

## **Security Studies as an Introduction to American Studies in Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

This article explores the idea that one discipline, Security Studies is a particularly attractive point of access to U.S. politics, economy, history, and literature—the key elements of American Studies. The article argues that the introduction of American Studies to institutions of higher education in Pakistan is likely to attenuate attitudes of hostility among young Pakistanis toward the United States and the American people. Because the media and political parties in Pakistan have entrenched interests in fanning the flames of unfavorable public opinion toward the United States, the serious study of the world’s sole superpower, the authors conclude, may serve as an effective countervailing influence. The article recommends, therefore, that universities in Pakistan establish or expand their academic programs in Security Studies.

There are many reasons why university students in Pakistan might express serious interest in the study of the United States. Security Studies is a particularly attractive point of access to American Studies. If this premise is correct, then, one of the ways to increase the number of university students who study America in-depth is by encouraging institutions of higher education to establish or expand their academic programs in Security Studies.

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The purpose of this article is to explore the question of whether Security Studies is a particularly attractive portal for young people in Pakistan to enter into the serious study of the United States, including its politics, history, economy, literature and arts. The short history of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, founded in 1947, is closely intertwined with the foreign policy of the United States. The threat from India, which erupted into four wars, and the ongoing conflict over Kashmir pushed Pakistan to seek allies.<sup>1</sup> The United States, faced with the threat from the Soviet Union during the Cold War (1947-1991), was quick to play this role.<sup>2</sup> In 1954, Pakistan joined the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and in 1955, the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) as an American ally against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).<sup>3</sup> India, by contrast, cultivated close relations with the Soviet Union and in 1961 became a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the United States supported Pakistan during the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971.<sup>5</sup> Pakistan was a critical partner of America following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and played a key role in driving the Soviet forces out of the country ten years later, a defeat that contributed to the subsequent collapse of the USSR in 1991.<sup>6</sup> Over the past 25 years, with the United States as the world's sole superpower, India has sought closer ties with America<sup>7</sup> and Pakistan has sought an alliance with China.<sup>8</sup> The attack on the World Trade Center in New York by Islamic extremists in 2001—an attack planned in Afghanistan by an international terror group, however, led to a renewal of close ties between the United States and Pakistan, which became a frontline state in the Global War on Terror.<sup>9</sup> The U.S. continued to be the largest source of foreign aid to Pakistan.<sup>10</sup> Between 2002 and 2015, the U.S. Congress approved more than \$32 billion in military and economic aid to Pakistan.<sup>11</sup> The dominance of the United States as a supporter of Pakistan has led to the common expression heard in the country that Pakistan is governed by three powers—“Army, Allah and America.”<sup>12</sup>

When one looks at the content of existing academic programs in Security Studies and the research conducted by Islamabad think tanks that specialize in questions of national security,

attention to the United States is easy to discern. Examples of the former include the Department of Defence Studies at Quaid-i-Azam University; the M.Sc. in Criminology and Security Studies offered by the University of the Punjab; the National Defence University, which offers courses in National Security and War and Strategic and Nuclear Studies, and is home to the Institute for Strategic Studies; and the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies of the National University of Science and Technology. Policy research institutes focused on issues of security include the Center for Research and Security Studies, among whose partners are the United States Institute of Peace and the Asia Foundation, headquartered in Washington, DC, and San Francisco, respectively; the Pakistan Institute for Conflict and Security Studies; the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad; the Centre for Research and Security Studies, supported by the Washington, DC, based International Republican Institute; Center for International Strategic Studies, and the Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies. On May 18, 2016, for example, the Center for International Strategic Studies hosted a round table discussion featuring visiting officials from the U.S. State Department, to discuss the security, strategic stability and non-proliferation issues of South Asia.<sup>13</sup> The only academic program in Pakistan focused on the formal study of the United States is housed in the Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America at Quaid-i-Azam University. A perusal of the dissertations and theses written by students of American studies reveals a preference for studies of U.S. foreign policy.<sup>14</sup> For more than 20 years, the Centre has received financial support from the U.S. Embassy, primarily to host interdisciplinary conferences on American Studies.

University students, therefore, like other segments of the Pakistani population, can be expected to be keenly interested in U.S. foreign policy as it affects the role of the military in their country, the development of democracy, the struggle against terror, and the threat from India. Examples include U.S. enlistment of Pakistan in the Global War on Terror, the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) operations in Pakistan, including drone strikes, and close ties between the United States and India. One approach to making

American Studies attractive to university students in Pakistan, therefore, is to offer courses in American Foreign and Defence Policy, often lumped together under “Security Studies.” Once students understand that there are domestic foundations for U.S. policy toward other countries, their interest in the United States is likely to pique. This strategy is well conceived to grow enrolments in courses on various aspects of America and to ensure the survival of American Studies as a discipline in Pakistan. Serious study of the United States may dispel the myths and misunderstandings that most students hold with regard to the world’s only superpower and may be an antidote to widespread anti-American feelings found among Pakistan’s young people.

### **Introduction: American Studies as an Antidote to Anti-Americanism**

Anti-Americanism is dislike of the United States or the American people, fuelled by hostility toward the policies of the U.S. government, especially American foreign policy.<sup>15</sup> A common perception is that the United States, as the world’s sole superpower, has a proclivity to intervene all over the world to protect its interests and acts as the global policeman.<sup>16</sup> Globalization to these critics is synonymous with Americanization.<sup>17</sup> The potential harms to U.S. interests of widespread hostility toward the United States include enhanced recruitment of terrorists, boycotts of American goods and services, and decreased American diplomatic and political influence.<sup>18</sup>

Attitudes critical of the United States are particularly common in Pakistan, fuelled by the perceived negative impact on the people of Pakistan of the U.S. war on terror, which includes an ongoing military operation in neighbouring Afghanistan to destroy al-Qaeda and, recently added to the hit list, the Islamic State (IS).<sup>19</sup> Some of the negative consequences of American military and intelligence operations in neighbouring Afghanistan include migration of Afghan terrorists and insurgents into Pakistan, resulting in reinforcements and additional resources for the Pakistani Taliban, and CIA

operations, including the assassination of terrorists, such as al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and Taliban leader Mullah Akhtar Mansour, each of whom had taken refuge in Pakistan and was killed in Pakistani territory.<sup>20</sup> These incursions onto Pakistani soil appear to the general public as hostile acts, done without the permission of the government of Pakistan.<sup>21</sup> In this light, America appears to be an international “bully,” used to having its way, regardless of the sovereignty of nations.<sup>22</sup>

In fact, anti-Americanism in Pakistan is among the most intense in the world. In a 2010 survey, almost 60% of Pakistanis considered the U.S. an enemy.<sup>23</sup> Anti-Americanism, which is long-standing in Pakistan, does not stem simply from U.S. foreign policy, however. A second source is perceptions of what America is, including its culture, politics and economy.<sup>24</sup> It is important to keep in mind, however, that Pakistanis were not always distrustful of the United States. In fact, a majority of Pakistanis viewed America positively in the 1950s.<sup>25</sup> In a 2012 poll surveying opinions toward the United States, Pakistan had the highest negative score, jointly alongside Serbia.<sup>26</sup> In a 2015 poll, only Jordanians had a lower favourable opinion of U.S. influence.

Results of 2015 Pew Research Center Poll			
Views of the United States' Influence by Country, Asia Only <sup>27</sup>			
Country	Favorable	Unfavorable	Neutral
Philippines	92%	7%	1%
South Korea	84%	14%	2%
Israel	81%	18%	1%
Vietnam	78%	13%	9%
India	70%	8%	22%
Japan	68%	29%	3%
Indonesia	62%	26%	12%
Malaysia	54%	41%	5%
China	44%	49%	5%
Lebanon	39%	60%	1%

Palestine	26%	70%	4%
Pakistan	22%	62%	16%
Jordan	14%	83%	3%

One reason for the persistence of hostile feeling toward the United States is the behaviour of the country's leaders of public opinion. Because Pakistan is a deeply fractured country, they have an incentive to foment anti-American sentiment through distortion and misrepresentation as a means of focusing people's attention on a common "enemy."<sup>28</sup>

There is reason to believe, however, that certain interventions can reduce the level of anti-American feeling, especially among the young and educated. A question worth exploring is whether the more students know about a country the less likely are they to believe media reports or political party propaganda. According to this argument, the knowledge gives them a litmus test against which they can place any statement or rumour regarding U.S. intentions. The university-educated professional learns to distrust media reports, which are often exaggerated and distorted, and to consult his or her own knowledge about any particular country. The dampening effect on anti-American feelings of person-to-person encounters is embedded in the justification for Congressional enactment of the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961, which establishes programs and provides funds "to increase mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries by means of educational and cultural exchange."<sup>29</sup> Public diplomacy is considered by the U.S. State Department to be a proven counter to anti-American sentiment.<sup>30</sup>

A 2015 study by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York found that attitudes toward the United States in Pakistan are affected by the provision of information. The authors found that Anti-American sentiment is high at the baseline but attitudes toward the United States are revised upward upon receipt of positive information about the country. Providing information, they

concluded, has a meaningful effect on favourability toward the United States.<sup>31</sup>

Some observers believe that an anti-American feeling has grown as a result of a decline in the visibility of the United States in schools, universities, libraries and public spheres around the world following the dismantling of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1999.<sup>32</sup> U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower founded the agency in 1953, at the beginning of the Cold War. Its mission was "to understand, inform and influence foreign publics in promotion of the national interest, and to broaden the dialogue between Americans and U.S. institutions, and their counterparts abroad."<sup>33</sup> The USIA spent more than \$2 billion annually to increase knowledge about the United States and its principles in 150 different countries.<sup>34</sup> One of the agency's goals was, "To provide information about the official policies of the United States, and about the people, values and institutions which influence those policies."<sup>35</sup>

USIA was actively involved with universities in foreign countries. Activities included recruiting students and faculty to apply for Fulbright scholarships to study and research at universities in the United States, working with university officials to identify exchange opportunities for American academics to teach and research at foreign universities, providing teacher training, supporting university partnership programs that pair U.S. and foreign universities, and strengthening American Studies programs.<sup>36</sup> One USIA branch is of particular relevance, the Study of the United States. USIA sought "to promote a better understanding of American society and culture, past and present, primarily through programs intended to develop and strengthen U.S. studies programs at foreign colleges and universities."<sup>37</sup> The branch assisted "in the development of high-quality, integrated, American Studies programs at educational institutions worldwide."<sup>38</sup> USIA also funded "a series of six-week institutes held at American universities in which faculty from around the world participate annually in intensive seminars devoted to a study of U.S. history, society, politics, and culture."<sup>39</sup> The agency sponsored seminars, colloquia, and conferences on American themes and

issues at foreign universities and provided funding to overseas universities to enhance their book and library collections on the United States.<sup>40</sup> Many of these activities with foreign universities continued after USIA was dismantled and its mission transferred to the public diplomacy branch of the U.S. State Department.

USIA and the State Department believed that one of the most promising sources of positive information for foreign university students is a deeper understanding of the drivers of U.S. foreign policy, much of which knowledge is provided by American think tanks, such as the Brookings Institution.<sup>41</sup> The interdisciplinary discipline known as “American Studies,” drawing primarily on the writings of U.S. scholars, provides this kind of insight into U.S. motives for the policies that affect Pakistan, including policy toward Israel and India and conducting drone strikes and other CIA operations in the country.<sup>42</sup>

### **What is American Studies?**

*American Studies is an ongoing debate, a continued formulation of questions and answers relating to the very idea of what America might be, and the manners in which it could be studied both past and present.*<sup>43</sup>

The academic study of the United States is interdisciplinary and focuses on the study of American culture, literature, history, music, anthropology and government.<sup>44</sup> It is an evolving discipline whose origins can be traced back to the 1930s when a variety of courses on American civilization were offered at Yale and Harvard Universities respectively.<sup>45</sup> Various phases of domestic and international history and the subsequent response of the American people and successive governments to those events, such as the two World Wars and the Great Depression, had an immense role in highlighting the importance of the study of the United States.<sup>46</sup>

By the mid 1950s, the discipline was well established. The first effort to institutionalize American Studies was through the



introduction of the journal *American Quarterly* at the University of Minnesota in 1949. This was followed by the organization of the American Studies Association (ASA) in 1951.<sup>47</sup> At that time, the main objective of the proponents of American Studies was to give students a sense of being “American.” But several events within and outside American society, such as the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and the controversy surrounding the Vietnam War, resulted in expanding the scope of the discipline. Themes such as slavery, minority studies, feminism, and American popular culture made their way into the discipline.<sup>48</sup> The focus of American Studies shifted toward a more critical approach to the study of the nation’s history, including the treatment over time of the poor, racial minorities and women.<sup>49</sup> The discipline continued to grow and expand during the 1980s and 1990s to encompass new dimensions, theories and methods.

The American Studies Association is the oldest scholarly organization devoted to the interdisciplinary study of the United States.<sup>50</sup> The ASA works to promote understanding about America across the world. The association supports scholars committed to research, teaching, and public discussion. It publishes an academic journal, the *American Quarterly*, and a reference book, *The Encyclopedia of American Studies*. American Studies programs spread around the world and can be found in universities not only in the United States but also in South America, Europe, Africa and Asia.<sup>51</sup>

Students at institutions of higher education all over the world now have opportunities to take one or more courses focused on the United States. Some countries, such as Afghanistan, however, have no formal curriculum in American Studies. Pakistan, on the other hand, is one of those important countries that has at least one university that teaches courses on the United States. The Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad offers the only post-graduate degree program on American Studies in the country. Students can earn either an M.Phil or Ph.D. in an

academic program that contains several courses on the United States.

### **American Studies in Pakistan**

In Pakistan, only Quaid-i-Azam University (QAU), a public sector university that in 2015 was rated as the Number 1 academic institution of the country by the Pakistani Higher Education Commission, offers an M.Phil and Ph.D. in American Studies.<sup>52</sup> The courses mainly focus on American literature, history, foreign policy, government and politics.<sup>53</sup> Those students who focus on American literature are attracted towards the discipline because of the future possibilities it may offer in terms of teaching American literature in various educational institutes in the country. Most of the students conduct their research on U.S. foreign policy, including various aspects of U.S.-Pakistan relations and the U.S. war on terrorism. Interviews with students by the authors reveal that they believe a focus on security studies will make them attractive in the academic job market.

American Studies is attractive for students in Pakistan especially when it incorporates the elements of security studies into its curriculum. Pakistani students in particular and people in general are eager to understand the motives and interests of U.S. policies in the South Asian region. There is a tendency among Pakistani students to study in particular authors on American foreign policy such as Henry Kissinger, Joseph S. Nye and Noam Chomsky. This interest is evidence of the fact that students want to know more about the essence of U.S. policies and posture in the world.

The challenge in Pakistan is to introduce an adequate curriculum that includes foreign and defence policies. This type of curriculum may not only curb anti-Americanism among students but also educate them about the factors and circumstances that shape U.S. policies. The study of American foreign policy alone, however, is not sufficient to develop a sound understanding of the behaviour of the United States on the world stage. Students need grounding in the theories of

international relations, political economy and diplomatic history. The goal of a sound curriculum is to enable students to put themselves into the shoes of American foreign policy decision makers. Only then will they recognize the challenges and hurdles that the United States has faced and may face in the future to protect its interests around the globe. Security studies may be one key to attract students toward the study of the United States.

### **Security Studies: One Dimension of American Studies.**

#### **America as the World's Only Superpower**

Security Studies emerged as an academic sub-discipline within International Relations during the Cold War (1947-1991).<sup>54</sup> Its initial focus was on nuclear deterrence and was dominated by American scholars affiliated with the Realist school of international relations, such as Thomas Schelling, Hans Morgenthau, Henry Kissinger and Kenneth Waltz. The discipline was fuelled by a general fear that the United States faced unprecedented threats to its security, both domestically and internationally.<sup>55</sup> Several prominent universities in the United States established graduate programs in Security Studies, including Georgetown University, Johns Hopkins University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton University, and Stanford University. Universities in Britain and Australia soon followed suit, including the Australian National University, Macquarie University, University of Sydney, University College London, and University of Exeter. Security Studies has evolved as a discipline since the end of the Cold War to include other approaches to international relations, such as Liberalism, Historical Materialism (Marxism), Peace and Conflict Studies, Critical Security Studies, and Social Constructivism; other forms of security, including Human Security, Gender and Security, Environmental Security, Economic Security, Energy Security and Cyber-security; and new, post-Cold War threats to nations' security, such as Terrorism, Insurgencies, Transnational Criminal Enterprises, and Failed States.<sup>56</sup> Security Studies is no longer the preserve of the United States but can be found in countries around the

globe, including Pakistan. One of the graduates of Kansas State University's Ph.D. program in Security Studies, Rabia Akhtar, returned to Pakistan after her studies in 2015 and founded the Centre for Security, Strategy and Policy Research at the University of Lahore.

Although the end of the Cold War meant that the United States no longer faced its most serious threat, viz., a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union, Security Studies as a discipline has continued to grow, given the emergence of new threats, such as terrorism, and the rising power of China and Russia. For countries like Pakistan, the U.S. victory in the Cold War means that the United States no longer needs allies to counter Soviet aggression. In the new unipolar international system, countries must earn U.S. military and financial support, support that they could take for granted in the earlier bipolar era.<sup>57</sup> Thus, in 1991 Pakistan faced a new international system, in which its Cold War benefactor was the world's only superpower and no longer dependent on Pakistan to deter Soviet aggression in South Asia. Because Pakistan needs powerful friends in its efforts to deter Indian aggression, its role as a U.S. ally in the Global War on Terror takes on added significance in the New World Order. The U.S. now accounts for nearly half the world's military spending, far more than any other country, including Russia and China. In 2014, the United States spent \$578 billion on the military, compared with only \$84 billion by Russia.<sup>58</sup>

### **The Domestic Roots of the War on Terror**

Anti-American feelings in Pakistan are often explained by opposition to U.S. support for Israel and anger at drone strikes in violation of Pakistani sovereignty.<sup>59</sup> An American Studies curriculum that provides historical context for these policies can address both concerns. U.S. support for Israel is often cited by those who have negative attitudes toward the United States. A study of the U.S. response to the Holocaust and the country's effort to save as many Jews as possible from the Nazi gas chambers sets the stage for the establishment of the State of Israel as a home for the stateless Jewish population of Europe in 1948. The history of Jewish immigration to America is also a

relevant topic of study. The brokering of the Camp David accord by U.S. President Jimmy Carter and the resulting commitment of the United States to provide aid to Egypt and Israel in equal amounts is also relevant.

Students can come to a deeper understanding of the origin of the global war on terror by reading books in American history including narratives about the terror attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. A useful historical comparison is the way in which U.S. President George W. Bush responded to the attack on American soil and the response of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Japanese surprise attack on the U.S. naval fleet anchored in Pearl Harbour, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941. Interestingly, both surprise attacks killed about the same number of people.

### **Why the United States Engages in Nation Building?**

Students of U.S. foreign policy soon learn that the global war on terror launched by President George W. Bush in 2001 quickly led to another quest—fixing failed states for which the United States has taken responsibility. The Afghanistan that the U.S. took control of in 2001 and the Iraq for which it took responsibility in 2003 ceased to function as states following the ouster of the Taliban and Saddam Hussein, respectively.<sup>60</sup> The United States had no choice but, working with its allies, to help the newly established regimes acquire the capability to function as a nation-state and to provide basic human services to its population. Nation-building in both Afghanistan and Iraq has consumed billions of dollars in U.S. government assistance and explains U.S. President Barack Obama's launch of an Afghan "civilian surge" in 2009 to match his "military surge."<sup>61</sup> The effort to help build a functioning, democratic, free-market state in Afghanistan and Iraq was the latest instalment of campaigns to provide a regime to replace the authoritarian, imperialistic, illiberal one that the United States helped to destroy in Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea and Formosa following the Second World War. Students will learn about the "New World Order" conceived by President Bush, in which the United States assists countries across the world to construct democratic

polities that are integrated into a global trading system, where capital flows to wherever it can earn the greatest return on investment.<sup>62</sup> They will see how the United States emerged from a condition of weakness and isolation to become a great power through its participation in the Spanish American War, First World War, Second World War, and Cold War. They will grasp the concept of American exceptionalism and the obligations to preserve world order and international trade that the collapse of the British Empire in the 1940s thrust on the United States. A critical theme is America's contribution of the United States to the third wave of democratization that doubled the number of democracies in the world following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, including President Obama's initiatives to support the "Arab spring" that began in protest against the authoritarian regime in Tunisia in 2010 and that quickly spread to Libya, Egypt and other Middle Eastern dictatorships.<sup>63</sup>

### **Impact of U.S. Foreign Policy on Pakistan**

The deep study of the historic and philosophical roots of U.S. foreign policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> century will feed the students' passionate interest in why the United States is considered by many Pakistanis to be the third member of the triumvirate—Allah, Army and America—that exerts greatest influence over the young country. They will be able to explain U.S. policy toward their nation and why Pakistan is a much more important country to the United States than Afghanistan or Iraq. Young people will especially take interest in the successive waves of democratization, with their emphasis on growing individual freedom and self-government in formerly illiberal regimes such as those in Central and Eastern Europe, Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia and the contribution of the United States to these successful and peaceful regime changes. A careful study of foreign policy, of course, will not omit the concept of national good and how nations attempt to maximize their interests in their relationships with other nation-states. A question that they are likely to ask as they pursue their studies of American foreign policy and its domestic roots is what kind

of relationship between Pakistan and the United States is most likely to maximize the interests of both.

### **Constraints on Development of Study of the United States at Universities in Pakistan**

Expanding opportunities for university students in Pakistan to study the United States faces a number of challenges. First is the lack of qualified teachers. Few academics in Pakistan have been trained in U.S. literature, history, politics or society. Most of those who have studied in the United States earned degrees in engineering and the physical sciences. Relatively few have received Master's or Ph.D.s in the humanities or social sciences. This imbalance is the case even though the Fulbright program in Pakistan, funded by the U.S. government, is the largest one of all and sends large numbers of post-graduate students to pursue higher education in the United States.<sup>64</sup> A second obstacle is the British heritage enjoyed by all Pakistanis.<sup>65</sup> The provinces that now make up the country of Pakistan were part of British India from 1840 to 1947. Pakistan's experience as a colony of Great Britain meant that the educated classes developed a preference for British literature, history, politics and art. Third is the fact that English is not the first language of students in Pakistan. Urdu is the national language and the medium of instruction in state schools. Urdu, however, is the native language of only 8% of the population. There are, in fact, 72 local languages.<sup>66</sup> As a result, university students are generally weak in the English language and often find reading material in English difficult.

There are some bright spots in the picture, however. The Government of Pakistan has expressed its support for the study of the United States by establishing the Area Study Centre for Africa, North and South America at Quaid-i-Azam University in Islamabad in 1975. As mentioned earlier, the Centre offers the M.Phil and Ph.D. degree and, over the years, has graduated dozens of students who wrote theses and dissertations on the United States. These graduates form a cadre of scholars and teachers knowledgeable about U.S. foreign policy and literature. The Centre is an autonomous institution funded by

the Ministry of Education through the Higher Education Commission, affiliated with Quaid-i-Azam University's Faculty of Social Sciences. It promotes American Studies through a number of activities, including post-graduate degree programs, seminars, conferences, and symposia, relationships with other teaching and research institutions and research. Its faculty has produced numerous journal articles and monographs as well as news article, magazine, and online articles on topics regarding the United States. The U.S. Department of State has supported the Centre's American Studies program since the 1980s. It funded a partnership between the Area Study Centre and a U.S. institution of higher education, Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, for three years, from 2013-16. The partnership continues, with monetary support provided by Ball State. The U.S. Embassy in Islamabad regularly funds workshops and conferences in American Studies managed by the Area Study Centre, which are attended by faculty and students from several other universities not only in Islamabad but other cities such as Lahore. In order to provide more opportunities for university students to learn about the United States it will be necessary for the U.S. government to continue its support for American Studies and even to expand it to institutions beyond Quaid-i-Azam University. Another helpful measure would be to award a larger portion of Fulbright grants to students and faculty in the humanities and social sciences.

The expansion of American Studies to universities in all the provinces of Pakistan may make a significant contribution to the diminution of anti-American feeling among young people. Each new program in the study of the United States, at the bachelor's, master's or doctoral level, should include security studies as an intrinsic element, since courses in American Foreign and Defence Policy will have the largest appeal. Once they are enrolled in such a course many of them will want to deepen their understanding of the U.S. role in the world by taking additional courses in U.S. politics, history and literature. Graduates of these programs will help to bridge the gap that has opened in recent decades between the two long-time allies. Knowledge and understanding may give rise to a softer image



of America and its acts on the world stage. These students will help shape public opinion and encourage the generation of an environment that is conducive to enhanced trade, investment, tourism and cultural exchanges between the two countries. The American people, in turn, are more likely to support the provision of greater economic assistance to Pakistan by the United States when the level of hostility felt by Pakistani youth has diminished. As the history of student and faculty exchanges through the Fulbright and other State Department-funded programs has shown, academia can play a positive role in encouraging bi-national cooperation.<sup>67</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This article has explored the issue of how the serious study of U.S. politics, economy, history and literature—the key elements of American Studies—may attenuate attitudes of hostility among young Pakistanis toward the United States and the American people. Reliable, truthful information may be one key to overcoming widespread anti-American sentiment in Pakistan. Because the media and political parties in Pakistan have entrenched interests in fanning the flames of unfavourable public opinion toward the United States, a university curriculum devoted to the serious study of the world's sole superpower may serve as an effective countervailing influence.

Therefore, it should be encouraged within the universities across Pakistan to introduce courses regarding U.S. Foreign Policy, Defence Policy, U.S. Homeland Security and the U.S. War on Terrorism. Such courses will help the youth in developing a rational understanding about the security related threats within the U.S. and its broader foreign policy goals.

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