

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training  
Foreign Affairs Oral History Project

**RICHARD A. BUCKLEY**

*Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy*

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## INTERVIEW

*Q: Today is the 26<sup>th</sup> of April, 2018 with Richard A. Buckley. Being done on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies; I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy. You go by Dick or Richard?*

BUCKLEY: Richard.

*Q: Richard, when and where were you born?*

BUCKLEY: I was born August the 16<sup>th</sup>, 1934. Nearly nine months after the end of Prohibition.

*Q: Ah-hah; I was born in 1928.*

BUCKLEY: We're both of the same generation called the silent generation. We've never elected any president.

*Q: Let's start on your father's side. What do you know about where the Buckley's came from, and what your father was up to? Also, back farther, if you know.*

BUCKLEY: Both of my father's parents came from Ireland. My grandfather probably in 1888 and my grandmother in the late 1892. My grandfather came from County Cork, and my grandmother from County Clare. I started genealogy search through Irish websites that will continue.

*Q: Your grandparents I assume met in the States?*

BUCKLEY: They met in Little Falls, New York, where I was born. Right in the geographic center of New York state.

*Q: Part of the Finger Lakes?*

BUCKLEY: No, it's in the Mohawk Valley, which separates the Catskills from the Adirondacks.

*Q: You were born there?*

BUCKLEY: I was born in that little town; it was about 12,000 people then.

*Q: Go back to when you were a kid. What was your father doing?*

BUCKLEY: Both my mother and father never got beyond eighth grade. Both of them, I learned (I've done a little bit of genealogy on them) worked in the tannery in the knitting mills, and my father was still working in a knitting mill (if he could) into 1934 when I was born. He subsequently became a driver for the city public works, after going through one of FDR's (Franklin Delano Roosevelt) programs.

*Q: What sort of house or apartment did you have?*

BUCKLEY: Funny you should ask. I remember – I traced my birth certificate and subsequently, that we lived right next to the railroad tracks when I was born. I can't remember my first year or two because there was a lot of noise from those trains. At that time, the New York Central Railroad had about 160 trains daily go through there; trains were the big thing in transportation as you know in the '20s and '30s.

*Q: Oh, yeah. You grew up in a working-class family.*

BUCKLEY: It was lower than that, it was if you could find the work.

*Q: Also, this is during the Depression.*

BUCKLEY: Right, I was born right in the middle – you were born before, but I was born right smack in the middle of the Depression. So, I had six years of the Depression before the war.

*Q: What do you recall? Obviously, you were very young, but how did the Depression hit your family?*

BUCKLEY: We didn't get any poorer! I was fortunate to be born just about the time that the feds funded emergency nursery schools. They had the states designate what cities could obtain these nursery school funds, and fortunately our city was designated as one. We also got a cooperation high school and college, so they did have a program there. I went to nursery school for three years, from age two to five. It really helped.

*Q: Do you recall nursery school?*

BUCKLEY: Yes.

*Q: Want to talk about it, what you did, what it was like?*

BUCKLEY: My nursery school had very little learning like they have in pre-school now. It was mainly someone coming in to take care of the kids. But a lot of time outside because it was held at a school. The reason that emergency nursery school came in to effect (I read about it recently) was to employ the teachers, especially from rural areas or some in the local area, who were laid off because of the Depression. The school where the nursery school was held had closed because most of the kids on the other side were the newly arrived kids like the Italians and Slovenians and Slovaks. They had to work as

kids, 12 years old working in the knitting mills. So that space was allowed for the nursery school. I remember a couple of main things. Playing outdoors. Eating some food that I was not accustomed to, like canned carrots. And taking a nap on an army cot and an army blanket, scratchy. Day in and day out. Going outside, we spent half our time outside, weather permitting.

*Q: You're right up in the snow-belt, aren't you?*

BUCKLEY: We are. In fact, I think (I never checked this out), we had a little climate change for the worse. It was hard winters starting in mid-October to end of May when you'd get the last snow there. It was heavy.

*Q: Back at home, did you have brothers and sisters?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, I had three siblings when I was born. My oldest brother Joe was seven years older; my sister Betty was about five-and-a-half years older; my brother Donald was four years older. That's why I always say, "Why did I come along when they already had three kids?" Here's the Depression, and they barely have a job. I think they went out to celebrate the end of Prohibition, and forgot that they had their quota of children already.

*Q: What was family life like?*

BUCKLEY: It wasn't like the movies and TV shows made in the '50s, families from *Father Knows Best* and all that. We hardly ever ate together because we had different activities going on. My parents got home late – it wasn't nine to five in those days it was like a 10-hour shift. I always had to go someplace after nursery school, someone to care of me until they got home. It was tough. But I found it the only life there was.

*Q: If you're a kid, this is what you do. What about, were there discussions about politics or anything like that? Or was there much of a dinner table?*

BUCKLEY: No. Discussion was mainly about sports. My father was a die-hard Democrat; Little Falls, our home town, is a Democratic outpost surrounded by Republican communities – the county's basically Republican. Little Falls is a bellwether for New York politics; if it goes Democratic, you're likely to see the New York State Governorship go Democratic.

*Q: Roosevelt was pretty much god in the ...*

BUCKLEY: Roosevelt was – and Truman also, when he took over.

*Q: Were you much of a reader?*

BUCKLEY: Funny you mention that. I'm not at the point yet, but I'll mention it, it was a turning point in my life. We had no books. Remember, my parents never got out of eighth

grade. The most they read were the newspapers and maybe a magazine, but no books that I recall in my home. The first time I brought books into the home was when I was eleven years old. We'd bicycle out of town to go to swimming places. I went east three miles, with a couple of kids that would usually go with me. One day, coming back from the swimming hole – I had always noticed this church, a little old wooden church on a knoll right next to the road to the east. I got off my bike and looked at it. Above the door, 1769 in large metal pieces was most noticeable. I said, "Wow, 1769 is a long time ago!" Subsequently, I asked somebody how do I learn about that church; they said go to the public library. I went to the public library. It was an old former mansion.

I walked in, it was dark in there and the librarian said, "Can I help you, son?"

I said, "Yeah, there's a little church three miles away, I want to find out something about it?"

"Well, do you know how to go into this library and find it? You'll have to know where it is."

She was not accommodating. I left a little bit frightened. That was it, until I got to seventh grade. In seventh grade, one of the teachers took us to the library and showed us the Dewey Decimal System. Once I learned that wow, you could go right there for history, local history. I went back to that public library and started to read those books about my hometown area and started to take them home. That changed my life. Both of my brothers just barely got out of high school.

*Q: Did you read Drums Along the Mohawk?*

BUCKLEY: I went through that whole series. But my first book that I took out of the library that wasn't history was Death Comes for the Archbishop by Willa Cather.

*Q: That was out of New Mexico, wasn't it?*

BUCKLEY: It was out in the Southwest, right. That was a major changing point in my life, learning the Dewey Decimal System.

*Q: Once you learned the Dewey Decimal System, did you find yourself concentrating on any particular decimals?*

BUCKLEY: Yes. The history, biography – mainly history. I subsequently have written the definitive history of my home town area; it was published in 2008. I spent years researching it until I finally finished.

*Q: Where did you get your material?*

BUCKLEY: Other than books, for six months from January '96 when Pru was getting ready to go to Kenya, I made an agreement with the librarian at Little Falls to send me

three or four microfilm rolls and I'd read them and send them back. One hundred years – we had a local paper that started in 1880, so I read every page of every newspaper from 1880 to 1980. That opened up a whole world to me.

*Q: What were the driving forces in the town over that period?*

BUCKLEY: The town was originally set up to be a local mill, the grist mill for the farmers. Little Falls is an incredible two-mile gorge. It came into existence the same time as Niagara Falls, only our falls was wider and only had two miles to go to the next valley, whereas Niagara Falls has to go all the way to the next lake. That's why it's been moving, it's gone almost eight miles from its origin. Little Falls is built on rock, all on incredibly ancient rock. The only thing we can have in that town is mills, you can't have a farm, the farms are all on the top where it levels off. It was mainly started as a distributing point and then subsequently because of the river that flows through it, the Mohawk River, it became a mecca for knitting mills.

*Q: What about, were the Mohawks in the area?*

BUCKLEY: That's who had the church from 1769. The superintendent of Indian affairs for Great Britain built that church for the Mohawks, because they were living in that area. That church is now sitting on a very historic landmark because it was the last village of the Mohawks before the Revolutionary War.

*Q: Were there any battles, Oriskany or anything?*

BUCKLEY: Oriskany is about 15 miles due west of Little Falls, between Utica and Rome, New York. The general who led them, General Herkimer, lived right between the three-mile distance I had to go to get to that swimming hole, Herkimer's plantation was right next to the Mohawk village. Then knew each other, they were neighbors.

*Q: Was the village...*

BUCKLEY: It was a village until 1833. It started about 1790, and 1833 it became a city.

*Q: What was the city like when you were there?*

BUCKLEY: The city evolved very quickly once the knitting – by the way, when the Depression hit our area, we had already been in a depression since early 1920s. They never had recessions back in those days, they had small depressions, medium depressions, and big depressions like the Great Depression. In early 1920s they pulled out one of the major knitting mills and transported by train all the knitting machinery to North Carolina.

*Q: Already, that movement started?*

BUCKLEY: Already. People think they went overseas. They finally closed down those mills in North Carolina, taken that business over to China and other places, Bangladesh now. Knitting mills – we suffered major, I'm talking about 1000 to 2000 employees laid off once they made that decision.

*Q: What happened?*

BUCKLEY: Unions. Wobblies. You heard of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies? They were very prevalent in Little Falls. They led a famous showdown between workers and management in 1912 in Little Falls. In fact, I was on a panel on Little Falls about five years ago, and a Wobbly representative showed up for our discussion of the 1912 strike.

*Q: While you were there, the mills, there were still some?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, there were still – there are different degrees of mill owners. Some lived in Little Falls; many lived outside in New York City. Those that lived in Little Falls remained and paid at least a living wage to their workers, so the strike didn't happen at their plant. They stayed until the '50s.

*Q: So essentially, although you weren't living high off the hog, your family was working.*

BUCKLEY: Yeah, my mother always worked, she worked right up to retirement when she was about 70. She worked first in the mill and then in a shoe factory. We had a large tannery operation in my home town also, so they made shoes.

*Q: All right. As a kid, you visited swimming holes but you couldn't do that during the long winter. What did you do? Did you have a group you did things with or something like that?*

BUCKLEY: In the winter I loved skating. We turned the football field into a skating rink. I always was part of a group that was mostly – I don't know how it happened, I have my theories of why, but being Irish I was shunned by the Irish from the ward that the Irish lived in, because we didn't live there. I never remember any Irish kids as friends growing up. My friends were Czechoslovakians, Slovenians, Slovaks, Italians, Polish.

*Q: Did you all speak English?*

BUCKLEY: Oh, yeah. School did that, school was the equalizer.

*Q: So, you swam and ice skated, what else did you do? Go to the movies?*

BUCKLEY: Oh, yeah. Saturdays was movie time, to get the serial. Went to the movies, but mainly worked. I started delivering newspapers when I was nine years old. Then, in World War II, I convinced my mother and father to lend me some money to buy about 20



chicks. I raised hens to sell the eggs in the neighborhood during World War II. That was a good business. The only business I've ever operated in my life.

*Q: Did you have problems with disease?*

BUCKLEY: No. I'd go and collect the eggs, clean them off.

*Q: Where did you sell them?*

BUCKLEY: Right in our own neighborhood; nobody else was getting eggs unless they had the money, the ration stamps. I had to take my little wagon about two miles to the other side of the city, down the hill, cross the bridge, up another hill to where the Purina large sales facility was, because they put up their stuff off the tracks on the other side of the river. Vanderbilt had tracks built on the other side of the river so no-one could compete against his New York Central railroad. It was mainly a milk-train track, slow train, all commercial. That's why Purina Foods was over there. Every two weeks I'd have to take my wagon across the bridge and fortunately my grandmother lived over there so I could stop to chat with her and have something to eat.

*Q: Were there any gangs or kids who gave you...*

BUCKLEY: There were gangs, Italians feuding with the Irish. But they knew that I was related to my grandmother who lived there, right in the middle of Italians and Slovaks and Slovenians. In part, I knew them from earlier in nursery school. So...

*Q: You weren't a stranger.*

BUCKLEY: Right, I enjoyed going over there.

*Q: Well, elementary school, what was it like?*

BUCKLEY: When I got out of nursery school and went to kindergarten and first grade, I said wow, what a change. That's when you started to learn. I did all right but I never seemed to be challenged to make me do more than all right. Spent a lot of time playing basketball. It was a new elementary school, built in the '20s so it was the first one with a gym, the other elementary schools didn't have a gym.

*Q: How did you find elementary school courses? Were there any you liked or didn't like?*

BUCKLEY: It was more of what teachers prodded me. If the teacher made a connection, then whatever she was best in, I would align myself with that because I figured she's going to give her all on this and I better pay attention because it's going to be good. It was the teachers.

*Q: Did you have good teachers?*

BUCKLEY: Oh yeah, they were good. In those days, that's all they did their whole life and they were mostly women in those days. They gave their whole life to it. Because they couldn't, they get married they'd be in trouble just like the Foreign Service.

*Q: Yeah. What about math? Was that a problem?*

BUCKLEY: Glad you brought that up. I became an accountant, that got me through my life, my early married life. Learning math - I was always looking to the future, what are we going to do next year, how does this go on? My brother would bring home his math books from high school and I would check those out. For math I was always staying ahead of the game and wanting to learn, because something clicked. So yes, math became one of my favorite subjects.

*Q: High school – where was high school?*

BUCKLEY: I went to the Little Falls high school; they had a junior-senior high school. So, seventh grade you'd leave the elementary school and go there. That was a big change, going from elementary to the high school because you had more kids, more astute teachers.

*Q: You probably had some men teachers? I remember as a kid all of a sudden, the next grade up I'm going to have a man teacher; that was scary.*

BUCKLEY: It was. Especially I remember my French teacher was a guy, I had two or three classes with the French teacher. Should have been a warning to me because our first post in Dakar, Senegal with Pru, I took the FAST (familiarization and short-term training) course back in the old FSI (Foreign Service Institute) building and never could hear the verbs. Never. I'd have a great vocabulary but I couldn't put a sentence together. I couldn't hear the verbs.

*Q: As a 30-year Foreign Service officer I've taken a year of Russian in the military, a year of Serbo-Croatian and I've studied French and Italian, and I've never really grabbed a language. Some of us get it and some don't.*

*In high school, did you get involved in extra-curricular activities?*

BUCKLEY: Yeah. I joined a couple of clubs, but mainly sports. Basketball. My oldest brother – I dedicated my book about Little Falls to my oldest brother, he was basically my father, my role model. He was an all-around athlete. Any sport he got into, he excelled. I remember when I was in ninth grade, he had a semi-professional basketball team; they went all around New York state, about a 130-mile radius from our home town. They'd play anywhere. They played 70 or 80 games a year. He dragged me along. This meant I wouldn't get home till 10:00 or 12:00 to go to school the next day. He dragged me along for two reasons. To keep score and watch the game, and then the next morning on the way to school stop at the daily newspaper and submit my summary of the game to appear in the evening paper. That was my whole life for four months in ninth grade.

*Q: When did you give up on the chickens by the way?*

BUCKLEY: We dined on those 20 hens after the war; we had one every Sunday.

*Q: Let's talk about World War II and what was happening. You must, you were old enough to follow it right from the beginning, weren't you?*

BUCKLEY: Yeah. By World-War-II time I was seven years old. I got a newspaper route shortly after, so I would see the progress in the war through the newspaper and on the radio. I knew what was happening; I didn't know the extent of it but I knew what was happening.

*Q: Was this building up your knowledge of the world?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, it was.

*Q: I'm somewhat older but I can name all the islands in the Pacific practically, and towns in the Soviet Union. A great learning experience for a young boy. I lived with the thought that I'd probably end up in the military. I didn't (I mean I was in the Korean War) but it ended the year I turned old enough to be in the military. Did the war have much of an impact on life in the town?*

BUCKLEY: Yes. For one reason, the women had replaced the men in the factories. That's where my mother really did a lot of her work, during the war and after. Everyone was going off to war – everyone knew either their neighbor or brother or father was in the service. My father was probably too old or had five kids, I don't know what the exemptions were in those days. He was born in 1905 so he was 35.

*Q: Probably being a father -*

BUCKLEY: And the age.

*Q: How about your brothers, did any of them end up in the military?*

BUCKLEY: My oldest brother was born in '27, just before you. He went in 1944 I think, after he got out of school. He joined the Coast Guard, so he went to the station in Massachusetts, went down the east coast on a cutter.

*Q: While you were there, you're coming from a poorer family, or modest anyway. Was college seen as something to do, or were you being prepared to go into the workforce?*

BUCKLEY: A couple of things happened. One was that going with my brother in ninth grade – there's a reason I went with my brother and I wasn't playing myself. That is, in the fall of 1948 I was a freshman in the public high school. A new coach was hired to be the athletic director for the school. We had a noon basketball league, and he came down

to the gym. I wrestled for him the prior year and I didn't go out for wrestling that year. He chose to come down and referee one of the games I was playing in, and before I knew it, I had three technical fouls called on me. At one point, he grabbed me and said, "Out, go take a shower, I want you to go with me to see the principal about your attitude on this court." To make a long story short, the principal upheld his recommendation that I be barred from sports while he was the athletic director. That's why I was going with my brother. Fortunately, we had a Catholic school right across the street, so I put two and two together, walked over there in the fall, sat across from the mother superior who had a great big set of keys. She said, "I know all about you, Richard." She laughed again, and she said, "We're going to have a good time together here, aren't we?" (Laughter)

That changed my life because the nuns challenged me. I developed a study routine, two hours every evening after dinner. My senior class yearbook stated, "Will Birdie ever come to school without his homework done?" They challenged me and that's when I began to really appreciate the world of learning.

*Q: That brings up a point. What religion – your parents coming from Ireland, I'd assume they are Catholic?*

BUCKLEY: My father was Catholic. My mother's leanings were very much a mystery to me. Like most women born in that era were. I put her in a rocking chair when she was about 75 and said, "Ma, come on, you never said a word about anyone beyond your mother, my grandmother. Now sit right there, you're not leaving until you tell me something about further back."

She said, "My people have always lived here."

I said, "What?"

By that statement, she kept making it and making it, drove me to get interested in American Indians. Because if she said, "They've always lived here," hell I might be one of those Mohawks. Who knows?

Her ancestors went all the way back to the original inhabitants of the town right next to us called Herkimer. It was called German Flats before that, and the residents of German Flats in the 1700s were the Germans who'd come from the Palatinate section of Germany. They stayed near the docks in London until Queen Anne said we've got to do something with the riff-raff German Palatines, let's send them to that new place in New York, send them to that place and put them to work making tar for our ships. So, they went to Albany area of New York. They revolted after about five years there – they were farmers, they didn't know how to do this crazy tar stuff. They were given a plot of land 75 miles west of Albany and said you can't come any closer to Albany than the falls at Little Falls. One of those people who came there at that time named Helmer was one of my mother's ancestors.

*Q: Did she go to Catholic church?*

BUCKLEY: Oh, no. At that time, it was the Anglican church of Great Britain then it evolved into the Episcopalian church in the U.S., so she was Episcopalian. She wasn't much of a churchgoer, so when she married my father she basically switched.

*Q: How about you? How stands religion with you?*

BUCKLEY: Until I switched to the Catholic school, it was pretty loose. We would go because my father might chase us to go to Sunday service, but it was loose until I walked over in 10<sup>th</sup> grade to St. Mary's School, then I started to practice it.

*Q: How did you find high school at the Catholic school? I'd think this would be much more Slovenian/Italian.*

BUCKLEY: Mainly Irish, a few Italians. It was a great deal smaller. We had four different sub-units of each of our classes in the public high school of about 40 kids each, so almost 150 graduates every year. St. Mary's School, my graduating class had 24 kids; 18 girls.

*Q: That must have been fun for you.*

BUCKLEY: It was.

*Q: Of course, girls were doing better than you were there.*

BUCKLEY: They were! But it was much different. The individual attention that the nuns gave to the students – and it was also different on the individual interaction with fellow students. At that school, I got really involved because you had to join, everyone had to be in something to make it go forward. I was in the glee club, in the yearbook club, and sports.

*Q: Did you pick up writing?*

BUCKLEY: Not serious, like I did subsequently when I went to college.

*Q: Well then, when did you graduate from high school.*

BUCKLEY: In 1952. But I have to tell you, one of those Irish lasses in Catholic school became very close to me, she became my girlfriend. Probably from the time I was a sophomore, when I was a senior, I'd been going with her for two years. My plan was to stay there, get a job, wait till she graduates the following year. My pastor Father Noonan had different plans. When I graduated, he called me in and asked, "What do you have planned for the summer?" I mumbled, and he said, "I've got plans for you. You're going to work with Pat Nagle in the cemetery on the hill. We'll pay you, don't worry about it. Report on Monday."

I worked all summer. Pat Nagle was conveying (he was also the custodian of the church) to the pastor weekly reports on how I was doing, what I was talking about and all that.

*Q: What did you do? Digging graves?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, and mostly keeping the cemetery clean. The grass would get so high it was almost like hay. We also – this is 1952 – they had recently purchased land for a new cemetery. This was a steep hill, still part of the gorge, so it's going straight up, and it's not a good place to bury people on a hill. So, they bought about three miles out of town where it's level to be the new place for a cemetery. They had us transferring remains. There wasn't hardly anything left except a deposit of bones. But we had to dig down, dig them up, put them in a new casket, and send them to the new cemetery. I found out a lot about how people die.

Then comes my major life-changer. It's the end of August, so plans have to be made – what am I going to do after this cemetery job? Pat Nagle says the pastor wants to see me. I went and he said, "Do you have any plans?" (He knew all about the Irish lass.) I didn't have any plans. He said, "Well, I do. I have plans for you. On Monday, you're riding up with Bob Shepardson" another friend of mine from school who was enrolled at Niagara University. "I know the treasurer as I went to school with him at Niagara. You're enrolled, you have a part-time job at the university and I've been in contact with the A&P grocery store, you'll work there during weekends." No questions. He went into his pocket and pulled out a roll of bills and gave me \$500. This is 1952, big money. "I know what it's like to go for a semester, this ought to keep you in what you need until you start getting money from the grocery store."

That's the way I got to college.

*Q: I was class of '50 at Williams College in Massachusetts. That's a fancy school but I remember the family ran out of money, I went to the Rotary Club and I got a scholarship, I think \$500. That got me through my senior year.*

*All right, let's talk about Niagara University? What was it like in your time?*

BUCKLEY: It was a former seminary, that's why the pastor knew the treasurer, they both went to seminary there together. They had just before I arrived associated the nursing school from Niagara Falls and brought it into Niagara University. So, we did have co-eds, probably 100 nursing students, then they opened it up before I got there to women students from all over, not just nursing students. So, it was co-ed at that time. Niagara University sits right on the gorge, Niagara Gorge. You could look right across and see Canada. So, we got a lot of windy weather in the winter. But what I found most interesting going there, I won the freshman medal for scholastics because of that two-hour study routine I had developed at St. Mary's High School, I applied it there and hardly anyone else did.

*Q: How about the A&P?*

BUCKLEY: The A&P was a wonderful job. I first stocked and then in those days you needed a bagger to assist the cashier, so I became a bagger and was able to talk to a lot of customers, and dated one of the cashiers. That was a very good time. It was about two miles from a bus line that I'd ride back to the university. I remember always stopping every Saturday night at this Italian restaurant to have my dinner before I went back to the school.

*Q: That was an era too – this is before pizzas – for exotic food you had two choices, a chop suey joint or a spaghetti joint.*

BUCKLEY: Exactly, that was it!

College was a good time. A time to really explore life.

*Q: What about the teaching at Niagara?*

BUCKLEY: These were Vincentians. Vincentians were not as good as Jesuits, but they're pretty good at teaching and making sure they've got lay teachers that are top-shelf also. They gave you an education that allowed you to go from there prepared.

*Q: Were you pointing yourself towards anything?*

BUCKLEY: My pastor once said to me when I came back from Niagara to report to him the first time. He asked whether I was pursuing arts and science. I said, "No. I'm taking business now because I love accounting."

He said, "I think you would be good as a lawyer, think about it."

That stuck in my mind. But I should have become a historian. But that's another thing.

*Q: What about social life at the college?*

BUCKLEY: Very good because it was away from school, mainly in Buffalo. We'd went to Buffalo on the weekends, and that's when I learned how to dance – the jitterbug, rock-and-roll was in Buffalo.

*Q: Let's talk about Buffalo a minute. You were really in the snowy area.*

BUCKLEY: Lake effect. In my home town we were getting the end of that lake effect. I thought growing up that the whole country was like that. Little did I know until years later that we were getting all that snow off the Great Lakes.

*Q: Did you go for winter sports?*

BUCKLEY: Ice skating. We made home-made toboggans for sledding downhill. Whatever you had you'd use.

*Q: You graduated from college in what year, '56?*

BUCKLEY: I should have graduated in '56 but I didn't graduate until '57 because after I played freshman basketball for Niagara – when I became a sophomore - I loosened up a little bit. By the time I became a senior, I owed the school a couple of thousand dollars. They changed treasurers. The new treasurer called in all outstanding debts. There was no way I could pay \$2,000. So, I had to leave. I left in November and went to Milwaukee. In Milwaukee was the brother of the Irish lass I knew. He got transferred to Milwaukee, so I went because he could find me a job at the American Can Company where he worked. I became an accountant since I had two years of business at Niagara, worked for a small steel scaffolding company during the day, and I worked the midnight-seven a.m. shift for American Can. No free time from December through August, when I left to return to school with the money I owed.

*Q: What was life like in Milwaukee?*

BUCKLEY: It was great. I just had one free day on the weekend. During baseball season I would go to a Milwaukee Braves baseball game. I once saw Hank Aaron, the greatest hitter I've ever seen in my life. Saw him – he had snaps in his wrist just like Rendon has now for the Washington Nationals, same kind of swing. I saw him hit a line-drive; shortstop jumped for it and the center fielder jumped for it. Line-drive home run, incredible. That was one of my biggest free-times because that's all I had.

*Q: What about, during this time in college were you reading for fun, too? What were you reading?*

BUCKLEY: Oh yeah, mostly novels but also history – I loved history. I'd read about Milwaukee, who settled Milwaukee and stuff like that. But I didn't have much time.

*Q: You were pretty busy.*

BUCKLEY: Then I came back and reentered and graduated.

*Q: With your \$2000.*

BUCKLEY: Right! Paid them off and graduated in '57. My Irish roommate in college met a young woman from Niagara Falls, and he was going to get married a month after we graduated. He said, "Richard I want you to do my home movies. My father hired a guy to do the professional stuff, but I know you, you know where to go to get all the action behind the scenes." So, I said I'll do it. I came back to Niagara Falls to do his home movie a month after we graduated.



I said, "What the hell, I'll start it at 10:00 down at the bar, that's when you'll meet somebody." I went down to the bar, saw this distinguished looking gentleman at the bar, went over to introduce myself.

It was his father, John Perry, senior. We got to chatting. He laid out everything. He said, "I can't believe it. My son's growing up, I don't know what's going to happen to him. I always told him, 'You want to learn about life? You get on a ship and sail some place.' Sail all over Europe, sail here. He wouldn't listen to me."

I said, "I'd like to do that."

He said, "Are you sure, kid?"

I said "Yes."

He said, "If you're serious, give me a ring and we'll set something up."

He's the president of the Buildings Employees Union in New York City, the largest union in New York City. "Here's my card, give me a call in a couple of weeks."

So, I did. I was there a few weeks later, it's like July. He said, "You still serious, kid?" I followed him around, it is the time of the Kefauver hearings, okay? He had three televisions on ABC, NBC, and CBS (American Broadcasting Company, National Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting System) in his office picking up the Kefauver hearings because it's important to unions, what Kefauver's trying to do because of the Teamsters Union alleged mafia connection. I followed him around for a day making his calls on union halls. At the end of the day he said, "Are you still serious?" I said yes! He said, "Okay" and called Paul Hall (the president of the Seafarer's Union) in Brooklyn. "Paul, I've got this kid, he's serious, he's down here and he wants to go to sea. I'll send him over to you."

I went over to see Paul Hall, and he said, "Are you serious kid?" I was. He said, "Where do you want to go?" I didn't know. He said, "Okay I'll put you on a round-the-world ship. Here's your slip, go down there and show it to the dispatcher in Brooklyn Navy Hall." They had this huge blackboard about 20 yards long, listing all the ships and employee positions, and they had one spot left for two wipers on this cargo ship. A wiper worked down below in the engine room area, we wiped up oil and kept it clean so nobody got injured. We did everything, paint, clean the boilers and help the engineer do major repairs. I went down there and the guy said, "It's 3:00 pm kid, if you want to get your papers from the Coast Guard, you've got to hustle." So, I went in the office and got directed, he gave me the slip from the union said you're on your way. I went over to get my papers and next day I boarded the ship that went to Philadelphia. I called my mom and had her send my clothes to the next port, Baltimore, and was on my way going around the world.

*Q: What ship were you on?*

BUCKLEY: *USS Steelworker*. It was a four-hulled cargo ship. Fifty-man crew. That was a life experience, it really was. About three of those guys could never get off the ship because they were wanted in the U.S. for some kind of serious crime. So, they stayed on the ship when we were in the U.S. ports. We went mainly to Asia. First to ports in California; Los Angeles, San Diego, then in Oakland to load on cargo, mainly military equipment before we headed across the Pacific. We went to the Philippines, Singapore, then Indonesia, then up the river to Saigon. This was 1957, going to Saigon on the Saigon River.

*Q: I've gone up that river.*

BUCKLEY: We had a machine-gun that came on when we got into the river itself and some troops on the side of the ship. Mostly we were spending a week to 10 days in every port. So, I had all that time because you don't have to do anything in the boiler room when we're in dock at port. So, I got to see, interact, and get in trouble once in a while. After Saigon, it was Bangkok, then Bombay, India. Then Aden, Somaliland, Cairo, then finally Halifax before we got back to Brooklyn navy yard. Five months trip. It introduced me to the world.

*Q: So, you get back, what for you then?*

BUCKLEY: The reason I was able to do that is that I was in ROTC (reserve officer training corps), and I wasn't due to report to Fort Sill until the end of March of 1958, that's when I reported. When I got back, I stayed around Little Falls for a couple of months, then went into the artillery, started my military career and a new life.

*Q: Does that change your attitude of what you wanted to do with yourself?*

BUCKLEY: It gave me more time to get serious. One of my buddies at Fort Sill was from New Orleans. He said, "Come home with me on Memorial Day." (We got our first break.) So, we alternated driving, I drove the last 10 hours, Texas to New Orleans. We got there about six p.m., and he said "You better crash. I've got some place to go tonight, but you get some sleep." I woke up about midnight, went to the Napoleon House in the French Quarter and met him. He had some of his college classmates there, and one of them was named Isabelle "Mimi" Machin. I spent the next six hours until dawn talking with her, and three dates later we were married during Christmas holidays.

*Q: Good god!*

BUCKLEY: On holidays – July 4<sup>th</sup>, Labor Day, Thanksgiving.

*Q: What was her background?*

BUCKLEY: Her mother was Venezuelan. Her father said he was French but was more Jewish than French. He came from the Netherlands; he never revealed to us that he was

Jewish, he was a practicing Catholic when he married my first wife's mother. But my daughters and I subsequently found out doing genealogy research that he came from a Jewish family that were living then in Amsterdam. But they were both from outside the United States. In fact, her mother never became a citizen, she lived here on a green card all of her life. Venezuela was different in those days.

So, she was there. We had our first son in Ireland Army Hospital in Fort Knox, Kentucky.

*Q: You were in artillery?*

BUCKLEY: I was strictly artillery, yeah.

*Q: You had at Niagara gone to ROTC?*

BUCKLEY: ROTC, four years, right. To experience the segregated South, when I went to Fort Bragg in 1955 for my summer camp, we drove down. And we experienced it here in Washington as you know, in '55 it was still going on. That woke me up a little bit. I knew about segregation because a number of black kids would come from New York City to the Adirondacks and would stay in our home town. They called them fresh-air kids, came out of the city. I met some and befriended them, I showed them around and they taught me how to gamble especially with dice.

Fast forward, it's March of 1960. We had our son in '59, December, so he's only a few months old. We drove to New York City because my wife had relatives there. It's either that or go to New Orleans or Houston where her other relatives lived. We went to New York and I got a job. We lived on west 194<sup>th</sup> Street, close to the George Washington Bridge. I rode the subway way down to Wall Street to work with some banks, doing accounting.

*Q: Let's see – your military lasted how long?*

BUCKLEY: Two years.

*Q: Where did you serve?*

BUCKLEY: Fort Sill till August of '58, then Fort Knox.

*Q: How did you find military life?*

BUCKLEY: Very strict. Had to do it all by the book. I have a little rebel streak in me. But I loved interacting with the people in the company; that was another learning experience.

*Q: How did you find artillery?*

BUCKLEY: I loved it because it used my math. I spent a lot of time as a forward observer in the field, so I used my math again, I had an appreciation of what was going on in the fire-direction-center and what was going on in its connection to the guns. I really enjoyed being a forward observer.

*Q: Were you thinking of making it a career?*

BUCKLEY: No. No, it was not my cup of tea. I could never do that full-time. By this time, I was thinking of going to law school. My last year in college in 1957, I took the law school test, LSAT, and got a respectable grade. It was hanging and ready to be used later. The plan was to go to one of the law schools in New York City. But – did you ever watch *Mad Men* on TV? Well, one of my close friends from Niagara University named Jim Sullivan and I took the LSAT together, but he was determined not to go to law school but to pursue his English background, English was his major. He became part of a *Mad Men* advertising firm on Wall Street. We got together again and suddenly he's got my wife and me going two or three times a week to the best restaurants and always ending up in an Irish bar. Once I had to put my wife in a telephone booth so she wouldn't be hit by things flying; there's usually a fight after midnight in an Irish bar. That, and I got a terrible 'flu in 1960. So that really was a disincentive – this life was too fast for us, we had to go south where it's slower. In August of '60 we packed our little car and U-Haul and seven-month-old son and went to Houston, where her uncle was the Venezuelan consul. Only stayed in Houston a couple of months because I couldn't find work.

*Q: What type of work were you looking for?*

BUCKLEY: Accounting because that's what I did for eight months in Milwaukee, so I had a background now. Fortunately, Mimi and I went to New Orleans to visit with some of her classmates; she had graduated from Loyola University. We went for some session that her class was having with some of the faculty. At that session I met someone from the Pan-American Life Insurance company that had operations in Central and South America. I chatted with him, and he said they had an opening in the accounting department at Pan-American. I made arrangements to go there the next week and was hired immediately. So, we moved to New Orleans. I was there from 1960 to 1970 except for the year I went to work in the Justice Department.

*Q: What type of business was Pan-American doing?*

BUCKLEY: Mostly mortgages and some life insurance.

*Q: How did you find the work?*

BUCKLEY: I loved it because now it was the capstone of my learning about what accounting can be used for. The president was a lawyer and he wanted more useful accounting reports – this was when computers were coming into vogue and helping businesses improve their operations. I remember that computer in contrast to the little smartphone we have now, the entire basement was the computer room with a huge

mainframe taking up many square yards of that space. The 650-type printers off to the side to print the data sheets with the holes along the side. He wanted the accounting department to give him better data. For example, how much does each department really cost this company? What do special projects we do cost the company? It was called cost-accounting; it was a new method of producing better information for management. I said that was something I'd like to do, so I became the cost accountant. I had to work closely with that computer department because they were the ones that were going to give me the data to put together the reports they were seeking. It was a wonderful job.

*Q: Where did you settle in New Orleans?*

BUCKLEY: Mainly close to the river, both times. Uptown, they called it. Along the St. Charles street car route, St. Charles turns into Carondelet for the final mile. First time we lived just one block off of St. Charles, the next time almost at the end of the street line, when we came back from Washington.

*Q: Was there a streetcar named Desire?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, there was a streetcar named Desire! It ran into the Desire area of east New Orleans.

*Q: How did you find New Orleans as a place to live?*

BUCKLEY: One of the best cities I've ever lived. To work hard and have fun hard. It's the city that care has forgotten. For example, if we were in New Orleans now, we wouldn't even think about Trump in the White House. New Orleans is not in touch with the national scene. The mayor might be, the city council might be. The people have their own life style, their own drive. I think of it as a poor person's San Francisco. The life is like San Francisco – great food, in touch with water. But New Orleans is as poor as San Francisco is rich.

*Q: How'd your wife like it there?*

BUCKLEY: She loved New Orleans. She went to college there, taught school there after college. She was teaching school when I met her.

*Q: Was she a Spanish speaker?*

BUCKLEY: Oh yes. She spent her life speaking Spanish. Before she died, she was teaching Spanish in a heavily black area in Houston, at a high school there. She loved Spanish.

*Q: While you were there, how stood integration and the whole civil rights movement?*

BUCKLEY: New Orleans was never really segregated until blacks started arriving from Mississippi and Arkansas and other southern states; that's when the city began to be

segregated because they lived far out in the eastern part of the city. Because slaves were living in slave quarters right next to the main house, and that became where they lived after the 1860s. I only recently learned they had their own street car tracks next to the river. I once asked my friend, Robert Glass, “What are these street car rails doing here?” He said, “These were for the blacks to get to work.”

You’d find most of the racial difficulties among poorer whites. They made the mistake when they integrated the schools in New Orleans (I was there at the time) of integrating the poorest schools, that’s why they had the trouble at the beginning of school integration.

It was a great place to experience – it wasn’t as difficult as Mississippi in the ‘60s, but it was tough. Great place to learn what was happening.

*Q: How long were you in New Orleans?*

BUCKLEY: Went to night school at Loyola University law school, worked at the life insurance company and graduated from law school in 1965. It took five years to get out of college and five years to get out of law school because in 1961, my wife’s father died in Caracas. We flew down there for the wake. She stayed because she’s got our son who was going to be the darling of all our relatives. I had to come back to go to work. Over that weekend, Tom Finney, our best man who brought me to New Orleans knocked on my door and said, “Richard, you’re not going to believe this. You’ve got a nice letter from President Kennedy.” The President in August of ‘61 called up 200,000 National Guard reservists, and I was one of them.

*Q: This was Berlin, wasn’t it?*

BUCKLEY: Berlin Wall going up. I was to report to Fort Polk, Louisiana. That’s where I was for the next 10 months.

*Q: This was when they put up the wall in Berlin; Kennedy’s response was to call up the National Guard and send more forces to Germany. It was a tense time, kind of overlooked now.*

BUCKLEY: The Pentagon never recognized the decision. They never sent any resources to Fort Polk. To such an extent that a few weeks after we reopened and brought ourselves up almost to 20,000 men, 6,000 of them a few weeks after that called the news media and said “Why are we here? We’ve been working in our civvies out in the field, we have no uniforms, no resources, not getting properly recognized, and we think we should be dismissed.” And they were.

The Pentagon still wouldn’t acknowledge our existence. The Pentagon did not get along with JFK as you may know. General LeMay could care less. “You’ve made your decision, now you’ve got to enforce it, Mr. President. We’re not going to help you.” I thought the same thing was going to happen with Iraq and Afghanistan. It did for a little

while but then the military knew they had to rely on the National Guard to keep replenishing the forces.

*Q: What rank had you achieved by this time?*

BUCKLEY: First lieutenant! It was a world of difference between that very stringent regular Army type of existence in my first two years, and this one. This one – fortunately our company commander was a Korean War vet. He knew how the Army operated. The base commander’s office would change the week’s instruction schedule five or six times over the weekend just to play games. He caught on, and said, “We don’t do anything ‘til Sunday night. That’s when we’ll call a meeting and see what the last instruction tells us to do this week.” Fortunately, the captain and I clicked, and he had me do a lot of accounting work including payroll; I became his sort of administrative guy to run these different projects.

*Q: Was your wife staying in Venezuela?*

BUCKLEY: No, she stayed in New Orleans with our son. I would drive home every weekend – only if I had to pull a duty, then I would stay. Saturday morning right after reveille when the battalion got together, 8,000 cars headed for the Texas border. All of those guys wanted to go home even if it was only going to be for 24 hours. They went to their homes in east Texas. They put up special state troopers in Louisiana and Texas just to slow them down a little bit.

*Q: How long did this last?*

BUCKLEY: About 10 months, we went in in October and were released in August.

*Q: Did you feel you did anything while you were there?*

BUCKLEY: Oh, yeah. Fort Polk is on hard, hard clay. We’d go in the field, we’re all using self-propelled vehicles, the artillery pieces. We’d go in the field to do our maneuvers. If it rains, we’re in big trouble. We got stuck so badly because it becomes like concrete. We’d have to go back to base and bring armored personnel carriers and use about three or four of them to connect cables and pull out one of those large artillery vehicles. It took more than a few days to accomplish.

*Q: You were still artillery?*

BUCKLEY: Still artillery, and loved it more because it was much easier. I remember to this day adjusting artillery in the night-time, adjusting the illuminating artillery rounds was just so much fun. It was a different time and it was a good year to finally wrap it up.

*Q: After the 10 months, what happened?*

BUCKLEY: I returned for my second year of law school. By the way, the dean of the law school wrote a wonderful letter before I went to Fort Polk saying, “We’re so proud that one of our students has been selected to augment the National Guard, we’re looking forward to seeing him in a year.” I thought he would request the need for me to continue my legal education!

Then I resumed my two-tiered daily routine of work and going to law school, and graduated in 1965. By that time, I knew I had someone from Little Falls working in the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) – he was working in the organized crime section. So, he and I got in touch and he said, “Apply to the Justice Department.” I applied and got a job with the organized crime section at the department of Justice.

*Q: This was when?*

BUCKLEY: This was the summer of ‘65.

*Q: Then you moved with family?*

BUCKLEY: With family – we now have our fourth child, just born in March. It’s now August so we have got a little one and her three siblings – my son, my oldest daughter, my second son, and now my second daughter who the doctor that delivered my daughter and second son at the same hospital in New Orleans, he came out while my wife was in the last stages of labor and said, “You’ve got another big son.” This was before they had the test and machine that would tell him, so he had to guess. My wife and I had made an agreement because I had named the children Patrick Michael, Kathleen Mary, Thomas Francis, and now my wife and I had agreed, if it’s a boy to name him after her father, Jacques. The doctor told her it was going to be a boy, so she came out and said “Jacques.” I said you got it. Then the nurse came out with my daughter on her hip. She was 10 and a half pounds – that’s why he made the mistake. It was a girl. So, I got to name her Delia Maria. That was number four. We went with that four to Washington and the Justice Department.

My main activity with organized crime was preparing appeals. I was writing appeals. I would write the appeal for a case: “The United States of America vs. 55 Pinball Machines.” Because that’s the way to get at the mafia that was running the operation.

*Q: This is organized crime.*

BUCKLEY: Organized crime. That was derived from Bobby Kennedy basically, who was the main driver in making it viable. It was fun working there. I remember my section had about six Jewish lawyers. Both the director and deputy were Jewish. I remember that on Jewish holidays, I was in charge! There were no other lawyers there. But it was fun working there, I learned a lot.



But here's what happened, another life-changer. God! I'm not even a full year out of law school – it's probably May, 1966. I got a call from the same dean of the law school. "Richard, how are you doing up there?"

"Pretty good."

"Well, we've got an offer we want to make to you." From the dean of the law school: "See, it's this way, Richard. The archbishop from Washington has just relocated as the archbishop of New Orleans. He was a close friend of the Kennedys." (Kennedy was a main sponsor of programs like the Office of Economic Opportunity.) "He came down south and told Catholic officials 'One of the aspects of that program is legal services. Every Catholic college and university in my arch-diocese will become involved. So, I want you to get with it, come back and report to me how you're becoming involved.'"

The dean asked all of the professors if they knew of anyone in class that was involved in any way with Legal Aid. I was the only one in that school that they could remember. I did appeals for a one-man Legal Aid Society they had in New Orleans. So, they're offered me a contract to use half of my time to formulate and put in place a legal services program for New Orleans, and the other half teaching criminal law and criminal procedure at the law school.

*Q: How did the FBI treat this?*

BUCKLEY: They got a lot of that rotating-in, rotating-out. I wasn't there long enough to make a mark. They basically pushed me out and said good luck. And I began a whole new life. Returned to New Orleans in the fall of '66. I was hired with five other new assistant professors. Three days before Christmas, we were each given written notice that come June our services would no longer be welcomed. Six professors, were asked to leave because we made the mistake of trying to make changes in the law school's operations. We would pass resolutions at faculty meetings – we had a couple of old law professors on our side – so we'd pass something in the faculty meeting but the dean would never execute it. So, we created a little disturbance by implementing the resolution to clear the library book shelf aisles of unopened boxes of court decisions. The dean had another way of dealing with these young upstarts. So, that was it. Tough period. I brought the notice home to share with my wife. I think this is when my wife – I'd already started to steer away from the Catholic church by then because I saw how it operated. I think it was the first time my wife had doubts because when I brought home the notice three days before Christmas – and she was three months pregnant with our last child – she said, "Are they kidding?" She knew most of those people that were in charge of that university.

*Q: Which university is this?*

BUCKLEY: Loyola University of New Orleans.

*Q: It was Catholic?*

BUCKLEY: Yeah, run by Jesuits. In fact, the Jesuit who was president of the university who had me to dinner every Friday to get a report in the fall of 1966 on how I was doing – I had to go to six distinct neighborhoods in New Orleans, form advisory committees there, get their input into the formation of this legal services program, before you could submit an application. So, he wanted reports, I met him for dinner have a good chat and give him the reports. By November when alumni fund-raising was going on, the lawyers on the fund-raising committees told the Reverend Jolley that “You’ve got a problem with this young professor who’s out in our neighborhoods, stirring up these people especially blacks. I think you better learn about what he’s really doing.” That was one of the reasons I got my notice as well as doing the reform work with the others. But he discontinued those dinners immediately because he wanted to keep getting those funds for the law school from the alumni. He subsequently replaced the president of Georgetown University.

*Q: So, what happened?*

BUCKLEY: I loved filing appeals. So, I filed a complaint with the American Association of Law Schools. They’re forced to investigate it, and they did. It didn’t lead to any change in the decision, six professors being dismissed, but it did lead to forcing the university to make a library that was needed for a law school of our size. The library was puny, just disgraceful.

So, it was hard times from June of 1967 until January of 1968. The next six months were difficult because I did not have a full-time job. I did some consultancy with a few other legal services programs under the cloak of learning about this in order to do it in New Orleans. I was still meeting with people in the neighborhoods I’ve been working with; they will become very important when I go up against a Tulane professor from a distinguished family of New Orleans to be the new program director. How will I be able to win the board vote, since it will be a 13-person board consisting of seven lawyers and six neighborhood representatives. Big problem. I received one lawyer’s vote and all six neighborhood representatives chose me to become the new director.

That is another life-changer for me. I became the new director in January 1968. By July we had the program fully staffed with lawyers, paralegals, and secretaries. The neighborhoods had the final selection of the lawyer they want, and also secretary and paralegal. Then I had a few lawyers that are specialists at the downtown administrative office. Within a year I found a way to make one it one of the most effective and best programs in the South. I realized after selecting the attorneys from New Orleans and vicinity that they are mainly motivated as lawyers to become politicians. They don’t go to law school to practice law for a career, they go to law school to become politicians. They know best what’s going on in New Orleans and what you have to do to get to the next rung. Fortunately, the national legal services program in Washington had seen the problem also, so they created what they called the Reginald Heber Smith Fellowships. Graduates of the top law schools – Penn State, Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, all these law schools – could become a fellow and get a stipend of a few thousand dollars in addition

to the local pay, which wasn't much in the southern states, and be a little better reimbursed for their services. I was fortunate to get 10 of these bright lawyers with 10 lawyers I had, doubled the size. And I teamed them up, I made teams of bright legal minds with lawyers that knew everything that was going on in New Orleans. They brought some wonderful and effective lawsuits.

*Q: This must have been quite a powerful instrument.*

BUCKLEY: It was. They integrated the juvenile systems at Louisiana institutions, which were completely segregated. They created neighborhood housing organizations to seek state and federal funding and also to force city officials to abide by existing housing regulations. They filed cases involving serious consumer scams as well as illegal evictions. They filed cases against the federal government's public housing projects challenging the methods that housing officials were implementing regulations against our clients.

*Q: Did you see real change in the authority and the use of the municipal government in New Orleans?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, let me give you an example. Near the end of my three years as program director in 1970, Moon Landrieu had become the mayor of New Orleans. Maurice was his actual name, he had it legally changed to Moon Landrieu. I remember one meeting we had with Moon Landrieu in an auditorium in a hotel next-door to our downtown office. Our board chairman asked, "Moon, you've got to have a meeting with us because we've got information that you're infiltrating our office and alerting the police department to harass our operations. We want to have this out in the open." They knew each other, our board chairman and Moon. We went to this hotel and had a knock-down drag-out session. He was peeved that we had sued him and his police department for harassing blacks in the French Quarter. We brought that case in federal court and he was just a little bit uptight about that – as well as the other lawsuits we had.

But you go from Moon Landrieu in 1970, to today in 2018 and it's his son Mitch that's the mayor of New Orleans. His son I would think someday may be a viable Democratic candidate for the presidency. He was on NPR (National Public Radio) just recently to discuss how he handled the Confederate monuments that they took down in New Orleans, what was his procedure. He has everything his father lacked in interaction with the people in the community and he was articulate in including everyone in the statement he was making. That shows what has changed in that space of time, 50 years.

The institutions remain basically the same but the politicians have changed.

*Q: Then we're moving up to the mid-'60s?*

BUCKLEY: I stayed as director of the program from January 1968 to September 1970. I burned out. It was just an incredible time. We were doing everything we could possibly do to help our neighborhoods. Congress outlawed, prohibited legal services programs from practicing criminal law after our first year in existence because we were devoting

too much time and effort to criminal representation. But remember as I told you earlier, in New Orleans they only had a one-man Legal Aid Society in the 1950s right up until the time I returned. That was true throughout the South but particularly in New Orleans – Louisiana never wanted to help poor people get a proper defense. So, if we were going to represent these neighborhoods, we had to be ready that they were going to get arrested, members of our neighborhood advisory groups, of the neighborhood associations that we formed so they could try to get new housing for that neighborhood. So, if we were going to do that properly, we had to go all the way. We had to represent them when they got busted, as well as the civil work. And we did; about 30 percent of our work was in the criminal court.

*Q: How long did you keep doing this?*

BUCKLEY: I did it until – what pushed me out was when the Black Panthers came and asked to see me in my office. They came in and said, “You got a man on your staff, a paralegal, that’s an undercover agent for the FBI. If he’s not out of here by this weekend, we’ll take care of the situation. We just want to give you a heads-up before it happens.” Sure enough, he was. Seemed like the FBI had – I don’t know who they were colluding with in the Justice Department but they were colluding with somebody to pick up people coming back from Vietnam – particularly blacks – in California and bring them in and get them to be undercover operatives in whatever city they were going back to. One guy came to New Orleans, became a paralegal, and was – I wondered why he was always at our parties and strategy discussions. They made it clear, they knew.

About that time, Alaska legal services was looking for a new director. I applied and sure enough, they said “Come on up.” Remember my wife from Venezuela? She wouldn’t go north of Washington. She said, “Move all of us to Houston.” That’s where I moved them, then flew to Alaska and spent a few months learning about the nine offices throughout Alaska, from Ketchikan to Nome.

A lot of things happened that resulted in my return to home in Houston. Whole new chapter.

*Q: How did you find this? A move like this had to be something, wasn’t it?*

BUCKLEY: Yeah. I needed a break. I was burning out. It was non-stop from when I returned back to New Orleans in 1966, non-stop until 1970, four or five years of putting this together, making it work. I had to get out. I didn’t have to go all the way to Alaska, but I did.

*Q: How long were you in Alaska?*

BUCKLEY: Only about three months because three things happened almost simultaneously. One, I’m in Alaska watching the nightly news a few weeks after I’d left, and they show one of those little white tanks that somehow the local police had obtained from the military driving through the housing project, Desire. Remember that streetcar

named Desire? They have a neighborhood named Desire. They're going to this housing project because they have been informed the Black Panthers have their headquarters inside the project. They surrounded this place. The next day I learned from a telephone call that two of those Reggie Smith fellows I selected were in the housing project as their lawyers. That made national news, that these legal services attorneys were advising the Black Panthers, people who should not be eligible for the legal service. They were arrested along with a number Black Panthers inside their office.

Within days, Don Rumsfeld, Director of OEO (Office of Economic Opportunity) and his deputy Dick Cheney called for the resignation of the national legal services director and deputy in Washington because they would not defund the New Orleans program. Rumsfeld said legal services attorneys were practicing criminal law in violation of congressional amendments to OEO's legislation. So, the program funds were in jeopardy. I was smart enough to know when I filled out the annual funding applications that I had to adhere to what Congress had put in the law, "no criminal representation unless the director of the legal services program gave a waiver." I inserted into the funding application that we were practicing criminal law through necessity because no-one else performed this essential service in New Orleans. Because they funded it with that part of my application, there was an implicit waiver so they couldn't defund. The two attorneys had to resign, and they did. But I felt an obligation since these were attorneys that I hired therefore to return to New Orleans to assist the new program director with this argument to his board and to OEO.

Second thing that happened, I had a case I represented a prisoner in Angola Prison, that I felt was unjustly arrested and one of my attorneys tried the case. It was a nine-to-three verdict even though it was a major felony (armed robbery). But Louisiana and Oregon were the only two states in the United States that had a non-unanimous jury verdict allowed in serious felonies. So, the jury issue and illegal search were two points that I had made in a petition to the Supreme Court, and they accepted it. But the same time the tank was rolling through the Desire project, the Supreme Court notified me in Alaska that it had agreed to hear arguments on this case and I was informed that it will be argued in March. So, I had to prepare and submit the requisite brief for argument scheduled for March 1971. That was number two that I had to go back for.

Number three was an ongoing difficulty in having the OEO regional office approve my salary doubling from New Orleans \$15,000 to Alaska's \$30,000.

Plus, the final conclusion was stated in my resignation letter to the board of Alaska Legal Services, I said: "Your deputy director should have been your director, not me. But because you thought he was creating tension with the director that left you, you didn't give him the proper recognition. I think you should this time." They did, he became the director after I departed.

So, all of that put together brought me back to Houston where I lived for the next year and a half.

*Q: This might be a good place to stop. We'll bring you back to Houston in...*

BUCKLEY: In 1971.

*Q: Today is April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2018 with Richard Buckley. All right, Richard?*

BUCKLEY: The interview last week indicated that we were going to start in '71 but subsequently I've learned a couple of items that we have to include to bring us back into '71 properly. Go back to the beginning of World War II, when I was about nine or 10, two things happened to give you an idea how low on the income ladder we were. One, remember I mentioned I sold eggs and delivered newspapers and shoveled snow in winter for money. My other two brothers, all of the money we earned went into a family fund kept by my mother – and you'll see why in a minute she kept it. Most families that were very low income had the same status. She would allot a quarter or whatever to go to the movies.

When I'm nine I began spending a lot of time at the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association); it was my second home. The first time my mother called me at the Y it was early evening, like 7:00, and she said, "Dad hasn't come home. You have to go find him." He got paid in cash, he was working at the city public works department at that time. They got paid cash on Friday and he would head for a bar. Sometimes he'd come home after one or two drinks, and sometimes he wouldn't. This was the 'wouldn't come home night.' Even though my other two brothers were still in town, they're older and they've had their own thing to do, so my mother doesn't call them but calls me. Fortunately, my aunt who is my father's older sister and I got along very well, and her husband's a police officer. I walked to her house which takes about five minutes and point out the situation. She has no problem; within two phone calls she identifies the bar where he is. Off I go. I went in there, and pulled on his jacket and said "Hi, Dad" and all that. A bunch of cash was on the bar in front of him.

He said, "Go sit over there at one of those tables, I'll send over an orange drink and some chips." I went over there. Soon an old-timer, a guy with white hair, sat down and asked me who I was, and I told him that's my dad over there.

"Oh yes, Joe Buckley, huh? Well, here's what you've got to do. If you see a woman come up and start sizing him up and is given a drink by your day, you go over there and pull on him and say 'we've got to go home.'"

So that happened. I pulled on him. I wouldn't leave, I just stayed there. So, I got him out of that bar but we had to get through another bar - "I'll just have a quickie here." But finally, after an hour we did go home.

So, I went through this routine a few times while I was nine or 10 years old, but by then I developed a system to it. He knew I wasn't going to allow anyone to get near his money. It was a scam they'd go ask for a drink and he'd go "Just take it from my cash." My

presence and persistence plus his doctor's warning that he would die young if he continued his heavy drinking persuaded my dad to stop drinking in 1948. He switched from alcohol to two packs of cigarettes per day which would cause his death in 1963, at age 58.

*Q: For somebody looking at this, many times when you say you were at the Y, this is basically a place to play basketball, pull weights – a gym, that's what it is.*

BUCKLEY: Right, and on one floor they had two or three rooms for some transient men. It was heaven. It had a swimming pool and a bowling alley. When I got a little older, I would set up pins for some more money. They had everything, table tennis, pool tables, everything. Great place, a lot of kids hung out there. But, thinking back that's one of the reason's when I transferred to St. Mary's Academy with all those Irish, they just didn't like me because they knew I had frequented the Y. Catholics were not supposed to go to the Y.

*Q: YMCA is a Protestant organization.*

BUCKLEY: Right. This one in Little Falls was right across the street from the Presbyterian church.

But, the big factor, one of the major factors I left the Alaska legal services was because of the Isaac Peart case. Isaac Peart case was the major case – I didn't have too many cases myself because I was the director of the New Orleans legal services program. I only had the cases that came directly to me, by either a client or ones I had before I hired any lawyers. In 1970, my secretary came in and said, "Mrs. Peart wants to see you."

She came in. She had some documents. She introduced herself and said, "My son has been on death row in Angola since 1955."

I said tell me what happened.

She said, "I don't want to go into details of the arrest and all that, but he was arrested in early 1955, was tried a few months later and convicted and sentenced to death."

The charge? Aggravated rape.

She then took out some papers from her purse and said: "This is a copy of the habeas corpus decision I gave the attorney who was going to represent him a few years ago. The petition was given to Judge Hagerty's court, but we don't know what happened. The lawyer is no longer interested in the case, but that's the situation. I was wondering if your law office can help."

This was the beginning of 1970. We had a new investigator who was a former police officer from North Carolina. I gave him a copy of the documents Mrs. Peart had and asked him to go check with the New Orleans police department. He came back with

copies of the original arrest records, copies of the original complaint card. This was to be the crux of the case when I retry it in the summer of 1970. At that time, whenever you brought a person who was arrested, you are taken to the charging station and that cop took a complaint card, a small index card 3" by 5", and date-stamped it with a time clock exactly to the second. And then, he would write on the card the name of the arrestee, where arrested, and few other key facts. Then the officer took him to the booking desk where they have the big books where they wrote everything in chronological order.

Why that becomes important is when the investigator went back and obtained a copy of that booking entry, we looked at it and the complaint card said 1:34 AM on the day after the booking entry that indicated Peart came in at 10:30 PM the night before. If you look closely on the booking entries of the prior and subsequent arrests, you would see that this booking entry has been adjusted. It wasn't where it was supposed to be. It differs from the complaint card by about three hours. Why that's important is because the complaint card was the main item of evidence they used in trials, as the time that he entered the police station and the arrest was now recorded officially.

We got more information and I thought after Peart had been on death row for 15 years for aggravated rape, the details of the crime (which we found out through the investigator getting the records) were like this: He was supposed to have committed this crime inside of Audubon Park which is right across from Tulane University. It's a large area, beautiful trees. He was supposed to have done it at night – 10:30 one said but we know he wasn't arrested till 1:34. It was supposed to have been done to an engaged couple. The woman is 21, the guy is 22 years old, and she has a very religious family; the father's very strict. So, they were supposed to be in what they called lover's lane. Well, not only are blacks not permitted there during the day, if they had ever entered at night, they probably would be shot on sight by a police officer if he finds them in lover's lane. That's the incredulousness of the situation; that a black kid, 17 years old (Isaac Peart) entered that lover's lane at night to commit this alleged aggravated rape.

Now, the aggravated rape is done allegedly while the fiancé is in the front seat. Peart is supposed to have ordered the female into the back seat to commit it. The only weapon the police submit at that trial is a little piece of wood that they said was made to believe was a gun. A little piece of wood.

Now, what our investigator and I speculated happened (because we can't prove it without the testimony of the couple) was that they were really making out this time, and they made out so long that it went over her curfew time, and she said, "What will we do, my father will kill me!", and the guy said "Not to worry, I have an uncle who's a precinct captain, not at this precinct that we're close to but another one. We'll call him and see what he suggests.

He told them, "Go to the precinct, report it, and they'll take care of it, no problem." They went to the precinct and reported it. Now it's probably after midnight. His uncle came over and said, "Get home before you really get in trouble now."



What they did – which was prevalent and has been part of our criminal justice system until today, but was really rampant in the ‘50s, and even when I retried the case in the 1970 – was that one of the police officers most likely said ; “let’s go and pick up the first young black we see at the bus stop on Magazine Street” which is right outside of Audubon Park. It’s a major street for cars and buses. So, they found the first young black, put him in a police wagon, and took him in and booked him. That led to his trial, the jury was back in less than an hour with a guilty verdict, and they recommended the death penalty, where he was for 15 years when we secured his release and brought him from Angola to New Orleans parish prison.

I put this all together with a couple of lawyers on our staff and we went to see the deputy DA (district attorney) and explained the situation to him, thinking that the facts of this case – showed him the complaint card versus the booking, basically showing Peart was innocent. We failed to recognize the long history of police and prosecutor misconduct in that the DAs are so adamant - “You think we are going to admit a mistake? Even if there was a mistake? Mr. Buckley, no way. You’re going to trial on this.”

So, we prepared for trial. We brought in an experienced criminal lawyer from our board to sit with us at the trial. He recommended strongly to us to get a plea bargain with them. I put it to our client, Peart and he said “I don’t want to plea to this. I want a trial based upon the information that you possess.”

We went to trial. The couple went through the same scripted motions. She even cried again on the stand, 15 years later, putting on the best act I’ve seen. The jury was out the same amount of time. One hour – guilty. Death penalty.

That is what the Black Lives Matter is all about today. That has been going on since the Civil War ended.

Finally, I knew this was going to happen, so I took two days in questioning the jury so the judge would make enough judicial errors that I’d have grounds for appeal. When I left for Alaska, the appeal was already in process. The judge tried to appoint an old Uncle Tom black lawyer to represent Peart while I was in Alaska and he pled him and the judge says, “Okay, he goes back to serve life in prison instead of the death penalty.”

My attorneys called me when I was getting ready to return to Houston. We resumed the case when I returned. We got that plea set aside, where that attorney came in improperly to take the case away from our office. Fortunately, Judge Hagerty while I was in Alaska had been tried himself by the Supreme Court of Louisiana for using his office and having his brother, the clerk of the criminal court, send all the prostitution cases to his court. He’d make a deal with the prostitutes – “You plead to this and I’ll give you a light sentence, but you have to be available when I have some parties for my friends at the hotel.” Then some good reporter broke that story and the Supreme Court got in and reprimanded him and removed him from the bench.

That eased our efforts to have the case reopened. What really helped was to have a local newspaper reporter from Louisiana to get involved in the case and really follow it from the time we left it in 1970 till now, mid-1971. Which he did. It was easy then to go back to the DA's office. This time – they're still not going to say you're right we'll drop the charge because that opens them up to a potential lawsuit. But they said, "You plead, and he's out."

I'm such a purist, I stepped back and Ronald Rakosky, the other attorney on the case came in to plead him. Peart walked out in August of 1971 and went straight to California where he's been ever since.

That was probably one of the major cases for me to have experienced how justice doesn't prevail in the South, particularly in places like New Orleans and all the major cities along the Deep South. Jackson, Mobile, Houston, Dallas, they're all the same. They're literally trying to stay and keep the blacks where they belong from the time of the Civil War. That's a major situation. But it's changing, it's changing. The mayor of New Orleans now is much different than his father was in the '70s. The force is hiring police officers that have a little more integrity than those of 50 years ago.

Now we are in 1971. I have returned to Houston. The Supreme Court has accepted my petition on the armed robbery case was one of my first cases. I had appealed it to the Louisiana Supreme Court and they upheld lower court's verdict in a split decision. Now the Supreme Court of the United States had accepted it. My wife's cousin has a three-person law firm. He hired me to do an occasional criminal case and some other special projects. But he allowed me to have free time whenever I can get involved in something else that will produce income or necessities like the Supreme Court case.

The supreme case argument was set for March of 1971. I devoted adequate time to do it but when you appear before the Supreme Court of the United States you should be more than adequately prepared. I mistook the real issue they wanted, because I had two issues. I had a search and seizure issue – they came into my client's home at 6:00 AM with shotguns, five officers, unannounced and no warrant, and said he was being arrested for armed robbery. The other issue was he was convicted by a jury in New Orleans, of the 12 jurors nine voted 'guilty' and three voted 'not guilty'. Louisiana and Oregon were the only two states that allowed a non-unanimous jury verdict. So, we had those two issues. The Supreme Court accepted the case on those two issues, but what they didn't tell me (I should have known) that they do not decide the issue involving a bill of rights amendment until it's processed thoroughly in the federal courts, and then they apply that decision to a state court. They had not had a federal case like this one with all those similar facts, and they had never ruled on it before. They allowed me to come before them and make my comments, but they had no interest. They were after the non-unanimous jury verdict, that was the one issue they really wanted to hear.

This court was made up of legal justice giants. They included Douglas, Brennan, Marshall, Black, Harlan. This court from 1954 until 1974 decided the most far-reaching

civil rights decisions in the history of the court. I became aware of that as I was arguing and subsequently.

I argued the case. Then I went back to Houston and got involved in my other matters, and started to take more time going to New Orleans for the Peart case, which was finalized in the summer of 1971. Meanwhile, there was no decision from the Supreme Court on my *Johnson vs. Louisiana* case. I finally realized why. There was a split, and they weren't able to come to a conclusion. After the oral presentation, the Chief Justice assigns the case to a justice (who the Chief feels will be on the prevailing side) to prepare a draft decision. The draft is circulated to the other justices to determine how many justices are going against him and circulates it and tries to get them to say whether they oppose or would change if a different version was included. Well, they were having trouble because it was really close, four to four and one undecided. One who was most likely for it, Justice Hugo Black, died in September 1971. There goes a vote in our favor. And Justice Harlan retired two days before Justice Black died. Grandson of Justice Harlan, the great dissenter of the late 1800s. So, two members of the Supreme Court departed, one probably was for our argument and one probably against us. What's going to happen?

Soon, the clerk of court advised me to be ready to re-argue the case. They were not able to render a verdict.

The case is reset for January of 1972. I learned they aren't going to spend much time on the fourth amendment issue so I spend more time preparing for the jury matter. However, the two persons Nixon appointed to replace the two who departed – Black, the great bill of rights advocate, and Harlan – were Powell from Virginia, and Rehnquist, who subsequently became chief justice. Rehnquist was confirmed despite his controversial work in the Justice Department.

I knew I was in trouble.

The verdict was rendered on May 22, 1972. We lost five to four. Both Powell and Rehnquist joined the other three conservative members to vote against it. If Black had lived, I knew we most likely had five votes. That's the way things happen in our Supreme Court.

So, at the conclusion of that case, I resumed my trips to evaluate legal services programs. I did a couple of Indian reservations because we had programs on reservations and others throughout the country. Since I was still in contact with them, I got a phone call from two of my colleagues, the director of the San Francisco and Boston legal services programs, who I'd known from 1960s. They said, "You need to apply for the deputy director of the legal services training program; they need someone with your experience to be able to design and carry out the training program. The director is good but he's really there to maintain the relationship to his board and do all the outside work, not much to do with the training of the lawyers."

So, I applied. In early January '72 the day after the Supreme Court case I had an interview with Dick Carter, the director. It was only an eight-person office. Very small because the Catholic University law school got the grant from OEO legal services program national office, only to get the grant and transfer it to this new group. They were the administrators, Catholic University got it just to get a little prestige. I went to see the director again, and he told me "I'm 99 percent sure, I just have to check out a couple of more things." He said, "We have training for new lawyers at the Asilomar conference center in California; why don't you plan to attend?"

I said, "I'll be there."

I went and that's when I met Prudence Bushnell. She was the conference coordinator. She arranged all the hotels, got reservations, took care of any problem they might have logistically. When I arrived, I saw her briefly sitting at the registration desk. That's it, I didn't talk to her, I just gave her my information. But at the end of the session – I hadn't seen her since because I was intimately involved in watching the training program – I'm waiting to talk to the director before I return to Houston, to see if he's made up his mind, when Pru comes around the corner. Mind you, I'm married and have five kids in Houston. And when I observed Pru's interaction with the director I sensed something very different as she strongly stated: "Dick, you're going to have to renegotiate my contract because I'm not going to take the stuff I just took from these attorneys. They want me to reschedule their trips back home, but I'm not a lackey for these lawyers, they should know how to do those basic things. I want to know what my job really is in the future."

Wow, I had not seen a woman talk like that for so long! I said nothing to her, I wasn't introduced, she came in fast and went out the same way. I saw the director and he said "You're in. Report the first week in February."

I did. Within that first week Pru and I chatted a lot. She knew from the beginning my feelings toward her but she ran away from me for seven years. I pursued her. We did the legal services program together from 1972 to 1976 and until 1979 she tried to get away. But I was so powerfully attached to her, I couldn't let it happen.

So, what was the legal services training program? When I arrived there, half of the budget went to APT Associates in Boston. This was a major consulting firm at that time they were doing a lot of work with poverty programs. What they were doing for the legal training program was to make the training realistic; they hired actors and actresses to be clients and witnesses at a trial and stuff like that.

*Q: Who were the students?*

BUCKLEY: Students were right out of law school; they hadn't been trained in the essential skills that lawyers need, not only at trial but in talking to a client. And informing the client about what the case is all about because the client is supposed to give consent to what the lawyers are going to do. But new lawyers hardly know anything, so they

wanted me – my buddies in San Francisco and Boston knew I'd already gone through this in New Orleans and I would now be able to help on a national level with what I did in New Orleans. So right away I saw that APT Associates was obtaining about \$200,000 of our budget just to furnish these witnesses, help design the training a little bit. After about a year, I had our small group of seven meet to discuss APT's role and consider alternatives. During the meeting I said, "I think we can get better salaries and save a lot of money and pay our clients to come from the client community to be clients. We could get someone for the other witnesses when we need them the same way. Divert the money we're paying for actors, we don't need actors, we need actual people. After they are oriented to their roles as clients and subsequently assume client role in being interviewed and advised by the new lawyer in the training situation. Their feedback immediately following the simulated interviews was more effective than even experienced attorneys could provide.

The staff bought it, we presented it to the director and he said "Sounds good." My main job as deputy was to design and implement the training. That meant I would identify a cadre of experienced attorneys in our programs, and they would come in and help, about eight of them, and we'd spend about a day designing the training that they would implement the training.

*Q: These attorneys – just any, or specific?*

BUCKLEY: They had expertise in different areas. If we're training in federal law, federal issues, they would already have a lot of experience in federal courts. If we were teaching things on family, like family divorces we would bring in those that are practicing primary family law.

*Q: Were these, your cadre of teachers, plugged into Catholic University law school?*

BUCKLEY: No, no. These were from different ongoing programs throughout the U.S.A. They had nothing to do with Catholic; Catholic University was totally out of it except getting the funds and transferring them to our training program.

*Q: What I mean is, these are lawyers already practicing law. In other words, they'd passed the bar exam.*

BUCKLEY: Exactly, these were all practicing attorneys in legal services programs.

*Q: Why would they come to you? Would they be told to or want to?*

BUCKLEY: They wanted to. They knew the problems of new lawyers in their programs, so they knew their new lawyers would be attending this training, so being trainers would benefit not only themselves but the lawyers in their programs. That's the main reason they accepted our invitations to join us.

It worked very well. I would go down a day or two before the training would begin, and orient the clients.

*Q: Did you find a difference in the type of lawyer in one section of the country from another? Civil rights was going on and all that, what was the geographic and attitudinal spread?*

BUCKLEY: Well, it would depend a lot on their director and deputy director of their program. They are the ones doing the selecting and hiring. I would know that because I belonged when I was in New Orleans to the project directors' association, and we would hold meetings. I knew the directors who had a lot on the ball and could assure me they had a pretty good staff of lawyers. I didn't find too much – even in the South, in Atlanta, not only in the Atlanta program itself but they had a state-wide program, Georgia Legal Services, to cover a lot of the rural areas of Georgia. Even those were very sharp attorneys – remember those special Reginald Heber Smith lawyers that would come out of the best law schools? They would tap into those attorneys also – not as many as I had in New Orleans, but they had four or five and they could assign them to wherever they were needed the most.

For example, at Indian reservations and places like that where the lawyers were still coping with Indian law, because Indian law is all based on the relationship with the United States government, the lawyers would need to be specialists in Indian law.

So, the program evolved and Pru evolved with the program. This is how I knew that Pru was going to be a dynamic force in the future.

*Q: How old was she about this time?*

BUCKLEY: When we met, I'm 38 and she's 26. Twenty-six but mind you this is 1972; she'd only been back in the U.S. since '65. She'd only been out of the University of Maryland since '68. When she graduated from the University of Maryland her outlook was like her mother told her. "You're probably going to be a secretary, nurse, or teacher, so focus on the secretary." She became the secretary for the Moroccan embassy, to handle their correspondence and translate it from French into English. She did that for a year, and then went back to the University of Maryland to become the secretary for the Spanish/French department, and stayed there until December 1971 when she read in the wanted ads – for women, remember they had separate sections for men and women – a little one-paragraph item, the National Legal Services training program was advertising for a person to be conference coordinator. She thought, "This sounds different and challenging, and it's not secretarial." Not far above it, but she took it. She came in as conference coordinator but after I got there, because I was her immediate supervisor, her job would change within a year. The director didn't deal with anyone but me.

After meeting her and getting to know her I saw that she had talents that hadn't even been tapped yet. Within a year, she was helping to design some of the training for the lawyers. Then the next year, in '74, she was beginning to participate in the training. Remember,

she was leaning always towards management; when you interviewed her, she had those management skills from the beginning because it was part of her background.

*Q: In my interview with her, I was really struck with a Foreign Service officer who was a real manager. Not many.*

BUCKLEY: Right. I saw that right away and I said, "You can design this." Right after we started training attorneys and gave them all these skills, we'd get feedback from them saying "I go back and our director and deputy said, 'You don't have time to give that much devotion to these top cases. You've got to handle a big case-load.'" That was one of the problems, there were so many clients and so many cases that they were getting overloaded. So, we had a meeting of managing attorneys and said, "We have to give you training, you managing attorneys, that would be in charge of an office. All you know is how to be a lawyer, you don't know how to deal with the people you are supervising." That's when Pru stepped in, and that was her introduction to how to train people with a different skill and mindset, and she was fantastic. Right away. What she did that first year, she would sit in after she finished her work as conference coordinator, and watch and listen to the lawyers doing the training of new lawyers. She got a feel of what was needed, and she was ready. When I asked her, "Do you think you can do it?", she replied "Definitely."

So, we did that until 1976. That's when OEO was beginning to suffer in Congress' esteem and the funds were not coming the way they did. So, they created a Legal Services Corporation separate from the Office of Economic Opportunity, with a separate board and strict representation parameters. Our little operation at Catholic University was shut down. Because I was such a rebel, Dick Carter our director was assimilated into the new legal services corporation, but I was not asked to join. But Pru was. So Pru had to make a big decision in the summer of 1976, after the corporation was ready to begin operations and we were shutting down at Catholic University. She chose to jump in a little old Gremlin with me and take a few months off and go 'round the United States of America, mainly three months in the North until we got to California, camping out, sometimes with friends. She'd never seen the United States before, okay? The only time she did was when we did the regional conferences. She wanted to see what the United States was all about.

*Q: What was the situation – I don't want to get too personal with this – with your wife?*

BUCKLEY: We were legally separated. I told her right away I was dating this woman at the training program. She asked her cousin who was a lawyer in Houston and had separation papers to me very quickly. The main thing was child support, she wanted child support for the five children. That took about half of my paycheck. The separation came in 1973, as soon as Pru and I started to live with each other. She didn't want a divorce; she just wanted to maintain the separation and get child support.

So, Pru and I packed a lot of items in that small car and went all around the United States, visit everything, took three months before we returned to Washington. At that time – now

that little book, What Color Is Your Parachute was published and has since been revised every year.

*Q: This is for retiring people.*

BUCKLEY: Oh, before that it was for everyone but now it's focused on retirement because that's where the author is in his life. While we were in California, I knew the project director in Oakland. His wife taught college, and she had purchased this book, What Color Is Your Parachute, for the first time and she said, "You've got to get that. Get involved with him, they have training sessions in the Washington area."

After we returned, Pru and I both enrolled separately – she did it one week at a time, I did it in one week. She did a couple of hours every week. We both went through it and essentially what it's supposed to do is lead you in a new direction in your life, and give you an opportunity to do something you always wanted to do, to your heart's content.

Now we're in 1977 when we're exploring what to do with the rest of your life exercises. We're also right next to the University of Maryland, so we're spending a lot of time using their libraries so we can come up with a proposal, because we had to get a job. Come up with a proposal to the federal government of how to train federal personnel in problem-solving, particularly issues involving personnel. Pru went first to Minneapolis to implement what she is going to do for the rest of her life, and was going to try to get a job at 3M or at least learn about them. After four to six weeks of temperatures below 30, she said, "I'm coming back to Washington." She came back in 1977. We both said we have to do this together. We went to Albany, New York – we both knew we could do something in Albany because it's close to her parents.

She got a job – CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act), remember that old CETA operation, they hired some experienced people to help administer the local CETA program. The CETA program was put into place to help with the unemployment situation that Carter was going through. She got one, that gave her a good chance to earn some money and also be employed for about a year. She got that and also got a loan from her parents to get her master's at night-time at Sage College outside of Albany.

Meanwhile, my savings were dwindling to nothing. So even though I did some consulting to legal services programs, it wasn't enough to pay child support. So, at the end of '77, I began to look. And even though I had said I wasn't going back into legal services again, that was the only place I could find a job quickly. I was interviewed by Dallas legal services and the Cajun country program in Louisiana. Dallas' offer arrived first so in March 1978 I started as the director of the Dallas legal services.

*Q: You were located where?*

BUCKLEY: In Dallas. We were still in Albany; Pru stayed in Albany and I went to Dallas.



*Q: Had you gotten married?*

BUCKLEY: No. No, it's going to be a year and a half before she joins me. She joins me for two reasons, she says. My hair – I have a good head of hair. And my health insurance. She did not have any with her job, and I did. That's what she said, but she really meant that she dated a number of guys but this old-timer who's 12 years older, "I'll take my chances." She joined me in '79, I'd been director of the Dallas legal services for a year and a few months before she came to Dallas.

Now, this is totally different from both New Orleans and Alaska when I was director for this reason. I'd always been an integral part of interacting with the staff attorneys as director; that's the way I'd worked both in New Orleans and Alaska. I got off the plane in Dallas to begin my first day at work the next day. I'm met by the board chairman Joe Norton and Harriet Miers – remember Harriet Miers that George W. Bush tried to put on the Supreme Court, but she got nixed? She was on our board in Dallas. I'm met by Harriet and Joe Norton from one of the big law firms in Dallas at the airport and he handed me the National Labor Relations Board's certification of the lawyers of the legal services program in Dallas, the paralegals, and the secretaries – all are unionized. I'd never confronted that situation in legal services. This was one of the first programs that was unionized. The first day I'm there, I'm no longer able to interact attorney-to-attorney; I'm now their boss and they call me management and I can't have anything to do with them except a management-to-employee relationship. It's totally different.

The biggest problem as I went to lunch with the director, he said "We'll give you six months, but your major problem is to get the funds released from the regional office." They won't give funds because the program hasn't been producing the right information or reports to the regional office. There are reports of in-fighting, they had to fire the director of the program – that's why they hired me so quickly. From day one, I had a number of problems.

First off, the regional representative came and spelled out what we had to do. It was basically to have the clients' representatives and staff together in a two-day retreat to develop our program's mission, priorities, and a detailed implementation-plan. He said that's what I should do in my first year. And that's what we did. The board was satisfied – the only people not satisfied were the attorneys! (Laughter) They were told to shape up or ship out.

Pru – we would meet every six weeks, either in Albany or in Washington or Dallas. We'd meet every six weeks and spend a day or two together. At one of our meetings, she said "You're not going to last another year." She knew what was going on and was sharp enough to know that, "Those attorneys are from Dallas, and you're not. They are going to have in-roads to your board; you're not. They're going to know people in the regional office; you're not." She said good luck.

That was true. After I got settled, we had that retreat and I got the action plan and we started to implement it. The one thing that wasn't going to change was my connection with the client community, since that was the way I got the job in New Orleans. I had almost a natural affinity with the clients. So, I planned to do the same thing here. Since they participated in that retreat and came up with that program, I could work with them. I started to, and that's when I learned of the grievances they had against our attorneys, that some of them didn't inform them of what's going on in our cases, some aren't competent. So I said as the manager to the staff lawyers "I'm going to take a few days and we're going to start calling each of you in and you're going to go through your cases with me, so I have an understanding of what you're doing and how you're doing it."

Well, there was a lot of reluctance on the part of the staff. They did everything to avoid doing that. However, it had to be done and I started to do it and that's when I began to feel that Pru was probably right, I may not last another year. I set a goal with the board – this is 1979 – to create a client bill of rights. That had never been done. It wasn't even done by the American Bar Association. The board bought it because they knew of the problems the clients were having; some of them on the board were clients. So, they approved a client bill of rights which included provisions such as: "I will provide all the documents relating to this client's case to the client. I will make sure the client is sufficiently informed so that when called upon to make a decision which way to go, they can make it." It's written and provided the way any and all cases should be handled.

Well, the attorneys were not going to abide by that. They revolted, they got their board members and the regional office to fight it, and that began my slide away from succeeding as program director. When I was interviewed a month or two before I took the job, I promised them three years. The same amount of time I was director in New Orleans. Well, after I did the client bill of rights and continued to insist on those meetings with the lawyers and getting their caseloads in line with the client bill of rights, things began to change. The regional office put pressure on me and I had to bend a little to them. It had happened as Pru predicted.

Pru had joined me in 1979. We were married at the Dallas county courthouse on a Friday just before lunchtime. We walked into the courthouse and it said marriage licenses to the right, affirmation of marriage to the left. The Texas legislature passed a law – I handled a couple of cases when I was with that private firm in Houston – to legalize common-law marriages; in other words to legalize common-law marriages you could come into a courthouse at any time and make an affirmation saying "We have lived together as husband and wife since this date. We affirm that." You affirm it, the clerk says okay, and you were married. That was legal, and that's what Pru and I did. That was October 1979.

Then in '80, nearly everything collapsed. The staff attorneys had enough power with the board and regional office, and soon the board appointed a special committee to investigate my operations as director of the program. They submitted a report saying all this has to be shaped up or Mr. Director you will probably be asked to leave.

Fortunately, it was August of 1980. I only had about six more months before I met my three years. So, I told Pru, "Great I'll write a six-month plan implementing the report I got from the board and be ready to depart in March 1981."

Pru in the meantime had heard Secretary of State Muskie discuss the new mid-level-entry program at Department of State on the radio. Sort of an affirmative action hiring for minorities and women. Also, in the fall of '79 was the takeover of the American embassy by the Iranians. She heard David Passage, spokesperson for the State Department at that time, explaining the takeover. She stood up and said, "David, I can do that better than you!" David Passage went to the same school as Pru, the American school in Karachi. She said, "David I could do that job!" She's talking to the TV. She applied. She'd taken Muskie's information, seen David Passage who she went to school with in Karachi, Pakistan. She had all these connections and they all came together and by January she was asked to come for the interview at the State Department. By March '81 she was ready to join the State Department.

*Q: Incidentally, how did Pru's parents take this connection, yours?*

BUCKLEY: Fortunately, they were born and raised in Lowville, New York and Oneonta, New York and I was born and raised in Little Falls, New York – about 40 miles from each other. Her school and his school played sports against my school. So, they knew my community and it was easy to accept someone that they know where he comes from. Plus, I wasn't that much younger than they were, I was only like 15 years younger than they were because I was 12 years older than Pru. So, in other words, I just got along with them very easily.

*Q: Apropos of nothing, but you mentioned the town of Oneonta. That has to be an Indian name -*

BUCKLEY: It is.

*Q: - but I went to an Oneonta elementary school in Pasadena. Oneonta was a tribe, I guess?*

BUCKLEY: It was an old tribe. A clan, basically. Well, back in those days for example there were some New York Indians that went to Oklahoma or California when they got pushed out.

*Q: Also they were in the building trades, weren't they? In steel?*

BUCKLEY: Steelworkers. On the reservation particularly those on the reservation in the Montreal area because it was an easy way to go to New York City, where they started. Yeah, they are very skilled at high altitudes.

*Q: Okay. So, were you making a decision? What were you going to do, were you going to be a spouse, is that it?*

BUCKLEY: Yes. We talked this over. I was burned out of the law. I had 16 intense years in the programs and the training program. I was ready to – like Pru, I never stayed in one place. I'd create it, get it rolling, and leave.

*Q: Once that gets into your blood, it's hard to switch gears.*

BUCKLEY: I had some older attorneys in my program in both New Orleans and Dallas that once they experienced the burn-out feeling but they didn't leave. I wasn't going to go that way. So, I welcomed it and said, "I'm going with you, I'm supporting you 100 percent."

*Q: Okay. She came in. Did you get training for how to be a Foreign Service spouse?*

BUCKLEY: There was some at the Overseas Briefing Center where they had some classes. They also had language training. Since we were going to go to Dakar, Senegal, I got the FAST course in French which was 10 weeks. It was taught by Senegalese French instructors, so we also learned the culture. That was excellent. The only problem was, I never learned French. At that time I'm almost 50 years old and I've learned recently that if you don't get it early in life – in fact, recently we were with Turkish people and how difficult it is and their daughters are learning all languages at the age of five and six because that's the best time, before you get to 13 years old. Once you get beyond a certain age, it's very difficult.

*Q: I took Italian in my mid-50s and in conversation I was hanging on by my fingernails. I was terrible.*

BUCKLEY: To give an idea of how difficult it was for me, we went back when Pru became DCM (deputy chief of mission) in Dakar five years after she left after our first tour, George Moose's wife Judy Kaufman would sit me between two French women at dinner and all I could say was "ah oui, ah oui". That's it, I didn't hear a word of it.

It was 1981 – Pru didn't have to go to language training because she was already fluent. My French teacher was from Senegal. There were Senegalese women judges traveling in the U.S. and were in Washington, Pru said "Let's get together with them." There were three of them and we invited them to our apartment in Tacoma Park for an evening to have a chat a few months before we were going to Dakar and they were having a good discussion after dinner. After about 30 minutes I hadn't participated at all, because I couldn't. But the French teacher had made us learn a paragraph that we would give extemporaneously to the rest of the class. So, I stood up and I said "It's my time" at this dinner. I stood up and said, "Beaucoup de choses a faire a Dakar. A visiter la musee, et les plages." (There is lots to do in Dakar – visit the museums and beaches.) I sat down and the women said "He won't have a problem in French!" (Laughter) Little did they know that was the extent of my extemporaneous French.

So, we departed for Dakar, Senegal. This is now 1982. It's a two-year tour. Pru was starting at the lowest position in GSO (general services office), shipping and customs and in second year would also be the budget officer. I lucked out – well, I didn't luck out totally because I'm always prepared. I went to see both the State Department desk officer for Senegal and the USAID (United States Agency for International Development) desk officer, and that's the one I clicked with. He said the AID director was looking for someone to help train staff on some aspects of their program, and I had training background. So, within a week of arrival, I met with the director and agreed to a contract for a year to train both Americans and FSNs (Foreign Service nationals) in whatever were the main issues they were confronting at that time.

*Q: What were we doing in Senegal at the time, AID-wise?*

BUCKLEY: AID had a fairly good program of trying to offset the Sahara coming down from the north, it was creeping in and you could never keep it out of the house we were living in because it comes right through the window sills because there's such a wind force. They had a number of programs mainly for the production of something more than just peanuts. They were well into trying to have the Senegalese consider other crops.

So, I did that for a year. Then, the thing that really got my full attention – I devoted a lot of time to – was the next year I became probably the first male CLO (community liaison officer) in the State Department. This was 1983. Barbara Shear who was the AID director's wife was the first CLO in Dakar, she'd been CLO for about four years, so I replaced her but retained most of what she started because she was so good at interacting with the community, both the Senegalese and American community. I kept most of that aspect and just incorporated a few things I was good at. I really enjoyed being the CLO.

*Q: Could you explain for the reader what a CLO did or what you were doing?*

BUCKLEY: CLO stands for community liaison office. It essentially absorbed what the spouses did prior to the 1972 directive which cut them loose from being an unofficial part of the State Department. Essentially it was to help the families, primarily those who are not employees, have a better arrival – so we created the sponsor program of American employees and spouses already in-country to take care and help new arrivals get over the initial difficulties of arrival during the first few months. That was very successful and I just kept it going.

You want to encourage people to participate in activities that happen throughout the year at the mission, and a lot was coordinating with the Marine house. In Dakar particularly we had ship visits, where ships would arrive and sailors would get a day or two to relax. So, we would coordinate with the community to assist in having a dinner for the sailors. Also, field trips for the spouses and family members to go to visit certain places that were of interest.

The one area I had a little trouble with the ambassador was the weekly newsletter, the mission newsletter where I would cut out little photos from New Yorker magazine and

insert them into the mission newsletter. Charlie Bray was the ambassador, he was Republican and serving his penance in Dakar because of something he said about Kissinger during the takeover by the renegade junior officers in the '70s. He sent the word back through the admin officer to go easy on the articles I'm using from the New Yorker poking fun at President Reagan. So, I accommodated him. But the paper was good, we really got a lot of involvement from the community on that.

But I have to tell you how Pru and I worked together – and sometimes with a little bit of irritation. She's GSO, I'm the CLO and at that time it was not established who was responsible for the hospitality kit, and the things necessary for the arrival of new families into their apartments, whether permanent or temporary. There was one time that her GSO FSNs cleared an apartment. I went in after them because we have the hospitality kit to set up inside. I saw the condition of the apartment, and I called Pru and said, "We're not signing off on this, we're not going to put our hospitality kit in this apartment until it's clean."

"What are you talking about?" was the first thought from her, the first of a number of disagreements we were going to have in the Foreign Service.

*Q: Of course, the two jobs are inter-related because the CLO, you're trying to help people with housing and the GSO is responsible for it.*

BUCKLEY: Right, right.

*Q: Oh, boy.*

BUCKLEY: (Laughter)

*Q: Talk about pillow talk.*

BUCKLEY: That was fun. We resolved it, though.

*Q: How did you find living in Dakar?*

BUCKLEY: I loved Dakar. We did. I mentioned this to someone recently – remember I lived in New Orleans for 10 years and had great interaction with the neighborhoods, particularly the black Americans. During the five years we lived in Dakar, it was like being back in New Orleans. It was so easy for me to interact with the Senegalese, so easy. All I had to do was to learn their pace of life, and I quickly adapted to the "Ca va?" (How's it going?), I quickly got into their culture. I could go anywhere in the country and I did. When visitors stayed with us, I'd take them to different areas of Senegal.

*Q: Senegal isn't it the most French of the, as far as who was the member of--*

BUCKLEY: Yes, the first president was a member of the French parliament, yes. They are. The French have been there for over 300 years. The Senegalese in Dakar are very

French. But they also think they're the most beautiful (they are), most intelligent (they probably are). They think they are the Italians of West Africa.

*Q: And their soldiers were -*

BUCKLEY: I think their soldiers are very good. They've been supporting the most democratic country of West Africa. They peacefully have turned power over each time through elections. They're just fantastic, it was wonderful we had that as our first post and as our third post.

*Q: Did you find it was a bit awkward being a male spouse? Because your main contact was with the wives, how did that work out?*

BUCKLEY: Well Pru tells this story whenever she has to relate – it's in her book, too. Remember I first got there and the AID director gave me a year's contract? There were a number of well-educated professional women that could have also applied for that position. They may not have had the training experience I had but they could have done 150 percent. They went to see Pru. And Pru had nothing to do with the decision, but they went to her, "You're a woman." But she was GSO. They put the case to her, "Why is he getting this job? He comes in here, male spouse, we don't care if he's a male spouse, why does he get preferential treatment?"

She handled it as well as she could, but the next year I was CLO and I became an advocate for them and they did get employed by AID. What I did was meet with them as CLO and give them information about how AID works and how they could make the right approach to get in, and also how they can monitor contracts coming into AID, and what it means. Because that's what I did, remember how I got the job, because I assessed AID's operations there and through that assessment, I was able to be right there when a job became available, and that's what they did. Being a male spouse at the beginning it helped that I quickly got that AID job because then I could talk to the others, the male employees, about the job rather than tell them "I used to be a lawyer." That wouldn't mean anything to them. I had a topic that was current and logical for them to interact with me. Plus, I played softball and we had the WAIST tournaments, the West Africa Invitational Softball Tournament. They were great events. That was a big CLO event where you enlist people to host a family coming from one of the other six countries in West Africa for the tournament. It was a major community event. I remember the people coming from Mali bringing their coolers with them to load up with shrimp and other seafood to take back.

*Q: This would be a good place to stop. You left Senegal when?*

BUCKLEY: In 1984 to go to Bombay.

*Q: Okay, so we'll pick up in Bombay.*

*Q: Today is the 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 2018 with Richard Buckley. I'll let you pick it up where you left off*

BUCKLEY: We were leaving Dakar for home leave then go to Bombay. But I forgot a couple of key family incidents that occurred at the end of '84 in Dakar. One involved my first son Patrick Michael – he hardly ever called me; out of sight, out of mind – he called and said, “Dad, I’m really in terrible shape.”

“All right, what happened?”

He’s in Houston, I’m in Dakar. He was a lifeguard at a big hotel in Houston, the Shamrock Hotel. He had five or six lifeguards working with him, he was the chief lifeguard. He fractured his leg at the pool, so he needed to recover somewhere. One of the junior lifeguards who was friendly with him said, “Why don’t you come stay at my place?”

Well, he fell in love with his friend’s mother. She’s 20 years older than he is. It’s his first time in love. He can’t let go. After three months, she finally told him, “You’re all well, so you’ve got to go.”

He falls apart. He called me and said, “I don’t know what to do, it’s the end of my world.”

I said, “Listen, you’ve got money. Get on an airplane, fly here to Dakar. Getting away from it will help and secondly we can talk it through.” So, he did.

He loved Dakar. It was his kind of world because he grew up in New Orleans. He knew how to interact with blacks, that was easy for him. He loved it. A few weeks later, that love affair was history; he was in a different mindset.

*Q: Yeah, lazy.*

BUCKLEY: So, check that box. We had two more months left in the tour and my former wife called me. She never telephoned me. From Houston. She said, “Richard I’ve got a big favor to ask you. I’ve just visited a lawyer, I’ve already done it, that’s how desperate I am to transfer custody from me to you of our youngest child.” Eileen, my fifth child, third daughter, who was 17 at the time and my former wife said, “I can’t take her any more. She’s been abusing me emotionally and sometimes it borders on physical abuse. I went to our lawyer” (a cousin of hers) “and he’s drawn up and it’s all ready to be signed, for you to take custody.”

I said, “Okay, I will be in the US soon on home leave, let’s take care of it when I visit Houston.”

I talked it over with Pru. She decided, “Okay but your daughter’s very manipulative. She’ll try to do the same thing with me. I’ll be ready for her.”



We set aside about a week of home leave to go to Houston and settle this and have Eileen get accustomed to it for a few days before she departs for Bombay. Meanwhile, this is '84 and I separated '73 and got a divorce in '79 so Eileen has known Pru for a few years. They had few conversations except when my second daughter graduated from college, we went to the graduation and of course my daughters accepted the divorce without too much of a problem, especially my second daughter Maria. We formed a bond; she was number four in a family of five and I'm number four of five. Number fours are sort of forgotten, pushed aside. They have too many older siblings. So, I bonded with Maria when she was about six or seven and said, "Dad, I don't belong to this family, I don't look like them."

I said, "You look like a Buckley. Let me take you to Little Falls some time, you'll see that you're very Irish."

Maria visited us in Dakar. She visited us every place we were posted overseas.

Pru and I attended Maria's graduation from Trinity College in Texas. Maria made this introduction to her friends, "This is my mother, and this is my step-mother." That's how easily she assimilated Pru into her life. But Eileen's a different matter. She's very different from my other two daughters.

So, we went to Houston on home leave '84, and set time for Mimi my first wife to meet with us, Pru and me. Before we got started on the discussion, Mimi stood up and said, "Pru, it's been a number of years and I finally realized last night that I've never forgiven you for anything you caused for my family."

Pru stood up and said, "Last night I couldn't sleep because I've never expressed to you any regret." So, they came together and hugged. Then we went over everything concerning Eileen and everything was accepted.

Until the next day, Mimi called and said, "We're going to have to call it off."

"What? I signed the papers! What's going on?"

Eileen came to her and said it would ruin her life if she had to go to Bombay. It would have saved her life, at that time.

No Eileen. Pru felt relieved to go to Bombay without her.

So, we went to Bombay without Eileen. Ambassador Harry Barnes noticed us on the plane, he knew Pru from an interview she conducted with him some time earlier. He sat down and had a discussion with us and asked me what I planned to do. I told him my background and he said, "That connects with what we're about to do in the embassy in Delhi. I made a contract with an organization from London for a training event, one week

for every employee in the embassy. All FSNs and officers will go through it, training on how to work together as teams. Would you be interested in joining them?"

I said definitely. I made contact with the leader of the Coverdale organization (who contracted with Embassy Delhi) and I went to Delhi every other week, when we began with another contingent. We did this for a few weeks.

*Q: How did these go?*

BUCKLEY: This training was very well put together, the best training I've ever participated in. The trainer's role was primarily to be a facilitator. The best advice given to the facilitators was, "Do not intervene unless the group cannot handle it. If they reach a point where they're about to shout and become physical, you intervene and suggest a break. Our motto is 'Trust the ability of any group to resolve their own problems.'"

So, with that model, they had some very good team-building principles they wanted to get across. We began with simple exercises to enable the participants to have discussions without getting embroiled in the exercise. For example, the first exercise was to go to the parking lot and count the cars. We did not tell them how to count, just count them. They had to decide how for themselves. So, when they returned, the discussion was about what happened. How'd they decide what to do, who said this and that. They'd used the flipchart to write key facts down. One would be, 'How did you select the leader?' What was the process you went through? Each session that followed would build on the steps they had established at the beginning: how do you want to work as a team? They produced the criteria for how they would operate as a team.

Then we would have the participants test the results of each exercise against their own criteria, whether it failed or not, and what happened. They also would set the goal they wanted to accomplish at the end. They're always trying to get towards that final result.

The last exercise gave the group the opportunity to apply the key lessons they listed from the prior exercises. The group's final task was to give an estimate of how much time that group (usually five or six people) needed to build a bridge with legos. Build a span bridge. It's difficult. But they had to practice it and time it. Then they competed against the other groups. That is the test of the prior goals and working relationship they had established. Under pressure now, would they apply what they had learned during the week?

*Q: Americans are somewhat used to this sort of thing, but how about the Indians?*

BUCKLEY: Ah. The Indians, that's where the stumbling block happened. We knew that they did not like to work as teams. You talk about individuals. Not only as individuals, but because of the caste system, different groups. You would never select this guy, a lower-caste guy, to be the leader of anything. So, we had to do a little training ourselves about the culture(s) of India, we had to acquire basic knowledge of the diverse cultures of India in order to react properly when a cultural incident occurred.

Then I asked the CLO to be involved, she's an employee of the embassy, and we weren't ready for how the Indian men were going to treat her in a group setting. She broke down in tears because they were so vicious. I had to call a break in the training session, talk to her personally and then I returned to have a session just with the male Indian employees to discuss with them what happened.

So, we definitely ran into problems. I think we were four weeks into the training session when Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated. I flew to Delhi from Bombay the day after her assassination and the airport was filled with military personnel. My colleagues, the British in the hotel really had to take evasive action because they had to get from the embassy to the hotel while this rioting was happening. But it all worked out. That was good training, we came to a conclusion, the ambassador was fairly pleased with it.

*Q: Okay, let's get your take on Bombay. What was Pru's job?*

BUCKLEY: Bombay. She was the first woman administrative officer in Bombay. For that very reason because the section heads in the administration section were all men (of course) except the woman in the budget office. She would have a staff meeting with section heads and they'd all say, "Yes, ma'am, yes ma'am" and 15 minutes after the meeting the phone would ring. "Ma'am, you should know that Kopar is not telling the full truth, ma'am. You should know he's causing problems here in the consulate." That was a hurdle she had to overcome.

But going back to Mrs. Gandhi, it's in her oral history, this part, where Harry Cahill was the CG (consul-general). Harry Cahill didn't like conflict. So, any time there was a demonstration outside the consulate, he'd say, "Pru, they won't throw rocks at you; you're a woman. They're assembling now over Mrs. Gandhi death and some question about whether we should be flying our flag at half-mast or not. Would you take care of it?"

She called the USIA (United States Information Agency) director and asked, "What is the procedure?"

He said, "Check with the ministry and see what they have recommended." So, she did, and put it to half-mast.

*Q: I would assume you would sort of automatically do it.*

BUCKLEY: Some wanted it, some didn't so you were trying to get the reading from them, too. But Cahill also decided she should be the one to go the next day to sign the condolence book. She went. Fortunately, a woman was passing out roses and she gave Pru one, and said "With this rose because you're a woman you should be able to get to the front of the line." The whole objective was to beat the Russians to the condolence book. Well, she went to the front of the line and there was this burly Russian representative, ready to sign. Pru mentions that she jostled with him and was thinking in

her head, “He won’t push me aside.” At the last moment he stepped back and she signed on behalf of the United States of America.

Bombay was a major visa factory for the U.S. Especially at that time, computers were just beginning to be used in the U.S. and we didn’t have too many computer experts. But people in the Bombay area are mathematically gifted. We had a number of officers in the consulate section and a couple of the women decided they were in love and they resigned to get married. Needing replacements, Nancy Abell was the consular officer in charge and she said, “Richard you have a law degree and practice, correct? I will give you instructions for consular officers and give you an oral test, and put you on the visa line.”

I worked there for six months. It was fun and a good learning experience. I had the biggest line. There were about six non-immigrant visa lines, and my line was always the longest. I asked and one of the guards said, “They have been told outside, ‘Go to Mr. Buckley’s window, you get better chance.’” (Laughter) Nancy said, “You’ve got to be a little stronger.”

That was a very good experience for me.

*Q: What was life like in Bombay?*

BUCKLEY: At that time, they had about 10,000,000 people, now they are going on 20,000,000. And Bombay consists of about seven islands, all surrounded by water, you need to go over bridges to get anywhere out of Bombay. It’s very different from Delhi. Delhi is government, it’s like DC (District of Columbia), a government-oriented city and it has little water surrounding the city. But Bombay is the most western part of India, and they love to interact with the U.S.A. because Bombay is the commercial center of India.

*Q: For somebody reading this, Bombay we’re talking about – Mumbai. Of course, you can’t help but think of Bollywood, the movie industry there.*

BUCKLEY: Oh yes. Incredible. Everyone went to movies. Even the poorest of the poor would save enough to go to the movies, that was their only entertainment. They really enjoyed it.

*Q: I know official Indians – particularly in that period, I don’t know later; I’ve never served in India – get to be very officious. They lecture you and of course, we’re Americans and we lecture them. I’m amused, each one having the light and trying to convert the other which never happens of course. How did you find them?*

BUCKLEY: I became a member of the Bombay American Society. Mainly because – remember I was an accountant for five years and put myself through law school – they related to my business experience and my law practice. I did some training for the Bombay American Society in the accounting and law relationship.

*Q: How was American business working within the community? Was it difficult for Americans to work with the Indians?*

BUCKLEY: No. They were pretty good. There was a number of Rotary Clubs there, and a number of American businesses. Americans had a big interest in Bombay.

*Q: The computer/electronic revolution hadn't hit there yet?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, they were already involved especially in the Bombay area.

*Q: Bangladesh.*

BUCKLEY: No, Bombay is. They really have a genius for mathematics. I'll give you an example. Even though the poorest are illiterate, they know how to read numbers and colors. So, they had a system whereby 3,000,000 workers would come from outside of Bombay on the trains every day to go to work, and then go home at night on the same trains. Their wife would make their lunch and put them in those three tins on top of each other – rice, meat and veggies – and they would be picked up by these illiterate people. They would be assembled and put on the trains to go to different places depending on where these people worked, and they'd get distributed before lunch, picked up after lunch and the whole thing reversed itself. The coding system resembled our current computing system.

*Q: I remember this was incredible.*

BUCKLEY: Incredible! I saw it in action.

Back to those computer people. I'm interviewed them on the visa line. The consul would say, "You must ask them about their tax returns." They were going to the U.S. and making good money. They were consultants to American business organizations, who entered the US on the H-1 visa.

*Q: You can tell watching TV today when they have financial or computer matters, often the person speaking will have an Indian name.*

BUCKLEY: Right. They were here in the mid-'80s already helping the U.S. industry.

*Q: What were you looking for, the people who came to see you? Were you refusing many?*

BUCKLEY: The easiest way to refuse them is to ask them, "Where do you intend to go in the United States?"

"Disney World!"

To be approved for a tourist visa, they had to show some written information that indicated they would return home following the tourist visit to America. Those of course who were computer specialists they usually got an automatic visa. Patel Motels were on the U.S. east coast and their relatives would come, live in and assume the duties in the motel. The motel was their entrance into the U.S. You could easily separate those who would likely overstay their tourist visit. I remember I was sort of mean to this one Catholic priest who came to my visa station. I think it was right after I had the discussion with my boss about being a little tougher, so I took it out on the priest. I said, "It says here you want to go to this particular Catholic church school in New England to learn English. You already speak English!"

He said, "Oh, no, I want to learn the proper American English. This British English doesn't help me everywhere."

I said, "C'mon now. Why do you really need it? Who's calling you? Show me their documents." So, I refused him and I felt badly, I was sort of hard.

So that went on. We were living in an apartment building with the FSOs, and specialists. It was a difficult place for Pru to be because they'd knock on her door in the middle of the night and say, "There's something wrong with our toilet, you've got to do something!"

"Now? You've got to be kidding. See me in the morning."

In our second year we moved to the other senior officers' apartment building.

*Q: Who was the consul-general?*

BUCKLEY: Harry Cahill. I think it was his last post.

*Q: Did he have play reading? I served with Harry in Belgrade. He and his wife used to have play readings. We'd sit down and each take a part in a play we'd never seen before and read it through. It was great.*

BUCKLEY: I don't think so. He was playing around with someone else, not his wife, at this post, and getting into trouble.

*Q: Poor Harry.*

BUCKLEY: Poor Harry.

*Q: He had about seven kids.*

BUCKLEY: Now we are in my second year there. Up in the clubhouse of the apartment building I met this gentleman, an American businessman. He's chairman of the American School that had kindergarten to eighth grade. British system. We were having a drink and

he said, “Okay, so you’re not doing anything right now. How would you like to be principal of the American school?”

He had two objectives. One reason, they just fired the principal because she couldn’t overcome and resolve the crisis between the teachers and the parents. It was terrible. Parents were insisting the teachers didn’t know how to teach their kids, and vice-versa. He said, “You have two tasks. Resolve the teacher-parent problem and also find a real principal. Think you can handle that?”

“Sure.” So, I did, my second year there. We had probably 100 students total. I would meet all of them outside in the street as they exited their cars and I would escort them in, they got personal attention. Pru and I talked about this, how to deal with making the school more friendly between the parents and the teachers. I set the example on that.

*Q: How’d you deal with them?*

BUCKLEY: Here’s one thing I did. Pru and I decided we could entertain now that we’re in a big apartment with a nice dining room and a different cook. So, twice a week we would have four or six parents and one teacher have dinner with us. And we repeated that until all parents had met the teacher of their children. It really worked. The parents got to see the teacher as a human being and not just as a teacher, and vice-versa. So that was resolved.

The hardest one was finding the real principal. You can’t find them that quickly in the year or less that I had. But I did finally find someone who was physically in the region and we concluded the contract smoothly. I had so much fun in staff meetings and then after staff meetings to write the recap. Then I would attach a note to the recap of the meeting and receive a reply from one of the British teachers saying, “‘Humane’ is spelled with an ‘e’, you know, Richard. Could you correct it in subsequent memos?” So, I had to check with the school’s secretary who was British before sending any memos to make sure I did not include any words spelled differently for the Brits. They were a good group and it was a fun experience for that year.

But Pru, she became known as the disaster DAS (deputy assistant secretary), she went through her Foreign Service career with disasters. She’d come back to FSI (Foreign Service Institute) for three years to examine all the disasters, go back out and come back in again. This is unusual for a Foreign Service officer, she served 25 percent of her time as an FSO at the FSI.

*Q: That’s remarkable.*

BUCKLEY: I can’t leave without telling about my second daughter Maria who came to visit us twice. This is number four child. She and I have a very special relationship, almost like she’s a clone. Her second time she came was in the summer of ‘86, and we’re departing in August. The prior year she did file work at the consular section. This time she just did vacation-type activities because we went to Kashmir and stayed on a

houseboat for eight days. This is June '86; we were one of the last Americans to be able to go on a houseboat in Kashmir, because the fighting happened soon after our visit. She's has never had lamb since then because we had lamb at every meal on the houseboat. Then we had a little note - "We have special meal planned for your last night; save yourself." It was another piece of lamb made in a different way from what we'd had during the week.

*Q: How did you, Pru, and your children react to the teeming masses of India?*

BUCKLEY: I forgot to mention, I'm glad you asked. Pru and I – Bombay in particular, it was stifling, we thought "We can't live here for two years." We made an agreement that we'd get out every four to six weeks and go up-country. Plus, the consulate had a beach-house about an hour and a half away, on a big lake. It rotated, so every 10-14 weeks it would be available to us and we'd go up. I remember to this day that we arrived there on a Friday and took a stroll on the beach. Wonderful; hardly anyone else on the beach. And the next day around noon we'd hear all this noise. All the Indians were coming now! We couldn't go near the beach; it was chock-a-block full of Indians. So, we'd go shopping in the area. No American was allowed to have their own vehicle in India. They had to use a consulate vehicle, because of accidents. If you had an accident, you may be confronted with an angry group of Indians. You could really get hurt. So, we always took some wonderful trips, mostly in western and northwestern India. We stayed in wonderful hotels in ancient great cities. Went to some former British hill towns.

*Q: Like Simla.*

BUCKLEY: You had to get out.

*Q: What about the relationship between Indians acting as Americans on the telephone when you call up...*

BUCKLEY: That really hadn't started. I think that started in the '90s.

*Q: Did you find your Indian friends, were there subjects that were difficult or you were arguing about? What interested Indians?*

BUCKLEY: They were usually business people. I remember one time we were with people from Calcutta that were living in Bombay and we had this meal, and no-one warned me but I thought they were passing around vegetables but they were hot peppers. I put one on my plate and ate it. They said there was actually smoke coming out of my ears. "Drink more water! No, give him yogurt!" They were nice people. The Farsi, the Persians, they loved to interact with Americans because they wanted to come to America also as potential residents. Our consulate doctor was Persian and he invited us to a Persian wedding. He dressed me up in the entire Persian outfit, even the cap on my head, to attend. Everyone brings money and jewelry to put before the bride and groom up on the elevated place. There were so many guests that they had rows of people at tables and people standing behind them waiting for them to finish because they're ready to eat. It



was incredible. But since then in the past few years, I've been reading that professional robbers would come to steal all that money that was put in front of the bride and groom.

We had some very good social interactions with Indians. Strange Indians; not only did you have the Farsi; you had some that operated a bird and insect hospital in Delhi. These are the people that would not eat anything grown above the ground. They don't have any seasoning or anything, they served about 12 different veggies. They said, "Don't worry, just take what you need to get through it because the ice cream is home-made and it is delicious." It was, too. It was a good experience.

But I was going to tell about Pru's first disaster was Bhopal, Union Carbide chemical company from USA – their facility in Bhopal blew up.

*Q: During your time?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, during Pru's time. Harry Cahill said, "Pru, handle this, it's in your bailiwick, it's an administrator problem." Anderson, the president of Union Carbide, came and Pru warned him not to go there.

"I've got to go and give our apology."

"Don't go there. It's not good for you to go."

Two thousand people were killed outright, and thousands more injured. It was like poison gas. He went, and was arrested for his own safety. That made headlines of course.

She handled the whole thing. Introduced to disaster on her second tour. The disasters just kept confronting Pru.

*Q: How were people reacting, the assassination of Indira Gandhi?*

BUCKLEY: Based on the interactions I had; they didn't know how to interpret it.

*Q: It was a Sikh.*

BUCKLEY: Her bodyguards.

*Q: So, it was a little localized.*

BUCKLEY: The Sikhs caught hell, they're the ones that had to go undercover from retaliation.

*Q: You left there when?*

BUCKLEY: August of '86. I don't know if we had anything planned, I can't remember now, but Ambassador Coon was dean of the professional school at FSI called Pru out of

the blue and said, “I don’t know if you have your onward assignment all wrapped up” (this was six or eight months before her tour ended) “but we have to fix the mid-level training program.” Remember, it was five months long and people were doing everything to avoid it. You can’t easily get FSOs for a week, talk about five months of training mid-level people. Somebody got that brainchild and it didn’t work. I read the reviews from people who went through it. Excruciating.

*Q: Ruth Davis. Who was the one?*

BUCKLEY: No, Ambassador Coon – Jane Coon. Her husband was ambassador also. She called because she’d heard (just like they’d heard about me having training experience) of Pru’s prior training experience. One of the few FSOs (Foreign Service officer) who entered the service with management training experience.

*Q: Not one of the attributes. “How well do you draft?”*

BUCKLEY: Right. She was very interested of course and said okay. She came back as head of the executive development division of the professional studies school and made her mark. She designed programs that are still in existence at FSI.

*Q: So back to you – what were you up to?*

BUCKLEY: We finally – we’d been renting all this time – bought a townhouse in Reston. Now we needed to commute, before we took metro. Now we had a commute problem. At the beginning I would drop her off at Vienna metro, kiss-and-ride. Then she got affiliated with a carpool. The carpool was selective. Every Friday night I would drive in and get her because she wanted to work a little differently. Then we would stop and have dinner at the Village Bistro in Rosslyn, a kind of French restaurant. Still in existence but changed ownership, now called Mele. We’d have a nice little dinner, wait for the traffic to lessen, and then go to Reston. That was a good break.

What I did was – remember Coverdale trainers in Delhi, they had an office in Arlington by the courthouse. The courthouse faced the big office building. Right on the corner were a few small office buildings and Coverdale had a training facility inside there. I affiliated with them for three years. I did part-time consulting. Whenever they needed me to do a week’s session.

*Q: What sort of consulting were you doing?*

BUCKLEY: We would run the same program inside their facility, team-building. We also would do training on-site at the World Bank, IMF (International Monetary Fund), and federal agencies whenever they would ask for it. We did a couple of sessions with the World Bank people on negotiations and topics like that. We also would do training events inside Coverdale’s office. I remember doing one for a group of Egyptian government employees for the one-week team building training event. That was a challenge, the Egyptians are very different than the Indians.

I also at this time became more involved with doing my research and interaction on American Indians. I spent a lot of time doing that and visited American Indians in New York state. We also formed a CLO organization of CLOs that had returned to Washington. We'd been very active overseas in the middle of the community and really tried to contribute something, we returned here and there's nothing of a community to become involved with. So, a number of CLOs came together and formed an organization. We'd got together once a month to see how we could assist each other.

*Q: I think that's one of the problems of the Foreign Service. You go abroad and are part of a tight community and really make good friends. Then you come out and there's nothing; we all move to different suburbs and the isolation – this is true of the American people the middle class really gets isolated in the suburbs. That's why many are moving to apartments in the cities again. It's a very sterile life.*

BUCKLEY: We had a very good group, about eight to 10 of us. Some of us were employed by FLO (Foreign Liaison Office). Some like me were employed by OBC (Overseas Briefing Center) to do the regulations & allowances and finances session for spouses and officers at FSI. We were still very active with the overseas community. To give an example, OBC engaged me to do the male-spouse survey, similar to the survey that was done five or six years earlier, for the women, the Role of the Spouse in the Foreign Service. It was a wonderful study but never got any support in marketing. You may be sure people used it overseas. I did this survey, finalized it. I don't think it was ever published or distributed. I think it died in the director's office at FSI for whatever reason. I did it near the time we returned to our next posting in Senegal

*Q: Had the role of CLOs changed in this period? Gotten more power?*

BUCKLEY: FLO would do training of the CLOs overseas. They were sharing more experiences, beginning to see more CLOs doing the same thing at each post. No longer are you a first-time experimenter, you are now getting a lot of input from FLO and the Overseas Briefing Center, and you're able to expand your area of activity.

*Q: Had the internet come into play at this point?*

BUCKLEY: No.

*Q: So, this is something where virtual communities form. But without that, there really wasn't much.*

BUCKLEY: Yes, you had to form it yourself. As you know from experience, you always get about a fourth of the community that doesn't want to do anything, all they want to do is get through the tour, do their job at the embassy or consulate but not interact, not go to the Marine house, not do that. You always have those folks, and they are the toughest to get to know. But I tried to do it by making them a sponsor when I was a CLO. "You've got to do it, it's your own little organization, you have to do it."

It became more sophisticated, the CLO.

*Q: And then what?*

BUCKLEY: Now it's '89 and Pru very cleverly – Mary Ryan was one of Pru's main mentors. Mary and she would have coffee or lunch and one day Mary said, "You should seek a DCM-ship."

Pru said, "I've only had two overseas tours."

Mary said, "I know but you came in here mid-level, I think you're ready. Go for it."

So, she applied for a couple of places and the one we were after was Ghana. The ambassador contacted her and said, "It's between you and the economist. I had to choose another person since we really needed an economist here. But I wanted to let you know you were in the running."

Now Pru wanted to continue but she's going to have to hurry because she's running out of places to submit her application. She asked George Moose; she'd met George through Judy his wife who was working with Pru at FSI's executive development division; Pru was the boss and Judy her assistant. She asked George Moose to meet her at the cafeteria and have an interview with him as a DCM applicant for the post she wanted to go to; he agreed. At the end of the interview, he said, "My DCM-ship is open and I'm offering it to you."

*Q: Which one?*

BUCKLEY: At Dakar, Senegal. He was the ambassador – this was the end of his first year. He said, "Come out and join me."

*Q: So, then what?*

BUCKLEY: We went back to Dakar, George as ambassador. I think we had a little meeting of minds, Pru and I before we departed. We always liked to determine how I'm not going to get in her way and how I can be most helpful to the community. So, we had a little meeting and I think at that time I agreed that especially at Dakar where we had trouble the first time with women when I was given the job by AID right away, not to repeat that. So, I said, "I'll stay as far away from embassy operations as possible. If there's any work, it'll be in the private sector."

Fortunately, about three months before we departed, I heard about and went (in Arlington) to a Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) training session for a week, to certify as one that can administer the test and give training sessions. I attended and this became my entree into the embassy and my life for the next two tours. Shortly after arrival in Dakar, I met Pru's management assistant, Linda Howard, I said "Here's my

idea. I'd like to first do the MBTI with all the secretaries. Can you help me organize it?" She did. And it was a success and I repeated it everywhere. I did probably 1,000 individual or group MBTIs in those three years. I'd go anywhere. I'd go to the mission schools out in the boonies. I'd go to schools in Dakar. I did a one-day session for the Peace Corps Volunteers at their end of tour, a one-week session. I'd do it for groups, I'd do it for individuals, I'd do it for parent-teacher associations. Anybody. It was relatively new as a training tool. That became one of my main activities at post.

I also volunteered my accounting skills for the embassy employees' association. I either volunteered to the association to do the daily accounting activity, or to audit the books. It depended on what was needed. Those were the two big areas of my involvement. I also for the first time did American Indian presentations for the schools and I was busy going to the different grades at the International School.

Then I developed a more advanced presentation and tried it out on the American community first before I took it outside of the embassy community. It was entitled: "American Indians and African Americans – 500 years connections. Let me just read the connections number 10 and 11. Both American Indians and African Americans shared a similar worldview different from the Anglo worldview. They had societies structured on kinship, extended families.

Other connections are: both were slaves – usually in the same areas of the U.S.; millions died; American Indians died mainly through diseases brought by the Anglos, and the Africans died mainly by the voyage over; the land, the Americans Indians lost it and the African Americans labored on the land the American Indians lost, especially in the southeast – the area from which – Jackson removed all the southeast Indians to Oklahoma;

they shared their cultures through customs, skills, their foods, their stories, especially if they were close together like in the southeast;

both American Indians and African Americans struggled for their freedom, and still do;

both were deprived of full citizenship during the past 200 years;

both survived by adapting to accommodate to the dominant culture, particularly through education and survival humor – both told humorous stories poking fun at the Anglos while the Anglos couldn't understand it;

both confronted the American conscious through non-violent civil demonstrations, especially during the '60s and '70s;

both still live under similar dire socio-economic conditions, especially the American Indians;

both the American Indian and the African American histories had been distorted by the Anglos until the American Indians got their museum in the late '80s and the African Americans got their museum – it's their story being told in both of those museums, and they're powerful stories, and they're having a resurgence in their communities throughout the country.

There's an article in this morning's paper about three Louisiana women black mayors; that's happening. Pru and I just came back from Asheville, North Carolina, where Pru gave the keynote address to the Southern Women Leaders in Public Service. These are mostly the original 14 states that formed the Confederacy, there were women from those Confederate states -

*Q: The three cities were New Orleans, Shreveport, and Baton Rouge. Three ladies of color as they say.*

BUCKLEY: There were the same type of women at Asheville. State legislators. Know what they said when we had a conversation with them? "We've got to get the Republicans to select some women as candidates so we can make coalitions. We can't have coalitions with the male Republicans." They are very smart. They've had so many years to watch and learn and see all the men fail, the black men in the South. What this one commentator said (a white guy), "These are excellent representatives and the people expressed their appreciation."

It's happening. I'll tell you, parts of the narrative that are happening. The lynching museum that just opened down in Alabama? Have you read about that? Incredible things. That's part of the narrative. And the woman's going to do it for Virginia in Richmond, her name is Christie Coleman. She's African-American, born in Williamsburg, and to show how she started and why she's now been chosen by an all-male white board to be the director of bringing the three different museums, of the Confederacy, of slavery, and the museum of the culture of Richmond together. When she was about 20 years old living in Williamsburg, she saw a re-enactment in Williamsburg and went to the people running it and said, "Your show's not complete."

They said, "What do you mean?"

"You've got to have slaves who were the major part of this community. You've got to incorporate that."

"What do you have in mind?"

She said, "You've got to have a slave auction. People have to see it because if they see it, they will see what it meant." She volunteered and got a friend to volunteer to participate in that slave auction. She went from there to a Detroit museum and finally back to Richmond, selected to do that. You've got these powerful women coming up...

*Q: We're going through a real revolution and I point out some of the oral histories, I feel our oral history came at a good time because we are picking up – when we started this thing back in 1987 or '88, hardly any senior women retirees were there. Now, we've had magnificent ones, Pru and many others. We're catching the cusp of the revolution that's going to get stronger and stronger. I think we're much better for it – I know we are.*

BUCKLEY: Yep. They bring a whole different perspective to politics and organizations. One important point made at the Asheville conference by the black women in their discussion was, “You know, our experience in the legislature has been that men – white or black – go into the legislature to be somebody. Women go in to get something done.”

*Q: Well, I would like to buy that. I don't know the legislatures too much but I do know there's too much posturing, including god help us our president, Trump. We both roll our eyes, it's incredible what we're going through. We hope that this too shall pass. I came into the Foreign Service just when McCarthyism and McCarthy were going out. Horrible time. So, I suppose we'll survive this one.*

BUCKLEY: Yeah, we will. Mueller at some point has to wrap it up and send his report to Rosenstein so he can determine what he's going to do. Mueller's hands are tied, he can't announce anything. He had to make his report to the deputy, and the deputy determines where it's going to go.

*Q: I think it was Bismarck who said “God has a special tolerance for drunks and the United States.” (Laughter) Then I think we'll regain our senses.*

BUCKLEY: I hope so. November will determine if we're on the path.

*Q: So, at this time, how was it going back to Senegal?*

BUCKLEY: Now we're on the way back to Senegal, 1989.

*Q: You were there from when to when?*

BUCKLEY: Eighty-nine to '92, three years.

*Q: How were things when you went back? Was there a change in the political climate or attitudes or the economy?*

BUCKLEY: They were beginning to realize that they had to produce more than peanuts. They produced peanuts made into peanut oil that they would ship to France. France was also producing more sunflower oil to compete so they had to go more into fishing and other spheres of economy building. But their culture remained the same. They have a wonderful culture. They think they are the most intellectual West Africans, the most beautiful and most cultural. They think they are the Italians of Africa, and they are.

*Q: The other big powerful country in that area is Nigeria. At least in the United States the Nigerians are known as con artists. It's incredible – a friend of mine is a banker and he said, "If a Nigerian comes in to the bank, we shutter everything to make sure we only deal with one at a time; they're all likely to present the same check. They know every little crook and cranny of how to get money out of people."*

*What about the Senegalese? They weren't into this?*

BUCKLEY: No. Totally different. Essentially the Senegalese are traders. The men leave, especially if they can't find any profitable business or job in Senegal, they go all over the world. They're like the Chinese only they take their trading goods with them. Wallets, watches that don't have the insides working properly. We took a vacation to Spain during our tour in Nairobi. At this county fair in central Spain, we walked into this small-town county fair and we saw Senegalese – we knew they were Senegalese because they stand out because they're so dark and tall. We would meet them and greet them in Wolof. They would beam with delight because they know you've been to Senegal if you know the greetings. They go everywhere.

*Q: What was the role of women? In so many African countries the women are the marketeers and traders.*

BUCKLEY: Only in the villages in the trade for goods they produce. But they do not go to other countries. That's where the men go; the family stays and the men send back the money he's earned.

I think Pru has been guest of honor at about eight Marine balls. It started in Dakar because George Moose was in the US during two times the Marine ball took place. He was into everything, so he was gone a great deal of the time. I remember going to the first Marine ball with Pru cutting the cake when she was DCM.

That was a good time for her. Her first year there, she was tested as she probably told you in her interview by the other agency heads. I knew these guys from poker games and softball. But the USAID director was above her in year of rank of course, and also thought he was above her in everything else. So, when he had a contingent come from the States to meet with him, he gave out (which came back to Pru) an organization chart which showed the ambassador and then a direct line down to him, and over to the side was the DCM for the embassy, just State. She got wind of that and called him in and said (she's chargé now, right?) "I don't know what version you're using of the FAM" (Foreign Affairs Manual) "but the FAM directly has this type of arrangement. You've got the ambassador, and underneath the ambassador is the DCM, and then it goes everywhere throughout the mission. Now, unless you want me to send someone from the embassy over to your meetings with your contingent, I suggest you revise that handout putting you right under the ambassador. It doesn't work that way."

She was tested by each agency head that way. She rose up to meet the test.



*Q: And then what happened?*

In mid-1991, Ambassador George Moose's tour finished and he was replaced by Kathy Shirley. As DCM (or charge') Pru interacted with an entirely male country team.

BUCKLEY: That was '92. What happened then was on my outgoing medical, they found something wrong with either my cholesterol or something more vital. Anyhow, the doctor wrote in my medical report, "You must go see a cardiologist to get clearance." It was one of the first things I did when we got back. Still living in Reston. But I had a family doctor first before I saw the cardiologist, since I had to get a referral. I walk into the cardiologist's office, and at that time they would have you drink this milky substance and put you on the treadmill and then pretest you. I'm on the treadmill, it's getting too fast, I go "Help!" and nobody's there! No doctor, no attendant, no one. So, I just stopped that damned thing. He came out and read the printout – he's a young guy, younger than I am. He says "I'm going to admit you to the hospital on Monday"; this was Friday. "We've got to get this fixed."

I said, "Uh-uh. I have a doctor. He will help me make this decision. It's the first time I've met you." So, we're basically calling each other a wise-ass. I go back to my doctor and said, "There must be an alternative. He said, "There is an alternative, but are you up to it? You will have to exercise very well each day and have a new diet." In Senegal it was all the rich French food and dressings.

I went on a routine – four miles a day, two miles walking around the southern part of Reston, and two miles back home. Usually first thing in the day. I forgot basic principle, the doctor a few years later said "You were doing this in the winter when it's freezing? Do you know that's when your heart is working the hardest, if your outdoors? You could have killed yourself!"

What I did was walk through the angina. I had angina and walked the first three to four minutes that were very compressing on my chest. But I walked through it. I thought I had cooperating collaterals. I had that routine and it worked. I had to keep it up that whole time. Pru was in senior seminar a couple of months and was notified that she is being considered to be ambassador to Rwanda. Well of course she just completed a tour as DCM and now they want her to be ambassador? She filled out all the forms and all of a sudden near Christmas she gets a call from MED (Office of Medical Services) and they said, "Your husband can't get clearance."

So, I visit the Medical office, and was told "You can't get a clearance because of your heart condition." They never told me (I never asked) it was because they didn't have a

regional doctor in Rwanda, therefore no-one that could assist in whatever treatment I was going to take. But that was it, “There’s no facility so we can’t take care of him.”

Pru had to decide what she was going to do? Accept it and leave me behind? Accept it and bring me at our own expense? She decided not to accept it after a grueling weekend. She figured, “There goes my future in the department!” Fortunately, Clinton won in ‘92 and he selected George Moose to be the assistant secretary for African Affairs (AF). Fortunately, George called Pru because he remembered her performance as his DCM and said, “Pru, short notice but would you like it” and she said, “George, you’re right on time. I’ll take the job.” Then she spent her next three years as deputy assistant secretary (DAS) for AF.

Disasters! The whole time.

*Q: She was DAS from when to when?*

BUCKLEY: Ninety-three to ‘96. In ‘93 she came in months before the peacekeepers were going to go to Rwanda; they went in autumn ‘93 because things were heating up there. It was right after – Clinton came in and took over the situation President Bush had created in Somalia, that debacle happened. Then she had to deal with Rwanda after Dick Clarke was not going to allow another debacle to happen. She finally found out – it’s not in her oral history so I’ll put it in. That is, we never really knew who made the decision to tell Madeleine to go to the UN (United Nations) Security Council to pull the peacekeepers out of Rwanda. It wasn’t until 2014 that they had the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Rwanda catastrophe conference in the Hague, supported by the Holocaust Museum and the National Security Archives in Washington, and how at the Hague they found out because the archives declassified as much as they could of the U.S. documents on the Rwanda situation and they finally found the cable from Dick Clarke to Madeleine saying “Close down the peacekeepers in Rwanda.” So, it was Dick Clarke.

*Q: The cable was a \_\_\_\_?*

BUCKLEY: Yes. He was the counter-terrorism czar for Clinton and he was the one in Pru’s book. I said, “You sure about this?” and she said, “Here’s the copy of the cable.”

*Q: During this period, what were you up to?*

BUCKLEY: I was doing all of my good walking. I was a chauffeur, my main job. While we were in Senegal when she was DCM, I started researching the early history of central New York state because a buddy I knew from my home town said, “All right you’ve been studying all this Indian stuff about Little Falls, but you never focused on Little Falls itself. Why don’t you use your capacity for research and study and write something about the early history of Little Falls?”

So, I began researching the early history of Little Falls, New York and its vicinity. Pru's parents had now retired to Cooperstown, New York and they have a good library in Cooperstown for the New York State Historical Society.

*Q: Also, a baseball museum.*

BUCKLEY: The baseball hall of fame, right. And I had a place to stay. Pru would go to Africa for two weeks every other month. I'd drop her at Dulles and make a beeline for Cooperstown to stay with her parents as my base to do my research. I finally found in that library a directory of all original documents from various New York state communities and where they're located. And in the directory, I discovered the person, John Porteous, that founded the first boarding house and the first mill in Little Falls, New York in the late 1700s, and where his original documents were located. They were in Detroit, Ottawa, Buffalo, the New York state library in Albany, and some in Herkimer County itself where Little Falls is located. I visited each of those places to obtain copies of all those original documents. It was something. The main reason that I obtained all these original documents was because I didn't feel that the early history of Little Falls was written correctly. The early books stated that the founders of Little Falls were absentee landlords from Britain, and they "stymied" our future. That's what the historians of the late 1800s stated in the books they wrote about the history of Little Falls.

So, after I completed the document research, I found that it wasn't the way at all. The founder had been an Indian trader since the 1760s and '70s in America. He'd been living here.

*Q: Hamilton? Who?*

BUCKLEY: Hamilton married the daughter of someone from the Albany area, so he had an acquaintance and connections. In fact, they named a college after him, Hamilton College. So, I had all these documents and began to review them and put them to use in writing about the history of Little Falls from early 1700s to 1833 when it became an official village. The value of that book even though there are only three long chapters of 20-30 pages each, one-fourth of the book is content about the settlers, and the other three-fourths of the book is a copy of every one of the key original documents that I discovered in those research facilities. The reason I did that is stated in the preface of my book: "All historians and all histories are that author's opinions, based on the data he's accumulated. It's going to be slanted the way he wants to slant it. Everyone writes that way. I want the readers of this book to be able to test my judgment against these original documents." It worked.

That was a major part of my time while she was working as the disaster-DAS.

*Q: Where'd you go after she, after this time in African Affairs?*

BUCKLEY: To Kenya.

*Q: That's probably a good place to stop.*

*Q: Today is the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, 2018 with Richard Buckley. I'll leave to you, where did we leave off?*

BUCKLEY First, I want to return to May of 1990; we were in Dakar, Senegal. I was swimming in the DCM's residence lap pool when Pru came out and told me I had a call from my brother. He informed me that my mother had died. One week from her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday. My father died 27 years earlier; I thought she'd live forever. I wrote a eulogy for my mother on the trip across the Atlantic, and presented that eulogy to 30 or 40 persons at the reception following the funeral service. After I returned to Dakar, I began writing poems that ultimately became a booklet of poems. I never had written a poem in my life. During my research about American Indians in the '70s I had been coming closer and closer to grandmothers, whether they be my own grandmothers, or grandmothers in general. Grandmothers became my guide in writing these seventy poems that I put into a spiral notebook named Grandmother Says. I had a friend who was an artist do captions for each of the chapters, the categories I put them in, and sent the booklets to my relatives and about 30 or 40 friends. I made 100 copies. It took me months to stay in this mood writing these poems. I think it was a significant period in my life.

*Q: Did you go into a retrospective, where you'd been and what you'd done?*

BUCKLEY: Exactly, both physical experiences as well as metaphysical. One poem compared my mother's funeral that was held in a very large Catholic church in my hometown; all the Catholics had to go there, it was before the Polish and Italians got their own Catholic churches. Her service was in this big church with maybe 50 people attending the service.

Then in Senegal, our housekeeper/waiter at our dinner table at the DCM's residence got very ill and she died. Pru and I went to see her in the hospital before she died. Her funeral – because the cultures are so different – had hundreds of people. Here she is, a maid and housekeeper. Because it's part of Senegalese and many African cultures that the respect you're shown when you've died is more important than the respect you get in life because people are paying tribute to your existence. It was incredible. She was Catholic so it was held in a small Catholic church with hundreds of people crowded into the small space. Muslims were outside, they didn't come in of course but there were 50 or more Muslims there who also knew her and appreciated her life.

So, I compared the two funerals and what this said about cultures that differ. We don't understand the differences in the cultures until...

*Q: As Americans we kind of avoid funerals, you know.*

BUCKLEY: Right. We don't know how to accept death or give meaning to living and dying. Most cultures in the world accept death as part of life. We fight it. We both at our age know we're going to ...

Q: *Well at least I'm contemplating it. I'm only 90.*

BUCKLEY: It might happen!

So, to continue with our tour in Senegal because a number of things took place. It was the first time that we adopted Peace Corps volunteers. During the time Pru's parents were in the foreign service, they would invite secretaries and marines to their residence for dinner during the holidays. So, we thought we'd do it with five female Peace Corps volunteers, who could stay at our place when they were sick or major holidays. They were usually there for Thanksgiving and Christmas. That was a nice tradition. In fact, we now have the daughter of a Peace Corps volunteer we adopted in 1989 as our adopted grand-daughter. She self-adopted us as her grandparents. It's been very interesting.

In 1991, George Moose's tour was up, so he departed and Kathy Shirley was the new ambassador. When Ambassador Shirley arrived the entire country-team consisted of men when Pru was DCM. So, Kathy Shirley arrived and they had a tough time with Pru, now it's double-the-trouble with two women in the front office. They had fun.

We took an interesting R&R (rest and recreation) in '91. We went to Portugal. Not many people – there's Spain, Italy, France, Germany, those countries – but poor old Portugal people said was sort of backwards, they don't get the visitors. But we were excited about the concept of the "pousada". Portugal took their old castles and monasteries and convents, great old buildings, and turned them into tourist meccas so you could sign up and make a tour of Portugal by staying in a "pousada". I remember one time we had a huge room in a monastery. It was for a monk but besides just him and that one little door, he had a nice spacious room to do his work and everything in his quarters. We had a lot of fun and it was a learning experience traveling in Portugal. The people were very warm, more than you'd expect them to be up in the mountains. We rented a car and drove all around Portugal, going from "pousada" (inn) to pousada. We had a flat tire going from one pousada to the next one on a little road, two lanes. We pulled off and got the spare on, but in the next village I had to repair the flat tire. The garage man didn't want to take any fee - "No, you had an accident completely out of your plans, so no, no." Of course, he got more of a tip than he would have received if he'd charged me. That was a very nice touch.

During my medical exam at the end of our tour, the post medical officer informed me that I needed to visit a cardiologist. After returning to our Reston townhouse, our doctor made a referral for the cardiologist visit. After reading the treadmill stress-test printout, the cardiologist informed me that he would see me in the hospital the next Monday. I replied not until I see my regular physician. I did and we agreed to an alternative plan of daily exercise (four miles of fast walking daily) and healthy diet.

During the fall of 1992, Pru was participating in the Senior Seminar. Unexpectedly, she was offered the ambassadorship to Rwanda. She filled out the necessary forms and we began to make preparations when State Department's Medical Office informed her that I would not obtain medical clearance for Rwanda. I was unable to persuade them that my exercising and new diet was being successfully monitored by my doctor. I learned a few years later that State's medical office could not give clearance was due to fact there was no embassy doctor or alternative medical facility available in Kigali. Pru struggled with whether she should accept the offer and either have me stay in Reston or go to Kigali without being on her official orders. Despite the Reality that she might not receive another offer, she decided not to accept the ambassadorial appointment.

So, in January of 1993, Pru had a few months remaining with the Senior Seminar but without a forward assignment since she had declined the Rwanda ambassadorship offer. Fortunately, Clinton's elected and he selected George Moose, her former ambassador in Dakar, to be assistant secretary for African Affairs. George remembered Pru's performance for him in Dakar and called her and offered her a deputy assistant secretary position.

That changed her life. In the summer '93, she's assigned to Rwanda as one of her countries, Rwanda and Burundi. Any major country that's having a conflict, she has been assigned the conflict portfolio. Ed Brynn's the principal DAS and George Moose both dislike conflicts, Pru, is skilled in dealing with conflicts therefore she has the assignment.

She was in Rwanda on a visit two or three weeks before the plane was blown up that had on board the two presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. Plane goes down. George is out of the country, in South Africa. Ed Brynn is on vacation. So, she was the one in charge. That began her difficult time of dealing with the inter-agency bureaucracy. Dick Clarke was NSC's counter-terrorism czar and also in charge of peacekeeping. So, he led the inter-agency peacekeeping discussions. They were bizarre discussions through TV monitors; they hardly ever interacted person to person. Susan Rice was a prominent figure then, she was the AF person at Dick Clarke's National Security Council.

Pru tried to get the bureaucracy to do something. Well, they did nothing. In fact, she subsequently learned that the NSC took the lead to withdraw all UN peacekeepers from Rwanda.

Of course, General Dallaire and his Senegalese counterpart kept 170 peacekeepers who wouldn't leave, and they saved a few thousand Rwandans in the stadium. But Pru was so angry at what the NSC did in 1994, she inserted in her book that it was Dick Clarke that made the decision to withdraw the peacekeepers.

Pru dealt with the futile efforts of the inter-agency group for weeks. Finally, Pru and I decided it was time to take a major break. So, we took a real unusual and special R&R. We spent two weeks first on the Navajo reservation driving to their main communities in Arizona and New Mexico, and then visited the Hopi reservation which as you may know is right in the middle of the Navajo reservation, the Hopis who've been there forever and

the Navajos arrived into the southwest about 1400. After a visit to Mesa Verde, we went back to New Mexico to visit some of the Pueblo reservations.

*Q: And what are you up to?*

BUCKLEY: I had finished the research on the Little Falls early history book and the manuscript was at the printers. After my presentation about the book to the Little Falls Historical Society, my oldest brother told me “that was pretty good but you ended your story in 1833. The real history of Little Falls happened after 1833, so you should consider writing that.”

After some serious thinking, I decided my brother was correct. I made more trips to Little Falls. He’s a wealth of information. He’s a big extrovert so his whole life has been talking to people, interacting with them. He’s 68 years old and then he dies. I was counting on him as a reservoir of information, and he dies. Three months after he challenged me to write it.

So, I’ve got more reason to write the book; he asked me to do it. So, I contacted Carol Kammen, who is the guru of local history for New York state. She teaches local history at Cornell University – she still does. I chatted with her by phone and she said, “I’ve heard enough about what you want to do. Here’s what you focus on. If you’re going to devote all that time to writing the complete history of Little Falls, New York and vicinity, you have to cover these three areas. Slavery, because every town along the river from New York City to Buffalo had slaves.

“Next, women. Women in New York state especially in the area you lived in are different from the women in New England. The New Englanders who came to New York state after the Revolutionary War couldn’t believe that women worked in the field, in the barn, did all the other farm work. These were the Germans that came from the Palatine section of Germany, and that’s what they did in Germany. They repeated it in central New York. Write about the women and the women who made all of the temperance societies – don’t forget, Seneca Falls was the beginning of the women’s rights movement in America, so you know there are some women right in your valley that were at the Seneca Falls meeting; in fact, they were leaders. Write about the women who helped really shape your community.”

“Third but not least, write about the immigrants. The immigrants particularly that came during 1880 to 1920s; there were so many of them creating so many problems for the whites that they made the immigration acts of 1920 and 1924 to restrict them seriously.” Similar to what we’re going through 100 years later, right now.

So, Carol Kammen provided me with the main content areas but how and where would I obtain the requisite information. I went to Little Falls and had a good conversation with the director of the library. I asked him, “You’ve got on microfilm all the information I need to get the history of Little Falls.” They had newspapers from 1880 when the daily

paper started till the present. I said, “I need to read those newspapers from 1880 to 1980.” He said, “Okay, I’ll send you every week two or three reels. By the time you’re ready to go overseas you will be finished with the 100 years of the Little Falls Evening Times.”

And he did. I read every page, every column. Pru would have to pull me away from the microfilm reader at midnight. I didn’t have a printer, so I would make notes and then take the microfilm reel to the library to make copies of those pages that were too extensive to make notes from. From January to June when we started to get ready to depart, I read all hundred years and I got the information for slavery, for women and immigrants, and that became the basis of what I’m going to do in Kenya, begin to review and draft how I’m going to fit those three sections into my new book.

It was very exciting, things I’d never even realized. To give an example of what I found out, we had one very black kid in high school with us. But there were some lighter-skinned blacks that my brother knew about, but the only kid our age going through school was this one black kid. We thought that his family arrived only recently in Little Falls. My research showed me otherwise – once I made records of all of the black families (from newspaper and census) – I traced his ancestry in Little Falls to 1700s more than most any other students in his high school class. His ancestors came first and he was a descendant of those original slaves in the early 1800s. We were latecomers. My grandparents came from Ireland. Most of the immigrants came from that period, 1880 to the 1920s. His family was already there in Little Falls. This was an example of how we have not learned history.

That was one example. The thing I think made my book – it became a best-seller in the Mohawk Valley – What made it was I used the educational system – schooling – as the foundation by which I made comparisons from chapter to chapter. The educational system is critical to everyone, no matter what your walk of life was, especially starting in the mid-1800s when the public-school system was beginning and became very important when public schools were available to every person in the late 1800s.

*Q: What was the river?*

BUCKLEY: Mohawk River.

*Q: Was that part of the Rivers of America series?*

BUCKLEY: Yes.

*Q: I love those, I think I read every – I had a project and went to the library and read every one of them. Great way to get American history, it was a WPA (Works Progress Administration) project.*

BUCKLEY: Yes. It’s a critical river in New York state. Now the Erie Canal was able to go from New York City to Buffalo. I was born and raised in a gorge formed the same



time Niagara Falls was formed. The only major difference is our falls was much wider than Niagara Falls, formed 11,000 years ago.

During the regime of walking four miles a day in 1993, I realized that I haven't been to Houston to see my kids and I am also concerned about my first wife. I haven't seen her, I should chat with her to see how she's doing with the kids, so I said "I better get down there." This is May of 1993. So, I went there in June and had a good conversation with her. I did her MBTI, the Myers-Briggs type indicator test and discovered that she was basically the same type approach to life that I had, then prompted more conversation. It was very important that I made that trip; one month later she had a massive heart attack and was in a coma. The kids didn't know how to handle it, they discussed it for a month before they finally did the right thing and had them disconnect her life support system in August of 1993.

That became a whole different life for Pru. Before, my five kids were iffy towards her because they had their own mother and only one of them really accepted Pru as their step-mother. Now Pru's going to try to offer whatever assistance she can give to them, more than in the past – only to be rebuffed again and again. Starting with the funeral of my first wife. Two of the kids said they didn't think it would be comfortable for Pru to come. In June of '96, my daughter Delia Maria was married. We went to the wedding. We were shocked by her cousins and aunt and uncle, the Houston relatives of my first wife. We were in the church and turned around to do the kiss of peace and they turned right around and ignored us, and ignored us the rest of the weekend. That gave Pru a very unfavorable disposition toward that family and Houston.

Now we are ready to go to Nairobi. She had not bid on it, the AF bureau called her, and said the D committee has met and said you would be good for Nairobi, "what do you think?" Pru replied: When?

During the ambassadorial seminar, an OBC person told us that the spouse and ambassador-designate should consider writing a joint plan of action – what do you intend to do in the first 90 days or six months or year you're at post. What is your plan? Pru had already done most of her consultations by the time we were in the ambassadorial seminar, she had just a few remaining. But the message from the desk officers and the various agencies and from the top officials was, "Don't worry, Nairobi and Kenya are a basket-case because President Moi isn't going to change. We need him for landing rights and ships at the port of Mombasa. Good luck, don't call us, we'll call you if anything changes, but we doubt it."

Then Pru examined it a bit further and said, "What's going on? Something must be good."

"Well, in addition to that we didn't want to tell you but now that you've raised it, there is a terrific morale problem in Kenya. It seems that the current ambassador has had a major battle with the former DCM" (the DCM there for two years and then became the ambassador to Uganda). They had a parting of the ways on how to deal with the

government position on a number of major issues. They split the country team and the split made its way down through the various agencies there, and that's what we were confronted with before we left. So Pru and I had a good discussion and wrote up our respective approaches and we decided the top objective would be to pull that community back together. To do whatever we could to remove the bad morale.

In retrospect, our actions in uniting the community became extremely important following the bombing. We had built trust within the community of working together and this became the foundation upon which the resilience of embassy personnel was formed.

Now like Rwanda, she hardly ever informed me of what was going on at the mission until we departed.

*Q: Well, also there is a separation of marriage and the work. The embassy tends to creep in. What did you get, why did Moi before the explosion dislike the United States?*

BUCKLEY: It wasn't the United States per se, it was the US ambassadors that were being sent to Kenya. Elinor Constable, a woman was ambassador from 1986-89. Smith Hempstone, political appointee 1989-1993 engaged in a public battle with Moi. Aurelia Brazeal (1993-96), woman of color. Then in 1996, Prudence Bushnell. Moi did not meet with Pru for three months after she presented credentials. He was sending a message to Washington: "No more women and no white man like Hempstone."

*Q: I've interviewed her.*

BUCKLEY: Right, and but I don't think you interviewed Ree Brazeal, who was a good friend of Ruth Davis. When we arrived, we not only had to overcome this morale at the embassy, but the morale at the residence. On our first morning – the staff lined up to be introduced to us. An assistant cook that could hardly cook was there, no cook. Ree Brazeal took the cook with her because the cook knew how to take care of the diet restrictions for Ree's mother who was there with her. She was being taken care of by staff from the residence. There was one sort of a caretaker/nurse-type person that was standing in the line waiting to meet us, and no cook. I'm like, "What is this?" We happened to see the admin officer afterwards and say, "What's going on?"

"I'm sorry that happened. She finagled to take the cook back and that person I think we have to get rid of her, the one that was Ree's mother's caretaker because not only does she not belong and have no role to play, but there's been some theft going on and we suspect it might be her."

Pru said "Get rid of her tomorrow, or today."

Three months went by. She had her credentials so she could start to have representational events. This was unnecessary as Pru stated "I found Moi more than anyone else I've dealt with as ambassador the one that kept his word. If he said he was going to do

something, he meant it. In exchange for that I told him I would never say anything in public that I have not run by you personally in a meeting with you.” That was kept until Jesse Jackson came during the tribal upheavals after elections. Jackson was Clinton’s roving ambassador to Africa, and he came when they had elections and he and Pru went up to the conflicted area. Pru had not told Moi that she’s got a radical with her. Jesse loves the media, so he had people asked the media to arrange an impromptu press conference and he said, “Where is President Moi? I’ve been to the hospitals and seen the wounded, their begging for assistance from the government, where is President Moi? He should be here.”

The next day when they returned, Pru had a breakfast scheduled with Moi at the residence. Moi’s chatting with Pru. She knew she was in trouble because his face was even longer and grimacing more than ever before. She put two and two together, the front page said “Reverend Jesse Jackson says, ‘Where is President Moi?’” She’s chatting and trying to soften the president a bit when Jesse arrived. He sees Moi and leaps towards him, lands at his feet, looks up at him and said, “I bet you’re very angry with me!”

So, what’s Moi going to say? They went to breakfast, just the three of them (I’m not invited to these good sessions). Pru’s ready to raise her fork to say we’re ready to commence when Jesse said, “Ma’am, we need to have a prayer.” They’re holding hands and Jesse because he’s a reverend – Moi is evangelical Christian, so he’s going to listen to whatever the reverend has to say. Jackson says, “Lord, would you please give a special blessing to President Moi, that he will reconsider and go to the area of the rioting to visit the people at the hospital?” Moi went two days later. Here he is, fuming when he walked in and then Jesse brought him down to earth. Jesse’s been through a lot of this in his life. That was incredible, how he handled that.

And that is as Pru said on her trip to California, that’s diplomacy. That’s is person to person diplomacy, and you can’t replicate that by someone in the National Security Council for African affairs trying to make a phone call. It has to be person to person, that’s what seals relationships. Diplomacy comes down to relationships that determine whether people can trust you.

Fortunately, after Moi met with Pru three months later, they began a very effective relationship to such an extent – and she never told me these things until we left. They would have good arguments. Pru as you know doesn’t like to be stepped on, pushed aside, she would get right in there and speak directly to Mo – they had a lot of breakfasts together. So, when he’s leaving, Pru would say, “Mr. President, we argue a lot. Do you feel good about that?”

He said, “Yeah. It shows we’re democrats. I’m a democrat and you’re a democrat and democrats argue a lot so let’s continue to do it.” They were really able to carry on good discussions.

One other thing I contributed (I didn’t realize that Pru was going to trust me this much), for the last two years there I facilitated the country team’s discussion for the mission

program plan, at an offsite of a day-and-a-half. We usually held it in Lake Navasha which was far enough away from the embassy that they didn't return to their office to do some work, kept them pretty well confined in a nice facility.

*Q: Where was this?*

BUCKLEY: Lake Navasha.

*Q: Is that in Kenya?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, Kenya. We'd go to Navasha valley. By the way, the Rift Valley is as important in the history of Africa as our Grand Canyon is for us.

*Q: That's where they find all the -*

BUCKLEY: The northern part of the Rift Valley in Kenya is where all the -

*Q: Skeletons.*

BUCKLEY: Right.

The friendships that Pru made (because it's hard as you know for ambassadors to befriend people in the embassy other than the DCM and his wife because they work together so closely because favoritism would be detected), but we were able to develop some wonderful friends outside. One of them we saw recently in San Diego, David Jonah Western who was the director of the Kenya Wildlife Service. Why he was so important is that he is an expert now on ecotourism. That means those property owners who want to keep it the way it was, talking about the Masai now of Kenya, will help them interact with tourists but on their basis, on the Masai's basis and not on the Europeans' basis. One of the first trips we made was at this new – it was a USAID project with David Western from the Kenya Wildlife Service, with the Masai, as being the principal player in this new ecotourism getaway. It consisted of a few cottages on stilts in the northern part of the Samburu Masai's territory in which Pru gave the dedication. We saw David Western and he told us, "We're still using that place!" The Masai would be the servers. You'd bring your own food, people staying there, and the Masai would prepare it and serve the food. The next day, the unusual aspect of this tourism is that the Masai would lead you to follow the footsteps the leopards made going past our lodge the night before. It was very instructive. It was the first time – this was our first year there – the Masai warriors did their famous 3-4 feet vertical jumps; they did it for Pru.

*Q: They're very impressive.*

BUCKLEY: Very impressive, right. David Western says that the Masai warriors' smell, their DNA has been affected by their centuries of interaction to such an extent that the lions will back off if they smell a Masai near them, because it's been incorporated after losing so many of their mates to the Masai warriors.

At that session, Pru right away saw how she was going to have to behave as a female ambassador when the tribal chief of that Masai group after the ceremony dedicating this ecotourism camp gave George Jones, the director of USAID, the talking stick. The talking stick is the most important item in the Kenyan culture. Everywhere President Moi went he had his own personal talking stick to show that I talk until I relinquish this talking stick. The chief gave George Jones the talking stick, and Pru a necklace. And Pru said, "Excuse me, I think you made a mistake; I'm the ambassador and George is the director of USAID which is part of the ambassador's scope of authority."

"Uh-uh," the chief said. "You are a woman, first. George, he's a man. You're both here, and he's recognized first."

George is very astute. He said, (whispering) "Ambassador, here, you take the talking stick, I'll take the necklace home to give to my wife." So, they switched. But Pru was informed once more that this is the way we do things in Kenya.

*Q: Do you think this might be a good place to stop?*

BUCKLEY: Wonderful place.

*Q: We'll pick this up next time with the events.*

BUCKLEY: Yes.

*Q: Today is the 31<sup>st</sup> of May, 2018 with Richard Buckley. I'll let you have at it.*

BUCKLEY: Before continuing with our discussion about Nairobi, I want to discuss a bit more about the history of Little Falls that I learned from my research.

*Q: Was Little Falls, the Mohawk area, under one of the Dutch poltroons or whatever you call them, wealthy background slavers, others like that? Was this part of the Dutch?*

BUCKLEY: Because they were only there until 1666 when the British said, "You've got to move out now"

*Q: They were there long enough.*

BUCKLEY: They were there long enough but they didn't come up too far from Albany. The trading post at Amsterdam I think was their last community west of Albany. After Amsterdam, it was like a trading post all the way, but no settlements until the Brits took over in that area. My home town was basically there as a buffer to the French before the French and Indian War 1750s. It was after the Revolutionary War that settlers began to move west from New England to central New York. It took them a while to get there. The person that founded my home town was an Indian trader that had been going from Amsterdam to Detroit during the 1750s and '60s, a young Indian trader who was Scottish,

graduated from the University of Aberdeen. So, as I subsequently learned, the Scottish were the leading intellectuals in the 1500s and 1600s. They had universities, the education in Scotland was important and they became businessmen and went all over the world.

So, the first settlement in my home town as I learned were Germans from the Palatinate section of Germany. They were on the docks of London for years and someone told Queen Anne, “We’ve got about 5000 all around the docks, you’ve got to do something about them.”

She said, “What about that colony over there, don’t they need some help?”

So, they were sent to the Rensselaer plantation outside of Albany, to process tar from the trees on these plantations. They revolted after a year or so – they’re farmers, real good farmers, but they don’t know anything about doing all this business of getting pitch out of trees. They finally forced the British governor in Albany to find them land they could farm. It was 75 miles due west of Albany, the settlement. The deeds said basically, “You’re to come no further east than the falls at Little Falls.” That was it.

*Q: What about the Mohawks?*

BUCKLEY: The Mohawks were still there.

*Q: But at this time...*

BUCKLEY: They got along very well. In fact, General Herkimer (who Herkimer town in New York is named after) he was the general, poor fellow, only famous because he died, but he led them right into a terrific ambush. You know, that battle was the greatest casualty in the entire Revolutionary War. He had a column of 1,000 militia; he lost half. Five hundred either died or were captured. That is incredible casualties. The Indians and the Brits also lost many. That was a very bad battle, but he died by a surgeon cutting off a leg too far up and he bled to death.

Then during the ambassadorial seminar, I think a member of OBC came to talk to the ambassadors and spouses, they mentioned it would be worth our time develop a joint plan of what you want to accomplish in your first 90 days and maybe your first six months at post. It would be helpful to have this thought out before. Pru and I took that seriously because she had already had the knowledge that the post was very divided, between the DCM and the ambassador. The DCM wanted to take on corruption, and the ambassador wanted to keep the lid on, not to stir up the water.

She knew we had to do something, so Pru and I actually did develop a plan of action. Our priority goal was to build a solid community, a community that plays together and works together. That’s going to be a very important point we pursued because at the time of the bombing two years later, it’s going to be the foundation upon which the resilience of that

embassy is formed. That prior effort of ours to build that community created the trust among the country team members and most of the community.

She was sworn in on July 17<sup>th</sup>; I held the Bible. It was very nice to see her parents beam and be so proud of their daughter. Her mother told her when she joined the Foreign Service in 1981 that she wouldn't last five years. "Pru, you're a rebel, you just cause trouble, you stir things up. You wait, you won't last five years."

Pru said, "She was right in what she was basing her judgment on, but she was just off by about 20 years, that's all!"

It was a great day. We had a nice lunch afterwards upstairs in the Franklin reception area. They have a space on the side where you can have lunches in a private room and we had one for all our relatives and some friends. It was very nice.

Then a few weeks after, we're off to Kenya. But first we had to stop in London for a few days for the final consultations with people in London. That was a good visit because it allowed us to take a break from all the hectic final preparations – getting the car ready and selling our townhouse in Reston – and enjoy the good areas in London before we took the plane to Nairobi.

We walked the gardens of the residence the first weekend. Mind you, this home was different. It was a white stucco house in the old British section of Nairobi very near to the infamous Muthaiga Club where the people from the Happy Valley days would gather. They would come there to have their fun. Even the prince of Wales when he came there rode a horse in the club after playing polo. So, we walked the gardens. This is the most comfortable home we've ever had in our Foreign Service experience, because it was built by a doctor for his private residence. It was built for comfort. Being a white stucco house, it was the place to drive by when it was first built in the mid-'30s because every other house was that gray slate stone that the Brits liked to use in building their houses. The gardens were also wonderful. So, we walked the gardens of three acres, but flat most of way and then it started down because behind the house was a steep hill going down to a small river. There was wildlife down there. But walking the gardens gave us a sense – it had a lap-pool, down at the last level before the hill began were nice tennis courts. It was a very usable residence. The one thing we did, the first thing we really did in order to build community – our household effects weren't going to arrive until eight weeks after we did, and Pru came up with the idea of having an open house for the community. Many people in the community never get to go into an ambassador's residence; "wouldn't it be great if they could come, since our personal items aren't here yet, we can have them go through any room they want." We did. It was a great day. The kids went through all the rooms then into the large yard and played, their parents saw the fun they can have. We had that open house and then extended it by saying that during the week including Saturday, certain hours of the day it would be open for members of the American embassy community.

*Q: What about security at the house?*

BUCKLEY: Except for robberies, Nairobi, Kenya was very safe. Even going out into the country. There was a guard – unarmed – at the gate, he lifted the gate when someone came to enter our driveway. That's it. There was no security. They were in the process of building a security wall – there was no wall before, just a fence. Now it's 1996, things are getting a little tighter with bombings taking place in Oklahoma City then New York city, the first World-Trade-Center bombing. So, they're now getting a little more security-conscious, so they were building a seven-foot wall all around our perimeter.

One of the consumers of my time would be visitors – relatives, friends. As you know, Kenya is a very attractive place to visit. Our first visitor came the first month we were there. It was Emily Nolte who now is in the State Department, her former husband was a Foreign Service officer. She became our first Peace Corps volunteer, and we basically adopted her because she was from Houston, very close to where my kids used to live when they grew up. She visited us right away and stayed a week because she was waiting for her companion, a woman that would travel with her throughout Africa then into Asia; they're taking their year off, sabbatical, and doing some traveling. That was good.

Then we had our first of many trips during our stay. The first one was to a place that had 70,000 acres that was a preserve for black rhinos. Privately owned, they took it upon themselves to maintain a preserve for black rhinos. Also, when we stayed there, I went out to have coffee the first morning from a little hut which was the place to get your coffee and here on the side lawn are two cheetahs, two full-sized cheetahs. The owner told me, "Go ahead, pet them!" They belonged to the house; they were still wild but they were so accustomed to people now, they were playing with someone's used coffee mug, they essentially would go hunt because there was a range for antelopes and gazelles and all that very close to them. They'd hunt and come back a few days later, rest up, and go back again. When I pet them, their hair was very rough, almost like sandpaper. You expect it to be like dogs' but no, it's rough.

In November we had the Marine ball which is always a favorite of Pru's. The reason is when Pru graduated from the Tehran American school, she spent a year after working at the embassy's recreation association and dated Marines. Her father was the admin counselor so he would make sure that the RSO reported that they would take care of Pru. But she always felt very comfortable around the Marines. When she was DCM in Senegal, actually chargé because George Moose was always somewhere out of country, not available (he was working on South Africa then), and Kathy Shirley came and again she was in Italy seeing her husband. So, it was like we grew up with these Marine balls from the time she was the GSO/B&F in Senegal, she just kept going to Marine balls and then she was charge at the Marine balls. I also enjoyed dancing at the Marine balls. The Marines changed a lot over time, of course. When we were first in Senegal, the Marine detachment brought as their guest of honor to the ball the head madam of the brothel in Dakar, Senegal. They did! Then five years later, the Marines were all talking about how they were saving their money for investments in the future and not spending it down at any brothel.



We continued to travel. Nairobi as you may know is a very polluted city. I tried to continue my exercise routine, walking from the residence up to Muthaiga Club and back. After a few days I realized I would be asphyxiated by those fumes if I continued to walk along the road there. It was really bad. So, we decided to take trips outside of Nairobi. Most of them were official. When we went soon thereafter to Lake Victoria, the huge lake, we visited their incredible research facility they had on the lake where our CDC (Centers for Disease Control) was located. It was for all waterborne diseases that would be examined there. That's when we learned the value of the nimm tree from India, because there were Indian scientists there projecting the value of using a substance from the nimm tree.

Then one weekend we took an interesting trip. In *Out of Africa* I remember when Meryl Streep and Robert Redford went on their own little safari and they played the music and they had their champagne. Well, somebody with enough money opened one of those small lodges to replicate that scene. So, for dinner, they would play the same music. The ambiance inside the restaurant would be of that period. The only difference is that the lodges (there were only three) were built on stilts very close to a hippo pool. Hippos and water buffalo are the most dangerous animals in Kenya. Not lions or leopards or elephants, it's the hippos. Come between a hippo (or water buffalo) and the water, you're in big trouble because they think you're going to cut them off. So, we would have a guard take us back and forth to the lodge. But we're staying right on top of a hippo pool and little did we know it was mating season. Talk about the sounds, the thrashing water, the roars. They embrace by opening their mouths and engaging with their teeth and everything. That was an incredible experience.

And now, at our residence another new experience. The security wall was now being finished. It's quite a wonderful avenue for Kenyan sykes monkeys. They are about three feet tall. They used the top of the wall to hop along, jump up into the tree that's right next to our bathroom window. One day Pru was in the bathroom and looked around and here's one of the sykes monkeys waving at her. We nicknamed him Snoop and Poop because he finally found a way to get in, and our dining room table always had a bowl of fruit on it – he got in and the staff found banana peels. We had to summon the guard with a stick to chase him out one time. The monkeys had a ball.

In December of '96, we invited everyone in the community that was born in 1946. I found a copy of the history of the residence and it was purchased after World War II in 1946 to become the ambassador's residence. So here it is, 50 years later, and everyone that had a birthday in 1946 can attend a wonderful dinner-dance celebration. We called it the boomer bash. Unfortunately (or fortunately because we got them captured on film), Molly Hardy was a CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) employee and she later got killed in the bombing; the person she brought with her was from the military liaison also was killed in the bombing. Julian Bartley, our well-liked chief of our consular section also was killed in the bombing. So, three people out of 26 who attended the boomer bash were killed in the bombing. But it was a wonderful night. Our former ambassador, Bob Godac who has only departed a month or two ago after five years as ambassador, was the DJ (disk jockey) for that dance. He was the new econ officer 1n 1996.

*Q: DJ by the way is disk jockey. This is somebody who plays records.*

BUCKLEY: He was assigned to get rock-and-roll records because these are boomers who grew up on rock-and-roll, and he did it. He has everything planned right down to the minute. Well, also the next day is his birthday. So, I had the cook prepare a beautiful cake for him and at midnight brought it out – but he wouldn't allow it! "No way, save it for later, after this party's over. I've got my recordings all set and timed, I can't be bothered by a birthday celebration!" So, I'm thinking, this guy is serious about his work.

Another thing I began to do in the fall of '96 was to continue to review the history of our residence. That led me to the December boomer bash. I also discovered that the residence the doctor had built in the 1930s was commandeered by the British as their headquarters for the British East African forces. They made an agreement with the doctor, "We need that building because of the space in the back" - they erected big tents like Quonset huts for the enlisted men to do their work. That was commandeered from 1940 to 1946. In reading further, I also learned that the Earl of Erroll, from Scotland worked there - he was the fourth in line to become king of England. I was also reading White Mischief, focused mainly on the Happy Valley crowd, and he's in their prominently. The book is basically about how he was murdered. I'm reading and writing this down, very interested, and learned that he was the personnel officer for the British East Africa forces at their headquarters and he had his office in our residence. Ah-hah. We can do something special to celebrate that connection – and Pru wanted to have something now in '97, to have another party.

So, I decided to produce a play. I had not written anything like this before but I wrote a play to have audience participation in resolving the unsolved murder of the earl. Diana who was married to a British lord, a much older man became romantically connected to the earl. He was a womanizer, always loved married women because he didn't want to be entangled with them, just used his charm to get their jewelry and money from them. He started a relationship with Diana in 1939 as soon as she arrived in Nairobi. Two years later in 1941, the earl is murdered. They arrested and tried Diana's husband and the jury quickly found him not guilty. So, it remained unresolved.

I came up with the idea of having a dinner murder-mystery in which the dinner guests would get to participate in giving their verdict on the murder. A friend designed the invitation that we sent out to thirty guests from the Nairobi community and a few from the embassy community.

*Q: Come to dinner and a murder*

BUCKLEY: Right. Fortunately, I received help in selecting the cast of eight persons, and it was going to be like Second City where they act extemporaneous with their respective roles. I gave each cast member a one-page description of what his or her role was. The audience was introduced to the cast by a former actress who knew Diana and some of the other Happy Valley characters. After the introduction, the cast and audience moved to

our large entry hall (to simulate a dance hall) to dance and in the middle of the dance Diana had a fight with the earl, because he told her she must return the necklace he gave her because he's running out of money and she says, "You'll never get this necklace!" They have a spat and leave the dance hall. Then we go to dinner and while at dinner, the superintendent of police arrives and announces that the earl had been killed. Then after the first course he returns and says, "We have arrested so-and-so." By dessert each table – there were four tables of 10 – had to come up with consensus on who they thought the murderer was. The actors and actresses, two at each table, had to remain in role so that all discussion was focused on solving the murder. And everyone came dressed in 1940 attire. I was the master of ceremonies, and I came as Rick from *Casablanca*, in my father-in-law's white dinner jacket. I slicked my hair back and welcomed the people when they rang the doorbell. The most fantastic one was Rhoda who entered with a cigarette in a long slim holder, her hair done up like a flapper, and she had an actual leopard skin from the Masai wrapped around her. "Is this the place, darling, for the activities?"

They all arrived dressed up; even Pru had a little flower in her hair. It was a wonderful event. I got one review, a favorable review: "When the audience got into the act." The article said, "But what was so crafty about Buckley's brilliant script was not just its interactive aspect or even that it was loaded with lots more intimate details about the actual murder and its aftermath – it was that the play flowed from room to room, the actors interacting with the audience all the way." Then someone sent me a little message, "All Kenya is asking, will Buckley's play move to Broadway? Or London?"

After it opened in our residence in January of '98, the East African Women's Association who needed more money than they knew what to do with, took control of arranging venues for the play. They made sure that all the wealthy Indian families as well as other wealthy people in Nairobi and the area would donate their homes and meals for a dinner to have it performed in their homes where they could invite 80 to 100 people, charge \$20 a person; they made thousands of dollars. They played it for over a year throughout Nairobi and in select places near Mt Kenya. It was a big financial success.

*Q: Was the Happy Valley ambiance still going, or was that pretty well dead?*

BUCKLEY: In our time? The wild happenings had reduced at that time. There was a lot of memories of it. However, we did go on December 31, 1996 to a sundowner on New Year's Eve in the Nairobi Game Park. Later that evening we went to the Muthaiga Club for New Year's Eve/morning celebration at the club, which was totally English oriented. The Muthaiga Club even in '96/'98 had a men's only bar. One day, New Year's Day, they would allow women to come into the men's only bar. The Muthaiga Club was still being run like it was in the Happy Valley days. The Happy Valley Days crowd was sort of simmering down. In fact, at that time – Kenyans were allowed to be members of the Muthaiga Club.

So now we're in Christmas of '97. Pru's brother and his family visited us over the holidays. As he was leaving, I remember he was scratching the back of his neck which

was all red. “Got this damn itch.” He returned home and a day or two later we got an emergency call from a hospital in South Bend, Indiana where he lives, teaches at the Indiana University at South Bend. He got on the phone with Pru and said “What the hell did you have over there? They can’t detect, my eyes are all inflamed!” It was what they call the Nairobi eye. I called our doctor at the embassy and said, “What’s going on? Our brother...”

She said, “Oh god we should have warned people, it’s like a large ant but it looks like a scorpion.” What happened, El Nino came – an extra heavy El Nino. When it did, it rained and rained and forced these little bugs out of their manure piles and they came out; they hardly ever come out. They came out, got into the pipes, and soon would be on your tables and in your kitchens, and if you hit them actual acid that would burn and cause blisters. The best way to deal with them – like with stink bugs, don’t hit them, just flick them to get them away, and that’s what we should have done. Peter should have done with the one on his neck instead of swatting it and crushing the acid into his neck. Soon as he was able to tell the doctor it was this kind of bug; they were able to treat him properly. But “Nairobi eye” was a major problem for our embassy people until written notification was distributed.

In early ‘98 I became heavily involved in community. Again, I was doing MBTI to individuals and groups.

*Q: Can you explain what that is?*

BUCKLEY: MBTI is the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator. After you take a quick multiple choice of 98 questions such as whether you prefer soft or hard, parties or books. My role was to explain the results of the “test” basically how you take in information, whether through senses or intuition, and how you come to decisions based upon whether it’s objective or subjective decision-making. It gives you that reference and how you differ from others that have a different preference type. It’s useful if you want to be able to understand and communicate better with people. That’s why I was trying to do it at Nairobi because of that division that existed within the community. Some of it was not caused by difference between the DCM and ambassador. It also involved each individual’s differences. So, I helped them reach an understanding of these differences. I facilitated this with missionary schools. American missionaries from different sects are involved throughout Africa. And particularly they liked Kenya. Where else could you go to do mission work and have a lot of fun doing it? There were so many missionaries in Kenya, they had a special boarding school for 500 kids of missionaries, a huge one. I was even invited to do the Myers-Briggs type for them.

I was doing that and also involved with the embassy association’s books. This time I volunteered to do the audit and discovered that audits are hardly ever performed for our recreation associations. Audits are very important for anyone that’s got a substantial amount of money, like these associations. So, I did it and unfortunately – but it had to be done – I found \$50,000 funds missing. I traced it to the warehouse where everyone could get discounted gasoline for their automobiles. We arranged years before with the Kenyan

government to have a special program where the embassy could sell the gas at a cheaper price than at the gas pumps in the city. So, over a number of years, they were siphoning off gas from the underground tanks. Over a number of years, the warehouse employees had a system where they would siphon off gas into their own tanks and take it with them. After a number of years, that accumulated to \$50,000. I thought “Don’t worry, I’ll interact with the person at State Department that is in charge of association funding monitoring and we’ll try to resolve this.” Plus, when I learned that was a woman who was the spouse of an AID officer in Dakar that Pru hired, so I knew her when Pru was a B&F officer. No problem.

I spoke to her, and she said, “Tell me more” and I gave her the details. She said, “There’s no way I can help you. As you remember during the time, I kept the books in Dakar, I go by the book. The book says, the most we can do is for you to arrange a repayment of a certain amount every year.” So, I’m hoping to see former ambassador Bob Godec to see if they’re still paying off the annual settlement with the State Department.

1998 was our R&R time. Pru didn’t want to take it during the summer because that’s when we have the turnover and she always likes to be there when the major turnover is happening. So, we took our R&R from mid-May to mid-June. In Spain for two weeks and Tuscany for two weeks. I found Spain to be an interesting place to drive through – we drove through Spain, rented a car. Did the same for Tuscany. But the Spanish food is not comparable to French or Italian. In the restaurants the only thing they had was a little olive oil. No seasonings on the table, and the food is usually bland. Paella is bland unless you really season it. Barcelona left us feeling better about Spain. Granada was very interesting.

Then we went to Tuscany. We were fortunate to have been put in touch with someone at the consulate who knew the owner of this apartment in Pasano, a little village of about 2000 people between Florence and Sienna on top of a hill as most of those villages were. We had a wonderful time there. Each day we would throw open the shutters like you’re supposed to, get that Tuscany sun to fill up our kitchen with light and warmth in the morning. Then I would walk down the hill to get an International Tribune at the cigar store. Old women would throw open the shutters and say something about this new guy walking to town. One of the most interesting things about this town was it taught us that the Italians during the ‘30s were very Communistic-oriented. There was a little bar on our street about 50 paces from the church that’s on top of the hill. So, we went to the church, went up to the altar and looked behind the altar and there was this huge mural of hundreds of different faces. We went back to the bar and had another beer and said, “What’s with that mural? They aren’t all saints!”

“Ah, they think they’re all saints. That’s the people of this village back in the ‘30s. That’s who they wanted behind the altar – themselves!”

That was the first neat learning we had. The second was when Pru called this nice little restaurant in town to make a reservation. She said, “I can’t try to pronounce your name, ‘Richard’, so I’ll tell them it’s ‘Ricardo!’” So, we made a reservation for two for Ricardo,

went to the restaurant and were treated like royalty. Later, she called the restaurant to make another reservation for “Ricardo!” And they replied, “You’re not the Ricardo we thought you were.” They thought we were going to be their steady customer, Ricardo. We didn’t get the treatment this time.

*Q: How did you find the food?*

BUCKLEY: Every place we went during the two weeks – We went on a lot of walking tours because we had a book, Walking in Tuscany. We would drive and then get out and take these tours through the hills. We’d be on top of a hill at a little restaurant – fantastic. It would be difficult – in fact when we went to Siena, we were in the town hall, all the tapestries and all that, beautiful. We went out on the big balcony and looked down. We were thinking about where to eat and there’s a restaurant right outside, 50 yards from the town hall. So, we go there. We end up at the restaurant and there’s a wedding going on. They said, “Do you want the same thing the wedding party’s having?” Yes! We didn’t join them but sat next to the wedding party and they just kept coming out and giving us the same thing, the good Italian food the wedding party was having. Tuscany, the food is incredible. The best place we’d been.

But then – never try to drive into Rome from Tuscany. To get into Rome – it’s not tourist-friendly. They don’t want you to enter the city from the hills. They want you to come in on trains or whatever. I mean, our hotel in Rome was next to the train station. You’d think they have a sign – train station? No, nothing! We were just driving around and around the hills surrounding Rome, finally we went to a police station and said, “Give us some help here!” The main train station was where I had to take the car back to and we couldn’t get there.

So, now we’re near July 4<sup>th</sup> and the big celebration of our national day. President Moi always liked to have his band come and play the Kenyan national anthem. But we had learned from others that his band was a bunch of alcoholics. After they play their music they get in their cups and boy, do they have a great time and cause a little disturbance. So Pru said, “We’re not going to have any of that. We’ll convince President Moi that his band isn’t needed; we’ll take care of the national anthem.” We went to that large missionary school. We knew that their high school would have a glee club or a choir. We knew they would know the Kenyan national anthem, and they did. So, we had a select group of about 20 of the students come, and as Moi arrived, they sang the national anthem. He was blown away, that these white kids from the United States would be able to give a rendition of the Kenyan national anthem. That was the first time he really came to our national day, before he would send his ministers. His people were following him everywhere. He wanted to take a hamburger? “Nah, nah, wait a second, what’s in there, what is this?” They would eat some before they would let him enjoy the hamburger and real American food.

My last good memory, a situation that happened just a couple of weeks before the bombing. Near the end of July, Robert Rubin, the Secretary of the Treasury, came with his wife, to spend a couple of days because corruption was a major problem of Kenyan

government. The World Bank and Treasury had been working on getting the right programs into Kenya, and he came to support Pru's efforts in trying to deal effectively with Kenyan corruption. So, we asked if they would like to go to the best Indian restaurant in Nairobi. Oh, certainly. Rubin's wife was a very interesting woman, very much into the arts. She was on the New York State arts board. She and the other board members had visited many of the local communities in New York state and she had been to my home town area within the past two years.

I learned from that evening why rich people continue to be rich. Now, mind you, Robert Rubin is a multi-millionaire, on to becoming a billionaire. Number two, Robert Rubin is on per diem when he's on these official trips. Number three, we can't get reimbursed for a government official that's not interacting with Kenyans during the dinner.

The bill arrived. Who's going to pay? I'm holding back. I mean, after all he's got to have some sense that he's getting paid for this trip, his meals are being paid for. I silently say "Pick it up, millionaire!"

Finally, the waiter keeps coming back and pushing the bill so finally we had to pick it up and pay for a multi-millionaire. You can't put the reimbursement request in for an American official. But what a story to tell, for that \$100 we spent. "Pru and I paid for this multi-millionaire to have dinner with us!"

Two days before the bombing, August fifth, she flew to the border of Somalia and Kenya because the problems had already started and the Somalis were trying to come in to Kenya and do bad things there. There were already large refugee camps in Kenya of refugee Somalians. She went there to interact and try to persuade people that, "Maybe you ought to start asking your relatives to make a way for you to get back home."

This was the first time during our life in the foreign service that I was concerned about Pru's safety. There was something gnawing on me while she was away on the visit to the Somali refugee camp, that was the first time I ever felt that something's going to happen.

*Q: Okay, we'll pick this up the next time.*

*Q: Today is the June 4<sup>th</sup>, 2018 with Richard Buckley. Before we go any farther, I don't think I asked you – where does the word 'Buckley' come from?*

BUCKLEY: It's probably from O'Buachalla, an ancient Gaelic name used as a name for a herdsman. My two grandparents came from western Ireland, County Clare and County Cork, and probably my ancestors were there during the famine.

*Q: I think some of my family were displaced by sheep up in Scotland.*

BUCKLEY: Exactly!

*Q: Okay, where did we leave off?*

BUCKLEY: We left off with the bombing.

*Q: Okay.*

BUCKLEY: Pru's experience will differ a lot from mine especially since she lived through it from the beginning until we departed.

*Q: Had there been any alerts or concern about this outside of the general one for the Foreign Service?*

BUCKLEY: No, I knew nothing. Pru did not disclose any embassy security issue to me, I knew nothing about any security concerns.

*Q: If there is a real threat the whole group would be informed, families and all.*

BUCKLEY: The major threats were the violence that was happening in and around Nairobi from strikes – bank strikes and student strikes. The embassy periodically would get gassed by drifting smoke caused by police chasing the students and trying to tear-gas them. But there were never any threats although I subsequently learned that – we didn't know at that time but Pru and the country team were aware of threats made by al-Haramain, another organization that was going to bomb the embassy. The embassy security officers provided the information to Kenyan officials and President Moi had the group removed from Kenya.

*Q: So, continue then.*

BUCKLEY: On August the 7<sup>th</sup> – a Friday – I was at home, just getting ready to go to our travel agency to pick up our tickets to go on safari. My birthday was August 16<sup>th</sup> so Pru was treating me and herself to a safari in Masai Mara again for a long weekend down there. I heard the explosion, but the residence was about 10 miles from the embassy so we thought it was one of those big trucks that usually blow a tire on the road out in front of the residence. As I walked through the kitchen to get to the garage when Sela the cook said “Have you heard?”

I said, “What?”

He said, “The embassy area has been bombed.” He got the information from the guard at the gate who had a walkie-talkie – a radio-phone that all embassy personnel had- he heard some details that the embassy had been bombed and told Sela. I went back upstairs to get my telephone/radio, and started to listen to the same information, and then came downstairs and snapped on the TV and to my utter amazement, I watched the horror as it happened before Pru would even see it because she was still trying to get out of the 21<sup>st</sup> floor of the building right across from the embassy. I was watching it because the photographers at the beginning of the meeting with the minister of commerce on the 21<sup>st</sup> floor with Pru had left, and had reached their vehicles when the bomb off. They had their



equipment and what we saw then on the TV was raw footage, uncensored, right through their machines into the studio and then broadcast. It was a horrific scene.

Then I felt that this was going to be a terrible incident. For me, it's...

*Q: You didn't know where Pru was?*

BUCKLEY: I should have because Linda Howard, her office manager always sent home for me her daily schedule card. I don't know whether I looked at it that day or knew, but I didn't have the presence of mind to go find it. I didn't have her schedule, no. That's the only way I would know.

While I'm watching this on TV, I got a phone call – our local phones were still working – from our neighbor, a Lebanese woman married to a Swiss banker who lived nearby. Samira was her name, a very tall, red-headed, very striking woman who befriended us from the first day we arrived. She always befriended the American ambassador and spouse because she loved to attend our parties. She said, "Richard, have you heard, have you seen?"

I said, "I'm watching now."

She said, "We were in the Hotel Stanley downtown when it happened! We just got home. This huge volume of smoke came from down around the embassy and then we saw all kinds of papers flying through the air, all over the streets."

She had been only a few blocks away from the embassy.

She said, "Come over to the house, we've got the English channels that are giving more information than you get locally" (because locally, you're just getting raw footage).

I took my radio from the embassy over to her house because they were getting information from London about the other bombing which we weren't getting in Nairobi because everybody was focused on Nairobi, so they got the information about Dar Es Salaam. And also, there were reports that two other embassies may have been hit, and we subsequently learned that there were two other embassies that may have been identified to be bombed, but weren't. One was Uganda.

So, we are getting all that information from British TV. I finally said, "Maybe I better go home."

She said, "Wait, wait."

Finally, Pru called me on the handheld radio/telephone and said, "Stay home! I'm all right, don't come near the embassy" and asked me to call her father and mother. Which I did. They called the rest of the family.

That was about an hour and a half after the bombing. A lot had happened in the area of the embassy that I was totally unaware of. But I stayed with Samira and then as we arrived at the residence, we came in right behind Pru and her car – she was coming home to change and to go to the children’s hospital, which is right down the street from us, to get her lip stitched. I went inside, she said “I’m going to get a stitch and then return to the USAID building” where they had now resumed their control and command center.

Samira said, “I’ll take you there” and Pru went into Samira’s car and they went to the children’s hospital and Pru had her lip stitched and she went to USAID building.

Then about 10:00 that evening, Pru came home, very wiped out as you can imagine, and her hair and suit drenched in blood, most of it from other people. She had intended to take a bath, but she was so tired she just crashed with her clothes on, she just barely got her clothes off and went to sleep. It wasn’t until the next morning, Saturday, that she got into the bathtub – her hands were bandaged also – and had me shampoo her hair, because it was very mangled.

She mentioned to me that morning something to the effect that, “Richard, I think my life has changed forever because of this incident; I can feel that.” I know that mine was going to be changed forever, going through the next few months living with her.

I joined her subsequently because it was Saturday morning and I knew a lot had to be done, and I could possibly assist in some of the affairs that were going to happen. The CLO was there, embassy doctor was there, and she told the CLO and me that the regional psychiatrist in Cape Town, South Africa, had called and he recommended that a critical-incident stress-debriefing be held as soon as possible, for as many members of the mission that could be convinced to attend. That became my assignment. The only place to hold it was in the residence. We planned it on the weekend. On Monday we did the recruiting for people to attend the meetings. We held the debriefing sessions on Tuesday through Thursday

Then through the CLO we matched older people like me that knew the wife or husband of the Americans that were killed in the bombing to go to their homes, to be available to assist them in any way that we could. Since I knew Michelle O’Connor very well because she was the BFO of the embassy and I was the accountant/auditor of the financial books, we had a lot of interaction. So, I volunteered to go to her home and meet with her husband and three kids, mostly with the husband.

I also knew Julian Bartley’s family fairly well, so I volunteered to also go to Sue’s house, Sue Bartley who lost both her husband – (Julian’s body had not been located for two days) but her son had already been identified as being one of those killed instantly inside the embassy.

I went to both of their homes. I spent a lot of time at Sue’s house, because there were a lot of people who congregated at her place since Julian was very popular in the Nairobi community.

*Q: You mentioned she was BFO, that's budget and fiscal officer.*

BUCKLEY: Right. That was how we spent most of the Saturday until the following Friday.

*Q: How were the people reacting, that you talked to? Were they dazed, angry?*

BUCKLEY: Michelle O'Connor's husband was wiped out. He didn't really know what to do. Fortunately, the CLO was going to have someone come over to really take him through the steps of how to get ready to depart, who can assist him and everything. He needed basic assistance because he was relatively new to the Foreign Service way of life. Sue Bartley was a trooper. She had been to six or seven overseas postings. She still held out hope that Julian was in the hospital somewhere. She was desperately trying to not lose more than her son at that point. There were all kinds of people around assisting her, so I was just sitting there trying to assess the situation and what was happening.

*Q: Were you picking up at the time early on any sense of rage at the Americans within the Kenyan community? How many Kenyans were killed?*

BUCKLEY: There were 200 Kenyans killed.

*Q: And, "The Americans brought this on us." Were you getting that?*

BUCKLEY: It didn't start then, no. It doesn't really start until Pru goes on television to try to calm the rising sense that "The Israelis helped us with their sniffer dogs but the Americans cordoned off like they didn't want us to help." You have to put this in perspective. There is a major tradition in Kenya called "harambee". Harambee is a celebration and a way that people in villages overcome disasters. Harambee is that everyone comes together and takes care of those that have been injured or is suffering misfortune. So those thousands of Kenyans outside ready to assist basically said, "Don't they understand harambee?" With our people armed with rifles.

That is going to be there at the beginning and it's only going to be aggravated by any further showing of not understanding the Kenyan people. But I saw nothing at the beginning.

*Q: I think Moi -*

BUCKLEY: Of all the people, Pru pointed out that the government never questioned the Americans, what their actions were after the bombing. They never – if the government had, then it would have been more difficult in that first few weeks. Our government did, but not the Kenyan government.

Then Sunday arrived and some time that late afternoon some Air Force personnel came in from one of the nearby air bases. On that plane was a woman captain who was acquainted

with the critical-incident-stress debriefing that the regional psychiatrist mentioned, so she said “I’ll be part of the team.” She was very aggressive, extroverted woman so she was just the right person to have, she was the one that was going to help me do the enlisting of primarily the FSNs to persuade them to participate. We started our plan that Sunday morning.

On Sunday, I went with Pru back to the AID building because now finally - all the rescue people that were supposed to be there on Saturday had plane difficulties and finally arrived now all together. Can you imagine? The FAST (foreign assistance support team) arrived. The 60-member fast Marine team arrived. Also, a USAID disaster team. And then arrived 200 to 300 FBI agents, all at the same time. And we’ve lost most of the people that drove the cars to do the pick-ups at the airport of visitors. It was an incredible logistic problem accommodating them, because the FBI doesn’t come with logistics, they came and hoped you can accommodate them.

We had a minor incident at the AID building of all these people swirling around issuing all kinds of edicts and demands. Finally, Pru sent the word to me to come into the main open area, large enough to accommodate a couple of hundred people. She called the leaders of all these different groups into this area and asked me to call the group to attention. That’s one of my favorite things, to call people to attention. Because as a lieutenant in the military – especially the second time when I served at Fort Polk, Louisiana – I loved calling the battalion to attention at reveille every morning at 6:00 AM. So, I just roared “Attention!”

Pru then spoke with passion – and I then had the feeling that she was back in form when she basically said, “Look at me! I’m the ambassador of this mission and unless I say something, it is not done. What I say gets finished. I’ll meet with each of you, go see my office manager Linda Howard who’s in the back there and she’ll arrange times that we meet to determine what your role is going to be. If I’m not available to issue that order, my DCM standing right here next to me will be in charge, and what he says, goes!”

From that moment on, I realized she was back in control again, no problem.

Then I went back to the residence. We had a group of five or six people identified to do the stress debriefings. We wanted to begin on Tuesday, so we designed it at the residence, what we were going to do and how we were going to do it.

Things were happening fast. First, the FBI wanted to do autopsies at post, in Nairobi. Pru said, “No way. The bodies need to go, the relatives do not want to remain here and go through some autopsy.” A plane was arriving on Monday to take the bodies to Germany where I think Madeleine Albright would meet them because she was already in Europe when the bombing happened. Some of the family members were going to go with the bodies. Pru said, “We can’t let them go without a proper ceremony – we always have a farewell for anyone that leaves, and especially now.” She quickly got her driver, Duncan, and he and she began at the residence (I was with Sue Bartley that afternoon) to find things to put on a memorial at the residence. It turned into a celebration of life at the

residence for the American community. The CLO enlisted two or three people that were dynamic. They came while Pru was trying to find a coffeemaker because she had no idea where it was, that was my job. I took care of running the operation at the residence. Two or three people just came to the residence and said, “Do you need any help?” Pru turned it over to them. Within an hour or so we were ready for about 100 people that showed up.

Pru started it off by saying, “I think we have the time now that each of us can have an opportunity to say farewell to the persons we lost, in whatever way you want to remember them.” She started and gave some personal comments about a couple of the deceased. She quickly integrated the deceased person’s wife or husband or family member there into it, and half of the family members did come forward and joined in the celebration of their spouse’s life by contributing their own reactions and thoughts. It was an incredible ceremony – the most impressive impromptu ceremony I’ve ever attended.

Samira, that wily Lebanese redhead, arrived with long-stemmed roses. She also located a pianist who played soft, beautiful music during the ceremony. The roses were given to each person as they departed. Someone else brought a recording of “Taps” and played “Taps” just as we were finishing. It was a wonderful event, just the right way to bid farewell to the relatives that were going to leave the next day.

Samira while all this was happening said, “Richard, you’ve got to come to my house again. I have three kittens that were born under my water tower, and I want you to look at them, I think they would be helpful for you now.” During the next few days I went to her beautiful little separate lodge made for her daughter, if her daughter every stopped traveling around the world. She was a war photographer, so she’d go anywhere and take photos of whatever conflict was happening. Now she returning to Nairobi. Samira had built this lodge and wanted me to take those kittens inside the lodge, that’s where she took them after they were born. During the next few days I would come and visit. And yes, we became the proud parents of two Kenyan cats, part-wild. The father was a wildcat, a feral cat that roamed the river area down below the residence. They became very much a part of our life.

Then on Monday we wrote up the debrief instructions. It was fortunate that I knew most of the FSNs because I had worked for the regional USAID and also for USAID/Kenya on certain training events for them. I got to know the AID FSNs. I already knew the FSNs from the mission because by keeping the books and doing the audit, I had to interact with FSNs in relationship to what their job was and how that related to the expenses. I knew most of the FSNs. I stood outside on Monday at the AID building across the little passage way from AID building was their eating facility, in their compound where they had lunches and breakfast. I got on top of a little box, we’d already put out a notice, and said “Here’s the place to sign up” and we got a considerable number.

We spent Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday doing it at the residence. Three questions we asked them to verbally respond to. Pru and I made the decision right away that we were going to merge Americans with Kenyans. About six or eight to a room, and we used every available room in the residence including our own bedroom annex where we had a

sitting room, and the spare bedrooms and the office. We had six areas going on simultaneously with the facilitator person just to ask the questions and keep them on schedule. This went on all day. It took an hour and a half for each group then they'd take buses back and a new group would come over.

We asked them three questions: Where were you when the bomb went off? What did you do then? How do you feel now?

There's been a lot of subsequent comment in scholarly papers in whether that works or not, this critical incident debriefing. A lot of people say it has to be done right away, and it has to be followed up. A few months later we had psychologists to come from Oklahoma City that had their bombing in '95 to do some follow-up as well as the regional psychiatrist from South Africa. I was mainly coordinating the whole thing, but I did sit in on one session. We did learn something from session to session. For example, the session I attended, I had to sit on my hands for about 15 minutes because the Kenyans are not used to meeting like this. This is a typical American-type of psychology. One of the Kenyans in the group started off by, "Well, on that day I got up at 5:30 and then had breakfast" - so it was like five minutes later he arrived at the embassy. We did have a few things like that happen. The objective was to help them begin to tell their story with others who experienced the bombing.

*Q: The idea of these sessions essentially is to get the people to be open about their experience.*

BUCKLEY: To get it out instead of allowing it to stay inside and try to deal with it by themselves. It took three days to have most of the mission participate. Then Pru finally bit the bullet and said, "I have to do it with the country team." Especially since half of the country team including the DCM, the CIA station chief, the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency) chief, the head of the military liaison, and another member were out of the country when it happened. After their return, Pru knew that she had to bring them together with the country team members that went through the bombing experience, and have them learn and share their reactions with each other. She couldn't bring the FSNs in to merge with them, she had to deal with the situation that existed between half of her country team members and the others that had not experienced it. They did it, and the Air Force major facilitated the country team discussion and did a very good job.

That was in the morning of Friday, one week after the bombing. In the afternoon we hosted the memorial session for the relatives of the 34 FSNs that were killed inside the embassy. This was an entirely different experience from our celebration of life. Kenyans like many people throughout the world experience death differently than we do. They don't want to go near psychiatrists, they don't want to really know any of that. They rely on their family and their church.

I reverted to my old role working at my mortician friend's funeral home - I assisted people as they arrived and escorted them to their seats in the backyard of the residence where we conducted this ceremony. It was something I had done before and it was easy

for me to do it again. It went on very well. People would come up to Pru and you would hear the relatives say, “God is great, God be with you.”

*Q: At one-point Pru – I interviewed her – was saying how she had sent numerous requests to State for better security and was told essentially that Kenya was not on the priority list. I think she said this on TV. She was getting some flack back from the secretary of State’s office – they were dodging the bullet, the normal bureaucratic thing. “It’s your fault, not our fault,” something like that. Were you getting any of this at this time or not?*

BUCKLEY: She didn’t say that. She was interviewed by CNN (Cable News Network) and whoever was interviewing her said, “Have you heard? We have heard from somebody in the United States that you sent a letter to the secretary of State” and Pru obfuscated. She would never say that. It will come out. I’ll get to that when the ARB (accountability review board) team shows up in November. Then she’s going to tell them the story.

So now we’re still the week of the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup>, the same week we’re doing the memorial service, and the advance team for the secretary of State arrives. I discussed the visit and I got them to agree – because I know our country team and how they feel – that it will only be the secretary when the country team meets with her. We don’t want any staff member from her contingent, just Secretary Albright. The advance team agreed.

*Q: This is Madeleine Albright, isn’t it?*

BUCKLEY: Correct. They agreed to that; we’ll see how the meeting goes when they arrive.

Also, another thing that we were busy doing was that Pru wanted an American and an FSN to attend every funeral if possible (if it wasn’t 200 miles away), of the FSNs being buried, their church service. I attended two or three of them, with an FSN from the mission. But those were all needed sessions.

Finally, on August 17<sup>th</sup>, Pru as advertised that a large town hall meeting would be held (she figured the Americans outside of the embassy needed to know what’s happened and what was now happening). We held it in the back of our residence, and 600 people showed up – there are a lot of Americans in and around Nairobi. At that town hall meeting which happened to be one day after my birthday that we were going to go to the Masai Mara – she finally realized it at that meeting that she forgot my birthday and said, I think we can overcome this by singing ‘Happy Birthday’ to Richard.” It’s the biggest ovation I ever received on my birthday. Then about four people came up and said, “My birthday’s August 16<sup>th</sup>, too! Good to see another Leo!” A wonderful gesture on her part.

Then the secretary did come on the 19<sup>th</sup>, she came and our poor community was sitting in the back yard from 5:30 PM until 8:00 PM in the dark. We had these planes that were having repair problems, having broken down, that delayed our rescuers by a day to get

here, and Madeleine's broke down in Dar, and she was four or five hours late. Not only did she create a terrible reaction with our people in the dark in trying to give them a message, but later the next day in the newspapers was, "Opposition Leaders Really Peeved at Secretary" - she couldn't meet them because it was too late, she left that night, the same night she came to Nairobi. That started the little bad feeling towards the U.S.

But remember that agreement I got? Well, two or three of her senior members slipped right in and were getting ready to sit down when the country team was getting ready to meet with the secretary and I escorted them out of the room. I said, "You can go to the veranda windows and listen over there if you like, but you're not going to participate in here." Some of the country team members came up afterwards and said thank you, we didn't want them in here.

*Q: Were you concerned about further attacks by Al Qaeda?*

BUCKLEY: No. No. Air Force sent a squadron that walked around – about 15 of them – our residence and I don't think they'd ever used guns before. I would go out and talk to them, they just seemed like "Where's my typewriter?" No, even though there were some incidents that something was going to happen again at Christmas time or something, it never happened.

In September we came back for a memorial that was held at the National Cathedral to show the family members that the president recognized what happened. The only thing about that was that he was giving a deposition that day to Starr's committee. It was the craziest thing I've ever seen. Clinton held a counseling session with Jesse Jackson before he arrived at the National Cathedral. His cabinet members were all there but the president wasn't, so there was stirring around, what's going to happen, music's playing. Finally, they showed up, slipped into their seats, and then Jesse Jackson came all dressed in his reverend attire through the altar-way and made his presence known.

It was an impressive ceremony. Then all of a sudden before it was finished, the president got up and left and all the cabinet members scurried out the side door and the only one left was Jesse Jackson, who came over and paid some greetings to us. But that was it because he had to run off to the deposition. Weird, weird.

*Q: Was there any consultation or coordination at the time between Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi?*

BUCKLEY: Our financial management section director arrived the day before the bombing. His wife had just arrived in Dar Es Salaam to assume her first or second tour. The objective was to bring them together; she came to Nairobi because during the bombing in Dar she lost a part of her nose, the tip of her nose. She was reassigned quickly to Nairobi to become part of our mission. We also became acquainted with Susan Hirsch who now teaches at George Mason, who lost her husband, her Kenyan husband, in Dar Es Salaam. We made very personal connections but I don't know of anything else that happened with the embassy.



The ARB (Accountability Review Board) people arrived in early November, 1998. Admiral Crowe was in charge. I didn't learn until later during our tour in Guatemala when Pru told me how she and the country team prepared for the ARB. But she took a legal pad before they arrived and reviewed every cable that she sent to the department beginning from that first week she sent a cable to State Department. In her first cable she described the security concerns: any person could step from the sidewalk, four steps up and you're inside the front door. The road was just 10 to 12 feet from that sidewalk, so well within the 100 feet setback established by the Inman Commission after 1983 Beirut embassy bombing. In addition to the possibility of a car bomb threat, there was also violence occurring since it was the busiest spot in all of Nairobi by train station, so it was incredibly busy. Anyone wanting to do harm against the embassy could easily benefit by noise and confusion to do whatever they wanted. She wrote a number of cables from August 1996 the first cable until a few weeks before the August 1998 bombing. Senior State officials Tom Pickering and Pat Kennedy would say in the interview on August 8<sup>th</sup> at the State Department that "she asked for a new embassy but there's no way." Pickering said, "Even if we could have granted it, it couldn't have been done."

She never asked for a new embassy. She asked to have the embassy relocated because the department was planned to make about \$4,500,000 of renovations, of safety upgrades, windows with Mylar. Her suggestion was to use that money and relocate the embassy somewhere away from this dangerous downtown location. Top State officials including Diplomatic Security top official avoided this request for two years before the bombing took place. They did not want to hear about relocation. But fast-forward, after we had been bombed, we placed a flag at our interim building a few months after the bombing. We had located a building half-way between downtown and the airport, a building that was easily renovated for embassy facilities and it would be right next to the Nairobi game park, the wildlife park in Nairobi. We had to make a deal with the Kenyan Wildlife Service to put these huge boulders to protect us from a terrorist attack on the game park side, so the wildlife couldn't get through and neither could terrorists. The bombing could have been avoided if State's top officials considered alternatives to its strict risk management policy.

Pru made a list of all the cables including the non-responses from State. She shared this information with the country team and said, "Do we have everything?" We knew, everyone knew that Washington provided little if any information about Pru's cables and frustrations. They're not going to the mission to get the original, they're going there last after they got the Washington version, the State Department version of what happened.

*Q: ARB is?*

BUCKLEY: Accountability review board, which was established after the Beirut bombing. Any time there is a major loss, expenditures at an American embassy or consulate, or loss of life, the secretary has to convene an accountability review board. Secretary Albright appointed the members.

Admiral Crowe was in charge of this one. I subsequently learned that Pru prepared a three-page list of cables and the response, if any, from the department. She was the first witness called. There were about six people on the ARB, all men except one woman, Janne Nolan. Pru decided to talk directly to Admiral Crowe. She wanted to look directly into his eyes and tell the story to him, and she did. They came looking, they had been basically told “we don’t know what happened, you know”. They came looking for someone to blame for the tragedy, someone who failed in his or her responsibility. By the time Pru finished her concise but persuasive presentation the ARB members understood clearly why State’s top officials did not share the embassy’s written concerns (through cables) with them.

She had made such an impact on Admiral Crowe and the other members of the ARB that Admiral Crowe had a reception after their investigation was finalized. I was there and he actually teared up when he apologized, because he said, “I want to apologize for the way you were treated by the people in the department before the bombing, and after.” To this day, Pru said he’s the only one that has ever apologized on behalf of the government.

*Q: He was later ambassador to the United Kingdom.*

BUCKLEY: Right. So, let me back up a little bit. We had befriended during the two years we had been there the director of the Kenyan Wildlife Service whose name was David Jonah Western. He is one of the foremost leaders in the ecotourism movement, coordinating tourism with the people that live there and especially the Masai people in Kenya. His goal is to identify ways that the Masai can be integrated into the tourism facilities in Kenya. We had become very close friends with them. His wife, Shirley Strum, is the expert on baboons. She had been 25 years researching and studying baboons in Kenya. She spoke to us early in October and said, “You have to get out of Nairobi. Come to my research station, spend a weekend with us, and we’ll treat you to good rest and outdoor interaction and I’ll let you walk with the baboons.”

We went there. Jonah flew us – he had a bush plane, four-seater. We were all set to have finally a nice, relaxing weekend. We land, Shirley met us at the plane and said, “I thought we could walk back but we have to drive. We just heard that there is a rogue elephant in the area.” We stayed at their little research hut, a little lodge. No running water, no bathroom inside – a loo about 50 feet outside of the facility.

I prepared to do the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) for her family because they’ve never done it. I’m introducing the MBTI and we heard gunshots. Rifle shots. “What the hell is that? Shirley, I thought you invited us here because it was peaceful?” Then we hear a big noise at the door and one of their neighbors down the road about 20 miles, said “Not to fret, not to fret but there’s some bandits in the area, but we’ll take care of it!”

So, check box number two. We have a nice dinner after we finished the Myers-Briggs test, we’re having a good time. We’re planning for the next day when we will take the walk with the baboons. About 9:00 pm Pru said “I have to go to the loo before I go to sleep.” She takes a flashlight, goes out and fortunately a cat appears out of nowhere and

hisses at something right in Pru's direction. Pru thought, "What the hell is this cat doing?" She walked close to the cat and saw a snake, raised up about two to three feet, looking right at Pru. Pru backed up and backed up right inside the house, and –

Kenyan Wildlife Service, right? He's lived with animals all his life, grew up with them in Tanzania and in Kenya. He said, "No way is there a snake like that out there."

Pru said, "That's the way it looked to me."

So, he went outside and the snake was still there; it's a puff adder, one of the most deadliest snakes. If it had struck Pru, it would have been the end of Pru because we are far from any medical treatment facility.

"Sorry about that, wrong call on my part!"

The next day we had a great time walking with baboons. Pru tells this story all the time, about walking with them and Shirley was pointing out their behavior, when a young male separated himself because a couple of bigger males were trying to get him, the young one ran over and took a baby baboon from the mother and held it close to him. Shirley said, "Uh huh, typical male. He knows exactly what to do. Those big males are not going to go near him. They know if they try to go near him while he's holding that baby, they'll be run over by all the mothers, the entire female contingent will get over and make males scatter quickly!" The first point of how some males are smarter than others.

They all lived – there were two troops, one troop she was really following – on top of this huge 30- foot boulder. That's the way they get protection. There was something going on with those crazy baboons but Shirley never provided an explanation.

The next day we planned to have a picnic by a wild river. On the way over to the river we encountered a cobra on the road – fortunately a dead cobra. Pru said, "I thought this was going to be peaceful! I'd rather be in Nairobi where we know where the dangers are!"

But that was a nice, different type of visit.

The ARB was finished, they've departed. We won't read their report until January. January of '99 the New York Times printed a large (leaked) article the day prior to the ARB released its official report. The article included information about Osama bin Laden's indictment in November 1998 as well as the basic facts that supported the indictment especially from two of the perpetrators who were caught. One used a bad passport and tried to get in Pakistan and a woman investigator at the airport in Pakistan pulled him aside and said, "This isn't you. Explain it." He couldn't. He was interrogated and the FBI was called in, and he was taken back to the U.S. Then another one that actually threw the stun grenades and was the main perp with the driver, got out of his car to try to order the guard to lift the gate so they could get right next to the embassy underground facility and blow it up. If that had happened, then the embassy would have collapsed. But the guard wouldn't lift the gate, so he got out and threw a stun grenade.

He allegedly told the FBI when they caught him a few days later that, “There was no reason for me to die now, I accomplished my mission. I had to get out of there before it blows.” He escaped, got some shrapnel in his back. Went to the hospital, still had the bullets he was supposed to use to shoot the guard - but he left the gun in the car. He tried to get rid of them at the hospital. He couldn’t flush them down the toilet so he left them on the window sill. FBI found bullets later. He took a taxi to the only place he knew was the small hotel he stayed at. He had no money, no passport, nothing because he was supposed to have died. The taxi driver said, “Okay I’ll let you go since you got hurt” and the hotel employee let him in. But he kept watching him, the receptionist at the hotel. He finally called someone who brought the FBI, and they arrested him and he told everything to them. From what he and the other guy said as well as the information they already had, they had enough by November to indict bin Laden.

We held the Marine ball in November. It was the first time the community has been brought together so Pru thought this might be the turning point, the grieving that has been going on, now we can at least begin to relax and heal. In fact, when the Marine came to see her about the ball, she asked him what kind of remarks, and he said, “We want to put this behind us” because they lost one of their Marines who had been killed in the bombing so brief remarks would help everyone.

*Q: Showing a picture here of one intact building with the windows all out, and another one’s just gone.*

BUCKLEY: The seven-story building is gone, it’s all rubble there. This tall bank building would have been destroyed if it had been built by the same people, but the Israelis built this; it was their structure, this bank contracted with the Israelis to build it, they wanted it built to safe specifications. Our building was also very well built. The interior was severely damaged – that’s another reason the Kenyans said, “Look your building is still there, why are you protecting it so much?” Inside was an incredible disaster when I went inside a week later.

But the point I want to make where the Marine was killed was right there. Everyone in line by the cashier was killed. There were four or five people waiting for the cashier to open up. The Marine was one of them. He was right there. All the people that were killed were mostly on this first floor or a few on the second floor, some on the third floor.

Look. Nobody got injured beyond that section This is supposed to have been like this. All sections except one were glass, this section was all reinforced concrete, no glass. The CIA people were here behind the glass. The CIA secret-coding equipment was here behind the solid reinforced concrete wall. They’re protecting the equipment. That’s when I began to feel angry on how we brought our operations overseas. They were protecting the paper, but not the people. That underscores it. From that moment on I began to say, “Why is the CIA in our embassies? They’re an attractive nuisance for our embassies, for something like that to occur.” There has been some movement that the CIA should go

back to their original operations, get their cover in businesses and other facilities but not rely on the embassies. Because that's one of the reasons why they chose the embassy, it had all this equipment. They tried to question Pru at the trial, "What was all that equipment?" There were all kinds of electronic equipment on top of our building. The judge wouldn't let them question her on that topic.

But we lost two CIA persons that were here behind the glass.

*Q: Where was the consular section?*

BUCKLEY: Consular section was right over here on the first floor, way up front. But the GSO was also right here. Most of the people got killed in BFO, the budget and fiscal for section. It was all open. From one side of the building to the other, it was all open space for the 40 employees sitting at their desk. If they didn't take cover under their desk, they would be seriously injured or killed. Some of the people like Michelle O'Connor stepped outside their office into the hallway and what happened was the force of the bomb could pick up a safe and throw it from one side of the building to the other. That's how much force that explosion had. They were killed instantly, lost their heads or other body parts. People at the cashier's office were totally obliterated. That was a very, very damaged place.

So, back again to the Marine ball. The Marine said, "Ma'am we want to put this behind us. If you could make your remarks as brief as possible, no problem."

We arrived and it's packed, everyone dressed to the nines as usual. Marines were there and brought the cake and asked Ambassador Bushnell to cut the cake for the oldest and the youngest. Michael Marine was the oldest Marine there, one of the marines of the detachment unit was the youngest. Then Pru made her remarks, and she had learned that one of the GSOs, Steve Montgomery, had asked the gunny, the sergeant in charge, if he could make – because he befriended the Marine that had been killed – some comments about him at the ball. The gunny said, "You have to make them very brief. We don't want to dwell on this."

It appears that Steve had not attended the critical incident debriefing session, had not discussed this with his wife who was one of those who made the memorial session at the residence possible (she was a very involved person and was also employed by the embassy). This was the first time. At the Marine ball three months after the bombing and Steve had not spoken to anyone about it. He began - "When I first met Sergeant Aliganga, let me tell you how it all began." And it went on, and on. The Marine with the sword began wavering and wavering. He would have fallen on his sword had a woman behind him not grabbed him by the belt. I don't know why Pru let him go on. He went on. After the Marine almost fainted Steve stopped momentarily and then said, "These things happen, you see what almost happened to the Marine with the sword? They happen because they're standing so long!" (Laughter)

The people are thinking what is going on with this guy? He finally wrapped it up, and for the first time his wife said, “He smiled! The first time since the bombing!” We subsequently learned that was his critical stress debriefing. He had to get it out and he had no other way to do it. He finally saw a way to do it, so he told his story to all at the marine ball.

*Q: Oh, boy.*

BUCKLEY: It was something. But once that was finished and the music began, it was the beginning of the turning point, that Marine ball.

Then in December, Pru’s mom and dad arrived to help us do the same thing that they did when they were in the service overseas. That is the Christmas day brunch for singles and those that are here in Nairobi and not able to get out and celebrate it anywhere else. So, dad would serve the drinks; mother would help me with the serving of the food, because the staff were not there, staff was off for their own celebrations at their homes. It helped Pru definitely to begin to turn the corner, that Christmas.

Our Kenyan healing cats (Sam & Saba) also helped. They both slept near us on the large king size bed. As kittens, they entertained us daily such as hiding under the bed or in the bedside cabinet drawer where their toys were kept.

One thing that Pru decided to do early in the fall after the bombing was to make a remembrance garden at the residence. She hired a young Japanese garden-designer to collaborate with Pru. They worked together to choose the spot, to draw what the background would look like after the trees and bushes grew. They essentially made a half circle design and used bricks to inscribe the name of the 46 that had died in the embassy on each of the bricks. So, 46 bricks like a half-moon going around this little pond. It had little rocks, cascading water through it. It was a beautiful area.

In January, we held a remembrance ceremony that included members of the embassy as well as the FSN relatives to come and participate in this celebration, and at the end they walked around the pond with the name of each deceased person inscribed on the bricks surrounding the pond.

It all would have worked out beautifully, but the State Department decided it would be a good idea to have the relatives of the Americans who had been killed to come to this celebration. That added an element of –

*Q: Of discrimination.*

BUCKLEY: Irritation. Susan Rice was scheduled to be in attendance but she had not met with all of the relatives – Sue Bartley and the other Americans that were still very angry because they had not received any assistance. No recognition of their loss. Susan would be on the receiving end of their frustrations because they requested to talk to her after the

ceremony at the residence. Despite State Department's addition, it was a wonderful event.

That weekend, Susan and Pru who knew each other very well because Susan was at the National Security Council, AF, when Pru was DAS. They had a lot of interaction during that time. They went away that weekend so both of them could get out of the area and do some commiserating with themselves.

When Madeleine visited in September, when she was in the car alone with Pru she said, "What's next? Where do you want to go next?"

Pru had not been on that wavelength for the past few weeks. But Linda, her office manager and I had developed a plan that we wanted to go to Central America. Pru had of course a list of the available embassies that were available for bid for assignment in 1999, and Linda would say, "Peru? No way, they don't take cats." Any place she didn't want to go to, she would find a reason for Pru to scratch it out.

Guatemala was almost the result of default judgment. It was there. We basically said to her a few weeks before the bombing, "Guatemala."

When Madeleine asked her, the only place that came to her mind was Guatemala. And Madeleine said, "Great, you'd be good for Guatemala." So that's how she got assigned to Guatemala. The WHA, Western Hemisphere Affairs assistant secretary told Pru personally when she visited him subsequently, "You should know that you weren't our pick. You're still not our pick, but we'll get along with you as much as we can." She spoke with him, Anthony Romero, recently because he obtained a grant to make podcasts of foreign service people with their stories.

Now we're in May, 1999, near the time we're departing. I must mention that starting in January, Pru began to learn Spanish. One of the reasons she got a little perturbed at Linda and me for suggesting Guatemala – she would have to test at least 3/3 in Spanish if she would be able to have a proper conversation with the Guatemalan president or the media. Pru began to learn by taking Danielle Steel novels in Spanish and she'd read each page. If she couldn't read the entire page, she would check a dictionary until she mastered it and then went to the next page. That's how she began to get at least an awareness and a better capacity to prepare for FSI and not walk into FSI cold. She did that for nearly five months before we left.

She never expressed this to me except once, but she was getting a little irritated that no-one said anything, realizing her departure date is looming, not even Linda asked Pru out to farewell lunch. I knew of course what was happening – I had to since I was going to be the pivotal factor in it. Behind the scenes, we had decided to throw her a farewell party at the DCM's residence without her knowing it. The day before we would depart, I told her we had to make these last rounds of errands. We accomplished the errands, and I said "We have one more. We have to go to the DCM's residence at about 4:00 PM."

We came to the DCM residence in her big old Cadillac, red Cadillac with orange license plates. Duncan turned the car into the DCM's residence, the gate opened and there are 700 members of the mission lined up along the driveway wishing her farewell. She couldn't believe it. We had a great party and the next day we boarded the airplane back to the U.S. of A. with our two Kenyan cats.

*Q: Okay. We should stop here.*

BUCKLEY: Yes, now a whole new life ahead of us.

*Q: All right. We'll pick this up when you're back in the U.S.A. to learn Spanish.*

*Q: Today is the 11<sup>th</sup> of June, 2018 with Richard Buckley. I'll let you take off.*

BUCKLEY: When we arrived in Amsterdam, we had a layover from Nairobi. Pru went on to Newark and I went to Houston because three of my children were getting married. One was not a church wedding, just a minister with a few remarks. The other two are at a church. I was in Houston for ten days for the two weddings, and Pru re-united with her family, mainly in Pennsylvania. The two cats were placed in a special "cat condo facility" and remained there until we completed a short vacation in southern Virginia in our new Subaru Outback.

One fact I must mention why Pru was anxious to resume life in the U.S.A. Her last day, the day before her last day, she met with President Moi. Well, he didn't invite her into his office – he held her departure farewell outside on the entrance way so the media could be there, and media were there, and he gave her the coldest send-off she's ever received, ever. He basically said, "I don't know what you've done during your three years here but you haven't done anything for Kenya, I can tell you that." He just went on.

She says – I think she says it in her book, too – she just looked at him with a look like, "you son-of-a-.... All we've been through and you give me this sendoff." They parted and the female minister that Pru always had such a great liaison with said, "Pru, please see me a little later."

They met for coffee, and she said, "It wasn't you." Here's what happened. Before he had to engage with a political appointee the writer who was there in the early '90s who had fought Moi mano to mano. He had a female, Elinor Constable as the ambassador prior to the writer. And after the writer, Aurelia Brazeal, a light-skinned black ambassador preceded Pru. A few days prior to Pru's departure, Moi learned that the White House was prepared to nominate Johnny Carson, a black man to be ambassador to replace Pru. And this is why Moi was peeved. It is all about power of position and respect. One person that older African country presidents do not like sent to their country - more than a woman, is a black ambassador from the United States, because they consider this the lowest recognition the USA could possibly convey. So that was the reason why he was so – of course, he would never say that, it was up to the minister to give Pru that information. Of



course, it didn't eliminate Pru's feeling of the disrespectful incident. But it was fortunate she had developed this relationship with the female minister.

Along with us were those two little wild kittens of ours, not quite a year old. They've never been anywhere except underneath the water tower then transported three blocks to the residence. What's not to love, this beautiful large residence they could roam at will through – which they did – as kittens. We found a condo/motel arrangement out by Dulles Airport to place them for a few weeks before Spanish lessons begin. During this time while we are on our home leave and making some trips. We thought that was the best arrangement we could make for them, they'll love it. No way.

After the week at the Outer Banks we went to Blacksburg, Virginia. We stayed at the same place they filmed the motion picture, *Dirty Dancing*.

*Q: Greenbriar, is this?*

BUCKLEY: No, it's way down. It's beyond Virginia Tech, almost into West Virginia, it's in the mountains. It was a nice old hotel, frequented by lots of people while we were there. We had a good time.

We picked the two kittens up from their condo and brought them – to a new apartment building behind the Arlington County courthouse. The two kittens are definitely shocked from being separated from a month and they don't come out from under the bed for two or three days. They are so whacked out. They've gone through kitten shock.

Pru starts her one-on-one, four hours a day of Spanish at FSI. She does it four hours straight. There are some days where after one hour, the instructor says "Do you have any questions? You've got three more hours, so ask me anything, we'll have a conversation."

Pru's thinking "Why don't you ask the questions?"

I'm placed in an awkward situation, in my Spanish class with all junior officers. Now, the prior time I went through French training (which didn't help me too much) I was with just spouses. This time, I'm with junior officers. I went to see the instructor a couple of times and said, "I should be out of here. These kids are competing with each other and themselves to get the highest they can in order to get their positions well-settled, and I'm just fumbling with trying to pick up..."

It didn't work too well even though Pru said, "You're learning Spanish a lot easier than you did French."

I said, "That's not saying much!"

But I stumbled through and she of course got here 3/3 because she has a gift for languages that she picked up when she was a kid.

In August she had the swearing in, but it was much smaller and low-key. We went from the Franklin room for the Kenyan swearing in – you know that little room you go through to get to the Franklin room, it's right ...

*Q: They have tobacco leaves on the Corinthian columns.*

BUCKLEY: Right. It's just enough for about 40 people. That's about what showed up this time instead of her 200 for Kenya. She wanted it low key, just the family and a few friends to attend.

Then, in September – that was August -

*Q: What year is this?*

BUCKLEY: It's '99. In mid-to-late September. Before departing for Guatemala Pru was invited to a Frostman annual get-together for Republicans. It's a big hedge fund, billionaire from New York City, and it seems that every year before an election (2000 is coming up), he invites about 150 people, one-third are top Republicans, one-third are entertainers or Silicon Valley people, and one-third are panelists. It was a three-day event. In the morning, they had panel sessions. In the afternoon, they played golf, take a walk. In the evening we went to the theater in Aspen, a wonderful setting. Tony Bennett was there one night. He was incredible. The singer, Tony Bennett.

We received the attendee list before we departed. Those I've underscored were the persons we met. Then we'd come back to our room after the evening session at the Aspen Theater and go, "I can't believe we just met them."

Pru has excellent interpersonal skills acquired from all of her formative years in the Foreign Service, knew instinctively who to chat with at the cocktail session preceding dinner the couples by themselves are the newcomers. Probably ten percent of the crowd are attending for the first time like Pru and me. The first night we notice a middle-aged guy and his wife off to the side of the bar all alone. We introduce ourselves. And he is the founder and owner of Home Depot. After a cordial chat of 10 or 15 minutes we moved on to the bar there's a colored couple at the bar. We introduce ourselves, and this man said "I'm Marty King." We have the feeling – later at the room check the list and it was Martin Luther King's son, Martin Luther King the Third. That's the way the whole three-day event went, we're always running into well-known people.

And the reason Pru's there, she's invited to participate in the first panel session, "Terrorism at Home and Abroad." With George Tenet, Christiane Amanpour, Prudence Bushnell, and Richard Clarke." And Jim Kellstrom, the former assistant agent in charge of the FBI in New York City. It was a very good session. Charlie Rose, who just got outed this year, was the moderator. It was hard for Pru to get a word in edgewise but she insisted because she's learned nowadays for a woman to get recognized when you have these strong male figures on the panel, you have to interrupt. She made some interesting comments, and it was a good session.

Then it broke for about 30 minutes; they have two sessions each morning. And we noticed – most people left, but I noticed a woman still sitting in front I said, “Isn’t that Oprah?” Pru said yes.

*Q: Oprah Winfrey, who’s a major TV figure.*

BUCKLEY: Right, correct. So Pru said, “Let’s go talk with her.” We went over, and we introduced ourselves.

She said, “I loved your comments” to Pru. “That one thing you said about Osama bin Laden is no different than any other guy. He puts his pants on one leg at a time. Same way my guy does. So, I could connect with that.”

That was what this long weekend was all about. We had – lunch sessions, you could sit where you wanted. One day we sat with the San Francisco crew. The California people, particularly those from San Francisco, wherever they go they congregate. George Shultz, former secretary of State, has his little group at the bar one night. They’re all from the San Francisco bay area. But Pru being Pru got herself right in there and told him how she appreciated his time as secretary of State.

Then one night at dinner, I sat next to Dick Cheney’s wife Lynn and we were talking about math because she taught math at one time. Dick Cheney was at the table as well as Bob Woodward; they seemed to despise each other. And it came up in that conversation with Cheney saying, “You know, you ridiculed me when I was running for the presidency, you really did, Bob.”

“I was just telling it as it was.”

“No, no.”

I thought they were going to get some weapons and go at it. But that’s how these sessions operate. These are all top people. Colin Powell was there, we got to meet him quickly.

But the thing that stole the show – and Pru and I will never forget – is Charlie Rose had for lunch an interview with Mandela. The founder of the party and the president of South Africa, first black president of South Africa. Following opening comments, he asked Mandel “When do you think that South Africa will attain the status of a full democracy like the United States?”

Bad question to ask Mandela. Mandela said, “Wait now, I don’t consider the United States a full democracy. You don’t have health care for everyone like most democratic countries. You don’t provide transportation to people that need it. Your schools are not adequately funded. No, I really don’t.”

Rose – now mind you, Mandela was a Republican favorite and was a very close friend of Frostman who’s financing this function that’s why he’s there. Frostman invested a lot of money in South Africa. Charlie Rose said, “You can’t mean what you said.”

“Yeah. Your roads are terrible.” (Of course, his roads are terrible, too.)

So essentially, he went from being a favorite – you could almost feel the audience going, “Who is this black man up there challenging our way of life here in the United States?” Charlie Rose was leaving him with that reaction, signing off with “Well, I can’t understand how you can say these things, Mr. Mandela.”

Well, Mandela is one true politician. That feeling dissipated that evening at dinner. Mandela had to fly out the next morning. At dinner, he put on a white Stetson-cowboy hat and visited each table, shook hands with everyone and told them how delighted he was to participate in this session. Just about made full amends so they would resume their good opinion of him. That was a fantastic learning experience for all of us.

Somehow, we got invited to return to Washington on a private jet that seats 10. The 10 are all Washington, DC-based, that’s where the jet was located. On the plane is John Glenn the astronaut and his wife; Chris Matthews (and his wife) who at that time was one of the main TV news channel reporters; and Bob Woodward. Bob Woodward used most of his time interviewing Glenn. I looked and thought, “He’s got another subject for a book or something.”

I talked to John Glenn’s wife all about being a spouse of someone that goes away for months at a time. She said she and other Senate wives who had husbands like John Glenn who would run off and do campaigning or when Glenn was in astronaut training to orbit earth – she said, “We just arranged trips. Europe, here. We had a good time.”

I told her when I get home, we’re going to take this list and start with Christiane Amanpour because we took a nice walk with her and her husband who was the spokesperson for the State Department -

*Q: Can’t think of his name right now. She by the way was - for somebody looking at this in later years, Amanpour is a correspondent on TV, a major news figure.*

BUCKLEY: She still is, she’s been for like 20 or 30 years now. For international affairs, I think she still does it for CNN. We’ll review this list and select a few more. We’re going to do it with Judy Woodruff; Judy Woodruff has a one-on-one for authors, they started a couple of years ago. Jim Comey was just on last month with Judy, having an interview about his book. I’m going to send her an 8½” by 11” photo of her presenting Pru with the career service award given annually by Partnership for Public Service. They give these awards every year to top federal employees to recognize them and Judy Woodruff presented the award to Pru in 2005.

Now it's August 7<sup>th</sup>, the first anniversary of the bombing. State's going to try to do it right now by holding it at the department of State. They turned it into a regal event instead of making sure the people who were in the bombing got invited. Pru, like she usually does, had to remind them again and said "I've got folks that need to be seated at your memorial and you're telling me not to ask any more slots because all seats are taken? By whom? Who's taken all the seats?" She had one more clash with the seventh floor at the State Department.

A few days after that she went to see a doctor at State; she was getting all kinds of pain in her jaw. He diagnosed her with TMJ (temporomandibular joint). Not until years later, someone told her you should go see someone because we suspect you have PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder). Which she did. She just carried it with her until she got out of the Foreign Service in 2005, then while she was still trying to find out what she was going to do with the rest of her life, it wasn't until we came back from a trip and Lee Ann Ross who was with us in Nairobi said you ought to go see someone. She sent her to one of the somatic therapy specialists who did help her.

With our two cats, we spent the first weekend at the ambassador's residence. Beautiful large backyard that the two cats will enjoy except when large blue jays disturb them. We arrived into the embassy's garage on Monday, underground, and it was just like – in fact, the building's very similar, built about the same time as the one in Nairobi, very similar building. Underground garage. Pru almost had a panic attack, because it's the same circumstance. Fortunately, before we departed, she had a meeting with the assistant secretary for OBO, the overseas buildings office, and the assistant secretary for diplomatic security. They met together and they said, "Pru you have to stop selecting these embassies that don't have 100 feet setback. Sorry about that. We'll make a deal with you. You won't write any cables back about the condition of the embassy with regard to setback. Give us 90 days and we'll take care of the situation."

She said if you can do it, agreed. They started to buy up apartments on the two streets that bordered the embassy to get them the setback and they got the mayor of Guatemala City to agree to have those streets closed to traffic. This gave us a safety avenue into the mission. So, that took care of the setback. Something like that could have also been done in Nairobi; there were other alternatives.

Unlike Kenya's sporadic violence mostly associated with elections or strikes, Guatemala had 500 years history of violence, and it continues. You see it right away. Almost every store that has anything of value inside has a person outside with a big gun, guarding it. All over Guatemala City, and in the countryside the same thing. Pru had a contingent of nine bodyguards living above our kitchen in a dormitory that's been established for them to sleep in. Nine persons in three vehicles when she travels anywhere – a lead vehicle, her vehicle, and a follow van, and everyone's had guns. The reason for this has nothing to do with Pru and the bombing in Kenya, it's been going on since 1960s.

*Q: Oh yeah, Central America is ...*

BUCKLEY: Our U.S. ambassador was assassinated during the civil war in Guatemala in 1968. He was killed in the official car driving to the embassy; the assassins blocked his way and somebody got close up and killed him. So ever since 1968, the Guatemala police have provided this contingent of 18 guards, nine on and nine off, for the U.S. ambassador. She wanted to get rid of the guards because they would follow her into the bathroom – they were all men, until a woman was placed in the guard contingent. They went everywhere. We'd be in our study reading the Tribune and before you know it, they'd be right on top of her - "You have a telephone call." There's no privacy at all with these guards.

She wanted to have them dismissed; she knew the history. I said, "Pru, look at this way. Unemployment is heavy in Guatemala, especially among police. They have guns that they will probably keep. They have the keys to this residence. They know our routine. You don't ever want to get rid of these guards. Let the authorities handle any situation that comes up." She kept them, and got a woman to help out.

The year we arrived, '99, Guatemala elected a populist as president. He also happened to have a little incident in Mexico; he killed a couple of men in a shoot-out. We never learned the details, but it was part of the story told by the media in Guatemala. The oligarchs run Guatemala and the military is their armed force to maintain their control.

*Q: Do you want to say, when you got there, what was the government and political situation in Guatemala, and how stood America-Guatemala relations, at that time?*

BUCKLEY: Fortunately – Pru was thankful for this – in 1996 through UN auspices they signed a peace accord between the Mayan villagers and the Guatemalan government. Any of those radical people that fomented the civil war, signed the peace accord with a lot of steps to be taken. The United States government will invest heavily in the development effort because the National Security Archives published documents showing that clearing US played a major role in the overthrow of the democratic government in 1954.

*Q: Was that Arbenz Guzman?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, Arbenz was the president, democratically elected. The Dulles brothers were running foreign affairs – Allen Dulles was CIA, John Foster Dulles secretary of State. They were on the board of United Fruit which was a major landowner in Guatemala, for their bananas and other fruits. President Arbenz was offering United Fruit a fee for them to sell to Guatemala their fallow land, the land they were not using. United Fruit rejected it. He needed land because the population was increasing especially in the villages. So that effort he made gave a signal to the Dulles brothers – one's an attorney for the United Fruit board – that they've got to do something about him. They went to Eisenhower and said, "This guy is starting a Communist regime in Guatemala, we have to do something to stop him."

Eisenhower gave them the green light to do whatever was necessary to stop that. We have seen some papers that the ambassador that was assigned to Guatemala then, 1954, actually was involved in directing the air attacks from the small planes that were throwing bombs at selected places during the time of the takeover. Of course, the CIA was very involved. That became public knowledge to such an extent that when we arrived there wasn't a CIA presence. Finally, they sent in one young CIA officer who made the mistake of walking into Pru's office and said, "I've got some ideas on how I can really revive our presence here, and here are the things I want to do to start."

She said, "Why don't you just settle in and learn a little more about the past of this country and then we can talk about it, okay?"

*Q: The Arbenz situation – I came up right away with his name. This is something that has become you might say the showcase figure of bad CIA involvement in foreign countries. It's well known, a black mark.*

BUCKLEY: Right. It set the precedent for all of Central America then and subsequently. Also, you remember they were involved in Iran with the overthrow of their democratically elected government at the same time.

*Q: The prime minister, I can't think of his name.*

BUCKLEY: Mosaddegh.

Anyhow, it was also a precursor of the Vietnam village efforts to prop up the village to be hamlets of support or get rid of them if they're not, the same way they did in Guatemala. They created dissension among the villages in the highlands and would equip those that had trouble with the surrounding village and they would become an active armed village, offensive or ready to do whatever the oligarchs or the military of Guatemala wanted them to do. It created a lot of dissension and problems that still to some extent exists.

So, not only was that peace accord helpful – one other thing that helped Pru, unlike in Nairobi, President Clinton came a few months before we arrived and apologized publicly for the U.S. role in the 1954 overthrow of Arbenz. That allowed Pru to come in with a better political climate, particularly among the Mayans and other non-oligarchs.

*Q: Could you explain, is it a triangle situation, was this a distinct class in Guatemala?*

BUCKLEY: Well actually there are three major classes. One is the oligarchs. They are the wealthy people and control the media and military so they are the ruling class. They determine usually who's going to be president.

Then you have what we call – this is a classification I learned in Spanish class – "ladino". Ladino is usually like in Argentina, it's a bad word.

*Q: It's like thief.*

BUCKLEY: It is. It's the only Spanish speaking country in Central or South America that uses "ladino" to mean "mixed bloods." But they don't think they are of mixed -blood, they think they are totally descended from the Spanish. There weren't that many Spanish in Guatemala to begin with. Many ladinos are much darker. Anyhow, it's the ladino and the Mayans that comprise nearly all of the population. The population is beginning to be very closely divided between ladinos and Mayans. In fact, the Mayans probably if we are counting correctly are 60/40 over the ladinos. The oligarchs have very cleverly played off the ladinos against the Mayans. The ladinos don't even consider the Mayans the descendants of the ancient Mayans. They just see them as Indians, riff-raff.

So that's the political reality of Guatemala.

*Q: United Fruit, what was its status when you got there? Did it have a status?*

BUCKLEY: Oh, yeah. They still owned all of their land, their great banana plantations. It's been reduced significantly since then, a lot of it went to the Hawaiian Islands. They still own land there and are still powerful, but not like they were. The oligarchs still have most of the fertile land.

On New Year's Eve of '99, of the new century starting January the first, 2000. we had the unique advantage of being in Antigua, Guatemala. It was the capital of Central America under Spanish rule from early 1500s until the 1800s. Antigua is a beautiful small community underneath a major volcano, was the political center of Central America and now is recognized by the United Nations as a unique historical center, I think they classify them as historical areas, throughout the world. We spent New Year's Eve in Antigua, had dinner but about 11:00 we're wiped out. We returned to Guatemala City to celebrate New Year's on our roof, to welcome the new 21<sup>st</sup> century.

*Q: Was there concern about what was going to happen at the turn of the century? There certainly was in Moscow. There was fear that computers were not equipped to add a different century figure, the last two digits were the governing thing, they were afraid all the sensors would shut off. It was a real concern though nothing particularly happened. How about there?*

BUCKLEY: We didn't have that concern. It was mainly Washington-driven. Dick Clarke in one of his books writes about that – it's the only time he's ever done an after-action review, of the millennium threat. It's the only time they had good cooperation of the unified federal agencies, according to him – and it appears that way. They really went all out, because they thought it was a threat. Dick Clarke as you know is heavily into cyber-security. It started back at that time. It wasn't in ours, no.

Meanwhile, our two kittens are now cats and they begin to really love it. The residence is a little bit larger but more formal than our residence in Nairobi. Nairobi had a small entry area whereas Guatemala has an entryway where we had the receiving line and a huge chandelier. This was better for entertaining; we had a much bigger living room than in



Nairobi. The two cats are now loving it. They're big enough, they can easily scamper on down the stairs. When we have receptions, they're weaving between people's legs. And Sam, the male, sneaks out at night. Somehow, somebody didn't close a window or door. He enjoyed exploring the large bushes until he met the big rats who also liked to explore particularly at night. Sam would bump into those rats and cry out for us to come rescue him.

The new president as I said was elected, his inauguration was in January. We met him and his new beautiful young wife with a recent child, who I became to know fairly well. I don't know why. She invited me to the first gathering she gave for the ambassadors' spouses; called "diplomaticas damas" (diplomatic wives). I'm one of the only guys even though there were other women ambassadors – they're all, six from South America and Pru. They would have lunch once a month and call themselves "the six chicks and Prudence." Pru liked that.

Of course, unlike going to Nairobi which is nine to 12 hours away from US, we had more visitors and relatives to see us in Guatemala which is only a couple of hours from those that lived in Texas and Florida. We averaged a visitor every month. There are many places to take visitors in Guatemala. The first time we were there we went to Tikal, one of the major restored Mayan cities – discovered in the jungles of northern Guatemala. The incredible buildings demonstrated the civilization they had

*Q: By the way before we go into 2001, what happened during the election of 2000 in the United States? I'm sure, American embassies usually have these parties and all.*

BUCKLEY: I remember it well. We had an American-Guatemalan association and they're hosting since they have a building because there are so many Americans living in Guatemala, businessmen and others who have moved to live there. We're at their facility watching the returns and we know that Florida's key to victory. When the tv pundits called it for Gore, I said it's over, we've got it, we'll have Gore as our next president. It wasn't until later that they started to question the call. The chads began to be hung. Then the whole mood changed, now we saw this was being called into question. It was a long night before we said this is trouble. We realized now we were going to be facing a whole different scene. But life goes on.

So, the election's over, and it's now 2001 and it's just after Bush takes office, that the trial in New York City began with four defendants, two from the Nairobi bombing, one from the Dar bombing, and the American that left Kenya because his cover was blown. El Hage came back to Arizona where he lived and was indicted because he had lied to the grand jury previously. Pru was the first person to testify at the trial. She provided key facts for the prosecution; she laid the foundation for subsequent witnesses. She told me that it was just like an actual courtroom. She said, "The defense assumed questioning after the direct questioning by federal prosecutors the first thing defense attorney said after saying nice things was 'Ambassador, what were all of those electronic devices on top of the roof used for?'"

Of course, they're mainly CIA. It was a large CIA presence there – not only because it's a regional office, but Sudan's CIA station chief came with the ambassador after they closed the US embassy in Sudan. They worked in the Nairobi embassy and that's one of the major reasons Osama bin Laden chose Nairobi, because "Those SOBs that pushed me out of Sudan and made me come back to Afghanistan are now in Nairobi."

Of course, the prosecutor objected. The judge said, "In my chambers" and read them the riot act and when this was settled, there'll be no questioning about anything pertaining to intelligence operations in this trial.

Then the weirdest thing happened. As you know I practiced criminal law back in the '60s and '70s and the U.S. attorney, Pat Fitzgerald, the lead attorney in this trial, asked Pru and me to come after the trial ended for the day to meet the U.S. attorney. They sat there for a half an hour, almost apologizing and saying "We're sorry but it had to do with the wall, we couldn't do anything, our hands were tied because of the wall."

Pru and I were like.... afterwards she said, "Do you know what the hell they meant?" Because they said, "Do you understand, ambassador?" and she said, "I think you ought to do something about the problem" but we both didn't know what they meant. I don't know if you've ever heard, but the so-called "wall" was supposed to separate those collecting the intelligence from the prosecutors who were going to use it at trial That came up later in the 9/11 investigation as a major flaw. But then it was a very fuzzy for us.

In August of 2001, we are in Nairobi to attend the opening of the memorial park in Nairobi. I didn't mention it, but here's what happened. At that last session she had with President Moi, he was cold except he agreed to allow the land – the land belonged to Kenya that the embassy was built on, the former embassy that's now been knocked down and everything carted away – to be given for a memorial park. The reason we wanted that to happen is that the politicians would have scammed that land and sold it and put a high-rise where the embassy was formerly located. So Pru got a trust fund organized and there now is a wonderful memorial park where the embassy and the secretarial school were formerly located. In August, 2001 there was the opening of this park. They invited us back to attend. We stayed at the DCM's residence.

Memorial park officials wanted to earn some money to continue the maintenance of the park by having people put a shilling in a turnstile to enter. The plan was quickly smashed by the 10,000 and 20,000 people waiting to enter. The relatives and friends of all Kenyans killed in the bombing were anxious to enter to view the huge plaque with all 213 names inscribed that were killed on that day, August 7, 1998. As soon as the official ceremony was concluded, the gate was open to allow the 10,000 to 20,000 people to enter. The turnstiles were swiftly knocked over. President Moi knew from experience with large crowds that his security detail would escort him out before the gate was opened. By the way President Moi told Ambassador Johnny Carson "Oh Ambassador Bushnell's coming? My old friend!" Our embassy people had to fend for themselves. I grabbed the DCM's wife hand and said, "Make sure I get a beeline on your car because

these people are going to come in like crazy.”

Even Ambassador Johnny Carson was trapped – in fact there was a photo in the New York Times the next day showing him almost being trampled by thousands of people who tore those turnstiles and threw them on the side so they could rush through and be the first to look at that large plaque on the brick wall. It was pandemonium. But Pru got out one side and I on the other and we made it safely to our vehicles.

It is a beautiful setting, very peaceful in this incredible place that has so much activity, the busiest corner now has this nice little area where people come in to sit and meditate. It's also has a small museum. In fact, Pru just spent a few hours being interviewed by two young men doing a documentary for the museum – the museum needed money and wanted to change their little five-minute video clip, borrowed from a special show called *Inside 9/11* with photos of the Nairobi bombing. They wanted to update it. These two professionals came and interviewed her for a documentary they're going to use for a 10-minute new update for the museum in Nairobi. That'll be a good addition. These two men said they couldn't believe – they've been to Nairobi a few times and interviewed lots of people – that the story's never been told. They're planned to secure more money to expand the documentary for the museum and make it available elsewhere, because of what they've learned doing this.

After the visits to Nairobi, we stopped in France on the way back. Now, mind you I'm still sober. I haven't had a drink – this is 2001, since 1988. I'm still sober, still drinking Pellegrino or whatever sparkling water is available, and we stay with our friends from Bombay who own a 300-year-old farm they converted into their living quarters in central France, near that magnificent alternative pope's residence in Cluny during the time -

*Q: Avignon.*

BUCKLEY: Very close to that, right. We spent a week there, just what Pru needed, a small little village to take walks and short car trips every day. But here I had to sit as our friend would invite his friends over and they would discuss “chateau de pape”, whether they should order a few cases, and every night they're having for dinner this wonderful wine and I'm having Pellegrino. To complete the story, five years later we returned on a visit to Kenya and we stopped over there again. On the way over on the airplane, I said, “Pru why did I ever stop drinking?”

She said, “So it wouldn't interfere with me being DCM.”

I said, “But you're out of the Foreign Service now, right? I'm going to have some of the wonderful chateau de pape this time!” That's when I started again, 2008.

Before we left Guatemala, there were major demonstrations against Pru because she had the audacity to appear before their congress to tell them to honor the treaty with labor unions she signed in the 1950s or be removed from consideration for the Central American Union, for its benefits. The press went crazy. This is when she got the name

“Imprudencia” (imprudence) in headlines. They had demonstrations, and it coincided with our departing for Kenya. When we returned to Guatemala the big banners Ambassador Imprudencia go home – were gone and the media had moved onto other headlines.

Relatives and friends knew we had 18 months remaining in Guatemala and the visits increased. Fortunately, we had discovered an incredible small hotel on Lago Atitlan to take our guests. Lake Atitlan was formed 65,000 years ago. A huge explosion of a volcano that was so large that it created a crater 1700 feet deep, a huge lake now, in which there are six or seven Mayan villages surrounding it – and one hippy U.S. settlement near the road that comes down from the mountains. This lake creates its own weather. If you’re on this side of the lake and you want to go across the lake to visit a village with a lot of tourist attractions (we stayed over there once), we had to leave in the morning and return before the lake generates its afternoon storm. That’s how huge it is. Imagine what it did to the global climate 65,000 years ago. It still has five inactive volcanoes along the lake’s shore.

*Q: There’s one going on right now, a major problem.*

BUCKLEY: That’s near Antigua, not far from Guatemala City. It’s called El Fuego (the fire) because it’s always giving off a little fire but rarely erupts. It doesn’t blow often but it did the other day killing people. Our guards would drive us a few miles from our residence up the hill to see the fire from El Fuego burning. That’s very close. But Lake Atitlan, is about a three-hour drive from Guatemala City.

My son Patrick, who visited during our first tour in Senegal also visited us during the holiday season in our last year in Guatemala.

National Geographic visited Guatemala in 2002 because they’re filming a documentary called *The Ambassadors*. They selected three ambassadors, Pru’s one of them – Wendy Chamberlin who’s in Pakistan is second, and our ambassador Howard Baker to Japan and a very good Senate Republican. He was the third on the National Geographic special called *The Ambassadors*, which was very well done.

Before we departed Guatemala, we had events – ladinos love parties. Every Christmas there would be a major party for all the FSNs and their families – 300 persons. Our cook and her assistant would prepare a dinner for 300 people, a holiday dinner and then the guests would dance almost all night. They love to dance and I learned a few of those Guatemalan dance steps.

Prior to 9/11 – Pru made connection with the director of the Red Cross, who was offering Pru the second-in-charge of Red Cross operations and Pru was seriously considering it. Of course, 9/11 happened and the Red Cross director got into trouble by collecting so much blood that they never had a chance to use because there were few casualties other than those that died. She was fired meaning that Pru’s potential Red Cross position was no longer available. Pru had only eight months remaining prior to departure without an

onward assignment. I happened to notice in one of the AFSA (American Foreign Service Association) publications that they were advertising for the dean of leadership and management school at FSI. I said, “Pru send this in, I don’t think it’s taken yet.” She did, and that’s how she concluded her last three-year tour – as FSI’s Dean of Leadership and Management School.

*Q: Shall we pick it up there?*

BUCKLEY: We’re getting near the end of her Foreign Service career but not the end of our lives!

*Q: Today is the 18<sup>th</sup> of June, 2018 with Richard Buckley. I’ll let you have at it.*

BUCKLEY: All right. I have to return to Guatemala for a little bit. I was so focused on Pru and what she was doing that I forgot what I was doing!

I continued my Myers-Briggs Type Indicator sessions. One significant session was with the entire American International school faculty in Guatemala that has a small college campus environment. I knew the director of the school by making American Indian presentations there and she heard about my MBTI and asked me to design the training session to help the faculty set school goals for the coming year. I think it was in August of 2000.

*Q: Was this Myers-Briggs?*

BUCKLEY: Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, right.

*Q: Did you give them to students?*

BUCKLEY: That’s how she got to know this might be relevant to the faculty because I was giving different classes the test and the teacher would process it and tell the principal.

*Q: While we’re on that subject, over the years did you find that there were certain constants with the children or embassy and local staff employees that you ran across being in the international field or something and did this have any clues within the Myers-Briggs test? Or was this so individual that it didn’t count?*

BUCKLEY: After a while the staff overseas, like the secretaries and technical staff like IT (information technology) people and those kinds of staffers overseas will mainly be typed as sensing; their preference is on focusing on what has to be done, let’s get it done, one step at a time, the details. That’s why they’re specialists. Whereas 60 or 70 percent of Foreign Service officers process their information through the intuition. They take it in through the senses then jump to the intuition and process information through the decision-making step. They’re either NT or NF, NF makes the decision based on subjective factors while NT makes decisions based objective factors. For example, Pru’s

an NT. George Moose was an NP. He was one of the most complex of all types – Lincoln was also, they now go back and look at the characteristics of presidents and the specialists can type the presidents. Lincoln was an INTP.

*Q: Which means what?*

BUCKLEY: INTP means they approach the world by keeping their thoughts inside their heads, whereas extroverts – to give an example – let people know that they are thinking. An introvert, if you want to know what an introvert is thinking you better ask them a specific question and you'll obtain more information the closer you get to their passion. They really will open up about their passion. I am an introvert. When I do my MBTI sessions and my American Indian sessions, I become an extrovert, because I feel passion about it. But introverts process their thoughts by themselves. Extroverts have to tell the world what they're thinking. The saying is if you want to know what an extrovert is thinking just listen, they'll let you know. So that's the main difference between the E and the I; the introvert takes in information – if through the senses, details. If through intuition, it's the big picture, the framework. The P is important; it was added by the mother and daughter who created the Myers-Briggs, Katharine Briggs and Isabel, her daughter. They're based it on Carl Jung's theory of psychological type, the first three. But they added the P and J so people could better understand how it worked out on a daily basis.

For example, an INTJ because the J wants to conclude the problems the same day, so they bring judgment and conclusion to it, they finish it. Whereas a P meaning perception, they want to go back to the information-gathering phase and just keep adding more information, and of course that will mean that they're not making a decision, they go down to the wire. I'll give you an example. Carol Worzek, worked at the leadership and management school, and worked a long time with Pru, first when Pru was in charge of the executive division in the '80s and then when Pru came back in 2002 to run the leadership/management school, Carol was there already. Carol is a major INTP, and Pru is an INTJ. To show you the difference, Pru is so good at getting things done quickly that they had a discussion about this one particular new program they were going to design, and they agreed to finish it and exchange it on a Thursday. By Tuesday, Pru was getting antsy because she's finished her section. On Wednesday she couldn't wait any more and went in to see Carol and said, "Carol, I'm all finished. What do you say we get together now and start designing it?"

Carol looked at it and said, "Pru, what did we decide? Didn't we decide on Thursday? I haven't even started mine I've still got another day to work on it. So, come back on Thursday." And that's the way they worked and lived. The value of Myers-Briggs is the understanding that goes on, and that's what we try to stress in our sessions, is to have each person come to a realization that other people have a different way of making decisions and when and how they make them. And to appreciate the value of the differences.

*Q: I find in my business running consular sections, when people came up with major suggestions, I really had to think about it for a day or two. I mean, I'd sometimes warn people that I don't respond right away, I have to think about it.*

BUCKLEY: But you're not of the type that Carol would be or some other very strong people with a P preference, meaning their options are open until the last minute. Say, Carol or Pru wanted to go to lunch. They're walking to the car; "Where shall we go today?" You should never say that to a P because the P will say, "Well, Crystal Thai's right up here we could go there, though I heard they have a new one down on Columbia Pike we might want to go to, another nice one." So, it's up in the air, we haven't decided yet. We get to the car and Pru said, "Okay, let's go to your new one."

"Well, I don't know, Crystal Thai might be the place." They'll keep juggling it, until the Pru the J has to say "All right, we're going to Crystal Thai right now" she had to make the decision.

*Q: Crystal Thai by the way is a Thai restaurant very close to where we are now, which is often referred to as the FSI officers' nest.*

BUCKLEY: Exactly.

So, I did that school presentation to help her fashion the goals for that school year.

I also facilitated a very unique session between the ladinos, the mixed bloods way above the Mayans in relationship to the government and everything because they are the administrative cadre of Guatemala; they run the stores, all the businesses, et cetera. Our cultural affairs person in Guatemala said, "With your skills you should be able to facilitate a session with 30 or 40 ladino business people and Mayan Indians and Mayan intellectuals."

I said, "Okay, you put together the roster and invite them and we'll hold it at the residence."

I designed it be a full-day session. The whole exercise was based on this beginning. I divided them into respective groups to begin with, Mayans in one group in one room and ladinos in the other. I asked each of them these two questions: "How do you ladinos view the Mayans? How do you think the Mayans view you?"

I asked the Mayans the same: "How do you think the ladinos view you? How do you view the ladinos?"

Then we brought them back together. Usually it's very surprising, the initial look at two different flip chart sheets of their answers. And then we'd spend the rest of the time processing it and discussing, and trying to see if there is some point where you seem to overlap and there could be some type of a basis for some effective communication. They went on after that was finished, they met informally some of them. From that meeting I

developed a very close relationship with one of the Mayan intellectuals named Victor Montego. He taught at the University of California-Santa Barbara for a long time. He was driven out of his community during the civil war and escaped to Mexico and finally got to the United States and was educated in Albany, New York of all places, then went to teach in southern California, and has returned to become part of his village resettlement and at one time was the commissioner of culture for Guatemala. So that was a bonus, meeting him and developing a relationship. I continue to meet him when he gives a talk at the National Museum of the American Indian.

I was also on the embassy association board, this time as treasurer and board member for one of the first times with an embassy association.

Whereas Pru always had her bodyguard contingent go wherever she would go, for me they could care less, they'd just say, "Adios, Ricardo" whenever I took my Subaru out of the driveway. I could go anywhere as long as I checked and made sure I was not going to be on a road that the banditos would be using. I remember a couple of very unique experiences I had. This was around All Saints' Day, the 1<sup>st</sup> of November. The Mayan celebrate by going to cemeteries and they'd have an all-day picnic and discussion with their ancestors at the cemetery. I visited and shared some experiences there. And then also one of the ladinos who worked as our residence manager would take me to this huge fair also for All Souls' Day and All Saints' Day, where the Mayans built these incredible 20-foot diameter kites. They're very heavy because of their size and had pieces of wood to hold the whole thing together. These kites have long streamers, and they're supposed to be a communication device with their ancestors, when the streamers fall off. It took about 40 men pulling hard, running near the edge of the precipice or cliff to launch it. That's how heavy it was. But an incredible sight to see these huge kites up in the air, actually flying. They must have spent a long time making sure they got all the kinks out.

In Houston my children were married and began to adopt children. My oldest daughter has two sons. My youngest son adopted seven children from Kazakhstan, and my second daughter adopted a boy and a girl from Russia.

Pru wanted to get out of Guatemala City as much as she could to visit villages in the highlands. Not only is it for our health because Guatemala City had too much traffic just like all major cities and it's at the bottom, surrounded by mountains.

*Q: So, all the carbon dioxide settles there.*

BUCKLEY: Yes. We learned a lot about Mayan culture on a trip to Quetzaltenango, which is the second largest city in Guatemala and it is primarily Mayans who live there. The mayor is Mayan, so we went to see him. Pru had twisted her ankle so she was on crutches. We knew we were in good hands when we walked in on crutches and he said, "Wait a second, I'll have a nurse who will get you something better than those old crutches", he had that arranged.



Near the end of our discussion, Pru asked him, “It’s been so many years you’ve lived under the rule of Spaniards and now under the oligarchs who are not Mayans, and you have the majority of the population. When do you think this will change?”

He said, “It will not change in my lifetime nor my children’s or grandchildren’s time. It’s going to take a long time, but it’s going to happen. They thought we were killed, they thought they had us, but there’s too many of us.”

*Q: Were Mayans leaders in any sector of society or business?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, in fact they have a Rotary association. They’ve Mayan millionaires. They owned some valuable property, had a little wealth and they capitalized on it, yeah. Pru held a session with Mayan millionaires who belonged to their own Rotary. So, it’s a struggle, but I think the mayor’s prediction will come true. Their major difficulty is that Mayan villages distrust each other because they don’t know each other since they are so far around the mountain and then another mountain. It reminded Pru of Rwanda. Pru’s theory is people who live in mountains like our Appalachians, distrust outsiders because they don’t know them or where they’re coming from. Whereas desert people when we lived in Senegal are very welcoming to outsiders because they can see them coming for a long time, so they have time to prepare and send out scouts to determine whether they’re friend or foe. That’s been the relationship we’ve had in the different places we live – mountain people are very different.

*Q: From a practical point of view, as the American presence there, did the Mayan-ladino division mean anything to Americans, back in Washington?*

BUCKLEY: No. The cultural affairs people in the embassy in Guatemala made it a point of theirs, but it was not on the radar in Washington, no.

*Q: What about our cultural side? Do they have a different pitch to the ladino than to the Mayan?*

BUCKLEY: Yes, it leans toward the ladino. There are a number of Americans living in Guatemala, and some are business people. Some have coffee plantations. Pru and I would meet with them at their organizational meetings and others we would meet at our town hall meetings held in Guatemala City and other large cities. Now, they’re more knowledgeable about the class between ladinos and Mayans, but they have to work with the ladinos, and they do. There are former Foreign Service people that retire there. There’s a large American population.

By the way we had a very good PAO (public affairs officer) and our cultural affairs people did creative work. They arranged for Navajo women weavers to come from the U.S. to have a week long interaction with Guatemalan Mayan weavers. We went to one of the sessions they put on for the public. To their amazement (and to ours also) was that they could almost communicate with each other. They had words that were similar. It might be like some of our slang that’s been adopted over the centuries. The reason that

could have happened over the centuries is that as you know, the border – there was no border before the Europeans arrived between northern Mexico and the Southwest; it was all open for trade. There were all kinds of trade that happened between people in Mexico and Central America with the Indians of present-day USA southwest. That was the way corn got transported and traded all over the northeast, southeast and southwest. Corn originated in Mexico, as you know from history, 6000 years ago and slowly during centuries corn was introduced to north America.

To show you how this trade evolved over the past centuries, there is outside of St. Louis, Missouri, a reconstruction of Cahokia Mounds that in the 1200s had a larger population than London. It was the central trading place for Indians in Mexico with all of North and Central America, who would send their trade people to Cahokia and return with other goods. This is supported by the evidence of certain jewels and stones and other trade goods have been found in different sections of the U.S. and Canada that came from Mexico and Central America, and vice-versa. So, trade has been going on – as it should, like trade everywhere in the world has happened through history. I sometimes laugh at Trump’s effort at the border, our country’s effort at closing that border – you can’t. It’s almost in the DNA of the people south of us to continue, especially since they know there are so many millions that came from the south that now are toiling and living in the United States. It’s another sad example of how not knowing our history, particularly those that run the government, is part of our detriment, causes problems where there shouldn’t be any, should be a different way to resolve it. In California, many people from Mexico come in and work and go back home. It’s been going on that way for centuries. If we didn’t have migrants coming in to do the work during the growing and harvesting season, we wouldn’t have all those fruits and vegetables coming from California in our grocery stores.

In the summer of 2000, Pru had to do promotion boards, and we stayed at a small hotel, just a couple of blocks from the Kennedy Center (I think they have since knocked it down), it had eight or nine stories.

*Q: I think I stayed at that one, too.*

BUCKLEY: Right. It was a nice visit, nice little hotel, easy to get to anywhere you wanted to go. You could walk to a restaurant. We used to walk around Kennedy Center for our exercise in the morning.

In 2001 we returned to Kenya. We were in Kenya the month before 9/11. We went back for the memorial park; I think I related what happened there. This is in Pru’s book, she mentions how a leader of an embassy has to listen and you have to listen because sometimes dissent might be very deserving and ought to be acted on. They were in a hurry to take the old embassy down and get rid of it. Pru contacted FBO and said, “Why don’t we try to do something here, make a park or something?”

They replied, “The land isn’t ours we were leasing it. Clear the land and turn it back over. We don’t do bombing memorials.”

Pru tried a little bit more. During a country team meeting she explained Washington's position. The agricultural officer in the back said, "You can't do that."

Pru said, "Why not?"

He said, "You know what's going to happen. Once the leases for the land are returned to them, these people who are so corrupt will grab it, put a high-rise building there, make millions, and there will never be a sign that there was a bombing or that people died here."

That's what led the effort to get all the ministers on board that they wouldn't do that, that they will agree if President Moi approved it, and will give it to a board of trustees to create a memorial park. She got that acceptance from Moi the day prior to our departure.

During one weekend in late fall of 2001, we visited our favorite small hotel on Lake Atitlan. Following a long walk with good discussion, we made a decision of where we were going to live in Virginia and type and size of house we wanted. In fact, soon after making the decisions, I flew from Guatemala to DC in early December and spent time with a real estate agent – and we looked at a number of houses for about a week. Mostly houses located on north side of route 50. They were expensive with little space for your money, those little homes in Falls Church or Arlington on the north side of route 50 that were built in the '50s. Carol Worzek called them doll houses. Carol's tall, she said "I go into those little homes and I'm going, 'Where do you sit, is this really a living room?'"

*Q: I know, in this whole area, Arlington and all was obviously lower rent – in fact when we were looking for a house, we found a \$10,000 difference and in those days \$10,000 was a big deal, between a District or Maryland house in the area, or Northern Virginia. We went to Northern Virginia.*

BUCKLEY: Right. So, I had a good feeling when I went back and reported to Pru and she said, "Well, when we got back in June, we're going to have her show us places on the other side of 50 and Columbia Pike." Which we did. The second house Pru visited was on Lacey Boulevard in Bailey's Crossroads. It was a magnificent house, and it had a quarter-acre back yard. Pru asked the agent to cancel the remaining visits. We made the bid and a few weeks later took possession of 3810 Lacey Boulevard.

*Q: Tell me something. Where were you when 9/11 happened, and what – particularly your and Pru's reaction? I mean, you know you were all part of this "getting-blown-up" thing.*

BUCKLEY: We were getting ready to take a helicopter ride to go to one of the villages that day. Then we got a call from our RSO, Charlene Lamb, who was one of the witnesses during the Benghazi hearings. Charlene called and said, "Ambassador, they're doing it to us again." After the first plane hit, she already knew. It was obvious to her. We turned on the TV and saw the second one hit. We knew exactly who was doing it. By this

time – well no, we hadn't found the documents that showed the confession – remember the guy that got out of the truck, threw the stun grenades, and then said I don't have to commit suicide now, I did my job. He ran away, but he got caught and then he confessed to the FBI. In his confession, he pointed out that Al Qaeda had plans inside the United States. Big plans. But first they had to do some tests outside, and Nairobi embassy bombing was one of the tests. This was September 1998, so the FBI had this information and the FBI doesn't tell many people except themselves.

But one thing very damaging to Pru's morale happened on our departure from Guatemala. We decided to take our cats Sam and Saba in the cabin rather than have them in the freight compartment. That meant she had to put her jewelry and clothes in her suitcases. We got our suitcases and put them on a trolley to clear customs in Atlanta, and then checked them again in Atlanta to Washington National airport. My two suitcases arrived at National but Pru's didn't. Pru never got hers. So, what she suspected happened is just a few months before our departure, she and her staff decided to revoke the visa of a general who was accused in the papers, National Security Archives papers, that he was the ringleader in the genocide against the Mayans. So, no choice but to revoke his visa to the USA. Well, he's powerful. We suspect that he has people in Atlanta that can pull off a little revenge. No reason why mine would get there because we put them on the carousel to go to National at the same time. She had some expensive pieces, not thousands of dollars, but almost all of it were original jewelry pieces I bought for her or she bought in all the places we'd been during her Foreign Service career. Very sentimental. And she had to buy a new wardrobe, all the clothes she had except the ones she had on were gone.

Ok, so now we're settling in. We had to do a little bit – have you ever taken wallpaper off of a dining room? It is so difficult. Especially if it's been on there for years. Stripping that stuff, we never did get the hang of it. We had to decide what color paint would go over any little residue. But that is how we spent our first week in July. We stayed in Ballston in an apartment, and the cats were not happy, they would ask us "When are we out of this little small space?" They were accustomed to that big residence in Guatemala City, and now we had them in a little apartment.

We finally moved in and Pru started her new position at FSI, the leadership and management school. For the first time in 10 years, she has a number of bosses. When she was DCM it's just the ambassador, and then she had been ambassador the past six years.

*Q: It's a real transition.*

BUCKLEY: Yeah, she was looking around for her persona. "I lost my persona, here!" So, we had this wonderful house that will be able to sleep 12 at Christmas time. It becomes the Bushnell family Christmas destination for a week to 10 days. It's such a comfortable house. It's even comfortable for our male cat, Sam, who during first week went down the steps of the deck into the back yard only to meet this jet-black big tomcat who is the neighborhood in-charge cat. They performed the traditional standoff that male cats do. Hiss! Cats are smart, they know if they damage each other it's probably life-threatening. So, they go through hissing and spitting at each other. Honestly, I'm

watching it, and suddenly our cat Sam who was the most pleasant male cat we've ever encountered said, "Enough of this stuff! Come on up on my deck." The two of them then came strolling up and they became buddies. This cat we learned strolled the neighborhood and people invited him in for a bite to eat and send him out again. The only person he had to contend with that didn't like this big old black cat – because he was mangy looking with fangs, tougher than nails – was Saba our female cat, because she was being separated from her brother. Sometimes she'd go out on the deck and swat that big old cat, gave him a paw right in the head!

So, we began shaping up the front section which had a nice-sized area, too, and the quarter-acre in the back by creating different gardens. First, we got Merrifield to come and do their \$10,000 landscaping. They put in five or six trees, two of which were nice-sized river birches. We didn't know how much water these trees need, I guess that's why they call them river birches. They thrive on the runoff from rivers. We only had two trees out front to begin with, and box hedges, but we got more trees here, plants there, the whole nine yards. Then in back was ours to create. We did probably seven gardens over the space of the next 10 years. They were wonderful.

So big house and lovely as it is, our friends and relatives learn about it so I begin to be the go-to guy to direct them in the right places to visit. That became part of my daily life with all the visitors.

We visited the Carlisle Army war college, Pru gave a talk there. As you know, the deputy is always a Foreign Service officer, the deputy commander at Carlisle. So that's the reason we knew him, former ambassador to the Seychelles. He walked us around the grounds and what struck me was the number of Indian children buried there. Many died there, and for some reason their bodies were not returned home for special tribal burial.

Then remember that scare we had in February-March 2003 that "everyone should go buy plastic sheeting and duct tape and get sufficient water", all in preparation for the possible invasion of Iraq? Someone said if there was retaliation, you would need this. People were panicking in stores, until someone put an article in the paper: "My son said 'Mom, don't tape that plastic sheet around the windows; how are we going to breathe?'" That article in the Post calmed the peoples' panic a bit. The Post also informed us of the "no war" sing along session by the Lincoln Memorial led by Peter, Paul & Mary. Pru and I attended.

*Q: How did you and Pru feel about our attacking Iraq?*

BUCKLEY: We both felt then and still feel the same way, it was the most ridiculous decision made by our government in the new 21<sup>st</sup> century. We had no legitimate reason to conduct this war. Powell's testimony at the United Nations was a charade in an attempt to divert attention from the fact that the UN had not voted for the war. The US created the largest embassy in the world. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we would have quickly evacuated our people from a war-zone like that. George W. was not too swift. Bush allowed his Veep Cheney and Rumsfeld (Secretary of Defense Department) to implement their plan of using Iraq as our base to spread democracy throughout the middle east. It

was an insane decision that has resulted in nearly 20 years of death and destruction in the middle east.

*Q: I had the feeling he was being manipulated. Unfortunately, Colin Powell as a good soldier saluted, his reputation suffered badly.*

BUCKLEY: Really suffered.

*Q: And of course, a lot of people died on both sides, unnecessarily.*

BUCKLEY: I think Pru wrote in her diary, “Here we go, these men are at it again. They’ve got to be warriors. I would have thought I’d seen enough of it in Africa but now I’ve got to contend with it here.” I think that was the beginning of her decision to depart after her tour was over at FSI.

We returned to Guatemala briefly in May 2003 because the junior officers have watched these DCM conferences in different regions of the world and they said, “We ought to have a conference for junior officers.” They invited Pru to give a talk at their junior officers’ conference. We went for a week and stayed at the residence. John Hamilton was the ambassador. I did the MBTI for his wife while we were there. And also (to show the value of doing the MBTI) the director of the U.S.A.-Guatemala Friendship association heard I was in town and said, “Richard you’ve got to allow me to do it with my two children, I’m having a rough time with them now they’re both in their late teens.” She’s losing them - “I have to establish better relations, please.” I said okay. She arrived first and said “I’m so anxious, I want this to go off well.”

I said, “Don’t worry.”

Her two children arrived and they both were different than she was on their Myers-Briggs preferences. The main difference was they are both introverts and their mother is an extreme extrovert. We’re starting the session and suddenly she asked her two teenage kids, “Okay what do you think about my type, what’s your reaction?”

They both looked at her and said, “Mom, what difference does it make? You’ve never listened to anything we’ve had to say most of our lives. Why now?”

Extroverts have a hard time listening to others because they’re talking so much. Listening was not her skill but the discussion with her kids may have caused her to resist talking so much and listen more. This was one of my last overseas sessions.

On August 7<sup>th</sup>, 2003, five years after the bombing, a number of people appeared at the marker at the Arlington National Cemetery. Mainly because they heard we were going to have lunch at the Fort Myers Officer’s Club following the get-together at the cemetery. That was the last we met together. And this time, the 20<sup>th</sup> year, we already know who’s going to be there because Pru’s sent out invitations. We’re going to have about 50 persons come to our apartment at the Prospect House after the ceremony at the cemetery;

they want to see the view. In the invitations, we said, “It’s the iconic view from Rosslyn for the DC area, especially the mall.” We’ll see people we haven’t seen in years.

In the late summer of 2003, we went to Vancouver and Vancouver Island a wonderful visit. Especially Vancouver Island is a wonderful place to visit because you can take long walks through their forests. We happened to stay at a B&B next to a place called the Sauk Harvard House. It has one of the best restaurants in Canada; the food was so good we went there two nights.

In December 2003 – someone told Pru she may need to take some therapy about PTSD. She didn’t act then but she read information about the therapy. And I began to do some serious cooking for visitors. I love to cook, and I’ve cooked most the time we have been married when we’re not living at an official overseas residence, for the last 40 years. She likes to bake but not cook.

So how do I spend most of my days? I cook, shop, clean up everything in the kitchen and the house, I drive her to FSI in the morning and drove her home because we only had one car during her tour at FSI.

In 2004, Pru joined a knitting class led by a Turkish woman in Falls Church, her knitting instructor. She found it very rewarding. It takes her out of her head. You can’t be doing intuitive thinking while knitting. You’ve to be focused on the knitting process that is a sensing function (opposite of intuition) paying attention to details is essential to produce the final product.

*Q: Very therapeutic for many people. A lot of men have done this.*

BUCKLEY: In 2005, Debra Winger entered our life. She has been approached by an African film-maker who worked out of Paris to do a movie on Rwanda, called *Sometime in April*. He wanted Pru to be played by Debra Winger. They had telephone calls and Debra said, “I want to visit and to shadow you one day.” She arrived at FSI and followed Pru to every meeting learning how Pru conducts herself. I was assigned to bring her to FSI from the Hyatt in Rosslyn where she’s staying and take her back at the end of the day. During the drive back to the hotel I said: “Debra, have you heard about the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator?”

She said, “No, tell me about it.” She’s very smart and following my brief overview she said, “Send me three of those tests. For me, my oldest son and my husband Arliss Howard.” I did. Within a few weeks she mailed me the completed tests.

A few months later they’re both in town to do some planning of the film about the Columbine shooting. Debra would play one of the teachers paralyzed by the shooting. This teacher had to relearn speaking and walking those basic functions were lost when she was injured at Columbine. Debra and Arliss were in-town talking to that person. She called and said, “Would you be able to arrange one of those dinners for my husband and

me like you made for me last time?”

I said, “Sure, take a taxi.” I made them a nice Moroccan lamb dish in a slow-cooker, so when they entered, the aroma from the lamb dish hit them right at the door. Arliss her husband was right at home.

Debra knows that Pru has been working with George Moose for five years and either I or Pru told Debra that George is an extreme INTP – one of the most complex of the 16 different types. And she knows that her husband is also a major INTP with the same problems that George Moose had in explaining clearly to his country team what his objectives were. Debra’s husband Arliss has been trying to make his mark as a movie director and it hasn’t been successful. He convinced Debra to join him in making a movie called *Big Bad Love*. It was a story of a Vietnam veteran coming back to his home state of Mississippi who becomes an alcoholic due to his reaction to Vietnam. But Arliss as an INTP can’t decide on the ending because he continues to run possibilities through his head but doesn’t convey them to the actors and actresses. Without a sense of how this movie will end, the actors and actresses depart. Arliss has a conversation with Debra and says: “We’ve got to finish this movie.” She says thank god. Arliss says, “But I need an infusion of money; could you loan me?”

She had her lawyers prepare papers to loan him \$2,000,000. It grossed \$100,000. It is a major financial loss for Debra; she’ll never forget it. She was determined to use this dinner to have Pru explain to her husband what his preferences of daily life are and what his preferences might mean in his directing career. While George and Pru got along so well together, he knew that Pru was a J and could accomplish the task quickly. For example, he said when she was DCM, “You run this embassy. Just tell me how you’re doing. I’ll take care of the situation on the outside.”

What Debra wanted to result from this dinner was for her husband to understand the differences between a person with a P (perception) preference and a person with a J (judgment) preference – and it happened. I could sense in our discussion where she kept picking up what Pru was saying about George’s preferred way of directing and applying it to her husband, I could finally see a light-bulb go off over his head, he said “Oh, you mean the situation with that bad movie I made cost you a little money?”

“Yes, and Arliss what does it say about you?”

He said, “I better get somebody who’s going to be in charge of the production and not me. If I’m directing, I can’t also be the one moving parts around because it never gets done moving them.”

It was most beneficial for him. He has not directed anything since then. Now he’s appearing in Broadway as an actor; much better use of his life than directing. But we’ll meet Debra again in 2009 when she comes to stay with us during the inauguration of Obama.



My 70<sup>th</sup> birthday was in August 2004. Pru decided to have fun with me on my 70<sup>th</sup>, especially since I've become acquainted with Debra. We stay with them up in Irving on the Hudson where they lived. Pru sneaks into my email address book on my computer and made a list of the names of my bevy of beauties. I like women because I'm the same type, like 70 percent of women I'm an F (feeling preference), rather than a T (thinking preference). Seventy percent of men that take the test are T, thinkers; 30 percent are like me, a feeler. It's very difficult for an F (feeling) person to succeed in the Foreign Service, but some do. Pru knows this. My address book consisted of 50 women and five men; I'm serious. Pru sent the message that it's my 70<sup>th</sup> birthday, wouldn't it be nice if you send Richard a birthday card and direct it to my friend's house. Our friend owns a lake house near Fredericksburg, near the battlefield. Pru had a surprise party for me there. When I entered, I saw all the cards throughout the living room, on the television set and in socks, a whole bunch of them. It was wonderful. I shared all of them except the one from Debra, I would not share it with Pru at that time. Later I did.

Pru decided in 2004 to tell her staff she plans to resign from the Foreign Service in the fall of 2005. In July 2004 she was selected for the career service award by the Partnership for Public Service. The actual event was held in September at Union Station. I wore my tux for that prestigious event. Judy Woodruff was the presenter of the award.

*Q: A well-known TV interviewer, news-caster.*

BUCKLEY: Right, the anchor on the *PBS NewsHour*.

2004 was a difficult year because at the end, Pru's father was aged 90 and some doctor in Doylestown, Pennsylvania made the decision he needed a colon resection because they suspected he had cancer. Well, he dies two months later not from the cancer but from the after-effects of the colon surgery. It was too much for him. He had no appetite and lost a considerable amount of weight. Three of his children decided each would alternate a weekend to be with him. I was there on three successive weekends and watched him slowly read less and less of his favorite Sunday New York Times. I telephoned the family members and said, "You have to make plans for the next week or so because it's going to be over." He was an avid reader of the New York Times; he'd read the whole thing. He'd set aside these sections and start with his favorite section, "Week in Review" then go to the front. He spent all Sunday reading through it. When I saw him take the New York Times and throw most of it away and just start with the two sections he liked, then one section, then I saw him put the whole New York Times to the side, I knew that it was time to call the family.

Then Pru and her sister and I also experienced the agitation the last week we were with him, they really saw the impact – of male terminal agitation. Well, what happens with men seem to have this surge of energy where they say I've got to go. What they want to do is go someplace where they left an event unfulfilled. For example, the night I'm with him he wanted to go to Paris. You've got to hold him down, I had one arm on him and he couldn't get up. He kept saying "I've got to get back to Paris." They were stationed for

four years in Paris. The next night Pru and her sister had to actually sit on him to hold him down. He said the same things, he's got to go.

*Q: Very difficult.*

BUCKLEY: There was a humorous side to that last week. Pru's mother Dufie is at the wellness center because she's had some mini-heart-attacks. She's in recovery with two or three nights left in his life and we persuaded the staff ( even though it was against Medicare policy) to allow us to take her out one night, bring her home and put her in a hospital bed right next to his, in their apartment, so they could have one more night together.

Dufie thrived for another year. We contracted with a person to do full-time home care who also had a son, seven years old, who played a big part in Pru's mother's ability to live for another 14 months.

They both were cremated and are buried in a columbarium behind the Presbyterian church in Cooperstown, New York where they retired after the Foreign Service. It was the best place they lived outside of the Foreign Service life; they lived there for 20 years until '96 when they moved to Doylestown life assisted facility.

Just before Pru left FSI and resigned from the Foreign Service we went to Oklahoma City for their 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary. By this time Pru was on the board of directors with the Memorial of the Oklahoma City bombing of 1995. We went for the first time to participate in a very moving ceremony. They have 165 chairs made out of bronze outside their museum on the lawn on the site of the former federal building in Oklahoma City. The children's chairs are child-sized. One hundred sixty-five chairs, it's incredible, a very moving experience.

She retired, and my life changed

*Q: She retired when?*

BUCKLEY: Last day of September, 2005. My life as most people's lives who have been taking care of the home and in charge of the home and everything - "what are you doing here now? What are you going to do now that you're retired? You going to create problems for me?" She went through two or three months of pondering what she going to do, before she began to develop a plan of what to do with her life. It evolved – she never pushed anything. The one thing that convinced her not to have much more to do with the State Department was she did apply for a WAE -

*Q: "While Actually Employed."*

BUCKLEY: Right. But, can you imagine, this is how the department's been treating her for a few years – they wanted her for her first assignment to go back and do Rwanda and Burundi on an inspection. After her experience with Rwanda, with the department? No.

She said, “Sorry, thank you, no thank you.” That was it, she never pursued WAE again. In addition to knitting classes, she started to become very much involved with the garden. She loves gardening. That is a photo of the fountain that we had made into our back wall. Pru and her dentist developed this idea because our back wall in Guatemala at the residence was the old aqueduct. All of this was the aqueduct. That’s going to stay there forever because it’s a historical facility. The idea of building this wonderful fountain into back wall was because the wall is so large and the residence had walkways all along the yard all the way to that wall. They had two guard towers on either end of the wall, where the end of our property ran into the wall because during the ‘60s and ‘70s there were assassinations, they had roaming guards when we were there. But we wanted to lessen that impact by putting in something like the fountain to allow people to take a stroll along the walkway and reach the fountain in the wall, have some sense of peace in the busy city of Guatemala.

Pru loves to do beautiful things like that. It was similar to what she did at the residence in Nairobi when she designed a memorial pond right outside the residence. She built that pond and had 46 bricks with the name of each person killed inscribed in the bricks. That is still functioning in Nairobi.

So here we are, 2005 going into 2006, and what are we going to do the rest of our lives? She slowly begins to receive some invites to do speaking engagements. At the beginning it was mainly major corporations – Caterpillar, companies like that, airplane manufacturers, even a company from Britain. They’re mostly interested in her ability to talk on leadership and team-building and her experience of doing that allowed her to apply it to their activities without too much difficulty. She got some good speaking engagements that allowed us to take a little vacation here and there. That became a standard operating procedure. We continued to enjoy our wonderful house. It became the mecca for her family at Christmas holiday. Then she got a telephone call in 2009 from a former ambassador who had served most of his time in the Middle East. He was on the faculty at Hamilton College in upstate New York.

He said, “You know, Ambassador Bushnell, we have a program here where the Levitt family has donated money to run a seminar for a semester on any topic that is within your capacity.” Now mind you, since its inception it had been exclusively done by men who had been ambassadors in the Middle East, so the topics were exclusively on the Middle East, these seminars. Now they’re approaching a woman ambassador for the first time and are asking her, “Could you do a seminar on Africa?”

“Africa?”

“Yeah, a seminar on Africa.” All expenses are paid and we’ll award a stipend, for four months it’s \$55,000.”

She said, “Not \$5500, but \$55,000?”

“Yes. Come once a week, three hours.”

She right away thought “Africa’s big, no way in the world I’m going to present lectures on Africa.” With all her experience of training Pru thought, “The students are going to teach the course.”

She divided the class of about 20 into five teams of four, and each team assigned certain chapters in the book she selected, and they would make the presentations to the class and take questions. She would facilitate and keep the discussion going. They presented to the class, she managed it, and she inserted skills into the seminar. That is, she had them videotaped while doing their presentations. She had them watch the videotapes so they could determine what they needed to adjust in their delivery and also their responses to questions. She had them at the end of the seminar prepare an op-ed piece that would require them to be concise and clear. She asked the department head that had no familiarity with Africa to participate and the students would deliver their talking points to persuade him that this op-ed is sound enough and appealing enough to appear in the newspaper, and to get feedback from him and then return and relate to the class how they felt during the session with the editor.

It was so emotional and such a learning experience that one of the extroverts who was very smart came back to the class and said, “I had such a good session with the editor. We got into all kinds of things. But then, in the review of it, I realized I had not told him my talking points. We went off on a tangent and forgot about my talking points. I guess my op-ed piece won’t appear.” The department head shared that with Pru – “I had a very good session with him, but it didn’t amount to too much.”

That ended in 2010 in December. At the closing session, a number of the students met with Pru. They’re all seniors, it’s a senior seminar. They said, “Ambassador you have to do something. This is the most rewarding session for us as students at Hamilton College, the way that you had us do the presentations became part of instructing each other. The way you filmed us, the skills you had us adapt to is the most rewarding experience we had. You have to institutionalize this. You have to do it because it’s very rare we get an opportunity to do something like that.”

And that’s what she did. For three months she spoke to department heads and within three months she had designed the framework, submitted the paperwork and a couple of months later it was funded by the Levitt family of New York City for a trial period of three years. That became her stepping stone to where she is today, with her leadership speaking engagements.

But a lot happened between those years in my life, too. You want to save that for the next time?

*Q: Today is the 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 2018, only six months to Christmas, with Richard Buckley. I’ll leave it to you, we’re at the end game now.*

BUCKLEY: We're getting near, very close, except I've have some additional information recalled after our last interview.

We returned in 2002 from Guatemala, Pru began her tour as dean of the leadership and management school here at NFATC (National Foreign Affairs Training Center), otherwise known as FSI. For the first time on August 7, 2002, we were able to go to Arlington National Cemetery. There's a marker under a small beautiful poplar tulip tree. The initial entry to the cemetery in 1863 is at that gate across from the Iwo Jima memorial and about 50 yards from highway 110. This today is the side entrance, the Fort Myer road entrance, because the initial graves are there. The marker, after you go through that gate, for the East African bombings is straight ahead about 100 yards. The wording on the marker says, "In dedication to those that died in the East Africa bombings in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania" and the date August 7, 1998.

So, we went there on August the 7<sup>th</sup>, 2002, four years after the bombing. There were just – 4 persons there on that day; Frank & Patricia Wagner (who are there every year) that is the typical number of visitors unless it's a major date like 10 years, or this year it's going to be the 20<sup>th</sup> and we know there will be over 50 people there because Pru has contacted all the people she could identify with an email address and told them that we're going to be meeting informally at the marker at 10:30 on August 7<sup>th</sup>. We will have refreshments and reunite with each other again because some of them haven't seen each other in many years.

One of the major reasons why that gate is so important – we always take this route now and we have taken visitors to Arlington Cemetery is instead of following the walkway straight to go to Kennedy's grave or the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier which are all straight ahead, Pru and I always go to the right. To the right are the tombstones for the original burials. They consist of 5,000 African – blacks. The first 2,000 are the colored troops from the battles of 1863 and '64. The rest are indicated by tombstones – some with names – but it says "civilian or citizen". The citizen (I read the records on the entire 5,000 because someone gave a grant for a list of at all the records, and they put it on the web) were free slaves. Civilian most likely means they were not legally free.

The reason for the black people buried there is the result of Lincoln issuing his Emancipation Proclamation, as a test-run in 1862 just for the District of Columbia. Once he issued that the District of Columbia was now a free zone, some slaves from Maryland and Northern Virginia escaped and came into DC. Well, soon many died and they overwhelmed the cemeteries in DC, so DC officials contacted Quarter-Master Meigs who was in charge of the grounds that they confiscated from Lee's wife as they fled, and he wanted to make sure they would never come back. Meigs and Robert E. Lee were graduates together at West Point. Meigs despised Lee because he considered him a traitor since Lee had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States of America. Meigs felt that a person who took a pledge to support the constitution of the United States and subsequently violates the oath by fighting for the southern states, then in his mind he was a traitor. When the DC request by the people in the cemeteries of DC, Meigs said I've got

just the place, bring them over.” And that’s why they have 5,000 colored people graves who were buried in 1863-64 (and some later) located there.

It’s a wonderful place to walk now under these old oak trees because it’s close to where the original forest of the plantation was located. You have these beautiful old large trees that form a canopy for about 200 yards along this road. So, Pru and I usually take that walk. It’s so peaceful. They just finished a 30,000-niche columbarium near Fort Myer Chapel. Earlier this year Pru and I visited a funeral home in Falls Church, paid \$5000 each to be cremated and to be placed in the columbarium when the time comes. I don’t qualify to be buried but I qualified to be inurned at Arlington. Pru has to wait and notify the funeral home as soon as I pass. Pru will call the funeral home who will then contact the cemetery official to obtain the date for the inurnment service.

Also, I began to visit the National Museum of the American Indian. (NMAI)Have you been there?

*Q: Yeah.*

BUCKLEY: You know therefore that it is one of the few circular museums on the mall. Others may have a little circle but this is curved internally and outside. I was a founding member in 1988 because as you know from past interview sessions, I’ve been learning about American Indians for most of my life. In 1988 they had the first fund drive and they desired contributions from people that would contribute throughout their life. In late 2002, it was the first time I had an opportunity to visit it. I did. And I found it so fascinating, so worthwhile that I take any relative or visitor that was staying with us to the museum and act as their own guide. Some people were confused because the museum used the original names of the tribes (in their tribal language) not the names that we’re accustomed to like Sioux.

*Q: - Sioux, rather than Lakota.*

BUCKLEY: Right. The museum has done what I think the African American museum which just opened last year is doing, it’s presenting their narrative. It’s presenting the narrative of the American Indian for the first time. The story of American Indians was made by Anglos; it suited Anglo interest very well. For example, for most of my life with Pru we learned the history about the colonists from Europe that went to Africa, all those countries in Africa – because that was relatively fresh because they didn’t get independence until the 1960s. But we hardly have ever examined the U.S.A. and both Americas from the standpoint of the people who were colonized, and what was the impact of the Europeans coming to colonize North and South America, on the people that were living here. That is becoming an issue that is now being written about, very significantly. Some time I hope before I pass from this Earth, someone will have created enough evidence to call for a national conversation on the impact of colonizing both North and South America. I would call it the Review & Reconcile conversation. We’ll see.

We also began our annual trek to Houston for Thanksgiving, Pru and I. That's where my five children live and eleven grandchildren. We have two Anglos – gringos, I call them – from my oldest daughter, and nine adopted grandchildren from Russia and Kazakhstan. It's a new experience just watching how those kids from Kazakhstan develop because the first orphanage was very similar to Romania. Remember the Romanian orphanages, that the babies were very defective because they were not -

*Q: Ceausescu was pushing women to have babies and they were warehoused.*

BUCKLEY: Same thing happened in places in Kazakhstan. My son Thomas who adopted seven, his first two were in one of those warehouse orphanages. We go to Houston every Thanksgiving, and also have made summer visits. In addition to visiting Houston itself to have Thanksgiving dinner and a few more days to visit with my kids, we have close friends in Bellville, Texas that I knew from the early '70s who was in the legal services program with me, but then became a full-time professor at the Houston University law school. His wife, Wendy is a very interesting woman who started as a veterinarian, married him because she was a student in law school, and became a lawyer but has never practiced a day of law. As soon as she graduated from law school, she used her law degree to enter into mediation law that is an alternative to filing and arguing cases in a courtroom. Then she became director of the office that distributed \$3,000,000,000 from breast implant lawsuit according to judicial decree, and now she's an Episcopalian priest in Glenwood Springs, Colorado. When we visited them in the early 2000s, they were living in Bellville, Texas about 45 miles due west of Houston, on a farm (reverting back to her veterinarian days.) On that farm she had donkeys, a couple of horses and many cats and dogs. It was a great place to bring my grandchildren. We continue to interact with them as much as possible in Colorado.

We also became the annual Christmas holiday season host to Pru's family. She has one brother in Indiana and her sister lives in Lexington, Virginia. They with their children would come from 18<sup>th</sup> of December to the last day in December. When we're all there for a couple of days it's 12 adults, four children, and a variety of Labrador dogs. Fortunately, we had three levels with five bedrooms for sleeping and a large yard for the Labs. It was a lot of fun. Even Sam and Saba (to a lesser extent) got along wonderfully with the big dogs. Washington's a great place to visit because there are so many activities and places to go, and they did. I started as the chef of every evening meal, but by the time I was finished I was wiped out, so slowly through the years I've given off a night for this, a couple of nights so I eased out of taking every night for dinner. Now living in a small apartment, we can hardly have more than four persons for dinner because of the lack of space.

In 2004, Pru – Bush was re-elected, remember? Powell resigned and Condi Rice became Secretary of State and the focus of the department of State began to change. It began to be militarized. She called it transformational diplomacy. What transformed was that FSOs assigned to European countries had to take tours in a combat zone. Afghanistan has been a combat zone since October 2001 and has one of our largest embassies. In

earlier-saner political times, we would evacuate countries where serious combat was happening. We would not have a diplomatic force there because there's not much diplomacy you can conduct while major combat is going on. In my estimation, watching that develop and reading about it and talking to people that have been there, all we're doing is being a GSO for the military, to take care of all their needs. It's a major problem State Department needs to examine if it wants to regain the status of being in charge of conducting foreign affairs.

On September 30, 2005, Pru officially resigned from the department of State because she found it was no longer a fit for her. She was not able to support the policy of Bush and Condi Rice, especially what they were doing with the State Department. At her official going-away party at FSI, they presented her the American flag from her Nairobi office. They retrieved it after the bombing and she took it to Guatemala and then when she retired, they presented it. It was perfectly done because somebody at the leadership management school knew a military person who knew exactly how to fold the ambassadorial flag – it has sashes and was placed in a triangular glass container. She gave it “to the person who has supported me all these years” - me. She gave it to me. I have it in my room now. I go to these functions, funerals and watch them fold it and think, “They'll never have it folded like the one I have!”

Then she's wondering what to do with herself. Pru is MBTI type INTJ. Know what the t-shirt of an INTJ says? “I can improve this t-shirt.” They can improve anything. She's been improving me for over 40 years.

Within a few weeks following her retirement I completed the LLC form to form an LLC (limited liability corporation) and she called it Sage Associates. She was the sage, and I was the only associate. I became her administrator and accountant and whatever. We had that operation for about eight years. Her first consulting gig was with the Oklahoma City memorial center, that went on for a few years. It was a good bridge for her to go from State to consulting and she assisted them expand their operations so they could attract more visitors to Oklahoma City.

In 2006 I went to New Orleans to stay with a friend, Charlotte Glass and her husband Robert. She took me on a tour of the Lower 9<sup>th</sup> Ward. It was the year after Katrina and it's still like an area destroyed by a bombing. Nothing there but a shell of a home but if it has a front door on it, they would post a scorecard that they kept track to tell anyone else that would come there how many people were here, how many died, and they also made a record of pets. So that's the only sign of life in that large neighborhood, the entire Lower 9<sup>th</sup> ward in New Orleans. It was incredible to see. I visited that neighborhood when I was a lawyer there in the '70s. A book, recently released, tells the story of this area very well; the name of the book is: [The Yellow House, A Memoir](#) by Sarah M. Broom



Then in early 2007, Pru finally had to bite the bullet. Finally, after talking to some friends, they told her you need therapy for the bombing experience. She started EMDR (eye movement desensitization and reprocessing), the rapid-eye movement therapy treatment. It's a form of somatic therapy as opposed to cognitive therapy.

In 2007 she continued with her speaking engagements at the Coast Guard Academy and more therapy and finally the therapist had her re-enact the scene from the moment the bomb went off. She got on the sofa at the therapist's office and the therapist had Pru take her mind back to bombing and she wound up on her hands and knees, basically the same position she probably went through after the explosion of the bomb knocked her off the sofa onto the floor. The concept of somatic therapy is at the moment of that type of trauma, you have this fight or flight reaction whenever you get into those types of conditions. What happens is you're trying to flee and if the trauma overwhelms your body, knocks you out or you get injured, it freezes – it freezes your system, and it causes difficulty in that part of your body. The therapist and Pru discussed what happened and what it means for Pru's PTSD.

Since 1996 I've been researching and writing the history of my home town area and I'm finally bringing that to a conclusion. Within a year, it's going to be published, and we're also continuing our interaction with Debra Winger and her husband. You know Debra Winger?

*Q: No.*

BUCKLEY: You don't know Debra Winger the famous movie actress?

*Q: Oh yes.*

BUCKLEY: Debra Winger. She played Pru in *Sometime In April* a movie about Rwanda, and we developed a personal friendship with her and her husband. We were invited to go to her 50<sup>th</sup> birthday party this small castle. Only a dozen people attended. Even though she's an extrovert, she has very few friends because she's an overpowering extrovert so she rubs people a little bit too heavy sometimes. Her husband's a great guy.

In the spring and summer of 2007 Pru expanded her speaking gigs by earning good money with Lockheed-Martin and Caterpillar who have the money to bring her in to give them motivational talks on teamwork to certain sections of their operations. She still continued her therapy.

We also visited – have you ever been to Colorado? We went for the first time to Crested Butte, Colorado. She would conduct one-day leadership session for women in federal service. These women are mid-managers trying to move up to senior manager level in various federal departments. One session was held in Denver and one in Charlottesville. Linda Howard (Pru's former management assistant) had moved to Boulder, Colorado, so we'd join her and go on trips throughout Colorado. On one trip we went to Crested Butte, Colorado. It was an old mining town. It is still a quaint old town but on the surrounding

hills they are trying to become another Aspen with another ski resort. The condos and ski places are in the surrounding hills. Crested Butte is in a bowl, surrounded by mountains.

BUCKLEY: Hands Stu a copy of his book about the history of his hometown & vicinity.

*Q: This is called -*

BUCKLEY: A Unique Place, A Diverse People. The Social & Political History of Little Falls, New York. Why it's a neat place, you can basically see these big hills on either side of the city with a river running through it and the railroad had four tracks and here you see that the photographer has taken four trains passing simultaneously. It's a wonderful photo. This was taken in the late 1800s, we've subsequently learned that this photographer was hired by the New York Central to go along the Central's cities and take these photos to promote the New York Central Railroad. He was up on one of the high hills and took this wonderful photo in the 1880s. This original was hanging in the Little Falls Historical Museum.

When it came time for me to choose the cover for my book, I said "Get someone to make a digital shot of that photo, that's what I want on the cover of my book." It explains many of the things I describe in this book. In the preface of the book I describe the entire photo of Little Falls, that is a two-mile gorge. On either side of the gorge it's flat land.

I went to Little Falls for my first book-signing in the summer of 2008, and the first 500 copies were sold out that summer. I gave the publishing rights to the Little Falls Historical Society, so they could make \$20 from sale of each book.

*Q: It's great.*

BUCKLEY: Why this book is different and very important not only to Little Falls but for any manufacturing city from New York City to Buffalo is because earlier 19<sup>th</sup> century history of our cities was focused primarily on men in this country who were mainly manufacturers and railroad owners. Before I began writing the first draft, I contacted the local history guru in New York state; she was teaching at Cornell University. Her name is Carol Kammen.

"Carol, how should I write this book?"

She said, "If you don't tell the story of the women who also made history in our state, and the immigrants who came, and if you don't resurrect your black population who have been written out of history, then you're not doing a service to yourself or the community."

I resurrected the black history and you'd be surprised. There were slaves in every community along that river, from New York City to Buffalo. From the beginning there were slaves, and it's not that difficult to find them because they're in the census. Also – remember I told you I read every column in every daily newspaper in our home town –

fortunately it had a daily newspaper – from 1880 to 1980. In the 1800s the black community was thriving, over 100 blacks living in Little Falls and many had middle class jobs. A few were barbers. No one cut hair except blacks until the immigrants from Italy and Poland arrived. Blacks were the main barbers. Just like blacks were the craftsmen for building homes. They built homes and maintained all equipment for the plantation people. Catering was another area that blacks pursued. They catered weddings for the upper class in the 1800s.

Women, as you know Seneca Falls is in New York. Women played a major role and it's disclosed in my book as well as the immigrants.

*Q: We better wrap it up. We're pretty well at the end, aren't we?*

BUCKLEY: Yeah, one more session. I have to tell you the way we finally got Pru to finish her book. It's a major part of my last few years.

*Q: Today is the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July, 2018, with Richard Buckley. I'll turn it over to you.*

BUCKLEY: Okay. In January, 2009, the big event was the day of Obama's inauguration. We had the pleasure of being the host for Debra Winger with her illustrious son Babe who was 10. They were part of the 10,000 people with purple tickets to attend the inauguration that were unable to get inside their gates because officials closed them off for fear that too many persons had entered on the other side. They not only didn't get inside, but Debra was calling me every 15 minutes; it was very cold, below freezing, 20 degrees with a wind; I remember dropping them off at a Metro station in East Falls Church and saying, "good luck". They were warmly dressed but they were being squashed by thousands of people trying to get into that entrance that was locked, a place locked an hour or two before they even showed up.

She would telephone me and say: "Is it on CNN? Is it on CNN?"

"Debra, is what on CNN?"

"We're all here, we're being crushed! We can't move."

Finally, after the third call in 30 minutes, I said, "Debra, listen – I don't think you're ever going to get into that gate based on the information from CNN. Here's what you do. Turn around, go back the way you came, get on the Metro, come back, I'll pick you up and guess what? Every hour there's a station that repeats the ceremony – CSPAN so get here, we'll give you some coffee and make you warm soup and you can watch it."

Reluctantly she left because she wanted to be part of this historical event. I brought Debra and Babe back to our house; she was able to view the ceremony on CSPAN with hot coffee in front of our warm fireplace. Of course, later that evening she joined the blog of

frustrated purple-ticket holders and their anger was reported in the following day's Washington Post.

While Pru went to Clinton, New York to Hamilton College every Monday for the three-hour seminar for 17 weeks, I had time to read the recent books about John Fitzgerald Kennedy's assassination. I probably read 20 books, because I'm a fast reader. JFK, the assassination of November 1963.

*Q: I have breakfast every morning with Dr. Alfred Goldberg who was on the commission, he was the historian of it.*

BUCKLEY: He was?

*Q: He is at my retirement home and we have breakfast every morning.*

BUCKLEY: Tell him you met an avid reviewer of the commission. By the way, send him this message: based upon my reading 70 books, many of them since the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Assassination Records Review Board (ARRB) that was created in the '90s after Oliver Stone's movie *JFK*, people pressured Congress to force government agencies to release documents. By 2013, the ARRB had declassified 5 million documents. These new documents available to the public produced a number of new books that focus on the facts to such an extent – this is the message for Dr. Goldberg – is that the Warren Commission is now based upon moving sand. Oswald did not participate in the shooting of the president. The bullet that killed JFK was fired from in front and to the right of his car. The authors of the most recent books today are providing information that the Warren Commission should have written, the facts. Some important information was discovered in the Warren Commission's own evidence appendices books. Commission members and most staff had never read them. Since 1963, major media have consistently labelled any book challenging the Warren Commission to be a conspiracy. Based upon the books I have read during the 21<sup>st</sup> century it is the Warren Commission report that is the conspiracy.

*Q: Goldberg was saying that the number of people who came up with assassination plans, one was that Jackie Kennedy was behind it because she wanted to go to Morocco to marry the king. People would say in Oregon, "Well my neighbor wasn't home that day, he must have done it." He got sidetracked but he wanted to collect the records, the letters of the thing, because people were crazy with...*

BUCKLEY: Well, he knows despite those letters it's been over 75 percent polling of people of the United States that disapprove, that do not accept the Warren Commission. From the beginning.

*Q: Well anyway.*

BUCKLEY: Some day in the future after you give him my comments, perhaps I'll join you at your breakfast.

*Q: Well, he's 99 years old now.*

BUCKLEY: You could help, you could translate!

In December 31<sup>st</sup> of 2009, Sam our beloved Kenyan cat died. He was unable to urinate; we took him in for emergency surgery, they screwed up, they didn't fix it and they couldn't fix it the next time, the surgeon said. We had to put him down. He was the most unusual peacemaking cat I've ever seen. We got him as a kitten in Kenya a week or two after the bombing. He helped Pru and me during our healing process from the bombing.

In 2013, Hillary Clinton was replaced by John Kerry. I must mention that John Kerry had a very frustrating time as secretary of State because everywhere he went, there was no chance of negotiating deals because the prior administration had established the nation-building system for Afghanistan. Hillary Clinton had produced State's first Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) – that “provides a blueprint for advancing America's interests in global security, inclusive economic growth, climate change, accountable governance and freedom for all.” Secretary Kerry improved the QDDR by focusing more on the implementation of policy. For example, in his (the second) QDDR it states: “to promote a culture of leadership in the State Department” that led to the principles of leadership that were enunciated in his comments during that year included in his QDDR. These ten leadership principles are now in the FAM. They are now recognized as authority of the State Department. The OIG (Office of the Inspector-General) uses them effectively on their inspections of embassies and headquarters bureaus. One thing they do on every inspection is to see if top leadership is abiding by the leadership principles - written in the FAM.

*Q: By the way, OIG means Office of the Inspector-General.*

BUCKLEY: And FAM is the Foreign Affairs Manual.

In 2014 we stayed at the Grand Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia – one of the most beautiful hotels I've ever been in – after Pru gave her excellent speech on the dangers of diplomacy today. The most receptive audience consisted of 300 members of Richmond's Women's Club, one of the oldest in America.

Then in June of 2014 Pru flew to the Hague, they had a 20<sup>th</sup> observation of the Rwanda genocide. They tried to use it as lessons learned event. They had a few nations' ambassadors that were on the Security Council in 1994 attend – but they didn't want lessons, they gave the same speeches they made 20 years earlier. It was almost a waste of time except there was something for the record.

In August 2014 I was about to celebrate my 80<sup>th</sup> birthday when a big cat owned by our adopted Peace Corps volunteer bit me. He bit my right hand; within 12 hours I'm in

shock and under surgery, I almost died on the surgeon's table. He told Pru, "I did the best I could, the rest is up to those people that know how to get poison out of the person's body." I learned that domestic cats have the most dangerous bacteria in their mouth. Once a cat bites into your tissues, the bacteria goes right into our bloodstream. Within 12 hours my body, my entire blood system was infected. It took six weeks of strong antibiotics - that Pru had to administer intravenously - to clean out the poison. It's the first time I ever had antibiotics beyond a penicillin shot after I was 50 years old because as you know I was born before there was penicillin. It really did damage to my immune system.

In 2015, an author friend told Pru (she had sent her a copy of the first part of her manuscript), "Don't write about the perps in so much detail, and the law enforcement activities. Readers could care less about them. Just mention their names and what they did. They want to know about you. What was a woman ambassador doing in an embassy that has been bombed? Where do you come from? Who are you?" That is what readers want."

She took her advice and began to rewrite - she had hundreds of pages telling the story of where Al Qaeda was formed and all that - and changed it, fortunately.

In 2011 we were on the Rhine River from Basel to Antwerp; great first time on a riverboat. In 2012 we went to Turkey and by airplane and small van travelled throughout Turkey; incredible. Turkey's one of the most beautiful countries I've been in. Not surpassing Italy, Italy's got our number one vote. But Turkey not only has beautiful land, it has civilizations - most of them, down in the southern part of Turkey near the sea. In 2014 we went on a river ship from Paris to Normandy. Paris of course is spectacular and being in that part of France was wonderful. In 2015 we took our first small boat, with 70 passengers, around the British Isles. Starting in Edinburgh, Scotland we went all the way around the outer isles of Scotland and went to Iona, then back down to Dublin, then over to Wales, then into those little isles off the British coast, and finally back to taking a bus back to London. It was a wonderful trip.

In 2016 despite our move to Prospect House from Bailey's Crossroads, downsizing considerably to get into 1400 square feet, we managed to go to Provence in late October. Provence is very different from other parts of France - their wine is very different, a little heavier taste, but it doesn't have that typical French wine after-taste.

In 2017, just a year ago, we took the Alaska small ship (40 passengers) from Juneau from one island to another to end up in Sitka, which was the Russian capital. We learned a lot.

So then in 2016, Trump is elected. However, he had the former spokesperson Spicer, state "it was the largest, the greatest inauguration, incredible crowds, more than Obama". Except a few days later, it doubled, even tripled what Trump had - the Woman's March. I can attest to the numbers because I was standing on the platform of the Washington Monument (it's raised so you can see all around you) and I just saw people everywhere. I read that people on Constitution Avenue were moved to Pennsylvania Avenue because

there was a segment that wanted to go that way. The same thing happened after the march began it took a path of its own, it was supposed to turn off of Constitution but it kept going all the way down to the Lincoln Memorial. And someone said, "This is a wise move, now we're getting rid of thousands who can split off" while others tried to return back to where they started on 3<sup>rd</sup> and Independence. It was a fantastic march. I have never felt so good about seeing so many women in action. The offshoot of that march – many people said, "Oh, those women are going home, put their little pins on the wall." Not this time! They went back home and joined these organizations called Indivisible every county I think in the country has one. They more than any other group will in my estimation determine the mid-term elections in November.

Pru's told her story to me, and she's told her story again in the book that's coming out October 1<sup>st</sup>. But I want to share my story. We went through similar experiences together. I was there at the bombing and had a different role than she, just as before the bombing I had a different role than she. Telling my story, basically a quick story here at the end. She had to tell hers with restraint. Not so much legal restraint as restraint of diplomacy; "I can't harm those people that did us wrong in Nairobi" - that didn't pay attention or respond to her cables of distress. Those restraints are not on me. I'm a spouse, I didn't sign anything.

So, what happened? How did the department of State get to where it is today? Well, let's go quickly through 60 years. The first beginning of the problem was when Truman signed the bill that established the intelligence system after World War II. The Defense Department of course had all their intelligence agencies, every service branch had one, so that was one area they merged into the Defense Intelligence Agency now representing the services. It was also the beginning of the CIA and the NSC (National Security Council), and that was the beginning of the downfall of the State Department. They weren't watching very closely what was happening. Neither was America in the 1950s; we were asleep with "Isn't life wonderful now?" We're rebuilding our economic system, making everything good for Americans rather than overseas to fight the world wars. And we're sleeping just like Ike was because Ike didn't really see what the Dulles brothers were doing with two important agencies, the CIA and the Department of State. These Dulles brothers did us wrong in the '50s.

The CIA of course as you know started quickly, sort of bypassing the responsibilities spelled out in the Truman legislation. In fact, after Truman understood what we were doing at the Bay of Pigs, Guatemala and Iran, said "That's not what we intended by creating them! They've gone off the target. They weren't there to be covert, they were there to coordinate. That's what it says in the original language." But the Dulles brothers had their own interpretation of CIA's mission. The results were demonstrated as they dismantled a democratically elected government in Iran in 1953 and dismantled a democratically elected government in Guatemala in 1954 -

*Q: You're talking about Mossadegh and Arbenz.*

BUCKLEY: Right. By the way, with the help of the department of State, particularly in Guatemala. We have information and evidence that shows the ambassador was directing the fire of the little airplanes that were dropping bombs on government buildings and certain residences. The CIA was also in Vietnam already in the '50s; the French haven't even left. What was the CIA doing in Vietnam so early?

*Q: Part of the problem was essentially that the CIA is a direct descendant of the Office of Strategic Services, the covert operations during World War II.*

BUCKLEY: Correct.

*Q: And the training reflexes and all show that.*

BUCKLEY: Absolutely correct. But what role did the CIA play to get us involved in Vietnam after the French pulled out. It happened so quickly. Where were you in the '60s? Were you overseas, here, where?

*Q: In the '60s I was in a number of places including Vietnam.*

BUCKLEY: Ah-hah. So, you know what was happening here; in this country we're going through an incredible trauma. A trauma that the United States had not known since the Civil War. The assassination of JFK was the beginning. We've never recovered from that trauma. Because in the '60s we had the riots of '64 here in the U.S. Then in '68, all hell broke loose when Martin Luther King was assassinated, Robert Kennedy was assassinated, Medgar Evers was assassinated. Riots happened throughout the country. We know the American people experienced numerous disasters that continued the trauma. But you think we're going to get a break after LBJ (Lyndon Baines Johnson) finally says, "I think I'm creating more problems" and his Great Society program is eaten up by the Vietnam War, that he can't see himself withdrawing, he keeps escalating and escalating. I think the generals were pulling on his ear too much.

Vietnam continued in the '70s under Nixon and Kissinger. They continued the undermining of elected governments. The problems we're having at the border now are not the result of the people there, they're the result of what the CIA did with those governments as we know they were doing in Honduras during the Reagan times. It happened long before Reagan. Someone has to really examine and report on what the CIA did in those countries, including Guatemala again. Not only did they overthrow them but they continued to support those military operations in those countries. It has and will continue to cause non-Americans to have strong adverse feelings toward us. I feel very strongly about the CIA's history of disasters under the guise of legitimate covert action.

I concur with one of the bravest senators we had, I wish he was still here, from New York, Senator Moynihan. He was an expert on secrecy, basically saying, "What the hell do we have it for? What is the CIA doing? I think we should abolish it and try to start again."



I concur.

So, Nixon had Watergate. Tapes were missing 18 minutes you never know what's going to lead to a person's downfall. He wanted to record his own history but he mainly recorded his own departure. He resigned in '74, and Ford immediately pardoned him.

*Q: I don't want to get too far into, these are oral histories, too much into your political philosophy.*

BUCKLEY: Stu, that's not my political philosophy, that's what happened.

*Q: I know. But all I'm saying is we don't want to run off, we're talking about your life.*

BUCKLEY: My life is what I read and what I went through. Remember, I was in Louisiana during the entire 1960s. So, I've seen why black lives matter. You want me to stop talking politically? This is an important issue and experience of my life.

*Q: No, all I'm trying to do is narrow this down. Go ahead, go ahead.*

BUCKLEY: Stu, don't try to narrow. I gave you an indication up front that I don't have restraints and you should allow someone that doesn't have restraints say what other Foreign Service spouses and employees would like to say.

*Q: I'm just, how did you find the Foreign Service?*

BUCKLEY: I'll get to that. I'm moving right along.

Jimmy Carter was elected president. This is where the State Department began to have difficulties, with the Tehran embassy hostages taken. It's the beginning of radical Islam. Why I say it's important is because it's the first time that the State Department indicated that they're not paying attention to what the people at the embassy are telling them about what's happening in Tehran, what's really happening. That we're in danger there. Washington officials ordered their seniors in the embassy to continue to support the shah of Iran. Know why? The CIA's covert operations against Russia were more important than the safety of embassy employees.

*Q: That's very definitely the case.*

BUCKLEY: Reagan was elected and we have Irangate. Although he lost many of his cabinet members one way or another, he still had the same old CIA chief that never departed. You know that Irish guy – William Casey. CIA once more was covertly operating in the civil war in Nicaragua.

Bush presented Clinton with the Somali situation. Within a few months, Black Hawk down happened, that is used by NSC (National Security Council) to begin withdrawing peacekeepers everywhere.

Then in 1983, the truck bomb blows up our embassy in Beirut. Nineteen Americans killed out of 63 killed in an embassy much bigger than our embassy in Nairobi.

Nineteen-eighty-six as a result of the Inman Report, Congress passed the Omnibus Bureau Diplomatic Security and Antiterrorism Act. My estimation of what happened from 1986 to the present, the focus of the department of State was mainly on diplomatic security buildup of the agents, creating another little empire in State Management and very little examination of what antiterrorism meant of that act. That continues to be the priority of State.

Nineteen-ninety-nine, Clinton was impeached.

Obama arrived with a message of change but the Republican Congress said no way.

Let's quickly review the department of State's handling of Islamic terrorism situations of our embassy. Iran, didn't pay any attention, the hostages were taken, Islamic terrorism spread. Lebanon – terrorists used a truck bomb to blow up the embassy. Inman said key factor is the 100-foot setback. The management part of State and DS (Bureau of Diplomatic Security) "waive" the 100-foot setback and the Nairobi embassy was bombed.

Nineteen-nineties, Sudan, Osama bin Laden was there until early 1996. The CIA's constantly monitoring him and also observed the other Islamic radicals visit with bin Laden. But a strange thing happened, the CIA requested and in between a change of ambassadors they persuaded the country team to agree with them to close the embassy in Sudan. Now isn't that a strange thing? The CIA, which pursues and creates danger, they manipulated the closure of the embassy as Osama bin Laden was leaving. One wonders why they did that. Ambassador Timothy Carney also wondered what the hell they were doing that. He was strongly against it.

Pru, in her book described the following strange incident: Secretary of State Madeleine Albright replaced a corporate lawyer in January 1997 – an interagency group focused on the issue of convincing Albright to reopen the embassy in Sudan because the Sudanese government officials offered to share their intelligence on Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda, in '96. The interagency group met over months. In September of '97, Albright signed off the decision to reopen the embassy in Sudan on and sent it to the NSC.

Susan Rice and Dick Clarke met and concluded, "We can't let this happen. Sudan is not worth any recognition by us." Clark and Rice went to Sandy Berger and he agreed with them and told Madeleine, "Scratch it."

She rescinded her own order that was developed following lot of meetings with interagency representatives. Do you know how that will impact on the reputation of the department of State with the interagency groups? It's not going to be very favorable.

Meanwhile, Ambassador Bushnell sent cables starting in August of '96 right until three months before the bombing. Very little response. If a response was made, it said "Stop it." My review of the factual records show that Management/DS made these decisions about waiver of 100-foot setback telling her that Nairobi embassy building does not meet the high terrorist threat level. It is Management/DS – I'm underlining 'management'; more than anyone it's the under-secretary of management who has the same surname as you, Stu, who created a fiefdom in the State Department. We only learned that after he departed, isn't that something?

In 2018, August 7<sup>th</sup> – within a few weeks we're going to celebrate the 20<sup>th</sup> observation of the bombing.

Pru's two years of cables were ignored. Why? I don't know the mindset of the under-secretary of management. I do know more specifically what he did with regard to Benghazi. He was responsible for both the decisions in Nairobi and the decisions in Benghazi.

In 2000 we had the *USS Cole*.

In 2001, we had 9/11. FBI and CIA were two major components that were put out in front of the firing squad to take the hit, some parts rightfully so.

In 2012, we have Benghazi.

I think you remember Mary Ryan? At the time she was the most senior Foreign Service officer, five-star general in rank. Secretary of State Powell threw her under the bus to take the pressure off the State Department and the White House in regard to Congressional review of 9/11 over the special program of visas that was created. I only raise that because I wonder why Hillary Clinton didn't ask or throw Pat Kennedy under the bus. Because he did two things. It was his micromanagement of the Benghazi special mission which he allowed to continue another year that was partially responsible for the Benghazi incident. It was also management's responsibility to see that the email system established in the department of State was adhered to by everyone including the secretary of State. It wasn't, and we know now that we have a president in the White House that was elected partially due to the email situation that Hillary Clinton was allowed to operate on her BlackBerry phone for the four years that she was secretary of State. Whereas it should have been properly monitored and controlled by the career people. It wasn't.

So, my conclusion from those incidents of not paying attention, ignoring pleas from Iran in 1979, Lebanon, Sudan, Nairobi, then Benghazi because Pru has learned within the last couple of weeks, in fact a person's writing a book about Benghazi, the ambassador sent in similar cables that Prudence did from Nairobi. He contacted Pru and they're now sharing information and she's sent him a copy of her book to review before it is published.

Truth comes out. Stu, it nearly always comes out. I intend to bring it out in my memoirs.

In conclusion, I just want to say this. The CIA and the NSC from the beginning have used the cloak of national security, that nebulous concept, in my estimation to be a crutch to conceal their internal operations. The CIA calls it their sources and methods, the FBI calls it the secrecy of the grand jury, their information they gather for trial. Both of them are not sharing critical information to the people that need it. I think Pru in her book is going to start revealing this situation. Others also are. That is, national security must be balanced if not replaced by a new concept of human security. What is the purpose of national security? Human security is directly focused security for human beings, for us, for the people – not the machines, not the process, not the covert intel operations or their own existence.

To give an example, it's probably going to need massive movement by the people because Congress isn't going to touch anything, especially this current Congress. But an example of what I mean by human security is what's happening at the border right now with Trump's policy of zero tolerance, of separating the families. Did you notice how they had to switch that policy? Yes. Because it touched a nerve that still resonates with three-fourths of the people of the United States, the security of children.

I think the reason why I'm focusing on human security so much is I think it will help direct any future official of State Management/DS from using any more waivers in regard to the vulnerability of people in our embassies or consulates overseas.

If the DOS wants to regain any control over foreign affairs as they seem to have had 50 years ago, here's what must happen in my estimation, as well as Prudence Bushnell's opinion. They must develop a clear, concise mission purpose. It must be well promulgated so that every citizen has had the chance to read and understand it. They have to put pressure on Congress (or others have to put pressure) to insist that CIA and NSC revert to their original role as specified by the enabling legislation. The NSC to coordinate the operations of the intel agencies, and the CIA to focus on gathering and analyzing intelligence information, and to cease being a paramilitary organization and doing covert operations everywhere they can.

Have you heard of the best practices panel of 1999 that came as a result of the Benghazi accountability review board?

*Q: I've heard of best practices.*

BUCKLEY: Best practices was one of the major reports that I've seen come out of the department of State. I think that on the Pickering and Mullen accountability review board for Benghazi, someone urged them to include an independent best practices panel to review what happened beyond the ARB investigation and to give recommendations of what can be done to correct certain things in the State Department. They did it. It was an excellent report, published in 1999. One of the major points they make is: The department of State must initiate a lessons-learned process to avoid future repetition of

Beirut, Lebanon, Nairobi and then Benghazi. The Department of State or Congress never had an independent after-action review of any of these incidents. That's one of the biggest problems. Where should that have taken place? Under M because it has the facilities and personnel to do it. He has FSI, he has them all. It's incredible. That best practices recommended that DS should not be part of Management. "You don't need all of this, it doesn't have anything to do with management, it's a whole different thing." Pat Kennedy rejected them. Lessons learned, he let it just lye and die. A simple death. This Lessons Learned process is critical. The same type of FSOs who developed the Principles of Leadership can revive and integrate the Lessons Learned process into the FAM.

DOS can also adhere to leadership principles. I mentioned earlier that leadership principles are in the FAM already, to act as leverage. I think the department would really benefit from adhering to the leadership principles in the FAM which they should be doing, to act as a leverage to switch from the focus of the field feeding headquarters, to a focus of the headquarters supporting the field in implementing policy effectively. Therefore, the primary mission of headquarters of the department of State would be to support the United States missions in implementing key policy effectively.

Finally, the CIA needs to find cover outside embassies. A memorandum of understanding could be made with the CIA that if we give you cover, you have to abide by the no-double-standard rule which State Department has to abide by, that when government officials have knowledge of specific actions that will probably cause harm to American civilians, this information has to be shared. Civilians must be warned. If they adhere to the no-double-standard rule, the department of State can allow the CIA to remain.

Finally, I recommend that we finish the memorandums of understanding that began a few years ago between the department of Defense and embassies overseas as to the relationship of the military in each of the countries. And to do that not only with the department of Defense but with all the other federal agencies that have established operations in our missions.

That's it. Finished. Wish you luck. And I wish both of us Irish guys a long fulfilling life!

*End of Interview*