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NOT ONLY FOREIGN AFFAIRS: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE' CULTURAL POLICY DURING COLD WAR

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the consideration of the existing activities of the US Department of State in matters of cultural policy. Attention is focused on the works of foreign and domestic researchers who devoted their work to the consideration of the essence of the cultural policy of the state, which is often called cultural or public diplomacy or soft power. It is indicated that these directions in the USA are carried out by the structural unit of the State Department – the Bureau of Education and Culture, and the history of its formation is described. The active period of cultural diplomacy in the USA falls on the end of World War II and the beginning of the ideological confrontation between the USA and the USSR, known as the Cold War. One of the active tools for cultural diplomacy has been the dissemination of television and radio broadcasting around the world. No less actively used exchange programs and visits of citizens of other countries, which were designed to promote mutual understanding, international, educational and cultural exchange, as well as the development of leadership qualities of its participants. It is pointed out that US cultural diplomacy has reached its peak by incorporating jazz, culture and literature into its arsenal.*

Keywords: USA, cultural diplomacy, Department of State, American literature, television and radio companies.

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НЕ ЛИШЕ ЗОВНІШНІ СПРАВИ: КУЛЬТУРНА ПОЛІТИКА ДЕРЖАВНОГО ДЕПАРТАМЕНТУ США В ПЕРІОД ХОЛОДНОЇ ВІЙНИ

Анотація. *Стаття присвячена розгляду існуючих напрямків діяльності Державного Департаменту США в питаннях культурної політики. Акцентується увага на працях зарубіжних і вітчизняних дослідників, які присвятили свої роботи розгляду сутності культурної політики держави, яку часто називають культурною або публічною дипломатією або м'якою силою. Вказується, що ці напрямки в США здійснюються структурним підрозділом Державного Департаменту – Відділом з питань освіти і культури і описується історія його становлення. Активний період проведення культурної дипломатії США припадає на закінчення Другої світової війни і початку ідеологічного протистояння США і СРСР, відомого як «холодна війна». Одним з активних інструментів ведення культурної дипломатії стало розповсюдження теле- та радіомовлення по всьому світу. Не менш активно використовувалися програми обміну та візити громадян інших*

країн, які були покликані сприяти взаєморозумінню, міжнародного, освітньому та культурному обміну, а також розвитку лідерських якостей її учасників. Вказується, що культурна дипломатія США досягла свого розквіту, включивши в свій арсенал джаз, культуру і літературу.

Ключові слова: США, культурна дипломатія, Державний департамент, американська література, теле- і радіокомпанії.

Цитування. Клиніна Т.С. Не лише зовнішні справи: культурна політика Державного департаменту США в період Холодної війни // Сумський історико-архівний журнал. №XXXIV. 2020. С.54-59. DOI: doi.org/10.21272/shaj.2020.i34.p.54

One of the main political institutions of the existence and functioning of the state as a whole is the ministry (department, office) of foreign affairs, which advises the president and supports international relations. In the USA, the organization of international politics is in the introduction of the Department of State, which is responsible for implementing the foreign policy of the United States, managing the country's diplomatic missions in other countries, negotiating agreements and treaties with foreign organizations and representing the United States in the United Nations. However, along with broad powers in the political sphere, the duties of the State Department include working with various non-profit organizations and foundations representing social and political programs in other countries. By pursuing a cultural policy in this way, the Department of State not only helps maintain the position and image of the United States as a world leader, but also disseminates the concept of "American internationalism", declaring the possibility of providing each state with tools to realize its national potential based on cultural, ethnic, and religious traditions, emphasizing this, that no other country in the world, except the United States, is able to provide such opportunities (Kuchmii, 2015).

The role of any state in the modern system of international relations depends not only on political, economic, military resources, but also on its cultural and spiritual potential, cultural heritage, which can be a powerful catalyst in achieving foreign policy goals. That is why intercultural dialogue is an important component of the development of relations between states, both bilateral and multilateral.

The purpose of the article is to analyze the main directions of cultural diplomacy in the United States during the second half of the XX century.

The issue of cultural policy of the United States as a whole (although the concept of cultural diplomacy is used more often) is devoted to a number of works by foreign and Ukrainian researchers. Cultural diplomacy today remains a complex concept, which is gradually developing the substantive part. For example, cultural diplomacy as an effective tool in achieving the national interests of the state, as an integral part of the "soft power" of the USA is considered in the works of W. Glade, M.K. Cumming, E. McMurray, J. Nye (Kuchmii, 2015). Some of the works of American authors are inherently close enough to the official views of the State Department and suffer from the so-called "official history", are not critical enough and are overwhelmed with traditional formulations. The works of A. Thomson and N. Voltaire, which provide a broad overview of US cultural programs and their policies, are quite substantial (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 32). Despite the fact that their works were written long ago, they do not lose their relevance in the history of the origin of this type of activity.

Ukrainian historical science is also not without scientific work on the issue of US cultural diplomacy. In particular, in the works of O.P. Kuchmii shows the basic characteristics and main priorities of US cultural diplomacy at a certain period of their development, namely during the Obama presidency (Kuchmii, 2015). I.I. Gavrylenko in his dissertation considers cultural diplomacy as a component of "soft power" (Gavrylenko, 2017: 12), and the works of D.Dubov

are devoted to cultural diplomacy in terms of the mechanism for implementing strategic communications of the state (Dubov, Dubova, 2017).

Speaking of US cultural diplomacy, it is worth mentioning such a concept as public diplomacy. If, for example, in the UK or in France, cultural activities are singled out as a specific foreign policy method, for the implementation of which bodies are created that only use it – the British Council and the French Institute, respectively, in the United States there is no separation of cultural diplomacy from public, and therefore both activities in US diplomatic practice are deliberately indistinguishable. Therefore, public diplomacy can be defined as a set of measures taken by both central and foreign bodies of foreign relations to study the attitude and inform the foreign public, as well as to establish contacts abroad to improve the image of the state and national interests. Cultural diplomacy is a set of purposeful actions aimed at exchanging ideas, information, values, traditions, beliefs and other aspects of culture, in order to promote intercultural understanding (Gavrylenko, 2016).

One of its structural divisions, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, whose history dates back to 1940, deals with cultural policy within the United States Department of State. It was then that Nelson Rockefeller, as coordinator for commercial and cultural affairs in the American republics, initiated a program of human exchange with Latin America, as a result of which 130 Latin American journalists were invited to the United States (Ninkovich, 1978: 215). Subsequently, for a decade, the region's leading musicians were invited to broadcast in New York to perform on Viva America for the State Department's Office for the Coordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations and the Office for the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs (Ninkovich, 1978: 216). Such actions by N. Rockefeller made the political circles of the United States think about the need to create a body that meets the needs of the government in the centralized dissemination of information. It was for this purpose that the Military Information Office appeared in 1942, the task of which was to unite the disparate agencies of domestic and foreign information (Ninkovich, 1978: 220). Although the organization did not last long and was disbanded when Harry Truman came to power in 1946, a small element of its original structure remained with the State Department as the Office of International Information and Culture, which in 1947 was renamed the Office of International Information Exchange education (History and mission of the BECA).

In general, during the Cold War, the American establishment understood the logical connection between interaction with foreign audiences and victory over so-called ideological enemies in the form of the USSR, and considered cultural diplomacy vital to US national security.

In 1948, MPs Carl Munds and Senator H. Alexander Smith introduced the Smith-Munds Act to establish a state news agency to promote a better understanding of the United States in other countries and to strengthen mutual understanding between Americans and other countries. In 1948, the government established an international visitor program designed to engage professionals, intellectuals, and opinion leaders in the political and social infrastructure of American society (History and mission of the BECA).

In 1953, thanks to President D. Eisenhower, the United States Information Agency (USIA) appeared in the United States to consolidate the information functions performed by the Department of State and other agencies. Nevertheless, educational and cultural exchanges remain in the introduction of the State Department (History and mission of the BECA). Since this historic period coincided with the height of the Cold War, all United States activity was directed against the Soviet Union. One of the most powerful tools of American cultural propaganda policy was an extensive international network of radio and television networks to other (primarily hostile) countries, which was controlled by the above agency. The system brought together five American international broadcasters, the Voice of America, the World Television and Film Network, Radio and TV Marty, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Free Asia.

Another major method of cultural diplomacy at the time was exchange programs and visits by citizens of other countries (students, officials, the military, etc.) to the United States, which operated mainly in Western Europe. To a lesser extent, cultural diplomacy was extended to the Middle East, Indochina, and East Asia (especially Japan).

In 1959, the Bureau of Public Relations in Education and Culture was established, and in 1961 Congress passed the Fulbright-Hayes Act establishing an international program that «strengthens the ties that unite us with other peoples by demonstrating educational and cultural interests, directions and achievements of the people of the United States and other countries» (Fulbright-Hays Act, 1961).

In essence, the goal of the program was to improve mutual understanding between people from the United States and the peoples of other countries.

The most famous and widespread project of its kind is the Fulbright Program, which began in 1946 to mark a milestone in civic exchange. Under this program, the State Department provided grants to students, graduate students, faculty, administrators, and professionals for training and internships at various (primarily American) institutions for both foreigners and its citizens. In addition to the Fulbright program, the Humphrey Program (mid-level civil servants exchange) has been in place since 1978, the program of international informal visits of leaders, the Muskie program, various university exchange programs, and so on since 1961. During the Cold War, the United States provided organizational and financial support to various programs to promote the study of English abroad, as knowledge of the latter was seen as an important prerequisite for the spread of American cultural influence. Accordingly, centers for assistance to English teachers (American House, which provided educational audio, video and printed materials), libraries, special radio and television broadcasts were established all over the world (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 127).

In addition to educational programs, foreign cultural policy covered other areas. Cultural diplomacy flourished when the United States began to use jazz, abstract expressionism, and literature for its purposes. The State Department coordinated and sponsored tours of famous musicians abroad who performed as representatives of the great power and its culture, organized exhibitions of American art, distributed magazines and books with positive information about America. In 1964, the Art in Embassy Programs program was launched, involving about 180 American residences (embassies and consulates) around the world. In fact, a global museum and exhibition center was created, which showcased works from the collections of American galleries, museums, corporations and individuals. For example, in the late 1950s, some 100 different missions were sent to 89 countries. In particular, Louis Armstrong was known as the “jazz ambassador”, Dizzy Gillespie, Charlie Parker brought an understanding of the concept of freedom, held their concerts, showing that not only the elite has the right to listen to them. They went on tour for several months, giving concerts in Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Muslim countries and the Soviet Union (Thomson, Walter, 1963: 168).

By the end of 1961, the Bureau of Education was established in the State Department. In 1978, US President J. Carter approved a major reorganization of the US News Agency, merging it with the Bureau of the State Department of Education and Culture to turn it into an international communications agency. However, in 1982, President-elected D. Reagan changed his name to the original. And only in 1999, as a result of the final reorganization of the US News Agency, its functions were integrated into the State Department and became the responsibility of the Under Secretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Relations, under whose authority the Office of Education and Culture Public Relations, US Department of State Spokesperson, US Diplomacy Center, Bureau of International Information Programs, etc.) dealing with public relations and seeking to take away the image of the United States around the world (History and mission of the BECA). In fact, it was evidence of even greater recognition of the importance of this

area. For the first time, a department of public diplomacy was established in the State Department, to which the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchanges and the Bureau of International Information Programs were transferred. In accordance with this reorganization, an independent structure was created, which included the above-mentioned radio and TV channels (Waller, 2009: 99).

Thus, today there are many definitions of “cultural diplomacy”. It is also part of the concept of “soft power”, which, in contrast to “hard power”, has the ability to “persuade through culture, values and ideas”. It is also “the exchange of ideas, information, values, beliefs and other aspects of culture in order to strengthen mutual understanding”. This is the “sale of the country’s image by means of culture”. American policy in the world is implemented not only through the use of economic or military-political mechanisms, but also through the use of tools for public – cultural diplomacy, which contributes to the dialogue in tandem “USA – countries of the world”, which is implemented through various cultural mechanisms: exhibitions, promotion of language and American culture abroad. After World War II, American cultural diplomats sought to show that the United States could offer something beyond the use of military force and commercial gain. Through literary magazines, traveling art exhibits, touring music shows, radio programs, book translations, and conferences, they have developed a revolutionary modernist aesthetic to prove that American art and literature are aesthetically rich and culturally significant. However, it should be noted that it is not only the bureau of the State Department that carries out so-called cultural diplomacy. Not the least role in this process is played by non-governmental institutions: philanthropic foundations, charitable organizations, sponsorship institutions, etc.

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