academic year abroad.

After influencing and attracting people throughout the world and for a long time especially during the cold war, cultural diplomacy declined in the 1990, the year that marked the end of the cold war and the beginning of new era in American history. As we know, The cold war ended with the defeat of the soviet union, the US become the remained superpower in the world..This reinforced European fear of embracing American culture ‘‘Americanization’’. The decline of US cultural diplomacy was because of the decrease of the Soviet union threat and the decline of the resources that funded or managed cultural diplomacy: *‘‘Since 1993, budgets have fallen by nearly 30%, staff has been cut by about 30% overseas and 20% in the U.S., and dozens of cultural centers, libraries and branch posts have been closed’’* (qtd. in *Cultural Diplomacy in Linchpin of Public Diplomacy* 8).

The US has found no necessity for funding USIA after the end of the cold war, so its staff and budgets were severely cut during Clinton administration’. After that, USIA was abolished by Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act in 1999, and its duties and responsibilities were divided between the Broadcasting Board of Governors and the State Department (Movsesiyan 22).

I-3-2 Cultural diplomacy after 9/11

I-3-2-1 Cultural Diplomacy During the Presidency of George Bush

During the presidency of George Bush, a crucial event took a place in the American history, 11 September, 2001 the date that marked the terrorist’s attacks on the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C .Concerning these attacks, Bush complained in a conference in October 14, 2001: *‘‘I’m amazed that there is such misunderstanding of what our country is about that people would hate us. I, like most Americans, I just can’t believe it, because I know how good we are’’* (qtd.in young 133).

At first, George Bush expresses his Belief in the goodness of the US in general, then he wonders how people around the world mainly the Arabs would hate them, so he assumes that Maybe this happens because the world misunderstood them, as e result he suggests to do more in order to prove that their view to the US is wrong and he insists on the importance of conveying America's message to the world in the right way.

The attacks of 9/11 created first, a kind of fear that the image of the US really distorted and changed in other's eyes, especially that they considered themselves as the strongest nation in the world and no one could dare to compete them, and second, a kind of insecurity among the US people. So, as a response to these several attacks and to decrease the fear of the risks of terrorism that was raised, the US depended on the military force as a strategy. So we can say here that the US declared the beginning of hard power rather than soft one.

Since the Military power became the main tenet of foreign policy. Bush launched war on Afghanistan on October 7th, 2001 and on Iraq in March 20th, 2003. This latter changed the views of the other countries toward the US and created many issues mainly with the Arab world. And make the relations getting worse not only with Arabs and Muslims only but with some US allies. In this case, the idea of public diplomacy gained considerable attention, the US regain attention to cultural diplomacy, they increased funding on it, as a result many attempts and initiatives were made by the US to reproduce the US cultural diplomacy again either to make one as it was before in the cold war, or to produce new one i.e. to reshape it. One of the strategies that were followed was supporting the touring exhibitions by sending many journalists, artist, and authors to visit different countries mainly the Middle East attempting to represent the US in a good way. These visitors tried to influence groups of managers in the Middle East countries that can help them in their mission; the best example is the photographs of Joel Meyerowitz and The Family of Man exhibition. Concerning that , obama biden said: ‘ *America's cultural leaders were deployed around the world during the*

He added *“cold war as artistic ambassadors and helped win the war of ideas by demonstrating to the world the promise of America. Artists can be utilized again to help us win the war of ideas against Islamic extremism ”* (qtd. in Croft 152)

Another strategy was using media to influence and attract a large number of Muslims, it means that media was targeting for Anti-Americans. So many stations were launched in the middle East on radio and TV, like Radio “Sawa” and “Alhurra” “Layalina” in 2002, thinking that they can be an effective diplomatic weapon (Susan 9) .In the same year, The White House Office of Global Communications (OGC) was formed, and the Freedom Promotion Act of 2002 was designed to underscore the common values between the US and the Muslim world through launching new websites and radio stations (Stephanie 22).

Besides, The Voice of America expanded its broadcasts to Afghanistan and the Middle East, featuring coverage of events in the United States, as well as in the region. These broadcasts were initiated in Arabic, Dari, Farsi, Pashto and Urdu languages (Susan 9).

They depended on scientific and literary publications *‘the state department sponsors the translation of only about 200 books a year into Arabic ,at a cost of a mere 5000 Dollars per book for editions of about 3000’*(Schneider 7).

The US continued to spend even more to gain hearts and minds of Arabs since they presented a large population in the world. As a result many other attempts were done to improve its image in Arabs eyes. They increased funding on the Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs, capital improvements, and appropriation. (Susan 5). And They launched many other programs; The cultures connect programs in (2003), this kind of programs that were based on sending some artists and intellectuals or we can say sending the best of American culture to the other countries; the other one was The Ambassador’s Fund for Cultural Preservation (AFCP), That was created by Congress in 2001. This latter supported the

preservation of cultural heritage in general. For example, The US preservation of museum collections and heritage sites of Egypt and the ruins of ancient Babylon in Iraq to show the US respect toward Iraq's culture.

The Bureau for Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) fostered relations between the US, Iraq and Afghanistan, For example, in November 2002, many political leaders mainly women were brought to the US and Many Iraqis directors, managers, academics, artists and others have visited the United States as part of International Visitors Leadership Program (IVLP) program. As an example, The Iraqi National Symphony who was invited to perform with the National Symphony Orchestra for the first time in the US ,in a Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. on December 9th , 2003 (Susan 8)

The Partnership for learning, a school program that was formed in 2002 whose target was Arab and Muslim countries. The Information Programs that were designed for the same purpose. One of the efforts of these information programs was increasing publishing in Arabic language and developing an Arabic-language magazine. They increased multi media centers called American corners that are rooms in office buildings or on campuses where students, teachers, and the general public can learn America's story through the use of books, computers, magazines and videos.

The US depended on the National Security Strategy (March 2006), as well National Strategy for Combating Terrorism (February 2003), against terrorism in order to increase understanding between the US and the enemy (Osgood 3).

The White House established A Strategic Communications Policy Coordinating Committee in 2002 After the invasion of Iraq, it was disbanded in 2003 to be followed by the establishment of White House OGC but it was also disbanded, later on, they were replaced by a new entity; the Muslim World Outreach Coordinating Committee in July 2004 (Ivey 15).

In an FY 2004 House Commerce, Justice, State Department (CJS) the politician Chairman Frank Wolf said:

Maybe we made a mistake...on the abolition of USIA....I wonder if the reorganization ...was really a mistake and maybe somebody ought to go back.... And maybe the system we had in place that we used to defeat the Soviet Union really is not a bad system that we should have in effect now to deal with this [terrorist] issue. (Epstein 4).

Because United States Information Agency (USIA) played a vital role during the Cold War, but unfortunately it was driven to the margins of the administration's foreign policy at that time.

In 2005, the US helped the victims of tsunami in South Asia to recover from the earthquakes terrible results aiming to change the world's view toward the US (Osgood 51) after that; the state department saw the need to increase funding in south Asia and so requested massive funds for their cultural diplomacy programs.

In 2006, it was decided that all governmental cultural programs required streamlining. The US state department created the global cultural initiative enabling some 39.000 people to take part in educational and cultural programs ranging from subjects such as literature, art, and music in 2007 (Osgood 50). The state department saw the need to increase funding in south Asia and so requested massive funds for their cultural diplomacy programs.

As George Bush failed to deal and to communicate with Arabs and Islamic world in general, he Paid too little attention to listening, he supported cultural diplomacy but he did not translate it into real foreign policy, so we can say that his administration from the beginning relied too heavily on hard power as if his main goal was transmitting information about the US only and this was the reason of his weakness.

I-3-2-2-Cultural Diplomacy during the presidency of Barack Obama

The next president Obama (2009-2016) who conducted the opportunity for a real change and fresh start, focused on restoring the US image that was distorted during Bush administration, because the Anti-Americanism has spread widely in the Arab and Muslim world even the efforts of Bush at that time. Unlike Bush, Obama has shown a kind of respect and tolerance to Muslims and Arabs, he has focused on dialogue and listening as a successful way to understand them and their attitudes and behaviors in specific, and the world in general. Obama took the view that the US should gain knowledge about other countries so he made a lot of speeches and he appeared a lot in media.

He worked on increasing the number of cultural and arts exchanges throughout the world and extending his hand to others. He always promised to take care not only of American interests, but the interests of countries all over the world.

President Obama's particular commitment was improving relations with the Muslim world, signified by his speech at Cairo University in June 2009. Obama made a speech in Cairo university in June 4, 2009 where he asked Muslims to forget about what happened before during Bush administration. He called for a new beginning clarifying that the US is not against Islam and they are not in competition. In order to emphasize that they should work together to achieve common goals and interests. Also, to strengthen common understanding. Focusing on the principles of democracy, justice, and progress (Margarida and Ribeiro 47). After this speech in Cairo, he visited Turkey and Iraq in April, and Chicago on November 7, 2012 where he called for the same goals.

Ultimately, Obama's goal were spread peace in the world. One of the best examples is maintaining peace in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Obama made some appointments to pacify tensions in the world. For instance, he sent Richard Holbrooke as an envoy to Pakistan

and Afghanistan, and George Mitchell to the Middle East. However, peace did not occur totally, since the conflicts rose at each time.

Obama outlined many strategic documents like The National Security Strategy of 2010, the first Quadrennial Diplomacy & Development Review (2010), and Strategic Framework for Public Diplomacy to change the way of US interacts with the world.

Indeed, Obama declared the beginning of the so-called new era for US cultural diplomacy. He made it as a necessary component of US policy for developing the international relations. This diplomacy clarifies his focus both on listening and accepting the other. Obama made many initiatives and for transforming the way the US engages with the world.

Apparently, Obama depended on both soft power and hard power to deal with the current conflicts. He placed the US military as a crucial power which preserves global security. Moreover, he believed that public diplomacy programs such as: cultural and educational exchanges can give future political and societal stance to leaders for obtaining a better idea of what the US stands for. In other words, cultural and educational exchange programs remain a principle component of public diplomacy.

Conclusion

US cultural diplomacy has always existed, but before the end of WWII, the US did not spend much on it. After WWII, it started spending massive financial amounts on cultural diplomacy. As a result, cultural diplomacy gained much attention during the Cold War. This diplomacy relied on the broadcasting of news, cultural programs, exhibitions, educational programs, and artistic media, in order to prevent the spread of Soviet communist ideologies. With the end of the Cold war, cultural diplomacy declined to be raised again after 9/11 attacks. The US refreshed cultural diplomacy just like it was in the period of the Cold War, and attempted to improve the relations with Arabs and Muslims. The coming chapter will

discuss Fulbright program as one example of the programs that existed .Furthermore, it will explore the goals of Fulbright program in both Pakistan and Indonesia.

CHAPTER TWO:

FULBRIGHT PROGRAM AFTER 9/11

ATTACKS

Introduction

The following chapter covers the history of Fulbright program, its goals and ample development after 9/11 attacks; with illustration of some countries that benefited from the program . We talked about Fulbright and the Muslim countries particularly Indonesia and Pakistan .Those are the countries in which Fulbright grew and increased rapidly.

II-1- History of the Fulbright Program

II-1-1-William Fulbright Biography

J. William Fulbright, American statesman of the 20th century, was born on April 9, 1905 in Sumner, Missouri. He attended the University of Arkansas (UA) until he graduated with a bachelor of arts degree in Political Science, in 1925. Then, he received a Rhodes Scholarship to attend Oxford University in England for three years (1925-28) . He enrolled there and graduated with two degrees. He taught law at the university of Arkansas and served as president of the university from 1939 to 1941.

In 1942, Fulbright won a seat as a Democrat in the House of Representatives and fostered US participation in a postwar international organization. This organization at its founding in 1945 was named the United Nations. He was elected to the Senate in 1944 and became the American senator who initiated the international exchange program for scholars known as the Fulbright scholarship. He conceived the program that was passed as the Fulbright Act of 1946. So, we can say that his vision for mutual understanding shaped the extraordinary exchange program and that gave him the name of a Democratic US senator. On February 9, 1995, Senator J. William Fulbright died in Washington, D.C.

1-2- Origins of Fulbright program

The notion of establishing Fulbright as an International educational exchange program was proposed during the WWII. “One thing that inspired the introduction of the bill at that particular time was that we had just dropped two atomic bombs on Japan in August” (qtd. in Bettie 58). The United States bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was considered as one of the reasons that lead Senator William Fulbright to think of using educational exchanges for maintaining peace.

“With respect to the creation of the program, I introduced the bill in September 1945, immediately after the end of the war with Japan, in August of that year. A number of considerations, of course, entered into my decision to introduce the bill, growing from my own experience as a Rhodes scholar and the experiences our government had had with the first World War debts, [Herbert] Hoover's efforts in establishing the Belgian-American Education Foundation after World War I, [and] the Boxer Rebellion indemnity” (J. William Fulbright Quotes)¹

The United States of America has experienced many educational exchanges. However, Fulbright was and still the largest experienced program. This later was inspired by three exchange projects; The first one was the agreement of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarships which reflects both the educational and cultural relations between the US government and the Chinese one, since it allows students from China to come to America. Fulbright was influenced by this exchange activity and its binational structure. (Bettie 60). The Belgian-American Educational Foundation was another source of inspiration for William Fulbright. It

¹http://www.azquotes.com/author/5226-J_William_Fulbright

was created after the end of the WWI to support the educational exchanges between the United States and Belgium. Fulbright was affected by the idea that The Belgian-American Educational Foundation used the war surplus funds to finance the educational exchanges. This affection was reflected in his proposal and legislation to amend the Surplus Property Act of 1944. Additionally, in 1939 the US government established the Division of Cultural relations as an administration to support the educational and cultural exchanges between the US and Latin America. This administrative structure served as a model that was later used by William Fulbright to administrate his program. (Bettie 62)

The Fulbright program took its basis, notably binationalism, funding system, and administration from the former American educational exchanges activities. These latter represent a great source of inspiration for William Fulbright.

Fulbright Program came as a result of Senator Fulbright's personal experience .Two events in his life shaped his views about education and its influential role in international relations, as he says "We must try to expand the boundaries of human wisdom, empathy and perception, and there is no way of doing that except through education (J.William Fulbright quotes)². His experiences as a Rhodes Scholar and his travel throughout Europe from which he learned the importance of the international education, In addition to his knowledge about the problems that were raised following the WWI, and his ambition to avoid such problems in the wake of the WWII, lead him to think of creating the Fulbright program , with the goal of raising up an educated elite to guide the nation and lead the world into a peaceful era (Bettie 63).

² http://www.azquotes.com/author/5226-J_William_Fulbright

1-3-Founding the Fulbright program

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to introduce a bill for reference to the Committee on Military Affairs, authorizing the use of credits established abroad for the promotion of international good will through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture and science. (qtd.in Preim 24).

These words marked the beginning of Fulbright Program. In September 1945, the junior senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas proposed his Plan of creating Fulbright; as an Educational Exchange program in his speech to the United State Senate. Fulbright introduced a bill to the congress to alter the Surplus Property act of 1944 that allowed the State Department to trade the surplus of military materials, as profitably as possible to the other nations in exchange for intangible benefits .Through his amendment, Fulbright calls for taking some revenues from selling of war supplies which were considered as surplus after World War II to other governments abroad and spend it on new educational programs particularly Fulbright. So that to support the educational exchanges between the United States and foreign countries in fields of science, culture, and education (Priem 24).

William Fulbright's bill was supported by the former President Herbert Hoover, along with some of the Republican members, such as Senator H. Alexander Smith. Hoover as an eminent figure in the Republican Party was tireless in his effort to help Senator Fulbright to turn his bill into law, thus he sent a letter to Congress specifically to Republican members approving Fulbright's proposal of creating an exchange program. (Bettie 62).

The Amendment was finally signed into law by the president Harry S. Truman, in 1946 to establish the Fulbright program as international scholarship On August 1, 1946 (Jeffrey 46).

The House of Representatives set up an independent committee called the Board of Foreign Scholarship. This latter was established to manage and work for the future of the

Fulbright Program, besides protecting it from the political influence. The president selected the members of the Board and they met for the first time in 1947 to make some decisions concerning the program. (Priem 28-29).

The United States Information and Educational Exchange Act, which is commonly known as the Smith Mundt Act, was passed in 1948. It was very important for the Fulbright Program since it extended its scope to make other exchange agreements with other countries, that were not mentioned in the Surplus Property funding . Moreover, this act approved the creation of foundations throughout the world to assist Fulbright program. (priem 30).

From 1947 to 1953 Fulbright operated in 27 countries that signed Fulbright agreement with the US and funded it. The first countries to sign this agreement were Cuba in 1947, Burma, the Philippines, and Greece in 1948 ,to be followed by other countries such: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Ceylon, China, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Korea, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, South Africa, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

Between 1955 and 1960, Fulbright set up other 15 other commissions that are to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Ecuador, Iceland, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, the United Arab Republic, and Uruguay. (*The Fulbright Program in Brief* 5).

The Fulbright Hays Act of 1961, also known as the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act. It shows the relationship between global understanding and education and at the same time, it expanded and strengthened the Fulbright program through maintaining some additional rules concerning the procedure of appointment of the Board's members. Furthermore, the act added new funding sources enabling the program to increase the number of the countries participating. (Adams 905).

After signing this act the US set up new other commissions in Mexico, Canada as well as post-Communist Poland, Czech Republic, Slovak Republic, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria, so that the number of all the commissions that were established were 50. (*The Fulbright Program in Brief 5*).

From what is mentioned above, The Smith Mundt Act of 1948 with the Fulbright Hays Act of 1961 can be described as a turning points in the history of Fulbright Program, since they broadened it and make it more flexible to be the largest international exchange programs in the world.

1-4-Fulbright Program Administration and Funding

Fulbright program is administered directly by US Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) that is responsible for the US government's overseas educational, cultural and informational programs, and which operates under the Foreign Scholarship Board (FSB), that is established by the President of the United States to supervise this Scholar Program. It is appointed and composed of 12 twelve-member board of educational and public leaders that establishes policies and procedures for the administration of the Program, selection and of all candidates who were selected and nominated for Fulbright Scholarships.

The State Department or ECA managed the overall program, allocates resources and funds the Fulbright programs in cooperation with Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) such as: first, the Institute of International Education (IIE), a private and nonprofit agency that was established in 1919 at the end of World War I to develop international education by planting and organizing different kinds of activities and programs . Second, to The Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), a division of the Institute of International Education that was established in 1945, it was also a nonprofit organization that has helped

administer the Fulbright Scholar Program. The Department of Education (ED) a cabinet that it is responsible for education mainly higher and further education policy, In addition to Private organizations and individual donors that also provide an additional funding and in-kind support (*Institute of International Education* 38- 39).

The Fulbright program has headquarters in 180 different countries around the globe. In each country the US embassy staff works with Partner government to provide in-country oversight to the Fulbright program. In some countries the two governments have established binational commissions and autonomous entities by treaty between the US and the partner country to carry out the program. There were 50 commissions; they were funded by the US and partner governments. They are responsible to examine and select the numbers and categories of grants during the grant period, to supervise the Fulbright Program and to plan educational exchanges activities (Gupta and Katsarska 262). Through binational, partnerships will be exchanged in different domains like art, science, Business...etc. In the countries that had no commissions the program was managed by embassies in cooperation with the Public Affairs Officer.

Most programs Fulbright runs are funded by both the US and the host country and its local private citizens from salary supplements, tuition waivers and university housing, as well as the monies appropriated by Congress.

1-5- Fulbright Grant Categories

The Fulbright program consists of several exchange programs:

- The Fulbright English Teaching Assistant (ETA), a Program that aims to enhance the students' language abilities and knowledge. Besides, it provides the chance to students to assist in the teaching of English at local primary and high schools or universities.

- The Fulbright Foreign Student Program which gives the chance to students, professionals, and artists to study and conduct research in some US institutions. The main component in this program is the International Fulbright Science and Technology Award.
- The Fulbright Foreign Language Teaching Assistant (FLTA) which is a part of the Fulbright Foreign Student Program, it enables teachers of English to develop their professional skills and extend their knowledge of American society, culture, customs and languages and to return home with a high proficiency in English.
- The Fulbright US Scholar Program which offers the United States scholars in all academic ranks, the opportunity to lecture and conduct research at universities and research centers.
- The Fulbright Specialist Program which is considered as an opportunity that offers a period of 2 - 6 weeks for US academics and professionals to engage in many projects like teaching and lecturing, institutional planning...etc.
- The Visiting Scholar program which offers grants to professionals who leave their home institutions world to advance their research and university lecturing in the United States.
- The Fulbright Scholar-in Residence (SIR) Program which offers opportunities to non-US visiting scholars and professionals from different countries to assist in US campuses, and teach at US colleges and universities for a semester or academic year. These colleges and universities, in turn host them.
- Fulbright NEXUS Program which brings together a network of scholars, professionals and mid-career applied researchers from the United States, Brazil and other Western Hemisphere nations for a series of three seminar meetings and a Fulbright exchange experience to foster collaborative research.

- The Fulbright Classroom Teacher Exchange Program which gives the teachers the opportunity to exchange teachers from primary and secondary schools with a colleague from another country for a semester or an academic year.
- The Fulbright Distinguished Awards in Teaching Program which encourages teaching in the US and abroad, by sending teachers of the US to other countries and at the same time bringing teachers from around the world to the US in order to be able to design a research or to finish a project.
- The Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program, is based on bringing professionals from designated countries, during their mid-career to the United States for a long year academic study, the expected result of which is to increase their potential through academic coursework and professional development activities.
- The US Fulbright Association, private non-profit membership organization of alumni and friends of the Fulbright Program or of international education that was established on February 27, 1977 (*The Fulbright Program in Brief 2*).

2-Aims of the Fulbright Program

Fulbright Program was introduced by William Fulbright to be the largest program in history. It has many objectives and was created for many purposes.

The ultimate goal of Fulbright program is to “increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries” (qtd. in Lnfield 139). In other words, it is designed to increase mutual understanding and promote international cooperation for educational and cultural advancement, between the people of the United States in specific and the people of other countries in general, through the exchange of persons, knowledge, and skills. Thus, Fulbright program calls for sharing education and knowledge around the globe, as his founder says “America has much to teach in the world but also much to learn, and that

the greater our intellectual involvement with the world beyond our frontiers, the greater the gain for both America and the world” (qtd. in Lnfield 139). Thanks to his status as a Rhodes Scholar, Senator Fulbright understood well that Educational exchange is the appropriate way to understand the cultures of other countries and to decrease misunderstandings and negative stereotypes between peoples of the world. Therefore Fulbrighters will find it easy to interact and to exchange cultures because they will share the same environment, they will live, study, and work together and at the same time they will discover new things and new ways of thinking (Lnfield 139-143).

The Fulbright Program gives the chance to artists, students, and professionals to engage in some educational activities, to study abroad and undertake international graduation, design and conduct their researches and even to teach in elementary and secondary schools worldwide for one academic year, and even for those who teach English from overseas to refine their teaching skills and to expand their knowledge about the American culture. Fulbright recipients work as ambassadors, they speak about their countries, their cultures, and research abroad. Thus, Fulbright helps to demonstrate the achievements made by the US to the other nation and vice versa (Fulbright fellowship)³.

Generally speaking, programs like Fulbright were used as a tool for propaganda to enhance the image of the US abroad, through exchanging students and scholars. But Fulbright also saw that those programs particularly his program aimed at extending knowledge, wisdom, and empathy throughout the world (Snow 209).

³ <http://gradlife.uncc.edu/resources/fulbright-fellowship>

We need a flagship program that frankly looks for the leaders, and in the process helps to define a new leadership generation that will almost certainly be better inclined toward America and toward the values of freedom than it would be without such a program. (qtd.in Snow 212).

Educating elites of tomorrow is one of the greatest goals that William Fulbright wanted to achieve through establishing the Fulbright Program. Fulbright believed that conflicts between countries are generally caused by the decisions taken by the leaders. For him the character and personality of the leaders could maintain peace in the world rather than depending on weapons of distraction. Therefore he attempts to develop tomorrow's leaders through exchanges by enhancing their international skills and cross-cultural capacity. He was convinced that those future leaders will be able to build up a friendly and peaceful relations between the US and other countries around the world especially after the violence of World War II (Priem 27).

The Cold War raised the importance of the Fulbright program, because at that time the US depended more on the educational exchanges to prevent the spread of the communist ideology which was adopted by the Soviet Union. The Fulbright program was used as a significant strategic tool during the cold war. Its objective moved away from the goals of peace and mutual understanding and tried to fulfill an ideological goal through engaging, informing, and influencing the international publics. In other words, Fulbright attempted to win the hearts and minds of people throughout the world so that to win the struggle against the Soviet Union. (Snow 212-213).

II- The Fulbright program after 9/11

The period between the end of the cold war and the 9/11 attacks was characterized by the reduction of funding for the cultural and educational exchanges programs mainly the Fulbright program, its funding fell from 120 million dollars to 98.9 .The main reason was that by the end of the Cold War, the US emerged as the world's superpower. Thus the United States saw little need for spending more efforts and money on cultural diplomacy particularly educational and cultural exchanges (Johnson 8-9).

The tragedy of 9/11 attacks as it was mentioned in the first chapter, raised anti - American feelings all around the world especially in the Arab and Muslim countries. Therefore, after these attacks, the emphasis on educational and cultural exchanges programs increased to explain the policies and actions that were adopted by the United States after this event, to encounter the threat of terrorism (Abbas 15-16). Thus, Funding for Fulbright Program raised again and reached its peak during this period (Johnson 9).

The United States placed its attention and educational activities, specifically the Fulbright program, on the Muslim world after the attacks of 11 September 2001. Selectively, the expansion of Fulbright program included Pakistan and Indonesia (Abbas 16-17). These latter are the examples chosen for this study.

II-1-Fulbright program in Pakistan

The mutual cooperation between the United States and Pakistan started in 1947; this relationship was strengthened during the cold war since Pakistan was one of the allies of the United States (Abbas 20-21). The US signed Fulbright agreement with Pakistan in 1950. By the end of the cold war as the United States emerged as the leader of the world .It ended its

relation with Pakistan, consequently funding for Fulbright program in Pakistan was abandoned (Abass 23-43).

Following the 9/11 events the US restored its relation with Pakistan and strengthened it more than before, when Afghan Taliban declared their support for Al Qaeda, As a response Pakistan announced its alliance to the US and its war on terror (Abbas 23). Despite of this decision, anti-American feelings spread among the people of Pakistan, especially after the US drone attacks in Pakistan. Studies found that only 14 percent of Pakistanis have a positive view of the US. For this reason, the US choose the cultural exchanges programs as the best way to tie again its links with Pakistan, depending more on Fulbright educational program. This latter is used to serve the diplomatic goals of the US that are confined in fostering mutual understanding between the Americans and Pakistanis besides dispelling the negative stereotypes that were formed about the US foreign policy and culture. So that to bring down the Anti American sentiments (Abbas 43-49).

Fulbright program flourished and developed rapidly and considerably in Pakistan after 9/11attacks, from Zero participant in 2005 to 286 in the year 2011. The US budget for Fulbright program in Pakistan is the second highest among the US educational and cultural exchange activities. This reflect the great interest of the US in Pakistan and its desire to win the heart and minds of people there, through promoting people to people relations to change the negative stereotypes. In support, Zilligen stated regarding the Fulbright program that: “You can almost run down the list of all those standard programs and Pakistan has just about the biggest in the world in every case now, because they have really ramped up these efforts to bring Pakistanis and Americans together again”(Abbas 45-49).

In 2005, the United States Educational Foundation Pakistan (USEFP) was created to administer Fulbright Student Program in Pakistan; it works together with the Institution International Education (IIE) for managing the Fulbright program (Abbas 45).

This program also is beneficial for Pakistanis because it gives the participants international awareness offers them a chance and motivates them to develop their country and reform their societies according to what they learned through their Fulbright experience in the United States.

This program also empowers women that are considered as one the ignored sectors of society in Pakistan and when women go to the United States, they learn to fight for their rights. Also this lead to change their negative opinion about the US and see it as a country of freedom and a country that relays fight for human rights, and this is what exactly the US wants to achieve through using such exchange programs (Afzaal and Maleeha 685-688).

II-2-Fulbright Program in Indonesia

Indonesia is one of the largest Muslim countries that supported the cooperation with the US to deepen their bilateral relationship, they worked together to increase the education exchange opportunities for both of them .The first step toward that was awarding grants for Students to study abroad. The Public Affairs Section of the US Embassy managed the program until 1987, the date that marked the establishment of The American Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF) that has administered the Fulbright program later, and that became binational Fulbright Commission in 1992. It awards scholarships for students to carry on their studies and to design their researches. The Fulbright agreement with the US was signed in 1992, this latter was renewed each time.

Indonesia view's to the US has changed of course just after the attacks of 9 /11.As it was mentioned before the cultural exchanges or exactly the educational exchanges programs decreased.

In 2009, this situation has changed with the election of Obama since he has a close relationship with Indonesia, so the negative attitude that was shaped toward the US has changed a little bit.

The US and Indonesia signed the Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) in 2009 that led to the establishment of two programs; The Fulbright-DIKTI (The Directorate General of Higher Education scholarship) that funded Fulbright Master's Degree Program, Fulbright PhD Program, Fulbright Senior Research Program, and Fulbright Doctoral Dissertation Research Program; The Fulbright-KEMLU scholarship program that funded young diplomats and future diplomats.

In 2010, they organized the Higher Education Partnership (HEP). This latter was signed by the two presidents Barrack Obama and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in order to build a strong relationship by exchanging among people. In 2012, an International Fulbright Symposium on Science and Technology was hosted by AMINEF. This latter has a great role in Climate Change and Natural Disaster Mitigation.

After declaring the war on Iraq, that came as a response to the 9/11 attacks, Indonesians preferred to study in other countries rather than studying in the US, because they considered the war on Iraq as an action against Islam. They thought about secularism as an anti religious concept but the US could change such negative views, through increasing again the number of

the students and scholars who engaged in Fulbright program and other programs(Fulbright history)⁴.

Conclusion

Fulbright, the exchange educational program, is considered as a diplomatic tool that was used by the US to achieve some specific goals which brought success to the US foreign policy. This latter works on a binational basis; It could spread all over the world. The proof that 160 countries mainly the Arabs and Muslims signed the Fulbright agreement with the US, among them Pakistan and Indonesia, in which the Fulbright impact is clear since it could affect people and change their views about the US.

⁴ <https://www.aminef.or.id/about-us/fullbright-history/>

GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

As it is clear, Cultural diplomacy is one of the essential tools in the US foreign policy. This study deals with “*the US cultural diplomacy after 9/11 attacks*”, specifically, Fulbright program. The US focused on it in the twenties as a mean to promote understanding, enhance relations, and facilitate cooperation between countries to maintain peace all over the world.

During the cold war, cultural diplomacy has been given much importance to get rid of the violence that happened after the end of WWII. The US cultural diplomacy depended first on media and messaging, for example: the Voice of America that had a great role in conveying the good American values and way of life to people all around the world. Second, it relied also on many educational and cultural exchange programs. Americans created many programs and they increased funding and spent large amounts on them. One of the famous programs was: Fulbright, the educational program that was created in 1946 by the senator W Fulbright. By the end of the cold war, the US put an end to the Soviet threat. So, it emerged as the sole power. As a result, the need of funding the cultural programs has decreased especially with the abolition of USIA and its staff that played a great role in managing them in 1999.

The terrorist attacks of 11th September, 2001 were considered as a turning point in the US history in general, and in the US foreign policy in particular. These attacks were followed by the Global War on Terror. So, Bush announced the beginning of a new strategy that is the hard power by launching war on Iraq in 2001 and Afghanistan in 2003. These attacks opened the door for a series of changes in the US relations with other countries which changed their views toward the US, mainly the Arabs and Muslims, especially after the US invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan. As a result, many efforts and attempts were made by the US government to enhance the relations again and to improve the US image that was destructed during George bush presidency. Bush’s response brought new issues and more problems, rather than giving

solutions. This led him to regain attention to Cultural diplomacy. He increased funding on the exchange programs that existed, and created new other programs. Continuously, these programs were the principle interest of Obama's administration. He gave more attention to interacting with others to understand their situations. Moreover, to show them a kind of respect.

To sum up, the American Cultural diplomacy is a strategy that served the US. foreign policy, by depending on educational programs, such as: the Fulbright. This latter was beneficial for the Unites State's worldly relationships. It exposed the good side of the US to change the world view towards it.

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ملخص

تناقش هذه الأطروحة الدبلوماسية الثقافية الأمريكية بعد أحداث الحادي عشر من سبتمبر. بحيث تتناول تطور تبادل البرامج الثقافية في الفترة الممتدة بين الحرب الباردة و الوقت الراهن، تم تسليط الضوء على فترة ما بعد أحداث الحادي عشر سبتمبر. تكمن أهمية هذه الدراسة في إظهار دور هذه البرامج الدبلوماسية الثقافية ومدى مساهمتها في تقوية العلاقات السياسية الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية. بهدف إثبات أهمية وفاعلية هذه البرامج، تم اختيار البرنامج التعليمي فول برايت كدراسة حالة ، بهدف إظهار الأهداف المرتقبة من وراء تبادل البرامج الثقافية بما فيها برنامج فول برايت و المنافع المنبثقة عنه للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية بشكل خاص و الدول المتعامل معها بشكل عام . من خلال هذه الدراسة تم إثبات فعالية البرنامج التعليمي فول برايت في توطيد العلاقات الخارجية من خلال النشاطات التعليمية الثقافية مع بعض الدول، فبفضل هذه البرامج تم تغيير العلاقات بين أمريكا و بعض الدول خاصة المسلمة منها كباكستان و اندونيسيا.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

الدبلوماسية الثقافية الأمريكية، برنامج فولبرايت، أحداث الحادي عشر سبتمبر.

Résumé

Cette recherche concerne la diplomatie culturelle des USA après le 9/11. Elle trace l'évolution des programmes d'échanges culturels des Etats-Unis de la guerre froide à aujourd'hui. Nous nous intéressons particulièrement à la période qui suit le 9/11. Le but de cette étude est de démontrer le rôle de la diplomatie culturelle dans la politique étrangère des USA après les attaques du 9/11, considérées comme un tournant décisif dans l'histoire des USA. Le plus grand programme éducationnel, Fulbright, a été choisi comme objet d'étude. En outre, ce travail démontre aussi les visées des programmes d'échanges culturels, y compris le programme Fulbright et ses réalisations diplomatiques pour les USA et pour d'autres pays. L'étude a révélé que le programme Fulbright a pu renforcer la politique étrangère des USA à travers ses activités d'échanges éducationnels avec les autres pays. En effet, des changements d'attitude envers les Etats-Unis ont été observés, principalement dans les pays musulmans tels que le Pakistan et l'Indonésie.

Les mots clés :

la diplomatie culturel des USA, le Programme de Fulbright,,les attaques du 9/11.