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

MARGARET M. DEAN

Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy
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Q: Today is the 15th of January 2010. This is the first session with Margaret M. Dean, D-E-A-N. Do you go by Peggy?

DEAN: No, I go by Margaret.

Q: Margaret, all right. Good for you.

DEAN: There's a story behind that.

Q: All right. And this is being done for the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, and I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy.

Well, Margaret, first of all, why Margaret and not Peggy?

DEAN: I've always been Margaret but when I staff director of the Board of Examiners I wanted to work on Yahoo with some Foreign Service candidates groups so I enrolled on Yahoo as "Peggy." Later I continued to use my Yahoo account for other things and I'd forgotten that I had metamorphed into Peggy. Now I am Peggy, at least on-line.

Q: Everybody has known me as Stu Kennedy but I notice in the Foreign Service I'm registered as Charles S. Kennedy, and so I sign myself as Charles. I talk about Charles Stuart Kennedy so people looking me up that way or another can figure it out.

DEAN: Who you are?

Q: What's in a name?

Anyway, let's start at the beginning. When and where were you born?

DEAN: I was born January 2, 1945, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. My mother was from Philadelphia but she and my father were living in Connecticut. My father, a pilot in the Army/Air Corps, was stationed there. At that time in World War II, he was assigned to test reconditioned airplanes. Sometime, October, November, 1944, he took a plane up that wasn't successfully reconditioned. It started to fall apart mid-air and essentially crashed. Fortunately my father had time to realize what was happening. He aimed the

plane for a near-by river and went to bail out. In getting out of the airplane -- at that point you still had to throw the canopy of the plane physically --

Q: You didn't blow it off

DEAN: No mechanics; no electronics. The canopy didn't blow it off; you had to throw it off and climb out of the machine. He tells the story that he's headed down and he can see the ground is racing up towards him. He has difficulty ripping off the canopy and ends up twisting around so he can get leverage to push himself out of the plane. He climbs out of this rock hurdling toward the ground, the parachute opens, and he lands safely. He says he didn't realize until he went to collapse the parachute that his left arm was not working. As he was twisting around in the airplane to throw off the canopy, his parachute had gotten under his left arm. When he bailed out, the parachute ripped the arm out of the socket, and tore it all up. He was in the hospital for months. At that time they didn't start you doing physical therapy as early as they do now. So all of those muscles in his arm atrophied. He ended up staying in the hospital longer doing physical therapy to recover from the atrophied muscles than from the original condition. The impact was that my mother didn't want to have her first child all alone in Connecticut so she went home to her father. Consequently I spent my first two weeks in Philadelphia.

Q: All right. Let's do a bit with the family. Where on your father's side did he come from? What do you know about it?

DEAN: My father, Nelson, is a real McCoy. That's what the "M" in Margaret M. Dean stands for.

Q: A McCoy, M-C-C-O-Y?

DEAN: Right. There are many books on the Hatfields and the McCoys and there are books even on the genealogy of the McCoys. The one we have traces the line down to my great-grandparents.

Q: Oh yes. Is it West Virginia or western Virginia?

DEAN: Right. The feud is a complicated story of cross border elections and then people shooting people who were voting in the wrong elections. The reason the feud is famous is because the case of election fraud and wrongful death went up to the Supreme Court and involved governors of two or three states. There are other feuds in the mountains where many more people died. At the time it was quite well known.

Q: And there was a song; the Hatfields and McCoys were frisky mountain boys.

DEAN: Frisky mountain boys, definitely. My father's family has been in the United States for, I don't know, maybe since the early 1800s, late 1700s. They came across Pennsylvania and down the Appalachian Mountain range into Kentucky, West Virginia and Virginia, where they settled in the hollers around the Tug River.

Q: There was this Appalachian strain that came basically out of the border areas of Scotland, England and a little bit across the Irish Sea, too.

DEAN: My father always used to say we were Scots-Irish. Initially I thought that meant that we were Irish with some Scottish blood but the Scotch Irish were descended from Scottish and English families who had been transplanted to Ireland during the Plantation of Ulster in the 17th century. My father was adamant that his family was from these Scots who were dispossessed and resettled into Ireland. They wouldn't have given the time of day to an Irishman. That makes it doubly ironic that he married my mother, who is both Irish and Catholic.

Q: Do you run across any family history of any Hatfields that your relatives had knocked off?

DEAN: My uncle married a no account Hatfield before the Second World War and had two children, my cousins Roger and Nadine. During the war that woman up and ran off and left those two little children with our grandmother, Mary Victoria Blankenship McCoy. Later she came back and wanted the children and my grandmother gave them up. Less than a year later she returned and left them again. This time my grandmother said 'You know, if you're leaving them now, you're leaving them for good. We're not going to have this yoyo business.' And so they stayed and she raised two grandchildren after raising her nine children.

Q: Was the western part of Virginia or West Virginia sort of a seat of where the family was or had they-?

DEAN: When I knew them my grandparents lived in McClure, Virginia. We would drive out into the mountains and McClure is right along the border. The feud however took place in the Tug River valley between Pike County, Kentucky and Mingo County, West Virginia and I believe this is where my father grew up. Part of the Tug River forms a section of the boundary between West Virginia (east) and Kentucky (west).

This is where a lot of mountain topping coal mining is going on, up in that whole area, one of those areas that are being destroyed by coal mining. It's ironic because my cousin, Don Blankenship, is the CEO of Massey Coal, which is frequently charged with pollution as a result of mountain topping.

Q: Well now on your mother's side, where do they come from?

DEAN: As I said it is hard to imagine that my father would have married my mother because her family is Irish, Irish Catholic. My father said to me late in life, "Your mother never understood what it cost me to sign those agreements that I would raise my children Catholic." My father's family was strongly Wesleyan; there is a John Wesley in every generation. My mother's mother was a Deely from County Galway and came over to join her big sister who was already here. Her big sister, my Great Aunt Mary, worked for a

Mainline Philadelphia family, the Harts. When we knew her she was working for the man, Tom Hart, who had been a child when she joined the family. Aunt Mary essentially was a single woman who spent her lifetime polishing silver for this family and going to Mass.

Q: This was very much the immigrant pattern.

DEAN: Somebody would come and

Q: The family would come and every person with a certain amount of money had an Irish maid.

DEAN: The Harts had money; I've been to their home. I can remember going to their Philadelphia house as a 12- or 13-year old; these were not just anybody, these people had a lot of money. There was enough silver to keep my great-aunt busy, working every day.

My mother was the eldest of three, with her brother Walter and her sister Mary being twins. My maternal grandmother died when my mother was about 17. My mother had graduated from high school at 16 and gone to school to learn - in Michigan I believe - to learn to be a medical technician. Her mother had cancer of some kind. It wouldn't be nice to talk about in those days, so we do not know what kind of cancer it was. It's always been handed down that she had a female cancer but I have no idea what it really was. I never knew much about my maternal grandfather. He might have been English and he must have been first or second generation himself. The only thing I know about him is that during the Depression he came to Washington, as part of the team that built Union Station. He apparently led a group that did a lot of the stone masonry. When Washington considered scrapping Union Station and starting anew my mother wrote her Congressman and Senator to save Union Station, which eventually they did. Otherwise it was like there was no story associated with this man at all, whereas I'm aware that "the boys", my grandmother's younger brothers, are still back there in Ireland. My sisters and various other relatives, including my mother, have gone to visit her uncles. The uncles apparently were living childlessly unwed at home. There's a whole network of relations I have never met.

Q: Back to your father, let's talk about his grandfather and father. What were they up to?

DEAN: They basically were railroad and lumbermen. My grandfather was working in the lumber mills for Ritter Lumber. He'd cut off his middle finger. That was, for a child, always fascinating; we'd say "show us your hand". Scary in a safe sort of way. Anyway, beyond that, back beyond my grandfather I don't know. I assume that they did lumbering. I suspect that they did not have formal employment, but hunted and farmed. I do remember my father telling me that his father did make and run some moonshine. My father always wondered why they kept a big fire burning during the summer. My father must have been about 5 or 6, meaning it was about 1922-23.

Q: Let's take your parents; what sort of education did they have?

DEAN: My mother, as I said, became a medical technologist. She had been to a Catholic girl's school, but she was a day student and did not board there. She always felt that she did not really belong because she was not a boarder but she left them some money when she died, so there must have been some good memories.

My father was the fifth of nine children. There were the first five children and he was the last of the first group. Then there were about five years when he was the baby of the family. Then there were the next four. Unlike the others (except for Geneva, the last child), he got, early in life, a lot of time and attention. Initially he did not get the same level of education as his older brothers and sisters because with the Depression it was too expensive. He and his sister, Nancy, walked to a nearby school, rather than go and board in a big town. He was eventually one of the most educated of the batch, since he went up through what would essentially be a community college.

Q: Where?

DEAN: He lived with his married sister, Blanche (the second eldest), in Pikeville, Kentucky and went to school there. He worked washing gym and football uniforms. He also worked in the dining hall, mostly doing steward work, clearing tables, washing dishes, etc.

His three older sisters (Peggy, Blanche, and Nancy) had been sent away to school to become teachers. Wayne, his older brother, also went away to school. The Depression changed the amount of education that our grandparents could afford for their younger children, including my father. The Depression explains why my father did not graduate from high school until he was 21.

A couple of my aunts became nurses and a couple became schoolteachers but other siblings went to Michigan and worked in the car factories at that time. Two of my father's sisters ran gas stations. I think one of his brothers joined the Post Office. After being in the CCC, the Civilian Conservation Corps, where he was a baker with a reputation for making good pies, my father joined the Army Air Corps (probably around 1941, but before the U.S. had entered into the war). He was in Class 41G (the 7th class of 1941) when the Air Force was still part of the Army. After being trained he was in the reserves and then, with the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1942, he was whisked off into the Second World War.

Q: And you were born which year now?

DEAN: Forty-five.

Q: Forty-five. So right at the end of the war.

DEAN: My father had been stationed up in the Aleutians, in Alaska, in the Ocean Chain. Their mission was to fly surveillance out towards Japan, over the ocean, to make sure the

Japanese were not going to swoop in and attack the West Coast. He had already met my mother but because he was mobilized so quickly they did not have time to get married. They married in January of 1944 and I was born in January 1945.

Q: Yes, the Aleutian Islands were a key point around there.

DEAN: He dedicated himself to saving money to get married to my mother. He said he did that mostly by playing cards, but that might be an apocryphal story. I doubt he ever saw more than two or three Japanese planes so it was a low-key, cold, war for him. In any case he told us that he had decided not to get married until he had $5000 in the bank. According to his tax returns that we shredded after he died, he was making about $1,200/year as a first lieutenant with flight pay.

Q: Where'd you grow up?

DEAN: My father was still in the Air Force when I was born so I started my peripatetic life. I must have gone to Connecticut and then maybe to South Carolina and then to Florida. I have that by vague reference; neither of my parents was much given to oral history or any history until very late in their life. No scrap books, no stories, few pictures. Kearney, Nebraska has probably my earliest memories. I must have been three years old in Kearney, Nebraska, living in a motel with my mother and father and a baby in a laundry basket. It was a one-bedroom hotel room and there were four people in it. It was winter. I can remember being inside for days on end, staring out the windows watching the icicles grow longer. I sometimes wonder how my mother kept her sanity, snow bound in a small motel room with two little children.

Q: Was there a place where you became really aware of what was going on and so you started having, in your memory, a childhood?

DEAN: As I said, I have these mental snapshots of singular events: my sister pulling the cat's tail and the cat misguidedly attacking me. I am clearer when we moved to Bergstrom AFB in Austin. I remember making mud pies, playing in fields of bluebells, falling down a steep hill near the water reservoir. The night my second sister (Mary Catherine) was born, my sister Carol and I woke up to discover that we were alone in the house. We packed our underwear in our lunch boxes and went across the street to a neighbor to ask where our mother was. I am sure that our mother told us she was going to have a baby, but that does not mean anything to a small child. Surprisingly the neighbor turned us away and sent us down the street to another neighbor. She did not take us in nor take us to the neighbor. To this day I still cannot imagine turning a 2-year old and a 5-year old away from the door in the middle of the night (probably about 9 p.m. but middle of the night to little children). The second neighbor did keep us fortunately. Reliving this story as an adult, my mother said that our father was away in training that week and she had not had much choice about going to the hospital. Still it was scary. I also remember that the first day of kindergarten my mother put me on a city bus to school and told me and the bus driver where I was to get off. She followed behind in the car. When the bus passed my stop and I did not get off she chased the bus down and retrieved me. After that

she took me to school every day, but that memory stands out as scary too. I don't like to ride buses to this day. Later as Staff Director for the Board of Examiners I went to Austin to do some recruiting and we went by 1914 Alegria Road. It's a small suburban house, nowhere near as big as I remember.

Then we were transferred to Dow AFB in Bangor, Maine. We lived that summer in a resort area outside Bangor on a lake. For the children it was fun, but my parents were looking for a house to rent. When school started, we moved into town and I went to St. John and St. Mary's, although for some reason I made my first communion in the chapel on the Air Force Base. I walked to school, across the Penobscot River, through the center of town. It seemed like miles, but it could not have been that far. Perhaps it was just wading through the snow that made it seem far. After Bangor we went to Montgomery, Alabama where my father went to the Air Force War College. I went to St. Loretta's. Then we moved to England AFB in Alexandria, Louisiana. From there we went to Elmendorf Air Force Base in Anchorage, Alaska in January 1955. I was in the middle of fourth grade, which I completed in the Anchorage public school system. I then did fifth and started sixth grade in the schools on the military base. Initially there had not been housing available for my father on base, so we lived in Anchorage. Later, when we moved on base, my sisters and I went to school on base. The 1954-1955 winter had 132.8 inches of snow (over 11 feet), which made it the snowiest winter on record. All three girls received certificates that we had survived the 'great' snow.

We have a series of letters between my parents; those written after they were married deal almost exclusively with the details of moving. Generally my father left early, my mother closed or sold the house, packed the kids and schlepped them to the next post by herself. For example, on the Alexandria-Anchorage move, we took the bus to New Orleans and then the train to Philadelphia; then we flew to Anchorage via Seattle. My mother had three little girls in tow. I subsequently wrote a poem with the image of arriving on the bus in New Orleans.* As you say, as you get older you become more aware of your surroundings. Later you become aware of what the surroundings mean.

For example, it was only much later that I realize that my father was not 'regular' Air Force, but rather that he was in the Reserves. Consequently when we were in Austin my father demobilized. I don't know if he opted to do this or if it was just something that happened to everyone in the Reserves. He ran a gas station, which he may have owned. Suddenly we were back in the military. Later I understood that the Korean War was the impetus nationally for offering veterans the possibility of re-upping. The gas station experience must have been sufficiently off-putting that my father only returned to civilian employment once he retired after a full career in the military.

Q: Yes, absolutely. How did you find being a service brat?

DEAN: I didn't know that most people didn't do it. What your family does is just so normal to you. Your family is the standard for 'normal'. Only later do you understand that every family is unique in itself.

Q: Yes, of course.

DEAN: I knew that not everybody was Catholic because my father wasn't Catholic but the best people were in the military. You had to feel sorry for people who never got to go anywhere new. When we left Anchorage we flew to Seattle and then we picked up our car, which had been shipped from Anchorage. We then drove down to Mexico, across the bottom of the United States to Louisiana, up to McClure, Virginia, where my grandparents were, and then on to Madison, Wisconsin and Truax AFB. We skipped about six weeks of school. That might not be allowed today. I arrived in the middle of sixth grade. Even though my father was on this trip so that all the burden was not on my mother, she was 6-7 months pregnant and my father got herpes simplex keratitis of the eye (a close relative of the chicken pox virus, but in the eye). The outbreak was in the Texas panhandle somewhere on a Sunday with no doctors readily available in the middle of a snowstorm. The treatment at that time was complete bed rest in a dark room with eye drops for the week or so that the outbreak lasts. My father described the infection as if 'someone were pouring burning sand' in his eye. My mother never described that week.

My father stayed at Truax Air Force Base until I graduated as senior in high school. So to the extent that anything was formative, it was probably the Sun Prairie, Wisconsin/Madison, Wisconsin experience. We lived in two different places. Initially my father had us living on an acre of land outside Sun Prairie, miles from anyone else. After I finished all the grades at the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, i.e., the 10th grade, we moved into Madison, where I finished high school at Monona Grove High School. In retrospect, I realize that they moved to a highly competitive school district so I could get a better education.

Q: Okay, let's just talk about Margaret as a young kid. - You had brothers, sisters?

DEAN: I'm an eldest child. I have three sisters and a brother so there are five of us. The girls would always laugh and say if John had been first or second there wouldn't have been anymore than two of us. But anyway my parents kept trying until we got John. He's turned out well for all the delay. My sister Carol is a judge in Tennessee, after years of being a lawyer; Mary Catherine teaches computerized sewing; Judy works for a Fortune 500 company in Michigan as a regional sales representative and John is a city planner in Vero Beach, Florida.

Q: Well then, how close was the family, would you say?

DEAN: Given that my parents were both unemotional, non-demonstrative people, (i.e., there wasn't any hugging or kissing or things like that), we were pretty happy with each other. Moving all the time causes you to depend on your sisters for company. We had what we call the big three and the little two; the three of us, the three older girls, are close in age and grew up together. Then I'm 11 years older than my youngest sister and I'm 17 years older than my brother. They grew up in a different environment. My parents were different people from my sister and my brother's parents even though they're the same people. My father retired; he became a realtor. The family stopped moving. They settled

in Florida, which is very different from Wisconsin. My brother has almost never been out of the state of Florida.

Q: Yes, yes, obviously with age comes change-

Were you much of a reader?

DEAN: I read all the time. The five years that we lived in Sun Prairie, we literally were living in a big field that some years was corn and other years was peas. There was no one around even if I were inclined to socialize. Fortunately I love books. My mother was always dragging me out from under the bed or coming in at 2:00 a.m. and telling me I have to turn my light off, that kind of thing. I remember her telling me that I was not supposed to read the entire textbook at the start of school before the teacher got to it, but she was laughing. So I did not change my practice.

Q: You didn't have a flashlight that you read with?

DEAN: Well, she knew to come and look to see if the light was on under the covers. Yes, it just was the logical thing for me to do.

Q: Do you recall any of the, sort of the early books that particularly grabbed you?

DEAN: I read everything I could get my hands on. Michener books. For some reason I can still remember the opening paragraphs on volcanic rising of Hawaii out of the depths of the ocean; the volcano is coming up out of the sea. I probably read a dozen Michener books. I remember reading "War and Peace." As I said we lived in the middle of a field in Sun Prairie, Wisconsin; there was nobody else around at all, which my father really liked because he was not very interested in people and didn't like being physically close to people. And what do you do with a summer? There's nobody there except your sisters. You read War and Peace, and you have the little insert that tells you who all the characters are. The Song of Bernadette; the Best Loved Poems of the American People, all of Sherlock Holmes, all of Poe, all of Agatha Christie. So yes, lots of histories and biographies. Because we moved we did not own many books, including the ones I've named, but mother took us to the base library frequently and I could borrow books from the school library.

Q: Well, did this sort of translate itself into an interest in history, I mean over the years as you went on your way?

DEAN: No, I went through high school and college in a pre-med mode. I was really focused much more on the sciences. Monona Grove High School was experimenting with classes that would be the equivalent of AP (Advance Placement) or IB (International Baccalaureate) classes. I was excused from all class attendance in American History because I had done so well on the first tests we were given. I opted to continue taking the tests throughout the year to make sure that I was learning what I needed to know of the standard curriculum. All I had to do was turn in a research paper every quarter. The one I

remember best was a detailed discussion of tenement housing in the U.S. I took advanced physics and chemistry, and advanced English. I took Trigonometry by correspondence because I did not have enough time in my schedule to include it at school. There was a club of pre-med students and I saw my first dead body (admittedly in a tub of formaldehyde) when we went to the medical school at UW.

I still have signs of my medical interests from my time at university: I go regularly to Gold's Gym. They confirm the fact that you were at a training session by using your fingerprint; the trainer and I have tried to record my fingerprint more than 20 times, always unsuccessfully. The trainer has asked me why that is. My speculation is that I would accidentally spill acid on my fingers in chemistry classes and it's very hard to get a fingerprint off of me because I have almost no fingerprints left. They are almost completely erased. I still enjoy reading works by doctors or medical personnel. Oliver Sacks is fascinating. Recent discoveries in brain function and genetic modeling are amazing. The Emperor of All Maladies by Siddhartha Mukherjee is fascinating, as is The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks by Rebecca Skloot, whose cells become the basis for our current cancer science.

Q: Well of course, there's the other explanation for the fingerprints, as a hardened criminal-

DEAN: Well, that was one of my options. I could have apprenticed as a safecracker.

No, diplomacy was quite coincidental. It is true I signed up for a class in diplomatic history at the University of Kentucky. I was interested in knowing how diplomacy worked and this was a good survey course.

How did I get to the University of Kentucky? My father was assigned to Wiesbaden, Germany, from Truax AFB, and he moved the middle of my senior year in high school. If my father had stayed at Truax, I could have gone to the University of Wisconsin as an in-state student with in-state tuition, but he was transferred to Wiesbaden. UW was too expensive as an out-of-state student. My father had five children and he wanted all of us to go to college, what was he going to do? He went down to the University of Kentucky and said 'I joined the military from Kentucky; treat my children as in-state students.' I think now that there is state-by-state recognition of this but at the time it was still a new idea. His request worked so I went as an in-state student to the University of Kentucky, where it's mostly partying, and drinking and more drinking. That's what I remember about school. That and basketball. And that it was $75/semester plus room and board

Q: Climbing mountains or something.

DEAN: I don't remember that.

I mentioned taking a course in diplomatic history but I didn't connect it with current diplomacy. What does 'foreign service officer' have to do with diplomacy? Perhaps if I

had been attuned to diplomacy I would have focused on UK's Patterson School of Diplomacy. I was however more interested in medical school.

Q: Well, let's go back to the school experience; how did you connect with school?

DEAN: How did I connect with school?

Q: Well, in other words, did you like studies or?

DEAN: Oh yes, I'm very good at studying. My mother said I graduated from more schools than any person she'd ever known and I haven't even got a Ph.D. There are still some graduation challenges for me. I've graduated from everything, kindergarten to MA, multiple times all along the way, the War College, the Senior Seminar. But yes, I'm a very good student; I like studying. It's a way to hide from the world.

Q: In your family how important was church? I mean you had your Catholic and non-Catholic members and how did that work family-wise?

DEAN: It meant that on Fridays when the rest of us were eating macaroni and cheese my father would have a hamburger or something.

Q: Burgers?

DEAN: Yes, have a little steak or something.

Q: At that time it was a mortal sin if you ate meat on Fridays. It's now not a mortal sin.

DEAN: No, now it is not. And fortunately my father was not Catholic.

Q: Somehow or other-

DEAN: The pope has changed the rules. During Lent meat is still forbidden on Fridays; you're still admonished not to eat meat on Fridays but they've changed the strictest rules.

Being reared Catholic seems to have taken in my case and that of all of my sisters; my brother married into another religion. Despite being raised Catholic, my own children are not religious.

Q: I mean, as a kid did you trot down to the Catholic mass? Was the priest an important part of the family?

DEAN: I don't think so. The nuns tried to enlist me but did not succeed. They really would have liked for me to join the convent, a thought that startled me when it became clear that was their thinking. Nothing I had ever seriously contemplated. You know, I either went to military schools or I went to Catholic schools. I've always been able to reconcile the incredible with living in the real world. Perhaps that is part of diplomacy –

to be able to hold two mutually incompatible thoughts at the same time and believe that they might both be possible. Or perhaps it is the ability to deal with multiple different futures, any one of which might become real.

Q: Yes. What about politics? Was there any?

DEAN: Even today I'm not comfortable with politics. My daughter-in-law was saying to me the other day that she just doesn't like talking about politics. I agreed. I just think talking about politics is the biggest waste of time. They seem divisive and petty, an expression of emotional partisanship. They do not accomplish goals. I want an action plan; I want to do something; I want something to accomplish. And yet I've spent, what, 30, 40 years associated with a career where everybody assumes politics or political science is your paramount interest.

In my case this is not the situation. Creating and implementing policies to strengthen my country or to help fellow Americans, or to try to persuade some foreign government to see their self-interest in our proposal, for me, is not politics. This is a legitimate pro-active position, where there are goals to accomplish, a purpose to achieve.

Q: When you hit high school were there any activities you got involved? What sort of high schools did you go to?

DEAN: When we were in Sun Prairie I went to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary; they had school through the 10th grade, perhaps a holdover from when Sun Prairie was a farming community and many children did not go beyond the 10th grade.

I did ninth grade and tenth grade but then when I graduated, (which is why I got more graduations out of high school than most people), where was I going to go? My father actually moved the whole family to Madison, Wisconsin, which was about 10 miles away, and I went to a high school called Monona Grove. Many of the teachers there were graduate students, mostly doctoral students, at the University of Wisconsin. The school was ahead of its time on planning and organizing and, of all the education I've had, Monona Grove was the most intellectual fun I had ever had.

Q: Did you go out for things?

DEAN: No, I did some sports, I did some public speaking; no, not too many activities. I'm not sure I could have gotten into college today with my level of activities.

Q: Yes, you look at what they require today with résumés and all that.

DEAN: Right. I would have had to go out and take on some activities or pad my résumé today. I did work in the summers, one summer detasseling corn for William F Renk and Sons (big hybrid seed distributor), and later at the library at Truax AFB. Detasseling is hard work and convinced me I did not want to do anything involving heavy manual labor. The library epiphany was the stash of Playboy Magazines behind the front desk. I took an

early morning class in typing and note-taking. As I mentioned, I didn't have enough time to take trigonometry so I did it by correspondence. That's what I did with my free time. That's not, I realize, quite standard teenage behavior, then or now.

Q: Did the Air Force have any attraction for you?

DEAN: It would have never crossed my mind. It didn't cross my mind. It would never have crossed my mind even if somebody had presented it to me. Joining the Air Force would have been incomprehensible to me. The thought surprises me even now. Possible prejudice and bias against women in the service was not a factor; the Air Force is just a career that held no interest for me.

Q: I spent four years as an enlisted man in the Air Force and I don't think I ever talked to a uniformed female. This was '50 to '54. I don't think I did.

DEAN: No, I can't imagine that you would have. And yet, coming out of the War College in 1989 one of my friends from that period, Marty Evans, became a three star admiral. Female admirals and generals may largely be nominated as figureheads but there is some real progress given their high level of performance.

Q: Yes, I mean it's been an earth change.

DEAN: That's right.

Q: Well then, so University of Kentucky; from when to when?

DEAN: It was '62 to '66.

Q: Okay. All right. But the University of Kentucky was what, mainly drinking?

DEAN: Party school, hard party school, football, basketball. I've taken my daughter to go see *Glory Road*, the movie about Texas Western University coach Don Haskins leading an all-black starting lineup against the all-white University of Kentucky team for the NCAA national championship (1965-66). After years and years of winning with a fast break up-court, Coach Rupp was soundly trounced. I was there the year that happened. Things were changing, but this was essentially a school steeped in the old south.

Q: I take it that the University of Kentucky was not the shining light for integration.

DEAN: It's interesting because even at school Rupp was recognized as being a bit of an anachronism. In part he refused to take any non-white players even though UK was competing against teams with minority players another 3-6 inches taller.

Q: He was the coach.

DEAN: He was the coach. He was -- I can't even think of who he'd be the equivalent to today; he was a name that anybody in the sports world would have recognized at that time. The coliseum is named after him; various roads in Lexington are named after him. He was the master of the fast break. His teams had won for years but as more and more taller, faster, black players were coming into other schools UK teams were starting to lose. I periodically get *Glory Road* from Netflix because at the very end they've got pictures of the actual players and a picture of Rupp. It's fun to see them.

On the flip side of the integration front however there was good news. When I was working as an assistant in the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences I asked the woman I worked for, Annelle Goodin, 'this school is integrated; I don't remember any discord ever. What happened? How did UK get integrated?' She said it was the most amazing thing. Some blacks had come a few years earlier and registered during the summer for summer school; nobody noticed they were black. In the registration process nobody focused on the fact that they were black and so they just came to school. Voila, UK was integrated and there hadn't been any hoopla about it. When the issue came up more formally, UK was able to say we've been doing this for semesters. Integration was a non-event at the University of Kentucky. It was such a non-event that nobody remembered much about it except Annelle and that was only because she'd been working there for so long.

Q: Yes. It was a little early but you were there '62 to '66; did any whiff of the Berkeley/Columbia type student protests hit Kentucky?

DEAN: You could read about it. You could read about Eskimos too. When you're drinking you don't really pay much attention to anything else that's going on. I was not part of the hard partying crowd, or even a partying crowd, but aside from the murder of JFK and a few other historical points, I remained focused on my studies, my work. I would say that UK was remarkably insular, buried in the past in that way, and I sometimes wonder what would have happened, who I would be, if my father had stayed in Wisconsin and I'd gone to university in Madison because there was obviously much more political ferment and student involvement.

One of the things I should make clear is that starting at the beginning of my sophomore year, I worked about 20 hours a week in the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences. I got paid $0.75/hour and I was happy for the money. My family, as you know, was in Wiesbaden, Germany. My father, ignoring all good money management guidelines and my direct requests, decided not to give me a monthly allowance to manage, but only to respond to requests for money. That meant I had to be low on money before I could ask. Today that would not be a problem. My daughter calls home from Rochester, N.Y., and my husband transfers funds on the computer into her account. It takes under five minutes and she is ready to go. I had to write, wait two weeks for the letter to get to Germany, wait two weeks for his letter to return and then, as I learned the hard way, I had to wait two weeks for the check to clear the bank. This was probably the single most formative lesson I learned: never be dependent on someone else for money. That also fits in with a Scots heritage of being independent, not allowing others to control you. To be

independent means you have earned your own way. Being independent was also the motivator for my working as a dorm counselor at the same time I was working in the Dean's office.

Q: You know U/Wisconsin's always been a fermenting university, right on the front line. Did either of these various movements in the '60s, including the Vietnam War, we're talking about the time you were in university, touch you personally?

DEAN: Didn't know anybody who went. I mean, can't say that it did.

Q: What about your father in the Air Force? Did he do anything in Vietnam?

DEAN: What happened is my father had been out there, flying over the Aleutians with his own war memories. When I bought the first car I ever bought, which was a Honda, he was furious because those damned Japanese made that car. The Germans he didn't like but the Japanese he really disliked because theirs was a sneak attack. We're not a political oriented family; discussing the Vietnam War would not be something we would do. Perhaps if we had been able to talk at dinner we might have gotten around to it, but we always had to be quiet.

More importantly my father was looking in the other direction. He was looking at the Iron Curtain from Germany and overseeing various reconnaissance operations.

Q: Did you live in Germany?

DEAN: No. My father went there in the middle of my senior year and I only went in the summers. My mother found the weather in Wiesbaden so depressing that she would almost immediately decamp on my arrival for the Costa Brava. I was happy because I spoke Spanish and I didn't speak much German.

Q: You got married when you graduated?

DEAN: I did.

Q: Where did your husband, your significant other come from? Was he a college student too?

DEAN: I married James Clayton Dean. Jim was a Chicago boy who had gone to a small scholarship college called Deep Springs out in the desert of eastern California. It has about 25 students, still all male; they run a cattle ranch. Deep Springs is a two-year school associated with Cornell University, although Jim stayed three years because he was having a great experience and got to be the senior cowboy. Most students transfer to Cornell for the last two years, although at that time there was a branch at Berkeley. At Cornell or Berkeley Branch the student joins Telluride. Telluride is a scholarship house at Cornell, and it focuses on really bright students. After graduating from Cornell with a degree in Agricultural Economics, Jim went in the Peace Corps. I don't remember if he

was in Ecuador Four, Five, Six; he was there early. While in Ecuador he took the written exam for the Foreign Service because he knew some folks at the Embassy and thought he could do just as well as they. Still he wanted to get an advanced degree in agricultural economics. He inquired around and was told that the University of Kentucky had the best masters program in agricultural economics with U/Wisconsin probably having the best Ph.D. program. The rules must have been different on how long you could stay on the FS hiring register and how many offers you could get because he'd turned the Foreign Service down several times while he was studying before he accepted. We met at a Fourth of July party given by an Ecuadorian whom he knew; it was July 1st and I was never sure if we were celebrating 3 days early or 362 days late.

Q: So you got married; did he go into the Foreign Service?

DEAN: We met on the first of July; we got married on the 13th of August 1966. We didn't really have a lot of time to discuss things. He spent the next year finishing his degree and I worked at the philosophy department for Professor John Kuiper, as a secretary. That following summer, '67, Jim joined the Foreign Service. I was still trying to get used to the name "Dean."

One interesting point you might note is that when we went to register at the courthouse to get married, there was a black book and a white book for entering the different races. This was an either/or situation; clearly no miscegenation was allowed. I don't know what happened if you were a color other than black or white. At the time I thought the whole idea was primitive and unrealistic. I was stunned to see those books.

Q: Had you ever heard of the Foreign Service before?

DEAN: As I said, I took a course in diplomatic history so I knew about ambassadors and negotiations, and envoys between countries and all those details but no, I don't think I ever had heard of the Foreign Service. Out there in the Kentucky you don't hear some of these things, especially if you are turned in a different direction.

Q: Well then, so you went, I assume, to Washington when he took his training.

DEAN: We did.

Q: How did Washington strike you at the time?

DEAN: I can remember first driving into D.C. in 1967; at that point it wasn't very cosmopolitan. It still had a small town feel to it in the '60s. Many fewer restaurants, fewer theaters, no metro. I wanted a job so I got a job with Kelly Girl or Manpower or something. They still do temporary positions.

Q: Oh yes, very much so.

DEAN: Yes. The first apartment house we ever lived in is still standing on Wilson Boulevard. I go by it every once in awhile. This is called Cavalier Club and it's close to the intersection of Route 7 and Wilson Boulevard. That area is now largely Vietnamese.

Q: All right. Did you have any idea what the Foreign Service was going to be about?

DEAN: Once I understood that the Foreign Service was connected to diplomacy that I had read about, I was fine. I grew up moving around and I can remember another wife telling me, "we wives are so brave because we are leaving our homes and we are leaving our country. We're going off alone." I said, "Yes, you are very brave but you see, I don't know anything else. I always figure that I'm going to pack up and move and I'm just doing more of what my father did."

Q: Yes. There are families that move a lot. My mother was moved all over the place. She separated from my father before I was really up and knew much about it. We just moved around and, after a couple of years, I would be saying let's get going; that's the way I felt, yes.

DEAN: Yes, you get kind of itchy.

Q: How did you bond or whatever with your husband's class? Did you and the wives?

DEAN: I don't know if you know Molly Williamson.

Q: Molly?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Oh yes, I'm interviewing Molly.

DEAN: Right, okay. Molly's first husband and my first husband were in the same entering class together and we have been friends since 1967. Last night she called and we talked for, I don't know, 40 minutes. You could say we bonded back there in 1967.

Q: Did your husband have any feel about where he wanted to go or what he wanted to do?

DEAN: Since he'd been in Ecuador and he spoke Spanish and was an agricultural economist, he thought we were going to focus on that area. He went through orientation; I did the spouse training and some part-time work. He was assigned to San Pedro Sula, Honduras on Flag Day. Afterwards he said to me that the A-100 coordinator mentioned to him that "You are the only person who has ever said thank you to me when I gave them their flag, and their assignment". Jim told me he had said 'thank you' because the coordinator had added Honduras, after San Pedro Sula. Jim had had no idea where San Pedro Sula was. San Pedro Sula is the second city of Honduras, the industrial heartland of

Honduras but not everybody knows that. Now it seems to be the Murder Capital of the World.

Q: So, had you taken some Spanish?

DEAN: My father was convinced that Spanish was the coming wave in the United States, and that we should all learn Spanish. So he bought a record set and I can still tell you 'el grabado representa una sala', because if I said that one time I said it 1,000 times. I learned all these dialogues off these records. Not to his satisfaction necessarily but I learned a lot of Spanish. So in high school, with Senor Behm, I took Spanish. Perhaps this is why I was saying that high school in Monona Grove was interesting. It was an adventure. Senor Behm never spoke a word of English. You went in freshman, first year of Spanish, he said "Buenos dias, me llamo Senor Behm." And we carried on from there. He never spoke another word of English. And then I spent the two summers on the Costa Brava and we just carried on. I spoke enough Spanish to get by.

I went to FSI and did some Spanish as a spouse. In San Pedro Sula there was not a lot for a young woman to do, so I took a correspondence course in Spanish. Then when we went to Santiago I went to Catholic University in Santiago and took a course in contemporary Latin American literature. When I came back to the United States I went to American University and I got a masters degree in Spanish literature and language.

Q: When you were with the A-100 course was there much attention paid to the spouses? Was there much bringing you up to speed or what you'd be up against or not?

DEAN: I remember one or two out-standing orientation classes. There were some experiences that have been useful to me all my life, for example, in understanding languages. I remember one speaker (so I must have been going to a regular cycle of classes) who spoke about understanding languages. For example, if you say table, in any language, everybody knows what a table is. Everyone has an idea of what a table is. It's an easy concept to grasp, although your image of a table might be a somewhat different from my image or from that of our interlocutor. We can have a pretty satisfactory discussion/negotiation about tables, even if it leads to a fierce discussion about whether the negotiating table will be round, square or rectangular. Then, if you use the word "mother," we all think we know what the word "mother" means. For each one of us, the meaning goes beyond describing a physical relationship, or a legal relationship. It's an emotional relationship. It doesn't just carry the descriptor of the person who gave you birth but it also carries the emotional connotation of whatever your relationship with your mother is. This will be different for me than it is for you. Your relationship with your mother will depend on whether it was warm, loving, cold, distant, etc. There's a tenuous part in the language being introduced there if you are seeking clear, shared understanding. And then finally when you get to a word like "faith" or "hope" or "loyalty" or "patriotism," what do those words mean and how do you translate such intangibles. Lots of things in a foreign language don't translate exactly. They come with different associations, different mental images, different emotions. That one discussion set the framework for my understanding the potential for misunderstandings,

miscommunications introduced by language, and it helped me see how hard you have to work to communicate accurately with somebody else, much less reach agreement on a shared vision.

There was also a class on culture shock, a popular term, but one that described the effects of change on you. Learning about reverse culture shock helped me explain to myself why it took me three hours to get through a grocery store in the U.S. after years of only shopping abroad. I had to stop and look at every item in the store. The answer to your question is that FSI did pay some attention to spouses (all female of course) and did well for the time.

Q: It's probably as good as it gets of any course.

DEAN: If somebody still remembers what you said 40 years later?

Q: Yes, absolutely. All right, well let's see, so you're off to Honduras.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: And you were there the usual two years?

DEAN: No. We went off to San Pedro Sula early in 1968, and I remember the very first day we were in a one star hotel. Maybe no stars. Why the people in the consulate put us in this place, I do not know. I'm thinking I'm tough, I can do this, I don't care if there are cockroaches on the floor, I can manage this. My husband was not of the same mind. He marched down to the consulate, and said you are putting us someplace else. And they did. But I just assumed that here we were off to the foreign wars and this was the way life was going to be. Whatever they had given me I would have, at 21, accepted because I would have thought that was how you did it. With his being in the Peace Corps, and having some experience of the world, he wasn't going to put up with that.

Q: Great. Well what was the name of the town?

DEAN: San Pedro Sula.

Q: San Pedro Sula. What was it like at that time?

DEAN: San Pedro Sula was a small city and I subsequently, at American University, did a study on its municipal development. It had a ring road and it grew out from the center of town. What we found interesting at the time was that back in the 1930s a large number of Palestinian Christians had immigrated to San Pedro Sula and they were the businessmen, by and large, the Kafatis and the Canahuatis and a whole slew of other immigrant families.

Q: These are Palestinian?

DEAN: They're Christians, Christian Arabs.

Q: Yes, because I know the Lebanese of course were all over the place.

DEAN: No, they weren't Lebanese.

Q: These are not Lebanese.

DEAN: But these were not Lebanese. These were from around Beit Jala and up in that neighborhood. So they had come over in the '30s and established themselves and had a working relationship with the Hispanic community and with the government. There were also new Palestinian immigrants coming in at that time because of the wars with Israel in the '60s, late '60s, and the first generation of immigrants was having nothing to do with this new wave of immigrants at all. They were almost warring camps. But at some point, and I cannot remember, historically what the trigger was, perhaps there was an attempted coup, but all of the Arabs and the few Jews in the community closed their stores for safety's sake. They were staying inside, and there was a national radio announcement: "all Arabs and Jews, you will open your doors, you will open your stores." My husband and I were looking at each other, where else in the world would you get that kind of a combination of peoples being lumped together. It lasted for about three or four days. We were all under a modified house arrest at that point and stayed where we were until the local politicians got themselves sorted out.

Q: Was this shortly after you arrived or-?

DEAN: We were only there for a short while. Say we'd gotten there late '67, and we were gone by the year January '69 so maybe we were there 15 months. Our tour was curtailed because Sidney Weintraub had wanted an agricultural economist. Weintraub was the head of the combined economic section in Santiago, Chile. He felt the need for a Foreign Service economic officer to watch the agricultural reform in Chile. Weintraub apparently read in Jim's background that he had gone to Deep Springs College, which I mentioned earlier to you, and was impressed. Apparently his son had either applied there or been turned down. In any case he had some personal knowledge of Deep Springs and what a unique school it is. In short, he just unceremoniously had Jim transferred to Santiago. We were the last to know. We found out about the pending transfer because the new officer, Dudley, Tom Dudley, sent us a letter saying "I'm coming to replace you; I'll be there January 15. I hear you're going to Santiago."

At that time the consulate didn't have direct communication links with Washington. All of our traffic had to be typed manually on a keyboard and sent to the Embassy in Tegucigalpa and then Tegucigalpa forwarded it to Washington. So we sent off this request, asking what's going on? We get back an answer from the personnel people that says, "nothing's going on; you've got a two year assignment, you're going to stay there." And then the next day we got a follow up that said, "Oh, we didn't know what was going on; you are actually going to Santiago January 15."

Q: This is Chile?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Yes, because there are Santiagos all over the place.

DEAN: There are Santiagos all over the place but yes, our embassy in Santiago, Chile. And, voila, off we went.

Q: So what was your impression of Santiago?

DEAN: Weintraub wanted an economist, who knew something about agriculture because agrarian reform was a major political movement, potentially destabilizing Chile. This is all pre-Allende; it's right in that lead up time, '67, '68, '69, preceding the whole disruption of that society. Weintraub had wanted an agricultural economist who could figure out what was happening. Jim could do that.

Q: Let's not leave Honduras without talking about, as a wife, how was life there?

DEAN: I was probably about the most suicidal I have ever been in my life. I was 21 years old or 22 years old; I had a birthday there. There was nobody around like me. There was not a single other soul like me. All of the other wives were in their 30s and 40s and they had kids and I discovered I cannot stand teaching school. I was a substitute teacher while one of the teachers had a baby; for two or three months I was surrounded by hyper-active little Martians. I'm terrible at it, I can't stand it, don't put me in a roomful of kids. I can still remember the classrooms; they had solid walls midway up and then they had slats; they were big wooden slats and you could tilt them if it rained but essentially it was all open air. I glanced out the window; one of my students is going down the sidewalk. I call him to come in the classroom and it turns out no, he's the twin brother. Everybody knew he was the twin brother except me; the brother, my student, was actually in class. I wasn't ready to do this. I can laugh about this now, but I know myself better than to try to teach groups of children. Seriously, I knew one way to teach something but if you do not grasp it, I had no alternative ways to impart knowledge.

San Pedro was interesting for a young officer. Normally the Department does not like to assign first tour officers to such a small post. There is a lack of mentoring and guidance and other officers to learn from. Nonetheless Jim did well. President Johnson came to visit for about an hour. He flew down from Tegucigalpa. The usual number of advance people was stunned by the lack of official Embassy support. Two officers, and maybe three FSNs were the total complement of staff. There were no resources. The Honduran government was not really prepared to support the visit. At the same time a young American woman died from gangrene. Her husband and four children were bereft; they had planned to immigrate to Honduras and make their future and their fortune. Jim managed to pull it all together but it was stressful. Later we had a Peace Corps volunteer who claimed that she had been raped; she stayed with us. In the course of conversation it became clear that she had been sleeping with the Honduran, but she had not wanted

physical relations on this particular evening. Definitely a cross-cultural experience in defining the meaning of the word 'no'. Another time we had one of the Junior Officers from Tegucigalpa, staying with us for several days, go crazy at lunch. In the middle of lunch he lost himself. He did not know where he was or why he was where he was. Staff from the Embassy came to retrieve him and he was medevaced back to Washington. Today it would be called post-traumatic stress syndrome but then it was just a compulsive irrational talker putting out a cigarette on your tablecloth.

We did travel to the other countries of Central America, since some of Jim's A-100 classmates were stationed in Costa Rica and Salvador. We also visited the Mayan ruins of Copan. I had read the book by Frederick Catherwood (27 February 1799 – 27 September 1854) and John Lloyd Stephens, called Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan. The book is long, but it has some fine prints of the ruins. Catherwood was an English artist and architect, who made those detailed drawings of the ruins of the Maya civilization. It was interesting to see the ball courts and the calendric stele, which at that time were not well understood. Translation of the stele has made a lot of progress since we were there.

Q: Was there a consul or consul general there?

DEAN: Darwin Swett. Darwin Swett was the consul general. This was not a big post. The consul general, my husband, a person from another agency completed the staff. We were supposed to have a management officer. The management officer came just before we left post, so I worked for three months or four months to fill the gap. I was an FSS-10 temporary, and one thing I did was clean out the safe. The safe was a third the size of this room and there was no way to get rid of all this classified material except to burn it. So in 105 degree weather I'm standing outside, feeding this paper into this big metal container that's two-thirds my height. It's got a raging fire in it and must be hundreds of degrees. You have to feed all these documents into this thing and turn the crank to keep the air flowing because paper really doesn't burn very well, despite what you might think. You have to keep all the pages separated otherwise paper will put the fire out. I'm thinking, I must be out of my mind. It took hours; I would be out there for hours cranking, burning up this paper.

Q: Were you able to make any significant relationship with the Hondurans there?

DEAN: I was laughing and joking about the Kafatis and the Canahautis but the reason I remember their names is because they were an active part of our life for the 15 months that we were there. They were willing to befriend transients like us because of their tenuous political situation. We basically had a good time. Still it was the same small group socializing repeatedly. I personally didn't relate to these women who culturally and chronologically were far from me. I had nothing to share with them, but I did get a lot of advice on how to get pregnant and how to have a son. I did a lot of cooking for parties and I got a puppy, Pelusa, whose name I believe means little fuzz ball.

Q: Yes, yes.

DEAN: I didn't have many resources at the time.

Q: Did you feel the move to Chile was a release?

DEAN: Chile is a big city; the Embassy was good-sized. There were a number of people there who were like my husband and I were. They were in their 20s; they were single in the sense that they didn't have children. They were college educated and so there were people around to talk to, more interesting things to do and to talk about. Plus there were also, in the business community, more Americans. In addition one of Jim's A-100 classmates and his wife, Richard and Judy Thurman, were there and helped us get oriented. At that time you lived on the economy and had to find your own house. With the Thurman's help we found a very nice apartment. Our landlady was a Jewish immigrant from Austria. She and her brother and their spouses fled Europe to escape the Nazis. They built themselves a house in Santiago; she and her family lived on the upper floor and her brother and his family lived on the ground floor. The upstairs was painted grey. We asked if we could paint it yellow and the landlady agreed. Grey was depressing. We also experienced regular earth tremors, if not big quakes.

I went to Catholic University so I meet a lot of Chileans. My Spanish grew much better. We thought we had died and gone to heaven but there were people for whom this was their first tour who were coming out of a big city in the United States who thought that they had died and gone to hell. Our world views were diametrically opposed but yes I still have acquaintances and friends from that period. I don't know if you've interviewed Sue Patterson but-

Q: Who?

DEAN: Sue Patterson.

Q: No.

DEAN: She retired as CG (consul general) in Florence but she has relocated in Guatemala and started a mother and child health organization, WINGS. It's a tax exempt foundation, and has been steadily growing over the last 10 years. She and her husband Dave were in Santiago with us. One of the Chilean diplomats we were close with was subsequently assigned to Washington, and we had a long relationship and stayed close for a long time.

Q: Did you have any feel for the political/social situation in Chile when you were there?

DEAN: In Chile? Well yes, because the whole reason Jim was there was to watch the agrarian reform, and the associated growing unrest. We left in July '70 and the pivotal election was in September. Then, if you remember, three years later, November '73, the president ends up being barricaded in his presidential palace and gets killed. General Augusto Pinochet comes in to establish order and then you have the dictatorship. Years

later we discover that the CIA has been channeling things into the country without telling the ambassador. As a result we have legislation on what the USG can do by way of aiding police forces. Restrictions like that those come out of that time. While you didn't know everything that was going on behind the scenes you could certainly feel the ferment in the society at that time.

Q: When you went there Allende was the president or had the election taken place, that three-part election?

DEAN: President Eduardo Frei was president when we were there. Like I said we left in July and that election was in September. So we were out of the country by that time.

Q: Were you getting from the people you talked to that the place is going to blow up or something like that?

DEAN: I got the impression, and this is based on dinner party conversation, that people were hoping things would change and be better. Inflation at that point was 1,000 percent. I mean, it was absolutely amazing. I'd forgotten that. Chileans felt that if they could get a grip on their economy that the countryside would settle down and things would be okay. Certainly at my level of awareness there wasn't any sense that there was an impending sea change. Chileans were proud of the fact that they were historically the longest standing democracy in South America, since 1826. This was a status they would not relinquish easily.

Q: I don't know the area but I'm told that Honduras has a significant Indian population.

DEAN: Chile has a significant one too.

Q: But when you went to Chile the ruling class was very European.

DEAN: My husband used to remark about this; he said the Chileans handled their Indian population the same way we did; put them on reservations and kept them there. He did not see how we could be high-handed about the Chileans when we were no better.

Q: Yes.

Q: So I mean, they weren't a particular factor?

DEAN: Who, the Indians? The Mapuche?

Q: Yes.

DEAN: No, the Indians wouldn't be a factor.

Q: Well how about the Chileans? They were really very, I would assume, very European, weren't they?

DEAN: They certainly thought of themselves as European and they were very sophisticated. They were very proud of having had a duly elected democracy for so many years. That was one of the reasons they had a false confidence that the political scene would settle down and work out.

Q: They did not have a series of coups and all that almost every other Latin American country had.

DEAN: That coup in '73 was the first one they had. It destroyed the fabric of society. As with most successful coups it overturned the established order and was destructive to the country.

Q: Did you have any, with your husband's working, did you get to "sample" society? I mean, was it a formal society, dinners at 11:00 at night and that sort of thing?

DEAN: Certainly dinner was late. Yes, we did a certain amount of entertaining and went out. There were professional Chilean women who had serious work; they were lawyers or in different kinds of professions. My husband's work, because he was an agricultural economist, focused more on unions and labor and issues like that. I didn't see as much of that group.

Q: Who was the ambassador while you were there?

DEAN: Ed Korry.

Q: How did you feel, this is a fairly large embassy, wasn't it?

DEAN: Yes. It was a good size. The economic section however was subsumed under the US AID mission and was physically separated from the Embassy.

Q: How did you feel in the hierarchy there?

DEAN: At that point wives still made calls. In San Pedro Sula there was nobody to call on except the consul's wife, Marge Swett, who just lived two doors away, but in Santiago you went and you left your card. You called on all the senior wives and did the whole coffee and tea routine.

Q: You turned the card down one way or another if you were-

DEAN: Depending on whether you actually showed up or whether you just sent your card. But in any case, I can't drink coffee. I don't like coffee; if something is even mocha-flavored I cannot stand it. My personal preferences aside, I made my calls. Once I called on the senior military attaché's wife. She did not ask me, "would you like a cup of coffee or a cup of tea" or anything like that; she just served coffee. So I said to myself, "you can do this". I fooled with that cup of coffee for a better part of an hour without

drinking much of it at all because it does make me ill. That experience convinced me that I was never, ever going to touch another cup of coffee in my life. It makes me dreadfully ill. But yes, I remember that part of Embassy life. There was a hierarchy among the wives that was just as apparent as it was among officers.

Q: I like to sample this because we're trying to pick up eras. Did you have a feeling at that time that there might be a career other than a Foreign Service wife for you?

DEAN: We had a women's club group and one of the issues we addressed was the feminist revolution in the U.S. I was supposed to be one of a team of two to present the basic issues. The other person did not prepare. I had done a lot of research, including writing to NOW (National Organization for Women). They sent me considerable material. I made an hour and a half presentation on what was happening in the United States on women's rights and what issues and why women would be interested in doing all these things. But I was still very much a neonate; it wasn't yet a personally felt thing. Women's lib in Santiago was much more of a study, rather than an experience. At the same time my sister was moving toward law school.

Q: It was just about that time that you had "Ms. Magazine" and "The Feminine Mystique" and, I mean, really, you could almost-

DEAN: It was a real ferment and that was really quite exciting.

Q: And was that penetrating way down in Chile?

DEAN: I personally carried the awareness of feminism as a dynamic force to the Embassy in Chile. I remember quite clearly having this roomful of 40- and 50-year old women, and what was I, maybe 23? I certainly discussed feminism with my mother at different times. She would say, I just never had these chances and I never thought I could do this or that. For a while she did work at the University of South Florida. That relieved some of her depression, but it was a band-aid because times were changing and her opportunity had passed her by. I told her 'you raised five children who are all productive members of society; I think you did a fine job'. That is also true, but it may not have been much consolation.

Q: Did you get much response or was it you're sowing the seeds that would later sprout an idea?

DEAN: I don't have any sense that the older ladies, older, 30+ older, having any response but certainly you could see what was happening. Life was changing. For example, after I'd been in Santiago about six months Sue Patterson came. Sue had been with her husband, Dave, in the Peace Corps in Colombia. They had met in university. Sue had a daughter or two in Santiago; her younger daughter is now also a Foreign Service officer. Sue and I, as married women, were not eligible to apply to the Foreign Service, at that time, but Sue was already starting to think about her professional future. I think the women's class action suit against the Department had not yet started at that point.

Q: No, I don't- No, I mean, things are- It was still- the action was really mostly male but sort of junior officers were considered to be born in original sin or something like that.

DEAN: My very first efficiency report comes from my time in San Pedro Sula. There's a paragraph in my husband's report where they write about the wife. Reportedly I was a strong support to my husband and charming, if you are to believe an efficiency report.

Q: Yes, we all had these routine things. I mean, what the hell are you going to say about somebody's wife, you know? I mean there were times you just wanted to say the wife is probably three times as intelligent as her husband and if you want to get something done go to her.

DEAN: Nobody would say that.

Q: No.

DEAN: But at that time they still had the secret passage on the officer that he could not see until he returned to Washington.

Q: About '74.

DEAN: Yes, it all starts to change.

Q: It changed but until that time the section existed. I was in personnel for a while and we used to show the so-called secret passage to people and often it was not very complimentary.

DEAN: Right. It might be a considerable diversion from the text that had been given to the officer.

Q: Yes. It was a different era.

DEAN: It was a different era.

So you get people like Molly Williamson or Sue Patterson or any of those women who were "the spouse of" and they start looking around and thinking 'I can do this'. Molly must have come in two or three years before me, '72, '73, someplace in there; Sue then also. I don't remember the exact dates but yes people had started thinking about it. So I carried the seeds to Santiago, for what it was worth.

Q: Then you left Santiago when?

DEAN: We were there only 18 months; we came in January of '69 and we were gone by July of '70. The election was in September of '70 and Allende was supposed to take his seat then.

Q: You mentioned Sidney Weintraub; did you know him at all?

DEAN: I knew his wife, Gladys, better. But yes. And there were several people in the embassy who made it their business to look after the younger wives. She and the Labor Attaché's wife, Rae Spielman would sort of be Mother Ducks and scurry us all together. I haven't seen Sidney for several years. Eli, the wife of Towny Friedman, a former ambassador to Greece, is in touch with him.

Q: I think he's been interviewed.

DEAN: If not you should contact him soon. He's quite senior because several years ago when I saw him he was a professor emeritus, and he was still teaching at least one class but that was some time ago now. His wife has died though.

Q: Where did you go after Chile, let's say 1970?

DEAN: Ambassador Jova was ambassador in Honduras when my husband was the consular officer in San Pedro Sula.

Q: John Jova.

DEAN: John J. Jova. After Honduras he was appointed as the U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States. My husband had been assigned to some office in the Economic Bureau. Jim was really excited the position. It was going to be a great job, but, just as with the initial assignment to San Pedro Sula, the hand he got dealt kept changing. So from the time he got his initial assignment until he actually walked into the office in Washington he had been relegated to European oils and seeds or nuts and berries. Jim was about to lose his mind. So when Ambassador Jova asked him if would you like to come and be his staff aide, Jim was out the door. He staff-aided quite happily for two years.

As you can tell from these two assignment stories, the assignment process was subject to considerable 'insider' trading. The process was changed many years ago; there are still some fixes due to outside pressure, but by and large the process is much more open and transparent.

Q: The staff aide assignment would be -- say '69 to '71ish.

DEAN: Fall of '70 to summer '72.

Q: Did you have much contact with Ambassador Jova and his wife?

DEAN: Ambassador Jova was the first person to generate what I call 'a flash of the obvious' for me. My epiphany was that not everybody is like me. Here was a man who was so highly extroverted that when he had had a party and everybody had left except us

and maybe two other couples who were also working in that same office, he wanted to know "Where did everybody go? Why are we here all alone?" The ambassador, with eight people in the room, felt like he was alone. He was highly extroverted and it dawned on me that socially I would have been exhausted. The mountain tradition of slow talking runs in my blood. There's that old joke about the hermits where the first hermit says 'there's a horse running by', and the next year the second hermit says 'no, that's a donkey'. Then a year later the third hermit says 'if you guys are going to argue I'm going to leave.' Okay. That is the background I come out of. So to be exposed to a truly extroverted person was a big culture shock for me. Meeting Ambassador Jova, who was this way, was a real eye opener. His wife was a very attractive, lovely blonde, very gracious, wonderful hostess, a great asset.

Q: British, wasn't she?

DEAN: Yes, she's British.

Q: Yes, yes, because I've interviewed John.

DEAN: Pamela.

Q: Pamela, yes.

DEAN: Right.

Q: I think they met in, of all places, Baghdad or Kuwait or something like that.

DEAN: Oh, really?

Q: Yes.

DEAN: But she-

Q: Read the oral history.

DEAN: Oh, okay. I got the impression that my husband and Jova were very close at the time.

Q: Were you picking up any of the ferment and sort of Washington at the time? Because you were there- Things are really heating up on Vietnam, on- already on integration and women's rights. -

DEAN: The women's rights movement really came across. Opposition to the Vietnam War began to heat up.

Q: I mean, things are really popping.

DEAN: Things start to move along. And in ’73, it must have been, the summer of ’72, you start having Watergate, and Agnew stepping down.

Q: Well let’s see; when did the-

DEAN: Because I can remember being pregnant, my son was born in Feb of ’73. That previous summer I can remember my husband pointing out a little blip in the newspaper about the break-in into the Watergate …That was also the summer that the Potomac flooded; it was so high that it entered the parking garages of the Kennedy Center.

Q: Watergate, yes.

DEAN: We lived right there. We lived at 730 24th Street, right there where 24th runs into Virginia, right by Columbia Plaza. Watergate was two blocks from our house. So we used to walk out there, around there, chat about things, and I can remember Jim saying that there’s something behind this story; there’s more here. He was just prescient.

Q: Well then, but did any of these sort of movements, I mean, obviously if you’re pregnant you’ve got some other things on your mind at that time; this is your first child.

DEAN: I had been working at the National Science Foundation part-time in the Astronomy section but I was also going to American University and getting my master’s degree. After I graduated I switched to full time at NSF and joined what was their version of an Inspector General’s office.

Q: The MA was in what?

DEAN: In Spanish.

Q: Spanish.

DEAN: Yes. I was doing other things.

Q: Well did you feel that Latin America or the Latin world, both would be your bailiwick?

DEAN: Definitely. That’s why, as any logical, thinking person would do, I went and got a masters degree in Spanish at American University. I did not get a degree in Arabic or in Hebrew. But my husband comes out of his two years with Ambassador Jova and says I’m tired of the cucaracha circuit, and off he goes to the Israeli desk.

Q: What?

DEAN: Who knew? I’m sitting there thinking what am I going to do with my master’s dissertation on Cien Anos de Soledad by Gabriel Garcia Márquez in Tel Aviv? Anyway. I enjoyed my son.

Q: Did you get caught up in any way in any of these movements that are going through Washington at the time?

DEAN: I, as I said, am one of the most apolitical people you would ever hope to meet. I think I only signed one petition in college and that was to reinstate the comic, Steve Canyon, in "The Louisville Courier-Journal." I think that's about as involved as I ever got.

Q: One has to stand up for things-

DEAN: Things that are important, right. Politics is not the way I would do that though.

Q: Yes. A woman's got to do what a woman's got to do.

DEAN: And that was my issue. It was exciting, things that were going on, whether it was the Vietnam War or something else.

Q: I think when you get looking back on it more than almost any other time, I mean, people could be engaged in a whole series of fronts. Integration, involvement in Vietnam, in the women's movement, and the general generational fight that was going on; don't trust anybody over 30 and all that. These things touched just about everybody.

DEAN: Certainly the women's issue was just something that I incorporated into myself. My husband was tremendously supportive. I wasn't wild about the war but didn't join in any motions, actions there.

Q: Well did your husband get involved? The junior officers were signing petitions and things about Vietnam or not?

DEAN: There was a group of Young Turks; is that the time of those junior officers? No, he was not particularly involved.

Q: So you were in Washington until when about?

DEAN: We went to Israel in '74; the summer of '74 the three of us went off to Israel.

Q: You say you're non-politically engaged but did the-

DEAN: I was going off to one of the most politicized countries with the most politicized bilateral relationship that we have; yes, it's amazing.

Q: I mean, had you had any thoughts about Arab/Israeli matters particularly?

DEAN: I had read many books but it's always been more of a theoretical issue or a literary issue. I've read about the establishment of the Jewish homeland but as a historical

fact. Similarly I read about the re-establishment of Hebrew as a living language; it's an interesting puzzle, but no, I don't have a political brand in this fire. Without some major change in the thinking of the involved parties, it's such a hopeless case.

Q: Well luckily we have some interns right now who are working on peace as an issue and they're going to settle the Arab/Israeli matter.

DEAN: I wish them every, every success. I really do.

Q: I've been interviewing people now for about 25 years and I've got people who were in Palestine when the British pulled out and they were just left there. And people have been working day and night on the Arab/Israeli thing and things are worse now than they were when they started back in 1949.

DEAN: And I was there when Sadat came to Jerusalem. I was in Jerusalem shepherding a Congressional delegation. We were so hopeful and so optimistic. As you say, it's worse today than it was before he came.

Q: All right. Well I was wondering, maybe this might be a good place to stop.

DEAN: Okay.

Q: Do you have any questions?

DEAN: Most young women don't realize that if you were a married woman, if you got married in the Foreign Service you had to leave; you couldn't stay. There were single women in the Foreign Service but no married women. This was not in law or regulation but just the accepted social mores.

Q: If a single woman became a Foreign Service officer, if she got married, no matter to another Foreign Service officer

DEAN: She was out.

Q: It gets a little bit iffy because there's no law

DEAN: There's no law-

Q: There was no law because I-

DEAN: There was no FAM (Foreign Affairs Manual) citation; there's nothing that says that but that's the impact of the social mores.

Q: I have interviewed Eleanor Constables and let me see the law.

INTERN: So if a woman is in the Foreign Service and she gets married…

DEAN: Before.

Q: This is before. This is the '60s.

DEAN: This is back during the civil rights movement.

Q: The situation today is so different than when Margaret was there. There were whole sets of things that we all accepted.

DEAN: That's right. For example, you'd go and call on the wife.

Q: Since there weren't many working women and obviously if a woman was a Foreign Service officer. Actually the State Department was very early in having women come in as officers. Admittedly not many but no other government agency had as many. None had real official women that. But if they got married well, of course the husband had the main job and how could a woman have a job when she was looking after her husband?

DEAN: Or a family, right. I'm sorry; I cut you off when you started to ask your question.

INTERN: No, it's quite all right. I was curious; you said that you aren't really interested in politics and then you got associated with the Foreign Service when you got married. I just wonder what happened to make you change your mind? When did you get interested and want to be in the Foreign Service.

DEAN: Perhaps the problem is with our different views of the definition of 'politics'. I do not consider advocating for U.S. policy, or pushing to help American citizens or others, or ensuring that an international agreement is implemented as well as possible, or analyzing a problem and making the best recommendations we can about what would be best for the U.S. or the Foreign Service or the Department, as politics. I love to solve problems; I enjoy designing systems; I'm interested in managing a section and helping everyone do the best they can. So even if I don't have a political bone in my body, I still have a lot of useful skills that I can deploy in the Foreign Service.

INTERN: If I understood correctly you work in the State Department now, right? So when did that switch happen?

DEAN: First, the law changed. Then there was a women's class action suit, the Palmer suit, and in response to that suit the Department had to implement an even-handed policy. They had to offer to rehire all the women they'd fired for getting married. Many of them had married Foreign Service officers. That generated a historic sea change. We can talk about tandem couples now in the Foreign Service next time.

INTERN: Tandems travel together? The Department makes them live and go to the same countries?'

DEAN: The personnel system tries. Some people take separate assignments. There are different ways of dealing with it. But from that point in time the Department couldn't ask you, as an interview question, are you married? They just had to give you a yea or nay based on impersonal interview questions. I realized, because now we've moved so many times: we've moved to Honduras, we've moved to Santiago, we've moved to Washington, we've moved to Israel, that I don't have many transferable skills. I'm not an artist; I'm not a painter; I'm not a novelist; I don't have portable skills. I have to re-establish myself every time. So once the law changed it made sense to explore the Foreign Service as a career option.

INTERN: Right. And Foreign Service was just the vehicle.

DEAN: And it's handy. I mean, there it was; if that's what Jim wanted to do I would make it fit. I have good skills; the Foreign Service would get good service.

INTERN: Right. Did you find that when you did get into it that you did start to enjoy it and be more interested in it?

DEAN: I joined as a consular officer, which as a career track has more in common with social workers and teachers. I only ever served one tour as a consular officer but I enjoyed it.

INTERN: Right. Yes, I was just going to say, I'm more interested in the human rights aspect of it.

DEAN: And then I switched. I switched to being an econ officer because that's much more in line with my scientific bent and personal interests. I've spent my entire career, after the first three years, as an economic officer.

INTERN: And that's what you do now?

DEAN: No. That is what I did during my active duty time. I retired as an MC, the equivalent of a two star general so I was judged to have done a fairly decent job. Now that I am a retired annuitant I am working in Human Resources. It is actually amazing how helpful it is to understand statistics and economics and to have an organized mind.

INTERN: Yes. That's cool.

Q: Okay, today is the 22nd of January, 2010, with Margaret Dean.

So Margaret, now you're off to Israel. When are you off to Israel?

DEAN: The summer of '74.

Q: All right. And you were there for what, two years?

DEAN: No. My husband was assigned there for four years. My husband, a mid-level officer, was probably assigned there for three years and extended for a fourth year. We were there from ’74 to ’78.

Q: Had you prepared yourself for Israel, done the requisite reading? How did you feel?

DEAN: Like I told you last time, I was a little surprised that after all the effort I put into Spanish language and history and culture to find all of a sudden that we were taking a 90-degree turn into the Middle East. Jim had come out of Ambassador Jova’s office and been on the Israeli desk with Ned Walker and the two of them were the young JOs (junior officers) on the desk. The desk may have just been three people at that time.

After he completed his tour in NEA/IAI, Jim then went to Hebrew class for a year and I was working at the National Science Foundation (NSF) in their management control office, their mini inspector’s office. I had started at NSF working part-time as a secretary/clerk typist in different sections, but quickly settled down in the Office of Astronomy. That office conducted the peer reviews of astronomers’ applications for government grants. I worked there until I graduated from American University and then I converted to a GS 5-7-9 Management Analyst skill code. I was to be promoted to GS-11 when we moved to Israel.

To return to language study, if the Hebrew class is nine months, 10 months, I studied four months. I went from January to June. I had some basic Hebrew at that point. As I noted earlier, I had – long before we were assigned to Tel Aviv – done a lot of reading about Israel, the establishment of the state, etc. I thought Israel would be interesting.

Q: Had you been following or had you had much interest in Israeli affairs, just as a student and former student?

DEAN: No, I hadn’t particularly had any organized exposure to the Middle East. That year was an introductory period. But obviously for anybody coming out of a Judeo-Christian background Israel seems much more immediate than if we’d been going to Tangiers or something.

Q: Yes. When you got there, how did Israel strike you at the time?

DEAN: It wasn’t so much the country as the people. I’ve always said that on a social skills continuum we are much more hurried, brasher, more straightforward, even ruder than Latin Americans. We are less gracious, less polite. Israelis are further along the continuum from us. Here I am with this little baby, a year old or so, and people come up and do the grandmother shtick on me: he needs more clothes, he needs fewer clothes, you need to do X or anti-X or Y or anti-Y. And coming out of an eastern Kentucky kind of background where you just basically didn’t talk to people much less interfere in their life or tell them how to manage their affairs, it was a big culture shock.

Q: I got this with my wife in Germany. We had both a small baby and a German shepherd puppy and we were instructed about this and that.

DEAN: Lots of good advice.

Q: Do this, put the blankets on, oh your baby's going to catch cold.

DEAN: It's too warm; it's too cold. Yes. But we lived on a dead end street and there were a lot of Israeli mixed marriages, Israeli-Americans, on that street and we all had little kids the same age. My son grew from one to five on that street, Havatzelet HaSharon.

Q: Did you find yourself absorbing the history of Israel just by being there?

DEAN: I was more active than that. You continue reading a lot and, if you go up to Jerusalem, you want to be prepared for what you are going to see. Or if you are going to Bethlehem, you want to know what is there. Or Gaza. Or Nazareth. Or the Golan Heights.

Q: You arrived there about a year after the '73 war.

DEAN: Right, we did.

Q: Were you hearing lots of stories about the war?

DEAN: Not a lot of stories. There was, every year that we were there, some big terrorist incident. Generally terrorists coming into the country from the sea. At one point terrorists had come ashore maybe 50 miles, 25 miles, north of Haifa. They were reportedly coming South: it was a terrorist team of three or four and we were all told to stay in our houses until the Israelis had captured these people. The Embassy called and asked if I would go and check on a resident American writer in the next block, who could not be located. They wanted me to go to her house on the next block and see if she was there, which she was not. The siege lasted a couple days. It wasn't the only incident so we were certainly aware of security issues and the tension under which Israelis live their daily lives. I am sensitive to the whole security business. Like we have here now, post 9-11, I was aware of packages or things that aren't identified.

Even so I made a mistake one time. This was after I had joined the Foreign Service. I wasn't feeling well one day and I went home about 3:00. We parked our car under the embassy. Since I had gone to the commissary, I had to load all the groceries and everything into the car. To make it easier I left my groceries just by the back gate of the Embassy. I walked down, got my car, drove up the ramp, put the groceries in the car and went home and went bed. And about 7:00 my husband woke me up and he said 'I have good news and bad news." What did I want to hear first? "The bad news is that you left your briefcase outside the embassy door and they've blown it up.' Then he added 'the good news is you didn't have any classified in your briefcase.' I said, 'oh good, I'm happy to hear that'. But I had a picture of my son in there; he got blown to smithereens.

That encroaches on your consciousness.

Q: Oh boy, absolutely. At the embassy, as a young wife with the child there, was the embassy, the group there, a friendly one or were you part of a family or were you each on your own?

DEAN: No, no, it was much more of a family neighborhood and all the married couples lived out in Herzliya Patuca or Kfar Shmaryahu. Some of the single people lived in the high-rise apartments between those suburbs and the embassy downtown. The embassy had a house on almost every block in Herzliya and Kfar Shmaryahu. If I lived here, then one block over there would be another embassy family and one block the other way there would be another embassy family. You saw these people all the time, both as neighbors, car pool mates, and co-workers.

Q: I'm just trying to think of any incidents or anything particularly stand out in your mind during this time you were there?

DEAN: Well my husband died, was killed, while I was there.

Q: How-

DEAN: I'm not sure what kind of incidents you're talking about. I've already mentioned the terrorist incidents that occurred regularly.

Q: Yes, what happened?

DEAN: My husband was a mid-level economic officer, which is why we had a nice house. Jim had wanted to make a trip down to the Sinai and tour around. He had arranged with a mixed group (Israelis, other English speakers) for a tour company to organize this trip. The plan was to take a flatbed truck that had been modified for desert tourist trips. They were going down into the Sinai. They would go down, down, down to Sharm el-Sheikh and come back up through Santa Katarina and come back up to Tel Aviv.

The plan nearly fell apart several times. On the personal level Jim had been in charge of a congressional delegation of about five or six people and one of the Congressmen wanted to stay an extra couple of days. One of the folks in the Embassy agreed to be the control officer so Jim could go on the trip. Another time the tour company felt that there weren't enough people and so the bus company cancelled. The tour members went and found other people to join; they worked really hard to bring this off. Jim departed and he was coming back, they were all coming back, the day before Thanksgiving. At this point I was newly arrived in the Foreign Service. Apparently the truck had been breaking down periodically and the group had been driving since 6:00 a.m. when in the evening the driver went off the edge of the road and hooked the rear wheel of this truck on the edge of the asphalt and flipped it into a ravine. Many different things happened. Ian McPherson, the person sitting right next to my husband, was a Scots from the British embassy, whose son is two days older than my son. He was back the next day; he was

fine, nothing happened to him. The driver had a lot of broken bones around the shoulder and the face; two people had broken backs, but my husband was the only one who was killed.

First of all, I'm at home waiting. I had called the McPhersons and I asked Mrs. McPherson when are these guys due back? And she said, 'oh, they should be back any time. This was 7:00, 8:00 p.m. I decided I'd just take a nap until Jim came home so we could talk when he arrives, and I went upstairs. Around 9 p.m. there was a knock at the door. I went downstairs and there is the labor attaché and his wife and the admin counselor; these are not a natural occurring threesome; this was not a social combination you would expect. They told me what had happened and I don't really remember much more. I can't tell you how long we remained in Tel Aviv, but that had to have been a Wednesday since the next day was Thanksgiving. We had to wait because the authorities couldn't bring the body back up to Tel Aviv quickly; they had to do an autopsy. They couldn't do the autopsy because of Shabbat. So it was sometime in the next week that we flew to Chicago for the funeral.

And it's interesting that you ask about how closely knit the Embassy family was because the wife of the naval attaché, Carol Swinnerton, just moved into my house and just took care of me and Clayton. I had a Jamaican housekeeper and the very next day I heard three-year old Clayton screaming at her because she's told him that his dad has died. I had not been quite ready to pass along that information. Helping Clayton understand what happened was much more traumatic than it needed to be. But Carol was there; she made sure that I ate something. She helped me; she pushed me to go through the stuff that I needed to do. My husband was an elegant dresser. He must have had 60 shirts and matching ties. He trained me when we first got married: 'never give me a shirt unless you give me a tie to go with it.' And in those days men were wearing colored striped shirts. Carol made sure we had sorted and packed many of Jim's personal items, like clothes, before I left for Chicago. I still have three or four things that we decided that I could keep. Everything else we took care of early. I've heard people say that sorting personal effects is one of the hardest things to do and the longer they let it go the harder it gets. I was still in the numb stunned state, so I went through this in a daze.

I can remember somebody, it must have been the admin officer, asking me if I was going to come back after the funeral, and I said, "If I don't have to move, I'll come back". Because I was a junior officer, I was only entitled to a one-bedroom apartment. With my son it might have been two bedrooms. And they said, 'oh no, no, you don't have to move, you can stay right here in this house.' I said, 'okay, then I'll come back'. And I did; I went back and I finished my tour.

Because I was a junior officer I was just assigned for a two-year tour (76-78). I had joined in the bicentennial class of '76, in July of '76. It was interesting because back in December '75 when I passed the oral exam, my husband had said to me, 'they're going to call you in June at the last minute because it's the end of the fiscal year. They're going to have a huge class to use up end of the year money, and you will be invited at the last minute.' On our way home from Washington, because I'd come to Washington to take

the oral assessment, we decided to make arrangements. So we went back through London and contacted one of our favorite former nannies. She was 19 but she was our favorite, and we asked Margaret Joyce, 'if we only give you a week's notice would you be able to go to Washington?' She'd never been to the States so she said, 'Yes, I don't really like this job I've got; I'd be delighted to go to Washington.' We made a hotel reservation, which for July '76 in Washington was a scarce commodity. So when indeed, Jim being prescient, Personnel called around the 17th of June and said can you be here in a week or 10 days, I said why yes I can. So I joined in July, I went through the JO (Junior Officer) class, Jim came to Washington in August; I had Clayton with me plus Margaret there to tour Washington with him. We stayed in touch with Margaret for many, many years and then with her marriage, her move to Australia, and three children, we lost touch. Happily in the last month, six weeks, she reached out through Facebook and found me and so we're back in touch now.

After A-100 and consular training, we returned to Tel Aviv in September and I started work. When you have to look for a silver lining, I couldn't have been in a better place than in Israel after Jim's death because Israelis are used to having young widows and orphans. My mother is a good example of how Americans deal with grief; if I ever raised my husband's name, she would get up (she was not aware she was doing this) and find a reason to leave the room. Much later, after my father died, she said she had not understood how necessary it was to talk about a loved one after their death. It is hard on the listener, at least on U.S. listeners. And certainly with a young woman and a little child. Israelis, unfortunately, have developed a facility for dealing with death, and my Israeli friends were really a big consolation.

And at some point the insurance company the insurance company wanted to reach a settlement. The insurance company was really part of a national umbrella insurance group, and their representative would come to the Embassy and try to badger me into signing a release for something like $1,000. The FSNs (Foreign Service Nationals) who were there finally wouldn't let him in anymore. They were very protective.

Q: This is an Israeli insurance company.

DEAN: This was an Israeli insurance company.

Q: Dealing with the truck.

DEAN: Yes, this whole accident may have been because the truck was defective and in fact it was; there are lots of pictures of them working on the truck. I think it was equally likely that the driver was tired; he had been driving for about 12 hours when he drove off the road.

The group on that truck was an international group. There were some Israelis, some Americans, a lot of Brits, the Scottish guy, some Australians, and for several years they got together. One of the ladies had been collecting rocks all along the trip. At one meeting she gave us each a memento. She had taken these little rocks, and welded them

all together with cement and mounted a little ceramic desert fox she had made. I still have the fox on the pile of rocks in my office at home.

The insurance company was being very difficult. I wanted a lump sum because my husband basically was the financial support for his mother. I thought 'I can take care of myself, I'm working now'. That was actually another silver lining; six months earlier I would have had to leave post immediately, within two or three days, with no place to go and no income, with another major disruption for my son. Instead I got to stay where I was. I dealt with Israelis who knew how to treat with grief-stricken people; I had a close embassy community, I didn't have to go someplace new and explain who I was and what was going on in my world.

To deal with the insurance company, I finally called up an Israeli friend of mine, to whom I still write, and said, 'I need a lawyer. I know you're a lawyer and I know you don't do this kind of law but can you find me somebody who's really good, because negotiating with Israelis is really terribly tough; I want somebody who's got moxie on his side too.' At the law firm my friend recommended they took up the cudgels. The case took 10 years and the dispute had gone to the Israeli Supreme Court. I do not know why the Israeli insurance company claimed that they had lost me or that I had gone into hiding. I worked for the same organization; my name is in the D.C. area telephone book here in Washington; it should not have been hard to find me. Israeli law is based on the premised that if a widow remarries she is no longer entitled to any compensation. So there had been a preliminary award for wrongful death, which had been mutually settled. Contested in a second part however was the rest of the benefits, pain, loss, suffering kinds of things. Once I remarried the argument then changed: The child was now 13 years old, the new husband doesn't really have any emotional or financial responsibility, there still needs to be remuneration for the child, and eventually that's the way it was settled. But, like I said, it took nearly 12 years to get that all worked out. Fortunately I had a job.

Q: When you went out to Israel, what was your job?

DEAN: When I first went, I was a wife and not working. I took the exam in the cafeteria of the embassy there, probably in the spring of 75. In December of '75, I went to Washington, and passed the interview. I joined the Foreign Service in July '76 as a consular officer because my husband was an economic officer. Tandems do better if they have mixed career tracks. So I moved right into the consular section. Tel Aviv had been a fortunate assignment. Initially the Office of Personnel had told me they could only get me as close as Jerusalem. I said okay, that's an hour's commute each way but we can do this. Then it turned out that Ann Korky, who was another junior officer in the visa section in Embassy Tel Aviv, just really didn't like being in the embassy. She volunteered to go to Jerusalem, which Personnel accepted and assigned me to replace her in Tel Aviv. She was very happy; she had a great time there. She did well in the Foreign Service and she probably has come in to talk to you herself. We're still friends today.

Q: What was her name again?

DEAN: Ann Korky, K-O-R-K-Y.

Q: And how did she finish up; what was she?

DEAN: Ann did a lot of UN and some counter-terrorism work. She did Cyprus desk. She became a senior officer.

Q: Let's talk a little about your oral exam, how that went?

DEAN: I found a memo that I wrote myself that's about eight pages long outlining what I remembered about the oral exam. My notes are not very much like what I remember now. So whatever I tell you might be crafted out of whole cloth here. But one of the last questions they asked me was one of those open ended questions: what decade did you prefer in the 20th century and why? And I said this is a Miss America question; world peace is the answer. There were some silly questions in there. I do remember, however, being asked if you were at a cocktail party in Africa and somebody was asking you about contemporary American literature, we're not talking about old stuff like Hemingway and Steinbeck, what would you say? I said I'm an English major; I should be able to tell you all kinds of modern titles, but I cannot think of anything. I am drawing a total blank right this minute, but let me tell you what I'm reading right now; I'm reading Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, the first book in her autobiography. I explained that, while it's not fictional, the book has many lyrical passages in it. I went on and described why it is I thought this book was a good representative of American culture. My exposition must have worked because here I am today.

I don't remember too much more about the interview. The first time I took the oral and I didn't pass; it was the three old white guys on one side of the table, grilling you, and I walked myself into a dead end street where I could not answer the question. I rephrased the question; you know how they always tell you to rephrase the question so you can answer it, as I did with Maya Angelou? I rephrased the question so I couldn't answer it and afterwards I thought 'you just shot yourself in the foot; you did that to yourself'. I didn't pass that time and I can blame it on the three old white guys but perhaps I should blame it on myself. But the successful time around, the sea change in the Foreign Service had happened. The Board of Examiners had younger assessors and one of those assessors, at least one of them, was a woman. And so the Oral felt very different then, that last time around.

And then, we had a huge class; we had a class of about 70 people.

Q: How did the composition of that class strike you?

DEAN: It was a joint USIA (United States Information Agency) class so about 20 of the 70 were USIA officers, one or two of whom went on to become ambassador. We had both married and single women. We did not have many ethnic minorities. Two of the people in my class, Dan Kurtzer and Dick Jones, were ambassadors consecutively to Israel.

Q: How did you feel about the class? Did you feel comfortable with it? I mean, was it at all cohesive, at least within groups or was it a bunch of individuals?

DEAN: I think the class was reasonably close. There were not many tandem spouses in our class; there was a woman getting married who still works in SA-1; I see her periodically. She married, adjusted her career to support her husband's ambitions, he became an ambassador, they got divorced, she's working happily and successfully in her field as a retired annuitant. Short history. Mildred Patterson, another classmate, and I are good friends. There are many people from that class whom I still see. When Ed McGaffigan from our class, but who became head of the NRC (Nuclear Regulatory Commission), died we managed to pull together. Some 50 people in our class contributed toward a memorial for him even though he had left the Foreign Service.

Q: All right, you were basically in Israel for how long?

DEAN: Well, like I said, we went in the summer of '74 and then my husband died at Thanksgiving of '76 and I stayed until May '78.

Q: By that time you were back here as a junior officer.

DEAN: I was a junior officer. I came back in September of '76, as a junior officer; my husband died at Thanksgiving and then I completed my two year assignment. I came back to the Israeli desk in May/June of '78.

Q: While you were in Tel Aviv you were in the consular section?

DEAN: That's right. But obviously you're a junior officer body. I was on a rotational assignment; I did eight months in the consular section and then I rotated into the commercial section. Finally I moved into the economic section. My husband, of course, wasn't there anymore; otherwise it probably wouldn't have worked. They brought in Ken Stammerman to replace Jim. Personnel obviously broke an assignment someplace else for Ken to come on such short notice to Tel Aviv. Ken had been at Embassy Tel Aviv, like me, as a junior officer, he was an econ officer, and he already spoke good Hebrew, so he was a logical choice. Ken still goes back to Israel today and works on archeological digs. When we saw him this summer in Louisville he was showing us all of these pictures of himself at archeological digs in Israel; my husband thinks he just goes on digs because most of the diggers are 22-year old girls. Ken just laughs and says that is not the only reason.

Q: Fair enough.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Well, his wife died not too long ago.

DEAN: Well, it's been awhile now.

Q: Yes, it's been awhile. I have a long interview with Ken; you can find it on the Internet.

DEAN: You gave me a card last time but I don't know what I did with it.

Q: I'll give you another one.

DEAN: Would you please give me another one because I would love to read what Ken has to say.

Q: Tell me about consular work in Tel Aviv that you were involved in.

DEAN: I worked in the Visa section, mostly tourist visas. One of the more senior consuls did the immigrant visas. I spent most of my time adjudicating visas, i.e., denying visas.

There certainly were a number of memorable visa cases. Miss Israel came in one day to get a visa. I was concerned about the Arab Israelis because it was hard for them to show ties to Israel strong enough to overcome the presumption of their being a potential immigrant to the U.S.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: Normally, you have your 30-second interview; sometimes I would try to explain to the applicant that they had an overwhelming burden of proof to bear. That proving how strong their ties were to Israel was the biggest problem. Sometimes you would get American girls, Jewish girls, who had met some devilishly handsome guy on the beach and you could not convince her that getting married was not the thing to do. You have to issue fiancé visas if there is no indication of *mal fides*, or bad faith in contracting the marriage. I always wondered how these marriages turned out.

The other thing I learned is that with the Orthodox we had been accepting their bona fides, pretty regularly without question. One of the problems was that these people didn't come back. They all went to New York City into the Orthodox communities there. As a special project I had undertaken, I'd done an analysis of all the change-of-status records that had been reported to the Embassy. It takes about two or three or five years for people to start changing status and so you can't get any immediate feedback but the analysis showed it wasn't the young people coming right out of military service who were changing status. Whether it was a man or a woman, they were nationalistic. The largest category of people who were changing status, the people who were the potential emigrant category, was the group say age 29 to 35. They would have completed their national service; they would have taken their world tour; they would have come back and they would start working. Then they would realize after a couple of years and a couple of kids that they were never ever going to make enough money to live the way they wanted and that the same amount of effort in the United States would make them well off, thank you

very much. So those were the people with whom you really needed to exercise more care in interviewing; you really needed to look at their ties before you gave them a visa.

One big event was the reconstruction of the Embassy, with the creation of a separate entrance for the consular section. We worked in a construction site for a while, with all the attendant noise, dirt and lack of an organized workspace. For a period we were interviewing out of a hole that had been knocked into the wall to the lobby of the chancery. The new consular area had bulletproof glass and many interview windows; the only drawback for those waiting was that the architects had forgotten to include any bathrooms in the new design. People had to leave the waiting area to go find a bathroom.

Then, like I said, I was only there for eight months, I went on to the commercial section and then to the economic section.

Q: All right. Did you get involved in any protection and welfare, American citizen services?

DEAN: Definitely. Sometimes when there were not enough officers in the American Citizens Services section they would ask me to do a jail visit or a hospital visit. It was also meant to serve as cross-training. I visited Americans, took them books, cigarettes, other items. Some were Black Hebrews, i.e., U.S. citizen blacks who believed they were Jewish, part of the lost tribe of Israel, and immigrated to Israel. They lived in a community outside Dimona. I remember once the Consul General telling me that this was the first time he had had to learn the symptoms of malnutrition in blacks. Apparently many of the children were malnourished. Once I visited a psychiatric facility where I called on the Virgin Mary. I didn't realize that she smoked but she requested that we bring her some books in English and some cigarettes.

Q: Could you explain a little more about the Virgin Mary?

DEAN: Kind of like California, all sort of all the fruits and nuts roll to the Holy Land. Jerusalem is important in three major world religions; so Israel attracts the mentally ill from all three groups. Some consular officers had met various saints but this particular young woman thought she was the Virgin Mary so she was institutionalized until we could repatriate her. It's very hard to have a conversation with somebody who's living in a different reality than you are. She was convinced that she was the Virgin Mary, but she had not had a baby, nor did she speak Amharic or Hebrew.

Q: Tell me about her son.

DEAN: Well, she said he had gone by that time. He was not a little boy. But the visit was just mind bending.

Q: Okay, commercial work. What were you doing?

DEAN: I did the usual commercial work: prepare reports to meet the Commercial and Economic Reporting Program (CERP), as well as oversee the preparation of the Agent Distributor Service reports (ADS, about five a month) and the World Traders Directory Reports (WTDRs, about 20 a month); work on trade opportunities (about eight a month, edit the commercial newsletter. We also supported the Foreign Buyer Program and various trade promotion events. I did an in-depth study on the filmmaking industry in Israel.

What stands out in my mind is doing CODELs (congressional delegation visits). This meant greeting congressmen and their traveling staff at Ben Gurion Airport, going up to Jerusalem, arranging accommodations for them in the King David Hotel. When you are the youngest, juniorest gopher around, and you speak fairly decent Hebrew, you do a lot of visits.

One of the more pleasant visits was being the control officer for Mrs. Cyrus Vance who was accompanying her husband as the Secretary of State visited Israel. What I remember most is that we helicoptered into Masada and had a complete tour with a historical guide. Landing on the top of that plateau is breathtaking. Despite the heat, the Israelis ensured that we had plenty of water and juices to drink. It was easy to imagine being surrounded by Romans, running out of food and other resources and reaching a point of despair, or perhaps determination, to decide to die on your terms and not those of a foreign power.

Q: Our embassy in Tel Aviv is just completely swamped by visitors of one ilk or another.

DEAN: Many different ilks. We had a congressman visit one time who at dinner with the ambassador said "I don't understand why the Israelis and the Arabs can't get along together; what is the problem?" This man, I don't know what state he was representing, was also living in an altered reality. He had done no background study; nobody had briefed him on the Arab-Israeli conflict. He wasn't even aware of the '73 war. He was not aware that Israel had serious wars with its neighbors. As we talked to him we realized this man came from a deep hole of ignorance, but that he would be voting in Congress on issues of national interest to the U.S.

When Sadat came to Jerusalem we were already in Jerusalem because we had a huge CODEL of about 60 people up there. A CODEL that size is immense and takes tremendous resources from the Embassy. On learning of Sadat's plan to visit Israel, the president of the Knesset invited all of the Congressmen in the delegation to go to the Knesset and hear Sadat speak. Most of the Congressmen accepted that opportunity so the delegation extended their stay. The CODEL had initially been assigned the top floor of the King David, but when the delegation decided to stay, we had to move everybody, and all their belongings, down two floors to make room for the Egyptians. As a head of state, Sadat easily out-ranked congressmen and was entitled to the better rooms. So like little ants whose nest has been upset, we moved everybody. Other officers were accompanying the CODEL, as they completed their pre-arranged program. We only had one glitch and unfortunately that was with the wife of the head of the foreign relations committee; we misplaced her coat. By evening, everything magically appeared in every congressman's

suite positioned exactly where it had been left in the morning, except for the coat. The situation was much more painful than it might have been if it had been treated with good humor and patience. We did eventually find the coat. I had had nothing to do with moving the Chair's possessions to his new suite, but the repercussions lasted for everyone for days.

I provided clerical support. For example, I was doing all the Xeroxing of an Arabic handout that was not to be released to the public until after the speech to the Knesset. It was all in Arabic so I was not even sure I was looking at the page numbers correctly. I worried whether I was assembling the pages in the right order.

I was also responsible for ensuring the smooth departure of a congressman from Tennessee. He had declined the invitation to see Sadat address the Knesset because he was urgently needed back in the U.S. He had to leave the King David at 2:00 a.m. to get to Ben Gurion airport on time. My sister is from Tennessee and I have aunts and uncles who lived at that time in Kingsport, Tennessee, and Nashville, Tennessee, so I had topical issues I could discuss with the congressman. He was pleased to find someone with a relationship with his constituents. I don't know what was more important in the United States than this historic moment but he was determined to leave.

While I was in the lobby waiting for the congressman to show up so I can get him signed, sealed and sent off to the airport, an Egyptian walks up to me and asks me if I would like to go to my room? I leapt back about three feet and said, 'I am an American', just like somehow Americans are more virtuous than anybody else. He, on the other hand, didn't handle it any better; he turned around and he walked into the elevator door. At that point I decided I should ignore his embarrassment of walking into the wall and disappeared in a different direction. This was clearly another cross-cultural event. In his mind, the only reason a young woman would be loitering in the lobby of a hotel would be for business reasons. I had business reasons so he was right, but my business reasons were different than his imagined business reasons.

I was looking at your list of ambassadors. When we first arrived in Tel Aviv, Ambassador Keating was Ambassador. Some time after we arrived, he went back to Washington and then went up to New York. I believe somebody in his family was sick. While he was visiting his relative in the hospital he had a heart attack. That hospitalized him, and within a couple of days he died. That's my memory of what happened as to why he was in New York. Your list says he left Tel Aviv on consultations with the State Department, which I am sure he did, but it is my memory that he had then gone to NYC, where he died.

Q: Usually if you've got a problem you consult.

DEAN: Right. But to the best of my knowledge he was going for personal reasons and then ended up dying himself. He wasn't ill when he left. And then Malcolm Toon came. I don't know if you know him.

Q: I know of him.

DEAN: Yes. Not an easy man.

Q: He's not Mr. Fuzzy.

DEAN: No. And he did not do well with the Israelis. He'd come out of an Iron Curtain mentality.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: He thought we should be tough with the Israelis at all times about everything. I remember being at a dinner party with him at his residence. The normal process is, when somebody's kosher, the chefs would cater in the plates and kosher food wrapped in cellophane or plastic or whatever, and it would be clearly labeled "kosher". Ambassador Toon wouldn't do that; he would not provide that courtesy. Plus he would serve food like beef stroganoff.

Q: With cream, yes.

DEAN: Yes, no self-respecting kosher person could even be at the same table with beef and milk. Ambassador Toon ignored any of the niceties that smooth a difficult relationship a little bit. If he could put his finger in the eye of an Israeli he did.

Q: Were you used as a utility single woman for dinners and things like this?

DEAN: Well yes, sometimes. When I was a junior officer there were half a dozen junior officers at post, so you routinely rotated through being invited to assist at social events.

Q: Yes, because this is traditional. In this and in many ways a woman--at that time an unattached young officer, female--often got to meet more people than the male officers because most of the visitors being male you just fill in at dinner parties.

DEAN: Yes, you got to be, as you say, the utility infielder here. Certainly, my social life changed very much. I was single for 10 years and it's a different kind of life than you have when you're married. You do get invited to a lot of things that you might not otherwise be invited to attend.

After Ambassador Toon, then Sam Lewis came before I left. Your report says he arrived in May of '77 and then I left in May of '78.

Q: By the way, was there a Mrs. Malcolm Toon?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: And how was she?

DEAN: I don't remember.

Q: In a way she didn't make a significant impact, usually negative.

DEAN: I remember Mrs. Pickering, for example, but I don't remember Mrs. Toon. And I remember Sam Lewis's wife, Sally; she was a positive force. Part of the change is that if you are working full-time plus, you do not attend women's groups or join in women's activities. You have much less exposure to spouses, except when they are filling a business function. Many times their roles are clearly delineated. There is not much opportunity for them to show initiative under those conditions. This is a long way to say that working women, especially junior women, largely see the Ambassador's wife in her official role, not in a position that allows much interchange in social areas.

Q: Sam was there for a long, long time.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Eight years or something like that.

DEAN: Yes. He wasn't there as long as Wally Barbour but your report says he was there eight years, yes. Ambassador Barbour was there 12 years.

Q: While you were there, were there any sort of events or developments that particularly struck you?

DEAN: You mean aside from the rush of hope that the Arab-Israeli conflict was going to get better because Sadat came?

Q: Yes. Was this a feeling almost of euphoria?

DEAN: No, not euphoria. We were lifted; we were optimistic; we thought, "Okay, this is still going to be hard work: this is not going to be easy. There will be stumbling blocks but here is a way forward." Now we had somebody we could work with and the Israelis could work with. This was an opening into the Arab world any way you looked at it. I do remember people saying he's taking his life in his hands, which he certainly had, but it was ground shifting; the Israelis and the Egyptians still talk to each other today. Sadat changed the face of relations.

Q: But the relationship is still hostile.

DEAN: It did not go back to the *status quo ante* after the death of Sadat. It's gone forward and sometimes it goes a couple steps backwards and a couple more steps forward but the ties continue and the connection exists. But things are certainly miserable today.

I can remember Nat Howell. When I was on the Israeli desk (1978-79), Nat Howell was doing Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Perhaps he was the deputy office director of NEA/ARN. Nat told me that he had been doing the Arab-Israeli conflict for 20 years, and that it was just not getting any better. He could not see any reason to expect that relations would get better soon. Relations between Israel and Egypt are clearly shakier now than they were in 1978.

Q: I was looking at the interview I did some years ago with, I can't think of his name, anyway, he was a junior officer when the British pulled out of the Holy Land, out of Palestine in '48. The Arabs and the Israelis *were shooting at each other then and actually our consul general was killed by a sniper; they don't know who, it could have been Arab, it could have been Israeli.*

DEAN: Yes, it might have just been bad luck.

Q: But things really haven't gotten a hell of a lot better; in fact, in many ways they're worse now than ever.

DEAN: That's what I said; today they're in worse shape than they were in '77.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: People lose heart. It's one thing to work on something with the expectation it's going to be hard but doable, and something else to work on a project that is not only hard but may be hopeless. This is one of the reasons that diplomats have to be persistent, optimistic and patient. Internally they have to be self-sustaining. They have to draw on their own resources when there are no external ones to keep them going.

Q: You left Israel in '78?

DEAN: I did, but not before I went to the economic section under the Econ Counselor, Sam Hart, where I was one of six officers. There I worked on USAID issues, including overseeing the administrative and operational issues affecting various USG economic assistance programs in Israel. Those programs supported the Russian refugee resettlement effort of the United Israel Appeal ($14 million). Other programs focused on American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA, $4.2 million) and other programs carried out by US voluntary agencies in the West Bank and Gaza ($3 million). I also did some reporting on Israel's relations with Communist Bloc countries, as well as report on Israel's investment policy. Overseeing these programs required considerable travel to become familiar with the actual operations. Plus I was able to try a little economic reporting, doing a minerals report (no diamonds, just potash), and an evaluation of UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency) operations in the West Bank and Gaza.

Q: And you went to the Israeli desk?

DEAN: I did. I believe I was chosen because I was the only one on the desk who had ever been to Israel.

Q: So you were there from when to when doing that work?

DEAN: I came in the summer of '78; the desk was a two-year assignment.

I was there about a year when it dawned on me that since my husband was dead and he was the econ officer I did not have to continue to be a consular officer. I asked if I could curtail in the desk assignment and take the 6-month econ course with the idea of changing to the economic career track. The deputy office director, Charlie Hill said "Sure, you may curtail; all you have to do is find a replacement for yourself." And, miraculously enough, Ted Cubbison showed up and took my place and I went to the six-month econ course in January of 1980.

Q: Let's talk about the time at the Israeli desk. How did you find it?

DEAN: Professionally the desk offered a laboratory of basic diplomatic work. There were two of the most interesting officers for a young officer to observe: Jock Covey and Charlie Hill. They were Kissinger protégés, well connected in the Department, and very much on the main chance. Charlie left the Service and went to help Kissinger write his books. Covey was a bureaucratic in-fighting phenomenon. In particular he would win his internecine battles by sheer stamina. He could stay longer and later in the office than anybody else. He was the one who cleared that final paper and it always had his distinctive shaping.

Hal Saunders was the Assistant Secretary of the Near East Bureau at that time. While I seldom interacted with him, he had a lasting impact on the role of women in the Department. NEA routinely had women in all their offices; many of us were junior officers, but it was a period when the Department and the Bureau were having to grow their own. Saunders made sure NEA was doing just that. It was a long-term investment and it paid off well for the Bureau and for the Department. Women like Beth Jones who got their start in NEA not only became a Deputy Assistant Secretary in NEA, but eventually Assistant Secretary in the European Bureau.

We worked hard when the Camp David Accords were signed between the Israelis, the Egyptians and the U.S. I still have a copy of the signature page. There was a buffet dinner for the worker bees at Blair House (March 26, 1979), with a toast, entertainment and dancing on the South Lawn and in the White House. And at that time, May 2, 1979, the Israelis broke ground for their new chancery in the large new Embassy compound on Reno Road and Van Ness.

A different type of experience on the Israeli Desk was that I would be invited to go to the White House to speak to groups of Jewish women about U.S. policy toward Israel and the Arabs. Invariably one of the women would say, "We're" not doing well or "we're" this or "we're" that, meaning we Israelis, when they quite clearly belonged to the 'we' Americans group. That was an education for me; I saw that there were many American

Jews who identified far too much with another sovereign nation for our nation's well being.

Q: Yes. Teddy Roosevelt used to call people of that ilk hyphenated Americans.

DEAN: Nowadays it is politically correct to look at hyphenated Americans more positively but when somebody's loyalty is not entirely clear you don't want to be dealing with hyphenated loyalties.

Q: Did you feel anything dealing with Israel immediately found itself into the hands of both Congress and the Jewish lobby?

DEAN: You always had the feeling that the division of interest was not clear in everybody's mind. Someone, like Jonathan Pollard, the Israeli spy, could easily hand off so many papers just as he did in the 1980s.

Q: That is a very interesting case; he's still in jail and there are still efforts to get him out of jail. He was a civilian in the Department of the Navy and was passing on, interestingly enough, information about our nuclear submarines armed with nuclear missiles. This was obviously of no particular interest to the Israelis but it was of great interest to the Soviets. The Soviets were getting this information and all logic says that the Israelis were using it to pass on to the Soviets in order to get Soviet Jews out of the Soviet Union.

DEAN: So this was a barter situation?

Q: It's the only explanation. But anyway, it's still a contentious point.

DEAN: It made me angry that these people were not more pro-American.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: And thinking more in terms of our national interest.

Q: We've had the Irish and the Greeks, and other ethnic groups.

DEAN: Ethnic groups, right.

Q: I had to deal with the Greeks at one point.

DEAN: You were just talking about the Armenians when I came in today.

Q: Armenians, yes.

Were you doing the cleanup work on the Israeli desk?

DEAN: Yes, I was the junior officer on the desk. Joe McBride did pol-mil and Jock Covey did the political work. Charlie Hill was the deputy and David Korn was the Director. While I was there, they added another position. The desk continued to grow. I got all the letters to answer, all the general queries. I oversaw the assembly of the human

rights report, all the things that needed to be done that nobody else wanted. I continued to monitor the AID-funded West Bank/Gaza development programs and the UNWRA operation. I also oversaw relations with various bilateral groups, such as the Binational Science Foundation, the Binational Industrial Research and Development Foundation, the U.S.-Israeli Business Council. I was the inter-agency liaison for most agencies, such as Treasury, HEW, etc. I was the contact on the desk for difficult consular issues. For example, I negotiated the HEW-Israeli Health Agreement. I drafted the bulk of the office's papers on established policy, including public remarks for U.S. officials, responses to Congress, and other public inquiries, writing cables, memos, background papers, briefing documents, whatever was needed. I was commended for handling the sheer volume of Congressional and public inquiries, which sometimes was more than 50% of the entire bureau's entire workload. My second year on the desk I drafted the Human Rights Report for Israel. For a good bit my time on the desk the entire office was consumed by the Camp David negotiations. I helped organize events and I was able to attend the signing ceremony on the White House lawn.

Work on the desk was enlightening; I was a second tour officer and this was a highly visible operation. This was one of the top two or three busiest positions I held in the Department; my steno pad would have as many as seven pages tracking a different issue on each line, that's about 140 items and I needed to know the state of play on each one. Tight organizational skills were what saved me.

Q: You're learning the trade.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Okay then you got yourself into the economic course.

DEAN: I did.

Q: This was quite a concentrated course, wasn't it?

DEAN: It is. I had more fun taking that course than almost any class I have ever attended. John Harrington, the director of the course, gave the most beautiful explanation of basic math I have ever heard. His explanation was the three most wonderful days. Listening to him talk about basic mathematic concepts was fascinating. John Penfold was the FSO teacher. These six months were designed as an intensive and comprehensive program of economics to give us the analytical framework necessary to do sound analysis, to understand other economic points of view, and the knowledge necessary to translate analysis into policy.

The class was a great bonding experience. I still know a few of the people in that class, although most have retired now. At least one may still be a diplomat, Ambassador Bill Wood. Others have gone on to exercise diplomacy in a different forum, like J.D. Bindenagel, vice president for Community, Government and International Affairs at DePaul University in Chicago, where he had previously been head of Chicago's Council on Foreign Relations. A few have died like Barbara Schell. The University of Kentucky Patterson School of Diplomacy established a fellowship in her memory. Barbara was part

of a United Nations relief mission to create a safe haven for Kurds in April 1994 when the helicopter she was traveling in was shot down over Northern Iraq by US Air Force F-15s. The friendly fire incident killed 15 Americans.

I struggled with micro-economics section but the rest of it was fine. I made the lowest A in the class. I'm convinced that whatever you did when you came out of that class, whether you went into a trade or development or finance position, that immediate experience cemented you in that particular expertise. So when I graduated…

Q: This would be '77?

DEAN: No; I was in Israel until '78, so this would have been '80. January to July 1980.

Q: Okay.

DEAN: We had a good time. When I graduated, I was still a consular officer and the rules to change career tracks were that you had to show you could do economic work. There were not many positions open in the Economic Bureau; the job that I took was as a desk officer where the position was designated as econ. I became the sole desk officer for Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE (United Arab Emirates). Before anybody else knew where Qatar was, I was working on its issues. My position was labeled an economic position because of the oil. In fact it really was a pol-mil job because mostly we focused on military sales to the Gulf States.

Q: You did this from '80 to?

DEAN: I was in NEA/ARP (Arabian Peninsula) from '80 to '82.

Q: Eighty-two. Okay, let's talk about how matters stood in Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE, the United Arab Emirates.

DEAN: The UAE was just beginning to come into all this money. The UAE is small; Qatar is smaller. What are we talking about, 50,000 citizens? We're not talking about a lot of people. The Gulf States have these huge foreign, temporary worker populations, but the indigenous population is tiny. To minimize the cultural impact of so many foreigners, the Gulf States chose to keep close control over them.

The UAE had considerable oil. Qatar had discovered the North Dome and found itself sitting on top of the North Dome with all of the gas and potential energy that's there. At the same time Bahrain was trying to figure out essentially how it was going to keep from being overwhelmed by its neighbors. The leadership also knew that it was a religious minority (Sunni) in a predominantly Shia country. While there was a short-lived protest inspired by Iran (also Shia) in December of 1981 there was nothing like the Arab Spring uprising of 2011-12. The tension is always there however. At one point the Washington Islamic Center was seized by militant Shia activists, which I helped to resolve. And we had to arrange additional security protection for the Bahraini Ambassador, since, as Dean of the Arab Diplomatic Corps in Washington, he was officially responsible for the Center. Bahrain is an island state in the Persian Gulf, one of the first Gulf states to exploit

its oil reserves. The leaders understood however that those reserves were finite and would be depleted in a relatively short time. Bahrain faced the same economic crises they had when their pearl fishing was eclipsed by the Japanese raising cultured pearls, causing Bahrain's economy to tank. As the desk officer, I went out there, visited everybody in the Embassies, made calls on many officials, saw the geography of these countries. Physically seeing a country can frequently help you understand the geo-political forces that shape a country's mindset or drive its leadership to take certain positions.

Q: Iran, with which we, particularly in '80s, did not have the best of relations; in fact, during part of this time that you were doing this they were still holding our people hostage, weren't they, until '81, January of '81.

DEAN: That must be right. The Iran hostage crises destroyed whatever might have been left of a relationship between Iran and the United States. Those 52 Americans were held hostage for 444 days from November 4, 1979, to January 20, 1981. Having a group of Islamist students and militants take over the American Embassy in Tehran without any objection from the government in charge shaped the relationship, such as it exists today.

Q: Because it was '79 when they were taken over. So, when you were dealing with relations in the Persian Gulf, the Iranian situation had to loom over everything, didn't it?

DEAN: It seemed to loom more or was more visible from the UAE. The Emiris did more trading, both more overt and more covert trading, back and forth with Iran than did the other Gulf States. There were more people going back and forth across the Gulf; it's not very far.

Q: The UAE has always been a hotbed of smugglers. I can recall I was vice consul in Dhahran and at that time the Trucial States of Qatar and Bahrain were part of our consular district. I remember watching people carrying a small box and four men were needed to lift it up. Obviously it was gold.

DEAN: I still have gold jewelry I bought in Bahrain.

Q: What sort of work were you doing?

DEAN: As a desk officer you deal with whatever happens. You're reading all the cables, trying to get Ambassador Charlie Marthinsen to report more than once a week or once a month from Qatar. He kept saying nothing's happening here, and he wouldn't send anything in for weeks. I did get wrapped up in cutting through some red-tape to help our Embassies in Bahrain and Qatar lease land and begin the design and construction stage for new chanceries. And essentially a lot of hard work had to do with selling U.S. goods, especially military equipment. I coordinated our response to a major billion dollar UAE policy initiative to expand its defense supply relationship with us. I shepherded some complicated defense supply arrangements with Bahrain and the UAE through the shoals of the interagency clearance process. I also helped in the successful renewal of the U.S. Navy's access in Bahrain.

One of the things that happened was that we had the first visit to Washington in years of a leading member of the UAE government. He was scheduled to meet with the then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig. We were waiting in the antechamber when we were told that the Secretary would be unable to meet and would the visitor accept another official in his stead. We did, but it was only later that we learned that this was the famous dismissal of Haig as Secretary.

Of course some activities have nothing to do with the Gulf States but with life changing in the U.S. We were scheduled to get some of the first Wangs word processors in the bureau. So I planned the layout, ordered the furniture, taught the officers and secretaries how to use the equipment after I had taught myself. Sometimes I would even get calls at home on Saturday with an operational question. I had made every mistake and could talk people through undoing their errors. Word processors were here to stay.

As with Israel I coordinated the revisions to the Human Rights Reports for my three countries, and in one instance substantially rewrote the report. There was the occasional banker or somebody who wanted to update their company's financial risk profile on the country, fairly simple economic reporting. I did focus some on commercial issues like a possible boycott of a major U.S. airline, or a U.S. company's proposal for a large aluminum plant of questionable feasibility or the risky activities of a U.S. oil company's geophysical research ship under contract to one of my Gulf States, that was working in waters disputed with Iran. Even though I chaired an interagency meeting to maximize US efforts to promote trade and development in the Gulf States, I did not consider the desk position a real economic job; perhaps I was really flying under false colors at that point. But the Gulf States had money and we had equipment to sell; Raytheon was a major player. You get to go and see the latest toys and whatever else was new.

Q: Had we moved to the point where we were trying to use the Trucial States as being a sort of a staging ground for military equipment in case we needed it in the Gulf area?

DEAN: Not so much. We were focused more on the UAE as a kind of listening post across the Gulf, especially in Dubai. I don't remember any staging, or discussion on pre-location at that time.

Q: Was this enough to get your economic credentials?

DEAN: It was, yes. Despite feeling sometimes like Margaret of Arabia, crossing the trackless wasteland in pursuit of that elusive mirage call policy objective, my eyes burning from the glare off the latest white-hot revision of a briefing paper, I did get moved to the economic cone.

Q: Then what?

DEAN: I went to the Economic Bureau.

I worked in the Office of Development Finance (EB/ODF). Essentially that office was desk officer for the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the Asian Development Bank, Export-Import Bank; each person had their own bank portfolio. I

covered the Inter-American Development Bank and the related Inter-American Investment Corporation (IIC) for two years, and my Spanish, in fact, come in handy. The last year I was there I was responsible for the World Bank Group, which included oversight for International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA) and the International Finance Corporation (IFC). IDA supports anti-poverty programs in the poorest developing countries with long-term, no interest loans. The IFC is the development institution that focuses exclusively on the private sector in developing countries. The concept is to create jobs, generate tax revenues, and improve corporate governance and environmental performance. I was in ODF three years, from 1982 to 1985.

As IDB desk officer, I coordinated with Treasury, AID and the Latin American bureau on development policy in Latin America and participated in the Administration's review of the Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs), in particular with regard to policies on co-financing, private sector initiatives, and lending rates.

During this time Sheikh Isa bin Salman al-Khalifa made an official visit to the United States. The State Dinner was July 19 and the reciprocal dinner was the next day. The desk officer who replaced me was kind enough to include me on the guest list so that I was able to attend both events. I don't know why pianist Bryon Janis was asked to play Chopin, Debussy and Liszt but that was the after-dinner entertainment. For some reason several astronauts were also invited; I was impressed that they, both men and women, were miniaturized. They were small compact people. While I would not have asked Sally Ride for an autograph, the desk officer did and gave the signature to me. It is the only autography that I have ever owned.

Q: What was your impression of the banks, the international banks?

DEAN: It's interesting because you see development philosophies go through popular waves among academicians and economists. The development community focuses on creating major infrastructure, like building dams and roads, and then it swings. In addition to dealing with conflicting regional priorities in the World Bank the changing emphasis at that time was from lending for traditional infrastructure projects to using resources for short-term structural adjustments. Now the pendulum is with micro financing for women. You see these trends; fads occur in development economics. I won't say it made me jaded but it made me realize that there is no one magical economic solution; no one solution is going to fit every economic development need. Nor will one solution be appropriate at all times for the same country. It's like trying to figure out what to do with Haiti, for Haiti, to Haiti. There's not any one solution that's going to solve the economic crisis in Haiti. Moreover as Haiti develops, an institution would need to change its approach. You cannot have a single prescription that you are going to apply to all countries across the board. Development needs to be tailored and in collaboration with that country and other economic partners, whether countries or institutions. But that wasn't what was happening.

We also did several replenishments. We did the sixth replenishment for the Inter-American Development Bank and we did one for the World Bank. We were trying to

show Congress and the American people what is our national interest in funding development banks. At that point we still had a majority vote in all of these financial institutions, but we were no longer the majority contributor. Over time there had developed a disconnect between the percentage weight of our vote and the percentage weight of our contribution. This disconnect made all the other participating members unhappy to different degrees. There was continual pressure to realign our financial contribution and our voting share, i.e., give up our majority position. Either we needed to give up our dominance of the banks or we needed to pay more. It is hard to justify that we should have more clout just because we have always had more, even if we are not paying for more now, or even as much as we had in the past. As the desk officer you saw these tussles develop and the pressure that was brought to bear on the U.S. to change its practices, which eventually we had to do. Pay to play is a simple concept; it is a fair concept; it just is not a politically palatable concept.

In addition to negotiations on replenishments and more direct economic issues like determining negative sub-loan interest rates, there were more politically fraught issues such as lending to controversial countries (e.g., Angola, Guatemala, Bolivia, Zaire, or Nicaragua). At a time when U.S. copper mines were closing, we had to address a $250 million loan to upgrade Chilean mines. U.S. copper producers were adamant that the loan not go forward and their representatives in Congress were concerned, so we needed to package our negative vote in a way to minimize damage to the bilateral relationship. We were successful in moving other U.S. agencies from less doctrinaire positions to ones that better reflected overall U.S. interests in cases like IDB loans for Mexican water pollution control, Guyana rice development or Ecuadorian emergency rehabilitation. I also participated in the 25th Annual Meeting of the IDB at Punta del Este, Uruguay. God made Uruguay such a lovely country, but almost nobody came. There are more people living in the DC area than in all of Uruguay.

One other feature of the job was reading all the annual Human Rights Reports for the countries in your bank, here the IDB, to provide the EB clearance. Human Rights Reports were still relatively new and many drafting officers and posts thought it was acceptable to say, in effect, "yes, this country discriminates against X, Y or Zs but it is part of their culture."

It was also interesting to see the national alignments, such as the French being difficult and the Canadians by and large being helpful; many times you could fly under Canadian colors. The Canadians would take the point position. I probably learned more in ODF about negotiating internationally than in any other position.

Q: Did you find that countries were being lent to that obviously weren't ever going to be able to pay back?

DEAN: A lot of them. What's the question?

Q: Was this a form of financial support?

DEAN: We never let ourselves say that. The Bank would forgive debt or would refinanced debt on more favorable terms. And there's always the righteous side demanding that there needed to be realistic repayment schedules. Nonetheless that's not going to happen in many of these cases. So you're absolutely right.

Did I learn anything about it? Maybe I did. Every vote, every policy change, every compromise is significant because the process is cumulative and unrelenting.

Q: You were getting to be an economist.

DEAN: Working on it.

Q: How to give away money and the excuses for not getting it back.

DEAN: Learning to explain why this country is an unusual case. On the other hand, look at how much money do we give to Israel in economic support. We give them a check; we don't insist that they have a building schedule, or accomplish certain goals, etc. There's no requirement on that money at all.

Q: This of course annoys so many people. This is pure political clout.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: American Jews and non-Jewish supporters of Israel see Israel as being sacrosanct, that we have to support it whatever the reason for it is or whether real support is not that strong. It's just another little nation, a squabbling little nation along with a lot of other squabbling little nations that we get involved with.

DEAN: The bottom line should be what is our national interest in this.

During this period, in the summer of 1984, I decided that this was probably the last good opportunity to spend time with my son, Clayton. He was rapidly becoming a teenager but in 1984 he was eleven and still reasonable. A friend, John Hall, who had been in my Junior Officer class, helped me locate a person, Stephen Carnevale, who wanted his car driven across the United States to his new posting. Stephen was a Marine detailed to the State Department Political-Military Bureau; he was returning to the Marine Corps at Fort Pendleton in California. He had gotten married and had acquired a large dog and they did not want to drive two cars across the U.S. So he turned over his hard-top convertible MG, a golden XLE to a relative stranger -- me.

Clayton and I spent three weeks driving across country. This was the first time he had not flown somewhere and he really had had no sense of just how big the United States was. We started in the Shenandoah and wended our way up to Lexington, Kentucky where I had gone to school, then to Indianapolis and the Indy 500. We spun over to Decatur, Illinois to visit my sister-in-law and her family. We spent several days visiting because I wanted to make sure that my son had some sense of his father's family. Then we

wandered off to Lake Zurich, Wisconsin where another aunt of Clayton's lived and renewed acquaintances with them. We tried to visit as many state capitals as we could conveniently do, while tossing in sites like Council Bluffs, Iowa, Minden, Nebraska, the Oregon Trail, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah. Arches National Park in Utah was beautiful, as was the Grand Canyon. We eventually made it to California and my sister Mary Catherine's home. While we did not go to Disney Land, we did go visit Universal Studios. The shark from *Jaws* was guaranteed to make an impression on an 11-year old boy. It was great preparation for being away from the U.S. for three years. We had a grand time.

Q: Anyway, so by about '83 or so you're moving on?

DEAN: I left ODF in the summer of 1985. I went from ODF (Office of Development Finance) back to Israel.

Q: You went back to Israel?

DEAN: This was a tortured tale. I was bidding on places like Amman with the idea that I should serve in the Arab world, perhaps learn some Arabic. Apparently Embassy Tel Aviv didn't have many, if any, bidders on the Deputy Econ position, nor had I bid on it. I did speak Hebrew and Sam Lewis reportedly told Ed Abingdon, the NEA assignments officer, to get Margaret to come back here. I only learned later from Beth Jones, the director of NEA/ARN (Arabia North), at a dinner party that they were so sorry that I didn't want to come to Amman. I said Amman had been my first choice and asked, "What do you mean that I didn't want to come to Amman?" She said, "Oh, Ed Abingdon said that you wanted to go back to Israel". That was the first I'd ever heard anything about it. So under false pretenses I was assigned back to Tel Aviv. Tel Aviv was okay; I didn't object to going but it wasn't my first choice, and I was not consulted in advance. Nor had Ed Abingdon been straight-forward about the process. Still, as those primarily concerned, Beth and I should have picked up the phone and called directly to each other or chatted at some point. Undoubtedly my career would have gone off in an entirely different direction.

So I received some brush-up Hebrew. Before I had the first four months of class; now I had the last four months of class. Many of the same teachers, like Moshe Cohen, were still there. I learned more Hebrew, which actually turned out to be helpful. My reading had never been particularly strong and since I was going back to be the deputy econ counselor to do the macro work the Hebrew class actually helped me to read many of the Israeli publications. I don't think I could read anything today but I did at that time. The result was that in the summer of '85 I went back to Tel Aviv, to the same job that my husband had had. I remember I asked to make sure that I was not assigned to the same house. Consequently we were assigned a different house from the Embassy's housing pool. The house was the mirror image of our earlier home, but I did not suffer from *déjà vu.*

Let me address a side issue: Sometime that previous fall (1984) Tom Wukitsch joined my carpool. After the summer, carpools with Foreign Service employees need to realign themselves and fill in positions of newly transferred FS employees. Tom tells the story that he bribed somebody to leave our carpool so he could join it and get to know me better. In September he started going to my son's soccer games and by Feb 1 we were married.

Tom was in INR (the Bureau of Intelligence and Research); he was in NESA so he was an INR Middle East person. He had served in Doha, Dhahran, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut and Tunis (the Arabic language school in Beirut was evacuated to Tunis with the start of the civil war in Lebanon). Tom was a political officer and had an onward assignment for the summer of 1985 to North Africa. I was getting ready to go to Tel Aviv and I said, "You're taking up a lot of my time; either fish or cut bait." His rejoinder was maybe we should get married. And I agreed. He went off to the personnel people and they said, "Oh, we have just broken the assignment of the Arabist who was going to go to Tel Aviv because his daughter has cancer and he's not going to be able to go. He needs to stay here in the States to get medical care for her." Personnel added that in order to break Tom's North Africa assignment that we would actually have to be married, not just engaged. Two weeks later, on the 1st of February, we were married and then we got married again. We married the 1st of February for the Foreign Service and the bureaucracy. We then married again in May for God and mothers. So we got married twice. Before we left for Tel Aviv we went to Chicago to see Tom's family and they had a large reception for all the family members who could not make it to Washington for the family wedding. It was a large Polish Italian affair. In August we went to Tel Aviv, which is why sometimes when you ask me a question I have to stop and think about was that the first time ('74-'78) or was that the second time ('85-'88).

Q: What was your job in Tel Aviv?

I was the deputy Section head (i.e., the second of six) and the macro-economic reporting officer. In this position you follow the significant economic trends, especially financial, budgetary and balance of payments developments. Issues like Israel's effort to control its hyperinflation or evaluating the financing of the comprehensive national system of medical services provided by the Labor Union become paramount. I spent a good deal of time with the Knesset Finance Committee as well as the Histadrut, evaluating the impact of their economic roles. I reported on privatization and the creeping nationalization of the banking system, tax and capital market reform, and the feasibility of Israel's rescheduling its debt. I was also the Treasurer of the Embassy Commissary Board, where I worked to insure that all the protections against waste, fraud and mismanagement were in place. In that position I had to alert the Office of the Inspector General (OIG) that I believed that there were some fraudulent practices in the Commissary. The team included oversight of the Commissary in a larger inspection of the post. For all my reporting on budgetary, monetary policy and structural reform assessments I was nominated for the Department's Award for Economic Reporting.

Q: 1985. What was the situation in Israel, in the Middle East in '85?

DEAN: Israel was in the middle of the first intifada and life was difficult. My husband, as I said, did the Arab-Israelis; he also covered Gaza, so he was on the road a lot, talking to people. Because he had served in Jerusalem for three years, he already had many contacts, both in the government and in Jerusalem. He spoke Arabic and was a busy man. When I was the desk officer for Bahrain, Qatar and UAE I made my orientation trip. He was in Jerusalem as the political officer working for Jock Covey, the deputy Consul General. When I came through Jerusalem I stayed at Jock's house but Tom had appointed himself my control officer for the day. He took me all around Jerusalem, showed me places I hadn't seen in my previous four years in Tel Aviv. He is a natural tour guide, a font of information about archeological and historical sites.

We were trying to figure out how the Israelis were funding West Bank settlements, because those expenditures are not clearly listed in their annual reports. Some of it is there, in the official reports, which look all look nice and clean. You know that our grant money is going there; I spent time trying to figure out how, where is it and how are they doing it and what's going on.

Q: Also, was there a question with the settlements being occupied? I mean, at one point they were talking about satellite pictures showing some of the settlements weren't occupied.

DEAN: One hundred percent, yes; they weren't 100 percent occupied. Once the Israeli government builds something however, settler groups start moving in as many people as they can. Yes. It may not be legal, but that was not part of the econ focus.

Q: Weren't you looking at the funding?

DEAN: We were looking at funding.

Q: Where was the funding? What were they doing, shifting money around?

DEAN: They would recategorize expenditures. Settlement financing was broken into parts and labeled other things. You're trying to figure out if money that's labeled for road development supports road development in settlement activity. Where are these roads? Some of them are in the West Bank. Look at water maintenance, electrical system maintenance. We thought some of the expenditures came from the military budget, but that was hard to show. Some of that money is over here, supporting settlements; it's not all over there in Israel proper. So you begin to figure out where some of it is.

Q: Wasn't there almost a reluctance to expose this on our part?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: I mean we knew it but they weren't supposed to do it. If you know, then you become an accomplice to cheating the U.S. Government.

DEAN: My job was to tell Washington what was happening. I wrote a few prescriptive cables, but I doubt that they went past the desk officer. Reporting is what I was tasked to do. Our reporting laid the groundwork for making political decisions. Nonetheless, no one in Washington was going to get excited about it. We are giving them millions of dollars without any commitment.

Q: How did you find that sort of the information? Were the Israelis trying to cover it up or was it a wink and a nod or what?

DEAN: Basically the Israelis have nice clean documents to present to the World Bank or whatever formal presentations they needed to make. We always wanted to know what the subcomponents were. You talk to the auditor; you talk to the electrical grid people and you try to find information that tells you "Yes, some of that money is here, some of that money is there". We never pinned expenditures down really nice and neatly. If you were doing a real audit, if you had access to all the real books maybe you could, but we believed there were two sets of books essentially.

Q: Did the intifada affect you at all in living and working?

DEAN: Not really. The first time I lived in Herzliya Pituah. When we went back we lived on the other side of the Haifa highway in Kfar Shmaryahu right across the street from the American School. Life was very nice. We had lots of friends from our previous time there, people whom I had known before. My son was in eighth grade to tenth grade and it was a good school. Rather pleasant all in all.

Except for my son shooting an Israeli child with a bb gun. That was not so pleasant.

Q: He did what?

DEAN: There must have been little groups in the school. There were cliques of different nationalities, which did not get along. We had an empty field beside our house but we were kitty-corner across the street from the school. I must have gone to the dentist. I was doing something else. For some reason I was close to home; I wasn't at work. When I came home in the late afternoon there were police all over the place. My son had gotten into an exchange of words with some Israeli boys. As the Israelis were going across the empty field to go home, Clayton apparently shot one of them with a BB gun. I was stunned. I couldn't believe this. The Israeli police came and took Clayton away with the gun; needless to say, I, as the mother of this budding criminal, went along with them but I did not interfere. I let the police go through the whole process. First they interviewed the two other American boys who were aiding and abetting Clayton; after a good while, the police let them go. By this time Clayton had been sitting and waiting for two hours. When it was his turn the police grilled him about all the stuff going on at school and why had he resorted to the BB gun. It was only when they said they were going to keep him for the evening I interrupted. I know that diplomatic immunity does not automatically cover any of our dependents or even our own activities outside the execution of our

diplomatic functions. As a courtesy, however, governments generally allow considerable breadth in interpreting the guidelines. Nonetheless I said that before they could keep Clayton I needed to talk to the Embassy about diplomatic immunity. This was a fig leaf but the police graciously accepted that fig leaf and let him go home. By this time Clayton had been there like three or four hours and for a brief while he thought he might spend the night in an Israeli jail. I thought he'd done enough sweating in his socks to reform his young soul. What surprised me was when the police asked if we wanted to take the gun with us. I told them to keep the gun, but over the weeks they kept insisting on trying to give it back to me. Finally I came home one day and there it was. They just left it at the house. Fortunately the Deputy Chief of Mission, Art Hughes, offered to buy it to kill the birds in his attic. We quickly struck a deal.

Separately I was called on the carpet by both the regional security officer (RSO) and by the DCM (before he bought the gun). They wanted to make sure that nothing like this would ever happen again. I had asked my son about what happened. He claimed it was just an accident so I reported his words to the Regional Security Officer (RSO); the RSO said once is an accident; twice is not an accident. Apparently Clayton had shot more than once.

Q: Were you noticing the effect of increasing migration from the Soviet Union to Israel at that time?

DEAN: There may have been increased migration but it didn't strike me at that time; the number of Russians struck me more the first time I was there. What impressed me the second time was that, after only 10 years, more and more of the Israeli population did not speak English. You had the Golda Meir generation of people who were immigrants or those who had lived under the British Mandate and who spoke English almost as a first language and Hebrew as a second language. Ten years later, when I came back, that balance had tilted so that most people were speaking Hebrew as a first language and they were speaking any other language as a second language. Older people and economic/finance people generally spoke an educated English, but most anyone under 40 (which was the majority of the population) did not. This means -- as we discussed earlier -- it is more difficult to communicate and to grasp the nuance of what is being said. You do not capture the emotional attachments to language and words as easily. The balance had shifted and you no longer can assume that you clearly understand each other. People like Ariel Sharon were still around, but the founding generation was dying. This was leading to a tidal shift in the cultural alignment.

Q: Did you sense less tolerance for both the Palestinians and the Arab-Israelis?

DEAN: The intifada made everything difficult. Some Israelis were sympathetic to the need for the Palestinians to have a home. There are non-religious Israelis but they are not in control. The way the Knesset is divided parties have representation based on their percentage of the electorate at the last election. This means that small parties, such as the religious minority parties, have considerable power if they form a critical part to make a coalition government. Subsequently, if they are the swing votes needed to make a

coalition, they have an overwhelming impact on the laws of the state and you see the state becoming more religious or religiously controlled. Greater religious control over the everyday aspects of life makes things more difficult for everybody, like not having buses on Saturday. Compound a religious swing vote with acts of violence or terrorism, and it is hard to find people willing to talk to each, other much less compromise.

Q: Did you get any impression about Sam Lewis as ambassador?

DEAN: I overlapped with him for a year as I was leaving in '78. He arrived in May '77 and I left in May '78. I was a baby junior officer. I didn't attract a lot of notice. Ambassador Lewis was responsible, however, for my coming back in 1985, so he must have had some favorable impressions from that year of overlap. He left in May '85 and I did not arrived until August so I did not see him on the return tour.

He was Ambassador for years in Israel and many felt that he was becoming too pro-Israeli to make the best case for U.S. interests. There was always a dynamic tension between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Tel Aviv has the Ambassador, but Jerusalem is an independent reporting post, not accredited to any government. They do not meet with central government officials. They report the views of non-Israelis in Jerusalem and the West Bank; only by reading both sides can you begin to get an understanding of what the dynamic situation is on the ground. Still the government of Israel is in Jerusalem, except for the Ministry of Defense, so Embassy representatives are constantly in Jerusalem.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: I don't know if you ever interviewed him.

Q: I started with Ed Abingdon, who became quite a proponent of the Palestinian cause

DEAN: Yes,

Q: And I've never been able to finish the interview.

DEAN: That's right, he was a Palestinian lobbyist here for a while and then he married a Dutch diplomat and went on assignment with her. He has a Facebook page; I suppose he could be found and come in sometime when he is in the U.S.

I had known Ed a long time because he was the Ambassador's staff aide when I was a junior officer during my first tour in Tel Aviv. As staff aide, he would certainly have stories to tell you.

Of course, you know that the Foreign Service is similar to a small town, but you must run into that all the time.

Q: Some of these things, no, I didn't know about.

DEAN: You are really interviewing all of the members of a small town, who all know each other or know people who know each other. These are people who keep track of each other even if they have not seen one another for 15 years. You must run into that regularly.

Q: Yes, names keep cropping up. You mentioned Beth Jones and this morning I was interviewing John Evans, who was talking about Beth Jones and I'm interviewing Beth Jones.

DEAN: That's a lot of people. The Foreign Service is really a small town and you're just interviewing different residents of that town. Some people die in the town and some people move away from the town but yes, that's basically it.

Q: It's like the "Spoon River Anthology."

DEAN: That's exactly what you've got here.

So anyway, Ed was responsible for stealing me away from Beth and sending me off to Tel Aviv and Sam Lewis. But Sam had left and when I went back in '85 there was a new ambassador. That was Ambassador Thomas Pickering and Mrs. Pickering.

Q: What was your impression of Tom Pickering as ambassador?

DEAN: The man, no matter what you think of him or his implementation of U.S. policy, has absolutely the most astounding memory I've ever known. I've never met anybody whose memory was so all encompassing. He brought Bud Rock from another agency to Tel Aviv to serve as the science attaché and work on the joint U.S.-Israeli Science Foundation. Bud would come back from briefing Pickering about some issue or the other, convinced that Pickering totally understood everything and was his strongest advocate. Bud was just totally blown away. Similarly, if I went down and briefed Pickering on economic issues, he would take over the brief because he truly did know. I didn't think, however, it was because of Pickering's overwhelming interest in economics. He has this all-encompassing brain, which devours information. Knowing him makes me wonder about Pickerings through the ages. He said one time that he had accepted the assignment as Ambassador to India to complete the family cycle. His great-great-great whatever had been the first governor to head the British Raj, the British government in India.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: I gather one strain of Pickerings stayed in England and one strain came to the British colonies in America. His great-great-great-great's signature is on the Declaration of Independence. I gather that individual was the first Secretary of State equivalent, before the U.S. was formally established. So Pickering is a phenomenal person. He's such a big man physically, that he's physically imposing as well as intellectually imposing. Years later when I was head of the senior assignments, I sat on the D Committee where all of the undersecretaries decided what names they're going to send to

the White House as ambassadorial nominees. You know people must have been knocking at his door asking for help. He was very judicious in throwing his support behind a nominee. I was also responsible for pulling together the paperwork to implement his recall to service as Under-Secretary for Political Affairs. One interesting tidbit was that he carefully watched his money. The Department may have owed him $35 and he contacted me, as his personnel officer, because he wanted to make sure that he got his money. He was a harum-scarum driver. He would take off across the sand dunes between Tel Aviv and Herzliya; the one time I rode with him I held my breath the entire way. Sometimes when I was driving on the highway, I would see the dust his van kicked up out on the dunes.

Q: Yes.

Did you see any Middle East solution during this second tour?

DEAN: No, from ’77 to ’85 prospects had just gone steadily downhill. Sadat was dead. The future did not look good. The Intifada was in full force.

Q: Had Rabin been killed by that time?

DEAN: No. He was still alive. Rabin died in November

In July 1986, Papa Bush was vice president and he came to Jerusalem. During his four-day visit to Israel he had talks with Israeli leaders on U.S.-Israel relations, strategic cooperation, the peace process and the role of Palestinians. Bush met Palestinian leaders and expressed optimism that they would be included in future talks. He signed two agreements, one for a Voice of America relay station in the Arava (north of Eilat) and one on increasing tourism.

Because the U.S. vice president is the head of the Senate, the head of the Knesset gave him a dinner, as his counterpart. In reciprocity, VP Bush hosted dinner at the Hilton Hotel for his counterpart. I was made the control officer for this vice presidential response dinner. I think I was appointed because I would not be unduly stressed by having to work closely with Mrs. Pickering, a high energy lady. This was one of the events where she figured prominently in the planning. The arrangements went smoothly; we decided on the caterers, menus, the decorations, etc. Everything was going fine. The night of the event, however, we went downstairs to the dining room to double check last minute details. All the tables were laid out with their table numbers clearly posted on a tall stand in the center of the table, visible to all the guests looking for their assigned seats. In one corner of the room were the TV cameras and in the opposite corner was the podium. Mrs. Pickering became concerned that the little numbers were going to be in the way of the cameras. The cameras could easily see over the numbers but Mrs. Pickering instructed the waiters to take all the numbers away. In one stroke it became impossible for people to find their assigned table, much less their chair.

In the Hilton there is a grand entryway and then a magnificent staircase leading down to the banquet hall. I saw Ariel Sharon come into the room but he could not find his table. He was holding his card with his table number and a seat assignment but he could not find the table because all the numbers had been removed. He started to become seriously angry. He proclaimed loudly there was no seat for him, that he did not have a place to sit, that he was not welcome. I was way across the room but I could see this happening. Sharon stormed out of the room and I'm like a little duck, just "quacking" behind him in his wake. Fortunately I got in front of him before he got to the stairs, because at the top of the stairs was where all the press was. We could not have Ariel Sharon storming out of an official dinner on the front page of the Jerusalem Post. So, I actually laid hands on Ariel Sharon and I turned him around and headed him back into the dining room, saying, "No, no, you don't understand. There is a seat for you. I will take you there." I swooped him back into the dining room and I saw a friend of mine who was the head of the U.S.-Israeli Chamber of Commerce. I think his name was Arye Maklef; he was a young man sitting at a table with no one beside him. I walked up and introduced Ariel Sharon and said he will be joining your table. The two men sat down and started talking.

Fortunately there was an empty table near the wall with a chair for me and could see how Arye and Ariel were doing. They got along like a house afire. It was not just appearances. I followed up with Arye a couple of weeks later and asked him how dinner went. It turns out that Sharon invited Arye down to his farm in the south and they became good buddies over the next couple years. I didn't know how it would work out at the time, but with being alert, taking action, having the right connections, it all worked well.

That was one interesting insight into Sharon. There was another later in the evening.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: For dessert, they had brought each table a large tray of glass, a mirror tinted blue. It was really pretty, and the chef had put little tiny cakes on this glass mirror so that they looked like little water flowers. In the middle of the mirror the pastry chef placed a pure white swan made of spun sugar. The swan was a good size swan, maybe 12 inches tall or so, with a solid body of spun sugar. I was sitting at my table keeping an eye on the blossoming new friendship while I conversed with the guests at my table. What I saw was that, after the guests at the table ate all the little cakes, Sharon proceeded to strip down that swan and eat it. He took the wings off and ate them. We're talking pure sugar; we're talking lumps of sugar. He took the neck and head and ate them. This man was a big man; he ate that whole swan. I would have been sick for weeks but Sharon was fine. But what did I learn from this? This man is rapacious. You do not want to get in this man's way.

Q: He was nicknamed "The Bulldozer." Somebody said he doesn't stop for red lights.

DEAN: He didn't stop; that swan did not slow him down. I thought, ah, right there, right before my eyes was a perfect symbolic vignette of this man's ability to consume whatever was in front of him. I don't think it was greed per se but total self-absorption.

And Mrs. Pickering had no idea how close to disaster she brought that whole dinner just because she changed one little detail of the event.

Q: You left there when? This might be a good place to stop.

DEAN: I left there in 1988. I only stayed three years because my son was a sophomore and extending for a fourth year would have taken him to his senior year in a new school. Generally it is better not to move children between their junior and senior years. So we left in '88.

Nelson was born there, born in an Israeli hospital, Assuta, which is another story. He was two and a half when we came back.

Q: What's the story of the Israeli hospital?

DEAN: When my first son was born in the George Washington University Hospital, I had a collective group of obstetricians. I had not even met everyone in the practice by time I was due, but I did know a few of them. The doctor on duty when I arrived around mid-night was fine, but when I heard the answer to my question of who would be on the next shift, I blanched. I thought, "I have to have this baby before this next doctor comes on duty" because I didn't like her bedside manner. Perhaps she was extremely stern because she had gone to medical school in an era when women had to be super tough to succeed. In that she had succeeded very well. The baby however did not arrive on my desired schedule, so the obstetricians switched. Finally around 10:00 in the morning, the doctor said, "Okay, push."

Epidurals float in your spinal fluid and because I was laying down flat it had drifted all along my spine. I could not get up on my elbows to push. I was numb. I could not lift any part of me but my neck off the table. And I'm saying, "Look, I'm numb from here to here; plus I'm not pain free where it's needed". Rather than lift me up and wait a few minutes, they knocked me out. What happened next was that they put a mask on me, then I was counting backwards from 10, and I was out of it. My being unconscious then required a forceps delivery. I can remember my husband, Jim, coming to visit that evening and asking if I had been to see the baby? Now, it was 6:00 at night, some eight hours later. I said, "Baby, oh, now I remember. That's why I'm here". I was totally knocked out. So I told the Israeli doctor this story, emphasizing that I did not want a repetition of this. I wanted to be there, and be conscious, when this baby was born.

Feb 13 Tom was in Gaza and around noon I started getting symptoms. Clayton had been two weeks late as I had been myself, so I was convinced that Nelson would be three days, maybe even a week, late. Therefore I was working up to my due date, which was February 14, Friday. Thursday however I got inklings that Nelson was not going to wait. Nelson was going to be on time. Sure enough, when I got to the hospital, the doctor said, "You know, we can give you some Pitocin; we'll move this along". I said, "No, no, you don't understand. Tomorrow is February 14; that's his due date so let's not go too fast." I ended up explaining about St. Valentine to this Israeli doctor, who may have heard this

story before but anyway was quite amenable to Nelson arriving in his own time. Sure enough, 1:00, 1:02, 1:05, the doctor says, "Push". The nurse says "Xazak" (strongly), and, with a single strong push, Nelson arrived. It wasn't the 14th in the United States but I think Nelson still counts as a valentine.

Q: It's the 14th wherever

DEAN: Whatever the time zone. So he was actually born on his due date; he is a Valentine baby. He is just a sweetheart; even today at 23 he is still a sweetheart.

Q: Valentine babies are particularly special. You can tell they're cute because I'm one.

DEAN: Are you really?

Q: Yes.

DEAN: Well you're absolutely right.

Q: Yes, absolutely. You know, we're cute; we just can't help it.

DEAN: He's still cute; even at 23, he's a loveable child.

DEAN: Where did I go next? I went to the National Defense University, to the War College.

Q: Okay.

DEAN: That must be '88, '89.

Q: All right.

Okay, today is the 5th of March, 2010, with Margaret Dean. Have you thought of other Israeli stories?

DEAN: There are always lots more Israeli stories. I recall, for example, that when I was getting ready to leave Israel after my first tour I realized that I had never been down into the Negev again after my husband's death. I made myself take one last farewell trip to the Negev. I made several stops. I got out of the car and walked along the ravine where the truck had gone off. The trip served as an unofficial good-bye and helped me come to terms with Jim's death. That was very useful to have done. Several psychiatrists and psychologists I talked to while I was in Israel said that people can incorporate death into their lives with one exception: the death of a child. I was told Israeli mental health practitioners had found in working with the parents of the fallen from the '48 war and onwards that parents survive but they do not heal. The memories go in a box in their heart and stay fresh and painful. For this reason, group therapy where the members can help each other learn to cope does not work well for parents.

Q: That's the sort of thing you can picture it in your mind.

DEAN: Right.

Q: It's not something out there; it's real.

DEAN: It's not quite as abstract. I know when Jim's mother was able to talk about the loss of her son later on she said his death never seemed real to her. In her mind he was still alive. Because of the extensive physical damage, there was a closed casket so she never saw the body. Consequently if she could have had some kind of closure accepting Jim's death might have been useful for her.

With Clayton it was a bit easier. Clayton, who was three when his father died, has had to deal with the death of his father at each developmental stage. This is probably true for any developmental impact in a child's life. They have to 're-understand' it with as their intellectual and emotional facilities develop. And he has had to deal with it differently at each stage. At three, we set up some cars on his wooden, in-door slide, and ran them down the slide. In some cars the people were fine and they went back to their homes. In other cars the people needed medical care and we sent them to the toy hospital. But in one case the person died and we buried him. We put him in a match box and put him under the slide. Those facts satisfied Clayton for a while. Later, he would ask if his father wanted to leave him. I explained that his dad had had no choice; he would have preferred to be with his son, but that was not possible. Later, when we went back to Israel the second time he would ask questions like, "Did I used to go to this ice cream shop? Did my dad take me down on the beach?" He wanted to reconfirm his memories of his close ties with his dad. Because every Saturday morning they would let me sleep late and the two of them would go off and walk along the beach and then afterwards they would go to the ice cream store that was down there. And they met Israelis out taking their morning constitutionals, and in fact there was an old-age home the next street or two over and they used to go by there and talk to all the grandfathers and the grandmothers. To have this little blond three-year-old kid come by and visit was apparently a highlight of their day. Perhaps the unbid assignment to Tel Aviv was fortuitous after all.

So it was a good time but we're leaving Israel and moving on to the War College, right?

Q: All right. You were in the War College from when to when?

DEAN: The National Defense University is one year. I went '88-'89.

Q: All right. What was your impression of the War College when you first went there?

DEAN: I found it a fascinating psychological study. It was intriguing to watch the military because they are the majority and they come from all the different services. And they are mostly guys. There are outliers who are Foreign Service officers or students from other civilian agencies. The non-Foreign Service civilians are from other agencies

including the CIA but there are more Foreign Service officers overall than civilians from the other agencies.

Each entering class is divided into Committees. The staff were careful to assign one woman to each Committee. There were, out of the 12 committees, two that had two women in them. NDU didn't have enough women to go around to assign two to each Committee so each one of us had to carry all the responsibility for representing professional women within her own committee alone. The same careful assignment process ensured that the Foreign Service Officers and the other civilians were equitably divided. There were two Foreign Service officers in each room. Brad Hittle was the other FSO in my Committee.

What did I learn watching the military guys: first they would size up the people in their own service and figure out where they stood relative to that person; what branch whey were in, how long they'd been in, what rank they were, that whole kind of business. Then, for example, with the Navy they would determine whether their service counterparts were submariners, air or sea. The pecking order differs for and in the different specialties. Each service had its own internal ranking, which I didn't know anything about but I quickly learned. Then they would move on to the other services and figure out where relatively - this was all very hierarchical- where the other people stood. And then, finally, by the end of the week or so, they would realize that there were still other people in the room that they hadn't accounted for; then they would address the question of who are these civilians and what were they doing there? ? And slowly they would try to place you in an equivalent hierarchy. Even though rank in person is a military concept, it seemed hard for them to understand that some FSOs might be higher ranking than a person who was the Ambassador.

To me the most interesting thing was that most of the military, who were now charged with moving from a tactical level of dealing with problems to a strategic level of thinking about problems, kept looking for something, somebody, some institution that was the final source; where was policy made and how was policy made and especially how did foreign policy develop in the U.S. government and what was the State Department's role. This whole idea of both a downward impetus (whether it's White House or NSC (National Security Council or Secretary-driven decisions on policy) at the same time that you have percolating up through the system ideas either from people in the field or people on the ground, people in think tanks, etc. about issues, either geographic issues or thematic issues was difficult to comprehend. Human rights policy is one of those issues where you get a top down Carter decision but you also get that subsumed into the institution where it takes on a life of its own and information and recommendations flow upwards. So analyzing the process of policy development does not deliver a nice, neat, salute the flag kind of answer and it left some of them disturbed. The military really wanted to have a clear delineation of how policy developed and who developed it and whom to salute and which direction to march in.

In subsequent years when I would meet Foreign Service officers who were going to the War College, I tried to make a few points. For example I have a friend, Nini Hawthorne

who's going to go to ICAF (Industrial College of the Armed Forces) in the fall of 2010, and I told her, as I have others: you are attending ICAF (or NDU) as much as a teacher as you are as a student. Not only may you be the one opportunity that your military colleagues may have of seriously interacting with a Foreign Service officer and understanding the role of the State Department, but you also need to show them how the whole interagency process works and, more importantly, that it can work. Plus you may need to show them how to bring all these factors to weigh on a particular issue. If Foreign Service Officers attend the War Colleges with that idea (that we're there not only to learn for ourselves and our own little personal envelope but we're there to be a resource and reach out) we can make a difference in the experience our military colleagues have. And in many cases the military officer did make the transition, or rather the leap, from tactical to strategic thinking.

The other thing was, because my father was an Air Force officer, I went -- I don't want to say prejudiced but -- certainly confident that the Air Force people were going to be the best people. Well, the Air Force people were the most conceited. They made a mark but it wasn't the mark I had anticipated. On the other hand, the Marine Corps, the officers that the Marine Corps sent were truly some of their very best. They were fine minds; they worked hard and they were very personable. In some cases one or two gave me their papers to read over. Foreign Service folks write; they can write quickly, and concisely because they do it all the time. Nearly everyone in the military had a much harder time writing. They had been operational most of their career and not tasked with turning out reams of paper on short deadlines on abstract issues. Since I read some of the papers drafted by Marines and watched their presentations and discussions in class I am comfortable saying that the Marine contingent was really just a notch better.

Q: I've heard this again and again and again. Not all but I've talked to many people. I don't know whether the Marine Corps has to deal with a greater variety of problems. I mean, they don't have- it's not just fly an airplane or steer a ship; they have to be ready to deal with situations on the ground. It's a small Corps, but by the time they reach the top it's a selected group and people who get to the colonel level in the Marine Corps…

DEAN: Are really competitive.

Q: Yes. It's interesting because you know, I think that most people in the Foreign Service and the public would think Marine Corps are a bunch of gung ho people who do nothing but charge up hills and…

DEAN: Charge without thinking; the perception is that they just follow orders.

Q: You know, they just do it. Whereas it just ain't so.

DEAN: It was not so in the first hand examples I saw.

Q: At least by that time the ones selected for the War College…..

DEAN: Were really top notch; I was very impressed by those guys. And it's interesting because years later I went on a trip with the Senior Seminar to Camp Pendleton and we had lunch with a bunch of the new recruits. We could see that the Marines were bringing in people from very diverse backgrounds, people who have had very ragged educations, many lacked much self-discipline, and yet the Marines had to motivate these people and get them dedicated and get them focused in one direction. I was just impressed. They were doing a great job.

Q: Yes. Well, somebody I was just talking to very recently said in the Marine Corps a Marine officer is brought up that officers eat last; they take care of their men first and they really have to be people people.

DEAN: I remember we met the great-great-great grandson of Robert E. Lee in Jerusalem at the Marine Ball one year. He was a Marine but, because he didn't quite meet the height level, the minimum standard requirement (he was about a half an inch short of meeting the height requirement) they made a special exception for him. He was an amazing guy. Not just charming, but intellectually an amazing guy. It was a pleasure to talk to him about different ideas.

Q: I met an Army officer, George Armstrong Custer III or something like that in Vietnam.

DEAN: Obviously Custer's Last Stand was not a Darwinian experience, since he'd already left his genes behind him.

Q: No, I think he'd taken care of his….

DEAN: Inheritance.

Q: his conjugal visits prior to going out.

Well, was there any issue that dominated in particular the military thinking at the time?

DEAN: The military was going purple at that point

Q: Yes, this was the Goldwater-Nichols Act.

DEAN: Right. The military had just introduced this idea of compulsory inter-service cooperation. Officers were digesting the need to have a number of assignments in a purple seat as well as blue or green or whatever their service was, to advance in their careers. They were talking about it; how is this going to work or it can't work, or it will work but only if X happens. That fierce debate was going on. My impression was that most officers (no matter which service) were fairly uncomfortable with the concept.

At the same time within the Soviet Union there was all that change going on. No one knew quite what the outcome would be. I actually got The Navy League Award for Excellence in Research and Writing for thinking about changing parameters. The paper

was titled: “Some International Elements of Perestroika and U.S. National Security.” The concept was an examination of how to help Russia join the World Bank and the IMF (International Monetary Fund). Essentially assuming it is in our national interest to have the new states of the former USSR, and especially Russia, join the major international financial institutions, what should we do? They need to become partners in the global economy and to participate in these fora to help stabilize the world economy. Unfortunately these countries did not meet the criteria for membership so the question was what kinds of steps would be necessary before they would be able to assume a full partnership. What steps should we take; should we recommend changes within the structures of these organizations?

These two events unlinked in cause, but joined in time, challenged us to think about a vastly changing world. We had the internal event changing the military, all the ground shifting under their feet; at the same time we had external change on the international level, with the major changes in Russia and the former USSR.

Q: You were there when?

DEAN: It was from August of ’88 to the spring of ’89.

Q: So it was really before the Berlin Wall fell.

DEAN: Correct. But it’s right while the turmoil was rising; the ferment was increasing.

Q: Was Vietnam and our involvement there a subject of discussion?

DEAN: Only in a historical sense, as a lesson, a perspective on what we should have done differently. The military and the teachers were much more concerned about what then was called asymmetrical warfare. The military and strategists were certainly beginning to look at all the terrorist movements. Looking at asymmetrical warfare requires new ways of thinking of conflict and how to prosecute military actions. What happens? How can we be effective? What is the equipment base? What kind of personnel do we need? What should be their skills? Are the big weapons no longer going to work in an asymmetrical theater? How do we fight the two and a half war at the same time? All of those kinds of questions were just beginning to gestate at that time.

Q: Did you find our commitment to Israel at all under discussion?

DEAN: Hmm. I don’t think I took any classes in that particular field. I had the impression our military always assumed that we’re going to continue to support Israel. There were discussions amongst the students about why we did that. These discussions may have been rooted initially in questions about how does foreign policy develop? How did we get where we are? How do we have this policy, what sense does it make? Is it in our long-term interest? But I don’t remember that being a specific issue.

Q: What were you aiming for after you graduated from NDU?

DEAN: During the early parts of the assignment students visit different bases and different camps and look at the different services and how they're put together. Towards the end of the session students take an international trip. Each student provides a rank order list of the places they would like to go. At that point Japan was one of the tigers of the economic world, and I had never been to Japan or to Korea. Consequently even though I threw my hat in the ring for China, someplace where I had neither experience nor any background, I chose Japan and Korea for second place. I hoped to get lucky on China, but I was perfectly happy to go to Korea and Japan. That was where I was assigned. The visit showed the predominant American influence in Korea. Once on the ground it was easy to see how the strategic conflict between the two Koreas (and by extension us) is measured in physical terms. You go to the border, not far from Seoul, and look over and you see North Korea. When you go down in the tunnels you see the North Koreans have been digging under the border there.

We went into one room at a U.S. military base. It was just like being in a movie where they have thousands of screens on the walls and all of these young kids are sitting there monitoring all these screens. This was some time ago, in Spring of '89, and the major who was taking us around said, "You know, these kids can do things that we (older folks) can't do. They can move all these keys and screens. They monitor all these situations and control all of the hand controls that are necessary. They multi-task without thinking about it. Those demands would drive older staff crazy." We agreed that perhaps playing video games was good preparation for teens to have a job in the real world. Of course nowadays, since most of us have fairly rapid computers we are used to the concept. Despite our age we are pretty good at multi-tasking quickly. My husband, who is retired, for example, at home, will conduct three or more operations; he'll have a movie playing, he may have music, he's got the screen that he's working on and he's got a second computer sitting beside him that's searching for information on pre-Roman Carthage. Now he has added an I-pad to the mix. Maybe it's not as stunning today but at that time (1989) when they were monitoring all of these interchanges with the North Koreans of where ships and planes were and a multiplicity of radar systems and all kinds of tracking systems it was impressive.

Another place we visited in Korea in addition to the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) was the Daewoo Motor Company to see the automated automobile plant. Later we went to the Korean National Museum, visited the Korean National Defense College, and consulted with the Korean Institute for Defense Analyses (KIDA). The same way in Japan; we tried to balance economic, cultural and defense elements in our week-long visit. We had a cultural day in Kyoto, visited the Canon factory, had meetings at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), held discussions with Keidanren, the Japanese Business Federation, and of course we spent time on defense issues at the National Institute for Defense Studies.

Q: You were getting ready in '89, the summer of '89, to leave; did you have any idea where you were going?

Before we shift to the next segment, I would like to mention that our War College Class (only NWC, not all of NDU) still meets on the first Thursday of every month at Fort McNair Officers' Club. I probably attend 3-4 times a year, and you never know who is going to be there. If people are in the area, they will drop in. We had both a 10th year reunion (but I was in Rome) and we had a 20th reunion in October 2009. I think we had about 50 students there, along with some of the instructors. People came from as far away as Japan and Europe. It was a four-day event, with something for everyone. One of our last standing officers was the head of the Air Force and lived in one of the senior houses at Ft. Myer. He hosted us on Sunday to the Strolling Strings of the Air Force so we had a great finale to our reunion. And the weather was absolutely gorgeous. At one of the recent First Thursdays we actually had an East and a West site, with the skiing group joining the DC group by Skype.

Q: That was interesting. Thank you. To return to your next assignment?

DEAN: I went to the Office of Career Development in HR where I was the director of assignments for the Middle East, for the Bureau of Political-Military Affairs (PM), for the Nuclear Risk Reduction Coordinators, and for the 7th floor staffers. I spent two years doing that. During that time we had several inspections and I organized the week-long training for officers new to CDA. I worked for Ambassador Clyde Taylor; I don't know if he's come and talked to you.

Q: Yes, I've interviewed Clyde. We deal with him quite often because he is the head of the Cox Foundation.

DEAN: That's right.

Q: Now, I was in personnel once as part of the centralized personnel system. There's always this, I won't say clash, but different approach between centralized career development and assignments and the geographic bureaus. How stood the situation when you were there?

DEAN: There was always a dynamic tension. Essentially I was regarded as an NEA person by the Bureau. My relationship, particularly with Executive Director and the deputy assistant secretaries, was congenial. They included me as part of their team, which I was to a large degree. My job was to fill their positions, unless it was a violation of a personnel rule. My question to myself was: how do I make these assignments happen for them? Making things happened for NEA was by and large the way it was. This was at the time of the first Iraq war. Filling positions on the 7th floor, i.e., for senior management at the Under-Secretary level, was in many ways much easier because more exceptions were allowed.

Q: Yes, well they had moved

DEAN: To '89 to '91.

Q: Kuwait was invaded the first of August '89.

DEAN: Right. We however did not launch a counter-attack until months later. In that window we evacuated 30 of our 36 NEA posts. I ended up being responsible for getting a lot of people either temporarily or permanently reassigned because we had to bring all those people out of there, and find meaningful work for them. At the same time we knew that we were going to have to staff those posts back up at some time in the future. We had to work hand-in-glove with the geographic bureau to make sure that the forward assignments happened. It was difficult and I was pleased my efforts were recognized with a Superior Honor Award.

Q: From your perspective how well did we take care of the people because of these evacuations? I've talked to many people who were caught up in this and it was very difficult. In the first place you have to determine who's essential and who's not. Then once you evacuate employees, people move away for a little while. Then you have to move them back. You're yanking people, kids out of a place. You're putting them in temporary quarters; it's very disruptive.

DEAN: It's very disruptive, definitely. And as the head of the assignment office I was only focusing on the officer or the specialist who was being moved; I didn't have to concern myself about the fallout with the families, children and pets. The Executive Directors, the Family Liaison Office (FLO), and the receiving posts had to deal with those problems. But you frequently end up seeking exceptions to rules in order to make the necessary accommodations; either somebody's going to stay longer than their tour or they need to curtail or they need to have a special arrangement because of their family. Usually families had to be evacuated back to the States. I think maybe it's coming out of this evacuation experience that senior management decided they would allow alternate relocation sites. Thus if you had married an Italian your spouse could decide that she wanted to take the kids and go live with her mother and father for six months; we started getting exceptions to do things that made sense, especially if they were cost effective. Alternate sites (outside the U.S.) can be less expensive and much easier on the nuclear family to have critical extended family support in time of crisis.

Q: I've interviewed many people; one of them was Chas Freeman, who was our ambassador to Saudi Arabia. And Chas, it's in his oral history, said that one of the things that disturbed him was that most of the staff performed beautifully but there were some people, a few Americans, who essentially panicked and wanted to get out. He felt that if they did that they should be moved out of the Service because when push came to shove they weren't there. He felt that the overall personnel system tended to coddle them. Can you comment on that?

DEAN: I don't think it's coddling so much as the Department is concerned about keeping people in the Service, about not losing a resource, about helping people cope. There's probably more discussion about post-traumatic stress syndrome now…

Q: This is before anybody had it happen to them.

DEAN: But people get stressed even before events. I certainly have found that to be true. Fearful anticipation stresses some people inordinately. Anyway, you basically try to keep people in the Service. I suppose between grievances and AFSA, and one thing and another you've got to have a very good reason why this person should be removed from the Service. It's not something the system takes lightly.

Q: You are pointing to a real difficulty. Let's put it in blunt terms because we've all learned to make excuses. If you're in a stressful job, which the Foreign Service is, and if somebody turns out to be yellow should they be kept on? This means you've got a weak link and you are supporting somebody who maybe shouldn't be supported.

DEAN: If you're asking me on a personal level, I definitely think those people should move into the Civil Service or stay at home or do something else. If you're asking me as part of the system, legally that's just very hard to do. We will be in court or we would be before the grievance board or we will be tied up in knots doing that. You can see this today, since I'm still working in HR, in the erosion of the requirement for medical clearances for worldwide availability. The courts and the systems are chipping away at that requirement so that we are starting to take in people with a medical clearance of class two; they can only go certain places. And as we do that we will end up eroding the Service because you'll have a two tier Service; people who are truly worldwide available and people who can only serve in certain places. That means world-wide people have to pick up the work in difficult posts, take those assignments, because of the folks who cannot serve in some posts. If we send people out with medical diagnoses but they're not going to be able to handle the job, who does the job? You send a medically restricted person out and how can they go handle that airplane crash as a consular officer? They might not be able to do it. They've got to have somebody go with them.

Q: Basically do their job.

DEAN: Basically somebody who's backing them up has to do the job. For example, HIV is no longer a medical condition; it is a handicap. Once that determination was decided the organization had to include HIV in making reasonable accommodations for handicapped people. That means if, for example, they have to go get medical support, say they have to go see their doctor every three months, they have to pay for that. Nonetheless the employee is assigned in Santiago, or Haiti, or Japan, and they go for their medical back to the States for their three-month check.

Q: They have to go back to the States?

DEAN: Well it depends; "back to the States' is just for this example. Someone in North Africa might have to go to Europe; different employees have different requirements. But my point is if they're not at post, or they can't get back to post and they can't do their job, somebody else has to pick up their job. That multiplies when things unexpectedly fall apart. Hurricane, earthquake, tsunami, radiation leaks are all unexpected. We're moving more and more in this direction so the trend that you heard Chas talking about is only

starting to grow. It's going to get bigger and worse before it finally brings the system down and a major overhaul has to be done. Still it is difficult to argue with a court decision in favor of the employee, even if it undercuts Service discipline.

Q: The Middle East; almost all the assignments in the Middle East are difficult assignments, aren't they?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: How did you find it? Were you getting enough recruits for the jobs?

DEAN: Basically we didn't have anywhere near the problems that occurred in the lead up to the increased hiring of Powell's Diplomatic Readiness Initiative (DRI). Before DRI our numbers had dropped so much, we were seriously understaffed in posts around the world. We had, by and large, a good fill rate on assignments. There were some hard to fill. In some of the Saudi positions we would end up doing stretches; you might stretch an 01 into a senior position, which would never be approved elsewhere. Or we might need a language waiver. I think at one point I arranged to have an 02 stretched into a senior econ position, which is really not fair to the employee and it's not fair to the people they supervise. It's not fair to the system but it's better than the post taking a gap.

Q: Why would Saudi Arabia be particularly difficult to fill?

DEAN: Well, you gotta love 'em. Life there is difficult and it's hard to get people to go. In particular it's hard to get people to go at grade. It is especially difficult to get senior officers to see an econ or political counselor position as career enhancing. There are nicer places to live, easier languages, better job prospects, or enhanced career prospects for people so employees don't bid on those difficult positions.

Q: Saudi Arabia is important so why wouldn't the economic counselor be as important for career advancement as say in India?

DEAN: Why wouldn't it be as career enhancing? I could not say. It was certainly the perception of at-grade bidders that it wasn't as career enhancing. Historically by the time I was there that job had routinely been filled by an FS-01, even though it was listed as a senior job. So once bidders notice that officers filling these positions were FS-01s and they didn't get promoted to be senior even though they're filling a senior position, other potential bidders draw their own conclusions.

Q: Did you have a problem in being able to reward people? Let's say it had been a difficult job in Tel Aviv or Syria or something, could you get them a nice job in Europe or something as a breathing space or did you find that Europe, EUR, was a no go zone?

DEAN: I was in HR/CDA as an assignment officer; I wasn't there as a representative of any individual. I was there as a representative of the bureau. At that time assignment officers and counselors were different people. They had different constituencies. Then

there was a period when assignment officer functions and counselor functions merged and then they were separated again. So my job in this assignment was to fill all NEA, PM, the NRRC, and seventh floor positions. Counselors had the job of finding those people onward assignments and so as long as they were at one of my posts or bidding on one I worried about them. Once they left I stopped worrying about them. But yes, it was difficult. There was at that time no linkage to other bureaus. NEA would take care of its own. NEA was regarded as one of the mother bureaus because it was caring and supportive of people it regarded as its own, but that didn't mean finding them a job in Europe. Caring meant finding them a job at a nicer place, like Morocco.

Even now, with the Iraq and the Afghanistan assignments linked to an employee's top choices, there are complaints. Some supervisors are saying that because these people come for just one year, and they know they're going on to Istanbul or Paris or someplace neat, they are really not there for the post. Many supervisors find a linked assignment tomorrow distracts employees from the work today. So even now that there is a system to link assignments, supervisors are finding it has drawbacks.

Q: Were you there during the Gulf War….

DEAN: During the first Gulf War.

Q: Did that cause any great disruptions? You had the evacuation but were you able to get officers or was this a problem?

DEAN: Having everybody evacuated out of NEA. Yes, essentially those posts closed down for safety and security reasons and, as you pointed out, you have children breaking school assignments and ending up in new schools. The children didn't have any idea where they were and their mothers had no idea how long they would be away from home. At that point we had some tandems but generally one of the parents would leave post with the children and the other one would stay at post, whether it was the husband or the wife. That split has only become more pronounced over time as we get more and more tandems, and more and more women in essential positions.

Q: Usually if you are in personnel, and I still call it personnel; how they came up with human resources, I don't know. To me it sounds like you are dealing with a mechanistic rather than a warm and fuzzy system.

DEAN: More impersonal. And when Marc Grossman came up with "the best serving the best" as a slogan for HR (human relations) without consulting anybody in the ranks who had to be that best serving everyone, not just the best, it caused a lot of consternation.

Q: I spent my time in personnel and for my effort I ended up with the plum post of consul general in Saigon in the middle of a war. But tell me, what did you want to do and where did you want to go?

DEAN: At that point? in the '90s?

Q: Yes.

DEAN: What did I want to do and where did I want to go? Well, I had restrictions imposed on me since I had no medical clearance for my daughter.

I have two sons. I had one son with my first husband, one son with my second husband and I wanted a little girl. So we adopted a child from Colombia. That took a while because the agency initially identified a child for us whose mother never came back and signed the final release forms. Since Nelson was four or five, we wanted a little girl around two years old. So after the opportunity to adopt this other child, Marisol, had vanished, the agency looked for another little girl. Then my husband called me up one day and told me "They have a new child for us". And I said, "Oh, good. When was she born?" And he said "August 26". I said "what year?" He said "This year". This was August, so it was clear to me that she was a baby. I said, "We didn't ask for a baby; I'm not ready to do that." He said, "I already told them yes and I will do everything." I said, "What?" He said, "Yes, I'm going to take paternity leave and I am going to stay home and do the midnight feedings." He was so excited. That fact that he was off by a month and Andrea had really been born a month earlier was immaterial.

With that, we adopted Andrea. The two of us went to Bogotá and we filled out all the papers, completed all the forms, and saw everybody we needed to see. We spent the week with Ted Cubbison, who was the Consul General in Bogotá; we had the baby in our care for the week. Everything was fine. We took the baby out of the orphanage because they had various contagious diseases, including chicken pox. Since it takes awhile for the papers to go through the various court processes, we boarded Andrea with a family recommended by the orphanage and returned to the U.S. The adoption agency calls you when your baby is ready to be adopted. Only one parent has to go back at that point. Since I spoke Spanish I signed up to do that. Many of the European adopting parents just stay in country with the baby for the six weeks or eight weeks that the processing of the adoption application takes. When the adoption agency called I returned to Bogotá the first week in November. I picked up Andrea first thing and the family told me "She's had a sore throat with some kind of infection, but she's okay now".

I stayed with Ted Cubbison again. He was a single male as well as the consul general. He had nothing in his house at all to do with children. I had this baby and, when I felt her head, she felt hot to me. I asked Ted: "Does this baby feel hot to you?" He had no idea whether the baby felt hot or not. I thought she had a little fever so the next day I took her to a doctor. She was a little bit sick with a slight temperature. Every morning I would do the paperwork necessary for the adoption. I was guided by the adoption agency's facilitator, getting the new birth certificate (in Colombia only the adopting parents' names show on the birth certificate), picking up the court order, and obtaining a Colombian passport, etc. Then every afternoon I would take Andrea to a doctor. One day we did stool samples. Then the next day we did urine samples. Then we did blood samples; every day we would check something else. Every day Andrea got sicker and sicker and sicker. On Thursday we were scheduled to go to the embassy recommended

doctor for the medical clearance needed for her to get an immigrant visa. The doctor told me that Andrea was fine. I knew she was not fine. Her temperature by Thursday was running 104, 105. I was every night putting her in cold baths; I dosed her with baby aspirin. I had found infant hydrating solution locally, after initially making my own. I was just doing everything I could to keep this child's temperature down. She was not sleeping. I was not sleeping. And on Friday I thought Andrea had fallen into a coma when she was not having convulsions. I mean she was twitching. So I went back to the same American embassy recommended local doctor and I told him that she was really, really sick. And he said no, she's fine, she'll be all right.

Now by this time her back was curved in an arch backwards, which I've discovered is due to the pressure in the spinal column. Because of the pressure the backward arch is the least painful way for somebody with spinal meningitis to react. The fontanel in her head (remember, she was only three months old) was all swollen. I could see this. I didn't know what it meant at the time but subsequently I learned it was an indicator of spinal meningitis. Because we had been scheduled to get the immigrant visa to the U.S. on Friday, I asked Ted to help me and Andrea leave the country on Saturday. He arranged through the consular section to change my airline tickets, which in itself was amazing because that week-end was both a Colombian and a U.S. holiday. For the second time in my life I was, thankfully, the recipient of excellent American Citizen Services assistance. I left with Andrea on Saturday. Tom and Nelson had flown down to Tampa, Florida, to my mother's house and the four of us were supposed to reune and go back to Washington as a new family. Nice plan; poor execution.

I've always believed that babies should be carried or swaddled up close to you; you should not be putting them in plastic containers. But I was really, really, really sorry that I didn't have one of those plastic seats because every time I would touch Andrea it would hurt her. If I did anything, just move her from one place to another, she would scream. She was obviously in a lot of pain. So we landed in Miami, went through immigration and transferred to the flight to Tampa. We arrived at my mother's house in a perilous state. I told Tom and my mother that Andrea was really sick. My mother thought she was just sleeping. I was sure she was in a coma. She had just been inert for almost two days, except when she was twitching. So my mother said, "You can either take her to the little local medical unit here that's a couple blocks away or you can go downtown to St. Joseph's. They have a big pediatric unit." So off we went to St. Joseph's. When we walked into this emergency room in Tampa, Florida, it appeared there were 400 people already there. I thought, "This is the medical option of last resort or first resort for any indigent person in Tampa, Florida. We are going to be here forever."

Well, that was not what happened. You sign in when you first arrive and the assistants triage waiting patients right away. As soon as they had taken Andrea's vital statistics she was out of there; she went to the head of the line. They put her in a room; they brought in -- because this was a Sunday now -- they summoned their pediatrician on call; they beeped their pediatric neurologist; they called several doctors in to look at this child. And they're asking me all these questions: "How long has she had this fever; when was she sick, what's her medical history?" I had only had her for five days. Because she had been

so sick I had not had any sleep for the last four days. I mean even if I had known the answers to their questions I'm not sure I could have responded coherently. They asked me, "Does she have HIV?" I said, "She's three months old, how would she have HIV?" That shows how much I knew about the transmission of HIV but in any case they said no, no, not HIV, HIB, which is Haemophilus Influenzae Type B. HIB is the primary cause of spinal meningitis in babies and there is now a vaccine for it. In fact there was a vaccine for it about six months after Andrea came to the States. She was just born six months too early. Andrea asked me once. "Why didn't I get the vaccination?" I said "Because they didn't have it when you were born". HIB, before the vaccine, was the primary cause of deafness in children in the United States.

The nurses put her in isolation because HIB is a contagious disease. I did a lot of research on spinal meningitis to discover that it's just a description of a condition. It can be any infection that crosses the meninges and enters the spinal fluid. The infection creates a lot of swelling, putting pressure on and eventually damaging the nerves in the spinal column. The infection can come from anything. It can come from a social disease; it can come from flu. It can be viral or bacterial. That meant that until the doctors got the results from the spinal tap they did not know what the cause was. To be safe the medical community treats the patient for both viral and bacterial possibilities. They administer antibiotics in case it is bacterial. At the same time they treat all the symptoms; they have to keep the temperature down and they have to keep the child hydrated, administer painkillers, in case the cause is viral. The tests take about four or five days and the source in Andrea's case turned out to be bacterial and was HIB. Bacterial meningitis generally kills the person because, as the immune system becomes overwhelmed and collapses, all kinds of other infections take over. Andrea had infections in her bones, in her hips; she had thrush; she had all kinds of gastro infections going on at the same time. She lost a third of her body weight. She was quite sick. Your great-grandmother could have had meningitis and survived. If the causative agent was viral and if the doctor treated the symptoms, she might have survived and you would be here today. If it had been bacterial you would not be around.

Andrea remained in the hospital 28 days and then they would not let her leave Tampa for another week or two. St. Patrick's allows rooming in with sick children. With Tom in Tampa, we traded days in the hospital; he would take one 24-hours shift and I would take the next one. Whichever parent was off took care of Nelson and stayed at my mother's house. I had time on my 'free' days to go to the library and read about what causes spinal meningitis. Now I could look it up on the internet.

But I'm still angry; I'm still very, very angry at the doctor in Bogotá because he should have at least said to me, "It looks like she's okay and she can go to the States, but when you get there have her checked out". He said nothing. I mean the man had to have known she was ill. Perhaps he thought I would abandon her. Perhaps he realized that since what she had was contagious that she would not be allowed to enter the U.S., if he told me. Intending immigrants cannot enter the U.S. with a contagious disease. Still he was lucky she did not die.

Q: But I'm just thinking here you are on an airplane. I mean today they shut down the whole airline practically.

DEAN: They would have. If anybody had known how sick she was, we never would have been allowed on that airplane. She probably would have died in a Colombian hospital because they certainly were not able to diagnose her condition on the Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday that I was taking her to the doctors. I tried different doctors; I had two or three doctors there. Perhaps they thought I was a hysterical American. What could be farther from reality? I had had children. I spoke Spanish; I was speaking to them in Spanish. I have experience with what is a normal healthy baby and with sick babies. Being brushed off was extremely irritating. But then the last doctor really made me angry because he was so dismissive. And wrong. Maybe he was afraid that if I knew how sick she was I would abandon her. That's the only thought that reaches out for the grace of God to be generous to this man, because he just about killed her by not telling me to take her to the hospital immediately. I could have gotten her to the hospital hours and hours earlier, if I had known.

This is all by the way of telling you that Andrea lost her medical clearance before she ever got one because she's deaf, mostly. She has some residual hearing in her right ear but she has no hearing in her left ear; she's profoundly deaf in her left ear. Of course people see the hearing aid in the right ear so they talk to the left ear because they think she can hear with that ear. Unfortunately that ear is totally useless. She did not have the medical clearance necessary to go overseas and that circumscribed my ability to think about different options when I was trying to choose which amazing country I'd like to go to next.

Q: Why would a deaf child be an impediment to go overseas?

DEAN: According to the medical authorities a child who is learning to speak who's deaf should concentrate on one language. They should not be exposed to multiple languages and multiple sounds that they can't hear and interpret. I'm just telling you what I was told, not that I believe it.

Q: Okay, the recording is not picking up my skeptical look.

DEAN: Yes. All I can tell you is that's what we were told. Even when we eventually did get a class two medical clearance for her I still had to find a post that would provide MED's prescribed accommodations for her. They wanted changes like carpeting in the room, curtains on the wall, to deaden background noise; they wanted a dedicated American Sign Language interpreter. The list MED gave me had about 25 accommodations that they required

Q: Sounds like a bureaucratic nightmare.

DEAN: It was. You have a limited clearance, which means you are restricted in where you can go. MED however does not coordinate with the assignments people in CDA.

You have to build your own list of possible assignments and then work with MED to determine if they meet the criteria. MED says you can't serve in places that don't provide the specified accommodations but they don't tell you where those places are. You have to find them yourself. So I ended up negotiating with several overseas schools when we finally we able to obtain a class two medical clearance for Andrea. She was in second grade. What I did was made movies of her in different situations. I have a movie clip of her in religion class and I have another of her making brownies one day out of a mix, where I'm talking to her and she's talking to me and we're showing how well she follows instructions. I packaged six or eight vignettes on one DVDs and sent them to various schools.

Q: It would be probably tape.

DEAN: Tape.

Q: VCR.

DEAN: VCRs, right, thank you. I put them on VCR tape and I sent them to schools where the Embassy had an economic position for me. In talking to the school in Madrid I found that they initially had said yes, we can probably handle this. I sent off the tape, I sent off all the information about Andrea and the school authorities come back and say 'Oh, we can't do this.' And I asked, "Well, did you look at the tape?" They said, "Oh no, we didn't want to look at the tape because that might influence our decision." And I'm thinking, "Yes, that's exactly why I sent the tape, so you could make a considered judgment based on your observations of Andrea."

Meanwhile the international school in Rome had come back initially and said, "Well, we don't think we can provide the necessary modifications, but send us the material and we'll take a look at it." And they came back and said, "Yes, we really loved the video. Yes, we can work with this child; we can do this". So I was forced to go to Rome instead of Madrid. That's ahead of my story.

Q: No, no, but while we're on this, it was your first husband who was killed in the truck accident?

DEAN: Right.

Q: Who was your second husband and what's his background?

DEAN: My second husband's name is Tom Wukitsch and I met him when I was the desk officer for Israel after I came back from Israel. As I may have mentioned to you, I was assigned to that job because nobody else in the office of five people had ever been to Tel Aviv or ever been to Israel. I was their ground truth person. Tom had been assigned to Jerusalem; he was going to take a TDY (temporary duty) assignment in Damascus for six months to make the timing work with the officer he was replacing. So he came by the Israeli desk (NEA/IAI) to get the in-country briefing from me. I gave him his briefing and

off he went to Damascus and then Jerusalem. I completed my tour with NEA/IAI and I went to Economics training. As the desk officer for Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE I went on an orientation trip to the Gulf and I visited the countries in my portfolio. I had arranged, because I'd never been to Jordan or over the Allenby Bridge before, to return to the U.S. via Jordan/Jerusalem. Jordan supplied considerable military training to the Gulf States. As part of the official travel I needed to talk to various military contacts there and to the Embassy Amman pol-mil officer. After those consultations I went over the Allenby Bridge, and up to Jerusalem. I was staying with Jock Covey, the deputy Consul General, and his family but Tom has remembered me from the Israeli desk and appointed himself my control officer. He spent the whole day taking me all around Jerusalem. Fortunately it was a Saturday. The next day I went to Tel Aviv and returned to Washington.

Later, several years later, Tom completed his assignment in Jerusalem and he was assigned to INR, our bureau of Intelligence and Research. He did several tours on the Near East portfolio in INR NESA and a tour on European affairs in INR EUR during his career. Right after his Jerusalem assignment, he was covering Lebanon. He was invited to some NEA Christmas parties. I met him at one of these parties and, after a few moments, we remembered where we had met each other. We had a nice time and went out once or twice more. Maybe we went to the Kennedy Center one night, but then he disappeared. I didn't see or hear from him again. Later I learned Lebanon had gone to hell in a hand basket and it turned out Tom was working 24/7 and actually sleeping in the command center on the seventh floor. Apparently many of the Lebanon analysts had been killed when the embassy in Beirut was blown up and Tom was doing double and triple duty.

Q: Yes, the CIA and the other agency analysts

DEAN: Right. Tom has told me he was the last man standing on the Lebanon intelligence side and the Department just shackled him to the desk there in INR. Apparently for a short while he generated most of the Intelligence Community's analyses about Lebanon. Eventually that workload was redistributed and he was allowed to return home. In the fall of 1984 he joined my carpool. Today, he says this was part of his master plan to get to know me better, but I have my doubts. In any case, I was oblivious to all this. He joined the carpool in September 1984 and we got married the first of February, 1985. He went to my son's soccer games. I figured any man who is willing to stand in the rain and watch Clayton play soccer probably had some good points. Tom was a political officer his entire career and he retired the day we went to Rome, August 14, 1998.

Q: All right. Well, let's cover while you were in Washington.

DEAN: Right.

Q: Up to '98, we've covered HR/CDA (Career Development and Assignments) and the Gulf War. What happened after that? Obviously you remained in Washington because of your daughter.

DEAN: Yes, I remained in Washington.

Q: But what were you doing?

DEAN: After I left HR/CDA/NEA and Middle East assignments I ran the 24-hour/day INR Watch. At that point the office was a big, big office, where I supervised 22 people and an additional 14 when the Director of Intelligence Support was away. Since the Director had been seconded to another agency and never returned, that acting position was really another full-time responsibility. I also was the INR contact for crisis management.

The INR Watch was not like I understand it is today, much smaller with more restricted visibility. The seventh floor watch people were upstairs and alerted principals to world events in real time. The INR watch also reported breaking news events, but was responsible for assembling the analysis and interpretation of those events, drawing on intelligence gathered from various sources. The two Watches operated fairly independently of each other. There was an internal stairway to go up and down if need be. Together with a host of third tour officers, there was a group of Civil Service employees. That mix of different Foreign Service career tracks with various Civil Service employees is probably what got me promoted. If the threshold for promotion into the senior ranks is because the officer is managing a diverse workforce under stringent conditions, such as running an operation 24 hours a day with multiple shifts, then the INR Watch was indeed a great proving ground. It certainly made running an econ section of six people, six economic officers, seem like a snap. Most econ officers are basically motivated the same way; they basically think the same kind of thoughts. Even if they don't agree with each other they understand what the other person is saying. Not true in the Watch situation. In the Watch there were all the different career tracks, a veritable mix of officers, some more senior, some less so, highly experienced Civil Service employees, vegetarians and omnivores (given the need to eat at your desk this is not a point to be taken lightly); there were some people from other agencies. There was every type of Meyers-Briggs personality profile. The Watch was a real polyglot operation and it all ran fairly well. Not having been overseas since my last promotion I was totally surprised to be promoted to OC but it happened on the Watch.

As the Chief of the Current Intelligence Staff (INR/CIS), the formal name of the Watch, I had to provide substantive and analytical guidance to Watch standers to help them fulfill their warning and alerting responsibilities. One of my efforts involved bringing the Watch more fully into the computer age. While INR was ahead of most of the Department in the use of computer technology, we were well behind the leading intelligence agencies. Since INR deals extensively through classified channels with all the intelligence community, we seriously needed to upgrade our capabilities. Fortunately over two years of begging, borrowing and stealing (well, threatening to steal) we were able to improve our reach greatly. One obvious concern was to ensure a fail-safe power supply system, something that we also managed to do. I also managed to expand our recruitment outreach by getting an article or two into the *State Magazine*.

After the Watch, I became the office director of Arabian Peninsula Affairs (NEA/ARP). I told you I had been in ARP as the desk officer for Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (UAE); I came back to manage the relationship with all seven countries: Saudi, Bahrain, Qatar, the UAE, Oman, Yemen and, Kuwait. The relationship had evolved, but economic and defense ties had remained strong. In my first year in ARP we orchestrated a visit for then-Commerce Secretary Ron Brown to the region. Separately we convinced the Transportation Secretary Pena to make three stops in the region that were productive. We were able to overcome a two-year gap in having an Ambassador in Saudi Arabia by having a strategy of letters and telephone calls between President Clinton and King Fahd. Separately we had to deal with Qatar's contacts with Iran and Cuba, Oman's ire over our unilateral termination of our economic assistance portion of our Military Basing Agreement, Bahrain's efforts to avoid kicking the Libyans out of their banking system in the face of our sanctions, as well as the UAE's difficulties with our much desired Defense Cooperation Agreement. Nonetheless in my second year in ARP we arranged visits to the region by the President, Vice-President, Secretary of State and other Cabinet officials, prevented other agencies from petitioning the Gulf States to fund all their pet projects, and were successful in seeing Kuwait's reimbursement for its share of U.S. military deployment expenses.

Q: This is after the first Gulf War

DEAN: Right.

Q: How did we view sort of the UAE, Qatar and Bahrain? I mean, were these considered prime targets or were they considered allies or what?

DEAN: The Bahrainis hosted COMIDEASTFOR, which may have been our earliest military presence in the region. Certainly one of the most long-lasting. Commander, Middle East Forces, COMIDEASTFOR in the vernacular, was a rather unusual command. Established following World War II it was more of a diplomatic mission than a war-fighting entity, more deigned to fly the flag and to represent the US in the Indian Ocean, from its base in Bahrain.

Q: I was there in '58, it was there.

DEAN: The earliest I remember was in 1960. I do not know if COMIDEASTFOR was there earlier. It was still there in '93, '95. So we had a special relationship with the Bahrainis. At that point the causeway hadn't been built to connect Bahrain to Saudi Arabia. The Bahrainis were very congenial so they were viewed as nice guys. As Office Director I oversaw the Washington visit of the Bahraini Foreign Minister as we worked through the unanticipated move by the U.S. Navy on-shore Bahrain. It was critical to reframe what could have been taken as an incursion onto Bahraini territory and the concomitant infringement of Bahraini sovereignty. Fortunately I was able to promote US goals and enhance our strong relationship with Bahrain.

The Qataris were more difficult. They were the same peoples except Qataris were not regarded as being as charming as the Bahrainis. The Qataris however had discovered the North Dome gas field and they now have one of the world's largest gas reserves. Initially when the Qataris were doing the seismic studies, because they were sure that gas was there, they couldn't find the edge of the field. That is when they discovered that the field is bigger than the country. Eventually the explorers moved offshore and they discovered just how big the field is. When I was covering Qatar there was a great deal of talk about liquefying natural gas but at that time it still was not competitive, not economic. Anyway, the Qataris are sitting on an immense potential, and as energy resources become scarcer elsewhere that resource will become even more important. The UAE had had an influx of oil money and essentially was funding many things that we liked.

We liked the Omanis; the Omanis were doing a nice job, sustaining and developing a stable country. Yemen, Yemen was difficult. There was a period when Yemen started to have a civil war and the Saudis were considering supplying support the non-government faction.

This brings me to an aside. Some times you get an award for an action that was in your own estimation was not exception, that was part of your job, as when I was recognized for working hard to evacuate employees and dependents during the first Gulf War. This was what I should have been doing and I did it. Some times however you don't get recognized for actions that you undertook, which required insight, going beyond the job description and which took special insight or extra effort. Over a career it balances.

In this instance the Saudis were starting to fund one side of this potential civil war operation, but we were not taking any action. Martin S. Indyk, who later became Ambassador to Israel, was at the NSC in the Middle East position but he was involved with other issues. Because no one was taking any action I went to Ambassador Pelletreau who was the NEA assistant secretary at the time to make the case that the U.S. needed to be pro-active in stopping the civil war in Yemen and in ending any Saudi support to the insurgents. The civil conflict in Yemen needed to stop because Saudi Arabia, which is a country of importance to us, was going to have the Iraqis on their front door and a collapsing Yemen at their back door. I felt strongly that that situation would be a source of instability for Saudi Arabia and therefore for the entire region. Saudi had enough to do to deal with Iraq. They should not have to worry about or devote resources to what was happening in Yemen. So Ambassador Pelletreau made the case successfully and the Saudi government clamped down on the resources flowing into Yemen. By that time the Yemeni factions had launched a couple missiles at each other, blown up a couple buildings, and were destabilizing the country. We ended up evacuating the embassy in Sanaa by way of Saudi Arabia.

The Ambassador, Arthur Hughes, was not happy to have his Embassy drawn down, but in the run up to the hostilities, as part of our crisis management planning, we had established 'trip wires', so that we would know when it was time to evacuate. Ambassador Hughes was part of planning process that established the trip wires, but no ambassador likes to have his embassy seriously cut back.

We brought most everybody out and within a week or two it became clear that hostilities had settled down. Once we were sure that there wasn't going to be any more instability, we were able to restaff the post. There of course is terrorism, much more paramount today, and we've had subsequent problems but we haven't had a civil war, funded by outside parties. The entire effort was important for eliminating one more target of opportunity to destabilize the region. And that all went fairly well.

One happy result was I was able to go to Yemen where I had never been there before. It is a beautiful, rugged place.

Q: What was your impression of Yemen?

DEAN: Because they paint their houses brown and put the little white trim all over them, the towns look like gingerbread villages. It's deceptive, because it's really a dangerous place. When we went out into the countryside a couple times I always loved it when the guide said "Oh, somebody was kidnapped here, somebody was kidnapped there". I just hoped that my family had enough money to buy my way out of there since it has always been a tenet of faith with me that the U.S. Government wasn't going to ransom me.

Q: You weren't dealing with Iraq but Iraq was everybody's neighbor. What was the attitude that you were picking up about Iraq at that time?

DEAN: The states and the leaders in the region recognized Iraq as a dangerous, unpredictable state. Iraq invaded Kuwait. It was at war with Iran for all those years. Better Iraq should stay over there and far away. For its neighbors Iraq symbolized a potential danger. The Saudis had first hand experience with how dangerous Iraq could be: Iraq could have rolled into Saudi's eastern oil fields in a heartbeat. So Iraq was and still is a concern. Neighboring states knew that Saddam was doing bad things but as long as he stayed in his own country nobody was going to make a fuss.

Nonetheless the Gulf States, including Saudi Arabia, have a close relationship with us vis-à-vis Foreign Military Sales that continues until today. As with all the states in the region manpower, relative to that of their neighbors, is a serious consideration.

The Gulf States started the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in 1981. Initially it was not a strong organization, but it is slowly strengthening and provides a forum for those six regional states to discuss political and economic issues. One of its objectives is to provide a unified military presence and I am sure that the GCC considers the impact of relations with Iraq on the region in its discussions. I understand that recently (2012) the GCC announced that it was evolving from a regional bloc to a confederation. While we largely deal with the member states individually, we have on occasion met with the GCC as a whole. During this period I worked to orchestrate the US-GCC Economic Dialogue. It took months of preparation with the Office for the Under-Secretary for Economic Affairs (E) and the Economic Bureau (EB), plus other US agencies. I think then Commerce Secretary, Ron Brown, opened the meeting.

In order to coordinate USG policy in the region we proposed and held an ARP chiefs of mission conference for our seven Ambassadors in the Arabian Peninsula (Jan '95). We also included regional U.S. military commander and representatives from several other Bureaus in the Department. With strong organization and planning, the two-day meeting generated intense discussion, and improved understanding, of regional issues. Thoughtful, focused approaches, outlining shared interests, do produce results: for example, one of the ARP countries contributed millions to Operation Vigilant Warrior, after the Secretary of Defense had resigned himself to never seeing a penny.

Q: How did we feel about the Americans at ARAMCO? Because I know during the first Gulf War we were trying to get the Americans out of the UAE but weren't we trying to keep the Americans pumping oil at ARAMCO. We didn't have control over them but our attitude was sort of a peculiar policy in a way.

DEAN: As long as civil support was there and as long as U.S. citizens can depart the country through commercial air or other private transportation, we would not interfere. I suspect we were forward leaning in encouraging U.S. citizen employees of ARAMCO to stay. Their presence would increase the likelihood that forces in the region would help maintain stability, both for the country and the energy flow. Those efforts would have been more jawboning than any legislation or any formal declaration. We are not going to make a demarche to another American citizen.

Q: Yes. Well, eventually you move on to Rome, is that it?

DEAN: Eventually I moved to the Senior Seminar, where I spent a year. It was the 38th Senior Seminar; it wasn't the last class but it was within one or two of the last one.

The nine-month Senor Seminar was the highest-level executive training program available to USG foreign policy and national security officials at that time. The Seminar focused on executive development through building advanced skills training such as negotiation, public speaking, congressional testimony, team-building, leading change management. We also studied social, economic and political change in the U.S.

We actually had a very successful class. I believe that out of the 15 Foreign Service officers in that class we had nine or 10 ambassadors. It was the kind of class that senior management always imagined the classes should be. It's interesting that the women still stay in touch regularly, getting together for lunch every six weeks or so.

Q: Who are they?

DEAN: The Foreign Service women were: Ambassador Liz McKune (Qatar), Ambassador Marie Huhtala (Malaysia), Ambassador Shirley Barnes (Madagascar), Pamela Corey Archer, Sarah Horsey, Robin Bishop, Christine Shelly, and me.

Q: I've interviewed Marie Huhtala. She was ambassador to Malaysia.

DEAN: The Foreign Service men were: Ambassador Richard Baltimore (Oman), Ambassador Jim Cunningham (USUN, Israel), Ambassador Greg Engle (Togo), Ambassador Aubrey Hooks (Cote d'Ivoire -Ivory Coast, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Republic of the Congo), Ambassador Jimmy Kolker (Uganda and Burkina Faso), Ambassador Tibor Nagy (Ethiopia, and Guinea), Ambassador John O'Keefe (Kyrgyz Republic), Ambassador Barrie Walkley (Gabon and Sao Tome and Principe, and Guinea). We also had a State Civil Service employee, plus representatives from all military services, as well as from DOD, CIA, NSA, FBI, USAID, USDA, USIA, and EPA.

What was I saying? The ladies still stay in touch but that reminds me that from the War College that we still meet the first Thursday of every month over at Ft. Myer in the Officers Club and we had our 20th reunion October 2009 and we had about 50, about half the class came, some from Japan and Europe. We had a four-day reunion and one of our last standing officers was the head of the Air Force and had one of the houses at Ft. Myer. He hosted us on Sunday to the Strolling Strings of the Air Force so we had a great reunion. And the weather was absolutely gorgeous.

Q: With the Senior Seminar, how did you find it or an organization?

DEAN: I thought it was absolutely an amazing operation. Just as you are promoted into the senior ranks, the assignment is a wonderful opportunity to renew your acquaintance with the United States, your country, the country that you represent every day overseas. Personally it was more useful for other participants, who had been overseas most of their career as opposed to me since I had spent more time in the United States. Taking a trip every month for one week, a trip linked thematically to issues of concern to the United States polity, is eye-opening. Every place we went we found that even though Americans think that they don't need Washington and even though they think they're not connected internationally, they were. In each place that we went we would find a strong international connection, which many times the inhabitants were only vaguely aware of. So when we went to the Chesapeake Bay Islands, and were talking to the people who lived there we found they all have close relatives in Africa who were there as missionaries. Who knew that? We learned that only by talking to people in informal settings.

When we went to Alaska they think they are totally disconnected from Washington. They suffer from pollution and all of it is coming up out of Japan and over from Russia. It is both air pollution, and water pollution. In addition there are fishing and whaling issues that cannot be solved by a state. These are large regional, multi-national issues that must be addressed through a central government in concert with other central governments and the appropriate international organizations. When we went to Indiana and I worked on a pig farm and what did I find? They've got their little computer systems there where the U.S. farmers are seeing the price of hog future. Farmers are monitoring the international market on pork, or pork bellies. When we went south along the border, not only did we see the various aspects of monitoring border crossings but we talked to people about the

various illnesses in Mexico and Central America. The realization is readily at hand that if we do not take care of medical problems south of the border they are not going to stay south of the border. Just like the Black Death, they're going to come floating northward.

I found a real incentive both to learn about Americans whom we are representing when we are overseas but also to help Americans understand the interconnectedness of the United States with the world. Isolationism may be the fond aspiration of many but it is unrealistic in the face of today's linkages. In addition Americans need to realize that there are people, fellow Americans, who are looking out for their interests, and who are negotiating issues of concern to them. So I thought it was a great multi-lane highway back and forth.

The classes are set up so that the students look at major issues of concern to the U.S. Students volunteered to be part of the team organizing the examination/discussion of the issue. Somebody on the team leads the group as they identify and arrange speakers. The team makes all the contacts for any given issue. The section might be stronger or weaker, depending on the team setting it up. Some sessions were better than others. Unfortunately our trip to the north-east was interrupted by the closing down of the government for non-essential people. That was a little hard to digest, since in our previous lives everyone in the Seminar had been "essential". Not being able to go to work for several weeks however did convince me that retirement might be a good thing.

Q: You graduated from there when?

DEAN: I graduated from there in '96. I was there the school year of '95 and '96. Before we graduated we did have to turn in a research project. I worked with the unified military commands at CENTCOM to look at the relationship between such commands and other members of the national security team. I helped to organize two trips, one to the Mid-west, and one to the Navy/Marine facilities in San Diego. I was pleased to be able to set a precedent in arranging to meet with the Chicago *Tribune* editorial board to kick off the Mid-west trip. Separately I gave a presentation on American Sign Language and the modern theory and practice of education in the deaf community and integration into the hearing community. In addition we had to spend a week doing a volunteer project and I picked working with the Arlington Community Temporary Shelters (TACTS), which provides a shelter for abused women and children, and another for those temporarily homeless. I picked that organization because it is in my community and I have been able to continue to assist them since that time.

Q: And then what?

DEAN: Then I went back to HR. I was the director of senior assignments and doubled as the Deputy Director of the Office of Career Development and Assignments (CDA).

The position as director of senior assignments was a unique position for that window of time because the job had never existed the way it was constructed at the time I did it. It morphed into two or three positions after I left so that particular job has never existed

before or since. What happened was Ambassador Tony Quainton, the director general, or more specifically his principal deputy assistant secretary (PDAS), Ambassador Jennifer Ward, decided that they would downsize HR. They cut about 25 positions out of HR Career Development and Assignments Office (CDA), which meant everyone in the office was dreadfully overworked. The idea was that each one of the senior assignment officers would supervise a team of other more junior assignment officers to cover a geographic region. At the same time assignment officers retained their traditional role of representing several hundred Foreign Service employees, say all the FS-02 economic officers or the entry level officers from A-G. This led to an increased workload as officers now had to represent both their clientele plus interface with one of the geographic bureaus, as well as various assorted functional bureaus. This doubled the workload and led to a conflict of interest as officers tried to balance meeting their counselees' needs and desires with serving as the representative of several bureaus.

You have never seen people work as hard to be fair and do a good job for their colleagues as I observed. Cutting 25 people just about caused the place to implode. I worked Saturdays; I worked Sundays. Tom used to bring the children to the office for picnics on Sunday or Saturday because otherwise I wasn't at home on the weekend. It was absolutely a horrendous workload and a horrendous time; the issues weren't particularly difficult. I mean, we had a lot of senior officers who were ticking out and the…

Q: Ticking out means exhausting your time in class?

DEAN: Right. It is essentially the end of your career. And so the director general's guidance was FSOs could have one ambassadorship but we weren't doing second ambassadorships and we were just moving people out. We were to push to enforce Section 813 of the Foreign Service Act on mandatory retirement for presidential appointees unassigned after 90 days. That's pretty much what we did. Life has evolved and changed since then and I'm sure it will go back through that period again sometime in the future but it's not right now.

So when Ambassador Skip Gnehm came in as director general he had a different view. He had been head of junior officers at the entry level at some previous time. He had strong opinions about how HR should work and within about six months he had rolled back all of the changes from the previous director general. He started beefing up the staffing in CDA and, like I said, my tour was just during that one two-year window that all of this was in such horrendous shape.

Q: All right, senior assignments, you must have, I mean, do you isolate yourself? An awful lot of senior officers must want to have you get them good assignments.

DEAN: My client base was all the DASes, all of the seventh floor principals. I mean all the senior management in the Foreign Service. I arranged for Ambassador Pickering's reappointment because he was over 65 and that requires the approval of the Secretary. Ambassador Pickering was very interested in the minutiae of this whole process. All the

ambassadors were mine and these are people who are used to having things happen, having things happen quickly. There weren't many of them but they were intense.

I essentially supervised three sub-divisions: Counseling (senior officers), Presidential Appointment Staff, and Career Development and Training (assignments to the War College, the Senior Seminar, assignments to Congressional staffs).

Q: Well, you must have been under tremendous pressure-

DEAN: A lot of pressure. Where you stand is where you sit. In that job it was my role to defend senior positions for senior officers, meaning I wouldn't grant a cede to an 01 unless I was sure that we were not going to disenfranchise senior officers and leave them without positions at grade. For example, we did not have many senior admin officers. Consequently I could easily agree to ceding senior admin positions to 01 admin officers because I could see that all of the senior administrative officers had or were going to get at-grade offers and were going to get jobs. On the political side that wasn't as true. I had one assistant secretary who still won't speak to me because I wouldn't give him the cedes that he wanted. I had said, "Look, I can't give them to you today; it's very likely, however, that I'm going to get all these people assigned in about two months. This is going to happen; just cool your jets, it's going to be okay". And that's exactly what happened, except he just didn't like being told no today. You just do your best job. If I had been in his position I would have been pushing for those cedes. I wouldn't have taken it personally that you didn't give them to me but I would have been pushing. I understood that was his job; that was okay with me. I was a bit miffed that he didn't understand that I was doing my job equally well. So yes, there is a little pressure. And yes, I lost a friend or two. People I had thought were friends.

There's a lot of personal pressure when somebody wants something right now, personally for himself. Try to explain why an ambassador cannot get a second ambassadorship? I had one poor unfortunate ambassador, probably made ambassador a little too young, out there in the Persian Gulf, who didn't get along with any of the U.S. military. He did such things as not showing up for appointments, dissing his U.S. military counterparts, and then wanted to know why he could not get another job. I said, "Well you've got a lot of repair work to recover your standing. What you need to do is take a job that shows you can deal effectively with our military." He went off to Tampa to CENTCOM and stayed there for two tours and eventually he was able to reclaim his career. What I find interesting is when you give somebody good advice and they do it, they think they thought of it themselves. So I've given lots of people good advice and some of them have taken it but none of them remember it. I have to pat myself on the back for many of my saves.

Q: Speaking of taking credit, I was interviewing yesterday our former assistant secretary for African Affairs, Chester Crocker. He worked for eight years on the settlement on Angola and finally got it. He got the Cubans out. When he was in Havana, Castro said to him, "I hope this group doesn't screw up my plan." Crocker said, "You know he felt it was his plan. Hell, I mean, this is something we've all been working on and you weren't

part of it. But you know, he says that of course when a leader adopts it as his plan what you've done, you've gained."

DEAN: That's right. And a wise man is going to say yes, you had a great idea there. And in fact if they buy it and they're proponents of it and they're making it work it does do your job. The fact that they don't remember that you did it is okay.

Q: Well, after this, what was your main goal? Was it to get overseas with the handicapped daughter?

DEAN: I kept working on getting an overseas assignment. The first step was to take Andrea to see if she could get a medical clearance. Finally she got a class two medical clearance, which meant any post/school had to meet this list of requirements that Gallaudet said she needed. Andrea had been going to Gallaudet since she was about 18 months old. She signs and we needed a dedicated signer for her. I can't remember how I did this but I identified four or five American Sign Language (ASL) signers who were interested in going to Rome. I interviewed them at my home, and I hired one who was a CODA, which is a Child of Deaf Adults. A CODA is a hearing person who is the child of deaf adults and for whom ASL is their mother's tongue. I wanted somebody like this, although I didn't know they existed before I started the process, because I figured anybody who was going to Rome and be in an Italian speaking society without anybody around who knew American Sign Language had to have ASL in their bones. ASL shouldn't be something they acquired in college as a career path they learned at 18, 19, 20 and now they're 24 or 25. Audrey Ruiz was my first and, it turned out, best choice; she is a Mexican-American and both of her parents are deaf. Audrey stayed with us for two years. The tax structure in Italy changes, i.e., increases markedly, for foreigners working more than two years, so Audrey returned to the U.S. I think the first two years are essentially tax free but after two years they start taxing at Italian rates which are very high. Many Italians don't pay the full rate but almost all the foreigners do. It's not really economic to stay after two years.

By then the Internet had made such progress I went online and posted the job there. I received 98 applications for this position and read through them all. Again, I was looking for a CODA, somebody for whom Sign is the mother tongue. I winnowed the pile down to a group of about four or five. Because I paid for these people to come to Rome to interview I wanted to make sure that the one I chose was the best qualified. One young woman, whom I had mid-ranked as not having much experience, sent a video. It was absolutely fantastic. Based on the paper credentials I never would have invited this young woman. I saw that video and included her in the list of interviewees. She came to Rome and knocked the socks off of everybody. I'd sent each candidate to the school, where she interviewed with the teachers there. Each went through a day with Andrea. I asked Audrey, who was the first signer, her opinion of each of these applicants' abilities. Then I was concerned about Andrea's reaction; it had to be somebody that she essentially liked or at least didn't dislike anyway. We then had a conference call with Audrey, the teachers, the special ed instructor. And Kizzie won out head and shoulders over everybody else. She was 21 or 22, not very old, absolutely drop dead gorgeous, blonde, a

stunning young woman, absolutely beautiful. Her parents were divorced and her mother was concerned that she would come to Rome and marry some deaf Italian. She assured her mother that she was not going to do that. The year after I left Rome I went back to her wedding to a deaf Italian, Nicola. He is just as handsome as she is gorgeous and his family is fairly wealthy. The family makes bathroom and kitchen ceramic equipment, whether it is toilets or sinks. They have a niche in the market and they do very well. Now Kizzie has two little boys, one of whom is deaf.

In some cases deafness is hereditary and in some cases it's environmental. In Nicola's case, that is Kizzie's husband's case, he fell and hit his head as a child. His family thought his deafness was because of the fall. Genetic testing when their second son was deaf, however, revealed that Nicola's deafness was genetic and their son inherited genes from both parents for deafness. In Kizzie's family's case on her mother's side it's hereditary. End of the story: We did get a clearance to go to Rome because Andrea could go to school there and we did have a dedicated Signer for the four years we were there.

Q: What was your job?

DEAN: I was the economic minister counselor. I essentially supervised six sections (the Foreign Agriculture Service (FAS) of the Department of Agriculture, the Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) from the Department of Commerce, Customs, the regular Economic section, the Federal Aviation Administration and the Science Office)

Q: Who was the ambassador?

DEAN: Ambassador Foglietta was the first ambassador. Ambassador Foglietta, who is now dead, was a poor example of a political appointee. His Italian left a lot to be desired.

Q: -working family from the south of Italy, I mean, he would be- it would be like somebody out of the hillbilly country of Kentucky.

DEAN: Well, I don't know how many generations- I assume he was a first or second generation Italian.

Q: He probably didn't speak Italian.

DEAN: Well he spoke something he thought was Italian, which used to make the Romans laugh. Maybe it translated in Naples.

Q: Calabrese or something. But, but I mean, the Romans don't cotton to people from the south anyway and particularly if you don't- if you speak essentially what's a peasant dialect.

DEAN: My husband's mother died when he was about 11 or 12 and his father remarried a woman from an Italian family. Grace was his wife's best friend and he needed a wife because he had four little kids. The LaBanco side of the family is from the south. In

Chicago they were the bankers for some of the mob. Tom was in the U.S. Navy before he joined the Foreign Service. He went to Naples with the Navy. He was there with the U.S. military, and as he talked to various people they all said to him "you talk like my grandfather". He replied "I learned from my grandfather, you know." It was a very, as you say, a very country Italian.

Anyway, Ambassador Foglietta did not do a whole lot for the U.S. presence in Italy except one thing, for which he should be duly credited. Do you remember when the U.S. Marine Air Corps flew in and accidentally cut the wires of the cable car and all those people died?

Q: Oh yes, awful, awful.

DEAN: Right. That happened on February 3, 1998 well before I got to post. The cable car accident occurred near the Italian town of Cavalese, a ski resort in the Dolomites. Twenty people died when a United States Marine Corps EA-6B Prowler aircraft, flying lower than regulations allowed, cut a cable supporting a gondola of an aerial tramway. Ambassador Foglietta went up there and there are pictures of him praying at the site. He worked the U.S. Congress to obtain an exception to the ceiling on monies that could be paid for wrongful death. There's a limit on how much compensation the military will pay for accidents, wrongful death accidents, but Ambassador Foglietta ensured that every family who had lost someone received a million dollars. A million was a real exception to the established limits. Moreover he went up there every anniversary date.

Then we had an interregnum. Ambassador Foglietta didn't want to leave, but after the U.S. elections in November of 1998 Personnel sent somebody to convince him to return to the United States. Anyway, after he left we were supposed to get Rockwell Schnabel, a businessman who had served in political appointee positions with previous Republican administrations. But, because the person they had considered for the EU (European Union) was not acceptable, the White House withdrew his name from Senate confirmation and sent the nominee for Rome to the EU, where he was a fine ambassador. Eventually (December 10, 2001) the way was cleared for Melvin Sembler, a builder/banker/fund raiser from the Clearwater/St. Petersburg, Florida area. He had been Ambassador to Australia under President George H.W. Bush. But it meant that instead of having a smooth transition we ended up for almost a year without an ambassador. And Bill Pope, I don't know if you've talked to Bill Pope or not? Anyway, he was the DCM after Jim Cunningham and he became the Chargé and I became the acting DCM. This was at the period when Italy was scheduled to host the G-8 in Genoa. So we had to prepare to support our representatives to the G-8 at a considerable distance from Rome, with the president, various family members, and the Secretary of State, Colin Powell, visiting multiple times.

We geared up for that whole conference and then had the wheels up party. Everyone was exhausted and looking forward to a return to normalcy. The next day, however, we got the message that the OIG (Office of Inspector General) was scheduled to inspect the post starting September 12. So we turn the embassy into high gear, getting everything in

order. We had to make that all those issues that attract the OIG's interest, particularly the administrative things, were accounted for. Everything was spit polished, we filled out all the forms; we wrote all the memos that we needed to write; we were ready to go. On the morning of September 11 we were having a tabletop exercise for coping with disasters. We had representation from every office in the Embassy. And mind, we had seven different kinds of police and seven different kinds of police operations, from NCIS to the FBI. We also had trainers from Washington to observe and direct the game. Anyway, we had a lot of people in the conference, we're playing this disaster game, we play the game, we play the game, we've got the people from Washington leading the game, evaluating our performance, giving us feedback. We do the whole thing. Around 1:00 when we break, we finish, we wrap it up and we go back to our offices. I'm standing there looking at the TV screen, looking at this plane crashing into the World Trade Center. Now, I've come out of a game where we're playing disaster scenarios right, and I'm totally in the disaster mode. But I'm looking at the screen and I'm sure this is a movie I'm looking at.

So that was September 11 and, of course, no one can believe it. Plus the OIG team was due to show up the next day. In practical terms they could not because of the flight restrictions, but they sent us a message saying that they could put the inspection off for several months. We had geared ourselves up for action. I mean, we were as ready to go as we were ever going to be. Consequently Bill and I decided that the OIG should come as soon as they could and we would include them in everything. They were invited and attended all of the meetings that we had. We just made them part of the embassy.

So they came maybe three days later; they attended all the town hall meetings, all of the conversations, all the planning, because we had. You remember there was also this whole period, when the anthrax was being sent in the mail. We moved our whole mailroom into a trailer; we hired a trailer just for the mail. You could see the mailroom outside. We made sure that the mailroom attendants had their vaccinations and no one ever got sick.

Because I was an acting Deputy Chief of Mission, the OIG they did not do an official report on me but Bill and the embassy came out like roses. We ran a really first class operation.

Remember when you talked earlier about people panicking? It was interesting to watch how different people internalized events and how they dealt with stress because there were some people who did not do well. Bill and I at one point had to close down the embassy because we had received credible threat notices against the Embassy. Our action was the first time that an embassy had been closed down in Europe in a very long time. In fact Bill and I got to be the authorities on closing an Embassy in Europe. Washington wouldn't answer; they never answer the question, should we close down or not; they always said, "well you have to consider these factors." And what they would do in the end is say "why don't you call Embassy Rome and talk to them about it." So I ended up talking to a number of embassies across Europe at different times as to whether they should or shouldn't close down their embassy.

The general stress was increased when we discovered tunnels underneath the embassy. There are many old tunnels under the Embassy and under the residence. Some are utility tunnels; some are old escape tunnels. There are all kinds of tunnels but the bottom line was that you could get around security and onto the embassy grounds through the tunnels. First we had to map the tunnels and then we had to go back and block them up.

Q: I'm thinking and looking at the time, I think maybe we might pick this up; you were in Rome from when to when?

DEAN: I was in Rome from 1998 to 2002.

Q: All right. We've talked about just the initial reaction to 9/11-

DEAN: My personal reaction to that.

Q: -and all, but now let's talk about what were the issues between the United States and Italy; you talked about your first ambassador who wasn't pulling his weight.

DEAN: And then I never got to Ambassador Sembler, did I?

Q: No. So we'll pick that up and the big thing being what were the relation issues that we had, including military bases, the economic situation, the coverage of how well we conduct our presidential elections, also Italy and the European Union. You know various things that you're dealing with.

DEAN: Okay.

Q: Great.

All right, today is the 12th of March, 2010, with Margaret Dean, and where are we now?

DEAN: Some place in Italy.

Q: Okay, Italy. And what date?

DEAN: We had talked about Ambassador Foglietta in 1998 and we had talked about his handling of the Cavalese incident and about the fact that he was first or second generation Italian-American from Philadelphia. We noted that he was not a great ambassador because he wouldn't take on policy issues. He was really into socializing with friends and relatives. That's about where we were.

Q: I think Italy is often a good example that when a social ambassador comes, they immediately get caught up, if they're not careful, by the decaying nobility.

DEAN: There was a touch of that in there too, yes.

Q: And Italy's got a decaying nobility. The French have other ones.

DEAN: Yes, different ones do. I was thinking more about friends and family but you're right; there were, in his entourage, one or two of the former nobility, former bluebloods, maybe now just sort of light blue.

Q: How did that work out within the embassy?

DEAN: It meant you had pretty much free hand as long as you did not run afoul of the DCM, Jim Cunningham, who's now ambassador in Israel. He focused on political issues and so most economic policy issues didn't particularly concern him. We were pretty independent and had a lot of autonomy in identifying things we wanted to do or issues we wanted to follow.

Q: This is from when to when, by the way?

DEAN: Jim was the DCM for my first two years 1998-2000. My tour was from August, 8/8/98, until about the same time four years later, 8/8/2002.

Q: Okay. So what were the issues that you were working on particularly?

DEAN: Before we talk about the issues I want to say that one of the things I learned in my first weeks in Embassy Rome is that although I know economic issues, I did not know them in a European or a European Union context. Every introductory call I made drove home the awareness that there was always a 'virtual partner' in the room. Ostensibly it was the Italian and I, but in reality there was always a third presence: the EU. To address this, I made my first trip outside of Rome, not to Milan, Florence or Naples, but to Brussels. I went to Brussels and immersed myself in the EU, history, lore, attitudes, policies, bureaucracy, everything I could learn. That preparation was invaluable to me. Whether we were looking at the sales of U.S. aircraft, pirated CDs and software or numerous trade disputes, understanding Italy vis-a-vis understanding the EU helped me craft our own approach to the Italians. We were by and large very successful. The Italians have supported us and lobbied for our positions, at decisive moments in the EU councils where they have as many votes as the Brits, Germans or French.

In addition to my visit to Brussels, I had the advantage of having a great economic councilor, Greg Delawie. Greg had been at post for two years when I arrived. He proposed a reporting series for the year 2000 that addressed 10-15 important issues facing Italy. The series was highly praised and deserved commendation.

As part of this multilateral approach to issues in bilateral context, I decided that we, as an office, as an Embassy, as a bureau, as a Department, should make sure that make sure that our partners, the Foreign Service Nationals, are introduced to EU issues, and to their colleagues in other U.S. embassies in EU member states. I encouraged our mission to the EU to hold an annual tutorial for FSNs dealing with EU structure and issues, and to

introduce colleagues working on the same issues but at different embassies. I hope that the early moves in this direction have continued and grown.

So back to your questions about the issues the Economic Section handled. In '98, if you remember was in the run up to the millennium, the change to the year 2000. Y2K, electronic preparation for the change was a big, big issue. We had six econ officers and each one in their particular sector. I gave them each the mandate to go out and explore their sector. Whether it was transportation or whether it was medical or whether it was the banking system or whatever sector they were responsible for they were charged to see, evaluate and report what the Italians were doing to make sure that Y2K did not collapse their computer systems. Just as important, we needed to insure that Y2K preparations were sufficient to keep any computer problems from spilling over world-wide. Most of the banks and financial institutions, the stock exchange up in Milan, for example, all said that because they had switched over to the Euro they had all recently updated all their computer systems and taken Y2K into account. The financial institutions were right that their systems were in fine shape. We talked about the public safety; we saw what happens in the hospitals, what happens in the ambulances, what happens with the trains and planes. We saw what the utility providers, such as electricity and water services, were doing. You'd be surprised how many places have massive computers in them that run systems that we don't even think about. And we would keep peeling back these layers and find another layer yet. But, despite all our confirmation that the Italians were as ready as anyone in the world for Y2K, some other reporting agencies were convinced that Italy was going to collapse, and trigger a meltdown world-wide. We kept saying, "No, they're not, they're going to be fine". And then there'd be a month of quiet and then somebody in the State Department or on the Hill would read one of these reports saying Italy is going to hell in a hand basket when 2000 hits and we'd have make the case all over again about why Italy was not going to go to hell in a hand basket. And they didn't; nobody did. A big non-event.

Q: I was just going to say, with all that, I mean this is, for somebody not aware of the problem, the problem was essentially earlier on when the computers were set up they only gave two, you might say two digits; rather than 1992 they just put 92.

DEAN: Right. And they didn't know what was going to happen when it rolled over to zero zero.

Q: All of sudden instead it would be zero zero instead of 92 and it wouldn't be 2000.

DEAN: Right. And those like, debt repayment systems that are based on calculating your loan from point A to point B all of a sudden might get screwed up if it got thrown back to 1900 or 1800. In retrospect it was a tempest in a teapot but in anticipation you had to go through and talk to the managers about all of these systems. But it was, as I said, it was a fascinating way to get to look at the economy and get to look at how all these systems are interrelated and how they meshed together so neatly.

Q: I think the State Department people were told not to fly at the end of the year.

DEAN: Right, in anticipation.

Q: In case the planes just sort of headed off into the turn of the previous century.

DEAN: And, like I say, in retrospect it seems kind of silly that there was all this hoopla but in anticipation people were taking all kinds of precautions.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: They had water stockpiled in the embassy, for example. So there you are.

Q: Other than that, what were you looking at?

DEAN: We spent a lot of time on Y2K the first year. One of the big issues, and I have to assume that it's still an issue, is intellectual property protection, Italians are the biggest, I won't say thieves but certainly the biggest copiers of any European country. And the U.S. was losing, just on movies, $650 million a year because of pirated movies. But then… This is just like Y2K; this is one of these layered discoveries. You start peeling back the layers and you find all kinds inter-connections. When you get into software you get into all kinds of TV, videos, music; the whole music industry is out there.

The problem for us is that the Italians don't see piracy as a crime. Italians see piracy as a victimless crime. Consequently, since nobody's hurt, then why worry about it. Plus Italy has three different police forces in Italy that don't talk to each other much. We needed to raise Italian consciousness. To do that we created a three-prong attack. The first was education, explaining what piracy is, why tackling piracy is important, proving that piracy is not a victimless crime. One of the examples is the fake medicine business where you either give a person a placebo or you give a person something that is a cheap copy. One vivid example was the installation of a cheap copy of an airplane part into an aircraft. The piece has a half-life of the real thing. People die when planes crash, as this one did. Diabetics have to have real insulin; they can't make do with a placebo. Italians think singers or movie stars are wealthy, which they may be, but the price of a CD covers all the production people, not just the star. Piracy isn't a victimless crime. First you have education. You organize an entire outreach campaign to persuade targeted audiences: police, manufacturers, schools, etc.

Then there is the enforcement side. When I first went to Italy we spent a lot of time getting the police forces to talk to each other and getting them to enforce what few anti-piracy rulings were on the books.

Then we had to go back one more step and attack the legislative element. The laws were essentially a slap on the wrist, just the cost of doing business for a pirate. During my four years in Italy we actually did get some stronger, tougher legislation passed, generally focusing on the criminal procedures where the suspect is thought to be a dealer. It's just like with drugs. If you're carrying your own marijuana; if you're carrying for your own

use, generally people will not consider it a serious crime. If you're carrying enough to sell, that's serious. We focused on finding these factories that are printing out hundreds or thousands of copies of pirated discs and at that point yes they're making thousands of dollars a day or tens of thousands of dollars a day. So we did get some legislation passed for big, big criminals.

Then we discovered that, and this happened about the time I left, as this new legislation came on and the enforcement was coming on, the judges wouldn't sentence people. They would blow it off. So we had to go back and do a whole other re-education program with the judges because they didn't see it as serious. And you know, copyrights, patents and IPR (Intellectual Property Rights) stuff are different things but the judges would laugh and say, "well of course people know that if they can buy a cheap "brand-name" purse on the street for $10 that it's not real, everybody knows that's a fake so you know, there's no fraud involved". Well, perhaps at the individual shop or individual salesman level, yes, maybe that's true. But in Italy there are all different levels. There is somebody who's just taken a purse from China and there's falling off the back of the truck kind of stuff and then there are contractors. Gucci, for example, farms out a lot of its work; it doesn't run big factories. It does a lot of home industry so people will have a contract to turn in 20 purses a week or something like that. When they do it at home, they make a few extra on the side and they sell them out the back door. So there are all different kinds of ways that this happens. And there are various qualities, but the consumer does not know what's behind the label. It's one thing when it's a purse and you won't die. It's another thing when it's a medicine or an airplane part or a medical device.

We spent a lot of time and I think one of the strongest selling points that we had was a realization, and I put this forward quite often, which was once you have a pipeline it doesn't matter what's in the pipeline. You can have trafficked women or children, you can have counterfeit money, you can have credit card fraud; once that network of crime is set up it doesn't matter what's in it. Right now, because IPR is not being prosecuted aggressively, that's what happens to be in the pipeline but you, you, the police authorities, you the justice system, you the legislative system, really need to focus on the network. And once Italians started thinking how they had taken steps against the Mafia there was a more positive response and we like to think that we did some good work at that point.

When I go back in May I will look up a couple of my buddies and see if our works actually stuck or not or has the enforcement slid backwards or have we actually gone forward.

We spent a lot of time on piracy. We - I should say Treasury, - had several teams come out and do meetings, two or three days. We sent some police, newsmen, others to the United States, we used our IV program to send people get out and tour around and see how we deal with IPR problems. They, the teams that came from the United States, were very good about showing that this isn't a victimless crime. They had lots and lots of dramatic examples of death and destruction caused to people who had bought something that was not up to a brand-name standard.

Somebody once showed me a pirated tooth implant for your jaw. Same design, same box, different quality material.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: There are fakes of those. You know, if they're not up to standard you get this tooth put in your mouth and because if your doctor doesn't know and he buys lower price goods that tooth could disintegrate in your mouth. You could have a massive infection in your gum. Piracy is not a victimless crime.

Q: No.

DEAN: So there are lots of examples out there that you and I wouldn't even think about on a day-to-day basis. Once you start digging you find piracy is a very dirty pile.

As you can see we spent a lot of time on IPR issues. We spent a certain amount of time on genetically modified organisms (GMOs). GMOs are a big issue because U.S. researchers are at the cutting edge of the science on genetic modification of organisms and that's what the U.S. sells. Monsanto sells seeds. Monsanto did not look to its public relations when it started marketing its new seeds and plants. Monsanto found itself crosswise to the consumers and to the political forces of most of Europe. You can put "Frankenfood" on a tee-shirt to create an atmosphere of science gone berserk, off the rails, creating monsters. We know that anything you can put on a tee shirt you can probably sell in the market of popular ideas. A catchy slogan on a tee-shirt is as good as any policy speech anywhere anytime. So once the mad scientist idea is out there it's like trying to roll back the sea; you are going to have a really hard time pushing that issue. So, here we have these innocent little GMOs on the one side; over here we have the mighty Frankenfood in a hand-to-hand contest. Guess who's going to win. There are agricultural problems in Italy where in the south the tomato plants are suffering from rust or mildew. The tomatoes need cross fertilization with other strains of tomatoes to resist these diseases. The Italians are probably sneaking tomatoes in from North Africa and selling them as Italian tomatoes, which they do with the olive oil anyway.

I wish I could say that we had made more progress on GMOs during my time there. This was not just an Italian issue. All of Europe appears opposed to GMOs. You know, our effort was a lot of pushing, pushing, educating, talking, lobbying, pushing, talking, lobbying, and we didn't make a whole lot of progress. But I saw last week that the EU had changed its policy on GMOs…

Q: GMO what?

DEAN: Cotton, corn. The EU opened the door just a little tiny bit. Part of the problem with GMOs is that you can't tell what the long-term consequences are. I don't know if you remember thalidomide; GMOs could be like that. You don't realize when you give

the person the drug that it's going to affect the next generation, even though research shows no negative effect on the individual taking the drug.

Q: This is when babies were born without limbs.

DEAN: Or little dwarf limbs, yes. Thalidomide, a wonder drug gone wrong. We really do not know what's going to happen several generations out. The EU has been opposing GMO crops for more than 15 plus years. Slowly we are building a record of credible science. As more time goes by and we don't have two headed kids the better our prospects for improved crops. Hopefully the genetic impact is not a third generation event.

Also, one of the things we did was combine forces with our other Embassies in Rome. Rome actually hosts three U.S. embassies. We have a bilateral embassy; we have an embassy to the Vatican, and we have an embassy to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO). The UN FAO Mission is there and so we have a third mission in Rome. We collaborated with both of those other U.S. embassies because they touched different decision makers. For example, many of the priests down in Africa were saying that GMOs were bad and that the local people shouldn't accept American donations of food, grain, corn, even though they and their children were suffering from malnutrition. Many years we have a lot of corn to give away. People were starving to death rather than having food. We proposed to our Vatican colleagues that they talk to their Vatican contacts and explain the impact. Essentially the uninformed priests were willing to let people die from starvation today because they might die from some mysterious genetic fault in a decade. We finally did make some progress where the priests and the various monks and groups stopped talking so much against GMO foods. Better the body and soul should stay together for a little bit longer. So that was one of our major on-going issues.

Another issue was the Caspian Sea pipeline. The Italians were building a pipeline under the Caspian Sea under contract and we wanted it to go through countries more independent of Russian rather than go through countries with a strong Russian influence and still be under Russian control. We spent a lot of time talking to the Italians and to the contractor about those issues. We saw the ship that they use for their deep sea pipe laying. The engineers explained that near the bottom of the Caspian Sea there's a division; if you go down far enough the water becomes very acidic. Consequently the Italians were making special, special pipes from a unique metallic alloy to resist this acid solution. Eventually the Italians went ahead and did what they wanted to do, i.e., the company wanted to make money, and the pipeline has apparently all worked out fine except of course we were a little cross about it.

One of the other issues that we worked with was overseeing the Italian construction of one of the space station modules. Actually 'work' was more just by way of going to see the on-going construction. The Italians interestingly enough brought their module in on deadline and under budget. It was launched and is up there. The module was attached and everything is going just fine. Even though we were talking about IPR violations and low

quality production when the Italians decide that they're going to do something and put their heart and soul into it, it is really a first class operation.

Q: By the way, about genetically modified fruits and vegetables, there are various concerns but also wasn't there a certain amount of almost Luddite sticking it to the Americans? I mean, at least I used to follow it on French TV and Jose Bove was out there ripping down things and he ripped down the fields but he also went off on McDonalds and other fast food establishments.-

DEAN: There is a certain amount of anti-Americanism, yes. Not so much in Italy; it felt from where I was in Italy much more anti-American in France. But there was a certain amount of anti-Americanism because these were American companies that were pushing GMOs and fast food. Also there was some genuine concern because many GMOs are sterile. You plant the seed, it grows, it has no children. Next year the farmer has to buy new seeds. That was proof that GMOs were an American effort to hook people on their seeds and take over the economy. The proof of course is if the farmer produces better crops, suffers less damage from rust, mildew, drought or scant rainfall, early frost, etc. and makes a better living. But some GMOs are not sterile and there was concern that certain wild genes might get loose into the environment. And again, this is something that you can only tell over time but it didn't look like it was going to happen. There was a certain amount of concern about the science; there was a certain amount of concern about Americans taking over the economy and there was a certain amount of just general anti-Americanism involved.

A constant issue of concern was Libya. The Italians get a lot of their oil, a major source of their energy, from Libya. They get electrical energy off the French nuclear grids but their oil by and large comes from Libya. I would regularly receive the demarche that says go in and tell them to stop buying oil from Libya and I would go in and tell them to stop. The Italians would say tsk, tsk. tsk. I'm sure that my successor was still going in to tell the Italians to stop buying oil from the Libyans about the time we opened up relations with Libya because the two -- the demarches and our going forward on opening relations with Libya -- didn't seem to be connected to each other. We routinely made the case about why the Italians shouldn't deal with the dastardly Libyans but they continued to do that.

Q: How did you find the Italian bureaucracy that you were dealing with?

DEAN: The finance ministries and the development ministries?

Q: Yes.

DEAN: By and large the people I was working with were technocrats. They were people who liked getting things done and could talk to you about the issues. The problem would be when we were trying to cross cultured, such as our views on IPR. Intellectual property protection is a good example of where we were fighting the culture. So you might have your counterpart sitting across the table from you who's been to the States and knows and

understands the criminal network argument. They know all of this but they also believe they're not going to change the system. The impact is that they may not put in much effort.

Q: So you found a lot of talented people?

DEAN: The finance ministry dealt quite frequently, much to our dismay, directly with the U.S. Treasury. You would go there to call on somebody and find out that half an hour ago they had spent an hour on the phone with their contact in Treasury. So part of our time was trying to figure out what our own government was up to.

Q: When you say "Treasury" you mean our Treasury.

DEAN: Our Treasury, right. So their finance ministry was talking to their counterparts in the U.S. Treasury. And that sometimes left the Embassy hanging out there. The Finance Ministry had no need to talk to the embassy. I believe as communications get better and better and more instantaneous that it may be harder and harder for embassies to do their job as an exclusive bargaining agent for the U.S. Government.

I did see Bill Pope, I gave him your card, told him that you would like him to call you.

Q: Yes, I've talked-

DEAN: Oh okay, good.

Q: Did you act as a backstop or observer or something with our embassy to The Holy See because they've got a big banking venture? I mean decades ago there was a tremendous….-

DEAN: That was a long time ago.

Q: -papal banking scandal. I wouldn't imagine our embassy to The Holy See would be equipped to monitor this.

DEAN: No, they only had two or three people in the mission and the scandal was not an issue during my time there.

Q: Was anybody looking at it?

DEAN: No. It was pretty much regarded as history. Like I said, the issues that we dealt with were the GMO, Y2K, IPR issues, principally. We also addressed trafficking in women and children, which was becoming a big issue. In one instance we set up an IV grant to send some nuns to the States. We got in touch with the organization that was the association of the heads of all the different societies of nuns. We contacted all the mother superiors of all the orders to advocate that the different orders become a safety net for girls in the region, not just in Italy but in that region around. We recommended a broad

outreach because many of these girls were coming into Italy from neighboring states, some of them from North Africa, or the states of the former USSR. The first step was to prevent girls from being susceptible to the sales pitch that there would be a job for them in Italy. For those girls who escaped the sex trade, it was important to have follow-on care and training. Many of the girls were too ashamed to go home. Others were afraid that the men who recruited them would take some revenge. Plus the mother superiors had standing in Italy and could work with the police to ensure that the police just did not automatically punish these women and send them home where they might, in some cases be subject to all kinds of domestic family problems. The mother superiors could make sure the women had a safe place to go for starters. More important was for them to train the nuns in a daisy chain effect that the nun on the ground in the local community could provide a safe harbor for any young woman who needed it. They could help these young women reintegrate back into society. We also worked with the Italians to change some of their immigration policies to give refugee status to some of these women who were able to flee their imprisonment. We made little, but important, progress.

And we worked with the Vatican on the GMOs issues. I organized a working group of eight or 10 different offices in the Embassy that had a concern with GMOs. I wanted to ensure that we were all marching together. In one section, for example, public affairs was a keen part of our strategy and outreach, both reaching out to the Italians but also reaching back to the States. We met weekly and set up our work plans after we determined a very articulated strategy that not just the econ section was implementing but that everybody in the embassy was working on. I think the reason we were as effective as we were is because it was a wholehearted strategy.

You had asked last week about the ambassador after Ambassador Foglietta, and I told you that we were there by ourselves with no adult supervision for about a year but then Mel Sembler came and he had been ambassador to Australia for Papa Bush when Papa Bush was president. Ambassador Sembler had been big fundraiser; he had been chairman of the Republican fundraising side of the house. Anyway, he is from Florida; he was actually rooting for Governor Jeb Bush to become president. Then he was asked if he would become ambassador to Rome, and he was the first ambassador in beaucoup years who couldn't claim some tie to an Italian antecedent. Even Reg Bartholomew dredged up somebody that he found in his family tree who was supposedly Italian.

So Ambassador Sembler came despite the objections of the National Italian-American Association here in the United States. Ambassador Sembler did a great job. He was the kind of political ambassador that you dream of because he had been ambassador before so he had had three years or four years of working with the Foreign Service. He knew that we were not trying to undermine him. He knew that we were all going to do the best jobs we could and that we would all actually march in the same direction. Providentially one of his very first speeches made those points: "I've been in an embassy, I know you guys are great, I know you'll give me your best", and he acted on that. He really embodied that attitude. He was one of those people, who, if he called up the White House, the White House took his call. Ambassador Sembler was an effective Ambassador, well liked by Italians and by the staff.

One quick example of his effectiveness. For many years a major insurance company had their office building just behind the Embassy, and it overlooked the Embassy grounds. While we did not believe there was any threat from the employees, we were happy when the company prepared to sell the building and move to bigger, newer quarters. Having new neighbors who could look into your classified backyard, so to speak, was unnerving. It took several years but Ambassador Sembler succeeded in getting the appropriations necessary to buy that building. And in February 2005 the USG had that annex named after the Ambassador (the *Mel Sembler Building*), an honor never before bestowed on a sitting diplomat, and made possible due to an amendment by Congressman Bill Young to an appropriations bill.

Ambassador Sembler was a fast study, even on new issues. If I start out explaining the basics of GMOs or IPR or whatever, I would see him improve every time. Every time he would build more on what he had learned from his previous experience. It was really very gratifying to have him come in cold turkey and just march up to new issues and make them his. I was very impressed with him. We overlapped about six months, eight months. I wasn't there very long but he was really good and it was such a pleasure working with him.

One other project that we worked on was the defense strike fighter. The defense strike fighter was a concept that we would build this new fighter, a new generation fighter aircraft, and we would have foreign countries buy in as partners. Countries could buy in at different levels, and we were asking the Italians to become tier one partners. At tier one they would get a certain number of these aircraft for themselves but they would also share in the profits of aircraft that were sold subsequently in the out years. We spent a lot of time working with DOD and with the U.S. and Italian military and with the Italian finance people because they had to ante a billion dollars. And after about a year, a year and a half of negotiations the Italians bought in. The Italians signed all the papers, but I don't know if the U.S. Government has ever gone ahead and actually produced any strike fighters.

I'm trying to think if there are any other big issues here. We had the G-8 in Genoa and we had the secretary, Secretary Powell, come several times. In the run up to a Summit, the post oversees a constant drumbeat of preparatory meetings: ministerials, serpas, sous-sherpas, experts, political directors, working groups. The meetings are endless. The President attended the summit and then made some calls in Rome. His wife and daughter were also in attendance. For such a large and important delegation, the embassy just comes to a screaming halt. If you remember there was a group of Italians protesting the G-8, and the carabinieri did end up killing somebody in the riots at the G-8 that year. And then afterwards the president came down to Rome, and I have a picture of my daughter, because it was her tenth birthday, standing in the residence shaking hands with the president. It was clear that the President was really a people person. He wanted to talk and shake hands; he would have shaken hands with everybody in the embassy but his wife kept him on track and on schedule.

There are lots of official and unofficial visitors to Italy all the time. I met Bill Gates who looks just like himself. Under Ambassador Sembler, just go to the residence and you would find that the name on the front page of the newspaper is visiting.

So much of the work is what I do every day. Today it is getting Italian agreement, despite EU opposition, to agree to an Open Skies agreement with our Civil Aviation Authority. Tomorrow it is getting Italian support for the U.S position in the World Trade Organization (WTO) on bananas. The next day it is expressing U.S. displeasure at the Italian handling of the PKK chief Ocalan (Turkish Workers' Party), for whom the Turks had sought extradition. The following day I might be accompanying the Ambassador to call on the Prime Minister to urge Italian solidarity with NATO in the face of the on-going war in Kosovo. Then again I might be briefing a visiting Air Force General in charge of environmental controls or encouraging ConGen Naples to invite the U.S. Navy to participate in environmental programs with Italy to demonstrate practical examples of environmental stewardship and enhance the U.S. Navy's image. Or perhaps it was seizing an opening presented by our Y2K efforts to garner a U.S. company a multi-million dollar software contract. And several times a week I went religiously to my Italian class, the better to gives speeches in Italian.

Much of the time of a Minister or a DCM or a Charge (and I had all those roles in Rome) is consumed with management. I trained and supported supervisors who recommended against tenure for junior officers. That the junior officers agreed after counseling shows that we were doing something correctly. I've helped budget strained offices find innovative ways to fund meetings and conferences. I've consulted on extremely sensitive personnel issues generated by externalities (USIA integration, downsizing or a shortage of FS-02s). Even officiating at award ceremonies, or Marine Guard promotions takes time. I reorganized the political section to rationalize the workflow and provide better administration of the section. In the assignment season, I have searched for the best (and preferably language qualified) candidates for the post. Whenever you have responsibility for hundreds of people, nearly a thousand people, you spend considerable time sorting out the kinks.

One of the interesting social phenomena coming out of the War College was that so many of us knew each other. Three of us lived in the same palazzo across from the Villa Borghese, so Chuck Keil, the Consul General, who had been at the War College, and Bill Pope, the Deputy Chief of Mission, who had been at the War College the same year and I, who had been at the War College with them all lived in the same house; Ruth Van Heuven, who had also been there was the Consul General in Milan. Another alumna, Sue Patterson, had just retired from her post as CG in Florence. There was just this huge group of former War College mates all serving in Italy right at that time. So I think that probably wraps up Italy, more or less.

We had a beautiful place to live, right opposite the Villa Borghese, which the embassy has owned at least since just after the Second World War. The rooms had 30-foot ceilings; I hung rugs on some of the walls. Much of the furniture is antique. We had the embassy art curator tell us about the furniture, some of which is from the 14th and 15th

century. I kept the children off those pieces because they were quite fragile. The residence was a beautiful place. Unlike when we lived in Chile, where nobody came to see us, in Rome we had lots of visitors. I counted one year. I took my yellow magic marker and marked all the days on my calendar and out of the first year we had like 237 days of visitors. We had a great time. Visitors were really good. We pointed them in the right direction and they'd go off and do their own thing and on the weekend sometimes we'd take visitors here or there. We had a huge dining room table that would seat about 18-20 people and Tom used the table to display his maps of Rome. He had huge maps spread all over the table so he could give you a map tour either of the city or of the country and tell the visitor, "drive here," "go there and you can see this, you can see that". He put all of his Italian learning to good use as a tour guide there.

I think that's pretty much it, what I have off the top of my head here.

Q: How'd you feel about the Italian hands at the embassy?

DEAN: The Italian?

Q: Hands. In other words, you'd been around. But I'm not talking about the FSNs; I'm talking about the Americans; was there a strong cadre of people who'd been on their third, fourth tours of Italy?

DEAN: There were not so many then but several of the people who were there when I was there have gone back and in fact I was just emailing a friend of mine who's now doing public affairs. She had been in the political section, now she's in the econ section. Another who worked for me has returned as the DCM.

How did I feel? I didn't have any problem with it.

Q: No, I was just wondering whether-

DEAN: There was not a whole lot of it.

Q: So you didn't feel-

DEAN: One of my friends, Sarah Horsey-Barr's father had served five tours. He served in all five posts in Italy. Though now there are only three posts in Italy, there used to be five. There was a period just before I went to Rome when the Department was threatening to close down Florence and give up the house/office. There was some congressional intervention because that house is right there on the banks of the Arno; it's a great place. So there were some people who had come back or people who had served 15 years ago or 20 years ago. Central Personnel would be quite opposed to giving all the plum posts to the same people. Given the number of hardship and unaccompanied posts we have Personnel wants to be able to hand out some nice posts when merited.

Q: Yes, well that's normal but there have been times when they've had people who spent most of their career.

DEAN: Yes..

Q: You left there in 2000?

DEAN: And two.

Q: Okay, how did the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center hit you all?

DEAN: Well, I think I may have mentioned that we were doing one of these tabletop exercises that day.

Q: Oh yes, you did.

DEAN: And there we were. We were looking at the live action news report like it was a Superman movie where we were going to be able to roll back time and bring those buildings back upright again. The Italians, of course, were very sympathetic, very supportive. It did traumatize some people in the embassy. It's interesting how different people react to stress. A number of people just found it difficult. I think I told you that we discovered the tunnels that went under the embassy grounds and under the residence so we got those all blocked up. But it was a stressful time for people.

Q: Did you have much contact with the political section, the political officers?

DEAN: As Economic Minister, not so much, by and large except operating on certain issues like the defense, the strike fighter. Another exception was the labor officer. Obviously as acting DCM I had routine contact with them all the time.

Q: Because my experience goes back 30 years but- or 20 years but there seemed to be an awful lot of preoccupation with these changes in the Italian government, which in those days, I think it's changed now but it was just-

DEAN: The time I was there it was Berlusconi, Berlusconi, and Berlusconi.

Q: Yes, it was the same people, they were just-

DEAN: In my case it was the same person.

Q: Does a new cabinet mean much?

DEAN: Nothing. Didn't mean anything. But during my period there, which was a unique window, Berlusconi's was the longest standing government in what, 25 years? Every day was another day. And he's his own sort of mad, crazy prime minister. He is a force to be reckoned with.

So we didn't have that continual ferment of new governments. I remember Berlusconi had to form a new coalition one time. I could see what would happen: new people in the different ministries meant you lost the contact that you'd been building for two years. It must have been about the two-year point when that happened. But I remember thinking that if I had to go through this every year or every six months -- constantly having to reestablish contacts —it would be a waste of time. The whole scene that I described to you on the IPR issue would have been much less successful if every three months I'd had to deal with a new secretary of X or Y or Z.

Q: You left Rome in 2002, whither?

DEAN: Before we return to Washington, I want to mention my husband's activities in Rome and thereafter. My husband retired the day we went to Italy and he spent four years walking around Rome going to the various Grupo Archaeological meetings and tours. He did a lot of touristy writing not only for the U.S. Embassy's *Veneto Views*, a weekly embassy newsletter, but the Brits and the other English speaking Embassies also published his articles. The articles might have a cultural focus or they might describe some site or exhibition that Tom had visited. They might talk about Roman cooking or dress making. He might describe how to wear a toga. He wrote an article every week. Then when we came back to Washington, Ambassador John Sprott, (Swaziland 94-96), invited Tom to join a new organization that he was founding, Arlington Learning in Retirement (ALRI). ALRI was the spinoff of the Fairfax Learning in Retirement. Many retirees in Arlington were going out to the LRI in Fairfax for classes. The Learning in Retirement centers are themselves a spinoff of Elder Hostel. Elder Hostel didn't want to do as much teaching and class work; they preferred to focus on travel. Consequently when ALRI started that fall, in October/November of 2002, Tom started teaching. He teaches one class a semester on things Roman: ancient Rome, medieval Rome, renaissance Rome, Rome and Carthage, Rome, in North Africa, Rome and Egypt. He periodically leads a tour group if somebody will organize one. Tom will go along and speak. He can talk extemporaneously for hours. Tom has led maybe three or four trips and he's going to do another one in May. He's going to take his students to Naples, Pompeii, Vesuvius and that general area. They will cover the buried cities of Vesuvius because there's been so much new excavation in the last 10 years.

Tom also had been in the Navy before he joined the Foreign Service and had been assigned to Naples as the admiral's aide. The U.S. admiral had fallen out with the mayor of Naples and had moved his headquarters elsewhere but he still had an aide to administratively manage the post in Naples. This did not require full time effort and Tom redirected his attention to Italy's underwater archaeological digs. The U.S. Navy ships were coming into the harbor the wrong way and damaging the underwater remains that were there. With underwater archeology the U.S-Italian navy team drew new channels for the big ships to enter the harbor while reducing the damage the engines were doing.

OK, on to the next posting. I became the office director for Western European Affairs, which at that time was Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, San Marino, and the Vatican. I'm

missing one. Malta. There are seven of them, three of them being city states. Since then the office has been consolidated into all the states of Western Europe and the Office Director portfolio is bigger than that of the Deputy Assistant Secretary for my area.

Q: Belgium?

DEAN: No, not Belgium. Belgium is now; it wasn't then.

Q: By the way, did San Marino, when you were in Italy, play into your portfolio? Did you have anything to do with San Marino?

DEAN: Not really; we kept an eye on it. Technically ConGen Florence was supposed to cover it and went up there once. I remember CG Larry Martinez went there. If you can ever get your hands on Larry Martinez once he retires, he's a diplomat in residence down in Florida, and he should have lots of stories to tell you. He was an amazing person.

Q: You're probably more likely to hear he's heading to Washington than I am; just let me know.

DEAN: Okay. We do, we see each other every once in awhile. Right; he's an extremely high energy person and I'd get emails and I'd look at it and see it was sent at 3:00 a.m. Forewarned.

Q: Okay. Well, you had Western European Affairs from when to when?

DEAN: For two years, from 2002 to 2004.

Q: Was this the economic side of the thing or was it-

DEAN: No, I was the office director.

Q: I just finished a long series of interviews with Beth Jones.

DEAN: She was there when I was there. Or rather I was there when she was there.

Q: Yes. Let's talk about this. What were your prime occupations as Office Director?

DEAN: The single most overwhelming issue was getting the French to support us in war. The goal was to get all of the WE countries to support us but the French were the ones who were being difficult. The Italians came onboard and the Spanish came on; everybody came onboard. This was still really fallout from 9/11, which was still quite fresh.

Q: This was Chirac.

DEAN: This was-

Q: In France, wasn't it?

DEAN: Yes, it must have been. Part of the problem was that the French military thought that they were going to join; they wanted to join and believed that everything would be okay eventually. Many of our interlocutors thought the French were just doing this for public affairs and they would join eventually. So we were getting a mixed message on the one hand but on the other hand the Pentagon was playing really hard ball with the French. The ways that we might have been able diplomatically to get the French to join us were constantly being undercut by the DOD slam crash-

Q: This is basically the secretary of defense, Don Rumsfeld, wasn't it?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: In my interview with Beth Jones she talks about how she and Colin Powell used to- by 3:00 in the afternoon tell all the people, I suppose you yourself included, to bring their complaints about the Pentagon to her so she could take them to Colin Powell. And this is practically on a daily basis.

DEAN: That sounds about right because it was really frustrating.

I think the French might have joined us if we hadn't been just, like I said, threatening and doing all kinds of things that we do so badly. That just irritated the French. Beth and the secretary were very actively engaged, not just in getting every country but in particular working on France. You could see what was happening. It was so counter-productive.

We gave a talk to the Italians just before I left Rome, briefing them on some of the information that had been discovered and aerial pictures; the presentation didn't convince me and I was trying to sell it. It was the same way on the desk. You're out there pushing a storyline that is just not credible. INR (Office of Intelligence and Research) is saying things that we have since read in the *Washington Post* that we don't have a strong basis for our claims that the Iraqis have nuclear weapons capability. And of course the INR reports do come out later on and in fact are 100 percent on the mark but you can see that Secretary Powell is torn between the Defense side and the INR side. The Secretary keeps going back insisting on more. Because the date when he went up to the UN and did his testimony had been rescheduled I think at least once or twice because he kept going back and asking for more information.

Q: How did you feel about our going into Iraq, I mean personally.

DEAN: I felt about it just like I feel about it today. Pardon me, a big stupid mistake. When you let your personal feelings override what's in the national interest, you make big mistakes.

Q: Did you have personal problems making our points to your counterparts?

DEAN: You know, I do a lot of recruiting. One point I frequently make is to tell potential Foreign Service applicants that when you go in to a foreign government or to another U.S. agency or to an international organization to make a demarche, or advocate your government's position you're wearing the stamp of the U.S. Government on your forehead. You're not there speaking as Margaret Dean or as Stu Kennedy. You're there making the best case that you can, making the strongest case you can make. If I can go in and lobby the Italians to stop dealing with the Libyans I certainly try to make the best case. The talking points are there. You don't have to think about them, by and large. So there it is; it's all laid out. You only need to put the points in the context of why the requested action is in the national interest of the party to whom you are speaking.

Q: Did you find that your French counterparts would say, "All right Margaret, you've made your points but we don't buy them?"

DEAN: You have to go back repeatedly. It depends on whom you're dealing with and how well you know them. If they're somebody that you haven't really dealt with frequently you can basically go back and reiterate most of your points but if it's somebody that you know and that you've been dealing with for a long time you pick out the best points, the strongest case. I mean, this is post 9/11 we do need to defend ourselves. We think this is where the target is, this is where we're going to focus; we'd really like you to help us. And you make a more emotional pitch, give it your best shot. In addition we wanted to keep the relationship with France in perspective. The French were more supportive on the Balkans, the War on Terrorism, and Afghanistan. We needed to have a multi-dimensional approach to France, focusing on multiple U.S. interests.

Q: Spain was pretty much on our side at that time, wasn't it?

DEAN: Yes. Right up until the train bombing.

Q: The Madrid train bombing.

DEAN: We did not have an ambassador or DCM in country at that time. The admin counselor (who has since gone on to become a DCM) was in charge. We were handling everything on the phone. She and I were on the phone constantly; I was just walking her through issues one by one, making sure that the mission had done things that we thought they needed to do, having her update us on what was going on, reassuring her that she was doing the right thing, back and forth. She did a very nice job.

Q: Of course the problem with the train bombing was that the- Who was the head of the Spanish government at the time?

DEAN: Jose Maria Aznar. He had been Prime Minister from 1996 until the elections right after the bombing.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: Aznar should have been a shoe-in but the bombing led to his party losing the general election. March 11, 2004, the date of the bombing, was a few days before the elections. 191 people were killed and about 1800 were wounded.

Q: Shoe-in but he was trying to claim it was the Basques that did it and he got way too far out on that.

DEAN: He did, absolutely. It was really sad. We were sorry to see him defeated. We had been developing a special relationship with him. Aznar's tenure had been a period of economic recovery and growth. During his tenure Spain joined the European single currency. He committed troops to the war of Afghanistan, and decided to enter the Iraq War. Blaming ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) for the 2004 Madrid train bombings in advance of decisive evidence or any ETA claim was a costly mistake.

Q: And so the government that came in was a socialist, I think, was- did not accept our position on Iraq.

DEAN: Well, the new government of Rodriguez Zapatero didn't accept it wholeheartedly and they reduced the number of troops and then they started scaling back and that was about the time I left EUR.

Q: Were you feeling, in your area of Western Europe, which according to the secretary of defense was called Old Europe and he sort of dismissed out of hand our prime allies, but was there a real dislike of President George W. Bush and his administration, would you say, or how did it go?

DEAN: I would say that they didn't like his policies. Individually Bush is a very pleasant, personable man so they would make a distinction between Bush the president, and Bush the administration. People did not think the U.S. effort was going in the right direction.

Q: Did you all, speaking about your particular focus, Western Europe, look at our efforts in what we would call public diplomacy and see that it was trying to change attitudes in Western Europe or did you sort of feel this wasn't going anywhere?

DEAN: First of all we had some outrageously successful efforts. Berlusconi declared he was the blood brother of Bush. Berlusconi was invited to the Bush ranch. They had reasonably close ties. The two of them were in lockstep on things; you have Italy going this way and then had France going that way. So, did I feel we were widely successful on the public relations side?

Q: I mean, did you feel that you were challenged on the public relations side? I'm talking about our efforts in Europe.

DEAN: We didn't have to do much in Italy because Berlusconi had declared Italy in. Up until the bombing Spain was pretty much in the same category as a close ally. It was

really the French who were opposed out there. Portugal had reservations. We just needed more finely tuned diplomatic approaches with the French. It was hard to have a positive PR campaign in France when part of the team was kicking the French in the shins. If we had a joint effort within the USG, we would have been in a much stronger position to tell our public relations story. As it was we could tell the public relations story all we wanted because nobody was listening.

We did a number of things that had good effect, that were good for our bilateral relations. We ensured the President Aznar had an invitation to Crawford, the President's ranch; we worked with our Counter-Terrorism Office to put the Basque separatist organization (ETA) on our terrorism list; we pushed the EPA to be more responsive in offering assistance to Spain to deal with a devastating oil spill off the Spanish coast.

The basic building blocks of a relationship involve meetings, discussions and contacts at different levels, whether it is the Bilateral Commission meeting with the Portuguese or the U.S.-Italian Science Commission or analyzing the conflict between the U.S. and the EU over the EU's Global Position Satellite, Galileo, or even ensuring the installation of equipment in the Freeport of Malta to reduce the probability of terrorist or criminal smuggling in ocean-going containers.

By time I left EUR/WE I could claim a measure of success in stabilizing relations with the French. The French are members of the UN Security Council, the G-8, EU and NATO and it is in our national interest to be on good terms. We encouraged the Friends of France in the Congress to expand understanding; we emphasized the cooperation we get from France on North Korea, on the Balkans, on counter-terrorism, on peace-keeping in the Ivory Coast, on Afghanistan, on Haiti. We supported the French request for two representatives in the reallocation of general officer positions in NATO, given their high level of participation.

Q: Yes. Then you left there in 2004?

DEAN: Yes.

Q: Whither?

DEAN: Then I went to HR, and became the Staff Director for the Board of Examiners.

Q: How long did you do that?

DEAN: Until I retired, so for three years, until September of '07.

Q: Okay, let's talk about being in human relations, that horrible term.

DEAN: It is.

Q: Why they, I mean it sounds like something cranked up by a robot or something.

DEAN: Yes.

Q: I mean, I assume it was designed as a word to be friendlier than "personnel" but it certainly doesn't sound that way.

DEAN: Personnel was a perfectly fine word.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: I think I mentioned last time that when Mark Grossman, then the Director General, gave Personnel the slogan of "the best serving the best" that the troops were stunned.

Q: The Board of Examiners (BEX), did you do any of the testing or were you pretty much-?

DEAN: Because I had no idea of the operational reality, what I did was ask the person who was acting, Phil du Chateau, if, please, would you continue as Acting Director for three months (August-October). I needed time to learn the ropes and he was going to retire. The person before him, Steve Noble, had just been assigned the previous year but he curtailed after four or five months to become the executive director for the Africa bureau (AF/EX). Subsequently he has gone to an ambassadorship in Africa. Phil was already filling the temporary gap when I arrived. I just asked him to fill in another three months. What I did then, for that three months, is I became a regular assessor. I assessed and I did suitability reviews and budget appeals and I did all the things that the assessors do so that I would have some idea what the assessors did. In exchange Phil chose to staff the offsite assessment in Seattle, where he had been in the Coast Guard. He had some tie in his youth to Seattle so he wanted to go. I took over in November and he went TDY to Seattle to do interviews. Then for three years I ran BEX.

Q: What was your goal; what were you doing with this?

DEAN: While my colleagues were strengthening bilateral relations, forging international agreements and sweltering in the heat of a Baghdad summer, I was leading the search for their successors. Not to take over today or tomorrow, as many candidates seem to think, but eventually. Under the Foreign Service Act of 1980 and the Bureau's Program Plan, the Board of Examiners (BEX) seeks "to strengthen and improve the Foreign Service of the United States by … assuring, in accordance with merit principles, admission through impartial and rigorous examination…" What I was doing may have been in the weeds, but the goal was always clear: a vigorous, representative, and capable Foreign Service for the future.

The first year it was basically overseeing the process of interviewing candidates, setting the standards, moving the people through the selection process. We were hiring pretty much at attrition. The DRI (Diplomatic Recruitment Initiative), the task force effort of

then-Secretary Colin Powell had subsided, after a huge influx of new people. Given financial and manpower constraints the Department has had to deal with a pig in the python as regards personnel management. Numbers go up; then numbers back down to attrition, or even below. If the hiring numbers are small the office is doing less. The management problem is that with a surge in hiring there are not enough positions at the entry level. This condition follows the cohort through its collective career. With larger cohorts, promotions, numerically the same, may be proportionally fewer. Employees advance more slowly. Fewer are able to cross over the threshold and become senior officers. Later, when we are hiring at attrition, the opposite is true. Promotions are quicker; there are staffing gaps because there are not enough people; there are not enough supervisors to train and mentor the incoming classes or entry-level officers at post. It would be much more practical, however unrealistic, to say that for the next five years we will hire at attrition plus X.

When I became the Staff Director, we had five different written exams – one for each career track. I set the cut score for each written exam/career track to make sure that we were only bringing forward, that we were only feeding into the pipeline, as many people as we could reasonably expect to hire in the future. Using a rough algorithm that included factors to address losing candidates who failed medical, security or suitability clearances, who change their mind about a Foreign Service career, who find other jobs, etc., as well as factoring in the different passing rate of candidates in the different career tracks plus the number of candidates already on the Hiring Register for that career track, I set the number of candidates we would invite to the Oral Assessment (FSOA). Being reasonably accurate meant that the Department was not spending thousands or tens of thousands of dollars doing medical clearances and security clearances on people whose candidacies were just going to die after their 18 months on the register. Interviewing fewer meant that candidates were spared the cost of coming to Washington or an interview site.

We also wrote new test materials. I established a group -- I'm very good at organizing groups -- to write a new country, and create all the associated test materials. That takes about 12-18 months. We also wrote a new case management exercise (a writing exercise to resolve a difficult management issue), as well as other components of the Oral Assessment, such as hypothetical questions and past behavior questions. The assessment year started in the Spring with the annual administration of the Written Exam (FSWE), the scoring of the exam and the essay, the notification of the successful and unsuccessful candidates, the opening of the oral interviews (FSOA) in August, followed by assessments until the following spring. We had roughly 18-20,000 candidates take the FSWE and between October and May we thousands of interview, and not just in Washington, we also conducted interviews at off-sites around the U.S.

One day then-Director General Staples decided that he wanted to do away with the written exam because of the negative impact on minority hiring. There was this sharp intake of breath by everybody, what are we going to do?

Fortunately the Cox Foundation was willing to fund a study by McKinsey and Company on how the Department might change the selection process for hiring FS generalists,

focusing specifically on the FSOT. Because the Director General really wanted to increase minority hiring and the most direct ways you can do that are essentially illegal we were are barred from choosing any of the obvious solutions. McKinsey analysts came in September for about three months. McKinsey was chosen as a sole source contractor because they had done the War for Talent (the underpinning for Secretary Powell's effort to increase FS manpower) previously. McKinsey understood how the Foreign Service worked and how it differs from the Civil Service. Three McKinsey analysts interviewed everybody; they talked to everybody; they got the process all straightened out and then they said a couple of useful things: one of which was, if you can only have one test, one screening for choosing new Foreign Service officers, the written exam is the single best tool. You have to have the written exam. It is your best screen, and people who do well there are going to do well in the Foreign Service.

Okay. So how about the oral assessment, the all day oral assessment? McKinsey conclusion: The Department's oral assessment is the gold standard of interview processes. Really the Department is at the cutting edge; the Foreign Service sets a standard for anybody else wanting to conduct one of these kinds of screens. So we were patting ourselves on the back, very nice, very nice. It took a little effort but the McKinsey analysts did convince the Director General that the Department should not get rid of the written exam and that he should keep this gold standard oral assessment. But then McKinsey said, "Oh, and by the way, one thing that you could do, however, is everything that you have been doing BUT add a 'total candidate review'. Your selection process is blindfolded, and that's really stupid. No university would accept a student without knowing something about them; no international corporation would hire somebody without knowing a little bit about them; no non-profit would hire someone without knowing their educational background and work history. How can you hire people who are going to be directing and implementing U.S. foreign policy without knowing anything about them?" (You may remember back to the days of the women's class action suit (the Palmer suit) that in order to meet the legal requirements of the court order the Department decided to keep any personal information out of the hands of the assessors. For a long time assessors knew nothing about the background of the candidate. By the 2000s the system had relaxed enough that the two assessors who conducted the personal interview component of the Oral Assessment had some information, generally that disclosed by the candidate in their one-page *Statement of Interest.)*

McKinsey then advised: "What you need is a 'total candidate' review that includes a review of the applicant's work history and education, and you need to do it after the written test and before the oral assessment. Use that review process to decide who's going to be invited to the oral assessment." Okay. We say we can do this, yes. And so now it was December, January, and we mapped a plan of how we want to do this. We estimate it is going to take about two years. Now, it didn't take us two years. The Director General unilaterally cancelled the annual written exam in April 2007 and said, "install the new system as quickly as you can." Facing the loss of an entire interview year, i.e., no new conditional offers, and a draining of the registers, we completed the process by September 2007, astonishing ourselves.

As I said, I'm good at putting teams together, we pulled together a team; we created a completely new 'total candidate' process; we ensured the software was built, created especially for this operation; we trained the assessors on how to be good panelists in reviewing files; we got that cranked up and working by September, 2007. It was absolutely amazing.

The core of the team was the then-REE Director, Ambassador Marianne Myles, with Dick Christensen, Kerry Weiner, and I. Others helped, particularly the HR software team who designed, tested and implemented all the supporting software, and the lawyers from the legal office who had responsibility for overseeing the Department's compliance with the rulings from the Palmer class action suit.

The result was that we retained the written exam, as the best cognitive test, but we renamed it The Foreign Service Officer Test (FSOT). We eliminated the separate written exams for each of the five career tracks, in part because we didn't have time to create five written exams and in part because we did not have the funding to design and pilot test five separate exams. (Each question costs about $1000 from concept to test.) We have one written exam. The legal basis, when you have one test form, is that you can only have one standard, one cut score. You cannot differentiate between political officers and econ officers by score. If there's one test you have to have one cut score; you cannot change the cut scores for different groups.

We worked with our industrial psychologist to set the lowest cut score that we could have and still defend the FSOT as generating the quality we needed. The cut score for the overall T-score for the combined three elements (English Expression, Job Knowledge and the Biographic section) was 154. The cut score for each of the individual components of the test was set at a T-score of 50 percentile, meaning that if half the applicants scored below 94 (on a 100 point scale) and half scored 95 and above, we would only invite the top 50%. Actually a candidate could score below 50 on an individual test component, but the combined score of the three multiple choice components has to be more than 154. Only those candidates who score 154 have their essay graded. The selection process is explained in greater detail on our website at careers.state.gov.

And the reason we set the cut score just above the half-way mark was because the FSOT (and its predecessor, the FSWE) is the single place in the selection process where the adverse impact takes place. The bio information, the psycho babble part of the questionnaire, actually helps women a little bit and it was put in there as a result of the women's class action suit. The English grammar part doesn't cause women any special problems. Subsequent data analysis shows that this system does generate a different, and more diverse, cadre of candidates to invite to the interview.

Q: Actually being married to an English teacher, I know that's adding 10 points to the women's side.

DEAN: Maybe.

Q: If it weren't for women we'd have a lot looser language, you know.

DEAN: That's perhaps true. It is the job knowledge part that sinks the boat for minority candidates in particular. I remember the statistics for black candidates: if black candidates are nine percent of the applicant pool, they come through FSWE at about four percent. So they pass at about a 45% rate. If white men are passing at a rate of over 55% there is statistical adverse impact. In the stats we have kept over the last years our adverse impact situation has improved considerably.

Blacks go through the total candidate review, the QEP (Qualifications Evaluation Panel), at a steady rate. They come through the oral assessment (FSOA) at a steady rate. So there's really only one part of the selection process that generates adverse impact. By setting the cut score on the FSWE slightly above average we ensured that we had the largest, qualified, diverse group of candidates possible.

As the new second step we introduced a file review where three assessors review the candidate's job application with its education and work history and read six mini-essays (300 words or so) responding to questions based on the promotion precepts. For example, tell us about a time when you showed your leadership skills. This second step is called the Qualifications Evaluation Process (QEP).

In this section every applicant in a specific career track is rank ordered and those above the cut score are invited to the Oral Assessment (FSOA). The criteria for setting the cut score uses a similar algorithm to the one mentioned above, just now the control valve is at the QEP stage instead of at the FSOT stage.

Then the third and last step (the Oral Assessment) remains the same: the group exercise, the personal interview and the case management writing exercise.

In addition we have targeted hiring programs, like the Pickering and Rangel programs, but these people must succeed in passing the Oral Assessment.

Q: These are sort of scholarship programs designed to bring in ….

DEAN: Minority candidates.

Q: …minorities. When we're talking about minorities we're talking about almost completely African Americans, aren't we?

DEAN: Well, The programs are not allowed in their selection process to discriminate on the basis of race and national origin. There is an economic need-based criterion and 20 or 30 percent of those in the programs actually are poor white and a mix of other minorities.

Q: While we're talking about minorities, during the time you were doing this, the minority balance in the United States tipped so that Hispanics were more minorities than- more of- they were more-

DEAN: They're a larger minority. They are now the largest minority.

Q: But that seems to be sort of overlooked. I mean politically the focus has been on African Americans.

DEAN: The focus has been on African Americans for us because they are in fact the group that is the lowest ranking. Other minorities do better. What we compare our rates against are Department of Labor standards; we look at the minority's percentage of the population; we look at the percent of their college graduate population in the country's college graduate population. We compare those figures to the percentage that we are hiring. We look at the professional population for that minority. We compare the percentage of people who are working in professional level jobs with the percentage of the minority of that population that we hire. So if Hispanics are 10 percent of the professional population in the U.S. we aim for more.

We bring as many people forward from the FSOT as we can. At the QEP we use different panels for each career track. We know the algorithm of how many people we're going to hire, how many people are not going to accept the job offer, how many people are not going to pass the suitability, medical and security clearances, how many people aren't going to even complete their part of the pre-hiring process, how many people aren't going to attend the oral assessment, what the pass rate is for their career track on the oral assessment, how many seats are reserved for Pickering and Rangel interns. Using the algorithm we back up to how many people in that career track we need to have come from the QEP process. The variation between career tracks is very high. In the management career track we may invite 60 percent of the candidates. For the political candidates, we have to factor in the Pickerings and the Rangels. They principally choose the political or public diplomacy career track. This means that we have to subtract a certain number of positions for the Pickerings and Rangels in their desired career tracks because once Pickering and Rangel interns complete their graduate studies they go into the next A-100 (entry class). Hence we may invite only 30 percent of the political candidates. So you have to be in the very top of the heap, very cream of the crop, to be chosen to be invited to the oral assessment if you're a political officer but you can be very good, average even, in some of the other career tracks.

As I said, we developed a whole set of criteria; it's all linked to the promotion precepts. We have anchor language so that for any particular promotion precept we know all the sub-features that we are looking for in these documents. We have six criteria and we have three assessors looking at six criteria so there's 18 scores that get totaled. Then we set the cut score.

Creating the QEP software generated a lot of messy problems. In each career track we have more than one group of three can process in three weeks (the maximum time we can establish and still complete three cycles/year). This creates the question how can we compare 300 political officers evaluated by Group A with the 300 evaluated by Group B, and the 300 evaluated by Group C. Even with close adherence to using the anchors to

score, there is still some variation between groups. To rationalize scores across different assessing groups we use a statistical process call T Scores, which I mentioned earlier. This way we are always able to compare groups across the different assessing teams.

Getting the new process in place was an amazing piece of work. We didn't change the oral assessment at all; that was fine. The FSOA works. If people get a passing score of 5.25 they go through the whole clearance process. When we started this in September 2007, we were trying to do it five times a year. There were just not enough days in a year to do the process on a regular annual cycle. We could only run the complete cycle three times within a year. So now we conduct the FSOT in Feb, June and October. That's the beginning for the cohort cycle. The FSOT itself now is an entirely online process. We moved from a pen and paper test, a blue book situation, to a process where everything, including the application, is online; there is no paper generated any place along the way.

When I think back about how much we did in as short a time as we did I'm still amazed. Initially we had required the application and what we call the personal narrative questions at the application period. We discovered that the volume of information and effort required was a barrier to application. We moved the personal narrative questions from the first stage of the application. We decided to ask for the mini-personal narratives only after the applicant had some buy-in. We thought that once people had passed the FSOT, they would be more inclined to submit their personal essays for the second stage, the QEP. Those who did not pass would not have to write the essays. What we discovered is that our applications went from about 2,500 for each test window to about 8,000 applications per window. The numbers ramped up quite a bit, probably due to a push-pull causation since the economy was also declining and people were losing their jobs. Of the 8,000 we brought about 40 percent or 3,200 people to a total candidate review (QEP). Then we evaluated all those people and decided which ones were going to be invited to an oral assessment. And, as I said, we \ set different pass rates there.

We got everything working fine and then we rather suddenly got this tripling of applications. The flood of applications was a bit of a problem because management decided that in addition to increased minority hiring we should focus on 'just in time hiring.' The process for selecting each candidate who goes on a register is extremely expensive, for the Department and for the candidate, especially if he or she is overseas, as many of our candidates are. We don't want people dying on the register. We want to tighten the selection mechanism. We can do this through the QEP but there is a lag of 6-9 months before there are results. Just about the time that we saw the results of our 'just-in-time' processing, management changed its needs. Management wanted to increase the hiring three-fold. Secretary Clinton was successful in getting additional FS positions. When you increase your hiring threefold after a period of austerity, there are not enough people on the hiring registers to meet the new need. Opening the testing process three times a year gives BEX greater flexibility than the previous once a year test, but it is still like turning an aircraft carrier at sea. Change is going to take time. After about six months the QEP spigot was producing candidates. The problem now is CDA's (Career Development and Assignments) as it tries to find jobs for all the new people, and FSI's (the Foreign Service Institute) as they try to find space and teachers for all the new hires.

Q: And parking.

DEAN: And parking.

Q: Parking has become an issue. We've just gone through a price hike. We've been charged up to now $1 to park. As of next Monday it's going to be $5.

DEAN: When I drove in today the guards very kindly told me that come Monday the parking fee will be $5, and they gave me a little mimeographed piece of paper showing me where the overflow parking was, which I have to admit I could not decipher.

Q: It sounds awful to me, I mean Monday.

DEAN: I'm not coming on Monday so it's okay.

So the whole process is out there chugging along. FSI is trying to train all these people; CDA (Office of Career Development and Assessment) is squeezing mid-level to-

Q: CEAA?

DEAN: CDA. I was talking about the career development folks in HR, the human resources. They're all the assignment people. They are trying to find jobs at the entry level; there are not enough jobs. For the first time in a long time they are having to assign people to one year tours in Washington because they don't have enough jobs overseas. The bureaus are creating jobs as fast as they can. But applications to create new positions overseas have to go through the **I**nternational **C**ooperative **A**dministrative **S**upport **S**ervices (ICASS) council at post. A bureau cannot just create a job; rather the bureau has got to obtain every participating agency at post's approval. All interagency cooperation is expressed through the ICASS Council because the other agencies pay some of the supporting costs of running the Mission. That whole process takes time.

We got the new generalist selection process all up and running smoothly. I am, as a WAE (Work When Actually Employed), the last person standing from the original team. I have become a unique resource for the rationale for why we made the changes we did. Plus I am good at overall testing and selection design.

When we finished with the Generalists we turned to doing the same thing with the specialists. The specialist hiring process had always been an application process and if the applicant had the credentials the vacancy announcement required, 100 percent of those applicants were invited to a specialist oral assessment. In building the new system we had to realize that we don't want to invite 200 human resources candidates to an interview when we're only going to hire seven people. So what we did was link the requirements in the vacancy announcement to the specific specialist career track job analysis that was done about two years ago (c.2009). We outlined what applicants actually need to be able to do in the vacancy announcement. Then we created a

Qualifications Evaluation process for screening and evaluating the specialists. The new process strengthens the parallels between the generalist and specialist selection processes.

We started with the Office Management Specialists (OMS) because they are one of the largest specialist groups (roughly 25% of all specialist applications (excluding Diplomatic Security applications because they have a different process). We moved to eliminate the paper application process and just use an online application. We wanted to have only one application system. Once we close a vacancy announcement, and screen for those applicants who do not meet the minimum qualifications we send the file electronically to three subject matter experts (SMEs). With the new software system, the SMEs can be here in Washington or they can be abroad. The SMEs use the standards that are linked to the promotion precepts. The three SMEs give the file a numerical score from 60 to 100. Initially it was one to 100; however we decided that passing the minimum qualifications was worth 60 points. So now the SMEs give a score based on the anchors for that precept of 60-100; the three scores are averaged to reach a final score.

Even though 80 is considered a passing score we might decide to interview only those scoring above 96 or to 93 because we know that we're not going to hire that many people. Why should these people pay to come to Washington and spend a day on an interview if we are not serious about hiring many people. If we are only going to hire 10 General Service Officers (GSOs) we do not need to interview 200.

We have completed the first test pilot case, the office management specialists where we have hundreds of applicants, going through this process right now. We're just about to start the QEP for them and see how it works. We designed dedicated software to manage the process from application to invitation to the Oral Assessment. I spent my time interfacing with the IT folks. I'm like the translator because the program assistants don't know what to ask for and the IT people don't know what the program assistants need without detailed elaboration. I am the filter because I speak both geek and English and I know how the system is supposed to work.

(2015 comment: Once we finished with the OMS, we moved on through all the 15 specialties, except the four Diplomatic Security ones. The way the new process works is the oral assessment consists of three sections: one is an on-line multiple-choice computer test or competency test. Generally there are some situational judgment questions, and some job knowledge questions. The candidate is asked to write a two-page essay (or several mini essays) addressing a management problem(s) in their area of expertise for about an hour. So for the IT people it's an IT management kind of problem. The last element is a 70 plus minute interview. Previously if you were an office management specialist (OMS) you would also have had to take a proofreading test of six minutes. This test did not produce candidates who could meet the same high standards that we needed. Now we use the essay as a grammar/spelling check. (End 2015 comment).

The online competency test is where the candidates come into the test center, sign on to a computer and go through 70 questions that are basically technical in nature. As I said then finally they do the structured interview, which instead of being 45 minutes will be

more like an hour to an hour and a half. The interview has the same format that the generalist processing has, which is three parts: the motivation and experience kinds of questions, the hypothetical kinds of questions and also past behavior questions which are essentially tell us about a time when you had to deal with problem X, Y or Z. And again, these are all related back to the promotion precepts and the dimensions of the precepts. At the time of this interview (2010) we were only starting on our first pilot and were still working out the software details. (2015 comment: The systems and selection processes all worked fine.)

Q: I find this fascinating to hear because you know, I came in, I was just about at the very end, within about six months I took a three and a half day exam, written exam.

DEAN: Forty-five minutes doesn't cut it, doesn't it?

Q: Well no, I mean, it's just different. But it was three and a half days, that fact sticks in my mind because I was in the Air Force at the time and I had to three days plus travel time but you could only get three day leaves.

DEAN: Oh, so you were short a half day.

Q: I had to go convince my commanding officer that I, as an enlisted man, needed another half day. This was in Frankfurt. He was a bit dubious but he let me go.

DEAN: So this was the first part, this was the written exam part.

Q: This was the written exam part.

DEAN: This wasn't even the Interview?

Q: I always had made the claim that I never passed the written exam because, I got a 69.7 on the written exam and they averaged me in.

DEAN: Sounds like the written and the interview all happened at the same time. A passing score nowadays for the written is 154; it a gateway test to advancing to the interview. The score required there is 5.25. We say a 5.25 because the assessor scores are all whole numbers, three, four or five. What you can't see behind the screen is that the calculation is carried out to hundredths and then rounded. So that if you got a 5.25 you will be rounded up to 5.3; if you get a 5.24 you're going to be rounded down to a 5.2. So you would have been okay, averaging up to a 70, under our system.

Q: When I was an examiner at one time during the '70s; I looked up my card and saw how I passed.

DEAN: Oh, did you?

Q: First I looked at the name "Kennedy," Just about three cards away was George Kennan. And he didn't do that well. I mean, he did better than I did but he didn't knock their socks off.

DEAN: That's really funny. The first time I took it and I had the three old white guys who were just extremely difficult, although I shot myself in the foot.

Q: I suppose you didn't have a woman then because when I did it if we had a woman she was always tougher on the woman than the men were.

DEAN: The first time I did it was early on, so it was still three white guys. Like I said, I shot myself in the foot; they didn't do it. I rephrased a question that they asked me in a way that I couldn't answer it, as opposed to rephrasing it so I could answer it.

So the next time I tested there is a woman in the group of testers and they were younger. They are not all the same age; there was a variety of ages. I remember two questions, one of which was: "Tell us something about contemporary American literature and we don't mean Hemingway and people like that; we mean really modern today people, what kind of novelists are out there?" And I said "I'm an English major and I am drawing a total blank. I cannot remember anybody but let me tell you about what I'm reading, which is Maya Angelou's I Know Why the Caged Bird Sing**s**. The reason why this is relevant is because it is so much like a novel. There's imagery and drama and it's beautifully written". So that was fine. And then the very last question they asked me was: "if you could pick any decade in this century, which of course was the last century, which one would you pick and why?" I-think I laughed and said, "This is a Miss America contest question. Okay, let me pick…" I picked one and gave them some reasons for it but the question just made me laugh.

Q: As a final question, what's your impression of the people coming in? You know, you're a serving officer, you've been serving for a long time, looking at people that you've dealt with in the Foreign Service, what do you think about the incoming new officers?

DEAN: One of the questions that we ask people in the cross-cultural area of the Oral Assessment is: "How do you distinguish between personality and culture? How do you know that a behavior isn't because James is James and not because James is German?" This applies to your question. To what extent are new hire officers different from the current generation? How much is it because John is John and how much is it because John is part of a younger generation?" It's true we find a sense of entitlement; we find much more concern about work/life balance. There is a lack of understanding that the Foreign Service isn't just a job; rather that it is a lifetime. So there's big differences like that which you might think are cultural. I don't think some of these differences are an individual quality. The supervisors of entry-level officers complain that new hires cannot write. In part there maybe some actual erosion of basic writing skills. Without an outline, mental or physical, organizing the development of an idea in a logical and coherent way can be difficult. Critical thinking can be undone by poor writing. Many people seem to

spill their thoughts on paper with considering the delivery. Supervisors also complain that the new hires do not understand hierarchy, nor do they know how to work in a hierarchical organization.

I ask people all the time, as one of my research questions, I continually ask people how are the first and second tour junior officers (JOs) performing for you? Someone like Robin Bishop, the head consular person in Mexico for five years, said she had known firsthand, either intimately or in passing, about 500 first and second tour junior officers. She thought that we were putting out high quality JOs. She said she could only think of three of them who shouldn't have been allowed in the Foreign Service. A few more needed counseling and mentoring. As a failure rate that's actually very good. I was pretty happy with that. The system is too new to know how new people are coming advancing through the system. Are we making better choices? Does being able to look at the total file, with its educational information and work experience, make a positive difference? We think so. Because when you passed directly from the written exam to the oral assessment the pass rate on the oral assessment was about 18 to 20 percent. Now, with the additional filter, the pass rate is about 40%. We are sending forward the most competitive candidates. We talk about the elephant and the blind men, where the blind men each have a little picture in their mind about how an elephant looks like based on their feeling a different part of the elephant. With the QEP, we have got one more snapshot to look at to get that whole picture of the elephant. We think we're weeding out a lot of people who wouldn't have been competitive and only sending forward the most competitive applicants.

In the personal narratives in the QEP, you get some sense of the person, although maybe not an appreciation of any of their expeditionary skills that the Department keeps talking about. You might see whether a person is a desk officer, a person who sits behind his or her desk, or whether the person is more a street officer, inclined to get out and mix it up more. You get a livelier sense of who that person is as a personality. So it is possible that we're bringing in more engaged, more proactive officers but you're not going to see that for another half a generation, until these people start becoming supervisors.

Q: I can't help, on a very personal level, looking back at the process and thinking I barely came in. I wasn't an outstanding officer but I did all right. I could have easily been passed over, but if I had been passed over we wouldn't have this oral history program. Very seriously. I think this is a great program. Just by sticking to it as opposed to showing great brilliance we have this project. I think it's going to be a major historical factor. You don't know what you're going to get.

DEAN: Although we don't have persistence as a promotion precept or a dimension of one of the precepts, that quality endures. I was telling some junior officer the other day about negotiating with the Russians. It wasn't that we were counting on making progress with the Russians at any given point in time, but we were going to sit at that table and engage them day after day after day. We were not going to give up. And it's the same for negotiating with anyone. You have to have persistent people.

I read the Yahoo accounts on trying to enter the Foreign Service. There is a Yahoo group for every stage of the Foreign Service selection process and I subscribe to them all; I must read hundreds of emails every day about people working on the process. Some of these people have gone through the testing process more than once, some more than twice, but the whole idea of preparing, working hard in preparing, being persistent in pursuing their dream of joining the Foreign Service, there's a lot of value in that. I think that's a worthy goal. If the U.S. interest is to do X, Y or Z you need to persist until you achieve that goal.

Q: Sure. And also brilliance is not always a major factor in a bureaucracy.

DEAN: Sometimes it's counterproductive.

Q: Do you have anything else.

DEAN: We had several incidents where I was up in the Hilton Hotel in Jerusalem and somebody left their bags sitting in the hallway. Usually I went and got the guards. They were going to haul one bag off and blow it up when the man comes out of the public bathroom. He's an American. I don't know what world he was living in. Why in heaven's name would you leave your briefcase outside the men's room?

Q: Yes, my God.

DEAN: If it is not blown up, it's likely to be stolen.

Q: Yes.

DEAN: But I myself did the same thing. I went home early one day-- all my stories involve going home early-- from the embassy. I was sick. Our car was parked in a garage underneath the embassy and I had the groceries from the commissary to stash in the car. I put everything down, went and got the car, drove back up but I was really sick. I really was in terrible shape; I put everything in the car and went home. I went directly to bed. About 8:00 that night Tom woke me up and he said, "I have good news and I have bad news." I said, "Oh what is it? He said, "Well, the bad news is the guards blew up your briefcase. The good news is you didn't have any classified in it." Apparently I had -- when I put the groceries in the car -- I had left my briefcase sitting outside the back door of the embassy. The guards apologized for blowing it up and I said, "Absolutely, you were doing your job. That's exactly what I would expect you to do. If I do it again, blow it up again."

And the only other stories I can think of were the two times I was mistaken for a prostitute.

Q: Well, in the first place was it remunerative or what happened?

DEAN: No, unfortunately there was no money exchanged. I already mentioned the incident of the Egyptian member of the Sadat delegation. I can see that in his mind what right thinking woman would be down in the lobby of a hotel in the middle of the night if she wasn't working. And I was working; I just wasn't working on that.

The other time I had this happen at a reception here in Washington. I was the Bahrain, Qatar and the UAE desk officer, and it was a UAE reception. I was all dolled up. An attractive woman started talking to me, but I did not know who she was or what her business relationship was to the UAE. I asked her how are you here, and she says she's a friend of the UAE and, you know, as we're talking I realize that she thinks that I'm working the same job that she's working, which is a social job; it was not a desk officer job. Anyway, I didn't get any money out of that one either.

(2015 addition: The experience that we had garnered redesigning the Foreign Service Officer selection process and the multiple specialist selection processes made BEX the logical choice when the Bureau of Consular Affairs (CA) faced a flood of visa applications from Brazil and China. Their backlog at those posts was over six months and growing. White House interest in ensuring that Brazilian and Chinese tourist dollars would be spent in the U.S. provided the impetus to push through a new program. BEX and CA moved quickly to institute a Limited Non-Career (LNA) hiring program under existing authority that would let the Department hire language qualified visa adjudicators. Initially Janet Bogue and then Catherine Barry, both from CA, and I worked together to establish the criteria that CA needed in its consular adjudicators. I led the BEX group that designed the LNA selection process: first, a rigorous on-line test, which focused on general job knowledge, including U.S. culture and history, situational judgment, English Expression, and a section called Reading Regulations. The requirement in the Reading Regulations section is to read passages from the Foreign Affairs Manual and correctly interpret them. The second part consisted of the interview and the third part consisted of a writing exercise. CA is adamant that employees have a strong command of English. After passing the minimal qualifications screen, the candidate had to pass a telephone test with FSI language testers in order to go to the interview. If they pass the interview successfully, they then have to pass the two-hour in-person language test in speaking and reading with FSI.

These employees are in Foreign Service for the duration of their appointment and enjoy most of the benefits of the Foreign Service, except language incentive pay (since language ability is a condition of employment), and assistance with repaying student debt. They are time-limited in their appointment (maximum of 5 years) and we emphasize that there is no back-door to the Foreign Service. This is because I designed the tests to evaluate the applicant's ability to function in an entry level position, but not to evaluate their potential to serve successfully in a 20-30 year career. A number of candidates however have applied through the regular process and joined the Foreign Service as career employees. Feedback from front-line supervisors tells us that the new CA/LNA hires are extremely talented and a boon to their posts. I have passed oversight of the program to Paul Aceto, and under his guidance the program has become the single largest element of specialist hiring. I like to think that in my 11 years with the Board of

Examiners I have had a forceful impact on the shape of the Foreign Service over the next 20 years. No Foreign Service employee enters the Service today except that he or she passes through a process with my imprint. (end 2015 comment).

Q: Okay, well we'll stop at that. Great.

**The Louisiana poem*

Louisiana Nights

Red hot toenails
In strappy white heels
Stomp cajun rythms
on a sawdusted floor.

Steamy damp sheets
snag at the lovers
Like an old crawdad
Tugs hard on the line.

Like an ignored child
Tugs his momma's skirt.

Rain Water risin'
in moss festooned bayous
creeps afront the yard
In eddies of snakes.

Swamped in silence,
I peer through the night
from the Greyhound
at Carnival time.

My face half in
Darkness, half asleep
reflects back at me
through brightly lit streets.

I lift sticky
brown tendrils that cling
to my neck and relive
Jambalaya nights.

End of interview