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CLAREMONT McKENNA COLLEGE
THE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM'S CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE

SUBMITTED TO
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AND
DEAN GREGORY HESS
BY
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INTRODUCTION

The Fulbright Program, run by the U.S. Department of State, has coordinated the exchange of students, academics and professionals around the world for the past 66 years. In the words of the program's founder, Senator J. William Fulbright, the program aspires to "bring a little more knowledge, a little more reason, and a little more compassion into world affairs, and thereby to increase the chance that nations will learn at last to live in peace and friendship."¹ The program works to achieve this goal by awarding grants to individuals to sponsor time spent overseas teaching, conducting research, working and studying. Through their time spent abroad, participants not only engage in a formal education exchange, but also become immersed in a foreign culture and gain valuable insight into their host country's history, people and traditions. This experience contributes to Fulbright's founding goal of establishing a more peaceful world by creating 'mutual understanding', or "a sympathy of each person for the other."² While Fulbright's goals were established to address a specific geopolitical environment, directly following the conclusion of World War II and at the outset of the Cold War, this does not

¹ "Program History." *Fulbright Online*. U.S. Department of State. Web. 07 Mar. 2012. <http://us.fulbrightonline.org/about_programhistory.html>.

² *Dictionary.com*. Dictionary.com. Web. 11 Apr. 2012. <<http://dictionary.reference.com/>>.

preclude the program's focus and contributions from having significance and relevance today.

In fact, the most valuable contribution of the Fulbright Program, at its founding in 1946 and today in 2012, remains its ability to inculcate mutual understanding, which represents a vital component in the success of multilateral cooperation necessary to create a secure and thriving international community. During the Cold War, promoting mutual understanding was valued for its ability to share the ideals and benefits of American democracy and create strong relationships between Americans and foreigners in direct competition with the Soviet Union's projection of communist ideology. This thesis demonstrates how, through the lenses of leadership, multiculturalism, soft power, and public diplomacy, the Fulbright Program achieves its founding goals by maintaining healthy diplomatic relations, developing competent leadership in political and professional realms, and fostering the perspective and skillset necessary to address the multifaceted challenges that America and the international community face today.

CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Fulbright Program's contemporary relevance rests on theories of liberalism, soft power, leadership and multiculturalism. Liberalism, as a theory of international relations, recognizes the potential for state relations to extend past political and economic variables to also include those of culture and society. Soft power, the ability to exert influence without using threats or coercion, can be fostered within these realms of culture and society and is enhanced through educational exchange programs such as Fulbright. The Fulbright Program's practice of facilitating the exchange of young people and academics uniquely focuses and relies on the successful work and experience of each individual participant in order to achieve its goal of establishing mutual understanding between nations. Theories of multiculturalism and leadership explain the influence an experience abroad contributes to a person's development of leadership and personal skills, and how the acquisition of these skills can lead to an ability to function in an increasingly diverse professional environment. As more firms and organizations internationalize, it serves the United States to prepare its citizens to take roles of leadership in various markets, strengthening the U.S. economy, image, and influence. In turn, the community of respect and camaraderie that Fulbright alumni and their contacts in host countries comprise maintains avenues through which soft power can be developed and wielded. The Fulbright Program, as a concrete expression of liberalism, serves as an institution that develops individuals that will contribute to the strength of their own nation as well as the stability of the international community as they excel in professional realms with a multicultural consciousness that extends past their own nation's borders.

Liberalism

Liberal international relations theory stems from the political and philosophical theories of liberalism associated with such figures as John Locke, Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, Giuseppe Mazzini, and John Stuart Mill.³ Classical liberalism can be recognized for championing ideals of individual freedom, political participation, private property, and equality of opportunity.⁴ In the context of international relations, liberalism differentiates itself from other theories of international relations by defining individuals and groups as the primary actors in the international system rather than states.⁵ In contrast to explaining state behavior through the international balance of power, states act in response to their relations with domestic or transnational non-state actors.⁶

The mission and strategy of the Fulbright Program is consistent with liberalist theory by orientating away from state actors wielding sole power in international politics to rely on non-state actors such as individuals and organizations. One of the most fundamental premises of liberalism is that politics is embedded in a social context “analytically prior to the state.”⁷ Further, society consists of individual human agents and

³ Michael Doyle and Stefano Recchia. "Liberalism and International Relations." *International Encyclopedia of Political Science*. Sage Publications, Inc. Web. 13 Apr. 2012. http://www.mwpweb.eu/1/137/resources/publication_1040_1.pdf, 1.

⁴ Michael Doyle. "Liberalism and World Politics." *American Political Science Review* 100.04 (2006): 1151-169. *JSTOR*. Web. 13 Apr. 2012, 1152.

⁵ Anne-Marie Slaughter. "Liberal International Relations Theory and International Economic Law." *American University International Law Review* 10.2 (1995): 717-43. American University. Web. 13 Apr. 2012, 728.

⁶ *Ibid.* 728.

⁷ Andrew Moravcsik. *Liberalism and International Relations Theory*. Working paper no. 92-6. Harvard University and University of Chicago. Print, 7.

social order is produced as a result of “aggregate interactions of... individuals.”⁸

Fulbright strives to create a more peaceful international environment through enhancing individuals’ understanding of the world around them and through building knowledge of and relationships with a foreign culture. The institution of Fulbright consists of numerous bilateral and multilateral individual and organizational relationships that have fostered an environment of academia, exchange and mutual understanding.

Fulbright participants are exposed to foreign cultures during their fellowship and on their return home have a different perspective on their individual and their country’s collective role in the international community. Based on theories of liberalism, the insight, opinions and persuasions of individuals and organizations have the potential to shape international norms and politics. Liberal international relations theory is embodied by the Fulbright Program’s focus on exposing its participants to foreign peoples and cultures in the hope that they will then be left with a more nuanced attitude towards international populations and exhibit an irenic effect on the policies enacted that may impact them.

Soft Power

Joseph Nye, best known as the co-founder of the international relations theory of neoliberalism, defines soft power as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments.”⁹ Through his studies he has determined that there are three basic ways to affect others’ behavior: with the threat of coercion, through

⁸ Ibid. 7.

⁹ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2006. Print, x.

inducements and payments, or by attracting the other to want what you want.¹⁰ Soft power's influence comes through the third avenue, appealing to the target's desires, emotions and psychology, using persuasion, rather than coercion, to achieve the desired outcome.¹¹ Further, soft power "arises from the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced."¹² Key to this definition is the emphasis on how others see American policies. In terms of foreign relations, honing the international community's image of America's foreign policies should be valued as highly as the domestic process of developing effective foreign policies.

The Fulbright Program provides one tool with which the United States can shape the international community's perception of America and its policies. Fulbright participants function as informal U.S. ambassadors that travel to over one hundred countries every year to work and study. Fulbright grantees have gone through a rigorous application process and applicants are most often successful if they demonstrate a commitment to the program's goal of establishing mutual understanding and indicate significant leadership capacity. This vetting system assists Fulbright in sending only those students who will appear most attractive to the communities they travel to join. As more international communities become familiar with positive embodiments of America through contact with Fulbright grantees, the soft power potential of the United States becomes further enhanced.

¹⁰ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616.1 (2008): 94-109. *JSTOR*. Web. 27 Feb. 2012, 94.

¹¹ Ernest J. Wilson, III. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (2008): 110-24. *JSTOR*. Web. 27 Feb. 2012, 114.

¹² Nye, *Soft Power*, x.

The multilateral nature of Fulbright also assists in building an effective base of American soft power. As described by Nye, a country must make itself appealing to its foreign counterparts in order to wield soft power.¹³ Republican Senator Helms understood that, “The genius of American diplomacy in the second half of the century was building institutions that would advance American interests by serving others.”¹⁴ Through the Fulbright Commissions established in each Fulbright partner country, the program ensures that every group party to the exchange has the ability to contribute to the program’s shape and focus, thus serving both U.S. and its partner country’s interests. American soft power is not only developed by sending Americans abroad, but also through welcoming foreigners to study and teach in America. As Joseph Nye notes in a recent article, “the resources that produce soft power arise in large part... in the examples it sets by its internal practices and policies.”¹⁵ The State Department recently verified the importance of allowing foreigners to visit and learn about America when it decided to ease visa terms for Iranian students. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton made the following statement in regards to this changing U.S. visa policy, “We want more dialogue and more exchange with those of you who are shaping Iran’s future. We want to be able to share what we think is great about America,” reinforcing the focus of U.S. diplomats on exposing foreigners to the United States.¹⁶

¹³ Nye, *Soft Power*.

¹⁴ Josef Joffe. "How America Does It." *Foreign Affairs* 76.5 (1997): 13-27. *JSTOR*. Web. 24 Mar. 2012, 27.

¹⁵ Nye, *Public*, 95.

¹⁶ "US Eases Iranian Student Visa Rules." *Google News*. AFP, 20 May 2011. Web. 17 Apr. 2012. <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hKQ_nYl3D1rn1svqLb-edDw50nrQ?docId=CNG.5449d35b30cae0a9c8d1371153c12502.5d1>.

The Fulbright Program enhances U.S. soft power by exposing foreign communities to American culture and history in an appealing manner. Fulbright grantees are selected through a competitive process to ensure that they accurately and positively portray America and its ideals. Further, the multilateral nature of the program serves the interests of the United States by serving its partner countries' interests. As long as these foreign counterparts see value in the exchange, the Fulbright Program will continue to serve as one approach to developing American soft power.

Leadership and Multiculturalism

Theories of leadership and multiculturalism provide explanations for the unique development that Fulbright participants undergo during their time abroad and what types of skills they will be able to utilize following the completion of their fellowship.

Recently, traditional leadership theory has been combined with theories of multiculturalism in order to accurately address the increasingly internationalized and diverse market and workplace in which leaders operate. The most common types of leadership include: transformational, transactional, values-led, and critical leadership.¹⁷ Of these four leadership types, transformational leaders have been identified as those that are most successful in multicultural organizations and environments. Transformational leaders are characterized by their ability to “motivate their followers to accomplish more than they originally intended or expected and stimulate their followers to go beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group.” Further, a transformational leader works to

¹⁷ Michalinos Zembylas and Sotiroula Iasonos. "Leadership Styles and Multicultural Education Approaches: An Exploration of Their Relationship." *International Journal of Leadership in Education* 13.2 (2010): 163-83. Web. 13 Feb. 2012, 167.

“engage the followers’ will by merging their personal goals with the organizational goals.”¹⁸

The characteristics that transformational leaders embody, including cultural empathy, open-mindedness and social initiative, were discovered in a study conducted by Woerkom and Reuver to also be the main characteristics of a multicultural personality.¹⁹ These characteristics are integral in allowing a transformational leader to connect with individuals on a variety of cultural and moral levels – finding ways to tailor incentives to serve both the individual as well as the group. While some aspects of a transformational leadership style can be attributed to the inherent personality of an individual, other components can be learned and developed over a period of time. Specifically, a multicultural personality can be cultivated through a number of conscious practices: building a foundation of cultural knowledge, developing general cultural competency skills – such as communication styles, negotiation, and motivation – and learning to adapt to viewing the world without passing judgment.²⁰ While these skills can be introduced through a variety of professional workshops, “there is no substitute for person-to-person contact across international and cultural borders, whether it is the product of living abroad, travel in a study group, post-graduate research positions... [or]hosting those from other countries.”²¹

¹⁸ Marianne Van Woerkom and Renee S.M. De Reuver. "Predicting Excellent Management Performance in an Intercultural Context: A Study of the Influence of Multicultural Personality on Transformational Leadership and Performance." *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 20.10 (2009): 2013-029. *PyscInfo*. Web. 14 Feb. 2012, 2015.

¹⁹ Ibid. 2014.

²⁰ Michael A. Moodian. *Contemporary Leadership and Intercultural Competence*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2009. Print, 147.

²¹ Moodian, 119.

The Fulbright Program embodies the types of experiences that lead to developing a global perspective, multicultural personality, and an effective transformational leadership style. As participants are immersed in a foreign culture, they acquire a new perspective on the variety of traditions and norms that exist in the world and gain experience operating in an unfamiliar environment. This exposure enhances their ability to work in an internationalized market through the acquisition of a “cultural literacy” that is “not simply desirable [but a] global organizational prerequisite.”²² Individuals who develop a multicultural personality succeed in the contemporary workplace because they understand “the impact of cultural influences on oneself and others.” Further, understanding cultural complexities leads to a central characteristic of transformational leadership, which allows them to connect with others on a personal level and find ways to motivate people of different backgrounds.

The connection between theories of leadership and multiculturalism highlights the potential for Fulbright to prepare individuals to succeed in a highly internationalized environment. Their success, in turn, strengthens U.S. power through increased influence in their chosen professional field.

In conclusion, liberalist theories base power and influence on the individual and organizations rather than on the state. The impact of the Fulbright Program lies in its community; made up of participants and the people they come into contact with through their fellowship, it is a group of individuals that have been exposed to situations that lend themselves to developing multicultural personalities and transformational leadership

²² Ibid. 120.

styles. The relationships that form this community represent avenues by which soft power can be translated into influence. Theories of liberalism, soft power, leadership, and multiculturalism help to outline the contemporary relevance of the Fulbright Program and showcase how an educational exchange founded at the end of World War II can continue to adapt and contribute to goals of U.S. foreign policy today.

CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND AND FOUNDING RELEVANCE

The bill that would evolve into the Fulbright Program was first introduced to the U.S. Congress in 1945 by Senator J. William Fulbright.²³ Proposed directly following the end of World War II, the program championed the “promotion of international goodwill through the exchange of students in the fields of education, culture, and science.”²⁴ The bill came at a time when U.S. foreign policy makers were eager to find safeguards against the specter of a third world war, and the proposal found readily offered domestic support.

A unique source of funding also aided the swift passage of the bill through Congress. Rather than drawing from taxpayer dollars, Senator Fulbright proposed funding the program through payments made to the United States from international governments in exchange for surplus war property overseas.²⁵ This proposal channeled funds through the Surplus Property Act and the Fulbright Program received significant initial financial support through the selling of a “surplus of war material belonging to the United States at prices as close as possible to its fair value.”²⁶ Over time the Fulbright Program began to look outside this single funding stream in order to supplement specific program costs and strengthen the financial base of the program. Additional funding came from a variety of NGOs, corporations, and foundations including such notable groups as

²³ "Program History."

²⁴ "Program History."

²⁵ "Program History."

²⁶ Walter Johnson and Francis James Colligan. *The Fulbright Program; a History*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965. Print, 12.

the Carnegie Corporation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation, including many others.²⁷

In the past and present versions of the Fulbright Program, oversight and administration of the program comes from the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (FSB).²⁸ Members of the board are appointed by the President and work in conjunction with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, bi-national Fulbright Commissions and Foundations, and Public Affairs Sections of U.S. Embassies abroad to facilitate the operation of the program.²⁹ The FSB also holds primary responsibility for selecting Fulbright grantees along the general criteria of past international experience, demonstrated interest in learning within their destination country, physical and mental capability to fulfill their year-long term, and, most importantly, leadership potential.³⁰

The Board seeks to select a group of successful “informal US ambassadors” who would travel abroad in order to leave behind “an increased knowledge of their own peoples, whose achievements and aspirations they themselves had exemplified.”³¹ In this way, the idea of a powerful and thriving America would be perpetuated in the hopes that it would instill the desire to emulate the American way of life and, in Senator Fulbright’s lifetime, encourage support for the values of democracy over the ills of communism. Further, it was termed to be an issue of national security that Americans come “to understand the minds of people in other societies and to have American aspirations and

²⁷ Johnson, *Fulbright*, 47.

²⁸ "Program History."

²⁹ "Program History."

³⁰ "Fulbright - International Educational Exchange Program." *Chapter 400*. U.S. Department of State. Web. 08 Mar. 2012. <<http://fulbright.state.gov/policies/u.s.-students.html>>.

³¹ Johnson, *Fulbright*, 4.

problems understood by others.”³² In addition, the benefits would not only be in affecting those people Fulbright grantees came into contact with while abroad, but also their home communities they would join following the completion of their grant. The lessons that they learned abroad could be translated to friends, family and coworkers through both formal presentations and informal conversations. Through sharing ideas abroad and at home, the Fulbright Program would create a web of understanding and knowledge that would lend itself to a more peaceful and democratic world.

The introduction of the Fulbright Program came as America took its first steps onto the international stage as one of the major powers in a bi-polar world. America and the Allied powers had just successfully defeated the Axis powers and were in the process of reconstructing the European countries that had been ravaged by war. The Marshall Plan, officially known as the European Recovery Program (ERP), was constructed under U.S. President Harry Truman and would provide significant economic, administrative and technical assistance to sixteen European nations.³³ Through this initiative, “Western Europeans benefited not only from American generosity, but from American leadership.”³⁴ In 1944, to promote international economic stability and predictability, the Bretton Woods Project established the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These two financial institutions had incredible influence over developing and developed economies for the next five decades.³⁵ They also worked in the U.S. national interest.

³² Johnson, *Fulbright*, 9.

³³ "The Marshall Plan." *The George C. Marshall Foundation*. Web. 01 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.marshallfoundation.org/TheMarshallPlan.htm>>.

³⁴ Michael Mandelbaum. "The Bush Foreign Policy." *Foreign Affairs* 70.1 (1990/91): 5-22. *LexisNexis*. Web. 2 Apr. 2012.

³⁵ M.J. Stephey. "Bretton Woods System." *Time*. Time, 21 Oct. 2008. Web. 03 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.time.com/time/business/article/0%2C8599%2C1852254%2C00.html>>.

Pegging international currencies to the dollar meant that the U.S., as one of the only countries to emerge from World War II with a strengthened economy, was able to run a trade deficit without having to devalue its own currency.³⁶ Further, as the United States contributed the most money of all member countries to both the IMF and the World Bank, it held the most voting rights and the ability to veto any major policy decision that appeared threatening to the American economy.³⁷ The involvement of the United States in the European reconstruction as well as its dominance in the newly formed IMF, World Bank, and United Nations allowed America great influence in shaping international economic and political norms. This position of power projected a strong image of the United States internationally and set America on its way to follow in Great Britain's footsteps as the most dominant economic power in the world.

While America was building economic strength, the Fulbright Program was attractive for its potential to ideologically counter the rise of a strong Soviet Union and its communist system. This challenge expanded outside of military and economic power and into a struggle "for the minds of men."³⁸ It would be a psychological contest, rather than a military one, and the victor would be determined by which regime could best convey the merits of their government, society and ideology. The Soviet Union met the launch of the Fulbright Program by "spinning a web of bilateral cultural contacts throughout Eastern Europe... the full panoply of media devices was employed in cementing Soviet

³⁶ Steve Schifferes. "How Bretton Woods Reshaped the World." *BBC News*. BBC, 14 Nov. 2008. Web. 03 Apr. 2012. <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/7725157.stm>>.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Johnson, *Fulbright*, 7.

influence.”³⁹ The efforts of the Soviet Union to gain the influential ideological upper hand prodded America to commence, in the words of William C. Johnstone, Jr., the director of the State Department’s exchange programs, “a total American effort to build a free world” in which “...we are all engaged.”⁴⁰

While the Fulbright Program held great appeal to the American public, there was some resistance to the development of the program throughout international communities that felt they were being encroached on by an American monoculture. This concern can be typified by a comment made by British left-wing socialists in response to the introduction of the Fulbright Program, “Must Europe become Wall Street’s colony?”⁴¹ America was a country ascending to a new peak of influence and power, and the international community was wary of potential abuses to this position. At the end of World War II, Alistair Cooke made the remark that, “... the United States was an adolescent just elected to the prime ministership of the world,” implying that the responsibility and leadership role was of a grandeur not yet matched by the expertise, experience, or government of America. To combat these negative perceptions and highlight Fulbright’s transparent motive of developing mutual understanding, the program focused on developing a unique reciprocal nature. The Fulbright Program embodied a bilateral exchange by allowing host countries to have the final say in which applicants would be awarded a fellowship and also sponsoring foreign students to spend periods of time working and studying in America.

³⁹ Frank A. Ninkovich. *The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign Policy and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950*. Cambridge [Eng.: Cambridge UP, 1981. Print, 145.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 149.

⁴¹ Johnson, *Fulbright*, 7.

The Fulbright Program was founded at a time when America was ascending to a position of global power and U.S. foreign policy makers were focused on establishing American ideological, economic, and military primacy. While the program was proposed with emphasis on its non-propagandistic nature, ultimately, it served the foreign policy goals of the U.S. in developing a strong ideological counter to the Soviet Union. These factors contributed to the pertinence of the program at its founding and the consensus on its necessity and potential was affirmed through the support of the U.S. government, its partner governments, and all those who participated in and contributed to the program's success in its early years.

CHAPTER 3: PUBLIC DIPLOMACY, SOFT POWER, AND SMART POWER

America's image has changed greatly over the past 250 years: from a young upstart colony turned republic, to one of two poles in a bi-polar world, to a single global hegemon and now, arguably, to a declining hegemon. Soft power and public diplomacy have the potential to play an influential role in defining America's persona and, whether a hegemon or not, "... maintaining a positive global image for the United States should be an important goal of U.S. foreign policy, since a positive image increases the level of international cooperation with the U.S. and facilitates the achievement of its foreign policy objectives."⁴² Specifically, by exposing international communities to Americans through international exchange programs such as the Fulbright, U.S. soft power is enhanced and strengthened.

Public diplomacy is most commonly defined as what it is not: propaganda or public relations.⁴³ In 2004 Michael McClellan, Counselor for Public Diplomacy at the US Embassy in Dublin, proposed a new definition of public diplomacy that would take into account the needs of the advocate country in direct relation to the target country.⁴⁴ He defined public diplomacy as:

The strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a

⁴² Nicolas Isak Dragojlovic. "Priming and the Obama Effect on Public Evaluations of the United States." *Political Psychology* 32.6 (2011): 989-1006. Print, 989-990.

⁴³ Michael McClellan. "Public Diplomacy in the Context of Traditional Diplomacy." Vienna Diplomatic Academy, 14 Oct. 2004. Web. 09 Apr. 2012.
<<http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/45.htm>>.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocate country's foreign policy objectives.⁴⁵

The Fulbright Program fits this definition of public diplomacy by working to achieve goals of mutual understanding and cooperation in favor of U.S. foreign policies while working in a bilateral capacity to incentivize maintaining the exchange to partner countries. Fulbright focuses on developing “interest out of awareness” – making individuals aware of America and its history and contemporary society in order to “motivate a person to want to learn more about the country, the people, or the culture...”⁴⁶ To translate awareness into interest and eventually advocacy, a public diplomacy program must assist the “audience member to realize there are benefits to be gained from knowing more about the advocate country or to recognize that there are shared values on which a positive relationship can be developed.”⁴⁷ Fulbright grantees are most often young and enthusiastic individuals who are committed to developing relationships with people from their host country. McClellan identifies exchange programs as the strategy holding the most potential for sparking and holding an interest in the advocate country. Although costly, exchange programs’ “importance cannot be over-estimated.”⁴⁸ One Fulbrighter currently placed as an English Teaching Assistant in Korea, CMC alum Henry Lyford, reflects on his interactions with Koreans in his host country:

⁴⁵ McClellan.

⁴⁶ McClellan.

⁴⁷ McClellan.

⁴⁸ McClellan.

Most Koreans have a preconceived idea of what Americans are like (sometimes good, sometimes bad) but when they meet you and see that you are friendly, courteous, and interested in their country their whole perception of America changes for the rest of their life. Whenever they think about - and elect officials who will decide - what Korea's relationship with America should be or simply whenever they talk with their friends about America, you will be an important factor in their perception of the United States.⁴⁹

Through these person-to-person connections, the Fulbright Program effectively shares knowledge about America as well as fosters the relationships that will lead to a sustained interest in the grantee and the grantee's homeland.

Academic Nicholas J. Cull divides public diplomacy's primary components into listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange, and international broadcasting.⁵⁰ The types of relationships that Henry develops with his Korean counterparts embody the third and fourth of Cull's principles: cultural and exchange diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy "is an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making its cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad."⁵¹ Exchange diplomacy creates soft power through "sending its citizens overseas... for a period of study and/or acculturation."⁵² Fulbright fulfills these orders by sending American citizens abroad to work and study, where, on a daily basis, they

⁴⁹ "Hello! Questions for a Fulbrighter." Message to the author. 18 Apr. 2012. E-mail.

⁵⁰ N. J. Cull. "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616.1 (2008): 31-54. JSTOR. Web. 3 Mar. 2012, 31.

⁵¹ Cull, 33.

⁵² Cull, 33.

display to the international community the type of outstanding citizens produced by the democratic United States.

The relationships developed through exchange programs such as Fulbright lead to the United States developing greater soft power, an inherent component of public diplomacy. In terms of contemporary U.S. foreign policy, while hard power, the ability to get to a desired goal through coercion, remains imperative to maintaining the balance of power internationally, soft power, the attractiveness of a country's culture, political ideals and policies, differentiates a country from maintaining parity to being able to manipulate the balance of power. As noted by academic Christian Reus-Smitin in 2004, "effective influence... depends on the degree to which a state's politics and practices are deemed legitimate by international public opinion."⁵³ Fostering soft power will allow America to more effectively wield influence in cultural and diplomatic realms, as well as broaden the legitimacy of its hard power.

When a nation develops a working relationship between its hard and soft power, a country has learned to wield "smart power."⁵⁴ Smart power is defined by academic Joseph Nye as "the capacity of an actor to combine elements of hard power and soft power in ways that are mutually reinforcing such that the actor's purposes are advanced effectively and efficiently."⁵⁵ Smart power, although a recently coined term, has been displayed in the past through America's successful smart power campaign during the Cold War. In this conflict, the United States focused on exerting military, economic and

⁵³ John Dumbrell. "American Power: Crisis or Renewal?" *Politics* 30.S1 (2010): 15-23. *Wiley Online Library*. 3 Nov. 2010. Web. 20 Apr. 2012.

⁵⁴ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Future of Power." *Carnegie Council*. 10 Feb. 2011. Web. 9 Apr. 2012. <https://www.carnegiecouncil.org/resources/transcripts/0355.html/pf_printable>.

⁵⁵ Nye, *Future*.

ideological dominance. As explained by Joseph Nye, “the U.S. military deterred Soviet aggression, while American ideas undercut communism behind the Iron Curtain.”⁵⁶ In 2007, Joseph Nye and U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage co-chaired a bipartisan commission at the Center for Strategic and International Studies to disseminate knowledge on the theory of smart power.⁵⁷ The commission concluded, “there are limits to what hard power can achieve on its own,” and in order to wield smart power “policymakers align tactics with objectives to create smart strategies.”⁵⁸

The Fulbright Program provides one tactic policymakers may utilize to develop American soft and smart power. Through the exchange program, Fulbright shares knowledge and a positive image of America and the relationships that grantees establish will extend the program’s influence past the duration of a fellow’s time abroad. Further, Fulbright’s selective application process increases the utility of the exchange as a tool of public diplomacy. Highlighted in the book *The Fulbright Program: A History*, if one can “select the 500” they will “have the reach of 500,000,” implying that through the rigorous selection process Fulbright chooses the grantees who will best fulfill Fulbright’s mission of enhancing mutual understanding.⁵⁹ The Fulbright Program enhances American smart power by acting as an arm of public diplomacy, maintaining and enhancing U.S. soft power.

⁵⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power." *Foreign Affairs* 88 (2009): 160-63. *HeinOnline*. Web. 21 Apr. 2012, 162.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 161.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 161.

⁵⁹ Johnson, 10.

CHAPTER 4: INTERNATIONALIZED ENVIRONMENT AND LEADERSHIP

Today, global dynamics are characterized by internationalized markets, an increased number of transnational firms and organizations, and the expansion of social and professional networks that span the globe. Those who would like to participate effectively in this environment must understand how to work across a diverse array of cultures. Firms and organizations in America and abroad recognize this trend and highly prize a job candidate's ability to operate adeptly in scenarios foreign to them. As transnational organizations acquire a greater amount of the world's wealth and influence, it serves a country to develop leaders that are sympathetic to their interests and who can successfully navigate a diverse cultural environment. Leaders develop this ability most easily through experiential learning, when an individual immerses oneself in a foreign environment and develops the cultural intuition necessary to succeed outside of their familiar surroundings. Specifically, international immersion experiences contribute to the development of cross-cultural competence, cultural knowledge, and a unique perspective on an individual's home country and culture. The skillset that Fulbright grantees develop through spending a significant period of time living and working in a foreign environment, uniquely prepares participants to function in the contemporary globalized environment.

'Cross-cultural competence,' defined as "the ability to think, feel and act in ways that acknowledge, respect and build upon ethnic, sociocultural, and linguistic diversity,"

can be fostered in several different ways.⁶⁰ The two most useful strategies to develop cross-cultural competence are interacting with people from a diverse range of cultures and participating in the daily life of another culture.⁶¹ Rather than sitting in a classroom and listening or reading about the culture and traditions of a foreigners, it is more beneficial to learn experientially. Attempting to navigate the variety of norms and unique characteristics of a foreign culture will have a larger and sustained impact on an individual. When a person immerses themselves completely in a new culture, there are lessons to be learned in everyday encounters and “nothing is more powerful than hearing the experiences from somebody who lives it.”⁶²

The acquisition of cultural knowledge significantly contributes to an individual’s successful development of cross-cultural competence, and a person obtains this knowledge rapidly through direct contact with the culture. Cultural knowledge is “informal, personal, and difficult to communicate and thus difficult to convey in a formal environment, such as a classroom-based training program.”⁶³ However, the acquisition of this knowledge is “essential in developing cross-cultural competence” and can be attained through “frequent exposure to other cultures, through visits, through overseas postings, or through [the] establishment of cross-cultural teams...”⁶⁴ Further, this exposure is most often found in “international *nonwork* [my emphasis] experiences such as traveling and

⁶⁰ Alex Thomas and Jeff Grimes. *Best Practices in School Psychology, IV*. Bethesda, MD: National Association of School Psychologists, 2002. Print, 356.

⁶¹ Ibid. 357.

⁶² Ibid. 357.

⁶³ James P. Johnson, Tomasz Lenartowicz, and Salvador Apud. "Cross-Cultural Competence in International Business: Toward a Definition and a Model." *Journal of International Business Studies* 37.4 (2006): 525-43. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Feb. 2012, 531.

⁶⁴ Johnson, *Cross-Cultural*, 531.

studying.”⁶⁵ In the professional world, cultural knowledge allows individuals to easily navigate the international organizational environment and eleven of fifteen studies, conducted by researchers James P. Johnson and Salvador Apud, found a positive correlation between cross-cultural training and performance in the field.⁶⁶

When a person is removed from their native culture and assimilate into a foreign culture, they can develop new insights on their home’s unique cultural practices. As Dr. Miranda, a professor in school psychology at Ohio State University has found, “in order to be able to work effectively with another cultural group, people must first understand their own cultural heritage.”⁶⁷ The value of culturally sensitivity can be external as well as internal, and by immersing into a foreign culture one has the opportunity to gain a new perspective on the variety of cultures that exist outside of their native home, as well as critically examine their own culture. The cross-cultural skills most often developed abroad are “tolerating ambiguity, displaying empathy, being resourceful, personalizing observations, showing respect, being nonjudgmental, [and] having a sense of humor.”⁶⁸ These skills can be directly applied to the workplace and will enable an individual to become more productive in culturally diverse settings, as well as more generally.

Further, the skills acquired through international experience have been found to lead to the development of certain types of leadership that are directly linked to success within the professional world. There are three types of leadership most commonly

⁶⁵ Riki Takeuchi, Paul E. Tesluk, Seokhwa Yun, and David P. Lepak. "An Integrative View of International Experience." *The Academy of Management Journal* 48.1 (2005): 85-100. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Feb. 2012, 89.

⁶⁶ Johnson, *Cross-Cultural*, 538.

⁶⁷ Thomas, 357.

⁶⁸ Gary P. Ferraro. *The Cultural Dimension of International Business*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1994. Print, 153-154.

differentiated from each other: transformational, transactional, and situational.⁶⁹ A multicultural personality, characterized by cultural empathy, open-mindedness and social initiative, is more likely to develop into a transformational leader.⁷⁰ Notably, transformational leadership typifies the leadership style of corporate CEOs.⁷¹ As found in a study conducted by Daily, Certo and Dalton in 2000, “international experience, then, may provide ascending executives with career experiences that are crucial for eventual accession to the CEO position.”⁷² Corporate headhunters search for business leaders with significant international experience for these reasons, and in the year 2000 “firms with CEOs joining a company with international experience enjoyed firm performance advantages.”⁷³

Preparing individuals for success in large transnational organizations and corporations is of more importance today than ever before. The number of transnational corporations has exponentially grown in the last four decades, jumping from 7,000 in 1970 to 40,000 in 1995 alone and U.S. direct investment abroad jumped from \$207 trillion to \$796 trillion between 1982 and 1996.⁷⁴ Multinational firms have grown to a size that can often eclipse the economy of smaller countries and thus have more influence in geopolitics than they did at Fulbright’s founding. Currently, of the 100 largest

⁶⁹ Neil Kokemuller. "Transformational Leadership vs. Situational Leadership." *Chron.com*. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <<http://smallbusiness.chron.com/transformational-leadership-vs-situational-leadership-18819.html>>.

⁷⁰ Van Woerkom, 2013.

⁷¹ Catherine M. Daily, S. Trevis Certo, and Dan R. Dalton. "International Experience in the Executive Suite: The Path to Prosperity?" *Strategic Management Journal* 21.4 (2000): 515-23. *JSTOR*. Web. 8 Feb. 2012, 516.

⁷² *Ibid.* 516.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 520.

⁷⁴ "Transnational Corporations." *The Library of Halexandriah*. 2003. Web. 09 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.halexandria.org/dward318.htm>>.

⁷⁵ Daily, 516.

economies that exist in the world, 51 are corporations and only 49 are countries, (based on a comparison of corporate sales and country GDPs).⁷⁶ With the Supreme Court ruling in 2010 that decided governments will not be able to limit corporation's political spending, big business was granted huge political influence and the line between corporate and political worlds became increasingly ambiguous.⁷⁷ Thus, the involvement of individuals who have developed conscientious and nuanced multicultural personalities in the corporate world carries great value and impact on the domestic and broader international community.

Even with indicators pointing towards the necessity of learning how to work in a diverse multicultural environment, the current American education system does not adequately prepare students to succeed in an internationalized professional environment. One study found that over 75% of the graduating DBA's (PhD's in business) have had "no international business courses during their graduate studies."⁷⁸ In 2006, the expatriate failure rate for international business assignments was 40-50%.⁷⁹ These failures can be attributed to "poor understanding of the local, economic, political and sociocultural environments."⁸⁰ This lack of cross-cultural competence comes with a high price tag for businesses; each time an expat fails an international assignment it can cost the company

⁷⁶ Anup Shah. "The Rise of Corporations." *Global Issues*. 5 Dec. 2002. Web. 09 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.globalissues.org/article/234/the-rise-of-corporations>>.

⁷⁷ Adam Liptak. "Justices, 5-4, Reject Corporate Spending Limit." *New York Times*. 21 Jan. 2010. Web. 9 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/22/us/politics/22scotus.html?pagewanted=all>>.

⁷⁸ Gary P. Ferraro. *The Cultural Dimension of International Business*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1994. Print, 14.

⁷⁹ Johnson, *Cross-Cultural*, 526.

⁸⁰ Johnson, *Cross-Cultural*, 526.

from \$250,000 to \$1.25 million.⁸¹ The cost of failed expat assignments as well as the high demand that an internationalized economy stimulates for individuals with international experience has created incredible value in such programs as Fulbright.

The effects of internationalization have not only been recognized within corporate and non-governmental organizations, but also in other realms such as law and the arts. Within legal institutions and systems of law there has been a trend towards developing a global legal code. Issues of variance across localized legal and moral codes problematize this process and in order to accurately and conscientiously develop rules that could possibly be exercised over a diverse population the shapers of international law must have a depth of cultural knowledge and cross-cultural competence. For example, the UN Declaration on Human Rights allows “individuals to become active subjects of global law...” and enables “judicial authorities to condemn breaches of the supranational legal order.”⁸² This document receives criticism from a variety of regions including some Islamic and sub-Saharan African communities that “argue for the rejection of modern Western political values” and assert “the legal protection of human rights varies according to cultural traditions and political structures.”⁸³ Individuals with significant international experience and the accompanying cultural knowledge and intuition can anticipate potential resistance to universal assertions that are projected from a single cultural or societal viewpoint, and will better “address the circulation of legal institutions among national systems and their spread from the national to the global level...”⁸⁴

⁸¹ Takeuchi, 85.

⁸² Cassese, Sabino. "The Globalization of Law." *International Law and Politics* 37 (2005): 973-93. *Www.law.nyu.edu*. New York University School of Law. Web. 22 Apr. 2012, 975.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 976.

⁸⁴ Cassese, 978.

Traditional boundaries are also being broken in the realm the arts and creative expression. As reported by CNN, “the lines between high art versus popular culture and who consumes them seem to be blurring...”⁸⁵ Not only has consumption of art globalized, there is also “this huge reconfiguration... of how and where artists produce.”⁸⁶ Further, “this fluidity has created a complex network of communication and artistic exchange that refuses to be contained by geographical borders.”⁸⁷ For example, in 2006 one of the world’s largest and most respected art museums, the Louvre, invited American writer and Nobel laureate Toni Morrison to guest curate “a series of lectures, readings and slam poetry based on paintings in the Paris museum.”⁸⁸ More than ever before, the art community crosses borders and artists from diverse backgrounds work in collaboration with each other. In this atmosphere of cross-cultural collaboration and creative innovation, the Fulbright Program facilitates the exchange of artists and provides the experience for creative grantees to become exposed to foreign influences that inform and nuance artists’ work today. In a video produced by Fulbright’s sponsoring organization, the Institute of International Education, Ananya Ghoshal, a Fulbright Student from India enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley studying art and poetry, comments on her involvement in the Fulbright artists’ community, “It’s great to meet scholars who are also interested in these areas, and I’m looking forward to meeting

⁸⁵ Manav Tanneeru. "Globalization, Technology Changing the Art World." *CNN*. 26 Nov. 2006. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <http://articles.cnn.com/2006-11-26/entertainment/art.globalization_1_high-art-curators-and-museum-directors-art-boom?_s=PM:SHOWBIZ>.

⁸⁶ Tanneeru.

⁸⁷ Tanneeru.

⁸⁸ Tanneeru.

them and... learn[ing] from them.”⁸⁹ The video depicts Fulbright scholars from Chile, Colombia, Hungary, China, and India who learn from and share their creative influences and ideas with each other as well as the local community. An enhanced appreciation for a variety of creative techniques characterizes the exchange and can be witnessed in the creation of new works of art done by Fulbright Scholars. To flourish in an internationalized creative environment, it is valuable for Fulbright participants to expose themselves to the creative influences of other countries and infuse their work with a unique type of cultural knowledge that speaks to audiences around the world.

The Fulbright Program’s ability to immerse its participants in foreign cultures has benefits for the individual’s leadership, professional, and creative skills and contributes to America’s competitiveness across professional realms. Fulbright’s two-way exchange emphasizes America’s commitment to enhancing these skills in not only its own citizens but also those of their allies around the world. The professional environment has seriously shifted since Fulbright’s founding, and by equipping leaders to succeed in the contemporary international marketplace, Fulbright contributes to its original founding goal of “fostering leadership” and bringing “a little more compassion into world affairs.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ *IIE 8th Annual Fulbright Art Exhibit*. Dir. Alyssa Geiger. Perf. Fulbright Students. Vimeo, 2011. Online.

⁹⁰ "Program History."

CHAPTER 5: GLOBAL CHALLENGES

The Fulbright Program was born into an international community exhausted by violence and eager to develop means by which to avoid future large-scale conflict. The Fulbright Program's stated goal of developing mutual understanding in the hopes of establishing long-term international peace resounded in the post-war atmosphere. Further, the United States and the Soviet Union were beginning to assume the postures they would maintain for the next forty-odd years in the Cold War standoff. The Fulbright Program filled a specific role in this power balance by contributing to a positive American image abroad. Look forward to the end of the Cold War, when the U.S. emerged as hegemon and then to the present, when its hegemony is arguably in decline, and the challenges that face U.S. diplomats have radically changed. Yet, in a far more globalized world, with a weakened Russia, a unified Europe, a rising China, influential participation by non-state actors, and an increasingly interconnected global economy, the Fulbright Program has remained remarkably valuable, its mission and benefits flexible and basic enough to make it relevant, even in a world so transformed from that at its founding.

During the Cold War the United States devoted its public diplomacy efforts to promoting democracy, capitalism and liberal ideals throughout countries abroad in order to counter the Soviet Union's communist ideology. Through programs such as the Fulbright, America was able to blanket countries with informal U.S. ambassadors to serve as shining examples of the benefits that come from living in a capitalist democracy. The Fulbright Program promoted the image of the United States as a country willing to act multilaterally and its exchanges focused on Western Europe, where America was

working to strengthen relations with countries rebuilding themselves internally following World War II. One of the most lauded benefits of the program was its ability for grantees to exemplify the best aspects of America and leave behind a more accurate, and positive, image of America and its people.⁹¹ Also, the program addressed the goal of mutual cooperation by lighting the “sparks that were to fire many people with the hope that cooperation might at least reduce the drag toward mutual annihilation and eventually offset it as a dominant theme among nations.”⁹² At the time, it was considered an issue of national security that Americans become “brokers in the commerce of ideas, knowledge and skills.”⁹³ The goals of the Fulbright Program were well outlined during the Cold War engagement with the Soviet Union. However, following America’s emergence as the Cold War victor, the program’s relevance would no longer be able to be found in its ability to counter a communist rival.

While strengthening the American image has always and continues to be a large part of Fulbright’s traditional role, sending capable, qualified individuals abroad has broader benefits for both participants and their home state, which are particularly useful in the contemporary globalized environment. The largest challenges that threaten U.S. security and stability today are on such a scale that they require a coordinated, multilateral response in order to combat them. Such challenges include managing an increasingly interconnected financial market, addressing the acceleration of environmental degradation, protecting against international terrorist networks, and, more generally, navigating an internationalized marketplace. The Fulbright Program

⁹¹ Johnson, *Fulbright*, 4.

⁹² *Ibid.* 5.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 26.

contributes greatly to addressing these and other challenges that the United States faces by developing leaders who can work across cultures and establish the relationships of respect and trust that facilitate successful multilateral action.

In order to mount the necessary global response to these threats it is imperative that the United States maintains its ability to coordinate with international allies and prepares its citizens to effectively work with foreign governments, organizations and individuals. Through an extended period of time spent living and working abroad, Fulbright participants develop the skills necessary to function effectively in an internationalized and unpredictable atmosphere. Today, the Fulbright Program supports the goals of U.S. foreign policy today not by contributing to a direct competition, as it did during the Cold War, but by preparing individuals to combat the threats to contemporary society, equipped with the skills and empathy necessary to effectively envision and work towards a peaceful international community.

Several current and past Fulbright fellows actively participate in supporting the success of international negotiations and agreements through teaching, writing and working in the field. For example, Professor of Law and Dean Emeritus at Nova Southeastern University Joseph Harbaugh was sponsored by the Fulbright Program to travel last summer to Italy to teach a five-week module on negotiation.⁹⁴ At Carroll Montana, a college in Helena, Montana, a past Fulbright Scholar, Dr. Erik Pratt, teaches courses on world order and interdependence and coaches the school's "expert negotiating

⁹⁴ "NSU Dean Emeritus Designated Fulbright Specialist in Negotiation & Mediation." *Nova Southeastern University*. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <<http://nsunews.nova.edu/nsu-dean-emeritus-designated-fulbright-specialist-negotiation-mediation/>>.

team.”⁹⁵ And at Georgetown, an Uzbeki academic Alisher Faizullaev, who has published books on such topics as diplomatic negotiations and the politics of interpersonal relationships, is currently a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Georgetown University’s Institute for the Study of Diplomacy.⁹⁶ Additionally, heads of state are arguably the most influential negotiators in international relations. No less than 29 past Fulbright Scholars have gone on to become heads of state, and include the current presidents of Colombia, Chile, and Ghana, the prime ministers of the Slovak Republic and Haiti, and the Governor General of Belize.⁹⁷

The international community will only be able to successfully operate in unison to address today’s challenges through the coordination of organizations and individuals that prioritize the well being of the global community. While Fulbright was founded to address a state of affairs that existed over fifty years ago, the goal of “fostering leadership, learning and empathy between cultures,” continues to be relevant in addressing contemporary issues.⁹⁸ The Fulbright Program prepares participants to engage in meaningful dialogue with counterparts from a variety of backgrounds – a rare skillset in today’s society and of great value to the United States as well as the international community.

⁹⁵ "Faculty." *Carroll College Political Science Faculty*. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <<http://www.carroll.edu/academics/majors/polisci/faculty.cc>>.

⁹⁶ "Alisher Faizullaev." *Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service*. Georgetown University. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <<http://isd.georgetown.edu/259891.html>>.

⁹⁷ "Fulbrighters as National Leaders." *Fulbright*. U.S. Department of State. Web. 22 Apr. 2012. <<http://fulbright.state.gov/notable-alumni/heads-of-state-and-government>>.

⁹⁸ "Program History."

CHAPTER 6: ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTHS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF FULBRIGHT

Since its founding in 1946, the Fulbright Program has sent approximately 307,000 individuals abroad to engage in cultural and educational exchanges. In 2010 about 6,000 grants were awarded, at a cost of \$322.2 million, and students, teachers, and professionals participated from over 155 different countries.⁹⁹ Over the past 66 years, the structure of the exchange program has remained relatively static even though much has changed in the geopolitical atmosphere within which Fulbrighters operate. The program's founding goal, defined by Senator Fulbright to be "fostering leadership, learning and empathy between cultures" in order to "increase mutual understanding," remains the program's guiding principal today.¹⁰⁰ Specific characteristics of the program have allowed its mission to endure the passage of time and the program remains relevant today due to the foresight of its founders. These essential characteristics include: a multilateral foundation, a unique and selective application process, its focus on education exchange through teaching and research, and international prestige.

The multilateral nature of the Fulbright Program differentiates the Fulbright from other educational exchanges and has ensured its survival over the long-term. From its

⁹⁹ *Fulbright Program for U.S. Students*. Institute of International Education. Web. 15 Apr. 2012. <<http://us.fulbrightonline.org/home.html>>.

¹⁰⁰ *Fulbright Program for U.S. Students*.

inception, there has been an unwavering priority given to maintaining healthy multilateral relations between the United States and its Fulbright partner countries. A defining characteristic of the program's structure is the establishment of a domestic commission in each of the countries with which America exchanges Fulbright scholars. Each commission is composed of Americans as well as citizens of the participating country, and both the U.S. and its partner governments fund the operations.¹⁰¹ The commissions are "requested to develop their programs in relation to the current world situation, the immediate needs of their countries and the achievement of immediate and short-range results."¹⁰² In this way the Fulbright Program strives to support goals and ideals of the United States as well as those of its partner countries. Further, in establishing these commissions, the Fulbright Program endeavors to accommodate the requests of the host country in regards to the commission's form and bylaws. For example, when establishing the Fulbright Commission in Iran, to mitigate hesitancy in creating a committee too heavily influenced by U.S. interests, the foundation was formed through a formal treaty rather than an executive agreement, at the Iranians' request, and Iran was allowed to select the name and size of the foundation.¹⁰³

The Fulbright Program not only sends Americans abroad but also hosts students, academics, and professionals from other countries in American universities and cities. In fact, of the total number of grants awarded each year through Fulbright, about two-thirds are given to foreign students and scholars traveling to America to teach and conduct

¹⁰¹ "Fulbright FAQs." *Fulbright*. U.S. Department of State. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://fulbright.state.gov/about/frequently-asked-questions>>.

¹⁰² Johnson, *Fulbright*, 69.

¹⁰³ Ninkovich, 141.

research.¹⁰⁴ In addition, grants are not confined to one discipline but span a wide range of fields in order to accommodate a variety of interests and individuals. Fulbright fellowships are available in such diverse fields as the performing and visual arts, the natural sciences, mathematics, engineering, and technology.¹⁰⁵ This two-way exchange and broad base of academic disciplines creates an inclusive environment within the organization and allows the program to flexibly accommodate the interests and desires of both applicants and host countries.

The application process ensures that both the sending and receiving countries have full confidence that Fulbright Fellows will be able to carry out their grant term and are committed to the goals and ideals of the program. Prior to being granted a fellowship, each applicant undergoes a rigorous vetting process to assess his or her leadership potential and commitment to embracing the opportunity to observe a foreign culture, exchange ideas, and, as defined on the Fulbright student website, “embark on a joint venture of importance to the general welfare of the world’s inhabitants.”¹⁰⁶ Consisting of multiple essays that require serious thought and self-reflection, the intensity of the application itself creates a self-selecting group that will ultimately submit proposals for consideration to the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board (FSB). The FSB is composed of twelve educational and public leaders appointed by the president of the United States and is responsible for formulating policies for the administration of the Fulbright Program, establishing the criteria used to select candidates, and selecting candidates nominated for

¹⁰⁴ "Fulbright FAQs."

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ "Program History."

awards.¹⁰⁷ Once a candidate is approved by the FSB, the application is sent to the Fulbright Commission in the host country for final review. This double-layered review process puts applicants under thorough scrutiny and produces an incredibly competitive program. More importantly, structuring the application process to allow the commission of the host country the final say in whether or not an applicant will receive a grant prioritizes that country's interests and contemporary preferences. This contributes to the program's ability to remain relevant over time by building in flexibility that allows host countries to change their priorities and criteria from year to year.

Another characteristic of the program that has not changed since the program's founding and has, in fact, become more desirable for host countries over time, is the focus on teaching English. Spreading English speaking skills uniquely benefits both America and the host country. One of the most important components of learning about a foreign culture is mastering the native language and being able to digest literature written in that language. So, in order to accomplish Fulbright's goal of spreading knowledge and information regarding America and its history, it has been imperative that teaching English remain a central component of the exchange program. Further, as globalization has increasingly brought information, literature, media and business into portions of the world previously isolated from the international community, a single language has risen to dominate communications across borders: English. In a paper published in 2003 by linguist David Crystal, he asserts that, while two-thirds of the world has yet to acquire English language skills, "all the signs suggest that... [the] global language will be

¹⁰⁷ "Fulbright FAQs."

English.”¹⁰⁸ The transition to the existence of a global language will continue to rapidly accelerate, and the eventual dominance of a single language “is an evident reality.”¹⁰⁹

The progression towards single-language dominance has not only been witnessed by academics but also by countries and academies around the world, and the demand for native English teachers has rapidly increased. For example, English teaching assistantships to Malaysia increased exponentially between grant periods 2012 and 2013 – from fifteen grant positions to seventy-five, respectively.¹¹⁰ It is appealing for countries to continue to participate in the Fulbright Program because they are benefitting from the time and skills that grantees invest into their host countries, especially in the realm of English-language instruction.

One asset of the Fulbright Program that has emerged since its founding is the excellence of the Fulbright alumni community. As time progresses, the value and impact of the program has become increasingly evident as greater numbers of alumni achieve national and international recognition for the work that they pursue following their time as Fulbright Scholars. Success has not been restricted to a single field; Fulbright alumni have pursued careers in disciplines ranging as wide as government, science, economics, business and the performing arts. Impressively, forty-three Fulbright alumni, representing eleven different countries, have been awarded the Nobel Prize, and seventy-eight have received Pulitzer Prizes.¹¹¹ Some of the more notable Nobel Prize winners include John

¹⁰⁸ David Crystal. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge UP, 2003. Print, 33.

¹⁰⁹ Crystal, 33.

¹¹⁰ *Fulbright Program for U.S. Students*.

¹¹¹ "Notable Alumni." *Fulbright*. Institute of International Education. Web. 16 Apr. 2012. <<http://fulbright.state.gov/notable-alumni.html>>.

Steinbeck, Henry Kissinger, Milton Friedman, Joseph Stiglitz, and Muhammad Yunus.¹¹²

Other prominent Fulbright alumni include: Lee Evans, Olympic Gold Medalist; Ruth Simmons, President of Brown University; Amar Gopal Bose, Chairman and Founder of Bose Corporation; and Renee Fleming, soprano.¹¹³

The diversity represented by the Fulbright alumni community enhances the program's ability to diffuse cultural information and experience across a wide range of demographics. Also, as greater numbers of alumni enter high positions of leadership in their respective fields, a multicultural perspective will increasingly nuance key decisions with the potential to affect larger groups of people. This fulfills Senator Fulbright's goal of bringing "a little more knowledge, a little more reason, and a little more compassion into world affairs."¹¹⁴

The prestige of the Fulbright Program has been inherent in its association with the U.S. State Department and has grown with the numbers of notable alumni that have come through the fellowship program. Fulbright operates in 155 countries around the world and the name recognition spans across all of these countries' borders. Further, the image of the Fulbright Program continues to be enhanced through the strict application process and the program's multilateral nature.

The foresight of Fulbright's founder has been witnessed by the program's ability to remain relevant throughout each new period of history. As international politics change, the Fulbright Program has managed to stand by its founding goals and continue to produce individuals who rise to positions of leadership and excellence around the

¹¹² "Notable Alumni."

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ "Program History."

world. The program's brilliance lies in its ability to appeal to all parties involved in its organization, and goals of U.S. foreign policy will continue to be served by sending informal American ambassadors across the world to promote the ideals and a positive image of America.

CONCLUSION

In 1989 Senator J. William Fulbright commented on the relevance of the Fulbright Program in his book *The Price of Empire*. He said:

Our future is not in the stars but in our own minds and hearts. Creative leadership and liberal education, which in fact go together, are the first requirements for a hopeful future for humankind. Fostering these – leadership, learning, and empathy between cultures – was and remains the purpose of the international scholarship program that I was privileged to sponsor in the U.S. Senate over forty years ago. It is a modest program with an immodest aim – the achievement in international affairs of a regime more civilized, rational and humane than the empty system of power of the past. I believed in that possibility when I began. I still do.¹¹⁵

From its founding in 1946 to 2012, the Fulbright Program has notably maintained relevance and continues to provide utility to the United States and the international community. The basic nature of the Fulbright Program's founding mission of establishing mutual understanding allows it to flexibly enhance international relations, even as the geopolitical atmosphere continues to dramatically change. At its founding, the Fulbright Program appealed largely because of its ability to assist America in balancing the Soviet Union throughout the Cold War. Today, the international environment has significantly shifted and, while the program continues to operate as it did at its founding, its

¹¹⁵ "Senator Fulbright on International Exchange." *Fulbright*. Web. 20 Apr. 2012. <<http://fulbright.state.gov/history/sen-fulbright/quotations>>.

contributions are uniquely valuable in a globalized world. The program develops skills in participants that enhance their ability to operate in culturally diverse settings and, as non-state actors have increasing influence globally, this unique skillset leads to greater roles of leadership, influence, and relevance internationally. Further, the challenges that face America and the international community are so expansive they must be addressed through coordinated, multilateral efforts. Fulbright prepares leaders to successfully negotiate in international forums and their multicultural perspective allows them to provide nuanced and intelligent contributions to multilateral discussions.

The exchange provides an example of a government sponsored program that strives to maintain a non-propagandistic nature and sincerely endeavors to achieve its founding goal of mutual understanding. The program's qualities of multilateralism, selectivity, and prestige distinguish Fulbright in the esteem of the international community. By analyzing the program through theories of soft power, public diplomacy, leadership, and multiculturalism, its practical applications become evident, and the continued interest of students, academics, and professionals in the Fulbright exchange demonstrates its popular appeal. The Fulbright Program has not altered its structure or goals significantly since its founding and, although the international environment has drastically changed since the first Fulbright grantee was sent abroad, the program continues to work towards its goal of international peace by preparing its participants to effectively and conscientiously participate in the international community.

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