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Crocker: Australian Ambassador

Review Author: Miguel A. Bernad

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America is unattainable apart from liberation, and, more significantly, confirmed and nurtured among the Christian peoples of the continent by a Theology of Liberation.

The experience of Latin America holds much that is of value to the Philippines. Our similar problems, set starkly against our similar historical backgrounds and often closely scrutinized in terms of similar North American standards of progress, render their responses to their situation relevant to us. The Philippines too finds itself today at a critical threshold. For most Filipinos, however, the preoccupation of the moment remains development or modernization. But the lesson of Latin America consists of the insight that the dream of development cannot be realized within the context of dependency and domination that still prevails among us. Liberation is necessary.

Toward the Christian Filipinos' understanding of their real situation, and its demand upon them indeed Hugo Assmann's small book is a big help.

ANTONIO V. ROMUALDEZ

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS: A DIPLOMAT'S VIEW

AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR: *International Relations at First Hand*. By W. R. Crocker. Melbourne University Press. Melbourne. 1971. Pp. viii, 211.

What kind of a man was Trygve Lie? What went on behind the scenes at Lake Success during the formative years of the United Nations? What were the intrigues that attended the formation of Palestine? What kind of a man was Nehru? Is it possible for India, with its great variety of lands, peoples, and languages, to be governed as one country? What sort of a man was Sukarno, and what of his campaign to take over West Irian? How were the Indians treated in East Africa? How did Belgium and Holland survive the loss of their respective empires? What effect did American Occupation have upon Italy? What is the effect of foreign Aid upon Asian countries? How much of this Aid comes from Australia? What are the drawbacks to diplomacy that the modern ambassador has to overcome?

These are some of the topics discussed in this perceptive, and in some respects important, book. The author is Walter Crocker who for almost two decades was Australia's representative in lands as diverse as India, Indonesia, Nepal and East Africa on the one hand, and Canada, Belgium, Holland and Italy on the other.

Previous to his appointment as ambassador, Mr. Crocker had already acquired a cosmopolitan perspective from his early training. Born and raised in Australia, he attended universities in England (Oxford) and the United States (Stanford). Then he had served in the British Army in India and in the British foreign service in Africa. It was this latter experience that won him an invitation to serve at the African desk of the United Nations Secretariate during its formative years at Lake Success. Subsequently to this UN experience (but previous to his appointment as ambassador), he became the first Professor of International Relations in Australia at the newly founded Australian National University.

A man with such extensive experience in international affairs has much to say on the subject, and he says it in no uncertain terms ("pulling no punches", to borrow the lingo of the ring) in this small but provocative volume.

Americans will not like what Mr. Crocker says about the United States, a country which he has known extensively both as a young university student, and later as a member of the UN Secretariate. But Americans will probably be the first to acknowledge that Mr. Crocker's judgments, though harsh, are not unfounded. Recent events in the United States will tend to confirm his fears that the American cult of sex and violence, and their belief in "success at almost any price" will eventually undermine the foundations of American society.

These judgments were arrived at from an accumulation of personal experiences of a very varied sort. Let two extracts suffice. The first gives an insight into the publishing world, with its high-pressured advertising:

"Because of a book I brought out on the colonial question in 1946, and because of my trying to get publishers interested in my book against putting the UN in New York, I saw something of the publishing world. . . . A business lunch at a certain big publishing house, like a series of literary cocktail parties I attended later, left a taste which lingered. The head of the firm looked and talked like any other businessman; his favorite reading, he remarked, was the comics page in the *Herald Tribune*. He had a book case with fake books in it; they served as a door to a cupboard-bar. Literature as literature meant nothing to him. Sales, movie rights, book clubs, digests, getting So-and-so to write a favourable review, this or that drug-store chain to take up 5,000 copies, how this or that author made a kill, was the staple talk." Mr. Crocker draws a sombre conclusion: the take-over by American capital of the English publishing houses, and the infiltration of American values into the British publishing business, "is a sinister development."

As for human values, the following incident is related. "One evening in 1946 I had an ice-skating accident and had to be taken to a local hospital on Long Island to have a broken wrist set under anaesthetic. I had to spend the next twenty-four hours in the hospital and was put into a room divided into two by a curtain. On the other side of the curtain was an elderly man who seemed very ill, as though he were dying. During the night he rang the bell for the nurse on duty, but as she had her radio turned on she did not hear him. I went to get her. Thus interrupted, she flounced out irritably to the dying man with a nasty 'What do you want?' His voice when he replied 'Some water' was barely audible and she must have known that he was on the point of death. Next morning he was dead."

"Something hard and heartless was coming over America," was Crocker's conclusion.

Biographers of Nehru, Sukarno, Haile Selassie, and Trygve Lie should not neglect Crocker's comments about these men. Nor should historians of South East Asia overlook his remark about the cruelties inflicted by the Japanese Army upon their prisoners in Indonesia, where apparently the British and the Dutch had been killed with the same brutality with which the Japanese had butchered Filipinos in Manila and Batangas.

From the point of view of the student of international relations, Mr. Crocker's advice to Australian diplomats should be noted. He reduces his advice to four points, two of which are of universal application. First, while it is not good to frame foreign policy out of fear, it is never good to do so out of ignorance. The first essential of diplomacy is to get at the facts. Second, the purpose of diplomacy is to see things from the other party's viewpoint, and in this way to come to mutual understanding by mutual compromise. "There must be no defeat for either party, least of all a public defeat."

This is the reason (as Crocker urges in this book, and as Britain's Harold Nicholson had long ago urged) why diplomacy, to be effective, must be secret. This opinion seems to be borne out by the failure, to date, to achieve substantial gains in the open talks held over a period of several years in Paris between representatives from America and Hanoi. The reason is obvious. As Harold Nicholson had long ago pointed out, open talks are public debates at which the contenders are anxious to score a victory, for the edification of constituents back home; while negotiations which are kept inviolably secret can lead to substantial agreement without loss of face on either side.

Crocker's other two points are of interest primarily to Australia, but may be noted. Australian foreign policy (he says) should be bi-partisan (an exhortation that should be taken to heart by other countries). Also, while national defence should not be neglected, Crocker

believes that the danger of a Communist take-over in Australia is minimal, and therefore he favors Australian recognition of Red China. Indeed, it had been his hope to become, before his retirement, the first Australian ambassador to Peking.

This reviewer has had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Crocker (who was then Australian High Commissioner in India) first in Bangkok (at a SEATO Round Table Conference on Asian Culture) and then in Cambodia where, after viewing the magnificent ruins, we had a stroll through the streets of Siem Reap. The impressions gained on these occasions are confirmed by the present book. Mr. Crocker is a man of the Old World who values tradition, culture and human dignity. He is not always tolerant towards modern innovations, nor does he suffer fools gladly—and the world, alas, is full of fools. But his views, even at their most conservative, are generally on the side of sanity and common sense. This reviewer does not agree with all the views expressed in this book: notably, Mr. Crocker's apparent failure to understand the predicament (or to have studied in depth the viewpoint) of the French Canadians.

But in general, his views are weighty and based on experience and observation. They should be carefully considered by diplomats—not least by the officials and representatives of the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs. It is to be regretted that Mr. Crocker was never posted to Manila: it would have been interesting to hear his views regarding the Philippine situation.

MIGUEL A. BERNAD

THE FOUNDING OF MANILA

MAPS AND VIEWS OF OLD MAYNILA. By Carlos Quirino. With a Preface by Mayor Antonio J. Villegas. Manila. Maharnilad. 1971. (x), 88 pp.

In May of 1571 Legazpi sailed into Manila Bay and occupied a triangular piece of land at the mouth of the Pasig River, which the natives had vacated after their fortified village (called Maynila) had been destroyed the previous year in an encounter with Goiti. On the 3rd of June 1571, scarcely three weeks after disembarking, Legazpi declared this area a City and laid out the streets and squares of the future metropolis. Legazpi's proclamation was confirmed by the King of Spain who conferred upon the new town a coat-of-arms and gave to it the title of Noble and Ever Loyal City. This triangular place of land, bounded on the northeast by the river and on the west by the