# *The United States Information Agency*

## *A Commemoration*

### *Public Diplomacy: Looking Back, Looking Forward*

*Through recently enacted legislation, the United States Information Agency, with the exception of the International Broadcasting Bureau, will integrate with the Department of State on October 1, 1999. The International Broadcasting Bureau, which includes the Voice of America, will become an independent agency, receiving policy guidance from the Secretary of State.*

*This publication is an opportunity to communicate, through personal anecdotes, some examples of the triumphs, hardships, and lighter moments experienced by the servants of public diplomacy.*

*The focus is on the years 1953 to 1999, when USIA operated as an independent foreign affairs agency of the executive branch of the federal government. Included also are a short chapter on the "precursor" years and some thoughts on the future of public diplomacy in the Department of State.*

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**Glossary**

| | |
|---|---|
| ACAO | Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer |
| AIO | Assistant Information Officer |
| BNC | Binational (Cultural) Center |
| BPAO | Branch Public Affairs Officer |
| CAO | Cultural Affairs Officer |
| DCM | Deputy Chief of Mission |
| DPAO | Deputy Public Affairs Officer |
| FSO | Foreign Service Officer |
| IO | Information Officer |
| IV | International Visitor |
| JOT | Junior Officer Trainee |
| PAO | Public Affairs Officer |

# *Those Who Lost Their Lives in the Service of the Agency*


| NAME | COUNTRY OF DEATH | YEAR |
|---|---|---|
| Kasmuri bin Rosian | Singapore | 1950 |
| Jack C. Andrew | Vietnam | 1955 |
| Francis P. Corrigan | Laos | 1961 |
| William H. Lewis | Ghana | 1963 |
| Takeo Sato | Japan | 1965 |
| Helen Kelly | Somalia | 1966 |
| Leonardo C. de Azevedo | Brazil | 1967 |
| John R. MacLean | Laos | 1967 |
| Stephen H. Miller | Vietnam | 1968 |
| Wimon Siddhipraneet | Thailand | 1970 |
| Mana Smithapindhu | Thailand | 1970 |
| Prasert Wasutalhakarn | Thailand | 1970 |
| Charles D. Searles | Kenya | 1970 |

| NAME | COUNTRY OF DEATH | YEAR |
|---|---|---|
| Benoit Iyonnga | Cameroon | 1973 |
| Wayne A. Wilcox | England | 1974 |
| Everly Driscoll | Kenya | 1981 |
| Virginia L. Warfield | India | 1983 |
| Riyad G. Abdul-Massih | Lebanon | 1983 |
| Hassan M. Assaran | Lebanon | 1983 |
| Edgard J. Khuri | Lebanon | 1983 |
| Rabinder Nath Khanna | India | 1983 |
| Barbara J. Allen | Kenya | 1986 |
| Mathew Mwikoni | Tanzania | 1988 |
| Dallas H. Cox | United States | 1990 |
| Rachel M. Pussy | Kenya | 1998 |

# *Foreword*

## Penn Kemble

### Acting Director
### United States Information Agency

The second half of the twentieth century was a time of change — often triumphant, often traumatic — for the United States and the world. World War II swept away the practices and understandings of the old diplomacy, and required nations and peoples to create a new diplomacy for a world divided into ideological and military blocs. The Voice of America, the United States Information Service and the United States Information Agency were a part of this change. From the building of the Berlin Wall to its fall, through war in Vietnam and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, during all the twists and turns of the search for lasting peace in the Middle East and the growth of democracy in Latin America, USIA has been here.

Now, as the Twentieth Century comes to a close, once again we must find new ways to address a much-changed world. The end of the Cold War has produced another reorganization of America's foreign policy structure. The function that USIA performs — what we have come to call public diplomacy — will no longer be undertaken by an independent agency. But, as many have noted, the work of public diplomacy is now even more important. We and our colleagues at the Department of State must work closely together to develop new capabilities for dealing with this challenging time.

We are still in the early stages of understanding just how this new era of international engagement will unfold. Computer-driven communications technologies are transforming the way diplomats, like almost everyone else, conduct their business. Just as what appears to be a homogenized international culture is emerging, we see sharp assertions of cultural differences, and considerable reaction against the presumed blessings of modernity. The spread of democracy means that governments come and go more frequently, so that enduring relationships must be built among leaders and constituencies that lie beyond the formal bounds of government. This need for a second tier of relationships, reaching beyond government to the media, the universities and civil society in other countries, is something that foreign service and civil service staff from USIA are well prepared to address. I have seen this over some decades of my own international work, and it is what made me one of this Agency's partisans.

My first adventure in the international affairs field came soon after I got out of college. I volunteered to help organize an observer mission to the Dominican Republic in 1965, just after President Johnson sent the Marines in to keep peace during a brief but nasty civil war. Our group was led by one of the Reuther brothers of the United Automobile Workers, Albert Shanker of the teachers' union, and two more of the era's grand gadflies, Norman Thomas and Allard Lowenstein. We all traveled safely around the island, observing preparations for an election. Then the big names went home, leaving a few of us behind to collect some additional documents needed to write a report.

Not long after the better known figures left, some elements in the security forces began to grow restless about their nosy young visitors. Materials that had been promised us suddenly could not be found. Things began to go missing from our hotel rooms. People who had made appointments with us began calling to cancel. Finally, one of our party who had gone to interview a local human rights organization was detained by soldiers at its offices. Fortunately, we had made good contacts with the USIS staff in Santo Domingo. Soon there were people from the embassy at the organization's headquarters, demanding that everyone be given safe passage out.

Soon after that I met Harriet Elam, a USIA officer currently nominated to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Senegal. At that time — the early 1970s — we were in the thick of the Vietnam protest. Honest debate about U.S. policy was being exploited by the Soviets in Europe, who painted a picture of "Amerika" as a land of unredeemable barbarism and violence. Harriet was serving under John

Richardson at the State Department, in the old Cultural (CU) Bureau. She understood how important it was to put young people who had been through the movements for civil rights and social change in the U.S. in touch with Europeans who needed to understand the true character of the ferment taking place here. She laid the groundwork for activities that soon came with her when CU merged with USIA in the Carter era.

Through organizations such as the United States Youth Council, the Labor Desk, and the American Council of Young Political Leaders, many of us met the Western European generation of 1968. I remember long debates with Karsten Voigt, now Coordinator for German-American Relations in the Socialist/Green Government of Germany, and Heidemarie Wieczorek-Zeul, Federal Minister for Economic Cooperation and Development and an important SPD parliamentarian. The core issue in those debates was the importance of democracy, and the need for those protesting some feature or another of our own societies to avoid falling for the totalitarian temptation being offered by the powers to the East. Many of those who engaged in those debates later took leadership in shaping our National Endowment for Democracy, an organization that has had a significant influence.

These contacts and debates continued into one of USIA's great moments: the controversy over the Euromissiles. In the mid-1970s, the Soviets began deploying shorter-range nuclear missiles targeted on Western Europe. The U.S. believed NATO should counter the threat by deploying missiles of its own in Europe. Europeans were understandably nervous, and the Soviets worked hard to make them more nervous. A kind of diplomatic gridlock developed.

As the European governments met and met, USIA went out to make the case to the public in key Western European countries. It turned out that, while there was substantial opposition to deploying the missiles in Europe, there was also considerable fear of Soviet intentions, and a willingness to take firm measures in response. Ultimately, the Social Democrats in Italy picked up the ball. Other European governments — helped by USIA's polling — began to see that they had been misled about their own "public opinion." The missiles were deployed. Many in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and elsewhere began to realize that the democracies would defend themselves, and that the possibility of Soviet dominance in Europe was remote.

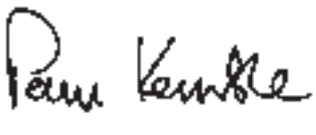
One final experience: the Polish democracy movement in the early 1980s. I was in Warsaw with my friend Ben Wattenberg making a TV documentary on the rise of Solidarnosc. USIS officer Steve Dubrow agreed to help us. We had interviews scheduled from morning to night. The translator, the obligatory young lady from the official press agency, was annoyed by what she took to be a lack of respect for the government's views. One morning we found some men waiting for us in the hotel lobby. Our visas were being revoked. We had 24 hours to get out of the country. Steve Dubrow came to the rescue. He told us our tapes might be taken away at the airport, so we arranged to have them shipped back by car. We hadn't finished all our shooting, but Steve knew a local crew that could get us what we lacked. He even helped us get on a flight out in time to avoid the risk of being arrested.

These are some vignettes of my own from the realm of public diplomacy. Compared to the war stories I have heard from veteran USIA officers, mine are not very glamorous or earthshaking. But I would contend that these kinds of activities, when they involve large numbers of Americans from a wide array of backgrounds, can eventually add up to a significant influence in world affairs. This is how public diplomacy does its work.

In the world taking shape around us, public diplomacy will be even more important, as Secretary Albright has noted. A new challenge is developing in the chorus about the dangers of American "hegemonism." It is inevitable that some people will fear a country that has the military capability demonstrated in the Kosovo campaign, and that others will envy the remarkable prosperity the United States now enjoys. It is also understandable that there is fear of the continual change that characterizes life in the United States, change that is rapidly reaching into other parts of the world. But all this need not congeal into a new global anti-Americanism, and public diplomacy is the best tool we have for preventing that.

We need to continue the work of helping other peoples see America as it really is. They need to understand that we have our own safety nets to protect people from the harshness of pure capitalism, and our own concerns about the downside of sex, drugs, and rock and roll. They should see how much we do to ensure that our own minority cultures and voices not only survive, but prosper.

We must sustain our country's ability to maintain rapport with other peoples — even when it requires us to go over the heads of their governments. Only when the public respects and takes an interest in the United States will our diplomats find an audience for what they have to say about the pressing issues of foreign affairs. USIA has been the pioneer in public diplomacy, and the United States is unique in its practice. It has gained us much, and we will continue to rely on it. We look forward to shaping it for new times with our new colleagues at the Department of State.



# The Fulbright Program

The Fulbright Act of 1946, named for its originator, Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, legislated the exchange of students, researchers and academicians. It was the forerunner of many other exchange efforts, including exchanges of youths, teachers, professionals, trade unionists and artists, designed to increase the knowledge and understanding of other societies while enriching the lives of the participants.

*Senator J. William Fulbright.*

More than fifty years after its inauguration, the Fulbright Program is well-known throughout the world. It has been so successful in fostering cross-cultural understanding between Americans and people of other nations that foreign governments and private institutions add substantial funding to that provided by the U.S. government. For more than five decades Fulbright grantees and the program's administrators have guarded the non-political nature of these exchanges and assured their scholarly integrity and merit-based selection procedures.

*President Harry S. Truman signing the Fulbright Act into law on August 1, 1946. Behind the president are Senator Fulbright and William Benton, State Department Chief of Cultural Affairs.*

When USIA was created in 1953, only the information activities conducted by the Department of State were transferred to the new Agency. As first USIA Director Theodore Streibert noted, this exchange program "was dear to Senator Fulbright's heart." He wanted it to stay in the State Department, which it did until 1978 when the various exchange programs were transferred to USIA. Agency personnel had always supervised the Fulbright Program overseas so this bureaucratic change had little effect on the overseas programming. Earlier, in 1961, the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act, known as the Fulbright-Hays Act, consolidated the various educational and cultural exchange programs. Mutual understanding was still described as their main goal.

The program also has been honored in the following poem by Ted Hughes, the late Poet Laureate of Britain, who recalls his first possible glimpse of Sylvia Plath as she arrives in Britain on a Fulbright grant in the 1960s. Plath would later become his wife and a celebrated American poet and novelist.

*"The Fulbright Program is one of the really generous and imaginative things that have been done in the world since World War II."*
*— Historian Arnold Toynbee, 1971*

*Fulbright scholar John Hope Franklin, noted historian.*

### *FULBRIGHT SCHOLARS*

Where was it, in the Strand? A display
Of news items, in photographs.
For some reason I noticed it
A picture of that year's intake
Of Fulbright Scholars. Just arriving -
Or arrived. Or some of them.
Were you among them? I studied it,
Not too minutely, wondering
Which of them I might meet.
I remember that thought. Not
Your face. No doubt I scanned particularly
The girls. Maybe I noticed you.
Maybe I weighed you up, feeling unlikely.
Noted your long hair, loose waves —
Your Veronica Lake bang. Not what it hid.
It would appear blond. And your grin.
Your exaggerated American
Grin for the cameras, the judges, the strangers,
the frighteners.
Then I forgot. Yet I remember
The picture: the Fulbright Scholars.
With their luggage? It seems unlikely.
Could they have come as a team? I was walking
Sore-footed, under hot sun, hot pavements.
Was it then I bought a peach? That's as I remember.
From a stall near Charing Cross Station.
It was the first fresh peach I had ever tasted.
I could hardly believe how delicious.
At twenty-five I was dumbfounded afresh
by my ignorance of the simplest things.



*Opera singer Anna Moffo was a Fulbright scholar.*

*"I was one of a generation of students for whom there was nothing more desirable than to get a Fulbright scholarship."*
*— former Chancellor of Germany Helmut Kohl*

*Senator Patrick Moynihan was also a Fulbright scholar.*

# Precursors

*1917-1919* — During World War I, President Woodrow Wilson creates the Committee on Public Information (CPI), also known as the Creel Committee, the first large-scale U.S. government entry into information activities abroad.

*1920s* — Unofficial cultural programs take place with Latin America.

*1927* — The first binational center (BNC) is established in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

*March 30, 1935* — The first "Radio Bulletin," precursor of today's Washington File, is sent by the Department of State via Morse Code to key diplomatic missions abroad.

*1937-1939* — New York Congressman Emmanuel Celler and other prominent figures introduce bills in Congress to create a government radio station that can respond to German propaganda. Their efforts are unsuccessful. [Nazi Germany began broadcasting hostile propaganda into Austria and Latin America in 1933.]

*BPAO Cliff Forster and Filipino staff at Davao organize films, books, and publications for field trip to Northern Mindanao in 1950.*

*1938* — A Convention is signed in Buenos Aires that establishes cultural and educational exchange programs, primarily with Latin America and China, under the auspices of the Department of State with the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation (SCC) and the Division of Cultural Cooperation.

*1939-1945* — After the start of World War II in Europe, President Franklin Roosevelt establishes several agencies to counter the effects of Axis propaganda. One of the first is the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA), formed in 1940 to counteract German and Italian propaganda in Latin America. Nelson Rockefeller is CIAA's coordinator of commercial and cultural affairs between the U.S. and American Republics (exchange of persons, libraries, and binational centers). Other early information agencies are the Office of Facts and Figures, the Office of Government Reports, and the Coordinator of Information (COI).

*1941* — Several low-powered, commercially owned and operated transmitters are leased to the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs to broadcast to Latin America.

## D-Day, June 6, 1944

At the end of 1943, the Office Of War Information established the American Broadcasting Station In Europe (ABSIE) in London, which was to be, in effect, a tactical psychological warfare operation in preparation for the Allied invasion of the continent. As a veteran broadcaster of the Voice of America, I was chosen to head the German language radio section. I recruited a number of members from our staff and some qualified volunteers from the outside. In London I could wear civilian clothes, but on certain occasions I wore an American officer's uniform without bars, like that of a war correspondent.

We worked out of a studio located in a shaky old building owned by a film company in Wardour Street in the Soho district. Robert Sherwood, the writer and personal friend of President Roosevelt, William Paley and Brewster Morgan of CBS were in control of ABSIE. In rotation with the BBC, we broadcast news, press reviews, commentaries and special announcements.

On June 5, 1944, I was instructed to have a few staff members in our studios on standby for possible special programs. I was told to wait in uniform in the lobby of the Cumberland Hotel where I lived. At about 8 p.m. I was taken by jeep to Inveresk House where I passed three security checks and finally was led to a room where I joined a group of other officials, among them Pierre Lazareff, chief of our French radio section. It became clear to us that the big event was to take place within hours. A few minutes after midnight, an American major general and his retinue entered the room; a big map of Normandy was unfolded and the general, looking at his watch, quietly but firmly said, "Gentlemen, in five hours and forty-five minutes Allied Forces will land in Normandy." After a brief silence to enable us to grasp the enormity of the event, we were handed the communique by General Eisenhower and statements by President Roosevelt, King George VI and Prime Minister Churchill to be translated for our broadcasts.

At about 5:30 a.m. I was driven by jeep to our studios. I arrived at the time when it was our turn in the alternating schedule with the BBC. At 6 a.m. I broadcast the communiqué and statements, providing my own lead-in sentence: "Der Sturm aus dem Westen hat begonnen." (The storm from the West has begun.)

*Robert A. Bauer, VOA (Retired)*


*War Department ID used by Robert Bauer at the American Broadcasting Station in Europe.*

## Voter Education — USIS on Mindanao and Sulu

My first overseas assignment, in 1949, was on the island of Mindanao in the southern Philippines, where I opened the USIS post in the city of Davao. It was a time of political and economic unrest, and corruption was rife under the Quirino regime. Voters were being beaten up at the polls, and what little democracy existed was going under fast along with the economy, as a communist-led agrarian movement known as the "Hukbalahap" (Huk) was exploiting popular dissatisfaction with the government. "Bullets, not ballots" was their rallying cry.

*The "Forty Niners" — the Filipino staff which launched the Mindanao-Sulu program in 1949. The mobile unit in the background transported films, books, and publications over a wide area under difficult conditions.*

There were Huk infiltrations and Moro (Filipino Muslims) uprisings in our area. Our primary mission was to work with Filipino provincial leaders, who were determined to counter insurgent propaganda and the excesses of an unpopular regime. We provided materials on the conduct of good government, particularly the education of voters on democratic processes. We traveled widely, meeting with concerned community leaders and insurgents who had surrendered and been given plots of land in relocation centers on Mindanao. The emergence of a new leader, Ramon Magsaysay, and the organization of a national movement for free elections turned the tide. When Magsaysay won in a free election, we all felt, Americans and Filipinos alike, that we had entered a new era of freedom and democracy in the Philippines.

*Cliff Forster, FSO (Retired)*

*Senators H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey and Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, authors of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, being interviewed at VOA.*

*1941* — President Roosevelt establishes the U.S. Foreign Information Service (FIS) and appoints playwright and Presidential speech writer Robert Sherwood its first director. Sherwood and staff set up headquarters in New York City and begin broadcasting to Europe via privately owned American shortwave stations.

*1941* — The International Visitor (IV) Program is established at the Department of State to bring overseas leaders to the United States to meet directly with their U.S. counterparts. [Since its inception, over 4,500 IVs have visited the U.S. each year, including more than 185 who went on to become chiefs of state and heads of government.]

December 1941 — The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and Germany's declaration of war against the United States accelerate the growth of U.S. international broadcasting. Sherwood hires John Houseman, the theatrical producer, actor and director, to take charge of the FIS radio operations in New York City. The first FIS program to Asia is broadcast from a studio in San Francisco.

*John Houseman, actor and theater director, was the first director of the Voice of America.*

*February 24, 1942* — The Voice of America's inaugural broadcast is beamed to Europe. Announcer William Harlan Hale opens the German-language program with the words, "The Voice of America speaks." The words take hold and, within a few months, become the signature introduction on all Foreign Information Service broadcasts. Broadcasts begin in French, Italian and English as well.

*June 1942* — President Roosevelt establishes the Office of War Information; its overseas component becomes the U.S. Information Service (USIS) in many countries. The Voice of America (VOA) comes under the Office of War Information and broadcasts in 27 languages.

*1945* — As World War II draws to a close, many VOA language services are reduced or eliminated. VOA survives, however, when a Department of State-appointed committee of private citizens advises the U.S. government that it cannot be "indifferent to the ways in which our society is portrayed to other countries." On December 31, 1945, VOA and CIAA broadcast services to Latin America are transferred to the Department of State, and Congress appropriates funds for their continued operation in 1946 and 1947.

*1946* — When World War II ends, the Department of State absorbs the information and cultural programs of the U.S. government into its newly created Office of International Cultural Affairs and the International Press and Publication Division, under the authority of an Assistant Secretary of State.

## Beers for Burgermeisters

"Get out to towns and villages, buy burgermeisters a beer, and talk with them about the United States and what we are trying to do here." Those words were from American Consul General in Munich Charlie Thayer, addressing his Resident Officers in 1952. We Resident Officers were mostly young Foreign Service officers on first assignments as U.S. representatives in the cities and counties of Bavaria, Germany, and soon to be transferred to the newly created USIA.

Get out we did, talking with mayors about U.S. policy, promoting U.S.-sponsored reforms in Germany, attending the town meetings we encouraged the Germans to hold, and showing the U.S. flag in a Germany we had been at war with only seven years earlier. "Resident Officer" was a British colonial term, but the new Germany was now independent and our job was to encourage its transition to democracy and its new role in Europe. We were practicing public diplomacy long before the term had been invented.

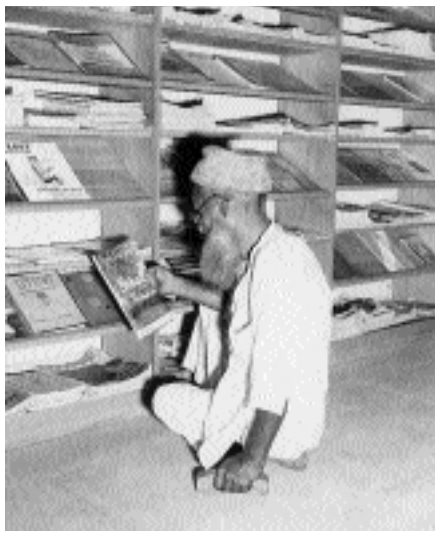
*Yale Richmond (in striped tie) with burgermeisters.*

In Schweinfurt, where I served, we had all the major political parties — Social Democratic, Christian Social, Liberal, and Communist — and national politics was replicated on the local level. The city had heavy industry, and was socialist and Protestant, but the hinterland was agricultural, conservative and Catholic. It was a great introduction to European politics. I dove in and learned more about politics there than I had in textbooks. My experiences in public diplomacy in Germany were put to good use in all my future USIA assignments.

*Yale Richmond, FSO (Retired)*

*The USIS Lahore Library was established in 1951 with a collection of 5,000 books and 50 magazines. It was not only the first foreign mission library, but also the first free-lending library with open shelves. Registered library members peaked at 10,000 during the '80s and '90s.*

## Eleanor Roosevelt Visits Iran



In my first Foreign Service assignment, I was director of the Iran-America Society in Tehran, Iran, a binational cultural and education center. During a brief stay in Tehran, Eleanor Roosevelt was to receive an honorary life membership at the Iran-America Society. There was great excitement at the society. All employees brought their treasured carpets from their homes and laid them, one next to the other, on the path Mrs. Roosevelt was scheduled to walk. We decided that it would not do for the great lady to straddle or jump over the jube, an irrigation ditch running between the sidewalk and the entrance to the society's compound. To avoid this, a bridge of sorts was laid across the jube so that the ambassador's limousine could drive over it through the compound's gate and to the entrance.

At exactly 11 o'clock the ambassador's limousine appeared. As it turned toward the Society's entrance, the bridge tipped and the rear of the car dropped into the jube. Prying the door open and helping Mrs. Roosevelt extricate herself from the car, I apologized profusely. Unfazed, Mrs. Roosevelt laughed and declared that falling into a Persian jube was a wonderful experience.

Then, in the overcrowded auditorium she delivered a speech, talking about the history and importance of the Society as though she had always been interested in it. Her visit was a rousing success. The initial disaster was never mentioned again as the glow of the day lingered on in the offices of the Iran-America Society for a long time.

*Robert A. Bauer, FSO (Retired)*

## First Fulbrighters Arrive in Germany

My husband, who was a Fulbrighter, died in July 1992. He had been with the first group of Fulbrighters who went to Germany after the war. I believe that was 1952. We sailed on the *Independence.* Germany expected students and got families. With so much destruction yet in Germany, it was almost impossible to find housing for them. I heard that several returned to the States. We were luckier.

I was born and raised in Hamburg, and my parents owned a house in the suburbs. Homeowners were only allowed a certain amount of living space. Fortunately for us, a couple living in the former dining room had just moved out, and our family was allowed to use it. We had two children then. My husband found a little attic room in Marburgand and did his research there. He later had a second Fulbright. At that time we lived in university housing in Hamburg.

*Gisela Gimbel, Lacey, Washington*

*August 1, 1946* — President Harry Truman signs the Fulbright Act (Public Law 584; 79th Congress) that creates a peacetime international educational exchange program, which becomes the U.S. government's flagship exchange program. [The Fulbright Program currently operates in 140 countries and has sponsored more than 210,000 U.S. and foreign grantees.]

*January 1948* — The U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act (Public Law 402; 80th Congress), popularly known as the Smith-Mundt Act, establishes the programming mandate that still serves as the charter for U.S. overseas information and cultural programs and brings VOA under the Office of International Information at the Department of State.

*1949-1952* — Massive reorientation and reeducation programs are conducted by the Department of State in Germany and Japan, the first such foreign cultural, information and education endeavor by the U.S. government.

*September 1950* — The first of three Regional Service Center (RSC) printing facilities is established in the Philippines under the International Information Administration. (Originally, RSC Manila printed media only for East Asian and South Asian posts. In the 1960s and early 1970s, it produced millions of air drop leaflets and booklets for the Defense Department in support of the Vietnam War effort. RSC Manila has served for some time as the Agency's single worldwide printing facility.)

*1950* — With the outbreak of the Korean War, VOA adds new language services and develops plans to construct transmitter complexes on both the east and west coasts of the United States.

*1951* — Legislation is introduced in Congress to establish a television service. This legislation is supported by Senator Karl Mundt.

*American Fulbrighters on their way to the United Kingdom, around 1950.*

*1952* — To coordinate Western research on the Communist nations of the world, especially China and the Soviet Union, the journal *Problems of Communism* is launched. This immensely successful journal lasts until the breakup of the Soviet Union. [The last issue is dated May-June 1992.]

*Rani Sekhon and Kunvarbahadur Singh of the VOA Hindi Service during the first broadcast, September 23, 1954, from the new Washington, DC, studios. USIA Director Theodore Streibert is on the far right.*

## A Unique Service to Refugees

Hans Cohrssen, a German immigrant who became an American citizen and successful economist, joined the Office of War Information and was sent to North Africa, then to Italy as a member of the joint British-American Psychological Warfare Branch. When the war's end was foreseeable and teams were being formed for the occupation of conquered or liberated countries, Cohrssen was asked to head the programming section of the American-controlled German Language Radio in Salzburg in the American zone.

Cohrssen arrived with the first wave of occupation and took over the demoralized "German Radio," with the first broadcast on June 5, 1945: "Here is Radio Red-White-Red" (the Austrian national colors).

With scant American material, and seeing the incredible numbers of displaced persons everywhere, Cohrssen devised the program "Suchmeldungen" or "Search Announcements." He placed people at tables in a room of the Landestheater, to collect information from endless streams of refugees who poured out their names, former residences, and names of family or friends they hoped to locate. There was no mail, telephone service or border crossing, but the airwaves knew no boundaries. Very quickly stations everywhere in Europe sent out similar strings of names. For weeks and months new names were read. It was probably the most monotonous program ever aired, but it performed a unique service to humanity, and deserves to be remembered.

*Denise M. Abbey, VOA (Retired)*

# *A USIA IN HEAVEN*

*Song by Joe Glazer, FSO (Retired)*

I dreamed that I had died
And gone to my reward.
A job in Heaven's USIA
On a golden boulevard.

The offices were all marble
The desks were made out of gold.
And nobody ever got tired
And nobody ever grew old.

At this USIA in heaven
We always had lots of fun.
We started to work at eleven
Had everything finished by one.

The Voice was strong up in heaven
The angels tuned in night and day
For the only station they had on their sets
Was Radio VOA.

When we hired staff up in heaven
They started to work right away
Because a full field security check
Never took more than a day.

Travel was simple in heaven
It was one of those natural things.
For every Ampart was supplied
With a pair of heavenly wings.

There was no budget problem in heaven
We had space and staff galore
And if we ever ran out of money
John Rooney said please have some more.

Our USIS branch was on Main Street
Where thousands of angels would pass.
We had posters on all of the windows
Which were made of unbreakable glass.

If a mob attacked us in heaven
The PAO rang a bell.
The heavens opened up with a roar
And the mob plunged straight to —
you know where.

When I woke from this dream about heaven
I wondered if someday there'd be
A USIA like that one here on earth
For FSOs like you and me.

Where the offices are all marble
The desks are made out of gold
Where nobody ever gets tired
And nobody ever grows old.

*"PAO Uniform" by Scheré Johnson*

# 'Wireless' File — The Essential Product

*The Wireless File staff in 1950.*

On March 30, 2000, the Wireless File, now called the Washington File, will be 65 years old and back home under the roof of the Department of State, now produced in English, Spanish, French, Arabic and Russian. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's American ambassadors overseas in mid-1933 asked him and his Secretary of State to create a daily file so they could have formal texts of his U.S. policy pronouncements. On March 30, 1935, they got the first version of what a few years later came to be known as the Wireless File, which ever since has provided official texts and transcripts of speeches, policy statements and other source materials.

A formal survey in 1973 and another in the 1990s found that U.S. ambassadors and their staffs overseas overwhelmingly wanted texts and transcripts of policy statements by the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and other senior officials as opposed to stories, features and other items. A more recent series of focus groups conducted in 1998 showed that Foreign Service officers returning to Washington from abroad viewed the File as "the essential" product. One said that "nowhere else can one get word-for-word transcripts so quickly." Another called the File the "primary tool of the FSO," and a third said, "If we were cutting resources, the File would be the last to be cut."

*USIS Geneva staff reporter Robin Newmann prepares a Wireless File story at the International Press Center.*

It is no accident that Thomas R. Pickering, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, who has 40 years with the Department of State, with service on all continents of the globe, has the State Department Public Affairs Office regularly phone USIA with his latest text and this message, "Mr. Pickering would like you to run this on the Wireless File."

*William Awad, who began working for USIA in 1955 in Baghdad, preparing a Wireless File story in Arabic.*

*The Wireless File is prepared in five languages — English, Spanish, French, Arabic and Russian.*

*Ambassador Joseph Verner Reed presents a 20-year service award to USIS Rabat Photographer Mohamed Hamouchi.*

*USIS Mogadishu TVRO staff Mohamed Mohamoud Mohamed "3M," Cultural Assistant Mohamed Ahmed Hussein "Kismayo," and Hassan Jama Abdule, with a friend.*

*Dr. Eva Turcu, Educational Specialist at USIS Vienna, is honored after her 99th Seminar for College Preperatory Secondary School Teachers of English in 1985.*

# Foreign Service Nationals — FSNs

Over the decades, USIA's Foreign Service Nationals have been our indispensable partners on the front lines of public diplomacy. They bring the broad knowledge of the audience and the cultural context in which each USIS post works. Without their support and continuity it would be impossible for our American officers to function. They give dedication, loyalty and a willingness to work unstintingly behind the scenes — every day in hundreds of places around the globe. Their loyalty to the United States and their American colleagues has sometimes put them at odds with vocal sectors of their own societies. Some have lost their lives serving the Agency and the United States. They are an integral and beloved part of USIA's productive history and proud legacy. Their continuing contributions are vital to public diplomacy's promising future at the Department of State.

*Harry Wu, USIS Administrative Management Assistant, receiving his 30-year certificate from Ambassador Patricia Byrne.*

*Above: Lagos PAO Eddie Deerfield, second from right, awarding 20-year service awards to Chief Photographer Amuzu Johnson, Cultural Specialist Ade James, and Cultural Assistant Solomon Jebba. Right: Turkish FSN Meral Selcuk with then Istanbul BPAO Harriet Elam.*

*FSN training program group in front of the White House in 1983 — Wu Gongzhan, Shanghai; Tillie Waxman, Salvador de Bahia; S.K. Chopra, New Delhi; Dineh Lawrence, Port Moresby; and Kendo Abe, Tokyo.*

# 1950s

The move toward the creation of an independent agency to handle U.S. information programs begins as early as 1949 when the Hoover Commission's report on foreign affairs recommends that the foreign information program be moved out of the Department of State. This action is supported by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, created to recommend changes in information and educational exchange programs, which urges the creation of an independent agency. The new agency is patterned along lines recommended by the President's Committee on International Information Activities (Jackson Committee) and the U.S. Senate's Special Subcommittee on Overseas Information Programs (the Hickenlooper Committee), which investigates the U.S information program and considers whether it should remain within the Department of State.

*1952-1954* — Senator Joseph McCarthy, chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its investigative arm, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, makes claims of Communist infiltration of U.S. overseas information programs.

*August 3, 1953* — President Eisenhower creates the United States Information Agency (USIA) under Reorganization Plan No. 8, as authorized by the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948. The new agency encompasses all the information programs, including VOA (its largest element), that were previously in the Department of State, except for the educational exchange programs, which remain at State. Theodore Streibert is appointed the first USIA Director (1953-1956); he reports to the President through the National Security Council and receives complete, day-to-day guidance on U.S. foreign policy from the Secretary of State. On October 22, President Eisenhower issues a directive defining the USIA mission.

*Secretary of State John Foster Dulles at the formal opening of the VOA Washington studios.*

*October 1953* — Twenty-eight leaders in the fields of communication, public opinion, and international affairs form a voluntary, non-partisan group called the National Committee for an Adequate U.S. Overseas Information Program. Headed by public relations pioneer Edward L. Bernays, the members support an information program that is "a powerful offensive and defensive weapon for our nation and vital to our national strength."

*1954* — The Voice of America headquarters is relocated from New York City to Washington, DC.

*1955* — The first original Agency television programs are shown overseas to critical acclaim. TV becomes an element of VOA.

## Cuba in the ’50s

*USIA’s first Director Theodore Streibert meets with members of the Agency’s second Junior Officer Training Class.*

As Press Attaché in Havana during the Batista dictatorship in the early 1950s, I developed a number of Cuban contacts, in the media and elsewhere, some of them quietly sympathetic to Fidel Castro’s revolutionary cause. The veteran reporter Herbert Matthews of *The New York Times* came to Cuba in 1953 to check whether Castro was dead, as Batista had proclaimed for weeks.

Not altogether in the line of duty, but in sympathy with American-style investigative reporting, I had Matthews to lunch at my home with a pro-Castro friend who knew precisely how to arrange a secretive trip into the mountains for an interview. The result was a page-one *Times* article and photos not only proving that Castro was alive, but also outlining ambitious plans for Cuba, including the promise of early and free elections (which never happened).

*Dick Cushing, FSO (Retired)*

## The First USIS Decade in Japan

The decade of the ’50s, when USIS moved into Japan, was a time of political unrest, with a struggling post-war economy and leftist-dominated student, labor and teacher movements. The anti-American sentiment prevailing on many campuses was cultivated by the leftist orientation of much of the media.

As USIS field officers, we reached out to students as well as educators, media and labor to create a better climate of understanding. We relied heavily on our center libraries and intensive personal contact. The Fulbright exchange and the selection of younger Japanese leaders to visit the United States provided the Japanese with a new understanding of American society and culture. One of the most effective programs involved the selection of the more moderate labor leaders to meet their American counterparts. The USIS labor program in Japan had a profound influence, leading to a significant turnaround in the leftist leadership of unions. Similar changes took place in the media and at the universities. Several universities introduced American Studies and the media began to report more objectively on U.S.-Japan issues.

When a reduced budget required closing some USIS centers, there was strong protest by universities and prefectural governments, with governors appealing to our ambassadors to keep them open.

*Cliff Forster, FSO (Retired)*

*USIA Director Theodore Streibert doing the honors at the USIA/VOA picnic in the summer of 1955.*

*John Sullivan of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, conducts a question and answer session after his class on American history and current events. He is a Fulbright program exchange teacher serving in Berlin, Germany, 1956.*

## One Fine Day in Phnom Penh

A call to the Country Team meeting that morning in the Fall of 1955 carried word of a defection from the local Soviet Embassy, the PAO’s opposite number, as it turned out. Plans were immediately drawn to lure the defector out of the clutches of the Soviets and the local constabulary, hot on his trail by car and *cyclopousse*. That done, he was ensconced at the DCM’s residence next door to the PAO’s. A dinner party was hurriedly arranged by the PAO’s wife and secretary, to cover the activities chez DCM: secreting the “captured” defector and arranging for his transfer to Saigon for travel onward to Washington.

Since the PAO’s involvement at that stage of the affair was minimal, to say the least, USIS provided the darkened van in which the appropriate personnel (me) was to drive the defector to Saigon. The first leg of the defector’s journey went off without a hitch and the USIS vehicle was returned the next day.

A year later, the PAO was back in Washington awaiting his next assignment. At lunch one day with the Phnom Penh Station Chief at the time of the defection, one tidbit from the debriefing of the Soviet embassy officer revealed that, of the whole American Embassy, he is reported to have told his interrogators, the most concerned attention was devoted to, you guessed it: USIS Phnom Penh.

*John M. Anspacher, FSO (Retired)*


*President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the VOA microphone in 1957, the first time a U.S. president spoke directly to foreign audiences over U.S. government radio.*

*July 1956* — After a U.S.-Soviet agreement is signed in 1955, *America Illustrated* magazine is published and distributed in the Soviet Union as the first uncensored information and cultural activity the U.S. is permitted to conduct vis-à-vis the Soviet population. [A USSR magazine, later called *Soviet Life*, is distributed in the U.S. in return.]

*1957* — Television is separated from VOA, becoming ITV within USIA.

*January 27, 1958* — The first U.S.-USSR Cultural Exchange Agreement (Lacy-Zarubin) is signed. It provides for exchanges in science, technology, exhibitions, publications, athletics, students, research, culture and the performing arts.

*April 17 - October 19, 1958* — The Brussels Universal Exposition, USIA's inaugural participation in a universal exposition, is held. It is better remembered as a symbol of Cold War competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, with their pavilions located across from each other on the Expo site.

*1958-1959* — An internal task force drafts the VOA Charter, setting the standard of objectivity and balance for VOA news. In 1960 the charter is endorsed by USIA Director George Allen and approved by President Eisenhower.

*July 25 - August 4, 1959* — The American National Exhibition in Moscow's Sokolniki Park becomes the site of the famous Nixon-Krushchev "kitchen debate" in the exhibition's model American home. [Over the next 20 years, USIA organizes a series of traveling exhibits throughout many provincial cities that, with their Russian-speaking American guides, open a window on America for millions of Soviet citizens.]

*In Medan, Sumatra, PAO Myrtle Thorne takes her mobile unit to remote villages throughout the 180,000-square mile island. The unit is equipped with a generator, motion picture equipment, a library and living quarters. Bookmobiles and traveling exhibits greatly extend the influence of USIA information centers.*

## Turkey: An Unusual Arrival

Two Consulate secretaries met me at Yesilkoy Airport, Istanbul, in February 1951, and whisked me to the Consulate to meet other Foreign Service personnel and to tour the city before continuing my travel to Ankara, the nation's capital. I was on my way to take up my duties as Secretary to the Cultural Affairs Officer, Fred P. Latimer, Jr. We took a ride up the Bosphorus and visited an exotic nightclub. Two near-naked performers, covered with a shimmering gold substance, mesmerized my friends and me.

The next evening, a chauffeur drove me to the ferry that would transport me to the Istanbul train station to board the Ankara Express. He neglected to inform me there were two ferries, destined to dock in different parts of the city. Dressed in a short skirt and high heels, I realized soon enough that I had taken the wrong ferry: sheep surrounded me, along with women in pantaloons and scarves and men in ill-fitting suits, all of them staring at me. I didn't sense hostility; they appeared to be only curious.

After I disembarked, a porter hailed a cab and instructed the driver to transport me, within ten minutes, to the train station. I remembered that, during orientation at the Foreign Service Institute, I was cautioned not to enter a cab with two drivers. Two men were in the front seat. I pointed to the other "driver" and shook my head. *"Yok,"* (No) I exclaimed. The man nodded politely and climbed into the trunk! During a wild ride through the city, he wailed Turkish tunes. Panic flowed through my body, but I made the train on time. My luxurious compartment, with its red velvet curtains and a bed I could sink into comfortably, gave me relief. The Ankara Express rocked across the Anatolian Plateau to Ankara. I came to love the country that became my home for over two years. FSN Fusun Tlabar, now retired, was the matron of honor at my wedding, and, all these years later, we are still the best of friends.

*Gloria Robinson Campbell, former FS Secretary*

*Florence Jue, wife of USIS Officer Stanton Jue, teaching English to students at the École d'Agriculture at Prek Leap near Phnom Penh, Cambodia in 1957. The students are training to become Provincial Agricultural Officers and the English course is designed to help them with advanced studies in the Philippines and the U.S.*

## Gaining Recognition as a Career Service

USIA Director (and Career Ambassador) George Allen decided to create a "career reserve" in an effort, eventually successful, to nudge the Congress into making USIA Foreign Service officers legal. He named me chairman of a joint State-USIA board of examiners to conduct a worldwide written exam. The exam was conducted in our embassies and in Washington at a local high school. I remember veteran newsmen fingering typewriters and chewing dead cigars (smoking was off limits). That was in 1959.

*Albert Harkness, Jr., FSO (Retired)*

*Honduran citizens in 1958 visit a guanacaste tree in Tegucigalpa where the USIS publication* Noticiero Hondureño *is posted.*

## "Harry and Bill" — Encounters with William Faulkner

In the spring of 1955, when I was IO in Caracas, William Faulkner, returning home from a lecture tour in Brazil, stopped at Venezuela's Maiquetia Airport for a plane change. Alerted that he would be there for an hour and was agreeable to meeting the press, my assistant, Aristides Moleon, and I assembled several trusted reporters and met him at the airport. After a friendly, if somewhat formal session, I stayed on to see Faulkner off only to learn there would be a four-hour delay in his departure. With nothing else to do Faulkner and I sat sipping Venezuelan beer on a balcony overlooking the Caribbean. Left alone with a fellow Southerner, Faulkner's well-known shyness disappeared. We became Harry and Bill and whiled away the time swapping stories about both growing up in the South.

Several months later I was transferred to Japan, arriving the same day as Faulkner, who had come to participate in USIS Tokyo's annual Nagano Seminar on American Literature. At a reception for Faulkner he greeted me with a big smile saying, "God, I'm glad to see you! I don't know a soul around here." He beseeched me to serve as his escort during his Japan visit, but USIS already had that responsibility covered. Faulkner's gentle, sincere personality left a lasting impression on his Japanese audiences, but his aversion to crowds caused numerous moments of anxiety for him and his hosts. Could the presence of a fellow Southerner have made a difference? I'll never know.

*Harry H. Kendall, FSO (Retired)*

## The First Vietnamese-Language Films

USIS Saigon's Motion Picture Production Section, headed by Charlie Mertz, was making an average of one documentary a month when I arrived there March 13, 1955, as Assistant Mopix Production Officer.

Charlie gradually assembled Filipino camera crews, film editors, writers and narrators to train Vietnamese detailed from their government's Ministry of Information. When I left almost three years later, we were making a newsreel a week, distributed through the VN Ministry of Information for projection in Saigon's commercial movie theaters, and one political-theme documentary and two technical-aid-type "how to" films each month. These were shown throughout the country by our mobile units in the field to audiences numbering in the thousands. We were also co-producing a feature film, *Bird in a Cage,* with a private Vietnamese businessman/film producer. It was a sugar coated anti-communist propaganda pill arranged in a poignant tale written and directed by Pham Duy, the most popular folksong composer, and featured a leading actress of the day. We were told that ours were the first Vietnamese-language films ever made.

Almost none of the Vietnamese educated elite spoke English, but they all spoke fluent French. Because of my fluent French and my contact with President Diem's personal assistant Vo Van Hoi, I was invited to show our films to an occasional audience of one — the Vietnamese president.

*Myriam L. Johnston-Hallock,*
*Motion Picture Officer (Retired)*

*Leonard Bernstein visits the U.S. National Exhibit in Moscow in 1959.*

## Hemingway's Nobel Effort

When Ernest Hemingway was notified he had won the 1956 Nobel Prize for literature, he called me at USIS Havana to say he couldn't even think of traveling to Stockholm to accept the award because he still had not recovered from burns suffered two or three months earlier in a light-plane crash in Africa. He asked if someone could come to his place and tape-record his regrets and acceptance speech to be sent to the Nobel committee.

Since I had met the writer on one or two occasions, I drove the 12 miles to Finca Vigia, his beloved, unimposing seaside retreat on the north coast. There I found the master in pajama pants, gargling — and swallowing — a mixture of cough syrup and bourbon whiskey, the Hemingway prescription for a sore throat.

I sat quietly in a corner while Hemingway, standing at the fireplace mantle, scratched out his Nobel message with pencil on a lined pad, between sips of his medicinal concoction. It took him maybe 30 minutes to put together the words, on the necessary loneliness of a writer — every word pure Hemingway.

"How does this sound to you?" he asked. It was like Einstein asking a freshman what he thought of an exquisite new theorem. Assured he had it right, Hemingway read the message into my tape-recorder, and off it went to Stockholm that night for playing at the ceremony.

*Dick Cushing, FSO (Retired)*

*Willis Conover interviews Irving Berlin for a VOA broadcast in 1958.*

## "America Weeks" in Spain

In the late 1950s, the U.S. "Containment Policy" toward the Soviet Union was in full swing. Having been forced to give up U.S. military bases in French Morocco, President Eisenhower signed base agreements with Franco's Spain to replace the Morocco bases, despite considerable criticism from some quarters. Spain's isolation from the World War II victors was still affecting the Spanish economy and psyche when the influx of thousands of American military and civilian personnel brought to Spain what some writers described as "a clash of cultures."

To help Spaniards understand American policies, actions and ideas, USIS Madrid conducted a series of educational and cultural programs in towns and cities throughout Spain. These "America Weeks" included U.S. speakers, movies, exhibits and cultural events during a one-week period.

How successful the "America Weeks" were in enabling Spaniards to better understand the Americans suddenly appearing in their midst is hard to judge. However, Spain today has enjoyed many years of democracy following the Franco dictatorship, and is a member of NATO and other democratically oriented organizations, which followed the U.S.-Spanish bases agreements.

*Allen C. Hansen, FSO (Retired)*

# Theodore Streibert

## Director, 1953-1956

President Eisenhower asked me to direct the newly independent United States Information Agency, established under a Reorganization Act effective August 3, 1953. The International Information Administration (IIA), originally the Office of War Information, had already gone through several transformations within the State Department. When the Eisenhower administration came in, Secretary of State Dulles was fairly clear that he did not wish to preside over information activities and operating branches such as Voice of America, motion pictures, press activities and publishing and so forth. USIA took over the various branches of all activities in the State Department except one — the exchange of persons under the Fulbright Act. Information activities in overseas operations within field missions, embassies, and field posts had long since been managed by the United States Information Service, and all those activities, including reading rooms, libraries, and exchange of persons in the field, were incorporated under USIS, but the new Agency was to be known domestically as USIA.

The State Department, I'm glad to say, had assigned an Assistant Secretary to the chore of arranging for the transfer. He was a very able fellow, Horoland Sargeant, and he had a good plan which was put into effect. Thus, we were able to write on a clean piece of paper. One of the tenets was to keep in touch with the field, and not have Washington try to run the field so much. We set up four geographical area assistant directors, each of whom would be the director's representative and could act for him and was supposed to travel half the time in the field. I tried to travel as much as I could, too.

The President took a great interest in the work. In the State Department, the head of IIA had not been a participant in most policy-making matters. Right away, Eisenhower changed that, setting up an Operations Coordinating Board consisting of either the top or the second level people in the departments concerned. Beedle Smith, the Under Secretary of State, presided. Other Board members were the Under Secretary of Defense, the head of the Foreign Aid Agency (created as an independent agency at the same time as USIA), the head of CIA, and the head of USIA — a compact group attending weekly luncheon meetings. After lunch we'd bring in assistants or deputies to participate in discussions of the week's agenda. We could talk freely about what was going on, atomic energy tests, secret things relating to the Soviet Union or whatever. This permitted USIA to get word in as an equal on anything going on.

The President also let me come to see him once a month. I gave him the highlights on the particular aspects of foreign policy we were trying to promote or capitalize on, or where we had problems. He took up one initiative early that I thought was quite interesting: the Russians were making quite a little capital out of appearances of their exhibits at trade fairs around the world, and Ambassador Lodge at the UN brought up at a cabinet meeting the mileage the Russians were making on these appearances. The President asked Congress for funding for U.S. exhibits: "They can't turn down a few million dollars." They voted, right away, a special appropriation of three million dollars. He said, "I'll make you the executive agent for this expenditure, and you can work with the Commerce Department on the exhibits." We had pretty good exhibits in some of these trade fairs, and this was the start of sending philharmonic orchestras and other performing artists overseas. The film exchange was already in effect.

We worked with the State Department to formulate objectives for the newly created USIA, and I presented our mission to the National Security Council. It was essentially to demonstrate to people of other nations that our policies are supportive and in harmony with their legitimate objectives for independence, for economic prosperity and peace. Instead of trying from Washington to say how we should make America appear to be in 120 countries around the world, we did the opposite. We gave the field the basic objective, regularized by having what we called world themes. At the beginning of the fiscal year, we set up a country objective by asking the country staff, with the approval of the chief of mission, what they thought we should be doing. It was the area assistant director's job to work with the representative in the country. The latter would work with the ambassador and with the political officers.

I sat in on all sessions of the Security Council. I thought it was a good idea that I should be in on discussions on the formulations of policies and to speak up if there were adverse public affairs aspects to what was being considered. Our objective was then and I think still is, really, to get the most benefit out of the foreign policy actions where there are benefits and try to minimize the ill effects. This needs doing. — *Adapted from oral history records*

# Arthur Larson

### Director, 1956-1957

"I might add a word about how USIA meets a crisis like the Hungarian uprising. The Voice went on a 24-hour schedule, adding 39 live broadcasts in 14 languages to the satellites and the USSR. Relays worked on 18-hour stretches, going home only for brief rests and then returning to the studio to resume work. Staff members of the Agency's press service remained glued to their desks, copy pouring from their typewriters, the story going out by Wireless to overseas posts, and from there to a billion overseas readers. . . . From footage made during the early days of the uprising and later of pro-Hungarian demonstrations in the free world, the Agency has put together a film. Prints have been sent to all U.S. diplomatic missions, including those behind the Iron Curtain. Private showings are being arranged for foreign government officials, editors and publishers, radio commentators, educators, labor leaders and other molders of opinion. [Posts are arranging] showings in regular motion picture theaters . . . and over television if permitted. The Agency is arranging translation into foreign languages of George Shuster's new book on Cardinal Mindszenty, *In Silence I Speak*. The book will be stocked by all Agency overseas libraries. It will be presented to foreign libraries and important individuals." — *Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, December 3, 1956*

"Someday the time, I hope, will come when everybody will say, 'If I hear it on the Voice of America, it must be so.' Or, 'If I read it in a United States Information Service publication, I can depend on it, because they're not trying to propagandize us, not trying to put something over on us.' " — *Interview with the* Sunday Patriot-News, *Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, March 31, 1957*

"The biggest single purpose and job in the months ahead is to make it very clear to everybody in the world that we are an information agency and that we deal in facts, explanations of facts; that we do not deal in what the world has come to call and resent as propaganda. The job then is not just to tell the truth which, of course, is a very indispensable beginning point, but you have to tell the truth in such a way that when it comes out the other end it produces believability." — *Press Conference at USIA, 1776 Pennsylvania Ave., July 22, 1957*

# George V. Allen

### Director, 1957-1960

"No one of the U.S. Information Agency's various information activities, or all of them together, can be expected to bring about sudden and dramatic changes in our international relations. Eventually, however, a consistent, conscientious information and cultural program — fair and accurate reporting of the American scene — will surely bring about greater understanding in the world community. This in turn can contribute to better political and diplomatic relations." — *Nevada State Press Association, Las Vegas, April 4, 1959*

"About 70 percent of Voice of America programs are beamed to the Communist orbit and, despite Communist efforts to jam us, our programs get through. We have never ceased, however, to hope and work for other means to communicate with the Russian people and others who have been cut off by Communist restrictions on the free flow of information.

"Partial success crowned our efforts some two years ago, shortly after the Summit meeting in Geneva, when the Soviet government agreed to the circulation in the USSR of 50,000 copies of a U.S. government Russian-language magazine. According to the agreement, it had to be nonpolitical — strictly a cultural magazine about America. At the same time, our government agreed to the circulation in this country by the Soviet Government of an English-language magazine about Russia.

"I think the full value of the Agency's efforts may appear only in the course of years. This business of influencing the minds of men cannot be a crash operation. There is an emergency job to be done, from time to time, but our primary objective, understanding overseas of America and Americans, will not be attained overnight." — *National Association of Litho Clubs, Washington, DC, May 2, 1958*

"The Service is a bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is galling. It is the inescapable harness of government, and I know of no way to get rid of it. All one can do is try to mitigate the evils. Personally, I still find it as irritating as I did when I first entered the Service. Yet I have no regrets whatever for having chosen the Service as a career 38 years ago." — *Communication to a Young Man on the Occasion of his Decision Not to Enter the Foreign Service*

## Governor Kaneko Gets His Bridge

*The Seto Ohashi bridges span 7,016 meters to join Honshu and Shikoku.*

In 1956, on my recommendation, USIS Tokyo awarded a leader grant for a three-month visit to the United States to Governor Masanori Kaneko of Kagawa Prefecture on the island of Shikoku. The previous year his urgent requests that USIS appoint an officer to the recently closed Takamatsu Center led to my being assigned there. Japan was still recovering from its wounds of war and Kaneko was convinced that, if the people in his rural, semi-isolated prefecture were to progress, they must have direct contact with the United States. He used my presence at every opportunity to promote contact with American culture and its institutions.

He proved to be a superb grantee and came back brimming with ideas for improving life in his prefecture. Most important was a bridge over the Inland Sea that he had dreamed of ever since he was a boy. Seeing the Golden Gate, Oakland-San Francisco Bay, and Verrazano Narrows bridges convinced him that Japan, too, could build such bridges.

Shortly after his return Kaneko began a national campaign through the Japanese Diet to get his dream bridge built. As the country's economy progressed, Kaneko's idea developed into reality and on April 8, 1988, Japan inaugurated the Great Seto Bridge, one of the world's longest, linking Shikoku to the Japanese mainland. My wife and I returned to Takamatsu for the occasion. Then retired and in the hospital, Kaneko was unable to attend the ceremonies, but he still reveled in the glory of having his dream finally accomplished and gave me full credit for helping him to realize it.

*Harry H. Kendall, FSO (Retired)*

## Recalling Directors Streibert and Allen

*Sending out the Wireless File from the Washington, DC, Wireroom.*

During my time in USIA, I served under two directors for whom I have the highest regard and affection: Theodore Streibert and George Allen. Their contributions to the success of USIA were crucial and extraordinary: Streibert for steering the new agency through the darkest days of McCarthyism by keeping it afloat and placing it firmly on the Washington scene; George Allen, a brilliant career ambassador to Yugoslavia, Iran, Greece and India, for giving USIA the standing in the foreign affairs community that President Eisenhower had sought.

Turning from the serious to the humorous, I recall two anecdotes: One day, when I was in the European area, Streibert asked me to arrange an appointment with the Pope. I was stunned. Before even thinking how to arrange such a meeting, I decided to ask Streibert why he wanted to meet the Pope. His answer: "Don't you understand, Walter? He is in the anti-communist business. I am in the anti-communist business. Shouldn't we exchange ideas?" Streibert saw the Pope.

George Allen called me to his office one day. We were assigning a senior officer to the White House national security staff. Allen had a name he wanted to try out on me. An excellent choice, I said. I had a question: How come you thought of him? Allen motioned me to come closer and whispered in my ear: "I saw him in the elevator." This is how I learned how assignments are really made in Washington.

*Walter R. Roberts, FSO (Retired)*

## "Rumors of My Death . . ."

In 1958, the communists were trying to take over the vital stevedores' union in Nicaragua. As Acting PAO I steered USIS Nicaragua to assist the non-communist *sindicato* in the major port of Corinto. Aided by the American Institute of Free Labor Development, we prepared brochures on how to keep the bad guys from taking over. A PA system was vital to controlling a union meeting. Twice I had traveled to Corinto by train lugging a 16mm projector with speakers that substituted for a PA system. This time, learning that the train would be delayed for two hours, I stashed the equipment at the Managua train station and returned to the Embassy.

About an hour later, Ambassador Tom Whelan burst into the USIS office looking very upset. "My God, Fred, are you all right?"

"Sure, what's up?"

"The Corinto Port Supervisor called me saying he had just learned that you had been blown up and killed."

I rushed to the railroad station and, sure enough, the projector and other material lay in shreds. A time bomb had been attached to my equipment set to go off while I was en route. The projector would have been at my feet. Grabbing another projector, I caught the next train to Corinto. Talk about some surprised faces when I arrived! And the union remained non-communist until the Sandinista takeover in 1979.

*Fred A. Coffey, Jr., FSO (Retired)*

## Honeymoon in Laos

One of my earliest assignments with USIA proved to be one of the most difficult and challenging: Sam Neua, a remote provincial capital in northeastern Laos' rugged, impenetrable interior. It was also infested with Pathet Lao communist guerrillas. In November 1959, we newlyweds headed for Laos where the Cold War had begun blowing hot. Sam Neua township consisted of a collection of Chinese and Indian merchants' stalls on each side of a main dirt strip. Security was a small local Lao government garrison and Meo Montagnards guarding the hills around us.

What kind of information program, I asked myself, made sense for such a primitive, high-risk environment? In six months my information structure included VOA broadcasts and Lao mobile military and civil information teams carrying to every village a message of support from the King and promises of material support.

There was one major problem. Messages of support were only as good as security for the province. Just nine months after my arrival a military coup in Vientiane, followed by a Hanoi-backed Pathet Lao communist invasion, ended the province's short, independent existence.

When it was over I asked myself the inevitable question, "What had we accomplished?" Philosophically, I concluded it was all part of a honeymoon in Laos.

*James D. McHale, FSO (Retired)*

*James McHale with villagers of Meo, near Sam Neua.*


*VOA Director Dick Button greets Louis Armstrong at the Voice in 1957. Armstrong's subsequent interview with Willis Conover was broadcast in a number of languages. Button, a talented musician, joined Armstrong for a jam session in the studio.*

## Nation Building in Laos

I arrived in Laos in 1954 as Information Officer a few months after Laos became independent. The country faced a communist-led insurgency and an impending war in neighboring Vietnam. Our major problem was that most of the Lao people did not know they had an independent state, a federal government and a King. Our job was nation building from the ground up.

PAO Ted Tanen and I published a Lao-language edition of USIA's monthly magazine, *Free World,* in a land which had never had a publication. We produced a monthly newsreel about news of the government, the royal family, and U.S. assistance, which we showed in villages to people who had never seen a motion picture.

It was a tough, tropical tour, with no running water, electricity, air conditioning, or medical care; hazardous air travel; and tropical diseases. During my two years there, the U.S. mission grew from five to more than a thousand, but Ted and I were there at the creation.

*Yale Richmond, FSO (Retired)*

*Yale Richmond in Laos in 1955.*

## Morocco: How the Common Folks Welcomed a President

My friend, a young Frenchman at the Marrakech office of the Moroccan Ministry of Youth and Sports, wanted me to observe the way in which he put to good use the USIA films we furnished him. We drove a couple of hours into the foothills of the Atlas mountains to a village where an outdoor film showing was scheduled. By the time night fell we had set up the projection equipment, the place was crowded with several thousand spectators, and the show began. The didactic, dull, and mostly black-and-white documentaries of the Ministry about drugs and health were viewed politely. Enthusiasm was reserved for the last film, the *pièce de résistance*, the promise of which had attracted an exceptionally large crowd. That was the account, in living color, of their beloved King Mohammed V's recent visit to the U.S.

Such films about visits to America by foreign heads of state, especially of the newly independent ones, showing the warmth with which President Eisenhower and the American people received them — and, incidentally, something about the United States — were routinely produced by the Agency in those days. The one about the king was surely seen by over a million Moroccans that year.

Four years later, President Eisenhower decided to return the King's visit. The White House had no specific political purpose in mind, least of all any hope of reviving long-stalled negotiations concerning four vital American airbases in the North African country. But somebody took along a copy of a proposed agreement anyway.

The crowds that turned out to cheer the President into Casablanca were far larger and more exuberant than the Moroccan leadership had expected, bringing about the sudden eagerness to sign something. The base agreement turned out to be the handiest thing to sign. Why were the crowds so overwhelming? Bill Porter, head of the State Department's North Africa desk, had an explanation: "You fellows did it with that movie, and all the rest. Nobody realized how warmly average Moroccans felt about the U.S. and its president." The term had not yet been invented, but public diplomacy was surely at work.

*Arthur A. Bardos, FSO (Retired)*

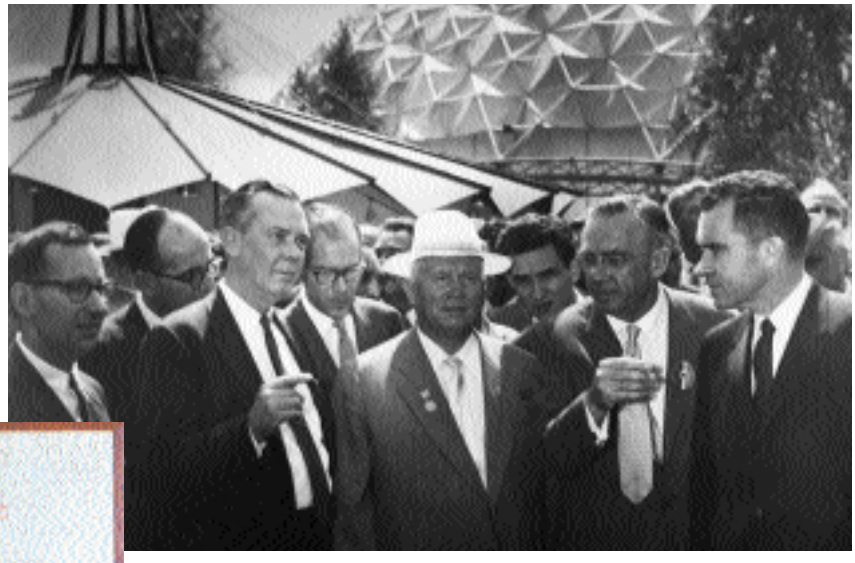
## The Nixon-Khrushchev Kitchen Debate

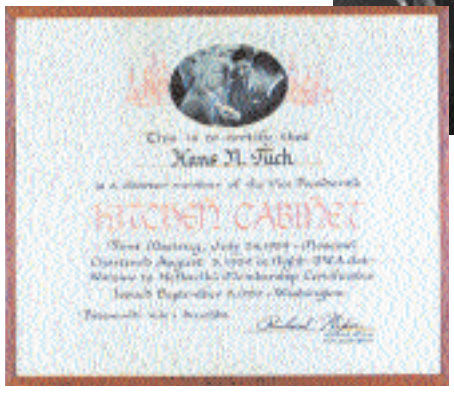
One of the most memorable moments at a USIA overseas exhibit occurred in 1959. At the National Exhibition in Moscow before its formal opening, Vice President Nixon conducted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev through a preview of the exhibit. He first led him to the RCA color television studio, where a videotaping of the two in conversation was demonstrated. While the two talked for the cameras, Khrushchev became increasingly aggressive while Nixon remained restrained.

Stopping next at a model of a typical American one-family home, they were looking at the kitchen when Khrushchev again became polemical. This time Nixon gave tit for tat. Every time it looked as if they were going to come to verbal blows, they backed off, laughed, embraced, and then went at it again.

Surrounded by American photographers and reporters who were snapping pictures and scribbling furiously, the incident, reported by the media throughout the world, became widely known as the Khrushchev-Nixon "kitchen debate."

*Hans "Tom" Tuch, FSO (Retired)*






*Above, L to R: Tom Tuch, USIA Director George Allen, Premier Khrushchev, Exhibit Director Chad McClellan, and Vice President Nixon. Left: The certificate received by Tom Tuch as an "official member" of the kitchen cabinet.*

## Five Decades of USIA's Book Translation Program

The Book Translation Program of the U.S. Information Agency has supported U.S. foreign policy objectives by encouraging translation and reprinting of key works in U.S. politics, economics, law, history and literature for foreign audiences.

In parts of the world where English is not widely understood, books and articles on U.S. public policy, economics and society can only have an impact on important overseas audiences if they are written in local languages. In developing countries and newly emerging states, however, fragmented language markets, high business costs and the proliferation of unauthorized copies and translations offer little incentive for U.S. or overseas publishers to bring out commercial translations or local editions of these works. USIA's Book Translation Program works to make that critical framework available to overseas audiences through subsidies to local publishers, copyright acquisitions and purchases of already-translated materials.

Since 1950, the Book Translation Program has led to the publication of more than 20,000 translations and 5,000 English reprints of works ranging from classics of U.S. literature and political and economic philosophy to practical guides on establishing small businesses and nonprofit organizations. Almost 190 million copies of these works, mostly books but also articles, conference proceedings and monographs, have been published and disseminated with USIA support. Translations have appeared in scores of languages, including Spanish, French, Arabic, Bangla, Bulgarian, Chinese, Hungarian, Indonesian, Kazakh, Russian, Thai and Urdu. The translated and reprinted works find their way into government institutions, businesses, university classrooms and book stores throughout the world.

These books and articles offer a U.S. perspective on issues of bilateral and global concern to decision-makers and opinion-makers overseas. By working cooperatively with foreign publishers and translators, USIA's Book Translation and Reprint Program also promotes observance of intellectual property rights and fosters the growth of publishing industries as vital components of civil societies in developing countries.

*Kathryn Gunning, FSO*

# 1960s

*1961* — Famous broadcaster and television personality Edward R. Murrow becomes USIA director. He serves from 1961 to 1964 and inspires a generation of USIA employees with his integrity, honesty and skills as a communicator.

*September 1961* — The Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act (Fulbright-Hays Act; Public Law 87-256) consolidates various U.S. international educational and cultural exchanges, including the translation of books and periodicals and U.S. representation in international fairs and expositions, and establishes government operation of cultural and education centers abroad. By the end of the year, a Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs is established in the Department of State under an Assistant Secretary.

*October 18, 1961* — The New York Foreign Press Center, established under plans developed by the White House, the Department of State and the Agency, opens its doors to serve foreign correspondents. Addressing a letter to the foreign correspondents, President Kennedy says that the Center has been established "to make it as easy as possible for you to cover this large, complex, and many-sided country."

*November 5, 1961* — VOA amasses its 52 transmitters to tell listeners behind the Iron Curtain about the resumption of Communist nuclear testing in the atmosphere.

*1962-1964* — USIS expands its presence in Africa and other developing countries.

*1963* — President Kennedy issues a mission statement for USIA that reflects his vision of the Agency's role in the "New Frontier."

*The official headquarters of USIA was at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, from 1953 to 1983.*

*March 1963* — The beginning of *English Teaching Forum,* USIA's journal for English teachers around the world. (This very popular journal has Congressional authorization to be distributed in the U.S. as one of two exceptions to the domestic dissemination mandate of the Smith-Mundt Act; the other publication is *Problems of Communism.*)

*December 1964* — The Agency's first feature-length documentary, *John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums,* is distributed in 117 countries. Public Law 89-274 allows the film to be shown in the United States. The film wins an Academy Award as Best Documentary.

## USIA and the Cuban Missile Crisis

On October 19, 1962, Under Secretary of State George Ball informed me that a committee called Excom had been created to deal with the still unannounced Cuban missile crisis and I was to become part of it. Director Edward R. Murrow was ill and, as his deputy, I would represent USIA.

At the outset, President Kennedy wanted the people of Cuba to know that the Soviets had secretly installed missiles on their island. He also wanted the Cubans to be informed of all U.S. responses and policies and the reasoning behind them. At USIA, we concluded that the only way to reach a large Cuban audience was via major radio stations located in the southeastern U.S.

*Above: Excom debates U.S. response to the Cuban missile crisis. Deputy Director Don Wilson, far left, represents USIA.*
*Right: Deputy Director Don Wilson.*

I arranged with the White House to clear telephone lines to seven powerful commercial stations in Miami, Key West, Atlanta, Cincinnati and New Orleans and three shortwave stations elsewhere, all of which had substantial Cuban audiences. One hour before President Kennedy addressed the world on October 22, the station owners received a call from Press Secretary Pierre Salinger. He asked if they would make their stations available to carry the VOA Spanish language programming that night and for an indefinite number of nights to come. All agreed.

At Excom, USIA advice was sought on subsequent occasions, most notably on October 23-24 when initial European press reaction to the Kennedy speech was skeptical. I strongly advised that we release the secret aerial pictures taken from U-2 planes, proving that the missile sites were being rapidly completed. After some debate, this recommendation was approved and carried out. The tide of press opinion turned immediately in our favor.

During those most critical days in October 1962, USIA was present at the highest level policy-making group, and the Agency did a magnificent job of supporting U.S. policy.

*Donald M. Wilson, Deputy Director of USIA, 1961-65*

### PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

According to a Library of Congress study the term "public diplomacy" was first used in 1965 by Dean Edmund Gullion of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. It was created with the establishment at Fletcher of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy. In the Fletcher School catalog of Tufts University, public diplomacy is defined as the "cause and effect of public attitudes and opinions which influence the formulation and execution of foreign policy."

## Tea and Liver Paté

It was the third day of being held hostage at the Siglo XX-Catavi Mining Complex in Bolivia, along with three other Americans and 17 European and Bolivian mining officials. Our kidnapping had turned a simple humanitarian mission into an international incident. Bolivia teetered on the brink of civil war. Life-threatening questions consumed me, but so did hunger.

We had started the Alliance for Progress mission on December 6, 1963, to help fund construction of a school for the miners' children. Unfortunately, we were caught in the proverbial wrong place at the wrong time, becoming barter for arrested union leaders.

The hostage meals were sparse and infrequent. Against all odds, I cautiously requested a late afternoon snack. The surprised response was, "What would you like?" Out of desperate need for some civility amidst our squalor, I requested tea and liver paté on toast. Naturally, I expected to hear, "You'll eat what you get." But the Bolivian miners were determined to maintain their self-proclaimed reputation as seekers of social justice, not terrorists. Somehow they located the liver paté. Tea and liver paté became my afternoon snack throughout the ten-day ordeal.

*Michael Kristula, FSO (Retired)*

*"The really crucial link in the international communications chain is the last three feet, which is best bridged by personal contact — one person talking to another."*
*Edward R. Murrow*
*Director, 1961-1963*

*1965* — The Joint United States Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO) is established in Saigon to handle information activities related to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

*1967* — Publication begins in English and Spanish of the scholarly journal *Dialogue,* which showcases the vitality of American intellectual and creative life. Other language editions are added later.

*August 20, 1968* — President Johnson signs a bill (Public Law 90-494) establishing a career Foreign Service personnel system for Agency officers, after 15 years of effort by three administrations, members of Congress, advisory committees and private citizens to achieve this goal. An initial group of 592 Foreign Service Information Officers is confirmed by the Senate on October 4.

## Edward R. Murrow Recruits Leo Sarkisian for VOA

Conakry, Guinea, December 1961: "Soviet Ambassador Expelled"; January 5, 1962: "Anasta Mikoyan arrives to patch things up but is refused audience with President Sekou Toure." Edward R. Murrow arrives in Conakry January 4, 1962, is given a better reception by the president but doesn't make the headlines. After seeing Sekou Toure, Murrow goes with U.S. Ambassador Bill Atwood to a building across the park directly facing the President's residence. The building's elevator, as usual, is not working and Atwood and Murrow climb six flights to the apartment of Leo and Mary Sarkisian.

Murrow, just lighting up a cigarette, looks up. "Hi, I'm Ed Murrow. I've heard a lot about Leo's work." At that time Leo is on assignment as Music Director and Sound Manager for Tempo Records of Hollywood. On Murrow's request that day, Leo becomes Music Director for VOA's Program Center in Monrovia, Liberia.

*Leo Sarkisian in action.*

In recruiting Leo, Murrow got not only an expert on African and Afro-American rhythm and sound, but also a talented portrait artist whose work gained him access to Africa's top leadership. One-line telegrams from Ambassadors and PAOs alike attest to Leo Sarkisian's effectiveness as a diplomat:

Bamako: "A veritable one-man sight and sound show took Bamako by storm."

Pretoria: " . . . presented highly successful multimedia program at Univ. of Zululand and Univ. of the North, the first programs of this type ever presented at black universities in South Africa."

Luanda: " . . . drew multiracial audience . . . event covered by all media, leading newspaper called it 'opening of opportunity for understanding between U.S. and Angola.' "

*Excerpted from archival material*

## USIS Brings Bathyscaphe to Trieste Fair

The U.S. government's budget-based decision not to participate in the 1960 Trieste Fair heightened local concern that the U.S. was losing interest in the port's future. But USIS Trieste found a Plan B. The BPAO visited Jacques Cousteau in Monaco and secured his endorsement and material support, then initiated an exhibit on oceanography focusing on the record-deep dive of the bathyscaphe *USS Trieste,* designed by Auguste Piccard.

The Trieste shipyards made available a model of the bathyscaphe for the exhibit and Cousteau provided pictures and models from the Monaco Museum. Time-Life provided pictures, as did the governments of Israel, France and Italy. UN agencies and special organizations supplied materials, models and instrumentation. National Geographic permitted its flag to be flown at the USIS exhibit, an honor reserved normally only for National Geographic expeditions. President Eisenhower's opening statement calling for international cooperation in marine affairs lent stature to the show as did the participation of the Swiss scientists Auguste and Jacques Piccard. The exhibit sparked two weeks of celebration during which the city of Trieste conferred honorary citizenship upon the Piccards and minted a medal for the occasion.

Some 85,000 people saw the show before it went on to the Bari and Ancona Fairs. Italy's President Giovanni Gronchi visited the exhibit in Venice before it left for Norway, Spain and Brazil. The model, now at the U.S. Navy Museum in Washington, DC, resides next to the actual *Trieste* bathyscaphe.

*Ed Pancoast, FSO (Retired)*

*Auguste Piccard presents a miniature Neptune motif of the Marine World Exhibit to Italy's Minister of Foreign Trade. Piccard's son Jacques, left, was aboard the* Trieste *when it made a record deep dive in the Pacific five months earlier. Standing between the Piccards is BPAO Ed Pancoast.*

*President Tito of Yugoslavia visiting the Belgrade Fair in May 1962. The Fair exhibited the capsule in which John Glenn orbited the earth. President Tito remarked to PAO Walter Roberts that he would not have fit into the tight space of the capsule.*

*A motion picture crew on the set at USIS Laos in the early 1960s. USIS Laos made films for distribution throughout Southeast Asia.*

## Lumumba Reverberations in Egypt

"Americans killed Patrice Lumumba" proclaimed Cairo headlines early in 1961. We huddled at the embassy. How to respond? "The USIS press unit can do it," I announced. "We'll print a factual pamphlet using the text of speeches from the Secretary General of the U.N., U.S. Ambassador to the U.N Adlai Stevenson and President Kennedy." What could be more straightforward? Presses for *The Truth about Congo* started rolling.

The next morning, as I drove along the Nile Corniche, some of the new Arabic-language pamphlets somehow flew out the window. Soon a car full of burly men — an Egyptian security unit — overtook me and arrested me for distributing subversive literature. I was driven to the Ministry of Internal Security. My diplomatic credentials were ignored.

What followed gave me insight into a totalitarian state. I was treated gently. There was coffee (in spite of Ramadan) and a friendly chat with a high official. "The matter will be cleared soon," he said. Hours passed, but nothing happened. My interlocutor left, returning in a sober mood. "Why did you attempt to overthrow the government of your host country?" he barked. I simply laughed. "It is not a laughing matter," he commented gravely. "It is very serious." As I stood by the window I saw an official U.S. embassy car at the gate. Norbert Anschuetz, the DCM, had come to fetch me. Told I was gone, he asked why my car was parked inside the Ministry. The guard was mute.

Meanwhile, my counterpart at the Egyptian Embassy in Washington was awakened in the middle of the night. "Could you do something to get Nagorski out of jail in Cairo?" he was asked politely. "Otherwise you may want to start packing."

Freedom followed. The official in charge escorted me outside, reminding me of his earlier assurance that the matter would be settled quickly. When I was later transferred to South Korea, he attended my farewell party and hugged me, declaring, "You are my brother."

"Yes, I know," I replied, "and we had a chance to know each other well." He beamed with delight.

*Zygmunt Nagorski, FSO (Retired)*

## In Memory of Frank Corrigan

This is a photo of Frank Corrigan's coffin as a final tribute to a headlong, idealistic, dedicated and searching officer who did more than the best he could to advance America's interests. He's not the only one who died in the line of duty. I realize that. He's just the only one whose remains I could take a picture of. If anything at all is published in commemoration of what USIA's personnel stood for, then this photo cannot be omitted. He deserves one more salute above his plain pine box.

*Ivan Klecka, FSO (Retired)*

## On the Road in Laos

General Kong Le, then a Paratroop Captain, rebelled against the Royal Lao Government in 1960, shot up the capital Vientiane, and led his battalion into a shaky alliance with the Communist Pathet Lao. We traveled with the Royal Lao Army as it chased Kong Le and the Pathet Lao north toward Luang Prabang, the Laotian Royal capital. We posted photos along the way, to show villagers how its government was committed to their safety and well-being. (Photo at left: Two farmers in newly cleared Vang Vieng study pictures of their friends and relatives a few miles back down the road.)

We worked with NGOs making sure vital supplies reached Lao mothers and children in the cold Northern mountains, and that the villagers knew who their friends were. We didn't worry about U.S. Foreign Building Office parameters when we cobbled together offices, meeting rooms and conference halls in the Laos back country. Villagers willingly traded their labor for a place to read our magazines and to watch our movies. The doctor came to hold clinics and USAID workers to check village requirements. And when we moved on, it became a village center, and a school for which we supplied the textbooks. (Photo above right: Villagers building the center.)

Two USIS officers never left Laos. One was John McNeal, the other Frank Corrigan. Both were victims of plane crashes as they were flying their circuits, in John McNeal's case because of hostile ground fire. Frank left a wife and two children, one an adopted Laotian baby daughter. He, like John, also left behind countless rededicated friends and the highest of ideals.

*Ivan Klecka, FSO (Retired)*

# Edward R. Murrow

### Director, 1961-1964

"I think we must at all times operate on the basis of truth; that we must in all media, insofar as we can, be competitive; and above everything else we must strive for credibility, for believability, in order that what we say, whether by radio, print, films or television will be believed as coming from serious sources determined to make American policy at all times intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable." — *Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, March 27, 1961*

"In the broad sweep, it is the purpose of USIA to portray this country as it really is. The truth must be our guide, but dreams must be our goal. . . . We shall tell the yearning, hopeful masses of the world 'We share your dreams.' Ours was the first of the great revolutions. We offer no panaceas. We do offer our experience and energies in the search for betterment, for human excellence. . . . Basically, the overriding job of USIA is to make this country understood." — Newsweek, *September 18, 1961*

"Our aim: to tell them why we do what we do. We are in pursuit of men's minds and opinions. It is an elusive goal. You do not win them quickly or easily. Once won, they give you no commitment that they will stay won. They are people like you and me. They will change their minds as capriciously or as often as we do. They will judge us more by what we do than by what we say. A Cuban invasion can defame the name of this country in Latin America, just as an Alliance for Progress can do much to honor it." — *American Management Association, February 1962*

"USIA is the new dimension of the new diplomacy. We occupy the only battle line that engages this entire land. We seek to explain this country and all it does. Our goal is the minds of men. But the war we wage is not the war to capture men's minds; it is a war to free them." — *National Association of Broadcasters, March 2, 1962*

"American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that." — *Subcommittee on International Organization and Movements, House of Representatives, March 28, 1963*

"We cannot gauge our success by sales. No profit and loss statement sums up our operations at the end of each year. No cash register rings when a man changes his mind, no totals are rung up on people impressed with an idea. There is no market listing of the rise or fall in the going rate of belief in an ideal. Often, one's best work may be merely to introduce doubt into the minds already firmly committed. — *59th Convention of the Advertising Federation of America, June 19, 1963*

"It has always seemed to me the real art in this business is not so much moving information or guidance or policy five or ten thousand miles. That is an electronic problem. The real art is to move it the last three feet in face to face conversation." — *Interview on ABC TV program* Issues and Answers, *August 4, 1963*

# Carl T. Rowan

### Director, 1964-1965

"Inherent in every USIA action will be our desire to further the foreign policy interests of this country. In doing so, we must present this nation as one strong and resolute enough to retain the cherished ideals and liberties of our past, yet wise and flexible enough to welcome the inevitable changes of tomorrow. For our whole history reveals us to be people who understand that, while not all change is progress, there can be no progress without change." — *Senate Foreign Relations Committee, February 25, 1964*

"The United States — as the most open, free, candid society on earth — remains a glass house before the world. . . . For years, the world has watched what has transpired within that house: at Little Rock, at Oxford, at Birmingham; in Harlem, in Cicero, in Cambridge. And much of the world has narrowed its gaze at America, and has looked on our racial injustices, sometimes in sorrow; sometimes in scathing wrath.

"It has been USIA's task to tell the story of those racial tensions in their honest perspective: not to suppress the story, or distort it, or whitewash it, but to put it into its true and total dimensions of a society struggling as no society ever did to wipe out barriers of prejudice and distrust.

"We in USIA have not denied the racial problems — they are there for the world to see — but what we have done is underscore the racial progress — which is something the world often does not see. For in an area of highly charged emotions, the unhappy fact is that bad news is halfway 'round the world before good news gets its boots on!" — *Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, Washington, DC, March 30, 1965*

"If we had a communist or totalitarian society, we could cease to be truthful, but we happen to have the most open society in the world and as long as our society is what it is, and, God knows, I hope it's always an open society, the Voice of America, the USIA, will have no choice but to tell the truth." — *TV program* Opinion in the Capital, *January 3, 1965*

# Leonard H. Marks

## Director, 1965-1968

When I was appointed Director of the U.S. Information Agency in 1965, the country faced an escalating presence in the war in Vietnam. A token military presence became significant with fifty thousand advisors scheduled for combat duty. The professional USIA Foreign Service officers, the USIA staff and the Agency's foreign nationals were performing magnificently during this difficult period. I was and am extremely proud of the USIA employees who served their country in this war. We must honor the memory of all those who gave their lives to this service.

During the Vietnam War, USIA was charged with the critical assignment of media relations — keeping the world informed of American objectives and goals in Southeast Asia. This assignment became our top priority and tended to overshadow other essential activities in the field of cultural exchange such as the outreach activities through libraries, cultural centers and Fulbright organizations that are so vital to relations with other countries. The IPS, the press service, did yeoman work in covering the war and maintaining the traditional on-the-spot news function so important to public diplomacy. The Voice of America highlighted the Vietnam situation but did not ignore other significant events taking place in the United States.

Despite the attention to the war and budgetary restrictions, the USIA had some remarkable successes in cultural initiatives. Let me illustrate: In this period, our relations with the Government of Egypt were unsatisfactory due in large measure to President Nasser's crusade against America and his policy of giving the Russians free rein in the Middle East — threatening our vital interests. To counter this policy, we invited other leading Egyptians to the U.S. for frank discussion of our mutual concerns. Six Egyptians accepted. The delegation traveled throughout the United States meeting with groups of their choice, without any interference. Their mission climaxed with a meeting with President Lyndon Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. The delegation included Anwar Sadat, then the leader of Parliament. When he became President after Nasser's death, he severed relations with the USSR and embraced the United States. In a statement about the change in policy, Sadat referred to his U.S. visit as one of the reasons for the change in attitude.

A second gratifying cultural initiative came in the USIA design, construction and management of the U.S. Pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. The brilliant exhibits on American life and culture were housed in a breathtaking geodesic dome designed by Buckminster Fuller. President Johnson thrilled the Canadians by attending "America Day". Millions of visitors — including quite a few Americans — came to marvel at this demonstration of respect for Canada and its people.

Finally, during the last months of President Johnson's Administration, USIA and its staff around the world began preparing for the informational effort concerning the July 1969 moon landing. When President Kennedy set up the goal of landing a man on the moon in the 1960s, he turned implementation of the effort to then Vice President Johnson. When Johnson became President, he made a strong personal effort to ensure the eventual success of Apollo XI. USIA was a key player in this historic effort, presenting the space program to the world with all its dangers, risks and rewards.

As stated above, throughout my tenure as Director, I learned to appreciate the quality of USIA professionals which they had demonstrated since President Eisenhower set up the Agency in 1953. Despite an outstanding record, the Agency did not have a career service and so, early in my tenure, I announced that passage of career legislation would be a top priority. On August 2, 1968, Congress passed the Pell-Hays Bill creating the Foreign Service Information Officer Corps. President Johnson signed the Bill on August 20, 1968, and stated: "I sign this act with genuine satisfaction, believing that it gives the U.S. Information Agency merited recognition for its work of the past and better tools with which to meet the challenges of the future."

It is my own conviction that the USIA career legislation enhanced the professionalism of Agency officers and better enabled them to deal with foreign policy challenges as well as prepare for the current transition into the Department of State.

## Curses!

In early 1963 I was on a 17 African nation swing making movies of USAID projects. While in Khartoum I decided to photograph the two Nile rivers converging into one. I had my camera in a spot where I got a good view and, just before taking the pictures, discovered a group of nomads at the river's edge. The women were washing clothes by beating them on rocks and the men were filling goatskin bags with water and fastening them on the backs of their camels. "Great shot," I thought, but, just as I was about to film, I felt a tap on my shoulder and came face to face with the fiercest one of them. He put his hand in front of my lens and muttered something in Arabic.

"What's his problem?" I asked my translator. "He says that you are putting the curse on them and that the goatskin bags of water will break before they reach their destination."

"Nonsense," I said, and gave him a coin from my wallet. "Tell him that this magic amulet will take the curse off him." I sneaked a shot unbeknownst to him and got into the car. I picked up my thermos bottle and started to take a drink of cold water and the darn thing broke and spilled over me. Who put the curse on whom?

*Douglas J. Baker, Motion Picture Officer (Retired)*

*USIS Lahore's popular Traveling Library from 1957 to 1969 circulated two vans, each packed with 1,200 books and 50 magazines, to dozens of remote towns and villages in Pakistan's Punjab and North West Frontier Provinces, bordering Afghanistan and China. During the 12 years of its operation, readers borrowed more than one million books for up to four weeks at a time.*

*PAO Bill Weathersby introduces Indira Gandhi to USIS and its work in 1967.*

*USIA Director Edward R. Murrow swearing in a new JOT class, August 1963.*

## USIS Reaches Out to Japanese Women

"Work with Japanese women on public affairs and international understanding? Impossible!"

These sentiments greeted me when I arrived in Tokyo in October 1963. Recruited into the Foreign Service for my background in civil organizations and international women's activities, I was assigned to carry out the women's program requested by Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer. Ten years later, after four consecutive tours of reaching out to Japanese women to include them in the wide range of USIS interests, I left Japan having proven the skeptics wrong. To give voice to the results, the Agency asked me to write a book about the development of Japanese women, *The Hidden Sun: Women of Modern Japan*, published by The Westview Press.

With the support of the American Cultural Centers, Japanese women's organizations and education officials, we organized discussions on citizen activities, women in the work force, democracy, environment and even tough issues like the war in Vietnam. Local discussions grew into regional conferences which included other foreign women. Prominent American visitors like Esther Peterson and Marietta Tree lent sparkle and a sense of dynamism. USIS International Visitor trips to the United States heightened the women's leadership skills and international understanding.

As I returned to the United States in the early 1970s I knew my life would never be without Japanese interests. I also felt that USIS Japan and I had contributed in important ways to help Japanese women move into the world of the emerging women's movement and the United Nations International Decade of Women.

*Dorothy Robins-Mowry, FSO (Retired)*

## Meeting Robert Kennedy in São Paulo

*Robert Kennedy addressing the crowd at the dedication of the bust of JFK in downtown São Paulo, November 1964.*

I was ACAO at USIS São Paulo when Robert Kennedy visited Brazil in November 1964, a year after President Kennedy's assassination. All of us pitched in to handle arrangements and deal with Kennedy's large, adoring press entourage and the even larger, more adoring crowds that welcomed him wherever he went.

I was asked to draft some remarks — which of course he did not use — for Kennedy to give at the dedication of a remarkable bust of John F. Kennedy in downtown São Paulo on the anniversary of his brother's death. He gave a heartfelt impromptu speech instead, which was received with passionate applause.

Only a year after the tragedy, emotions still ran very deep, in Americans and Brazilians alike. A kind of somber intensity hung over the visit. But my last memory of Bobby Kennedy is a lighthearted one. There was to be a big reception at the house of a philanthropic American couple where Kennedy was staying. We all arrived there, dusty and windblown, in a caravan of open cars. I ran to find a back room and a mirror to comb my tangled hair. Out of a door in the hallway leaned Robert Kennedy, dripping wet from a shower. "D'you think you could find me a towel?" he called plaintively. Not knowing the house well, I had to delegate the job.

*Barbara Shelby Merello, FSO (Retired)*

## An Unintended Consequence

*CAO Dorothy Dillon (in white) with Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro.*

During my tour as Cultural Affairs Officer in Guatemala, 1963-66, one of my most interesting experiences with the educational exchange program involved a leader grant for a distinguished law professor, Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro. We expected him to become the next rector of San Carlos, the national university, and offered him the opportunity to spend 30 days in the United States meeting educators and government officials. But there was a problem. We were not sure that he would accept a grant because of an unfortunate experience with an embassy officer several years before.

We made an indirect approach through a friend of his and, when the response was positive, I invited Mendez to come to my office to plan his program. He had a fabulous trip and came back supremely pleased with the experience.

Before I left Guatemala, Julio's brother, Mario, the leader of an important political party and a presidential candidate, committed suicide. Julio had no choice but to assume leadership of the party and to run for the presidency. The result? Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro became president of his country instead of rector of the university. Not a bad unintended consequence!

*Dorothy Dillon, FSO (Retired)*

## Baseball Pays Off in Santo Domingo

During my JOT tour in the Dominican Republic in 1965 the CAO asked me to attend a meeting that soon involved me in assisting several neighborhood youth baseball leagues in Santo Domingo. Thanks to USIA's old Office of Private Cooperation, I got donations of baseball equipment for them, including balls, gloves and bats. I spent a lot of spare time at their games and ceremonies and had some of them over for picnics at my residence.

An American citizen died one day while I was Embassy Duty Officer. I was instructed to go to her home and interview her family. This Dominican-born American resided in one of the poorer, unincorporated barrios of the city where families festooned their houses with numbers of their own choosing for addresses. Lost and going in circles, I was finally hailed by three young fellows who were members of one of the youth baseball teams I had been assisting. Yes, they knew where the woman's house was and yes, they would guide me to it.

The three clambered into my car and two minutes later I was conferring with the woman's relatives while going down through the Consulate's checklist. I don't think I ever told the Consul General how I managed to report back to the Embassy so quickly with the required information.

*Alfred A. Laun, III, FSO (Retired)*

# Remembering

## John Steinbeck in Long An Province

Many well-known people passed through Vietnam when I served there in the late 1960s, but my favorite was novelist John Steinbeck. Steinbeck was there to see the war in 1967, and he was shepherded to military sites by the Military Air Command, Vietnam (MACV) while his wife, Elaine, was left in Saigon. I learned that the Steinbecks were in country and invited them to visit me in the delta, promising that they would get a chance to see a variety of U.S.-sponsored programs.

They came to Long An for two days in January 1967, and we traveled to hamlet pacification projects and saw civilians as well as military in action. In the evening, at the MACV bar, we talked literature and war. When I was about to take the Steinbecks to the helipad in my jeep, I suddenly remembered that I hadn't gotten John's autograph. I had not brought any Steinbeck novels with me, because "I only brought books I haven't read," I told him. I grabbed the first book at hand, and Steinbeck dutifully inscribed in my edition of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey,* "For Don Besom from Homer (in absentia) by John Steinbeck."

*John Steinbeck in Long An province in 1967.*

When Steinbeck wrote about his visit to Long An in one of his syndicated columns, it was obvious that the exposure we gave him to the civilian side of the war had helped to broaden his picture of U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

*Don Besom, FSO (Retired)*

## Explaining Vietnam in India

I arrived in Madras, India, in 1966 as USIS Information Officer. I was 42, and it was my first Foreign Service assignment. As I looked back on my years as a *Chicago Sun-Times* reporter, WGN-TV news editor, and corporate public relations executive, I wasn't sure what I was now getting into. The Vietnam War was raging, and USIA had sent out calls for help to shore up the nation's defenses against international criticism. A team of USIA recruiters came to Chicago, interviewed me and my wife, and invited us to climb aboard. I felt I could be most useful traveling throughout the four states of Southern India to meet with the media and other audiences to address the Vietnam issue. My goal was not so much to defend our role in the war as to explain the events leading up to our involvement and our rationale for continuing.

I found out that I was making an impact in an unusual way. About a year after I arrived, the Soviet Union's consulate in Madras tried to slow me down by sending a news release to the media accusing me of being a CIA agent. The disinformation tactic didn't work.

*Eddie Deerfield, FSO (Retired)*

## The Drama Team in Vietnam

In 1966, JUSPAO Director Barry Zorthian asked me to do a second tour in Vietnam, this time to organize and direct a country-wide program of propaganda through entertainment. This idea was based on the old Chinese traveling opera company which entertained in the rural communities, and had been used by both the Viet Minh against the colonial French and the Viet Cong against the government of South Vietnam (GVN).

*A Van Tac Vu drama team arrives at a Vietnamese village.*

My dedicated administrative assistant, Le Quang Tuyen, and I recruited, trained and put in place 15 teams that operated exclusively in the rural areas throughout South Vietnam. Our 100 unarmed Vietnamese young men and women, called the Van Tac Vu, visited and entertained an estimated 1,000,000 country folks in the first year. They were the first and only face of the GVN to be seen in the rural areas and were the model on which the GVN developed its rural development program. Our own composition and theme song "Vietnam! Vietnam!" became so ubiquitous from 1967 on, that it's still heard more today than the national anthem in the Vietnamese community in America.

Our Van Tac Vu would dress in peasant black pajamas, arrive unannounced in a hamlet, pin on badges, assist in community projects, teach patriotic songs at schools, give first-aid, distribute a monthly magazine, and give our performance, usually at night and, as we learned by tragic experience, quickly leave before the VC began to triangulate on us.

In November 1967, USIA awarded the Group Superior Honor Award to the Van Tac Vu "for superior service to the JUSPAO program as drama teams operating in rural Vietnam under conditions of severe hardship and at great personal danger to themselves."

I was proud to give a copy of this citation to Le Quang Tuyen several years ago in front of several other JUSPAO Vietnamese ex-employees. He had been imprisoned after the fall of Saigon, escaped after three years, and found his way to the U.S., the only Van Tac Vu member to do so as far as we know. We are now neighbors in Southern California.

*John Campbell, FSO (Retired)*

# Vietnam

## The Short (and Happy ?) Life of JUSPAO

The Joint U.S. Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO), which replaced USIS in Vietnam from 1965-1972, was born of a simple concept. The integrated civilian/military effort, on which so much stress was placed in counter-insurgency, required an equally integrated communications effort by a single unified agency.

The concept evolved in the course of informal talks among Ralph Boyce, then head of the USAID Communications Media Division, LTC Bob Bowen, then head of the military psychological operations directorate, and me as Director of USIA Saigon during the chaotic months of 1964 and early 1965. The idea was picked up and carried through the NSC by then USIA Director Carl Rowan and came into being, formally, as JUSPAO on July 1, 1965. At the time, the USIS Director already had a second hat, also approved by the NSC, of chief media counselor to the Mission, including the military, with responsibility for the entire media relations program in the country. JUSPAO brought together all communications activities in the country into one agency under one direction. The JUSPAO budget came from all represented agencies and it could — and did — draw further on the resources of the other American agencies in Vietnam.

*Barry Zorthian in 1966.*

JUSPAO was unprecedented in its integration of civilian and military personnel. At its peak, the agency and the related press office were authorized some 160 American officers drawn from all major agencies in Vietnam — State, USAID, USIS and MACV, plus some 600 Vietnamese positions and various consultants and advisers. The Assistant Director for Operations was an Army brigadier general, and the head of the policy guidance staff was an Army colonel. Civilian and military personnel were sandwiched throughout the organization with each category writing performance ratings for the other.

JUSPAO reached into every province of Vietnam through field representatives who were an integral part of the American province team. Ironically, JUSPAO was almost dated by the time it came into existence. The counterinsurgency situation for which it was created soon became a more conventional war as American forces increased to hundreds of thousands. And JUSPAO's original charter was diluted as the Mission went through reorganization after reorganization. By the end of 1966, even USIA grew tired of the burden and began to reduce its commitment. In 1968 the media relations role was separated and the various agencies began to grow uncomfortable with the integrated structure. When American troops finally withdrew in 1972, JUSPAO was deactivated and USIS resumed its traditional position for the remainder of the American presence there.

But through all these changes, JUSPAO symbolized and retained a significant portion of its original concept — an integrated communications effort under central direction in a period of great national stress. This was a mission which USIA was called upon to direct and for which the Agency had to provide most of the necessary professional personnel, largely because it was the only U.S. agency which came close to being qualified for the assignment. It was a mission to which substantial numbers of Agency officers contributed with great competence, extraordinary dedication and raw physical courage over a period of seven years. It was a unique chapter in the Agency's history.

*Barry Zorthian, former Director of JUSPAO, FSO (Retired)*

## Vietnam Reminiscence

Jim Carroll and I arrived in Saigon in 1966 and found time to take motorized rickshaw tours and to view the extraordinary artillery bombardment from the roof of the Rex Hotel, a nightly occurrence. Then we met our new boss, a formidable, nay legendary, individual, Barry Zorthian, who gave us our JUSPAO provincial assignments.

I drew the area from the extreme Lower Mekong Delta to Bac Lieu Province, where John Twitty introduced me to the local poker game, accustomed me to lukewarm martinis, bathing out of a bucket, and had me sign for a loose bundle of rusted scrap metal that he said was an issued M2 carbine. This was to supplement the .38 S&W snub-nosed revolver I had been issued in Saigon.

We were a mixed military-civilian operation. But with USIA colleagues that included Thompson Gruenwald, Bill Durham, Jeff Sandel, Bill Lenderking, Jim Culpepper, Don Mathes, Tom Crawford, Tom Marquis, Brian Battey, Lou Polichetti, Don Rockland and Jerry Gert, we were never accused of being uncommunicative.

Vehicles were an important support item. I made some field alterations, like having the roofs of the "Scouts" removed, strengthening the springs to accommodate the weight of sandbags, leaving them open, like convertibles, to the elements. Statistics indicated that 90% of land mine fatalities came from hitting your head on those roofs causing fractured skulls and broken necks. No roofs, not even canvas ones, and two overlapping layers of sandbags on the floor, that was my rule.

The distinguishing characteristics of USIA personnel in Vietnam during this period were wanting to be FSOs in the fullest sense of duty and commitment and reluctantly leaving families behind, families that understood what a Foreign Service career entailed. I could in no way complain about leaving three small kids and a pregnant wife, as most others were in the same situation. It made us feel more essential (if more miserable), and it strengthened our commitment to the Service. We were lucky to have been chosen and lucky to have been there during such a crucial period.

*Tom Martin, FSO (Retired)*

# Magazines and Publications

From comic strips to political commentary, USIA produced a range of magazines and publications so diverse that they contradict any stereotype about staid, sober government publications.

The emblematic Cold War figure of the 1950s was "Little Mo," a comic strip featuring a hapless, sad-sack figure who nonetheless survives and slyly triumphs over the petty oppressions of an unnamed Soviet-style state. At its peak, "Little Mo," with its transnational, wordless appeal, ran in newspapers from Europe to Asia.

*Former U.S. Poet Laureate and Nobel Prize winner Joseph Brodsky holding an issue of* America Illustrated *with him on the cover.*

USIA's flagship magazine was the Russian-language monthly *America Illustrated* (or *Amerika*). Published under an exchange agreement (*Soviet Life* was its obscure counterpart), *Amerika* always labored under severe distribution problems — and the Soviets never hesitated to block or return large numbers of copies as "unsold" if they disapproved of a story: one example was an article on the Bible as a worldwide publishing phenomenon. Nevertheless, *Amerika* remained extraordinarily popular during the Cold War decades, and copies were hoarded and passed from reader to reader. Just as many Russians can remember the voice of VOA's Willis Conover, many also recall the impact of specific stories and images from the magazine. *Amerika* not only provided a window on American life, it gave its readers some of the finest photos and graphic design seen in any contemporary publication.

*Above: The 194th issue of* Topic *magazine. Right: Photojournalist Richard Saunders.*

Similarly, *Topic* magazine for Africa provided superbly designed feature articles on life in America, but with one important difference: a third or more of every issue was devoted to African subjects (with a U.S. connection). The individual principally responsible for these Africa stories was one of the country's finest photojournalists, Richard Saunders, who made as many as three to four exhausting trips a year to collect interviews and take pictures that today provide some of the most indelible images of Africa in the 1960s and 1970s.

USIA's Arabic publication, *Al Majal*, began in 1959 as *Al-Hayat* (Life in America), but ended abruptly with the Seven-Day War in 1967. It was reborn in 1969 as an Arabic edition of *Topic*, then evolved into an independent publication by 1971, bringing explanations of American culture, institutions, and policies to 19 countries from Mauritania to Oman.

*The staff of* Al Majal, *with covers of the magazine in the background.*

*Problems of Communism* was unique in several respects: it was a highly respected, densely academic publication that, with a special Congressional exception, was distributed in the United States. For serious students of the Soviet Union and communism, "POC" was required reading, and its roster of authors included virtually every important scholar in the field, from Raymond Aron to Zbigniew Brzezinski.

Among the Agency's other forays into worldwide, elite audience publications was *Dialogue*, a serious, intellectual journal that reflected the tastes of its editor, Nathan Glick, more than any overt set of policy issues. *Dialogue* evolved from plain print to a handsomely illustrated publication in its later years, but it continued its policy of reprinting or commissioning some of the finest social commentary and observation to be found anywhere. In parallel fashion, the worldwide economics journal, *Economic Impact*, carved out a niche as an authoritative, intellectually stimulating journal of analysis about trade and global economic trends.

Although USIA ended publication of all these magazines by 1994, it has published special publications and pamphlets from its earliest years to the present. Among the most enduring and popular are the "Outline" series of books on American history, government, economy, geography and, more recently, American literature. Virtually any major international event and foreign policy issue probably has a corresponding publication — whether Vietnam, NATO, arms control, global warming or human rights.


Looking back, it seems clear that USIA's magazines attempted — without sacrificing credibility — to present a positive view of America, a country that attempted to live up to its ideals. One result was a heavy emphasis on photos and design. That legacy of graphic excellence, now reflected in many of our overseas web sites, will be an important contribution to the new, consolidated State Department.

*New publications on display at a USIS Library.*

## USIS Wows Iranian Audiences with Men on the Moon

For the landing of Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin on the moon July 20, 1969, USIS Tehran, like other USIS posts, pulled out all the stops to attract Iranian audiences. We had a large binational center, the Iran-American Society, where we taught English, held lectures, seminars, plays and other programs. We gathered all the space paraphernalia we could lay our hands on and set up the largest rooms to receive our guests. The Iranian media covered us thoroughly, including television interviews. Over a thousand Iranians were there cheering as Armstrong and Aldrin landed. Soon after, I had a large reception at my house in Tehran. We had lots of materials about the landing and the U.S. space program, but also some foreign policy-oriented materials which were placed around strategically. I thought, "After all, Ben Franklin was a pamphleteer, perhaps our first Public Affairs Officer, when he was the American Ambassador in Paris."

*Roman Lotsberg, FSO (Retired)*

*Acting PAO Roman Lotsberg, USIS Tehran, being interviewed on Iranian television at the binational center on the occasion of Neil Armstrong's first landing on the moon.*


*USIA/ITV technician Stanley Kraft films ceremonies marking the 20th anniversary of the VOA in 1962.*

*In 1969 USIA's Joe Glazer interpreting the American labor movement, through his music, to graduate students in India studying industrial relations.*

## Seeing a Censor

I became Press Attaché in Brazil in December 1968, just days before the military government clamped down on the press, arresting some journalists and censoring all media. One day when I visited the English-language newspaper, *The Brazil Herald*, its editor asked "Have you ever seen a censor?" What an odd idea, like seeing a germ. "No," I said.

"Would you like to?" he asked. "Very much," I replied.

"He's a colonel," the editor said. "How impressive; you must be flattered," I told him.

"O.K., lean over my desk like you're looking at something, then turn your head to the left. You'll see him." He was middle-aged, stocky, and wearing a wild sport shirt I'm sure he bought on sale in Honolulu. What a disappointment. I expected a glittering uniform; maybe a pistol on the desk, at least a riding crop. "It's censorship with a friendly face," the editor said. "The government wanted us to self-censor, but I refused. I didn't want the responsibility."

The editor showed me proofs the colonel had worked on, and said, "He spent some time at a university in the U.S." The colonel had killed some stories with big, black X's. He also made a number of spelling corrections, un-split an infinitive, and corrected a case of improper hyphenation. *The Herald* often broke the word "heart" at the end of a line into "he-art," slightly Biblical and very puzzling until you got used to it.

"I'd rather keep 'he-art' and get rid of the X's," said the editor. I agreed.

*Henry Butterfield "Duke" Ryan, FSO (Retired)*

## The Law of Perverse Consequences

In 1966 Bob LaGamma and I ran the USIS post in Lubumbashi, the capital of the mineral-rich, former secessionist state of Katanga. Once again, a new rebellion was brewing, led by former Katangese gendarmes exiled to serve in an area far from their homes. President Johnson, to reassure the Congolese government of U.S. support, sent two C-130s to fly loyal troops from the north to reinforce the garrison in the south. Because of the flight pattern at the local airport, however, the planes would be heard and seen only by those who happened to be at or near the airport in the early morning, and they were most likely to be expatriate Europeans.

Bob and I discussed ways to ensure that the U.S. presence was made clear. We couldn't mobilize a mass movement to the airport, so we proposed the following to Consul General Bill Harrop. "Talk the Air Force into delaying its departure until 9 a.m. when the Central Market opens for business. Then redirect the flight path so the C-130s fly low over the market when it is bustling with morning activity. C-130s will make a deafening noise, and the population will be reassured of American might and support."

Harrop agreed, as did the pilots. Almost everything went as planned. The sky was clear, the market was crowded, the planes flew overhead — low and loud. But to our horror the crowd panicked. Many dove for cover. At length the town calmed down, but only after our FSNs spread the word that the planes were American. The rebels had not acquired an air force. But once again, the law of perverse consequences, which I came to respect throughout the rest of my career, had made its presence felt.

*Stanley A. Zuckerman, FSO (Retired)*

# Exhibits and World's Fairs: Showcasing America

*Art Linkletter, Commissioner General of the 1988 Brisbane Expo in Australia. The theme was sports.*

Beginning with the Brussels World's Fair in 1958, USIA has been responsible for the design, construction and operation of U.S. pavilions at major world expos. These have included the U.S. pavilions at the world's fairs in Montreal, Canada, in 1967; Osaka, Japan, in 1970; Tsukuba, Japan, in 1985; Vancouver, Canada, in 1986; and Brisbane, Australia, in 1988. Some fairs featured a specific theme, such as transportation or communications, while others were more universal.

In 1992, the 500th anniversary of Columbus' voyage to the New World, the U.S. pavilion at the world's fair in Seville, Spain, celebrated "The Age of Discovery." The U.S. pavilion at the Expo '92 Genoa in Italy featured an exhibition entitled "Beyond the Horizon," which illustrated the rich history of America's waterways.

*Vice President George Bush touring the 1986 Vancouver Expo with Jim Ogul, U.S. Pavilion Director.*

The Agency also produced major exhibitions for the Soviet Union beginning in the 1950s that showcased various aspects of American life, the most famous of which in 1959 served as a backdrop for the Nixon-Khrushchev "Kitchen Debate." In addition, the Agency mounted cultural exhibits to support bilateral exchange agreements and countless exhibits at international trade fairs. On a more reduced scale, smaller traveling exhibits and poster shows were produced by the Exhibits Service for showing in countless countries. One such poster show, "Guarantee of Freedom: The Bill of Rights," was created to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

*Ambassador Shirley Temple Black opening the "Filmmaking" exhibit in Bratislava in 1989.*

*At the Tsukuba Expo in 1985, Emperor Hirohito of Japan admires an exhibit in the U.S. pavilion.*

*Soviet citizens at an art exhibit at the U.S. National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959.*

## Exhibit Reopens Relations With Syria

U.S. relations with Syria have often been filled with melodrama and grand gesture. The reopening of diplomatic relations after a seven-year hiatus was no exception. When Richard Nixon went to Syria in the spring of 1974, thereby opening diplomatic relations, he grandly promised a "major" U.S. presence in the July Damascus Fair. That turned out to be a big pavilion with an exhibit of U.S. manufactured goods, as well as the Space Lab and Moon Rock exhibits. This was buttressed by the Florida State University marching band, complete with majorettes.

The main soccer stadium was duly re-striped in yards rather than meters, and on a blazing July day dozens of twirling silver batons were tossed by strutting coeds, while the band marched along belting out "Stars and Stripes Forever." One can only imagine the paradigm shift required by Syrian spectators who had until quite recently imbibed official anti-Americanism with their morning coffee. As for the Moon Rock and Space Lab exhibits, the streams of eager visitors reminded us that, when Americans walked on the moon, we had no diplomatic relations with Syria.

The Syrians had apparently felt left out of that worldwide celebration. It is difficult to imagine a more effective way of re-engaging. Even a bomb at the pavilion, which caused only minor structural damage but permanently injured a security guard, failed to dampen the enthusiasm of the crowds. We were well and truly back.

*Kenton Keith, FSO (Retired)*

# 1970s

*1971* — USIA Director Frank Shakespeare (1969-1973) makes the Agency's first priority the conduct of a vigorous, aggressive anti-Communist campaign to "defeat" Soviet imperialism.

*June 21, 1972* — The first "electronic dialogue" takes place between William Eberle, U.S. special trade representative, and six prominent Italian government and business leaders. The 30-minute conversation is the culmination of a new "teleconference" communication technique in which an American specialist is presented on videotape to an international USIS gathering and then responds by telephone to questions from that audience.

*The seventy-first Junior Officer class in May 1976 and at their 20th reunion.*

*March 1974* — The International Information, Education and Cultural Relations Panel issues its frequently consulted report, *Recommendations for the Future.* This is better known as the Stanton Panel Report, named for its chairman, Edwin Stanton.

*1975* — The VOA Charter is written into Public Law 94-350 (FY1977 Foreign Relations Authorization Act) and signed by President Gerald Ford. It states that VOA will serve as a "consistently reliable and authoritative source of news . . . accurate, objective, and comprehensive," will "represent all segments of American society," and will present "the policies of the United States clearly and effectively, and will also present responsible discussions and opinions on these policies. . . ."

*1976* — Regional Service Center (RSC) Beirut is closed because of civil strife. RSC Director Charles Gallagher and Production Manager William Dykes are kidnapped and held five months. All of Beirut's printed products are transferred to RSC Manila. These products include the monthlies *Al Majal* (Arabic), *America Illustrated* (Polish and Russian), and *Topic* (English and French), the Agency's publication to Sub-Saharan Africa.

*1976* — VOA begins transmitting via international satellite circuits, replacing the old shortwave broadcasts, which had been used since 1942.

## Guard Dog

During one of Henry Kissinger's secret trips to China with a stopover in Bangkok in 1972, his aircraft was guarded by U.S. military, including a strapping corporal from Arkansas holding the leash of a large guard dog. Asked by a diminutive Thai journalist what the dog was for, he gruffed: "To bite you if you get too close." The headline in the next day's *The Nation* read, "American Mastiff Threatens Thai Reporter." Other newspapers jumped on the story. All sorts of Buddhist/dog/American military presence issues seemed ready to ignite.

Counting on Thai humor and aiming to defuse the incident, I arranged for the corporal and dog to pay a visit to *The Nation*. He explained that the dog was used for perimeter patrol and was like a friendly puppy. The "puppy" immediately won friends with his wagging tail. Then bored, the dog yawned with huge jaws agape. The dainty social editor, unafraid, even placed her hand in the dog's mouth. The dog licked it. But, yep, you guessed it.

Next day's headline and picture: "US Army Attack Dog Pays Visit" with the photo suggesting that the woman's forearm was about to be shortened. For the next few weeks through upcountry Thai weeklies, the photo with snide anti-U.S. Army captions became an unhappy theme for the U.S. presence. Even the Communist radio in southern China and Laos milked the incident. Moral — Don't play cultural cutesy with newspapers in any country.

*Fred A. Coffey, Jr., FSO (Retired)*

*USIS Islamabad was responsible for setting up press operations for the dozens of American journalists who came to Dacca in East Pakistan in 1970 in the aftermath of a cyclone that killed hundreds of thousands. L to R: Dacca Consul General Archer Blood, USIS Press Attaché Eddie Deerfield and Ambassador Joseph Farland.*

## Chan Heng Wah, FSN Extraordinaire

Throughout my foreign service career, I had the honor and pleasure of working very closely with many outstanding foreign service national employees. At each new post I worked closely with, and depended on, the local staff. This wonderful support culminated in my experience working with Chan Heng Wah at my last overseas post, Singapore, in the early '70s.

I arrived there shortly after the Agency's Deputy Director, Henry Loomis, initiated a new system of "resource development," giving posts much greater control over their resources in designing and implementing programs. USIS Singapore was mired in the past, staff and program operations outdated, the approach unimaginative, hardly appropriate for this booming, exciting new city state. I was filled with ideas for change, but experience had taught me that without the full advice and assistance of the right kind of local staffer, I would be spinning my wheels. Fortunately, the right man, Chan Heng Wah, was already a staff member.

He was just who I was looking for, someone who not only understood USIS objectives, but also supported them: a person who knew his own society well and could help me understand it, and someone who was respected by all ethnic groups in the complex Singapore community. Chan was what every PAO dreams of. Chan is Chinese, but he helped me upgrade the staff with highly qualified young professionals, both Malay and Indian, reflecting the ethnic makeup of Singapore. He introduced me to every part of Singapore: schools, universities, community centers, housing estates, politics and politicians, and the media. In every case I met the people who counted and were members of the audiences we wanted to reach.

Chan gave the same support to the CAO and the IO, as we created a whole new USIS Singapore. In one year, we changed an unimaginative and mindlessly stocked library into a Resource Center designed to serve the intersecting interests of Singapore and the U.S. We found new ways to notify and deliver materials to our carefully selected audience of government officials, educators, media representatives and other opinion molders. Without Chan we could not have accomplished so much so quickly and so well. He was respected and revered by everyone. He was the best of the many invaluable local staffers with whom I worked during my USIS career. I have returned to Singapore three times since my retirement in 1979; on each trip my number one priority has been a reunion with Singapore staff organized by Chan Heng Wah.

*Robert Nichols, FSO (Retired)*

## Burgeoning Binational Centers

During the early to mid-1970s, a particularly difficult time in U.S.-Peruvian relations, USIS placement of programs in the local press, radio and television media was greatly restricted. Nevertheless, the binational centers continued to teach English as a foreign language to thousands of mostly young Peruvians. In addition, Peru's future leaders were learning about the U.S. — its people and its culture. USIS Lima continued during this time to give funding, personnel and materials support to a number of U.S.-Peruvian Binational Cultural Centers in towns throughout the country.

By 1978, a local government more friendly toward the U.S. had come to power and the binational cultural centers were more popular than ever. At the post's request, USIA made grants to the center in Lima, which added 22 classrooms and a theater, and to the center in Arequipa, which added classrooms and exhibit areas. In addition, USIS helped the center in Trujillo to obtain a loan from a local bank to complete construction of a five-story building. When finished, enrollment increased from about 300 to 1,000 students of English.

By 1978, the Lima center with one branch had about 8,000 students. By 1998, the number of Peruvians studying English in the Lima center, now with two branches, had doubled to 16,000.

*Allen C. Hansen, FSO (Retired)*

## Captured in Tehran

I arrived at the U.S. Embassy in Tehran in April 1979 as a new junior officer with the State Department. Little did I realize that I would spend most of my tour, 444 days to be exact, behind bars! It was quite a start to what has been a rewarding and interesting career. Much has changed in the Foreign Service since then, notably a recognition of just how dangerous our profession can be.

*Steven Lauterbach, USIA FSO,*
*former State Department FSO, hostage in Iran*

*A parade down Pennsylvania Avenue to welcome home the hostages.*

*1977* — The Arab Wireless File is launched, adding to the English, Spanish and French versions.

*1977* — John Reinhardt becomes the first, and only, USIA career Foreign Service officer to serve as Agency Director (1977-1981).

*1978* — President Carter approves another major reorganization of USIA. The Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (including the Fulbright Program) is combined with the Agency to become the United States International Communication Agency (USICA). President Carter issues a new mission statement that adds a second mandate for USICA to "reduce the degree to which perceptions and misunderstandings complicate relations between the United States and other nations." Foreign Service officers play an active role abroad in promoting the President's human rights program.

*1978* — The Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Program is initiated by President Carter to assist developing countries by providing a one-year U.S. educational experience for mid-career professionals from developing countries with a commitment to public service.

*1979* — An agreement is signed between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China to promote "wider contacts between the two peoples" through cultural exchanges.

*November 4, 1979* — The American Embassy in Tehran is occupied by Iranian militants. Over several days a total of 53 people are captured, including four USIA (then known as the U.S. International Communication Agency) officers. They are Public Affairs Officer John Graves, Information Officer Barry Rosen, Iran-America Society Director Kathryn Koob, and English Teaching Officer William Royer. USIA staff, especially NEA area officers and the Agency Operations Center, are vital to the Department of State's Iran Working Group handling the crisis. Eventually one of the hostages, Richard Queen, is released for medical reasons. After 444 days of captivity, the others are released January 20, 1981, returning to a hero's welcome.


*A warm welcome for the four USIA employees held hostage in Iran.*

## Making Do

One day during my tenure as BPAO in Frankfurt, I stopped by the salvage yard at Ramstein Air Base to see if I could find a hubcap for the post's aged Dodge. Rummaging around among the auto parts, I retrieved a slightly dented hubcap and returned to my station wagon. The yard attendant was removing the licence plates from my vehicle. "What are you doing?" I asked.

He looked up from his work, "You're leaving this heap here, aren't you?"

"No," I responded sheepishly, "This is what the embassy gives me for an official vehicle." An expression of disbelief spread across his face. As I drove away, I looked into the car's discolored rearview mirror. The yard attendant stood leaning against the gate, shaking his head. Soon he was lost in my blue smoke.

*Tom Johnson, FSO (Retired)*

*Below right: At a State Department reception for newly released POWs, Army helicopter pilot Captain Luis (Jerry) Chirichigno meets with President Nixon.*

*Chirichigno came to USIA service in an unusual way. Born in Peru, Chirichigno went to the University of Alabama on a football scholarship and then became a U.S. citizen. While on active duty in Vietnam his helicopter was shot down in enemy territory and he was captured. Several years into his imprisonment, he was taken to the "Hanoi Hilton," where he met fellow POW Charles Willis, who had been a radio engineer at VOA's Danang transmitter station.*

*After his release, Chirichigno was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for Valor and four bronze stars. President Nixon sent him on a goodwill tour of South America, where he was further exposed to "the great work of public diplomacy performed by USIS." Upon his return, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger asked Chirichigno what he wanted to do next. Several phone calls later, Captain Chirichigno was in the service of USIA, where he remained for 17 years until his retirement in 1992. Since then he has been recalled to active USIA duty as Executive Officer in Nigeria.*

## Winning out over Anti-U.S. Radio

In the unsuccessful 1972 eastern invasion of South Vietnam by North Vietnam, a North Vietnamese Army Captain wrote in his captured diary why he distrusted Hanoi and decided to listen to the Voice of America instead. To get the facts. Radio Hanoi broadcasts said he and his troops had conquered Hue, South Vietnam. VOA said Hue was free. The Captain knew where he was: outside and well north of Hue.

Eighteen hours of VOA medium wave broadcasts were almost unheard of. They came about when Ken Giddens, head of VOA and Associate Director of USIA for Broadcasting, agreed with me to move fast. Frank Scotton, JUSPAO Saigon, fluent in the language, phoned and wired the latest material on North Vietnamese lack of progress. Giddens ordered time from the new transmitter in the Philippines — a thousand miles from Hanoi, mostly over water, its signal loud and clear. Saigon had one transmitter south of Hue and another just north near the North-South Vietnamese border. The Seventh Air Force parachuted thousands of cigarette-pack-sized receivers. Meanwhile, USIS Saigon saw to it that its Binational Center and English-language classes had the latest accurate information about the fighting.

Both the Communist Party civilian and military dailies in North Vietnam told readers to stop listening to VOA. The Party's cultural weekly complained that the broadcasts were too easy to hear. Free promotion. Did the USIA-engineered broadcasts work? North Vietnamese complaints were proof enough. In a letter, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger complimented USIA for its effective support of the Paris peace talks.

*Robert A. Lincoln, FSO (Retired)*

*Dick Virden, in 1971 a correspondent for the Wireless File, interviews an American military officer in the Mekong Delta in South Vietnam.*

## How a Wet Photo Freed American Airmen

In March 1971, USIS Ankara, Turkey, developed and coordinated the plan to free three kidnapped American airmen and used a wet photo-print as a key to the plan's success. It was one of the few occasions where the United States completely won out over terrorists. A combination of informational-cultural, media, political and military means did it.

When the Dev Genc (Revolutionary Youth) kidnapped the airmen at a radio listening post near the Black Sea on the southern border of the then USSR, I arranged a public statement from the famous Ismet Inonu, who had been Ataturk's partner in the Westernization of Turkey in the 1920s. Inonu bluntly stated that Turks should never get involved in such deeds. Several leftist political leaders joined in.

Next came the photo of Jimmy Sexton, year-old son of the lead airman, on his mother's knee, still in the camera brought to Ankara by the U. S. military chief. The idea was that Turkish regard for male offspring would turn the populace solidly against the kidnappers. The USIS photo lab quickly developed the photo, and the PAO delivered a wet print to the Associated Press Ankara chief, who sent it by direct line to *Hurriyet*, Turkey's leading daily. *Hurriyet* front-paged the photo the next morning. The kidnappers saw it and gave up.

*Robert A. Lincoln, FSO (Retired)*

## Fighting Drugs With a Film

In 1972, the problem of illicit drug use was of increasing concern to the U.S. government. Even though Latin America was the main source of cocaine for a rapidly growing U.S. market, most governments in countries involved in drug trafficking were ignoring the adverse effects of such activity on their own societies. Many viewed it as solely a "U.S. problem." The Agency wanted to demonstrate convincingly that local societies were not immune from the terrible effects of illicit drug use wherever trafficking occurred in order to gain their cooperation in counter-narcotics efforts.

Looking to find a suitable finished film to assist in this effort, the Motion Picture Division and the Latin American Area Office viewed a number of available films. None served the purpose; one reviewer wryly commented, "Some of these films are worse than the disease."

USIA then turned to Agency film producer Ashley Hawken, who developed a script. Using Colombia as a model, a country increasingly involved in illicit drug trafficking, the film was entitled *The Trip*. It depicted how the local society became affected, especially its youth, and how the struggle against illicit drug use requires not only police action, but also education, treatment, and rehabilitation. USIS posts throughout Latin America placed *The Trip* on local television stations and showed it privately. Five years later it was still being shown to interested audiences.

*Allen C. Hansen, FSO (Retired)*

## Marketing in Moscow

In 1974, at the annual Soviet-East European TV sales/promotion fest in Moscow, this Press Attaché, over several shots of vodka provided by a Soviet television executive, was able to place a Jeep-sponsored series of films in color about offbeat recreation in the U.S.: iceboating, whitewater rafting and hot-air ballooning. In prime time on SovTV's most popular travel show, millions of viewers would see hours of everyday Americans in unusual pursuits, enjoying a diversity of leisure-time activity that most Soviet citizens couldn't even hope to sample.

Buoyed by this prospect and the vodka, I bumped into the MCA representative, an American working out of London, on a stairway.

"How's it going?" I asked.

"Lousy," he said. "No sales, no leads, no nothing. How about you?"

I enthused about placement of the Jeep series but was sobered by a look in his eyes. "What's the matter?" I asked.

"You mean," he said, "you've been giving it away?"

I finally responded that doing this could help open the market for him, but he didn't look convinced, and, shaking his head, trotted up the steps for one more shot at a closed market.

*Eli Flam, FSO (Retired)*

## Helping USIS in Tehran

In Tehran, Iran, in the early 1970s, USIS had an interesting unofficial FSN. This man had appropriated the street, particularly the space in front of the USIS building/Abraham Lincoln Library, as his own. As such, he had the right to run errands, wash cars with muddy gutter water, and watch cars so that no one would steal the windshield wipers. One day the building's sewage system was blocked. There was no central waste water system for this city of over 4 million, just a series of deep wells for each building draining into the alluvial plain. It turned out that our unofficial guard had been a well digger. With a windlass, we lowered him over 100 feet into the office's sewer pit, where he scraped the printing ink from the walls, restoring their draining properties.

*Wayne F. Gledhill, FSO (Retired)*

*Above: The USIS building and Abraham Lincoln Library in Tehran. The Agency's helper is on the left. Below: "The World of Franklin and Jefferson" art exhibit being installed in Paris.*

## "The World of Franklin and Jefferson": A Show that Awed the Parisians

In Paris, we had presented many fine exhibitions at our Left Bank USIS cultural center and at French institutions. But in January through March of 1975, USIS helped to present the very large exhibition "The World of Franklin and Jefferson," conceived and produced by Charles and Ray Eames under the auspices of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. It was produced with the collaboration of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, thanks to a grant from the IBM company. We of USIS worked for weeks helping to prepare for the show. I believe it was the best exhibition I, or USIS, had ever done and it was a great hit with the French. *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro* covered the opening admiringly.

It consisted of numerous artifacts, documents, and paintings, beautifully presented, that traced the interwoven lives of these two great American statesmen who both had been Ambassadors to France. We detailed the senior French national on my staff, Edward Agopian, full-time to the exhibit at the Grand Palais Museum. Jack Masey, top Washington Exhibits Officer, was the artistic director, and he early put a USIS stamp on the show by taking out all the French lighting, and putting in his own. I proudly gave my French friends special tickets. The show went on to Warsaw and London, and then, without USIS, to New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. All of this success, along with an improvement in relations between France and the U.S., made life in Paris seem pretty great.

*Roman Lotsberg, FSO (Retired)*

# Frank J. Shakespeare

## Director, 1969-1973

"Our material success has intertwined the fate of other free nations with our own to the extent that we now bear special and immense responsibilities which we did not seek but must not shirk. . . .

"We have, therefore, an obligation to our fellowman as well as a national duty to tell our story, hoping in proper circumstance for support. We must also listen to the response and weigh it in our councils . . .

"In my view, such actions aid in the establishment of a more effective foreign policy and constitute the role of the United States Information Agency. But an information program, however excellent, is a limited function. . . . Always, in the end, what we do is more important than what we say." — *Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate, January 27, 1969*

"I would like to have the Director of the USIA sit on the National Security Council rather than the review group or the Under Secretary's group. The reason I would want that is because in my judgment the communications revolution has made the attitude of people so central to the art of the successful foreign policy that things that seriously influence the attitude of the people ought to be expressed at the very highest decision-making level." — *Overseas Press Club, March 10, 1970*

"Just as it was true that governing in the United States was revolutionized by the communications explosion. . . before the political practitioners became aware of it, it is equally true that foreign policy has in fact been revolutionized by the communications explosion before those in the diplomatic arts are fully aware of it." — *Luncheon speech as recipient of the 1970 CARTA Award, New York, September 21, 1970*

"We very understandably may have different points of emphasis than the formal diplomat would have, but that's only to say the obvious. That is to say that an information and communications program is something different and newer than formal and traditional diplomacy." — *Interview by James Anderson, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co., October 20, 1970*

"It is extremely naive not to realize that an intense struggle is being fought today on the ideological level, even if it may appear on the surface that the Cold War is over. It is imperative for the Western world to have an effective information service, one which can present the views of the West on world problems." — *Interview published in* Aftenposten, *Norway's largest daily, October 18, 1972*

# James Keogh

## Director, 1973-1976

When I was planning my first trip to the Soviet Union as Director of USIA, in 1973, I took the Soviet ambassador to the United States, Anatoly Dobrynin, to lunch at the International Club. It was just the two of us at a table in the main dining room — an unusual kind of public appearance for him. At the time, there was talk about a possible shortage of beef in the U.S. and — as he studied the menu — he had to needle me about that: "Roast beef! Better have; maybe none in all U.S. tomorrow."

Over the beef and a bottle of California cabernet, we talked congenially about my trip. Then I got to my target subject, a sore point in that era: "Mr. Ambassador, I don't understand why your country still jams the Voice of America. Our governments agree that we should have a better understanding of each other. We're just trying to tell your people about the United States. What we report about the Soviet Union is the news." "Aha," he said, "your definition of news is quite different from ours." The conversation ended inconclusively.

Several days later I got an early morning call from one of our monitors: "They've stopped jamming!" When I got to the USSR, VOA was coming in loud and clear all the way out to Siberia. I heard it in Irkutsk, where I opened one of our exhibits — on "Outdoor Recreation — USA," which showed how Americans enjoyed camping, swimming, skating and other activities, with emphasis on the national park system.

Siberians by the thousands waited in line for hours to get in and lingered long in the various subject areas, especially the Winnebago recreational vehicle. They listened in astonishment as our guides explained, in Russian, how Americans used such mobile homes. It was more comfortably equipped than most Soviet apartments. In conversations during our reception after the opening, leaders of the community — having enjoyed a vodka or two — made remarks that clearly suggested their disdain for and dissatisfaction with the Soviet central government.

Although they represent only tiny vignettes of the Agency's work, those events have stayed at the top of my memories about my years as Director. In my view, they illustrate a key thrust of USIA's fundamental mission in that era. I called it "planting seeds of freedom." And I remain firm in my conviction that USIA — before, during and after my tour of duty — made the fundamental contribution to victory in the Cold War.

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"Just as 'information,' 'culture,' and 'education' are not separable and mutually exclusive, neither should the so-called media be divorced from long-range information efforts. All are valuable tools in what should be a unified, coherent, continuing effort of our government to communicate with people abroad." — *Opening statement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 1976*

# John E. Reinhardt

## Director, 1977-1981

"The very fact that Americans in all walks of life are free to disagree with the President or the Secretary of State is a part of Voice of America broadcasts. I submit that, whether it is a part of the United States Information Agency, or the Department of State, or another agency, or is alone, it (the VOA) still has a relationship to the government and this relationship must be wisely administered." — *Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 15, 1977*

"Whatever may lie ahead for the United States Information Agency — and I am frank to say that I do not know the answer to that question at this time — my commitment will be two-fold: I will advocate some sort of continued central direction for the government's information services, and more importantly, I will assert at every opportunity the genuine importance of public diplomacy for the contribution it can make to world understanding." — *Public Members Association, April 21, 1977*

"Public diplomacy . . . has as its purpose enhanced understanding among peoples. It is purposeful, it is orderly, it is ordained. This is what sets its activities apart from most of the messages, pictures and encounters — the greater part of them distorted or fragmented — that are crowding in on the world with increasing and distracting profusion as a result of the present revolution in communications technology.

"We in the United States Information Agency and our colleagues in the Department of State have been building a new entity — the International Communication Agency — to bring together the government's efforts in the complex of transnational concepts, pursuits and arrangements called, for convenience, public diplomacy. The USICA comes into being the first week in April [1978].

"The International Communication Agency will — as you know — be combining the resources of the United States Information Agency and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the Department of State. This combination of complementary skills and experiences in intercultural communication gives us a singular chance to make the ICA much more than simply the sum of its constituent parts, especially in the opportunities it creates for cooperation with nongovernmental organizations and institutions in the United States and abroad." — *American Association of State Colleges and Universities, Washington, DC, March 16, 1978*

## Vietnam FSNs Left Behind

The evacuation of Saigon began in April 1975, four days before the city fell to the North Vietnamese. By this time, USIS Saigon employed only 131 Foreign Service Nationals (down from 450 in 1972), many working far outside of Saigon. The 131 were given severance pay in U.S. dollars and assured that they would be evacuated from Saigon. Only 34 made it out of Saigon on the two evacuation flights to Clark Air Base in the Philippines. On the last day, April 29, 1975, in the chaos that was Saigon, some 200 current and former FSNs and their families were instructed to gather at the USIS compound where they were to be picked up by buses and taken to Ton Son Nhut airport to be flown out of the country. On this, the last day of America's presence in Vietnam, the buses never arrived. The FSNs were left stranded.

Luong Van Ung, the senior FSN administrative specialist in Saigon, volunteered to remain during the last week of April in order to assist in processing out the remaining FSNs. He managed to escape Saigon with his family on a fishing boat on April 30. After five days, he and his family landed at Subic Bay in the Philippines. Other FSNs were not so lucky. Two FSNs died trying to escape. Because of the "psyops" work they performed for USIS during the war, the remaining FSNs were very vulnerable to Viet Cong and North Vietnamese vindictiveness. Some had their homes and funds confiscated. Many were sent to reeducation camps or "new economic zones." FSN Field Representative Hoang Tuong, who worked for USIS for nine years, spent seven years in the reeducation camps after the war ended. He died shortly after being released. FSN Field Rep Phan Manh Luong, who had 18 years of service with USIS and other USG agencies, spent over six years in six different reeducation camps and prisons. FSN Field Reps Tang Be, Nguyen Ngoc Lien, and Le Vinh Xuan spent 10, 13, and 14 years, respectively, in the camps. At the least, those FSNs who remained in Vietnam after April 1975 were shunned, unable to find work, and their children not allowed to receive a college education.

Luong Van Ung and his family, after a long journey from Saigon, eventually ended up in Washington, where he was employed by USIA until he retired in 1994, after a total of over 43 years of service to the Agency. Luong Van Ung, along with then-Deputy Director Eugene Kopp, did not forget the FSNs left behind, nor did they permit the Agency to forget the official assurances that were given to the FSNs in Saigon that they would be evacuated.

While the Agency had been trying since 1975 to assist our Vietnamese FSNs, little could be done to help them until 1989. It was only then that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV) began issuing exit permits to Vietnamese who were formerly associated with the U.S. government. Commencing in 1991, with the full support of Deputy Director Kopp and East Asia Director David Hitchcock, Ung and Assistant General Counsel Bill Ohlhausen stepped up efforts to assist the remaining 92 FSNs and their approximately 350 dependents who wanted to depart Vietnam for the U.S. Working closely with the Orderly Departure Program headquartered in Bangkok, and with assistance from the USIA Alumni Association, a U.S. Senator, and Congressional staffers, they slowly made progress, despite many bureaucratic roadblocks.

By 1993 the number was down to 56 FSNs and 259 dependents still wanting to come. Between October 1993 and March 1994 an additional 18 FSNs and their 96 dependents entered the U.S. under the sponsorship of several voluntary agencies. Over the years some of the FSNs died; others decided that they no longer wanted to come to the U.S.; some were granted refugee or Public Interest Parole status; and a few were fortunate enough to have close relatives in the U.S. who could sponsor them as immigrants. By December 1995, as a direct result of Luong Van Ung's efforts, all of those former FSNs and their dependents who wanted to come to the U.S. had arrived. They numbered over 300.

*William Ohlhausen, Assistant General Counsel*

## Farewell to an Old Friend, the Roger Smith Hotel

In the middle of May 1975 they began tearing down the Roger Smith Hotel across the street from Agency headquarters at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue. By the Fourth of July, all that remained was a rubble heap. It was a dusty end for an institution that played a part, albeit an unofficial one, in the lives of USIA people over many years.

Mark Twain once asked about a certain hotel and was told that it used to be a good hotel. "That doesn't mean anything," he replied. "I used to be a good boy." It would be hard to give the Roger Smith a very high rating on the good-hotel scale. Despite various attempts to refurbish it over the years, it had an air of tired gentility, of being past its prime. For all its faults, the Roger Smith had some redeeming features, however.

The most important of these for Agency people was, of course, its location. Coming in from an overseas tour, you could make public groans about having to stay at the Roger Smith, but everyone understood why you did. You could sleep until eight, grab a bite at the old White Tower on 18th Street and saunter into the Agency at eight forty-five with ease. Also, the Roger Smith's rates were well within the per diem allowances. The Roger Smith was a gathering place for the Agency. There was a dinky little banquet room on the second floor which was the scene of many unofficial Agency events. It was popular for retirement parties. A particularly memorable one was given for Herb Edwards, the lively, imaginative chief of what later became IMV (the Motion Picture Service). Herb left the business shortly after the first inauguration of General Eisenhower. There were a number of pundits at the time who thought his departure was connected to the fact that his wife was a high official of the Democratic National Committee. Herb had this feeling, too. He gave one of the shortest retirement speeches on record. "I have," he said, "only one wife to give to my country."

Another popular gathering place was the hotel's bar, the Cafe Caprice. There was usually a blond lady batting out Cole Porter songs on the piano. In the summer of 1953, the Agency had a large reduction in force; hundreds of people were let go. Some kind souls in IPS (the Press Service) took over the bar and put up a big sign in the window facing Pennsylvania Avenue: "Freedom Village," it said. Throughout the afternoon and evenings, the newly unemployed and their friends gathered for a round of drinks and reminiscences. It was a boisterous, bittersweet event.

And finally, brushing away a modest organizational tear, we said farewell to the Roger Smith. In all the years that I dealt with the place, I never figured out just who Roger Smith was. It's not important. I'll settle for the fact that he was a pretty good hotel — and he was just across the street.

*Wilson P. Dizard, Jr., FSO (Retired)*


*In 1974 the Amerika Haus in Vienna, Austria, served as the USIS Information Library and the American Cultural Center. Facilities included a sidewalk cafe, indoor restaurant, book storage, large performance hall, 150-seat film screening room, and several exhibition/lecture rooms. Amerika Haus occupied the front half of the two lower floors of the eight story building. The remaining space served as apartments for embassy staff. The Center hosted a wide-ranging series of lectures, art exhibits, films, and performances.*

## VOA Correspondents Ace a Story

About 25 years after the Voice of America went on the air in 1942, an energetic young officer named Bill Haratunian became chief of VOA News and Current Affairs. Bill decided almost immediately that it was time to move beyond cutting and pasting stories from news agencies to which the Voice subscribed and begin building a VOA corps of correspondents "out there," in the United States and overseas.

The corps that Bill built stretches today around the globe, from Hong Kong to Los Angeles, London to Capetown, Beijing to Rio de Janeiro. VOA correspondents have gone to the front lines in the far corners of the earth, in such remote spots as northern Iraq, Chad, eastern Congo, the Horn of Africa, southern Lebanon and Kosovo. In verifying accuracy, and lending presence and dimension to events, there is no substitute for being there. For being nearly everywhere.

I recall particularly what the corps enabled the Voice to do in the early morning hours of the nation's bicentennial, July 4, 1976. We had deployed correspondents and stringers to every city and many towns in America — to supplement the work of the bureau chiefs in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and Miami. Their mission: to report the flotillas, fireworks, and huge celebrations across the land, to provide five feeds for a ten-hour non-stop worldwide special on Bicentennial Day. To celebrate, coordinator Ray Kabaker of Current Affairs leased a Potomac River liner with a capacity of 500. It set sail on the Saturday evening before the big Sunday bicentennial, crammed to capacity with all those managers, editors and broadcasters in Washington who would coordinate the work of the correspondents the following day. The voyage climaxed with a fair amount of beer and a French Embassy sound and light presentation at Mount Vernon dedicated to Voix d'Amérique.

There was an unwritten rule then that, when any major story broke, anywhere in the world, the "no nonsense" giant of an editor, News Chief Bernard (Bernie) H. Kamenske would be called. On this particular evening Bernie was "on the boat," celebrating with the rest of us. This was before pagers, beepers and cell phones. If anything happened, the Newsroom would simply have to "go it alone." Shortly before 1 a.m., the duty editor on the newsdesk, the late Jane Gillespie, took a call from a very excited stringer in Jerusalem, Al Potashnik. Al had the scoop of the decade: a complete account of Israel's Entebbe rescue mission to free hostages in Uganda. He had gotten it from the Israeli Defense Forces spokesman, before it was released to others, as the result of his routine call to inquire if anything was going on.

Jane could hardly contain herself. She had the scoop, and no one to consult about using it! Al dictated the story to her, and she typed with the kind of racing fingers that journalists cherish when handling big news under a tight deadline. She ran to the escalator (the Newsroom was then in the basement of HEW North). Typically, it didn't work on the weekend. She puffed up two flights of stairs to the studio, hastened in, and handed the bulletin to the announcer at two minutes past 1:00.

When Jane reached Bernie, he couldn't stop laughing: the pros had handled the story, and VOA again had a scoop which would never have been possible without the corps that Bill built.

*Alan Heil, VOA Deputy Director (Retired)*

## Poland at a Pivotal Moment

Even viewed across the crowded airport departure area, the surly, square-jawed Polish policeman signaled trouble. In the airport din, I could only watch anxiously as the NBC correspondent John Dancy pleaded his case. It was no ordinary time in communist Poland, June 1976. Worker protests had erupted in Radom and Warsaw. The world's spotlight again illuminated socialism's empty promises.

Dancy carried a small canvas bag filled with interview notes and film which he planned to transmit from Frankfurt. Intuitively suspecting trouble at the airport, he asked me — then serving as Press Attaché at the Embassy — to accompany him there. I agreed to drive him out and saw him pass routinely through passport control.

He had been right. I briefly watched Dancy's animated exchange with the Polish policeman in the customs area, then pulled out my diplomatic identity card, and charged past the passport control. Although a relatively junior officer, I mustered my best Polish and contrived the most officious manner possible for the hulking, dour policeman.

"Mr. Dancy has Foreign Ministry credentials for his visit," I barked. "He represents one of the world's major news organizations. What are you doing?" I was on a roll. The policeman peered into the canvas bag and said they would have to hold it for further inspection. I sputtered a new protest and pointed out that he faced serious consequences. Impulsively and perhaps risking a diplomatic incident, I grabbed the canvas bag and handed it back to Dancy. The Pole's beet red face expressed frustration with this impudent young American diplomat. He looked down at my diplomatic identity card and waved his hand in exasperated defeat. A possible incident involving higher ranks, he evidently concluded, was not worth the price for continued intransigence. Dancy whispered hurried words of appreciation and rushed to the Lufthansa jet.

The events Dancy reported proved to be more historically significant than he or I ever imagined on that hot, stuffy June morning at the Warsaw airport. The 1976 Polish riots gave birth to the Worker's Defense Committee, an alliance of intellectuals and workers that later evolved into Solidarity, which in time would bring down communism in Poland and spark the collapse of the Iron Curtain across Europe.

*Dell Pendergrast, FSO (Retired)*

## Asmara FSN Sets the Highest Standard

Kefela Kokobu was awarded the African Area's Foreign Service National Employee of the Year Award for 1994. The citation read: "For most exceptional dedication and initiative in maintaining for 18 years the USIS library and cultural presence in Asmara following the forced evacuation of all American personnel by the former Communist regime in Ethiopia." This award was exceptional not only for the recipient's performance but the 18 years of service he gave the U.S. government while he was, in fact, not even an employee of USIA.

The story begins in 1976 with the evacuation of American personnel at the Consulate and American Cultural Center in Asmara when all were expelled from Eritrea by Ethiopia's Marxist government.

"Take care of the books," Kefela was told, and so he did. Single-handedly and at great personal risk, Kefela took care that an entire generation of young Eritreans would be raised on Hemingway and Jefferson instead of Mao and Lenin. Enraged Ethiopian officials sent Kokobu the collected works of Communist authors by the box load, intending that they should be put on the shelves devoted to O'Hara and Fitzgerald, music by the Boston Pops and the Harvard Glee Club. Dutifully, he put three or four on display and stored the rest. The American presence in Eritrea disappeared, but Kokobu's beloved American library remained, the name removed — indeed Asmara's only public library — operated under the auspices of the local municipality. When the Americans returned in 1994, they were astounded to find the spotless library where every volume was safe and the list of overdue borrowed books was up to date.

Mr. Kefela was rehired as an official USIS employee in 1994. He exemplifies the high standards which FSNs bring to their work for USIA around the world.

*Marthena Cowart, Former Director, Office of Public Liaison*

*USIS Blantyre hosts an exhibit of soapstone carvings by Malawi's leading artists in 1972. L to R: USIA Africa area director Gordon Winkler, one of the carvers, the Lord Mayor of Blantyre and CAO Eddie Deerfield.*

## East Berlin Revisited

Cold, gray, and somewhat forbidding, East Berlin certainly lived up to its Le Carré image when I arrived as Assistant Public Affairs Officer in January 1977. Yet, the city was also endlessly fascinating, and every street or square seemed to resonate with historical association. Just off Unter den Linden was the American Embassy to the German Democratic Republic. Because Berlin was under four-power occupation, we were not technically "in" the GDR, but in Berlin (one got used to many such legal ironies). The Wall was a few blocks away and on the other side was West Berlin, which could have been on another planet. The East offered excellent music and theater, and visits to East German restaurants and cabarets were always a unique experience.

The state security presence — seen and unseen — was, of course, ubiquitous, and they regarded Americans as the main Enemies of the Working Class. The embassy had opened only recently, and despite many obstacles we managed to start a modest but important USIS program. Our exchanges gave American research scholars access to materials and archives that had been inaccessible for decades, and East Germans who went to the U.S. on our International Visitor programs came back amazed at having seen an America that did not at all coincide with what they had been taught in their courses in Marxism-Leninism. Our speakers on foreign policy gave East German specialists perspectives on American policy which did not fit into their own narrow ideological framework. Modest art exhibits, an American film week, and an annual presence at the Leipzig Trade Fair enabled us to reach a wider East German public. Just before my tour in East Berlin ended, I made one final visit to Dresden, a place I had grown to love, thinking I might never have the chance again.

As it turned out, I did. I was assigned to Bonn as Deputy Public Affairs Officer when the wall fell in 1989. It was an exciting time to be there, and USIS moved quickly to establish a broad presence in the East: a branch post in Leipzig, Fulbright exchanges and other programs, and a free press provided access to information that East Germans had not had for generations. All of us who were there then, of course, chiseled our own souvenirs from The Wall. One now sits on my desk, a small piece of ugly grey concrete, and a reminder of a time and a situation that has, happily, become part of history.

*Ralph Ruedy, FSO*

## The Iranian Connection

Working in Tehran during the Shah's regime we always assumed that at least one of our local employees was on the payroll of SAVAC if not an actual employee of that efficient and brutal secret police organization. We speculated from time to time who that might be but of course had no way of knowing until a young Iranian employee working in our graphics department applied to leave the country in order to marry a Peace Corps Volunteer. To get an exit visa you had to apply at the local police station and leave your passport overnight. The next day our employee tearfully informed us that the police kept her passport and denied her the visa. No reason was given.

After making informal contacts through the Iranian Foreign Ministry, we were told that she had been an active leader in an anti-Shah student group during her university studies in London. We then decided to approach the Iranian employee whom we suspected as the most likely SAVAC agent in our office. We told him our employee's story in as heart-rending terms as possible and asked if there was someone he knew who could help. He replied that he would ask around. The next day, he walked into my office, closed the door and gave me a slip of paper with the name of a Colonel in the police force. He said that our young lady should go back to the police station the next day and ask for the Colonel. She should state her name and she would receive her passport. Also, she should take the first plane available out of the country. Everything went according to plan. Our young former employee is now raising a family in the Midwest. Whether we had confirmed a high-ranking SAVAC employee in our midst, someone with great influence with the secret police, or simply someone to whom large favors were owed we will never know. What we did confirm is that, as in most Middle Eastern countries, it is personal connections that count.

*Wayne F. Gledhill, FSO (Retired)*

# Mal Whitfield and Sports America: A Winning Team

*Boxing coach Tom Johnson visits Kenya for a Boxing Coach Clinic, later training Kenya's boxers for the 3rd All-African Games. Sports Officer Mal Whitfield looks on.*

Malvin G. Whitfield, U.S. winner of three Olympic Gold Medals for track events in the 1948 and 1952 games, traveled throughout Europe, Asia and Africa as a "Sports Ambassador" for USIA for more than thirty years. In Africa he trained and advised athletes and sports officials at all levels and established personal contact with almost all of Africa's top athletes. As a Regional Youth, Student, and Sports Affairs Officer for Africa, he became known to thousands of African athletes as "Brother," "Coach" and "Marvelous Mal."

Mal trained many famous African athletes for competition in the Olympic Games and other intercontinental and intra-African sports events, including Kip Keino, Kenya's 1968 Olympic winner; Moma Wolde, Ethiopia's Olympic Marathon winner in 1968; and Wasughe Nur, Somalia's high jump champion in 1973. His travels eventually took him to more than 130 countries.

In a letter to Whitfield, President Ronald Reagan wrote: "Whether flying combat missions over Korea, or winning gold medal after gold medal at the Olympics, or serving as an ambassador of goodwill among young athletes of Africa, you have given your all. The country is proud of you and grateful to you." Shortly after Whitfield's 1989 retirement, President George Bush, in an Oval Office ceremony, recognized Whitfield's exemplary service to the nation and the world.

*Touring five African states in 1980, Mal Whitfield (second from left) listens to Muhammed Ali talk about his boxing days.*

Mal continues to encourage athletes in developing countries to reach for the highest goals. In 1989 he established The Whitfield Foundation, a Washington, DC-based organization dedicated to promoting sports, academics and culture around the world.

Sports bring individuals of different cultures together in common pursuit. Recognizing this, USIA's Sports America Office for years sent coaches, sports administrators and sports medicine specialists abroad for one to eight weeks when requested. The office also arranged visits of foreign coaches and teams to the U.S.

## Brazil's ComunICAndo

USIA's Brazil program, like its host country, covers a wide area. In 1978 we had six branches and a good-sized headquarters operation in Brasilia. Two of them, Recife and Porto Alegre, are as far apart as Oslo and Tunis. The staff totaled 30 Americans and over 200 Foreign Service Nationals.

To help staffers "cohere in common purpose," as stated in my work requirements, the creation of an internal house organ made a lot of sense. We launched it that fall, and called it, with pretty wit, *ComunICAndo,* the middle three capitals intended to be a tribute to the Agency's name at the time — USICA.

Brazilians are among the most enthusiastically communicative people in the world. The national staff, with Brasilia Foreign Service National program officer Ingrid Preetz as editor, took up the idea with *brio* and *panache. ComunICAndo* soon bloomed with *personalia,* cartoons, crossword puzzles, conundrums, gossip and a lively swapping of program ideas. After I left for Spain in 1982, my successor, deeming the publication too time-consuming, closed it down within a month.

This may tend to prove, as the saw more or less has it, that *tout predecesseur est incompetent, tout successeur usurpateur.* Or perhaps: Don't be surprised if your best ideas die soon after your wheels are up.

*McKinney H. Russell, FSO (Retired)*

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## Help! Help! The Sky(Lab) Is Falling!

In the summer of 1979 I was press officer at our Madrid embassy when Skylab began its long tumble earthward. Sensationalist stories began appearing in the local press speculating that the space station could crash on Spanish soil, causing death and destruction.

After I was appointed Skylab control officer, I convinced PAO Serban Vallimarescu and Ambassador Terence Todman that we should take charge of the story. We did not want a public panicked by fear of a new incident like the one in the 1960s when we lost a couple of atomic bombs in Spanish waters. On a major Spanish National Television talk show I explained that NASA had a degree of control over the space station's trajectory and that its chance of hitting Spain was near zero. As Skylab entered its last day, we opened a small press center in my office for the Spanish media and had a direct line to the NASA tracking station at nearby Roble Alto. I was on Spanish national radio constantly during Skylab's final orbit and was able to declare the Iberian Peninsula "out of danger."

Skylab debris fell in outback Australia; our image as a world leader in science and technology was intact and enhanced. Enthusiasm for our space program soared among a Spanish public and media just emerging from years of Franco's censorship. And the story was told our way, thanks to innovative and aggressive public diplomacy.

*Ray Burson, FSO (Retired)*

## A Memorable Musical Occasion

*Marjory Rotharmel at the Great Wall of China.*

During the tumultuous days of early 1979 in Beijing, when diplomatic relations had just been reestablished, one of the most memorable moments was the joint performance of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Peking Symphony Orchestra led by BSO Music Director Seiji Ozawa. This remarkable performance of something close to 160 musicians playing Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, with only one rehearsal, was an extraordinarily "cultural moment" for an Agency already rich in cultural presentations around the world.

The enthusiasm and sheer joy evidenced by the Chinese audience long deprived of any cultural activities was heartwarming. The few Americans in Beijing in those early days could not help but feel that somehow history, as well as beautiful music, was being made that night in March 1979. I was lucky enough to be one of the early TDYers in China to help with the opening of the USIS (then USICA) office. Of the many delights and wonders I experienced, the BSO concert was perhaps the most memorable.

*Marjory Rotharmel, FSO (Retired)*

*The Peking Symphony Orchestra on the left with the Boston Symphony Orchestra on the right.*

## Fire and Luck at the American Center, Lahore

On November 21, 1979, in Lahore, Pakistan, the three American USIS officers — BPAO Douglas H. Smith, BCAO V. Miro Morville, and Program Officer Lester R. Velez — were out for lunch as was FSN Administrative Specialist Mohammad Ajmal Khan. Suddenly, a mob of 5,000 rioters attacked the American Center. At that time, there were no high protective walls, no steel fences on perimeter walls, no guard booths, and no security doors on the third floor where the staff worked.

When the mob first appeared, our security guard in the lobby pulled the steel shutter down to close off the entrance. In response, the crowd tore down the electrical poles and used them to break open the shutters and force their way into the building. Rais-uddin Zuberi, our budget analyst and second in command in the Administrative Section, called Ajmal Khan at his residence and informed him of the situation. Ajmal told him to have the staff move immediately onto the roof of the building, which was the designated safe haven.

What really impressed me at that time was that, within minutes, Ajmal, without caring for his own life, showed up at the American Center building — entering through a back service entrance — to help us out of the life-threatening situation. He masterfully took charge of defending the lives of the 50 staff members and the visiting library patrons, who were afraid to leave the building.

*Soviet visitors watching news about farm prices coming in on the American Commodity News Service Wire, set up in the "Agriculture USA" exhibit in Kiev, Ukraine, in 1978.*

Ajmal led the group to the third floor and then onto the roof. He counted the staff members and asked if anyone was missing. Someone said that Umar Din, a library security guard, was missing. Everyone got panicky. Fortunately, a few of us who had returned from lunch just before the attack had seen Umar Din having lunch at a nearby restaurant. By this time, the crowd was swarming inside the American Center building. They set the lower floors of the building on fire.

The invaders then climbed to the library, destroying books and furniture. Huge black clouds of smoke traveled to our offices on the third floor and then circulated in the air-conditioning ducts. The smoke was so great, they started to jump out of the building. Some of them were injured. After a while, the leaders of the mob announced that all Pakistanis should come down and promised we would not be harmed. However, the Americans would not be spared. Since there were no Americans in the building, we evacuated without any trouble.

Twenty years have passed since this incident, but I still think about what would have happened if an American officer had been with us in the building. None of us would have wanted to leave an American in a life-threatening situation. I always thank God that no American was in the building at that time.

*Tanweer Ahmed Khan, FSN, USIS Lahore*

# 1980s

*1981* — Charles Wick, USIA's longest-serving director (1981-1989), is confirmed and sworn in.

*January 1982* — The USIA TV production *Let Poland Be Poland,* which reflects U.S. support for the Polish people, is beamed around the world and shown on American television (with Congressional approval, Public Law 97-146).

*May 1982* — President Reagan announces and Director Charles Wick develops the International Youth Exchange Initiative, calling for greatly expanded teenage youth exchanges among the industrialized world. Countries involved include Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

*August 1982* — USICA's name is changed back to USIA when President Reagan signs Public Law 97-241, the Agency's annual authorization bill for FY 1982-1983.

*1983* — Director Charles Wick oversees the introduction of WORLDNET Film and Television Service, the Agency's pioneering medium for conducting public diplomacy via television. WORLDNET replaces the Television Service that started in 1952.

*USIA Director Charles Wick and President Reagan in New York City in 1982 open "The Long Search for Peace," a parallel pictorial history of the U.S. and Soviet Union shown to delegates at the United Nations Second Special Session on Disarmament. President Reagan signs his welcoming message at the exhibit entrance.*

*1983* — VOA begins a major program to rebuild and modernize both programming and technical capabilities. New and upgraded radio transmission facilities are completed in Botswana, Morocco, Thailand, Kuwait and São Tomé over the next several years. In Washington, 19 state-of-the-art studios are constructed, along with a new master control complex and a network control center.

*1983* — The U.S. Congress-German Bundestag Youth Exchange Program is launched, authorized and funded by the two legislatures.

*October 1983* — Congress enacts and President Ronald Reagan signs the Radio Broadcasting to Cuba Act (Public Law 98-111), establishing Radio Martí.

*November 1983* — Congress amends the Fulbright-Hays Act to include a "Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (E Bureau) Charter" outlining the programs to be administered by the Agency for the conduct of exchange programs.

## Under Siege in Uganda

Shortly after the overthrow of Idi Amin in Uganda, I was assigned to Kampala as PAO. My mission in 1980 was to establish the first USIS presence since the severing of diplomatic relations seven years earlier. Uganda was in a state of anarchy. One morning, my driver was shot and killed and the USIS van stolen less than 10 minutes after he had dropped me at the new American Embassy. In a 3 a.m. episode, my wife and I were under attack in our residence. I drove the gang off with gunfire from a revolver issued to me en route to post. There were two coups, followed by a tainted election during my two and one-half year assignment. But we persevered.

I found a vacant building for a cultural center, furnished it, hired staff, brought in books and opened the USIS library, which was crowded from day one. Relations with Makerere University were re-established, a visiting American professor brought in, and Ugandan scholars, journalists and other potential leaders went to the U.S. on International Visitor grants. In what was probably our most unique project, USIS helped refurbish the National Theater of Uganda in Kampala for a production of Thornton Wilder's *The Skin of our Teeth.* I directed an all-Ugandan cast. Two of the actors won the nation's equivalent of Broadway's Tony Awards for their performances.

*Eddie Deerfield, FSO (Retired)*

## Fighting Drugs in Pakistan

In the early 1980s, Pakistan was a major source of heroin for the U.S. and European markets. Traditional trafficking patterns in Iran and Afghanistan had been disrupted by events in those two countries.

Agency public diplomacy activities designed to fight against illicit drug trafficking had contributed much in Latin America and elsewhere. The post sought to convince Pakistani government leaders that illicit drug trafficking inevitably increases narcotics use by local populations. Anti-narcotics programs would thus serve both nations.

With USIS support, a local motion picture producer developed a film entitled *Heroin Hits Pakistan.* Filmed within opium dens and by interviews with addicts and family members, the devastation occurring in Pakistan from heroin use was clearly demonstrated.

Under the sponsorship of the PNCB, USIS published, in English and Urdu versions, a pamphlet on local drug use entitled *The Living Dead, Heroin Takes Its Toll.* And when the U.S. Consul General in Karachi spoke on "Narcotics: A Growing Threat to Pakistan," USIS published his remarks. Before long, top Pakistani officials became convinced that they had a problem and should cooperate with the U.S. on this issue.

*Allen C. Hansen, FSO (Retired)*


*The VOA Voyager van in front of Mount Rushmore. The Voyager traveled throughout America, sending back to Washington stories from across the country.*

## VOA Builds Democracy in Closed Societies

The story of the Voice of America is best summed up by the pledge in its first broadcast on February 24, 1942: "The news may be good. The news may be bad. We shall tell you the truth." By broadcasting straight and accurate news over the decades, VOA helped fuel democratic change in Asia, Africa, and most notably the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

I recall a VOA staff meeting in the early 1990s when Paul Goble, a leading authority on nationalities in the former Soviet Union, marveled at how smoothly elections worked when it finally became possible to hold multiparty polling in the former Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries. More than 20 countries — including the Soviet Union — held contested elections for the first time in the four years after the Berlin Wall fell. Results were accepted without question, Goble said, because people had heard VOA reporting the voting process for half a century in their own languages as well as English.

But the spark for the fall of communism, most people agree, really was in Poland nearly a decade and a half earlier. In August 1980, Paul Lendvai of the *Financial Times* recalled, Lech Walesa was head of a small labor union in the Polish port city of Gdansk. It was called Solidarity. Solidarity's activities were ignored by Polish state media. The presidents of the local Solidarity chapters, including Warsaw, Katowice and Lodz, began distributing minutes of their meetings to the international news agencies, and to international broadcasters like VOA, the BBC and RFE. The Polish services of the radios beamed straight news accounts of the Solidarity meetings back into Poland, sometimes only a few hours later.

In just ten weeks, Lendvai recalled, Solidarity coalesced into a national movement of 10 million members. The radios, he wrote in 1995, were "the bulletin board of the revolution." Poland's communist government attempted to crack down on Solidarity, but the movement's resurgence in the late 1980s led to the collapse of the Warsaw Pact, and ultimately, the Soviet Union. The Cold War ended in a largely peaceful way.

More recently, as Yugoslavia disintegrated, President Slobodan Milosevic struck hard at the independent press in his country. He wanted a monopoly on news and information there, to fan the flames of Serbian nationalism. In December 1996, he shut down the Belgrade local FM station, B-92. That station had reported extensively Milosevic's efforts to annul local elections won by the opposition in 14 municipalities around the country. VOA's contract reporters in the Yugoslav capital, who also happened to work for B-92, filed hourly reports on the growing street demonstrations against the regime. Their reports were heard not just in Belgrade, but nationwide. In just 19 hours, Milosevic relented, and B-92 was back on the air. "If it weren't for you guys," B-92's director Vernan Matic cabled, "this victory for press freedom would never have happened." VOA then went on, less than a week later, to inaugurate week-nightly radio-TV simulcasts in Serbian. These proved indispensable in reaching hundreds of thousands of viewers in Serbia with home satellite dishes during the Kosovo crisis of 1999.

*Alan Heil, VOA Deputy Director (Retired)*


*Agency Director Charles Wick inaugurating the new USIA building at 301 C Street, SW, in December 1983. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick participated in the activities.*

*March 1984* — The Cultural Property Advisory Committee, created by Congress to investigate measures that might be taken to stem the flow of illegally acquired archaeological and ethnological materials into the United States, holds its first meeting.

*1985* — The Arabic Wireless File switches from telex to personal computer transmission, resulting in the first-ever computer-to-computer Arabic language transmission.

*May 20, 1985* — Radio Martí begins daily broadcasting to Cuba.

*1985* — VOA resumes broadcasting to Western Europe for the first time in 25 years with VOA Europe, to help correct the "information deficiency" about the United States, especially among successor-generation Europeans.

*November 1986* — A U.S.-Soviet Cultural Agreement, the first since the mid-1970s, is signed at the Reagan-Gorbachev Summit in Geneva.

*May 1987* — Fifth Implementing Accord of the U.S.-PRC Cultural Exchange Agreement is signed and the People's Republic of China in a USIA ceremony. The accord initiates new exchanges of performing artists, painters, sculptors, writers, arts exhibits, and films between the two countries as well as an exchange of VOA and Radio Beijing personnel and journalists.

*June 1987* — USIA Exhibit Service's traveling exhibition, "Information USA: Linking People With Knowledge," opens in Moscow, the first of nine cities on its 18-month tour. It is the most complex exhibit ever launched by USIA in the Soviet Union.

*August 1987* — The first group of Central American students completes a new scholarship program, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' Central American Program of Undergraduate Scholarships (CAMPUS) and returns home.

*December 1987* — Secretary of State George Shultz, commenting on the success in reaching the INF agreement, calls it "an illustration of the tremendous impact and importance of public diplomacy." The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is signed December 8, 1987, eliminating all ground-launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500 to 5,500 kilometers.

## The Power of Willis Conover

The astonishing impact of VOA was brought home to me in the early 1980s — 1982 I believe — when Willis Conover visited Moscow. Willis, a household name in much of the world, hosted VOA's popular "Music USA" show and had been broadcasting jazz to the USSR for decades. Willis was in Moscow at the same time as vibraphonist Gary Burton and pianist Chick Corea, and it was my great good fortune, as an Assistant Cultural Attaché, to be in charge of arranging their program. Gary and Chick had given some workshops for students and had done a concert at Spaso House, the Ambassador's residence and ersatz American cultural center since we suspended the bilateral cultural agreement after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Though there had been no public announcement, interest was sky high over a public concert scheduled for the Composers' Union. The amazing Soviet grapevine ensured that jazz buffs from as far away as Vladivostok, seven time zones distant, were in Moscow hoping for the event. What almost nobody knew was that Willis was also in town.

The small hall of the Composers' Union was packed to the rafters, the square outside filled with people still hoping to get inside. A shadowy figure strode across the darkened stage to the microphone. "Good evening . . ." he began in the distinctive Conover rumble and got no further. A deafening ovation split the air. People stood on chairs, clapped, screamed, cheered. It lasted a good ten minutes. Why, I asked. They had listened to Willis for thirty years, recorded American jazz off the air when it was a semi-subversive act, learned to play by listening to him, and here he was in Moscow.

Instant voice recognition for a "decadent" music host on an excoriated and jammed radio station at an unadvertised event! Quite a victory for the human spirit and for public diplomacy. At the reception that followed, the delicious ambiguity of a toast to "the voice that brought us jazz for so many years" made the occasion all the more sweet.

*Robert E. McCarthy, FSO*

*Willis Conover, VOA's world-famous host of the jazz program "Music USA."*

## Opening Pusan Following a Terrorist Attack

Park Kwan Ho, long-time faithful Korean Foreign Service National, was almost at the point of retirement when the Pusan American Cultural Center (Branch Post) was gutted by a firebomb in the spring of 1982. A student from Dong A University was killed in the blaze and two other students were seriously burned. The entire first floor of the building was destroyed, including the library and all the offices.

The staff, all nine of them working out of the vault of the old bank building which had been turned over to U.S. Forces at the end of WWII, wanted the reopening to be just right. Park knew how to make it so. Convinced that the building was inhabited by the spirits of three Japanese soldiers who had been killed in the building during the war, he pleaded for a Buddhist ceremony to exorcise the spirits and give them rest.

*FSN Park Kwan Ho and BPAO Frances Sullinger in Pusan, Korea, at the reopening of the American Cultural Center.*

As the Branch Public Affairs Officer, I was happy to accommodate, having the appropriate *"hanbok"* traditional dress made and learning the deep bows that culminate with the forehead on the floor. My reward was the first taste of the snout from the pig's head, the centerpiece for the ceremony. In ridding the Center of its bad spirits, Park also gained us tremendous goodwill and national television coverage, getting our audience back and reuniting us with our Korean contacts.

*Frances Sullinger, FSO*

## Public Diplomacy and Islam in Indonesia

In 1980, Moslem demonstrators in Indonesia and considerable public opinion accused the U.S. of hostility towards Islam. They were reflecting anti-U.S. sentiments bubbling in the Islamic Middle East. This was a hot-button issue. Advised by two moderate Moslem leaders, USIS directed its activities toward Moslem journalists, students, educators, the Islamic hierarchy and the public at large in a full scale public diplomacy effort. USIA Washington cooperated enthusiastically.

Influential rectors from Islamic universities received Leader Grants to observe the secular and important role of Islam in the U.S. The Smithsonian Institution was hosting a major Islamic exhibit at the time. The rectors then invited several U.S. Moslem leaders to visit Indonesia, which they did with positive effect. We engaged with important *pesantrens* (Islamic schools) to distribute materials and hold discussions with students and teachers. Relevant press materials soon appeared in Moslem magazines and newspapers. USIS exhibits were shown in key locations. Specially prepared radio programs and TV materials were broadcast on Indonesian national facilities. Improved contacts were made with important *ulamas* (theologians) and student leaders. And finally, the senior *ulama* Buya Hamka, said that he was going to visit Iran and would we like for him to boost the release of the hostages? Of course we responded quickly and favorably. Public diplomacy had turned the tide.

*Fred A. Coffey, Jr., FSO (Retired)*

## Creating Artistic Ambassadors

Early in the 1980s, an imaginative program was conceived and undertaken by Dr. John Robilette, an accomplished concert pianist appointed by USIA Director Charles Wick. Dr. Robilette started a program which selected American classical pianists unrepresented by professional agents for solo cultural tours throughout the world. The meticulous selection process involved a series of judged piano competitions resulting in the tapping of piano virtuosos who, until then, had few professional engagements. Artistic Ambassador candidates were also judged on their knowledge of foreign affairs issues and their ability to converse with foreign publics.

Cable after cable from USIS posts and U.S. embassies around the world praised the Artistic Ambassadors and their concerts and master classes. Some concerts were given in remote venues where classical music had never been presented in concert. Carried out on a shoestring budget, the program has reaped great goodwill for America.

*R. Wallace Stuart, Deputy General Counsel*

*The Barrett Sisters performing during their 1984 Arts America tour of several African countries.*

*April 1988* — Soviet officials meet in Washington, DC, with U.S. private sector and government officials in the first U.S.-USSR Bilateral Information Talks, led by Director Charles Wick and Valentin Falin, chairman of the Novosti press agency. Discussions encompass media reciprocity, films, books, television and radio programming, film festivals and increased distribution of official government publications.

*December 1988* — Congress passes legislation applying the VOA Charter to WORLDNET Film and Television Service.

*1989* — Both of VOA's Beijing correspondents, Al Pessin and Mark Hopkins, are expelled by the government of the People's Republic of China after the Tiananmen Square massacre, charged with counterrevolutionary rebellion, rumor-mongering and illegal news gathering. The Chinese government begins jamming VOA Mandarin broadcasts, a practice that continues to the present.

*Ruth Garbe, who retired in 1986 after 41 years with USIS Bremen, receives the West German Federal Service Cross from a Bremen state senator.*

## The Mothers of Filderstadt

The emotional grip of the nuclear weapons issue on the German citizenry was epitomized in early 1982 by the grassroots activities of a tiny group of politically committed women in Filderstadt, a bedroom community near Stuttgart. The "Mothers of Filderstadt," as they called themselves, addressed their fears about nuclear weapons on German soil.

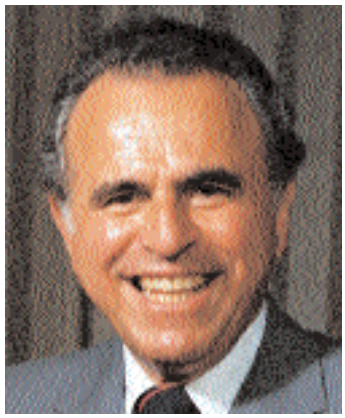
Deftly exploiting Moscow's quick, sympathetic reply, the Soviet ambassador invited the women to Bonn to receive his response in front of the television cameras. When the women complained, mildly, that they had received no response from Washington, USIS Bonn realized they had missed an opportunity to explain U.S. policy to a grassroots group of Germans and launched a friendly dialogue with the group, including visits back and forth in Bonn and Filderstadt.

During President Reagan's first visit to the Federal Republic in 1982, USIS Bonn suggested that he include in his speech before the Bundestag a reference to the concerns of the Filderstadt mothers and thereby accomplish two objectives at once: to make up for the previous lapse and to give a humanizing spin to U.S. policy. "Letting Reagan be Reagan," the Filderstadt reference was included. The German media pounced upon this human interest element adding immediacy, increased relevance, and the all-important personal touch to the President's significant statement of U.S. policy. The speech remained on the front pages for days.

*Hans "Tom" Tuch, FSO (Retired)*

# Charles Z. Wick

## Director, 1981-1989



I was the first USIA Director to meet every morning with the Secretary of State and the Assistant Secretaries. I took seriously the legislation that created USIA in its instruction that the Director serve as a principal advisor on Public Diplomacy to the President, the Secretary of State, and the National Security Council.

It was my judgment, looking to a potential thawing of the Cold War, that if *glasnost* were indeed genuine the entire world would be richer and more peaceful as a result, but if not genuine, nations would have to face dangers even greater than before. It was in this spirit that USIA challenged President Gorbachev to a constructive dialogue that would enhance mutual understanding between our two countries and improve the prospects for world peace. We set in motion, with strong backing from President Reagan and the United States Congress, four major initiatives — each one guided by the principle of reciprocity:

First, to arrange a series of television exchanges between President Reagan and President Gorbachev to be broadcast in the other's country. The first in a series of television exchanges took place on January 1, 1986.

Second, to stop their jamming of the Voice of America, and other international broadcasters. On May 23, 1987, the Soviet Union ceased jamming the Voice of America and other international broadcasters shortly thereafter. The Soviet government, for the first time in our history of bilateral relations granted formal accreditation to a Voice of America correspondent.

Third, to discourage Soviet disinformation activities against the U.S.

And fourth, to initiate a series of Information Talks to permit the exchange of information between the two countries.

I continued to press these issues throughout 1987. Finally, during the Washington Summit in December of that year, at a White House working luncheon held by the President, I reiterated my initiatives proposal to Mr. Gorbachev and to Mr. Yakovlev, Chief of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee. Immediately, Mr. Gorbachev agreed. He directed Mr. Yakovlev to work out the details and said, "It's going to be a new day!"

Even though Soviet-sponsored anti-American disinformation continued to appear in the world media, its intensity and significance diminished substantially. Information talks resulted in a series of breakthroughs: the publication in Russian of Herman Wouk's *The Caine Mutiny*, negotiations to establish a cultural center in each other's country, and the prohibition of film piracy by Soviet distributors of American films.

I always found USIA to be staffed by men and women with enthusiasm and good judgment. Abroad, our officers have a profound understanding of the societies in which they work. The unique combination of managerial and diplomatic skills — unsurpassed in the private sector or government — is invariably combined with the kind of sensitivity needed to function effectively in a foreign environment.

My travels overseas have made me aware of the enormous contribution made by USIA's foreign national employees around the world. Without their dedicated support it would be impossible for our posts to function. They provide the broad knowledge of the audience which is so important to any kind of public affairs work, and the special skills and abilities which make it possible to carry out USIA's mission. Above all, they understand what we are doing and why we are doing it, and they make it possible for us to do it better in the context they know so well. Foreign Service National employees represent the continuity and expertise that makes USIS unique.

# Bruce Gelb

### Director, 1989-1991

It's one of those strange ironies of history that, just as America and the world enter the new information millennium, the United States Information Agency closes down as an independent entity and becomes merely a part of the State Department.

Edward R. Murrow, one of the earliest leaders in the U.S. information arena, once said, "no cash register rings when a man changes his mind." If it were not so, there would have been an endless and deafening tintinnabulation of these bells during all the years that the members of the former USICA and USIA and abroad where the USIS with its foreign nationals, foreign service officers, administrative staffs and, yes, the political appointees have been putting their collaborative shoulders to the wheel.

Think about the young people abroad who learned about America in our overseas libraries, who learned about our jazz and English language from the VOA's Willis Conover; who argued with and learned from our Russian-speaking traveling exhibition guides; think about the International Visitors, like DeKlerk of South Africa and young Margaret Thatcher, who came, saw, and were "conquered" by the vision and reality of Americans from all walks of life. Think about our traveling American speakers who were never propagandists but rather dedicated "sales" representatives for the greatest global product of them all: America, our Constitution, our Bill of Rights, our rule of law, our unquenchable belief in the benefits to all people of a market-based economy; in sum, the endless march of democratic thought and action. With pamphlets, news bulletins, magazines in countless languages, seminars from Salzburg to Soweto, and the endless one-on-one, eyeball-to-eyeball contact with the media and cultural elites of the world's old and new countries. Just ask America's current and former Ambassadors how their life without a Public Affairs Officer would have been.

The final irony might well be that the mission of the USIA: to tell America's story to the world, call it Public Diplomacy, may become the mission of the U.S. State Department. So it goes.

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". . . some people, even within our own government . . . may consider this work 'soft.' Yet aren't human exchanges, especially involving academics, essential to changing societies? [They're] about as soft as Václav Havel." — *from "Bruce Gelb: Voicing America" by William P. McKenzie, editor,* Ripon Forum*, March 1990*

"The greater the number of pathways, the greater the diversity of means of contact, the greater the volume of information and ideas moving through the system — the greater the health, vigor and vitality of the system. . . . I see in this theory of systems communications the perfect analogy for international exchange, in particular academic exchange." — *Fulbright Association Newsletter, winter 1989*

## Help from the Pulpit in Grenada

Grenada in May 1984, several months after the U.S. intervention, was still without reliable electricity, dependable local telephones and "normal" means for reaching the public. The USIS role was important and even difficult during a transition period.

I took leave from the National War College to serve as "Temporary PAO." At that moment claims compensation was the most pressing issue confronting USIS throughout the Spice Island. The one radio transmitter furnished by the U.S. Army was off the air and the one weekly newspaper had already made its small print run on Saturday afternoon when I got word that the long awaited U.S. compensation teams would at last be addressing claims early on Monday morning. Somebody's cow killed by gunfire, a roof blown off by a helicopter flight, a house demolished by rocket grenades, a car smashed by a passing military vehicle — long was the list of claims.

How to get the word out with no radio (no TV either), available newspaper or other medium? My chief assistant, "Sparrow," an ingenious fellow, suggested using the "preacher network." I wrote the announcement, made 150 copies and gave them to Sparrow and two car-owning friends. Those three proceeded to deliver the flyers to 150 preachers throughout the 120 square miles. From the next day's Sunday pulpits the compensation announcements rang out to reach thousands. Amen! Long lines greeted the U.S. compensators on Monday.

*Fred A. Coffey, Jr., FSO (Retired)*

*Above: Mayor of Atlanta Andrew Young in February 1985 did a live WORLDNET call-in program. Below: A journalism student in Yaounde, Camaroon, calls in a question for Mayor Young.*

## The Eagle and the Elephant; Celebrating 150 Years of Thai-U.S. Relations

Three major events would be celebrated in 1983 in Thailand: (1) 150 years of diplomatic relations between the United States and Thailand, (2) the bicentennial of the founding of the Chakri Dynasty, and (3) the founding of the capital city of Bangkok. I decided that USIS Bangkok should do a commemorative coffee table book in Thai and English to mark the occasion.

Initially we couldn't decide on a title as the staff organized the hundreds of photographs and other historical materials that had been provided by private individuals, outside organizations and government agencies. Khun Sukhon Polpatpicharn, the Book Specialist in the Cultural Section, worked devotedly on every aspect of the project, but especially with the researchers drafting the narrative.

One day she came to me and said that she had discovered that in 1833 President Andrew Jackson sent a sword to King Rama III and that it was in the Royal Armory. We sought and obtained royal permission to photograph it. The sword featured an eagle and an elephant, the symbols of the two nations, chased on a gold handle, with the outspread wings of the eagle forming the hand guard. The golden scabbard had two interlocking bands from top to bottom enclosing small stars. I took one look at the photos and said, "Here is the title for our book: *The Eagle and the Elephant; 150 Years of Thai-U.S. Relations.*" We used the photograph on the cover. The book was a sell-out success and is now in its 4th edition.

*Herwald "Hal" Morton, FSO (Retired)*

*Members of the Radio Engineering Advisory Committee and VOA officials inspect the master control console during their tour of the Edward R. Murrow Transmitting Station (Greenville Relay Station) in Greenville, North Carolina, in May 1984.*


*Hal Morton, PAO in Thailand from 1981 to 1984, spearheaded USIS' commemorative efforts.*

## Musk Ox Becomes Cold War Weapon

In the mid-1980s, I was Press Attaché at our Copenhagen embassy. At Thule, Greenland, we were building a giant phased-array radar to replace the DEW line. Leftist Danes were stirring up opposition to it among the Thule Inuit population. They argued that the radar station wouldn't benefit native Greenlanders, just make them a Star Wars target. A Danish zoologist's plan to re-establish a herd of musk oxen in the Thule region suddenly became an opportune community relations project for the U.S. Air Force. With the cooperation of the U.S. Coast Guard and the Greenland Home Rule government, an expedition was mounted to capture calves in south-west Greenland, fly them north to Thule and disperse them in the area.

Using helicopters and dogs, the expedition soon rounded up 27 fifteen-month-old calves and corralled them at the USAF base at Sondre Stromfjord. Then I arrived escorting a Danish TV team, a *Greenland Post* reporter, and three U.S. journalists. It was a unique Foreign Service experience to be on a C-141 with crated musk oxen, two dogs, and 50 bales of hay! Once aboard we were handed a "Musk Ox Emergency Kit," a brown paper bag with a can of air freshener and a swimmer's nose plug.

We arrived at Thule around noon on July 11, 1986, and loaded seven musk oxen aboard the Coast Guard icebreaker *Northwind.* After threading our way through a field of icebergs we reached Cape Atholl, 20 miles south of Thule, and waited for clear weather. The next morning the *Northwind's* helicopter put expedition members and media ashore, and then, one crate at a time, delivered two bulls and five cows. They soon herded together and began grazing. The legendary musk ox had been returned to the tundra of the Thule Inuits after a 100-year absence.

The media dispersed and I filed a story with the Associated Press. Greenland press coverage was extensive and Danish TV made a superb documentary. Our bonds with Greenland's Inuit community strengthened. Opposition to the Thule radar faded. In the cold of the arctic, the U.S. had a Cold War victory.

*Ray Burson, FSO (Retired)*

*Left: Ray Burson in Greenland. Above: One of the crated musk oxen being taken to the Thule tundra.*

## The Country Plan

How many of us in USIA grimaced at the thought of having to prepare the annual Country Plan? Yet, for all the dread that went into the chore, we not only willingly confronted it (some of us more willing than others), but we were proud of it. We had good reason to be. Until the Government Performance and Results Act, USIA was one of very few USG entities with a strategic planning process as a central defining characteristic.

Some form of the Country Planning process was a distinguishing feature of the Agency virtually since its inception. The onset of the modern Country Plan, marrying post and Agency priorities and resources, can be dated to the Carter Administration. Director John Reinhardt characterized priority setting in the Country Plans as "the confluence of influence" between the U.S. and the host country. Even though the Country Plan and the budget planning process were always separate, the concept of Agency resource priorities being set by the field has been a central feature of the process ever since.

The process was refined and simplified in the Reagan Administration under Director Charles Wick, taking advantage of the developments in communication technology as the decade progressed. The first crude applications of the developing technology were awkward for field posts and time consuming in Washington, as each post project was entered "by hand." But as we got into the '90s, that became easier as well, as we all became more familiar with computers and the computer itself became more efficient and easier to use. Now, we have come to expect that the Country Plans are readily available through Lotus Notes. Our strategic planning skill paid dividends for us professionally, gave us a leg up on the Government Performance Results Act, and will help public diplomacy strengthen the State Department Mission Program Plan.

*Joel Fischman, Office of Strategic Communications*

## Exchanges Brought Changes to Russia

Between 1958 and 1988 the U.S. and Soviet governments conducted a broad program of reciprocal exchanges in education, culture, information, science and technology which brought over 50,000 Soviet citizens to the U.S. and an equal number of Americans to the Soviet Union. Those exchanges brought changes to Russia that helped pave the way for the Soviet reforms of the 1980s and much that followed. In ensuring the success of those exchanges, USIA played a significant role.

In Moscow, our Embassy's Press and Cultural Section, staffed by USIA officers, participated in the negotiation of the "Cultural Agreement" every two or three years, and rode herd on the sluggish Soviet bureaucracy to ensure that agreements were implemented and carried out effectively.

In Washington, the Agency provided much of the U.S. backstopping for the cultural and information exchanges — preparing major exhibitions which gave the Soviet public an authentic view of the U.S. denied them by the Soviet media; editing the monthly illustrated magazine, *Amerika*, the only U.S. publication which could be distributed in the Soviet Union; and sending on "missions to Moscow" many prominent Americans.

Those of us who worked on those exchanges can look back with great satisfaction on the role we played in "telling America's story" to the people of the Soviet Union and in helping to bring about their transition to democracy and market reform.

*Yale Richmond, FSO (Retired)*

# Sending Abroad the Best of America's Arts and Culture

The impact abroad of USIA's arts and cultural programs has been broad and deep. Over the decades, they have touched the lives of foreign decision makers and audiences, as well as American cultural practitioners. During the darkest days of the Cold War, U.S. visual, literary, film and performing artists were often among the few non-government officials allowed to interact with their counterparts and audiences behind the Iron Curtain. While performances of well-known American jazz musicians were wildly popular, touring performers introduced entirely new, hybrid styles including cajun, bluegrass, country and western, as well as rhythm and blues. Likewise in the visual arts, exhibitions provided new perspectives on a culture known too widely for violent films or formulaic television shows.

*Members of the Hartford Ballet performing "Aves Mirabiles."*

Over the years, the Agency has sponsored a veritable Who's Who of creative Americans. Among the Nobel, Pulitzer, Oscar, Tony and MacArthur awardees programmed by the Agency, often before their wider recognition, have been Toni Morrison, Edward Albee, Frank Capra, Joan Didion, Anna Sokolow, Frederick Weisman, Ishmael Reed and Duke Ellington. Others programmed include Allan Ginsburg, Alvin Ailey, Jasper Johns, Dizzie Gillespie, Martha Graham, Arthur Mitchell, YoYo Ma, and Dave Brubeck.

*The Houston Grand Opera performing "Showboat" in Cairo.*

In addition to such well-known creators, hundreds of unsung behind-the-scenes practitioners have assisted their foreign counterparts under the auspices of the American Cultural Specialist program. These specialists have worked with Palestinian and Israeli children on creative approaches to conflict resolution; channeled gang members in Bolivia to paint anti-drug murals; worked with indigenous craftspeople on ways to market their artworks to eager collectors abroad; and assisted local cultural officials on architectural preservation. They have advised arts officials on innovative strategies to build attendance, raise funds and create publicity. They have choreographed dances, directed plays, conserved artworks, counseled writers and publishers, and conducted workshops for screenwriters, poets, dancers, painters, sculptors and musicians.

More recently, USIA has increasingly worked through a variety of public-private partnerships with, for example, the American Dance Festival, the American Association of Museums, and the City of Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs. Perhaps the highest profile partnerships have been with the National Endowment for the Arts, the Rockefeller Foundation and The Pew Charitable Trusts. The resulting program, called the Fund for U.S. Artists at International Festivals and Exhibitions, has enabled thousands of American visual and performing artists to participate in festivals in countries on every continent.

*The Acting Company in a production of Tennessee Williams' play "This Property is Condemned." This and four other Williams plays were performed in Russia, Lithuania, Poland and Germany.*

As the Agency becomes one with the Department of State, the Cultural Programs staff looks forward to exciting new opportunities to leverage government resources with America's most innovative, creative citizens.

*President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia speaking after a performance by the San Francisco Brass Quintet at the official residence in Lusaka on May 21, 1985. The Zambian leader praised the group as "bridgebuilders."*

## Creating Afghan Journalists

*Elham Mohammad, video librarian at USIS Sanaa, was also a student at the Yemen-American Language Institute, where the English language program for 400 students was enhanced by printed and video materials from the USIS Library.*

I remember hauling photo supplies, typewriters, handbooks on writing styles for Third World journalists, and solar battery chargers to Andrews AFB during the late 1980s. This was part of USIA's efforts to end the Cold War by reducing the Soviet threat — in this case, supporting the resistance in Afghanistan with the creation of the Afghan Media Project (P/DH), which evolved into the Afghanistan Country Program, NEA/A.

The United States sought "a just and speedy end" to the war in Afghanistan, the withdrawal of Soviet forces, United Nations-sponsored negotiations, and self-determination for the Afghan people. It viewed the resistance alliance as their legitimate spokesman.

USIA was tasked with giving voice to the millions of refugees, fostering a common concern in South Asia toward the Soviet invasion, and providing the world access to the hidden carnage destroying the ancient plexus of cultures and archaeological treasures in Afghanistan. We decided to create journalists among the refugees and resistance fighters and establish the Afghan-managed Afghan Media Resource Center (AMRC) in Peshawar, Pakistan, where the foreign press was provided "familiarization visits."

We introduced Afghan spokesmen with vivid videos of the war, copied by USIA's TV, to Congress, private aid and legal studies organizations, and the world press. We countered Soviet disinformation with paper shows, Wireless File features and VOA talking points.

*John A. Miller, Bureau of Information, Electronic Media and Visual Services*

*A 1988 election results program at the American Center in Madras, India.*

*A symposium organized by USIS in 1988 on "U.S.-Philippine Relations" brings together leading scholars and editors who participated in International Visitor and Fulbright exchange programs. Former BPAO Cliff Forster (front row, third from right), already retired from the Foreign Service, was invited to be a speaker resource at the symposium.*

## Special English Becomes a Hit

One of VOA's most celebrated innovations was the launching of a service which most Americans hate to listen to. It's called Special English, a slow-paced delivery of our language with a limited vocabulary, about 1,500 words. Announcer Paul Parks, with a delivery which rolled like thunder through the ether, voiced the first Special English newscast pioneered by the late Dick Borden on October 17, 1959.

Many of its originators had doubts about Special English, designed to increase comprehension of listeners for whom English is a second language. Those doubts disappeared within weeks of the first Special English broadcast, as hundreds of letters praising the program poured into VOA headquarters in Washington from around the world.

Today, VOA teaches English in more than 20 languages. It has published some of these lessons as guides to accompany the programs, in languages like Hindi and Lao, and of course, Mandarin Chinese. VOA correspondent Gil Butler, who served in Beijing in the mid-1990s, stopped by the tiny shop of Special English broadcasters the first week he returned home to Washington. He told the staff that during his four-year tour in the PRC, he had never met a Chinese who had not listened to Special English.

Quite appropriately, the logo appearing on Special English word books and other printed materials is a turtle. "It's a perfect match for our programs," says editor Marilyn Christiano. "We like to think of ourselves as the 'slow speed' information superhighway." But this tortoise is a winner. It's helping millions master a language that is the global *lingua franca* in trade, commerce and entertainment. Take the world's largest potential marketplace as an example. There are more people learning English in China today than there are native speakers of English in North America!

*Alan Heil, VOA Deputy Director (Retired)*

## Tiananmen Square

China's turbulent spring of 1989 was a time of extraordinary public affairs challenges. Recall that Mikhail Gorbachev had more than 1,000 correspondents in tow when he arrived in mid-May to seal peace with the Chinese leadership. And pro-democracy demonstrations by young Chinese, begun a month earlier, were reaching their apogee in the final weeks before the fateful Saturday of June 3. The drama in Tiananmen Square brought hundreds more foreign reporters into the capital.

American embassies and USIS posts quickly become a major news source when this much is happening. By May 20 our USIS post was on a 24-hour schedule. Background briefings set up for groups of up to 150 western reporters became regular events. News editors from scores of American radio stations called at all hours for on-scene comments and reaction. CNN took over entire floors at the Great Wall Sheraton.

Then came the crackdown and the dying in the square that Saturday night. It was followed on Sunday by the emergence of a new story angle. None of us at the U.S. Embassy should have been surprised. The fate of Americans in Beijing — reporters, students, Fulbright professors, tourists, and even diplomats — soared to the top of the U.S. press corps' concerns.

Tom Brokaw and nearly a hundred reporters pressed in on Consul General Dee Robinson and me at an impromptu press conference on the street in front of the U.S. consular section. How many citizens were still in the city? When would planes take them out? Were the Chinese preventing access to Americans? Why weren't we doing more to speed their departure now?

At the end of the week, the story had played itself out and attention could focus more sharply on the broader consequences of the crackdown and China's place on an altered international scene.

The conclusion is probably this, to paraphrase the most quoted bit of political sagacity since Lord John Acton: All international relations are domestic, at least until the dust settles.

*McKinney H. Russell, FSO (Retired)*

(Reprinted by permission of the *Foreign Service Journal*)

## VOA a Presence at Tiananmen

In the spring of 1989, the VOA Beijing Bureau gave extensive coverage to the student-led Democracy Movement which swept across China in a series of huge public demonstrations. During that period, perhaps more than ever before, the Chinese people relied on VOA broadcasts in Chinese and English to inform them about what was happening in their own country. VOA broadcasts were heard on loudspeakers at restaurants, in the midst of demonstrations and wafting out the windows of private homes. Hand-written transcripts were posted on telephone poles.

When the troops cleared Tiananmen Square and violently ended the movement, VOA coverage continued — telling the Chinese people what had really happened, as opposed to the Chinese government's domestic disinformation campaign which denied any violence by the troops. VOA's presence was so important, and its impact so large, that the Chinese media harshly criticized VOA, and the international media told VOA's story to the world while VOA was telling China's story to China. By then, the country was under martial law and news coverage was explicitly illegal.

I was VOA's Beijing Bureau Chief at the time, and, as a result of VOA's accurate reporting, was expelled, causing another round of international coverage for VOA and more interest in China in VOA's broadcasts. Still, VOA never missed a day in its China coverage, which continues today.

*Alan W. Pessin, VOA*

*International Visitor Program Branch Chief Theresa Johnson (center) is welcomed to Bangkok in 1985 by alumni. Johnson will have gone full circle from State, to USIA, and back to State after the consolidation.*

*World-renowned jazz master Dizzy Gillespie being briefed by Arts America specialist Jimmye Claire Walker before his tour to Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, Nigeria and Zaire. This 1989 tour was Gillespie's second; in 1956 he toured Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Pakistan, Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia through the State Department's cultural program.*

## "Stormin' Norman"

Journalists get to meet many interesting and "important" people in their careers. But in my years as a writer-editor for USIA's Wireless File, I met none more interesting than "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf. In October 1988, General Schwarzkopf and I were enrolled in an area studies course on the Near East conducted by the State Department's Foreign Service Institute in Rosslyn, Virginia. We sat next to each other because our names began with the same letter. Schwarzkopf was in the course to update his already considerable knowledge of the area before heading up the U.S. Central Command at MacDill Air Force Base. At the time, I had no idea who he was. Dressed in civilian clothes, the three-star general was affable and totally unassuming. He was just a "regular guy."

During coffee breaks or at lunch at the Rosslyn Eatery, we talked about a number of things — baseball, the Middle East, the spiritual side of man, the curves life throws us occasionally — and the definition of success. "There are two kinds of success," Schwarzkopf said. "There's the success people see you as, and the success you see yourself as being." It was clear to me that the second kind mattered more to him. Later, when he assumed command of all American forces in the Middle East, I sent him a copy of an article I wrote about our meeting for the Wireless File. He replied: "Thanks for your complimentary reflections. I'll try to live up to them."

*Jim Shevis, Wireless File writer-editor (Retired)*

# The International Visitor Program

*Nepalese IV group in Washington, DC.*

The International Visitor Program has played an integral role in advancing U.S. interests throughout USIA's existence. For six decades, leaders from around the world — including more than 185 current and former chiefs of state and heads of government, and thousands of other prominent professionals — have come to the United States as guests of our Government to learn about this country, its policies, and its people. In turn, they have enriched the lives of American citizens in communities across the nation. These visits have provided the genesis for thousands of lasting personal and institutional ties between the U.S. and other countries around the globe.

*International Visitors explore Indian culture in the American Southwest.*

Each year, approximately 5,000 International Visitor participants meet and confer with their professional counterparts and experience the United States firsthand. The visitors are current or potential leaders in government, politics, journalism, education, business and other fields, who are selected and invited by USIA Foreign Service officers stationed at U.S. Embassies and at USIS offices abroad; individuals cannot simply apply to participate. The program and logistical arrangements are carried out by USIA staff overseas and Washington-based program officers in the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs' Office of International Visitors.

USIA directs the program under cooperative agreements with a wide range of not-for-profit organizations, called program agencies. The program also relies on the commitment and skills of a network of citizen diplomats working in over 100 volunteer organizations across the country. Known collectively as "Councils for International Visitors (CIVs)," they are associated under the National Council for International Visitors.

*International Visitors visit a machine tool factory in South Bend, Indiana.*

The International Visitor Program is a vital mechanism for introducing foreign leaders to U.S. policies and practices. By the end of 1999, over 110,000 visitors will have participated in the program, which continues to evolve to meet U.S. interests in the global arena. Today's participants travel to the U.S. either individually or in groups for programs of varying length depending on availability, professional interest, the goals of the project, and, in some cases, cost-sharing arrangements with an individual, institution or cooperating government. Individual participants concentrate on professional concerns or bilateral issues. Group or thematic projects focus on a particular issue such as the U.S. economy, our electoral system, or foreign policy formulation; they bring together participants with similar professional interests from particular countries, geographic regions or nations worldwide.

## "We Want a Full *Glas* of *Nost*..."

Amid this and other quips (I'll take four "pairs of stroika" . . . to the head of the Hermitage who was praising Perestroika) USIA Director in the 1980s, Charles Z. Wick, launched a serious and significant effort by USIA to promote U. S.-Soviet information and cultural exchange. In Bilateral Information Talks, begun in 1988 and continuing through 1991, the Agency engaged a wide range of leading American journalists, political thinkers, business people, and survey and market researchers with Soviet "counterparts."

Individuals as varied as Jack Valenti, President of the Motion Picture Association of America, leading publishers, editors and writers sought agreements and encounters to make the USSR more open. A number of "bizness" deals were achieved, and several agreements signed. The effort achieved bureau status for VOA and small openings for Radio Liberty, and also induced Soviet leadership to tone down the worst disinformation activities.

Equally important, the Information Talks and a concurrent updated exchange agreement reduced Soviet-imposed costs for U.S. exhibits, professionals and scholars going to the region, and helped accelerate surveys and research. Over 100 American private sector leaders, journalists and scholars soon learned more about the USSR and developed ties with Soviets — ties that have paid off in innumerable ways in the past decade.

*Mike Schneider, Chief, Policy Bureau (Retired)*

# Measuring Foreign Attitudes, Reporting on Foreign Media

The mission of the Office of Research and Media Reaction has been part of USIA's mandate since the Agency's creation: "advising the president, his representatives abroad and the various departments and agencies on the implications of foreign opinion for present and contemplated United States policies, programs and official statements." In consultation with counterparts in the foreign affairs community, this office establishes polling data to measure foreign attitudes about policy issues important to the U.S., and monitors foreign media commentary.

*In the early 1980s White House Chief of Staff James Baker III reading the* Morning Digest *of foreign media reaction.*


From the mid-'60s through the '90s, the Research Office carried out a variety of media studies to inform the Voice of America and the program elements about interests and reactions of VOA listeners and USIA audiences. Systematic evaluations were done of all major Agency activities. A small staff also analyzed the scope of communist cultural and information activities and, in the 1980s, the themes and tenor of Soviet propaganda.

Democratization in the '90s brought an explosion of possibilities for public opinion research in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Asia and the Middle East. The Research office took on the challenge of training political and social scientists in Eastern Europe, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Central Asia on methodology, sampling and the wording of questions. Eventually pollsters were trained in the Palestine Authority, Bosnia, Mali, Nepal and Haiti. This new indigenous capacity to conduct polls helped strengthen democracy in those countries. Today the Research Office conducts polls and analyzes public opinion from some 77 countries.

USIA's Media Reaction staff begins writing the *Early Report* at 5:30 a.m. each day. The *Early Report* goes to senior U.S. government policy makers. A second report, the *Daily Digest,* is distributed throughout the government and beyond and is read by countless Internet users. One morning the Media Reaction branch received a voice mail from White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry who said, "Reading the *Early Report* is my favorite pastime early in the morning. I just want you to know that we like what we see and are glad that it is fair and unbiased."

*USIA pollsters in Guantanamo, Cuba.*

## "Hail and Farewell" from Three-Time Deputy Director

The most vivid and lasting memory I have from my tenure at USIA in the Nixon, Ford and Bush Administrations is the quality and professionalism of its workforce in both services, among the political appointees, and in its overseas backbone, the Foreign Service National staffs. The Agency's mission, and the variety of audiences addressed in its execution, attracted a well-educated and devoted group. It was a natural career path for certain talents developed in the academy and often finely tuned in the private sector. The results were effective programs tailored to address issues worldwide. It was a gratifying experience to work in such an environment.

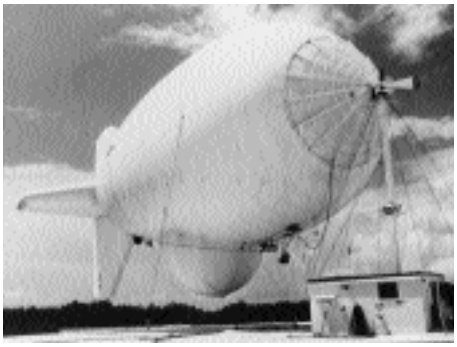
While many speculate and worry about the future of public diplomacy at the State Department, I take this opportunity as the fires are banked at USIA to salute and thank those who developed the concept to an art form. They served the nation well, and it was a special privilege to be associated with them. Hail and farewell USIA — splice the main brace!

*Eugene P. Kopp, former USIA Deputy Director*

# 1990s

*February 1990* — An amendment to the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 authorizes the USIA director to make certain products available to the Archivist of the United States for domestic distribution. Films, videotapes, and other program materials prepared for dissemination abroad are now available twelve years after material is first sent abroad, or, in the case of material not disseminated abroad, twelve years after the preparation of the material.

*February 1990* — TV Martí is established by the Television Broadcasting to Cuba Act (Public Law 101-246) and telecasts its first program on March 27. The Office of Cuba Broadcasting is established to oversee the operation of Radio Martí and TV Martí.



*The balloon that holds the transmitter and antenna for TV Martí, often referred to as "Fat Albert."*

*1990* — The Bureau of Broadcasting is established, encompassing VOA, WORLDNET, the Office of Cuba Broadcasting and the Office of Engineering.

*Summer 1990* — A plaque honoring USIA employees who lost their lives while in the Agency's service is mounted at the USIA Washington headquarters building. It is sponsored by the USIA Alumni Association (USIAAA).

*1991* — An Office of Affiliate Relations is created at the Bureau of Broadcasting to establish and maintain a network of "affiliated" radio and TV stations around the world to broadcast VOA and WORLDNET-produced programs. [Today the IBB has more than 1,100 affiliate radio and television stations.]

*March 1991* — "Design USA," the last major cultural exchange exhibit in the Soviet Union, closes after an 18-month, eight-city tour that went, for the first time, as far east as Khabarovsk and Vladivostok. It is seen by over two million visitors.

*May 1991* — The first Professional-in-Residence (PIR) is sent to Eastern/Central Europe under the Support for Eastern European Democracies (SEED) Act to work as a consultant with journalists and media experts.

*September 1991* — Acting PAO John Louton arrives to open USIS Tirana, Albania, the first U.S. Public Affairs Officer in that country since World War II. A one-room USIS office opens in the U.S. Embassy the following month.

## Reflections on the FLEX Program

Since its inception in 1993, more than 7,000 high school students from the Newly Independent States (NIS) of the former Soviet Union have spent an academic year in the U.S. as participants in the Future Leaders Exchange (FLEX) program. During their year, FLEX participants live with volunteer American host families and attend U.S. high schools. This program was born of former Senator Bill Bradley's conviction that the best way to ensure long-lasting peace and understanding between the U.S. and these emerging democracies is to enable NIS young people to learn about democracy firsthand. Many still refer to it as the "Bradley Program."

Returning to their home countries, FLEX alumni are encouraged to join one of the vast network of regional alumni associations that exist throughout the NIS, which meet regularly for discussions, American movies and holiday celebrations, debates, speakers, career counseling and community service activities. Volunteerism is one of the "democratic" concepts they take back with them, since community service, as we know it, does not exist in their countries. Alumni activities have included tutoring at a school for the blind in Ukraine, visiting a veterans' retirement home in Uzbekistan, a party at the Ronald McDonald House for Children with Disabilities in Moscow, and holiday parties at orphanages in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

*Dee Aronson, Youth Programs Division, Office of Citizen Exchanges*

*Senator Bill Bradley on the steps of the U.S. Capitol with a group of FLEX students.*

## USIA Gets Fit!

My memory of one of the biggest milestones at USIA was the grand opening of the USIA Fitness Center on April 14, 1992, in response to the President's Federal Fitness Campaign. The ribbon cutting ceremony was presided over by Director Henry Catto, and special guests were Terry Orr and Mark Adickes of the World Champion Washington Redskins. The slogan was "Naturally, we all get plenty of exercise: JUMPING to conclusions; STRETCHING points; CLIMBING the career ladder; RUNNING it up the flagpole; WRESTLING with problems, PUMPING out the work; and PUSHING paper." It was a great way for USIA employees to release stress at no cost. It incorporated the spirit of teamwork among the users, who also played the role of duty officer on a weekly basis to ensure that the fitness center remained problem/accident-free. Seven years later, the center is still operational and free. I was proud to have been a part of the development team.

*Julie R. Travers, Office of Human Resources*

## Cyprus Fulbright Commission's Successful Bicommunal Efforts

The Fulbright Commission is virtually the only institution in Cyprus that can operate in both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities without hindrance. Under the auspices of the Commission and administered by either Fulbright Scholars or the Commission directly, these efforts were formalized in 1993, beginning with the bicommunal Cyprus-America Scholarship Program (CASP) workshop in Conflict Resolution for Cypriot students at Harvard University.

Based on the success of this Fulbright-CASP workshop, in 1994 the Fulbright Commission arranged a series of workshops that were funded by CASP. Since then, no less than 40 bicommunal workshops, both on and off the island, have been funded. Fields such as Conflict Resolution, Management, Federalism, Journalism, Education, Water Management, Pollution, Banking and summer youth camps have been emphasized.

Even though on-island bicommunal meetings have come to a halt, the Cyprus Fulbright Commission, using USAID and other funding, continues to send various professionals to the U.S. (and recently to third-party countries) in various fields. One of the most successful programs is the summer youth camp, where Greek and Turkish Cypriot youth are sent to a facility in the U.S. to master basic conflict resolution and leadership skills.

*Daniel Hadjittofi, Executive Director, Cyprus Fulbright Commission*

*The bicommunal staff of USIS Nicosia, with PAO Judy Baroody, work together for peace in the 1990s.*

## USIS Nicosia Working for Peace

In 1997, the staffs of USIS Nicosia and the Cyprus Fulbright Commission ignited an explosion of activities bringing Greek and Turkish Cypriots together in the buffer zone of the divided island. The political gates had risen high enough to allow us to host lectures, workshops, art exhibits, concerts, conferences, festivals, summer camps for students, bicommunal International Visitor tours — the full chest of public diplomacy tools brought to bear to promote peace on a citizen-to-citizen level in Cyprus. These activities catalyzed others carried out by the Cypriots themselves, a chain reaction that led to over 600 bicommunal events by the end of the year. They ranged from one-on-one encounters to a fair that brought over 4,000 Cypriots together in the buffer zone to greet each other after almost a quarter century of separation.

As 1997 drew to a close, the gates again descended and Turkish Cypriots were banned from meeting their Greek-speaking counterparts on the island. But USIS and Fulbright continued to toil in this harsh political climate to create opportunities for intercommunal dialogue through the Internet, a joint magazine and off-island workshops. In teaching by example, the USIS and Fulbright staffs provided a model of what the people of Cyprus could achieve by crossing through the barbed wire barrier — physical, political and psychological — to work together for peace.

*Judith Baroody, FSO*


*USIS Library officer Bo Gilliam (center) with the FSN staff in Mexico City on the 50th anniversary of overseas libraries.*

*Judy Massa, VOA Music Director (center), with a host of performers at the VOA 50th anniversary celebration.*

*1992* — Two 50th anniversary celebrations: In February, the Voice of America reaches this impressive milestone. In April, the establishment of the first USIS library, the Benjamin Franklin Library in Mexico City, is commemorated with a day-long symposium at the Library of Congress, cosponsored by the USIAAA and the Center for the Book.

*April 1992* — "Seeds of Change," a paper show based on a major Smithsonian Institution exhibition, generates almost 400 orders from USIS posts. With Smithsonian support, 170 copies of the show are distributed throughout the United States by the Federation of State Humanities Councils. The book is translated into Spanish in Colombia through the Agency's book translation program.

*April 1992* — The U.S. pavilion opens in Seville, Spain, as part of Expo '92 with a major USIA exhibition about the Bill of Rights. The next month, the U.S. pavilion, with its Agency exhibit about the Chesapeake Bay, starts operation as part of the smaller Genoa fair. When the two expos close, the Expo Office in USIA's Exhibits Service is abolished. Future U.S. participation at world's fairs held outside the U.S. remains the responsibility of USIA, which provides advice and counsel, but funding, staffing and other expo operations are to be arranged through the private sector. USIA maintains a minimal presence at Taejon's Expo '93 where the private sector builds the U.S. pavilion and continues that policy with Lisbon's Expo '98, the last world's fair of the 20th century.

*July 1992* — The Russian-language Wireless File is inaugurated.

*October 1992* — USIS Laos reopens in Vientiane after a 17-year absence.

*November 1992* — USIS Cambodia reopens in Phnom Penh and a lease is signed for the first USIS America House in Kiev.

*1993* — VOA and WORLDNET together launch a weekly Ukrainian-language TV program called "Window on America." This program eventually gains a viewership of one fourth of the population of Ukraine.

*Muskie Fellows from Central and Eastern Europe meet with Senator Edmund Muskie, for whom their exchange program is named.*

*October 1993* — The USIA exhibition "Good Design Is Good Business" opens in Tallinn, Estonia. It is the first American exhibit in the Baltic region and the first in one of the Newly Independent States.

*February 1994* — A symposium, jointly sponsored by the USIAAA, the Public Diplomacy Foundation, and USIA, on the future of U.S. public diplomacy, commemorates the Agency's 40th anniversary.

## Fulbright Grantee Finds Reinvention in Poland

Arriving in Poland in the Fall of 1990, I encountered a place reinventing itself. Much of the old regime was still very much the order of the day. I saw restaurants and shops still run by state authorities and taught at a university which did not publish a class calendar. It was located in the heart of working class coal mining and steel country, although its students were from the upper crust of Polish society.

During that year I witnessed the first free elections (Lech Walesa won handily) and in them the stirrings of Polish nationalism. I saw an English department struggle with its identity in arguments over literary theory and ideas about the role and pedagogy of the teacher in a more democratic society. I saw symphony ticket prices rise from ten cents to two dollars over the course of the year, and the coming of mass market consumerism in the form of supermarkets from Belgium, agricultural products from Germany and Holland, luxury boutiques from France, and expensive cars from Germany and the U.S. It was a year in which crime and violence rose ominously, but it was also a year of discovery.

And Poland was like coming home to a place that my grandparents had left years before and that still marked my father, me, and my brothers in obscure but now noticeable ways. I suspect that all Fulbright grants offer the opportunity for one to reinvent the self. But going to Poland in 1990, I experienced reinvention every day and returned with a new faith in Ralph Waldo Emerson's wisdom that "life only avails, not the having lived."

*Andrew Lakritz, Office of Academic Programs*

*Wireless File correspondent Davis Brashears (left) talks with journalists and a soldier at a Saudi base during Desert Storm in 1991.*

## Getting Gaza Going After Oslo

*Director of the Institute for the Study and Development of Legal Systems presents a USIA Legal Program plaque to the Palestinian Authority Deputy Minister of Justice in Gaza in 1994.*

In the months following the signing of the Oslo Agreement September 13, 1993, USIS Tel Aviv and USIS Jerusalem found their offices inundated with "nation-building" projects which included media, legal, English teaching and other activities thanks to the initiatives conceived by then West Bank PAO Lea Perez. Lea had no idea that the Agency would find money to fund almost everything suggested. The Embassy in Tel Aviv traditionally was charged with looking after what had been some fairly small potatoes in Gaza.

As CAO, I was accustomed to visiting the Gaza Strip (still under Israeli occupation) two or three times a year, once for the Fulbright candidate interviews, once for the Humphrey Program, and every now and then to check on educational advising. Occasionally PAO David Good would accompany me. After Lea's initiatives came through, it was non-stop programming for the next two years and beyond as the Arabs of Gaza, where the Palestinian Authority set up its headquarters in the late spring of 1994, struggled to rediscover their identity and re-establish the fabric of their fractured society.

USIS visits became increasingly frequent as Lea, Jerusalem APAO Susan Ziadeh, and I logged scores of round trips to screen program participants and engage the new leadership emerging in the West Bank and Gaza. Yasser Arafat himself managed to appear at two high-profile conferences sponsored by USIS in Gaza City during 1994, one aimed at businessmen and one for lawyers and judges. Remarkable and instinctive politician that he is, Arafat actually addressed me by name the second time we met. It was a wonderful, even thrilling time to be in dusty, forlorn Gaza, at a moment when it almost seemed that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was on the verge of becoming an historical memory.

*Martin Quinn, FSO*

## Pete Seeger Captures Asuncíon

When I called, he said: Why not? Pete Seeger's program in Paraguay marked the first time in his career that the U.S. government supported the self-styled "river singer." Stepping off the airplane with his wife Toshi and grandson Tao Rodriguez, he was reserved. Traveling abroad in the '60s, he said, government people (like me?) kept tabs on him.

The reserve didn't last. Working with Tico da Costa, a Brazilian whose music he recorded, Seeger captured the city of Asuncíon. Concerts at the Binational Center and the residence of Ambassador Robert Service left their mark, but the free concert in a downtown park moved thousands. The mayor, a former labor activist imprisoned under the dictatorship, presented Seeger with the keys to the city while Paraguayan folk bands played both their own music and some of Seeger's tunes in Spanish. An unscripted finale brought Paraguayan and American musicians on stage together singing "If I Had a Hammer" in both languages.

When it was over, I followed Seeger offstage carrying his guitar. Packing up the instruments, he said, "I think I'm going to remember that as one of the four or five best concerts of my life." The last night in Asuncíon ran late; musician time. The flight out of Asuncíon left early. When I picked him up for the airport run, Seeger jumped onto the back of the flatbed truck and hauled up his own instruments. He was in his late 70s. Soon after, he was inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame.

*Mark Jacobs, FSO*

*Pete Seeger (left) with Mark Jacobs in Paraguay.*

*In 1990, USIA Director Bruce Gelb goes through the upper Huallaga Valley, the center of coca growing in Peru, with a security team as part of USIA's cooperative effort with Drug Czar William Bennett to observe the effectiveness of using herbicide to eradicate coca plants.*

*First Lady Barbara Bush unveils the dedication plaque for the new USIS American Center in Singapore in 1992.*

*April 30, 1994* — President Bill Clinton signs the International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (Public Law 103-236), establishing the International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) within USIA; consolidating all civilian U.S. government broadcasting, including VOA, WORLDNET, and Radio and TV Martí, under a Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG); and funding a new surrogate Asian Democracy Radio Service (later called Radio Free Asia). The BBG's oversight extends to government grantee organizations Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty(RFE/RL) and Radio Free Asia.

*1994* — Congress approves for domestic release the WORLDNET documentary *Crimes Against Humanity* about human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia. The film is distributed nationwide to universities and libraries.

*April 1996* — An omnibus appropriations act passed by Congress and signed by President Clinton mandates the move of Radio and TV Martí headquarters from Washington, DC, to Miami, Florida. The move is completed by August 1998.

*October 1996* — VOA's new television studio — Studio 47 — is inaugurated to carry radio/television simulcasts. The studio is later dedicated to former VOA Director John Chancellor.

*1997* — An agreement signed between the International Broadcasting Bureau and Asia Satellite Telecommunications Company (AsiaSat) gives the VOA, WORLDNET Film and Television Service, Radio Free Asia, and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty access to AsiaSat 2, with a footprint reaching more than 60 percent of the world's population.


*President Clinton at VOA on October 19, 1997.*

*January 1998* — Three VOA reporters travel to Cuba to cover Pope John Paul II's visit there, the first time since 1990 that VOA reporters are allowed into Cuba. Their coverage is carried by affiliates throughout Central and South America.

*May 18, 1998* — VOA launches a new English-language service called "VOA News Now," which airs world, regional and U.S. news along with sports, business and entertainment 24-hours a day seven days a week.

*October 1998* — President Clinton signs the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 that abolishes USIA effective October 1, 1999, and integrates all the Agency's elements, except the International Broadcasting Bureau, into the Department of State. On October 1, 1999, the IBB becomes an independent agency.

## An American Home in Poland

Kraków is a special place, with its ancient universities and cultural heritage. To an unusual extent, USIS was part of the city's life. Our office opened on a medieval street. Important people dropped by and you could run into Nobel prize winners at our library. For more than twenty years, BPAOs were important members of the community. I lived in the house BPAOs had always lived in. Guests would allude to other gatherings and past BPAOs. In the house, people of a variety of political beliefs could meet, talk and feel safe. It was a true community center. No better place could be found to tell America's story and win trust, and our sustainable accomplishments were based on trust built on interactions over time.

USIS officers conduct representation activities particularly well, and this was important in Kraków. Inviting the right people, discussing the right topics, at the right time and place, and leaving them feeling good about the experience requires a high level of skill and cultural sensitivity. Communist oppression, Nazi occupation and foreign subjugation explain why Poles prefer to conduct important business in private. Frequent at-home events accomplish more than anything else can. There you can hear what people really think and talk to opinion leaders about American values and policies in a setting they respect. We made a lasting contribution to Poland and American-Polish relations just by opening an American home in Poland.

*John Matel, FSO*

*Country singer Kenny Rogers on the air with VOA Music Director Judy Massa.*

## Country Music — A Great VOA Export

In the '80s and '90s, country music began to captivate overseas audiences. I recall when VOA Music Director Judy Massa arranged a worldwide contest on her weekly Country Music USA program. Listeners were to write letters to Judy on the theme "What Country Music Means to Me." The reward: a free round trip for two to Nashville and to VOA in Washington. Three thousand entries came in during the month-long competition. The winner: Zuo Zuo Ren of China.

It took months for the Chinese authorities to grant Zuo a visa. Finally the big day arrived and Judy flew to Nashville to meet him and escort him around the city. He got off the plane, accompanied by a man who might have been his brother. Zuo immediately asked Judy for a private conference in the airport lounge. "Look, Judy," he said, "this man is from PRC security; he's my 'tail' they've insisted on sending along. He knows nothing about country music." Judy immediately calmed Zuo Zuo Ren. "We'll be okay," she reassured him.

Judy drove her two guests around; Zuo sat in the front seat and the security man behind. She had the radio on music all the time. On the third day of their journey, she suddenly heard a tapping noise back there. The "tail" was tapping his foot in perfect rhythm on the floor. A week later, when Judy said goodbye to her guests at Dulles International Airport, Zuo graciously hugged and thanked her. And the security man broke into tears! He had caught the spirit, tasted the freedom.

*Alan Heil, VOA Deputy Director (Retired)*

*Ambassador Robert Peletreau (left) presents Regional Book Office-translated books to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in 1993.*

## Philadelphia Artists Make Positive Impact in Syria

A joint American Cultural Specialist (ACULSPEC) program by the Philadelphia-based husband-wife duo, Robert Roesch and Suzanne Horvitz, made a strong artistic and human impact on Syrians. Roesch and Horvitz spent three weeks in 1999 conducting workshops in Syria. Roesch is a sculptor and Horvitz works in two dimensions. They had visited Syria in 1997 with an Agency-sponsored exhibition of books by artists curated by Horvitz. In 1999 they conducted more in-depth experiences with Syrian counterparts in a series of talks and workshops in four cities.

In presenting a wide variety of American art, some of it questioning aspects of American life, the ACULSPECs explained that such diversity of opinion represents the freedom of speech and creativity that are hallowed in the American Constitution. While most Syrians were strongly critical of U.S. foreign policy — including the bombing in Kosovo at that time, they were always warm and cordial to the U.S. artists. Horvitz and Roesch were engaged constantly in conversations about American social customs, the status of families, religion and many other topics.

*Rex Moser, Office of Citizen Exchanges, Cultural Programs*

## USIA and International Book Fairs

For over four decades USIA, in partnership with the U.S. publishing industry, has supported an American presence at important international book fairs. The books, provided free by American publishers, reflect the diversity and richness of American thought and support our cherished freedom-to-publish tradition. Books exhibited at the fairs were and continue to be donated to local libraries and universities.

As recently as 1993, the Agency participated in 12 to 15 national or international fairs annually, including some of the largest and most prestigious. We exhibited annually at the Frankfurt, Leipzig and Cairo international book fairs.

At the New Delhi, Jakarta, Bogota, Warsaw and Moscow international book fairs, the Agency combined our presence at the fairs with speaker seminars on a range of topics such as publishing, marketing and networking practices; university press issues; and international copyright and intellectual property rights norms. The Agency's participation in the Moscow International Book Fair in September 1998 represented a major breakthrough in the display of American information, education and culture to an increasingly inquisitive Moscow populace.

*Ron Ungaro, Geographic Liaison Office, Bureau of Information*

# U.S. Speakers/Specialists : A Democracy Speaks With Many Voices

*"The programs of U.S. Speaker Dr. James Zogby, President of the Arab-American Institute, gave a powerful boost to USIS Sanaa's effort to support the emergence of democracy in Yemen. From President Ali Abdullah Saleh to opposition politicians, Zogby's audiences responded enthusiastically to his strong message of support and admiration from the Arab-American community. Dr. Zogby sent a powerful message to a wide spectrum of Yemenis who are likely to guide the country's political future."*

*USIS Sanaa, 1992*

*Former National Security Advisor Zbegniew Brzezinski (center) meets with members of the Italian press during his trip as a USIA Speaker.*

*"Professor Madeleine Albright's four-day visit to Budapest was a tremendous success . . . she was invariably clear, engaging and well-informed on the issues. Professor Albright was the ideal speaker and she handled the questions on American domestic and foreign policy with skill and expertise . . . Albright completed her busy schedule with cheer, energy and poise."*

*USIS Budapest, 1987*

*Novelist Toni Morrison meets with Spanish writers at the Barcelona Book Fair in 1986.*

*"Major Carlos Noriega, an astronaut with NASA, visited Lima, Peru, the country of his birth, as a U.S. speaker. A symbol of merit, hard work and determination, Noriega fit the bill as a hero in both countries, and spoke about counter-narcotics, science and technology, immigration, civil-military dialogue, trade and investment . . . A Peruvian editorial lauded Noriega as an example of achievement in an open opportunity society."*

*USIS Lima, 1997*


*Tom Tuch welcomes playwright Thornton Wilder to Germany in 1954.*

The above evaluation reports show just a few of the thousands of Americans who have taken part in the U.S. Speakers/Specialists Program. If the role of the U.S. Information Agency is to "tell America's story," then U.S. Speakers/Specialists are the storytellers. The program operates on the principle that a free society is its own best witness. Selected from among the best in their fields and representing the broad range of informed opinion within the United States, participants express their own views as experts in foreign policy, government, economics, business, education, humanities, sport, science & technology, law and other fields.

Through this program, some have traveled abroad and others have reached their audiences through electronic means, either Teleconferencing, a telephone conference call, or Digital Video Conferencing. Speakers have talked with government officials, journalists, academics, labor leaders, students, entrepreneurs and parliamentarians. In the process, they also have increased their own insight into the problems and accomplishments of other peoples.

## From an address by former Presidential advisor David Gergen to the USIA Alumni Association, 1994

"I have had the privilege of working with USIA now for a number of years. It was twelve years ago when I was first an Ampart (U.S. Speaker) in the summer of 1982. I went to Europe to talk about the Reagan Administration. I spent about two weeks there, and went from capital to capital, and there I met some of the finest people that I had ever met in my government service. I have always come to believe since then that . . . some of the finest people who have ever been in public life have worked at USIA. . . .

"I realize many people have thought that during the '50s USIA was supposed to be sort of an agency of the Cold War, and tell the American story almost as a propaganda agency. I never believed that that's what it was all about. Nor do I believe that that's been its greatest accomplishment. . . .

"But the other part of our triumph during the Cold War period came on the battlefield of ideas. And that is where USIA was at the forefront. Because it was a triumph of Western ideas and Western values, as much as anything else, that brought down the walls in Berlin and so many other parts of the world. I believe that USIA carried those ideas abroad. . . . You are to be saluted for it. And I think people should be forever grateful for what you accomplished."

## USIS Manila Celebrates Philippine Centennial

The 1998 observance of the Centennial of the Philippine Declaration of Independence from Spain and the start of a century of official relations between Filipinos and Americans provided a unique opportunity to emphasize the positive aspects of U.S.-Philippine relations.

*Philippine President Fidel Ramos views the model of the U.S. Army transport ship* Thomas, *constructed for the U.S. exhibit at Expo Pilipino.*

Embassy Manila focused on "The American Contribution to Philippine Education" over the last 100 years, beginning with the arrival of the Thomasites — the first American teachers to bring public education to the Philippines — and continuing through current Fulbright, USAID, Peace Corps and other U.S. educational programs.

USIS led U.S. participation in the observance, through the Expo Pilipino, at the former U.S. Clark Air Base in Angeles City. Manila PAO Greta Morris and CAO Michael Korff-Rodriguez master-minded the U.S. exhibit. A 40-page brochure was printed by USIA's Regional Service Center, which also developed a CD-ROM.

USIS Manila put together the exhibit, including a nine-foot model of the U.S. Army Transport *Thomas* which brought the Thomasites in 1901, assembled by Pacific Tall Ships, and educational displays by Caltex and Coca-Cola. Boeing, Philippine Geothermal, Bell Atlantic, and the American Chamber of Commerce contributed $60,000 to help maintain the year-long exhibit.

Senior government officials led by President Fidel V. Ramos and current Vice President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo joined business leaders, journalists, teachers and students in praising the U.S. presentation, which they judged as "relevant and first-rate." By the close of the exhibit in June 1999, more than 652,000 people had visited. Thousands more Filipinos viewed traveling sets of the exhibit around the country. In recognition of its contributions, USIS Manila was given an award by Vice President Salvador Laurel, Chairman of the Philippine Centennial Commission.

*Michael Anderson, FSO*

*PAO Jerry Huchel (r.) and Ambassador Dane Smith hold the ribbon as Senegalese President Abdou Diouf inaugurates the new American Cultural Center in Dakar on July 8, 1998. President Diouf thanked USIS for its strong support of education and media, and for introducing two generations of Senegalese to the United States through the International Visitor Program.*

## USIS Jakarta Assists Indonesian Democratization

Subsequent to the May 1998 fall of the Soeharto government, Indonesia began planning its first democratic election in more than four decades. USIS Jakarta seized the opportunity to inform an eager Indonesian public about the tenets of democracy.

*Indonesians take part in an election campaign parade.*

Recognizing the challenges inherent in creating the world's third-largest democracy, USIS Jakarta distributed more than 350,000 Indonesian-language copies of USIA pamphlets, "What is Democracy?" and "The Elements of a Democratic Election," throughout the Indonesian archipelago. We sent copies to the media, government, universities, NGOs and all 48 political parties contesting the June 1999 parliamentary election. Recipients were wildly enthusiastic. The pamphlets will continue to be useful as Indonesia works through further political and economic reforms.

USIS Jakarta also established an Internet website dedicated to the Indonesian election on the Embassy Home Page, and we answered many inquiries through the Information Resource Center. A pre-election WORLDNET broadcast on the media's role in covering election results made an impression on attendees. We arranged a three-week program on covering elections for print media around the country. USIS officers arranged former President Jimmy Carter's press conferences associated with the election monitoring effort. By all accounts, the election went smoothly, and USIS Jakarta takes pride in having contributed to that satisfying outcome.

*John Vance, FSO*

## From Brooklyn to Australia

Six years after retiring from USIA, it's still a case of USIA making a difference in me. I was a kid from Brooklyn, not even 21, who had never been south of Philadelphia. Soon I'm off to Washington, Kinshasa, Luang Prabang, Perth, Jerusalem, Paris and Canberra. When I go back home to Brooklyn and see kids I grew up with who've never left home I realize how lucky I was.

My career with USIA was influenced by what Australians characterize as "the tyranny of distance." As BPAO in Perth, I was at the farthest Foreign Service post in the world. I spent 12 years of my career dealing with Australia.

So, what do I do when I leave the Agency? I make good on my vow "to love, honor, and return." Now I'm working with the State of Western Australia's tyranny of distance. In a state a third the size of the continental U.S., I've been bringing broadcasting services, information technology, education and communications facilities to its remote parts.

*Dan Scherr, Telecentre Support Unit, Department of Commerce and Trade, Perth*

## Public Diplomacy During the Kosovo Crisis

Well before the North Atlantic Treaty Organization decided that only the bombing of Serbia would stop the Serbian government's ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, USIA public diplomacy activities were greatly expanded. With the initiation of hostilities these activities became more extensive. Three major objectives were sought: (1) to present the USG/NATO reasons for the actions taken; (2) to provide information worldwide about the plight of the refugees; and (3) to provide information to the refugees.

Among the activities undertaken during and after the meetings in Rambouillet, France, USIA's WORLDNET satellite television system produced more than 100 interactive programs which went to 40 TV stations in the former Soviet Union and eastern Europe. Some 80 guests, including Secretary of State Albright and Deputy Secretary Strobe Talbott, explained the USG/NATO position. At the same time, VOA and the RFE/RL stations increased broadcasting hours and launched 24-hour audio streaming while the Information Bureau produced, and USIS posts placed, printed materials in numerous overseas publications concerning the Kosovo crisis. The Washington File, Kosovo, was especially utilized.

In getting the refugees' stories out, USIA facilitated the travel to Macedonia of many foreign TV crews, including crews from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia, Georgia, Romania, Slovakia and Ukraine. A white paper, *Erasing History*, was distributed and posted on web sites to further show the plight of Kosovo's refugees. Throughout the crisis, USIS posts distributed information about the conditions resulting from Serbia's ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. The I Bureau led a public-private partnership to set up Internet access sites in the refugee camps to provide access to information and promote family reunification. Some $1.5 million was donated for this project by the private sector. VOA also established a hotline to promote family reunification.

Our efforts have been especially important here, as in other cases when our policies and actions are controversial or little understood by important audiences.

*Robert E. McCarthy, FSO*


*Above: Ambassador Thomas Pickering gives a briefing at the Washington Foreign Press Center. Below: The USIS Tirana library on its first day of operation, 1993.*


*Left: The Kosovar Refugee Information Center at Fort Dix, New Jersey. Right: CIVITAS Panamericano in Buenos Aires, 1996, one of USIA's international conferences on civic education.*

## Information Bureau Brings High Tech to the Kosovo Crisis

The Information Bureau's Kosovo efforts provide a good example of high tech public diplomacy in action. Throughout Operation Allied Force, the Bureau worked with the State Department and the NSC to coordinate a strategic public diplomacy effort using state-of-the-art technology. From multilingual web sites to digital video and teleconferencing, the Bureau leveraged its resources to supply Serbia, frontline states, and other countries with the most timely and reliable information available about Kosovo.

When Slobodan Milosevic banned rebroadcasting of foreign programs from sources such as BBC or Voice of America, a Bureau team developed Serbian and Albanian language web sites, which made audio sound bites and news material about the situation available to the press and public. When Serbs began cyber-disinformation efforts, a team was created to identify, monitor and coordinate with other government agencies and appropriately respond. Through list serves and other "push" technologies, the Bureau sent accurate material directly to key audiences.

An innovative public-private Internet initiative was launched to help Kosovar refugees. The Refugee Internet Assistance Initiative linked government agencies, technology companies, foundations and international relief organizations in an effort to help refugees begin "virtually" rebuilding their fractured communities. The project established Internet Information Centers in Macedonia, Albania, Poland, Germany, France and the United States, giving refugees access to reliable news and information. The Bureau developed an Internet-based, Albanian-language news bulletin called *Kontakti.* By the conflict's end, seven additional Information Centers in Kosovo were being set up to help rebuild the region's information infrastructure.

The Internet initiative was so successful that the Information Bureau created a Global Technology Corps — a long-term public-private partnership project structured like the Kosovo project — to build and better use information technology infrastructures in developing nations.

*Kevin Moran, Bureau of Information*

## Reflections from a Fulbright Teacher in Hungary

The Fulbright Teacher Exchange Program enabled me to achieve my full potential as an educator and scholar of International Affairs. Through my teaching assignment, I developed a working concept of teaching globally within the local context. Based for three years in Budapest, Hungary, from 1991 to 1994, I taught courses, wrote curricula and developed a multitude of projects geared towards the development of a democratic and civic-based Hungarian educational system. As important, I was also able to experience, appreciate and learn important lessons from Hungarian educational institutions. Through colleagues, students and the local Hungarian Fulbright Commission, I gained an understanding of Hungarian society and culture.

As a young person growing up in North Carolina, I had a keen interest in global affairs and social science, interests not easily pursued in the south of the 1960s, within a single parent income. Education provided my only avenue to explore and develop an abiding interest in international affairs. I enrolled in Advanced Placement and university courses in high school. In undergraduate, graduate school and teacher training courses I actively pursued international studies. Yet, the ability to utilize my academic training and gain actual international experience was always elusive and beyond my limited means. The Fulbright Program assisted me in overcoming my logistical limitations and challenged me to realize my full potential as an educator-scholar. In the process, I learned through osmosis global civic responsibility, tolerance and the sanctity of human rights.

*Margaret Wright Hauke,*
*Fulbright Teacher Exchange Participant*

## The Innovation of the Information Bureau

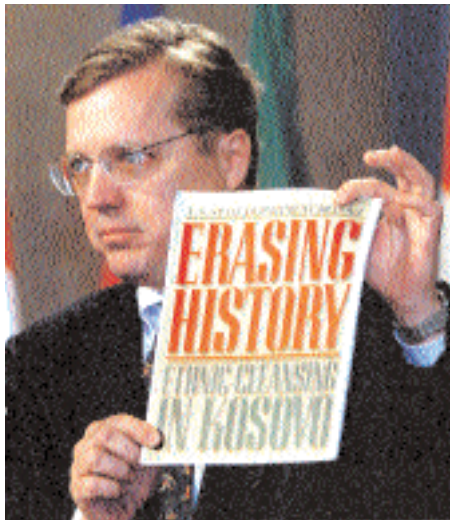
The Information Bureau is an ambitious — and highly influential — attempt to redefine how the United States conducts the work of public diplomacy. At its inception in 1994, the I Bureau earned a Hammer Award from Vice President Gore for "building a government that works better and costs less." The I Bureau hopes to bring the innovation, technology, team-based culture and customer orientation to the State Department.

The Bureau was founded on the twin organizing principles of teams and technology. Instead of a standard top-down hierarchy, the Bureau was constructed around a set of multifunctional teams that are encouraged to take responsibility at the lowest possible level.

The Bureau looks to the Internet for the future of public diplomacy. The I Bureau maintains extensive web pages and electronic collections of policy documents on every major foreign policy issue. Users can download formatted editions of five policy-oriented electronic journals, and link to more than 100 U.S. embassy and mission web pages overseas. Overseas libraries continue to be transformed into online Information Resource Centers that access multiple databases with amazing speed and precision.

The diplomacy of the future will be increasingly public, networked, technology-driven and electronic. The I Bureau has established important benchmarks in reinventing public diplomacy.

*Howard Cincotta, Team Leader,*
*Electronic Media, Bureau of Information*




*Ambassador-at-Large David Scheffer displays a copy of* Erasing History: Ethnic Cleansing in Kosovo *at a press conference in Brussels. The publication is an example of the collaborative efforts of the Director's Office of Strategic Communication, Information Bureau's Print and Publications Team, and the Department of State. The report of atrocities was published as an electronic document on USIA's Kosovo Web site and circulated widely, with language versions in Albanian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Slovak, Belarusian, Croatian, Russian and Uzbek delivered from RPO Vienna. Albanian and Serbian translations were also posted on the Kosovo web site. The report has served as a remarkably accurate guidebook for those investigating atrocities in Kosovo.*

(Photo courtesy of *The Washington Post*)

*English Teaching Programs have been an important part of USIA's overseas outreach for decades.*

## Testimonial from an English Teaching Fellow

Serving as an English Teaching Fellow in 1995 was my first full-time teaching assignment and my first overseas assignment. During my two years in Laos I taught English, designed materials for a Teaching Methodology class, worked with professionals in the Ministry of Education Teacher Development Center, co-wrote a text for provincial Teacher Training Colleges, supervised student teaching in Lao high schools and presented at the Regional Conference in Singapore.

In 1999 I was able to return to Laos for the first time since completing my assignment. It was most gratifying to see that the curriculum and materials that I had developed for the teaching methodology class were still being used.

I am grateful both for having been given the opportunity to contribute and for all I learned. I had the opportunity to grow as a person as well as a professional and learn more about myself. Is it too much of a cliché to say I also learned more about my own country as well as more about the world? It's true.

*Tom Miller, Chief, English Language Programs Division*

*Two King Hussein Memorial Fulbright scholarships were announced during the May 1999 official visit of his son King Abdullah to Washington. President Clinton mentioned the memorial scholarships to the new king of Jordan during their private meeting.*

## USIA Program Participants Appointed to Key Salvadoran Cabinet Posts

Five Fulbright scholars and two International Visitor (IV) grantees have been appointed to key posts by new Salvadoran President Francisco Flores. Among the former Fulbrighters is the Minister of the Environment, Ana Maria Majano, who studied economics at the University of Tennessee. Three other Fulbright alumni serve as Vice-Ministers: Rene Dominguez, Vice Minister of Public Security and former Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, graduated in political science from The American University; Luis E. Cordova, Vice Minister of the Treasury, studied agricultural economics at Texas A&M; and Herber Betancourt, the Vice Minister of Health, graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The new Secretary of Judicial Affairs, Rolando Alvarenga Argueta, has a degree from Ohio State. Two former International Visitors also serve in the Flores administration: Ricardo Rivas, Presidential Spokesman, participated in the 1989 "TV Broadcasting" IV project; and Flavio Villacorta, Director of the Office of State Intelligence, participated in the 1987 "Print Journalism" IV project.

*Office of Western Hemispheric Affairs*

*Former President Jimmy Carter, who created the Hubert Humphrey Fellowship in 1979, speaks at the program's 20th anniversary conference in Washington, DC: ". . . I saw the Humphrey Fellows program as a Peace Corps in reverse. Where brilliant young people from the developing world would come here, learn a lot, but also teach this country."*

## 21st Century Health Care: Treating Heart Disease via Interactive Satellite TV

"For two days I have felt a tingling in my legs. I have no feeling in my arms and half of my face. I've just seen a doctor friend of mine . . . who tells me that this could be a pulmonary embolism . . . Is it true?" said a trembling voice through the phone line from Peru into the Conversemos program in Florida. It was November 13, the second day of a series of innovative interactive call-in programs created by WORLDNET and sponsored by the American Heart Association to highlight its 1997 annual convention in Orlando, Florida.

Produced November 12 and 13 at an off-site location in the Magic Kingdom of Disney World, the series of five programs linked renowned cardiologists attending the Orlando conference with viewers who needed medical advice and with cardiologists, medical researchers and public health officials on six continents. Broadcast in English with simultaneous translation into Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and French, these programs disseminated the latest information on heart disease treatment made available by representatives of the 39,000 physicians who came from 109 countries around the world to attend the conference.

Operating out of a satellite truck parked outside the convention center, a crew of WORLDNET producers and technicians battled rainy weather and unfamiliar facilities. A bare conference room, with creativity and artistry, was turned into a fully equipped studio with a spectacular set. Racing against tight deadlines and zigzagging through crowds, field producers captured renowned physicians for quick interviews and news reports. More than 500 faxed questions and 300 phone-questions were answered off the air, while a total of 149 calls from 37 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and the Middle East were addressed live via satellite during the series. Over 14,000 viewers in 77 countries watched.

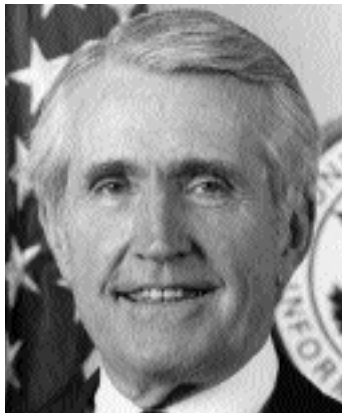
Cardiologists around the world were overjoyed with this meeting of minds via satellite. Malaysians termed it "an outstanding program on issues close to the heart." Moroccans praised the "flawlessly executed program." Guatemalan medical professionals were "grateful for an event of such high caliber," and said that without this program, they would have had little to no chance of access to the important medical information provided in the session. Nigerians put it simply: "It worked like magic."

*Wendy Lyle, WORLDNET Interactives*


*PAO Judith Trunzo and her USIS Kinshasa staff prepare for the future by "changing registration" from USIS to State.*

# Henry Catto

### Director, 1991-1993



What can I say about USIA that will adequately express the way I feel about this unique agency? There are, I think, two approaches.

The first is personal. Of all the government jobs I have held, ambassadorships, Chief of Protocol and Assistant Secretary at the Pentagon, there is no question in my mind that my years at USIA were the most fruitful. The people are, almost without exception, exceptional. Dedicated, bright, hard-working, and above all, diplomatic assets of the first order. They tell the story of the United States and spread the good word of our country with imagination and verve. Their job is no easy one. If revolutionaries of any stripe want to express their rage, where do they go first to burn and pillage? Why, to the USIS office or the library, of course; that is where their greatest enemy, freedom, is likely to be domiciled. As my great aunt Cissie, a humorous Scot, used to say, "Life isn't all beer and skittles," a comment that may well be said of the USIA officer.

The second reason is that I believe so strongly in the mission of USIA. At a time when democracy is burgeoning across the world, what can be more important than speaking to the *demos,* the people of other countries? They are, after all, the ones who at the end of the day, make the choices in a democracy, and letting them know what we are all about by cultural exchanges, visits and scholarships is about as important a job as I can imagine. And, as to those countries that are not free, passing the words of liberty and democracy and market economics via radio, television and our other tools is surely the work of the Lord. The world knows of our power in the economic and military spheres, but the "soft assets" of America, its freedom, energy and cultural strength are of equal importance.

So how do I feel about the merger with State? Profoundly skeptical. Perhaps the leadership there has a good grasp of the value of public diplomacy. Perhaps when the Secretary's office needs painting, public diplomacy's share of the joint funds will not suffer. I certainly hope not. But when USIA was founded, the decision to have it report directly to the President was a wise one. What the end of that arrangement will mean remains to be seen.

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"The mission of USIA is as old as our nation. The Declaration of Independence begins with the premise that America owes 'a decent respect to the opinions of mankind.' " — *Letter to PAOs, September 4, 1991*

"The key word to my understanding of public diplomacy is *truth.* USIA does not have slick propagandists and cynical 'spin-doctors.' We genuinely believe that the best way to combat misperceptions about America is by telling the truth about our country — the good, the bad and the ugly." — *Address to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, July 2, 1992*

# Joseph Duffey

### Director, 1993-1999
### Assistant Secretary of State,
### Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs, 1977

For nearly half a century, the United States Information Agency served our nation overseas with a presence and representation that contrasted with and complemented the more formal, government-to-government concerns of traditional diplomacy. The USIA mission was also distinct from American business and commercial concerns abroad. USIA was an effort to explain our culture and our nation — wonderfully enigmatic, complex, and often puzzling — to selected citizens of other societies. Paramount in the minds of the men and women of USIA was the conviction that we served the nation well by nurturing mutual understanding between nations and cultures through exchanges, especially educational exchanges.

The American presence — some might say dominance — now extends around the globe. It encompasses economic, technological and military realms. This extraordinary American presence has emerged through a process that the Norwegian scholar

Geir Lundestad has called an "Empire by Invitation." How long will it last? It will probably extend well into the next century. And with each new generation, with every extension of U.S. power and influence, the challenging task of explaining ourselves will become more, not less, important. We will want to convey both to our potential friends and to our would-be adversaries our intentions and hesitations, our aspirations and anxieties, along with our vision of achieving an enduring peace, prosperity and stability.

Having taken on the USIA mandate, the Department of State is now challenged to place the task of explaining America to the world at the very center of its mission, communicating not just to those representing foreign governments but also to the young and to opinion leaders everywhere. During the Cold War, our diplomats spoke of the need to combat a major "disinformation" campaign mounted by our adversaries. Today, we continue to face a substantial disinformation effort about the U.S. The difference this time is that the globalization of the media has itself contributed to the partial, sometimes skewed portrait of America that is often the only picture seen abroad.

As the Department of State takes up this challenge, will the traditions, the talents, the skills, and the sensitivities that characterized USIA and USIS posts overseas find their place? Yes: I suspect and hope they will. As the future unfolds, those who lead and serve our nation in the conduct of foreign affairs will be continually tested by the dangers, the complexities and the opportunities of an increasingly interdependent world. Working vigorously at the task of explaining America will continue to be a priority for our diplomatic community.

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". . . As we approach the new millennium, it is clear that the marketplace of ideas is growing larger, more diverse, and more interconnected. Information and commodities, people and ideas, flow freely across national and cultural borders. Unfortunately, the same may be said of weapons, pathogens, and pollution. Computer connectivity invites more and more people to the global decision table. However, international education, a global curriculum, and cross-cultural sensitivity are essential ingredients for sound public diplomacy." — *Interview with* The Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society, *spring 1999*

## Looking Toward the Department of State

# Evelyn S. Lieberman

### Under Secretary Designate for Public Diplomacy

(Photo courtesy of Rick Bloom)

As President Clinton's Under Secretary Designate for Public Diplomacy, I am happy to have this opportunity to contribute to this commemorative book about the U.S. Information Agency.

Public communication, debate and persuasion are increasingly vital to our exercise of foreign policy. Traditional diplomacy wears an increasingly public face. In the world of the Internet and satellite television, policy-makers are less and less able to make decisions behind closed doors. World leadership relies more and more on the ability to explain our actions, our motives and our American values to a watching world. In this information age, our foreign policy-makers are challenged to keep pace with economic globalization and the growing conduct of foreign relations by non-governmental organizations, including multi-national corporations, private nonprofits and foundations, and cultural and advocacy programs.

I believe that public diplomacy, practiced in harmony with traditional diplomacy, will enable us to advance our interests, protect our security and continue to provide the moral basis for our leadership in the world. As Under Secretary, I will work to ensure that the skills and talents of USIA's public diplomacy professionals are brought to bear on issues of importance to our nation.

The merger of USIA and the Department of State is an historic initiative. I know that the Department of State will be a richer institution when it is imbued with the talent, creativity and dedication of the people of USIA. I look forward to working with you to promote and preserve American interests and ideals around the world.

"Information and education are powerful forces in support of peace. Just as war begins in the minds of men, so does peace."

*Dwight Eisenhower*
*January 27, 1958*

". . . a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them. . ."

*Thomas Jefferson*
*The Declaration of Independence*
*July 4, 1776*

"He who molds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

*Abraham Lincoln*
*Ottawa, Illinois*
*July 31, 1858*

"The employees of USIA — Americans and Foreign Service Nationals — have been the human face of America's public diplomacy, people-to-people diplomats in times of crisis and times of hope. You are freedom's herald. You must tell those who have earned their freedom and those still yearning to be free that we support their battle for liberty, democracy and dignity."

*President Bill Clinton*
*On the occasion of USIA's 40th anniversary, 1993*

# Public Diplomacy in the Twenty-First Century

Public diplomacy is an official expression of a fundamental part of the American character — a desire to share with the world our values, our experience and our commitment to freedom and democracy. Whether at the time of the American revolution, or now more than two centuries later when we have all the burdens and privileges of a great power, the true force that America wields in the world is the force of ideas.

The United States Information Agency is proud of the role it has played in the years since World War II in advancing America's national interest and national security, proud of the role it played in helping to bring about at the close of this century and millennium a global democratic revolution.

American foreign policy in the twenty-first century must continue to be a beacon for freedom and democracy. This policy must be accompanied and reinforced by a vigorous, open public diplomacy which works with and speaks directly to the peoples of the world.

It is this vision of American leadership in the next millennium that led the President and the Secretary of State to propose, and Congress to endorse, an historic reorganization of the U.S. government's foreign policy community that would bring the people and programs responsible for the mission of public diplomacy into the Department of State.

There are issues facing the United States in the world today which are rooted deeply in people's attitudes and opinions, in the values and ideals of other cultures. Public diplomacy is uniquely able to address such complex and tenaciously difficult issues as conflict resolution, the rule of law, and the protection of the rights of the individual. Through personal contact with key audiences and individuals, through broadcasting and the agile use of information technology, and by promoting mutual understanding through exchange programs, we can instill democratic values and assist in the creation and preservation of open and civil societies. Public diplomacy programs convey the values and show the benefits of free markets and free trade. They raise global awareness and provide practical information on combating the scourge of drugs, protecting the environment, and halting the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

When Winston Churchill addressed the students and faculty of Harvard University in 1943, he prophesied that "the empires of the future are empires of the mind." The seemingly undiminished role (and rule) of arms and violence around the globe may mean that Churchill's remark will always be a utopian dream. More than 50 years later, however, we may be coming a little closer to making his prophesy true.

If the falling away of totalitarian influence around the world allows long-silent people to speak their own minds, if the end of the Cold War emboldens nations to chart their own courses, if smaller voices are no longer drowned out by the clash of ideologies and if the explosion in means of communications amplifies the power of the individual in the world (and these are very large "ifs"), then we may be permitted to look ahead to a world where words and thoughts, ideas and inspirations will play a greater role than arms and duress.

U.S. engagement in the world — political and economic, intellectual and moral — will remain indispensable. Our success in this engagement, and our success when called upon to lead, will rest firmly on our ability to communicate to the world the reasons for our actions and the values which lie behind them. With the assets of public diplomacy merged into and throughout the Department of State, the United States of America and its leaders will have a foreign affairs structure ready and able to meet the opportunities, the crises and the challenges of the future.

# Madeleine K. Albright
# Secretary of State

USIA's efforts over the last half-century have contributed dramatically to the growth of democracy abroad and to countless successful American foreign policy initiatives.

Because USIA's work was done overseas, your contributions remain too little known by the average American and too little heralded even in the Department of State. But that is about to change. For with the upcoming merger, public diplomacy will become an integral part of the State Department's mission. And we will enrich the Department's proud history by combining with it USIA's rich record of achievement.

In this era of CNN diplomacy, Internet websites, and global e-mail campaigns, the skills of public diplomacy are more valuable than ever. USIA's press centers give us easy access to the U.S.-based foreign journalists whose reporting and editorials interpret America to the rest of the world. WORLDNET allows us to speak directly to targeted audiences overseas. And your media reaction reports give near real-time feedback on how the world is reacting to important global developments.

The successes of your exchange programs could fill this entire publication; and in one of your chapters, you would have to include me. While I was a professor of government at Georgetown University, I went several times under USIA sponsorship to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, the former Soviet Union and several Western European countries to discuss U.S.-Soviet relations. These travels gave me a wonderful opportunity to exchange views with academic counterparts and members of the public in several societies that severely limited political discourse with the rest of the world. Audiences were grateful for the chance to participate in an open discussion of issues that were then taboo in those countries — and I came away greatly enriched as well.

Your International Visitor Program can count among its alumni several presidents, prime ministers and many other senior officials from around the world, who were profoundly affected by their experiences in the U.S. To take just one noteworthy example, South Africa's former president F.W. DeKlerk, who released Nelson Mandela and began his country's transformation to a multiracial democracy, said that his USIA-sponsored visit to America was the defining event that changed his ideas about blacks and whites living together.

We cannot take for granted that other countries' leaders or ordinary citizens will understand our future foreign policy actions or motivations. Timely and accurate information delivered to foreign audiences by our public diplomacy officers will help ensure that the world gets a more complete picture of how we are pursuing American interests and why the values we defend are universal.

On behalf of all my colleagues, I want to sincerely welcome every one of USIA's Civil Service, Foreign Service and Foreign Service National employees to the State Department family. Your past accomplishments and future contributions will both be prized in your new home.

# Acknowledgments

For nearly half a century, the U.S. Information Agency has provided for many of its employees an extended family. For those who worked on this commemorative publication, there were days when, in microcosm, that is just what our editorial staff was. It included USIA retirees, current employees and summer interns working side-by-side. They deserve warmest thanks. Among them were:

USIA Retirees — Robert Chatten, Allen Hansen and Ed Pancoast, who gave us countless hours of editorial skills, collective memory, wisdom and patient labor.

Current Employees — Dean Cheves, Howard Cincotta, George Clack, Marthena Cowart, Blanca DePriest, Chloe Ellis, Barry Fitzgerald, Chuck Gardner, Kathryn Gunning, Mary Hebb-Thomas, Kelly Lees, George MacKenzie, Martin Manning, Inga McMichael, Ted Miksinski, Joseph O'Connell, Rick Ruth, Sylvia Scott, Catherine Stearns, Terry Taylor and Claire Walker, whose contributions were manifold.

Summer Interns — Rashad Hart, Miranda Blankenship and Michael White, who lent their enthusiasm and willingness to help.

We also thank every member of the USIA family who contributed an anecdote or photograph. We have not been able to use them all and because of space constraints had to shorten many. However, we will send all contributions in their entirety to the Agency's Historical Collection, where they will be available to historians, authors, scholars and the general public.

This publication's senior editors — Lois Herrmann, Theresa Markiw and Frances Sullinger — hope that this volume conveys some of the color, pride, affection and indelible memories that grow out of the lives of people dedicated to U.S. public diplomacy.

*L to R: Seated are Ed Pancoast, Allen Hansen, and Frances Sullinger. Standing are Robert Chatten, Lois Herrmann, Rashad Hart, Theresa Markiw, Martin Manning and Terry Taylor.*

*L to R: George MacKenzie, Mary Hebb-Thomas, Chloe Ellis and George Clack.*

With the consolidation of USIA and the Department of State, all of the Agency's current and former employees, foreign and domestic, become eligible for membership in the United States Information Agency Alumni Association (USIAAA). All are welcome, as are all Agency speakers, grantees, program participants and believers in the centrality of public diplomacy in American foreign relations. Application forms and information about USIAAA programs are available at:

www.publicdiplomacy.org

Official Publication

This publication has been prepared using public funds and is intended for the internal, historical use of the United States Information Agency and its current and former officers and employees and for interested government agencies and their employees, Members of Congress, and members of the public. Its preparation has, in the opinion of the Office of the General Counsel, been carried out as an official historical and informational project within the scope of employment of each and every employee who contributed to its preparation, publication and dissemination.