

ething neither American nor
of both.⁸⁹

ie directorship of the USIA,
tt Anderson, agreed on their
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ation – left the priority list.
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d States; supporting policies
for Progress; and advancing
ed, the USIS now functioned
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ie emphasis on culture in the
A initiatives included launch-
glish aimed at the emerging
erican and African life, soci-
eplacing the old publication
valent, *New World*. Moscow
e agency added an explicitly
erly, in Spanish and English,
s to deliver what Marks called
creativity of American society
ges, across 108 countries, in

of Vietnam: Three Interpretive Essays,
hange, 1971, p. 47.
erson to Marks, 6 October 1965. The
of peace; (2) strength and reliability;
(1) the Great Society, (2) racial and
ntific and educational strength; (5)

Os, 6 March 1967. On development
e 1967 and attachments.
7 No. 11, November 1965; WHCF
ecember 1967.

a total distribution of 122,000 copies and was claimed as a major agency channel to "policy-makers, opinion makers, and potential leaders abroad."⁹³

Marks improved the USIA's administration of cultural programs.⁹⁴ He created a "super cultural officer" post for Paris, London, and Tokyo because he "wanted those countries to understand the culture of the United States; that we were not just a materialistic society." He sponsored arts, music, dance, and a wide range of culture.⁹⁵ USIS cultural officers around the world made it their business to get to know artists in their client cities. Agency veteran Mike Pistor later recalled the convivial recognition he observed when the Paris Cultural Affairs Officer entered a particularly artistic café. "Hi," said one of the patrons. "Oh, hi *man*," the CAO replied. Pistor asked whether he always spoke so colloquially. "It's OK," the CAO explained, "that was Man Ray."⁹⁶

In other cities the USIA had links to emerging politicians. A report on the USIS in South Africa spoke of "friendly and sometimes intimate relations" with key South Africans including the Progressive Party MP Helen Suzman and the editorial staff of the *Rand Daily Mail*, the *Johannesburg Star*, and the black-oriented daily *The World*. USIS Johannesburg co-sponsored courses to train black South Africans for careers in journalism and provided a space in which otherwise censored publications could be read. Three-quarters of library patrons were nonwhite. The USIS arranged scholarships and "leader grants" to allow black South Africans to visit the United States.⁹⁷

In London the PAO did his best to seek out the future leaders of Britain and arrange visits to expose them to American ideas. In 1967 he hit the jackpot when he arranged a trip for a young Conservative woman MP, then in opposition as shadow Minister for Transport: Margaret Thatcher. She had never been to the United States before and the visit confirmed a lifelong regard. As she wrote in her memoirs,

For six weeks I traveled the length and breadth of the United States. The excitement which I felt has never really subsided. At each stop-over I was met and accommodated by friendly, open, generous people who took me into their homes and lives and showed me their cities and townships with evident pride.

Her personal highpoint came with a visit to NASA's space center at Houston. Here, she encountered a British scientist from her own constituency. She did not blame him for seeking out an American salary, but his presence brought her face to face with the realities of the global marketplace: "There was no way Britain could hope to compete

⁹³ LBJL Leonard Marks papers, box 14, box 28, PAO letters, Marks to PAOs, 8 March 1968; the USIA also commissioned a series of nine pamphlets on the arts under the title *Creative America* by Howard Taubman, art critic of the *New York Times*. On *DIALOGUE* see also NA RG 306, 89.0180, director's chronological file, 1969–70, box 16, reel 33, Ablard (Congressional Liaison) to Rep. Louis Stokes, 23 March 1970.

⁹⁴ LBJL Leonard Marks papers, box 28, PAO letters, Marks to all posts, 12 August 1966 cited in Marks to all PAOs 6 March 1967.

⁹⁵ ADST Oral History: Marks.

⁹⁶ Interview: Pistor.

⁹⁷ RG 59 State, CPF 1964–66, box 335, CUL 11 S. AFR, Lewis (USIA) to Strong (State), 25 February 1966.

even in modest areas of technology if we did not learn the lessons of an enterprise economy."⁹⁸

Marks spearheaded an initiative to bring American culture into university curricula around the world. In July 1966, he informed LBJ that "During the past six months I have stressed the need for courses in 'American studies' throughout Latin American and European universities." Immediate results of renewed USIS support included a chair in American studies at the University of Zaragoza in Spain and a chair in History and Culture of North America at Leiden in the Netherlands. Appropriately, the first professor to hold the Leiden chair – J. W. Schulte-Nordholt – had been nurtured earlier in his career by a USIS-administered exchange scholarship.⁹⁹

In some parts of the world, Marks reaped the rewards of earlier agency efforts. Indonesia seemed a particular success. In 1965, the Indonesian military crushed a Communist bid for power, tamed the dictator Sukarno, and installed a new leader, Suharto. On 1 July 1966, USIS Djakarta opened once again.¹⁰⁰ The country plan for 1968 (which wisely warned against "seeking to 'Americanize' Indonesia's institutions") noted with some satisfaction that the change of government reflected the potency of the educational grant, exchange, and cultural programs administered by the USIS, AID, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and others over some seventeen years.¹⁰¹ For years thereafter USIA officers pointed to the role of the University of California, Berkeley-trained cabinet in Indonesia as the great testament to the value of educational exchange.¹⁰²

Despite an emphasis on opinion formers, some Marks-era initiatives still proved crowd pleasers, the most notable being the U.S. pavilion at Expo '67 in Montreal. Housed in R. Buckminster Fuller's giant geodesic dome, the exhibition took the title "Creative America." The budget had been exhausted by the dome's construction and the contents had to be borrowed from other agencies. No one noticed the scrimping. The *Montreal Star* proclaimed that the pavilion "could have been conceived only by people of wit and imagination with real love for and a knowledge of their country and

⁹⁸ Margaret Thatcher, *The Path to Power*, London: HarperCollins, 1995, pp. 153–5. In contrast, in 1969 Margaret Thatcher paid a weeklong visit to the U.S.S.R. through the Anglo-Soviet parliamentary group. That visit stood in stark contrast to her U.S. experience. The USIA had let the country speak for itself, but in Russia she found unremitting, crude propaganda: "It was relentless, an endless flow of statistics proving the industrial and social superiority of the Soviet Union over the West. At least to the visitor, the sheer unimaginative humourlessness of it was an open invitation to satire."

⁹⁹ LBJL, WHCF CF, box 135, CF USIA, 1966, Marks to President via Kintner, 5 July 1966. For recent Dutch scholarship on Schulte-Nordholt's U.S. links see J. C. C. Rupp, *Van Oude en Nieuwe Universiteit: De Verdringing van Duitse door Amerikaanse Invloeden op de Wetenschapsbeoefening en het hogere Onderwijs in Nederland, 1945–1995*, The Hague: Sdu, 1997, pp. 238–42. On the Fulbright Program in Holland see J. C. C. Rupp, "The Fulbright Program or the Surplus Value of Officially Organised Academic Exchange," *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 3, 1 (Spring 1999). I owe these references to Giles Scott-Smith.

¹⁰⁰ LBJL WHCF CF, box 135, CF USIA 1966, Marks to President, via Kintner, 26 July 1966. For policy see Leonard Marks papers, box 23, Basic USIA guidelines, Pauker (IOP) to IBS/IPS/ICS/IMV, 31 October 1966.

¹⁰¹ LBJL Leonard Marks papers, box 3, Country Plan Program Memorandum for Indonesia, Secret, 14 May 1968.

¹⁰² Interview: Schneider.

"My Radio Station"

supreme confidence in its strer what proved the most popular problem, as the USIA had no r called Jean Drapeau, the irrepo him to buy the dome for \$1 two nations. The mayor called and made up a bill of sale and authority to close such a deal, secure.¹⁰³

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¹⁰³ Interview: Marks, 15 May 20 Plan, 1964, which stated the frustrations at being overshaw influence of the American pr CF USIA 1967, Marks to Pr

¹⁰⁴ LBJL, WHCF CF, box 135, the difficulties in negotiating

¹⁰⁵ LBJL, Fred Panzer papers, agreement lapsed briefly in 1 of feature films; see Leonard

¹⁰⁶ ADST Oral History, Leonar

¹⁰⁷ LBJL Leonard Marks, box 7 March 1967, etc.

¹⁰⁸ *FRUS, 1964–1968*, Vol. XI

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supreme confidence in its strength and variety.” Fifty thousand people a day visited what proved the most popular exhibit at the Expo. The fair's end left Marks with a problem, as the USIA had no money to demolish the dome. In a flash of inspiration he called Jean Drapeau, the irrepressible mayor of Montreal, and over lunch persuaded him to buy the dome for \$1 as an enduring symbol of the friendship between the two nations. The mayor called for the waitress to bring two sheets of paper and pens and made up a bill of sale and, though both men acknowledged that neither had the authority to close such a deal, they signed on the spot and the future of the dome was secure.¹⁰³

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The USIA's activities in the U.S.S.R. grew steadily with the conclusion of each biennial Cultural Exchange Agreement.¹⁰⁴ By July 1966, the press was reporting stories of Muscovites lining up for hours to obtain copies of *Amerika* magazine, and high school students could be seen beneath the Kremlin walls dancing to Voice of America music on their transistor radios.¹⁰⁵

On 7 October 1966, Johnson spoke openly of his desire for closer relations with the Soviet Union, noting that he hoped Vietnam would not be an obstacle. Marks did his best to support the initiative with a restrained propaganda policy. One morning in March 1967 Marks received a call from Rusk in the small hours summoning him to the State Department. He had just received word that Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva, had defected. Marks devised a strategy on the spot. In keeping with the emerging culture of dialogue with the U.S.S.R., he scotched all thought of gloating and called for restrained news-based coverage. Accordingly the U.S. government merely announced that she was on her way to Switzerland and left the Swiss and Svetlana herself to do the rest of the talking.¹⁰⁶ That same month the VOA rejected the suggestion that the Voice begin Yiddish broadcasts to Soviet Jews as too politically provocative.¹⁰⁷ Johnson's initiative paid off. Between 23 and 25 June 1967 the President and Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin met in Glassboro, New Jersey for a "Mini-Summit," the first such meeting since Vienna in 1961. Although the two leaders clashed over much, the very fact of their meeting gave hope for the future.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Interview: Marks, 15 May 2003; LBJL Leonard Marks papers, box 22, Expo '67, including Country Plan, 1964, which stated the USIA's chief objective in Canada as "Diminish Canadian sensitivities and frustrations at being overshadowed – culturally, economically, militarily – by the pervasive power and influence of the American presence on the North American continent." See also WHCF CF, box 135, CF USIA 1967, Marks to President, via Kintner, 2 May 1967.

¹⁰⁴ LBJL, WHCF CF, box 135, CF USIA, 1968, Marks to President, via Maguire, 10 April 1968, noting the difficulties in negotiating the follow-up agreement in 1968.

¹⁰⁵ LBJL, Fred Panzer papers, box 548, USIA, Ackers to Panzer (White House), 13 July 1967. The agreement lapsed briefly in 1967 but was renewed in July 1968, which added emphasis on the exchange of feature films; see Leonard Marks papers, box 14, *USIA World*, Vol. 2 No. 3, August 1968.

¹⁰⁶ ADST Oral History, Leonard Marks; Sorensen, *The Word War*, p. 292.

¹⁰⁷ LBJL Leonard Marks, box 15, Advisory Panel, Religious Gps, Ronalds (IBS/VOA) to Marcy (IOP), 7 March 1967, etc.

¹⁰⁸ *FRUS, 1964–1968*, Vol. XIV, *The Soviet Union*, docs 229–38.