

The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training  
Foreign Affairs Oral History Program  
Dayton Peace Accords

**AMBASSADOR PATRICK F. KENNEDY**

*Interviewed by: Fran Leskovar  
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*Ambassador Patrick F. Kennedy served as Assistant Secretary of State for Administration 1993 to 2001, US Ambassador to the United Nations for Management and Reform from 2001 to 2005, and Under Secretary of State for Management from 2007 to 2017. Ambassador Kennedy chose Wright-Patterson Air Force base as the negotiations site.*

**INTERVIEW**

*Q: All right. Today is February 14th. This is part one with Patrick Kennedy. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself, about your upbringing? Where did you go to school?*

KENNEDY: Sure. I was born and grew up on the west side of Chicago in a community that's called Austin. I went to the local Catholic parochial grammar school and went to St. Ignatius High School, which is a Jesuit high school. I was a newspaper boy for a while, and in my senior year in high school, I was deciding where to go. For some unknown reason, and I have not been able in my own mind to connect the dots, I decided that I wanted to do something overseas. I'd been to a few places in the States, but just something appealed to me.

So I applied to Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service, because I thought that might be interesting. I did apply and ended up spending four years at Georgetown, graduating in 1971. I didn't change my mind, but senior year, I did take the Foreign Service Exam and ended up passing it. I was offered a job shortly after graduation as a courier because they didn't have any openings in the FSO cadre at that point. But I had taken another job, which I was enjoying at the moment. So I stayed in that job for a while. Then, just as that job ended in late '72, they called me and said, "Well, your last chance; your appointment authority is about to expire." And so I ended up joining the Foreign Service in January of 1973.

*Q: Then you joined as a courier, or it was—*

KENNEDY: No, as an FSO. The FSO appointments had opened up again.

*Q: Can you describe a couple of the initial assignments you had? Where did you go?*

KENNEDY: Sure. My first assignment was as a regional administrative officer for the African Bureau. These are called in common parlance 'Rovers,' an officer who goes from one small post to another in the African area. There were lots of small posts in the African area in 1973-74, where the situation was essentially that there was one administrative officer and one communications officer. If the administrative officer was on leave because those were hardship posts all in those days, he would take a break mid-tour. Someone had to go in and be the administrative officer. I was selected for that job because I was the only unmarried administrative officer, now called management cone, in my class.

I was supposed to take French, but instead of taking French, they sent me to the political-military bureau, where I sat and did nothing for six or eight weeks. One of the chiefs of the assignments office had promised one of his buddies a junior officer fill in, and so I was there. In June of 1973, I set off and then spent the next eighteen straight months traveling around Africa doing a variety of administrative work.

*Q: That was in the 1970s, correct?*

KENNEDY: Yes, 1973 and '74.

*Q: All right. What came after? What were your positions?*

KENNEDY: After that, I came back to Washington, and in January of 1975, I became the Foreign Service Personnel Officer in the Bureau of African Affairs, and its Executive Office, AF/EX, in '75 and '76. In '77, I was asked if I wanted to be interviewed to be a staff aide—a special assistant to the Under Secretary for Management. I said, "Sure, why not?" I said I knew nothing about the seventh floor, but I was told to go to an interview. I interviewed and, for some reason, known only to higher powers, I was offered the job, took the job. I was a special assistant to two successive Under Secretaries from 1977 to 1981.

And in 1981, I finished that job and became the Supervisory General Services Officer in Paris and was in that job from 1981 to 1985. At this point, I came back to Washington to be the Executive Director of the Secretariat, which is essentially the administrative support coordinator for the seven-floor senior offices, the Secretary, the Deputy, the Undersecretaries, and also the travel officer for the Secretary. I was in that job from 1985 to 1990. I did all the Secretary's travel for George Shultz and Jim Baker, and then went to senior training, and then went to Cairo as a management officer. By this time, I'm a senior officer. I can keep going if you want.

*Q: But it was a pretty fast career jump, right?*

KENNEDY: I think I had what you might call situational luck.

*Q: Right.*

KENNEDY: I happened to be the only single person. I met people that first tour as a management officer, as a Rover in Africa. It taught me a lot of different things because of what was going on. And then, when I became one of the special assistants, the Under Secretary for management, I just met lots of people in the department, and I kept running across them in later years.

*Q: Was management anywhere on your mind when you were in school, or were you thinking traditionally more political officer or—*

KENNEDY: No, I always wanted to be a management officer. I had worked on a loading dock. I was unloading trucks, signing freight bills, and distributing freight. That was kind of very low-level management. I had worked a couple of summers at Georgetown University, running a program for high school students, teaching them how to debate. I thought of myself as a manager. I never attached that term to myself, but I like doing administrative things, making pieces stick together, and making pieces run. I had no desire for political, consular, or public diplomacy. I thought, 'Hey, I like sticking pieces together, and the Foreign Service seemed to be a venue for doing management and administrative work in an interesting environment.'

*Q: We're getting to the 1990s. Where were you, let's say 1991?*

KENNEDY: In 1991, 1990, I was in the senior seminar at FSI. And then from '91 to '93, I was the management counselor in Cairo, Egypt.

*Q: And then you're coming back to Washington.*

KENNEDY: And then in '93, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration; probably because Warren Christopher, who was then the Secretary, had been the Deputy Secretary when I was a staff assistant on the seventh floor and got to know him vaguely, and other people on the seventh floor knew me from my days as executive director in AF/EX. I was a known commodity. I was a manager. I was offered and it was a presidential appointment and became the assistant secretary for administration from 1993 to 2001.

*Q: How was working with Warren Christopher?*

KENNEDY: He was not an effusive individual, but he was also not a scary, hard ass. He was just a real professional. You told him, he asked you for information, you gave him the information, you might ask a few questions and it was thank you. When he was Deputy Secretary, he was good to work with. Later when he was Secretary, I just found him to be a professional who would ask you for something. You got off and did the task and reported back, a real, real professional.

*Q: So let me ask you, so let's go to the war in the Balkans, yeah, the nineties. Do you remember, given that you were in Egypt, was that on, you know, were you hearing stuff? What was going on? What the discussions were? Or the first interaction with the Balkans*

*for you was in, when he got back to Washington or maybe in—*

KENNEDY: Yeah, I didn't. I mean, I really don't remember the Balkans ever being an issue in Cairo. I mean, when I was a management counselor there, Cairo was the largest embassy in the world. So there was always something going on in Cairo. We had visits and we had more visits, et cetera, et cetera. So no, the Balkans were not on my radar when I was in Cairo.

*Q: Not even a discussion about, because I know Egypt and Yugoslavia were together in a way and in partnerships and so on and on. Was there any questions of nostalgia, I guess, or, you know?*

KENNEDY: Not that I remember. I don't remember it being a big subject in a country team meeting, no.

*Q: And then, do you remember when the first time you started hearing about Yugoslavia, meaning the war and diplomatic efforts or discussions, was that when you got back to D.C.? ?*

KENNEDY: Yes, I mean, it would be. Obviously the Secretary had a big staff meeting once a week with all this with the Under Secretaries and all the Assistant Secretaries and so the European Bureau would report on it. I remember, I have vague recollections of every once in a while it would come up in the Bureau of Administration because somebody needed some additional building support or they needed some more vehicles or something. I mean, I was never tracking the policy debates. The Bureau of Administration is a support bureau. But I knew it was an important issue because it was something that Dick Holbrooke would just report on generally. When at the big Assistant Secretary's meeting with the Secretary once a week, when it was his turn, he'd say something.

*Q: The first time you started working, you know, more directly was in preparations for the day's negotiation. Is that right?*

KENNEDY: Mr. Christopher called me in and said that there was going to be these major peace talks and they needed support because the US was going to be the host and it was not going to be in Washington. I was to be prepared to assemble the right people to do the right things for the talks. The Defense Department had recommended, I guess, at an NSC meeting or at some White House meeting that the Secretary was at, that the talk should be held at Langley Air Force Base, which is near Williamsburg, Virginia. Mr. Christopher said that the Air Force was going to put a small plane at our disposal, and that the next day I was to fly down to Langley, I could take someone with me if I wanted to. And then some people would come from the European Bureau. The next day, and that was, and I went back to my notes. I do have a few notes from then, not, unfortunately I can't find the notebook from that period, but I have a separate thing.

It was on the 13th of October in 95 and so we flew down to Langley. Mr. Christopher had

said that you would have the Serbs, the Croats, and the Bosnians all coming with delegations. There would also be representatives from Russia and the European Union. So that's five delegations plus the United States. Whatever we did, you had to be capable of handling six delegations, both in terms of office space, quarters, and a meeting hall and also breakout rooms. And so, that's what I was looking for. On the morning of the 13th, I took one staff officer of mine from the Bureau of Administration with me just to take notes and to have a second set of eyes on things. And we flew down to Langley and they gave us a tour. It was obvious to me that there'd been a major disconnect somewhere along the way because it wasn't there. What we needed for this operation, nothing that they showed me at Langley, which was an Air Force fighter base, it just didn't have it. I graciously told the Colonel who was taking us around that, "sorry, this, I'm not seeing this. It's just the wrong package." They said, "well, okay," and they said, "well, let's take you to lunch." So we went over to the officers' club and we sat down and it was a good talk.

We were just talking, I was trying to describe to them what was going on. There was for some reason a Navy commander who was in this group. I don't know whether it was a Naval Liaison or whatever. But he turned to me and said, "you know, from what you're saying, where you've got to go, if you got to go the Wright-Patt." And I said, "why?" He says, "Well, the Air Force Training Command is there. And they've got extra bachelor officers quarters. They have a hotel that's on the base inside the secure perimeter." I said, "That's very, that's very interesting. Thank you." Got on the plane, flew back to Washington, briefed Mr. Christopher, who told me to call somebody at the Pentagon. I called the Pentagon and said, "I want to go to Wright-Patt." And they said, well, we don't have an airplane to take you to Wright-Patt. I said, "well, you know, I appreciate airplanes and you know, I love them and I love the Air Force. It's the greatest airline in the world, but I got it." So this 13th was a Friday. I went back to my office, I had my secretary call down to the travel office in the State Department. I said, "get me on the earliest flights you can get to Dayton, Ohio on Saturday And a later same day flight back, I then called the Air Force back and said, "look, I want to come to Wright-Patt tomorrow. I'll get myself there. Can I meet? Can I meet anybody?" "Yeah, we'll have someone meet you." So there were no flights to Dayton on a Saturday. So Ken Mezner, who was one of my special assistants, and I flew to Cincinnati, rented a car. An hour later, we were in Dayton, drove in, met at the gate. The Colonel who met me said, "why don't we just do a driving tour of the base." We went in and there, not far from the main gate, was a full-fledged hotel. I said, "Oh, wow." So we then curved around the back of the hotel and went in farther into the interior of the base. There in front of me were four two-story bachelor officers quarters arranged in a hollow square and sticking off one end like the handle on a frying pan was a fifth BoQ. And it was like a miracle. It was one for the Americans, one for each of the three parties in the square and sticking out the other side was the fifth building, you put the EU on one floor and the Russians on the other. We then went back to the hotel. The hotel had dining rooms and conference rooms. That was it. I mean, it was perfect.

*Q: Perfect match. That was on the 14th, right?*

KENNEDY: That's on the 14th.

*Q: And so you only searched the two bases or actually two locations. There were no other options.*

KENNEDY: It was the only one the military had offered to me. Now, I had done a little bit of research and remembered that there was some other military conference center up in the New England area. But I'm sorry, I forgot one thing. What they wanted was a location that was no more than one hour's flying time from Washington. Dick Holbrooke would be the on scene as senior negotiator, but Mr. Christopher wanted to be able to get there back and forth quickly if he needed to be. Dayton was actually just outside the line, so to speak. I think it was an hour and five minutes. When I got back to Washington on Saturday night, I left a message for the Secretary that I needed to see him urgently on Monday morning. I went in a little early. His assistant called down. I had a small eight and a half by 11 sort of diagram of the base. That is some kind of handout you get in a package for students at the training school there. It shows you how to get around. I laid it out to him and I explained what it was. I said, "This is it. I can keep looking but I don't think we're going to find anything better." He picked up the phone and called over to Sandy Berger, who was the deputy NSC director, who I knew because Sandy Berger had been in the policy planning staff back in the Carter administration at the department. He said, "I'm sending Pat over to see you."

Later that morning, I went over to show Sandy Berger. His question was like, "you think it's going to work?" And I said, "this will work." Mr. Christopher did whatever he did to inform the Department of Defense (DoD) and probably the President. Sandy probably did tell Tony Lake, who was then the NSC advisor. That was it. The next sort of event was on the 19th, we got another small airplane from the Air Force and I took a couple of security people, a logistics and Holbrooke's executive assistant. \ We flew back to Wright-Patterson to go over the things again. Also, since the three countries would be bringing their heads of state, the U.S. Secret Service was notified and they had someone from the, I can't remember, was it the Dayton Field Office or the Cincinnati field office, a special agent met us so that we could walk the grounds and divide things up.

*Q: That was pretty fast. The 13th was Friday, Friday the 13th. And so you rejected one base on the 14th, which was Saturday, you were in Dayton. You got all the approvals on Monday to 16th. Now you're back in Dayton on the 19th. Everything is happening pretty fast because the conference is beginning in early November.*

KENNEDY: That's right. Yes.

*Q: So you were there on the 19th. So it looks like they had to do some preparation work, you know, reconfigure rooms, add certain things, something that they were overseeing as well...*

KENNEDY: Well, yes and no. When we did the walkthrough on the 19th, I said that the one sticking point was that the BOQs were very nice because they were officers quarters,

but they were single rooms. But the base clearly had been told by the Pentagon, or by the Chief of Staff of the Air Force or Air Force Training Command ( "the owner" of the base), that was priority number one. We were walking around with a senior officer from the base and I met the three star general before we started the tour of the base. There was an engineering officer and I said, "Look, here's what I need you to do in the four rooms, forming the four buildings with the three foreign delegations and the US delegation. At the end of the corridor, I need a door cut between two rooms. And I need the door cut here, pointing at it in the room we were standing in." I said, "the door needs to be cut here. It doesn't have to have a locking mechanism, just a door that will close, open and close, because for the three presidents and for the secretary, one is their sleeping quarters. The other is an office, so take all the furniture out and put in chairs. This is going to be their private meeting and discussion room." They said, "Well, we can do it. The door will be cut immediately. We just don't have any furniture." So I made a note of that. We get back to Washington that night, and the next morning, I called the Chief of the State Department's Foreign Buildings Office, who buys furniture for the State Department's quarters overseas. I said, "there is one line of furniture that I know that is sort of an imitation of Williamsburg. Here's what I want. I want you to replace the bedroom furniture in one of the rooms in the four leader's suite with nice furniture. And then I need some sort of living room sitting furniture next." And they called me back an hour later and said "we've got what we want, it's due to be shipped from the factory to one of our overseas posts." I said "I'll replace the money but just stop that order. Cut out the pieces that I want, get them on a truck to Dayton, Ohio and give Ken Messner, my assistant, the shipping information and he will get it to Wright-Patt."

There was a retired officer living on the West Coast named Scott Whitmer. I had worked with Scott before. He had been the director of the Office of International Conferences for the State Department and he'd been the Management Chief for the US Mission to the OECD in Paris when I was GSO in Paris. We were old friends and colleagues. I called him up and I said, "Scott, can you come back to work for a month or two?" And he said, "sure." Very quickly I made the arrangements. We sent him tickets. He got on a plane. He went to Dayton and he was, in effect, the officer in charge for the State Department in terms of logistics during all this setup. He worked out the contracts with the hotel and worked on meals and worked with the telephone arrangements and everything else. Obviously, the Secret Service had advance people, the State Department Diplomatic Security had advance people, but Scott was the logistics coordinator of all that and he did it brilliantly.

I did another trip on the 19th and then I went back on the 28th for another visit just to see how things were going. Then the conference opened. And Scott was there. And, I just sat back in Washington and watched it going on. Everything worked smoothly. In terms of logistics. They've got Dick Shinnick, who is another brilliant Foreign Service management officer who was as Mr. Christopher's travel officer. And so he and Scott, Shinnick and I were old friends and, you know, I would check in with him every once in a while, but everything was going just fine. The only problem in the setup was the three delegations also had an advance person there. They fought over languages. We had to do translations into English. We had to do translations into French. We had to do translations

into Russian. We had this question about the language that all three of them spoke, but insisted that there had to be three separate interpretation booths. There had to be a Serbian, a Bosnian, and a Croatian language interpreter, even though it was the same language. There wasn't room for that number of booths. The equipment was not capable of handling all that at once. Stephanie von Riegersberg, the State Department's Chief of Interpreters, was out there and just apparently got them all together and stomped on them and announced that there was one language and they all started to object. She said "we have invented a new language and the language is called BCS." And so if you've seen photos of the booths you know there are signs on the booths and the sign on the booth says "BCS" - for Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian in alphabetical order but no separate mention of Serbian, no mention of Croatian, no mention of Bosnian. This will be the language and Stephanie was a force to be reckoned with. I went back out for the opening. The Serbs and the Croats each arrived on their own airplane. The Bosnians arrived on an airplane provided by the US military. There was a late afternoon, evening arrival. I stayed the night. The conference opened the next morning and I left and went back to DC.

*Q: Let me ask you when you were choosing the buildings and deciding, was it important to, you said that each delegation would have one. So that was important to separate allegations?*

KENNEDY: Yes, Mr. Christopher wanted them to have some separation, so that they felt that they had their own space. But that was again just for sleeping and internal meetings. The meetings themselves were held in the hotel. I'm sorry if I jumped by that. The hotel ballroom was the big plenary meeting room. That's where the big table was set up for all the delegation representatives to sit with the interpretation booths off to the side. All the food was served in the hotel, in the hotel restaurant, it was kept open long hours, I mean, regular meal hours, but late night coffee and early morning breakfast. The hotel was the venue for the sit down meetings. Obviously, people might wander over to see Mr. Christopher in his meeting room in the office we created. I presume that maybe the delegations would either meet in the other person's room or there were smaller conference rooms in the hotel that you could book so to speak through Scott Whitmer and his people.

*Q: Do you remember when you were there on the 14th, what was the sort of a mood or impression from people on the base or people in the community? Like when you said, okay, we might be coming here.*

KENNEDY: Clearly the base had been told to do this. The interesting side of it, and I've got to go back and find some more notes, the the base commander was a Colonel, but this was an Air Force Training Command facility and its chief was a three-star general and his brother-in-law had been killed in Bosnia in the road accident that Holbrooke's motorcade had been in. So to him, this was both professional and personal. And on my third trip there, he hosted this huge meeting in a conference room on the base, which had everybody and their brother - the air police, the engineers, the this, the that, just everybody from the base. We're walking into the meeting, he turns to me and he says,

“please don't think out loud.” And I thought, I've just been insulted. “Why is he saying this?” And I must've had some kind of look on my face. He said, no, no, no, no, no. We want to do this. We are ready to go. If you think out loud, somebody is going to go run off and start doing what you're saying. So you can't be thinking out loud.” And with everybody on that base, if we needed it, we got it. They were just absolutely, totally on board from the Airman basics through the senior NCOs and the officers. You needed something, you got it.

*Q: So you pretty much, it was a pretty quick and pretty easy sort of a catch, I guess.*

KENNEDY: The advantage was that the Air Force simply canceled the training classes that were scheduled. The BOQ's were for the students, not the base personnel and the hotel was for more students. The Air Force just canceled classes or pushed them back. We had exclusive use of the hotel and we had exclusive use of the five BOQ's that I mentioned. We had our little sort of perimeter.

*Q: So pretty much the State Department was controlling part of the Pornivac base.*

KENNEDY Yes, exactly.

*Q: And then do you remember, were you interacting with other delegations, meaning were there any special requests coming from Russians, France?*

KENNEDY: No, I don't remember any. Now, there might've been small things, but again, I left all of that in the hands of Scott Whitmer. Unfortunately, Scott passed away a couple of years ago, or I would've connected you with him, but I checked in with him regularly. If he needed something small, he just called Ken Mesner. I mean, I can try to track down Ken if you would like to talk. Ken is retired now.

*Q: Yeah, if you're able. Yeah, that would be great.*

KENNEDY: Sure. His name is Ken Mesner, M-E-S-S-N-E-R. I used to have some numbers for him, but I'll see if I can come up with him today. But I never remember anything coming to me from Scott directly. Because as I said, I flew back again 24 hours before it started and also flew back for the final activities. The interesting thing is the conference was going on and on, and on the night of November 18th, I was in Atlanta for a cousin's wedding. I got a call from Mr. Christopher's Chief of Staff saying, “how fast can you get back here? We think it's going to conclude, we think we've got it. And can you come back? Because we are going to have big ceremonies at the end and Mr. Christopher just wants you here.” I managed to get out of Atlanta and get to Cincinnati that night. The Air Force was very good. They sent a Major down from the base to pick me up in Cincinnati and drive me back up to Dayton. Then it got to look like it was going to fall apart on the 19th. What Mr. Christopher did was to have his management person get the word for all the Americans to pack their bags and put them out on the sidewalk in front of the building so the truck could come and pick them and take them to the airfield as he was leaving. Then all of a sudden the talks restarted. This was a threat. It was a

brilliant move. It was a threat combined with a visible symbol. It wasn't just saying, "I'm out of here. It was— I'm really out of here."

*Q: Right.*

KENNEDY: The bags were out and then, and then it ended on either the 21st or the 22nd. And on the 22nd, I flew back on the Secretary's aircraft back to Washington.

*Q: Right. They were out on the 20th. The 21st was the final stretch and the 22nd was the ending.*

KENNEDY: On the morning of the 22nd, after everything was signed, we actually did a dry run for the signing ceremony. We closed the doors and we had people from the Treaty Office of the State Department plus a couple of others. We practiced passing the documents around the table just to make sure it would flow, because all the cameras would be there and we wanted it to look right. They got it wrong on the first two tries, but by the third time they figured out how to do it. I just remember saying, "no, no, no, no, no, you've got to flow differently." So that was it.

*Q: I heard a story that when there was official signing the initialing of the document because the signing was in Paris because of a whole French who was involved and so on. But I remember I heard a story that there was only one round of signatures. They had to do a second ceremony after the cameras were out of the room. It was like they forgot to sign all the documents.*

KENNEDY: I don't remember that because we had multiple copies of the document. If that was the case it wasn't because they made a mistake, it was because there may have been multiple language versions and you didn't want to pass 25 copies around. But you had the ceremony. At the table I think there were either four or five copies who were being passed around. You know, one for each country, one for the US and maybe one to be submitted to the UN or something, but the treaty office at the State Department could remember that, maybe the Russians and the EU also wanted a copy or something, which you don't want to pass too many copies because then it really looks like a goat rope rather than a formal ceremony.

*Q: Let me ask you a little bit, you know, let's go back to prior to the conference. Do you remember, were you working with Holbrooke during that time? Were you interacting with him during those two weeks?*

KENNEDY: No, I just passed information to Holbrooke's assistant, Rosemary Pauley. Rosemary and I had known each other and we respected each other. She would tell me sometimes what Holbrooke wanted and I would say it's taken care of. There was at least one time, I just sent word back that "no, we can't, do that. That just won't work with the physical plant." And then I guess I was feeling empowered enough to say, "Look, and not only that, I just don't understand why he wants this. I don't see. I don't see the necessity of it. Go get me a better explanation, but I don't see it. And it would be exceedingly difficult

if not impossible to do.” Rosemary had worked for Holbrooke for a number of years and times, and she was able to calm him down.

*Q: Let me ask you, was there, because I know Holbrooke talks about in his book about finding finding a base or a place in the US that is isolated outside of sort of a civilization, like comfort of a city, was that a consideration that he had to keep in mind when we were searching for a base?*

KENNEDY: Well, yes and no. I mean, he wanted a place, because again, the descriptor was given to me by Mr. Christopher. He wanted a place that wasn't Washington, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco. Well, he didn't want it. He went towards the East Coast so Mr. Christopher could move in and out with dispatch. He wanted a place where we could put everyone in a single facility. It wasn't like what you would have if it was in Washington. They could have used the State Department and the Lloyd Henderson conference room, which is a wonderful venue for major meetings. But then the people would have to go back to their hotels every night to be overrun by journalists. This was the effect sequestration, but in a nice setting. The answer is sort of yes and no. He wanted them all in one place and he wanted them out of the hot glare of the cameras so their spokesperson didn't have to regurgitate their hard ass talking points and then get the other parties upset. Dayton is a real city, and a very nice city, but the base being a U S military facility had a fence around it and had guards on the gates. Nobody came into the base unless you were invited. There was also the Secret Service and Diplomatic Security. There were also portable chain link fences that you' have seen around construction sites. They're about six feet high with concrete feet, and you just put them out. I guess I forgot to mention this, the distance, these five BOQs were in effect right behind the hotel. The fence surrounded those so that way no one bothered the delegation. What he wanted was not negotiating in the glare of the cameras.

*Q: So that was Warren Christopher or Holbrooke?*

KENNEDY: Don't know. I was getting my instructions from Mr. Christopher.

*Q: Got it. You were there again on the 16th, 19th, and then you're coming back on the 28th and then you get back there on the first day and then you went back there on the first day of conference?*

KENNEDY: Let's see. The first time I went there was the 14th, then I went there again on the 19th, and I went there on the 28th, and then I stayed through the first day of the conference. I left shortly thereafter and then I went back on the 18th of November.

*Q: Do you remember the first day of how everything was going on when you were there, what the mood was?*

KENNEDY: I didn't see any particular anger. I think the people settled in. I think they were kind of surprised that each one of the delegations had their own building. There was food and drink. I didn't see any angst or anything, like - oh, we've been sent to the

boonies. The hotel staff was first rate. I found the food good and edible. While the conference was going on, I think on the weekends, I think they took the delegation—the Museum of the United States Air Force, which is a beautiful, it's hanger size, they went there and I think, and I'm sorry I can't answer this, someone might be able to do it for you. I think they also may have taken them to some other places, you know, a break on the weekend. Have you been in touch with Holbrooke's aid, Rosemary Pauley?

*Q: No, I couldn't track her down.*

KENNEDY: Okay, let me see. I had numbers for her as in like Ken Mesner. I haven't talked to them in a long time, but I once had numbers for him. Let me see if I can find her and, I'll email you if I raise her.

*Q: Okay. Cause I know they were going, the Bosnians went over to the University of Kentucky game, from what I heard.*

KENNEDY: Yeah.

*Q: And then the Croats were at some basketball game from what I heard from people that were there. And I think Holbrooke talks about, and about that, about those trips, but was that something that you guys had to logistically figure out like the transportation; when they're leaving; where they're going.*

KENNEDY: Absolutely, because if the heads went it was a Secret Service motorcade. If their foreign minister went it was a Diplomatic Security motorcade. The Air Force provided vehicles and drivers, not any other members of the delegation who were travelling.

*Q: Was that something that you also had to acquire prior to the conference, deliver all the cards, you know, make sure?*

KENNEDY: No, the Air Force took care of it.

*Q: So the Air Force did though?*

KENNEDY: Yeah, the Air Force provided the vehicles and the drivers.

*Q: So your responsibility was pretty much just the buildings and making sure that everything is there for the delegations.*

KENNEDY: I can't emphasize enough what a great partner the US Air Force was. I mean, it was almost a turnkey operation. They provided people. Now we had shipped in the simultaneous interpretation booths and equipment because that's something the Air Force didn't have. I think we also shipped in flags to fly in the meeting rooms for all the countries, because the State Department has flags and flagpoles for every country in the world, as VIPs come to the department. But no, the Air Force took care of, as I said,

essentially buildings and vehicles, except for the ones provided by a security service.

*Q: So you were basically paying for it, right? So it was coming from the State Department's budget?*

KENNEDY: No. We paid for the hotel expenses in the hotel. The Air Force did not charge us for the BOQs.

*Q: Were you working with a White House on all this? Or was it Warren Christopher who was dealing with a White House? Did you have to go in?*

KENNEDY: Warren Christopher was dealing with the White House.

*Q: Were there any other challenges that happened during the conference regarding the logistics and so on that were elevated to your level?*

KENNEDY: No, I checked in with Scott regularly, but I don't remember a time when Scott ever called me and said, "I got a problem." No, he just, he had it. He had the prior experience. I just left it in his hands, trusting him fully that if it was something that he needed Washington push he would call me. But as I said, the three star general, this was professional and personal to him. He was going to make sure that this was done right.

*Q: So was this like a regular part of your job, like making sure that something happens that quickly, or was this an extraordinary achievement to move something?*

KENNEDY: It was sort of half and half. The Bureau of Administration, as I said, does travel, it does shipping, it does procurement, it does, vehicles. It also has a unit within the Bureau of Administration that coordinates the logistics support for the President's travel overseas. It's got lots of people with expertise. I remember there was another officer named John Steaver, who was a senior contracting officer. He also worked on VIP requirements in the U.S. So if you had John, he was, in addition to his regular duties, always available to make sure that if Scott Whitmer needed something contracted for all he had to do was call John Stever. John was a "warranted" procurement officer to buy anything, I don't know, up to \$10 million, which was involved here, thanks to the Air Force. But no, the Bureau of Administration provides conference support. I mean, the 50th anniversary of NATO was something that the Bureau of Administration handled for the logistics part of it. So no, there are people in the Bureau of Administration that know what to do. I mean, Stephanie von Riegesberg and her interpreters are part of the Bureau of Administration and they know what to do? The people who sent the flags that were needed were part of the Bureau of Administration.

*Q: Right there. Let me, so was there anything that was very challenging to get in those, like in particular hard to achieve, but you were able to do it?*

KENNEDY: No, I mean, this is, this is probably one of the easiest conferences I've ever done. I mean, literally. I was the Assistant Secretary for Administration when we did the

50th anniversary of NATO celebration in Washington, and we used an empty auditorium and a vacant building next door that was about to be renovated. The military has so many resources, and especially since the school was not in session, both officers and enlisted who were related to the school were available to assist in various ways. I don't remember if Scott had, I think, an officer was assigned to Scott. He was, you know, the twins. He and Scott were like Siamese twins. They would just about be everywhere together. If Scott needed something, the Air Force officer was there to translate it and find the right person on the base to execute it.

*Q: Do you remember by any chance, were there any press inquiries and requests coming to your office about what's happening, what you're doing, and so on?*

KENNEDY: No. I think there was a press officer sent out from Washington to be part of the team there, but just to handle local inquiries.

*Q: Right, that was Nick Burns, maybe, or he?*

KENNEDY: Well no it was a junior from the press office staff. And I mean, obviously it was Nick when Mr. Christopher came. I think the press officer for the Bureau of European Affairs was probably there because Dick Holbrooke was in residence. This was the policy side with the European Bureau. Holbrooke deployed his people who were there to work with him on policy. I'm sure that the Bosnian and the Croatian and the Serbian desk officers were there and maybe even people from Belgrade and Zagreb were there. I mean, that's why we took the hotel as well. That's where all the American support staff stayed. Except, Mr. Holbrooke would have been in the building in the American BOQ with Mr. Christopher. The State Department support personnel, like press officers and any interpreters and Scott Whitmer, etc. would have all been in the hotel.

*Q: Did you have to prepare a presidential room? Because I know Bill Clinton was, you know, potentially coming over and so on. Was that also?*

KENNEDY: We never got him. It was always a possibility. My assumption is, and I think we checked, there is a general officer's guest house. My assumption would have been the President would have flown in and flown out. That would have been his down room. If the extra agents for him, if we didn't have any rooms left in the hotel, they would have stayed off the base. So no, I don't remember any for Dayton, I don't remember any real talk. One of the other peace talks I did, there was real talk about the President coming to that. This was a different year, different location, different set of countries, also outside of Washington. I remember that, but I don't remember any really hard talk about the President coming.

*Q: Have you done any of those other peace talks prior to the Dayton Accords or after? Like, how many in total did you do? Was this a new thing for you or was it just a—*

KENNEDY: Well, it was a new thing for a big conference, but I had advanced. The State Department sends a senior administrative officer to a post to assist the post if getting a

Presidential visit. So you have somebody. I had worked on Presidential visits in Moscow, Helsinki and in San Jose, Costa Rica. We had also done the other peace talks. I guess we did have Middle Eastern peace talks, but they were later. I was responsible for Wye River peace talks, and then there was the peace talks in Shepherdstown, West Virginia. When I was the General Services Officer in Paris, the President of the United States came to Paris three times. President Reagan also came to Normandy, for the 40th anniversary, in 84. And you know, there, we had agents, White House communications people and military bands staying in a children's camp owned by the French government subsidiary. I had been lucky enough to have worked on other kinds of visits. They're all different, but yet they're all the same. You gotta bed them, you gotta feed them, you gotta give them a place to meet, and you gotta secure them. And it's all different, but it's got a certain symmetry to it.

*Q: Yeah, because it's probably, you know, it probably gets complicated, you know, what do you want, you know, where you want to put them, you know, what, you know, create equal rooms. That was probably important even for Dana-Courts. [Dana-Courts ???]*

KENNEDY: Oh, absolutely.

*Q: Everything has to look the same, the same pictures.*

KENNEDY: That was the marvel about having those four buildings. They all look the same. They had the same architectural plans. And as I said, the only change we had to make was to create a two-room, to create four two-room suites. But the Air Force was on it immediately.

*Q: Sure. You said he came over in November, came back today November 18th, thinking that it's going to be the end, right?*

KENNEDY: Yeah.

*Q: And then, so you basically stay there overnight for a couple of days.*

KENNEDY: The 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st.

*Q: Do you remember what you were doing during that period of time? Were you involved in anything or were you just waiting for a ceremony?*

KENNEDY: I took over making arrangements for the signing ceremony because I had seen signing ceremonies before. It was the same thing, you have a riser to put on the table so everyone can see the signers, then you have the guests on the stage, and the delegation staffs in the audience, and then at the back of the room you have more risers for the television cameras and the journalists. I sketched that out for the hotel manager. And he said, "yes." While Scott just kept the regular stuff going, I supervised the setup of the signing ceremony. And then picked the people who would carry the books behind the signers in that circle. I literally made them practice. They thought I was crazy. But then

when the first go round didn't go right, I said, "this is why we're going to do it." And we did it a second and we did it a third. So no, it was, it was just, it's something I'd seen signing ceremonies before. That was my job to make sure it went right. And then I'd see there are lots of little things. I mean, I had help. I had Air Force sergeants there to help me. We set marked chairs for the delegation so that each delegation gets its own. There were speaking seats for the French delegation, the European Union delegation, the Americans and the BCS. We invited obviously the senior from the US Air Force on the base as well, because they were gracious hosts. It was just figuring out seating and then showing that to, to, I don't remember whether I showed it to the whole group I probably showed it to Holbrooke. I probably just gave a copy to Bob Bradke who was Mr. Christopher's exec.

*Q: Perfect. Right. What I'll do is we're going to end the first part here and then we can reconvene and talk a little bit more about next time about working with Holbrooke and filling some gaps if there are, because we're going to produce a transcript in between. All right?*

KENNEDY: OK!

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*Q: Today is April 25. This is part two with Patrick Kennedy, all right. Can you tell me, sort of, we talked about last time, about a conference organizing, the conference closing. Can we talk a little bit about the general lessons, what you learned as a person in charge of the management and organization for like, for conferences, for organizing conferences similar to the Dayton Peace Accords. What are certain lessons learned?*

KENNEDY: I think the thing I learned, and this comes from also working on the conference at Wye River, and a couple of Middle East ones, is that finding a site for a conference, is not easy if you want to go into sequestration in effect or semi sequestration, so the conferees do not have cameras chasing them down street, or pursuing them through through a publicly open hotel conference site, Such sites are not a dime a dozen. They're not many of them. You have to think that through. You also have to make sure that the parties that conference, ie the White House or the Secretary of State, know in advance what they want. Are they going to want to be able to drop in themselves on short notice? Or do they plan never to be there, or are they going to be in residence there? Might be a rare occurrence, because that then sets in effect the geography of it. How many miles is it from? From Washington, DC. I mean, Dayton, technically speaking, was 65 air minutes away from Andrews Air Force Base, which was five minutes over Secretary Christopher's preferred, but Mr. Christopher was a very reasonable man, and after we explained what we had there, the five minutes was not important. But also you have to then decide, are the other parties going to accept this sequestration? Are they going to want to do it in Washington, where their embassy is nearby? Do they want to do it in New York City, or maybe just a little bit outside of New York City, because then they have access to their facilities, at their U.N. mission in New York. The main thing is, what do the principals want? The American delegation leaders,

what do they want? Do they want to be closer? Do they want to drop-in distance, or do they prefer something far away from Washington? You have got to decide on that. Then, obviously, then you have to decide is that going to be accepted by the other parties? The second thing is size. Even though we had access to bachelor's officers quarters, plus this hotel on the base, it still constrained the number of delegates. We can push American security personnel, Secret Service, Diplomatic Security off and put them in a motel off the facility, because they're not going to do any talking to anybody. You can even put some of the technology support people off-site, but you have to then make sure that the size of the facility is going to accommodate all of the parties. Do you think that the parties will accept those numerical limitations, because if some members of the delegation are going off the compound, other than the American delegation, then the whole predicate of having it shut down, closed in and, not a leak a minute, falls away. I think that's the first thing. You've got to decide distance and size, and then that lets you get what you want. The one kind of codicil to that is, can you reuse a facility that you used before? I mean, we had what we used for the Wye River for Israeli Palestinian talks. We used Dayton. Let's see. There was one other we used for the Israeli Palestinians. I'll think of it in a moment – yes, Bolling Air Force Base. But that is a very important consideration as well. If you have few facilities that meet your time, distance and size considerations, do you dare repeat? Do you dare repeat it? Or is this going to be a repeat of Dayton. Well, the parties involved may not want to think of themselves as Dayton II? That would be, that'd be the second thing, or the sort of second and a half thing, I think you have to throw into the equation,

*Q: Was there an idea of coming back to Kosovo, back to the Dayton area, because Dayton hasn't hosted pretty much anything after the Dayton conference, even though they had a capability?*

KENNEDY: I don't know. I was not involved in that.

*Q: Alright, and then I know the meaning of the general lessons. You talked about proximity and all that, was it, what are some ways you applied any of those lessons learned from the day, and, of course, to later negotiations and stuff that happened on various other issues, or it was just pretty much. You dealt with it as a single event, and then without applying lessons later to different conferences at various other places.*

KENNEDY: I think there was an unspoken view, as we did the Middle East peace talks that we wouldn't be going to, we didn't want to go back to Dayton because we didn't want to make the linkage. It was never put to me, but the goal was to find something closer. I mean, we used, as I said, Wye River and Shepherdstown, West Virginia, was the site for the Syrians. Then there's always Camp David. But again, Camp David goes back to the Camp David Accords. There's something there. The other thing I should mention, going back to our first discussion, is that no one really knows how long these peace talks are going to last. You might say they're going to go on for two weeks, but if progress is being made, when you're not done at the end of two weeks, you're going to continue it. That is a real problem for any kind of commercial facility you're going to use. Shepherdstown was a training facility owned by the Office of Personnel Management. Dayton was owned by

the Air Force. Wye River is affiliated with the Aspen Institute, a non governmental think tank, and so they're not like Hilton or Marriott or some other commercial entity, where they've got lots of bookings that they would have to clear out. I should have mentioned that in the first consideration. If you want to keep the possibility of the conference going on for a longer period than you planned, but still want to get it to yes, a commercial facility is problematic because then you're going to have to end up agreeing to pay for say three months, and then after it ends it's six weeks, you're going to have to negotiate. The hotel is clearly going to say, "Okay, fine." Last year in these six weeks, we got this much revenue, therefore you owe us. If we don't get that much revenue, you're going to have to owe us the delta. Though the money is obviously not the controlling situation. It is always concerning, right?

*Q: But you were the guys, you were paying the Air Force right for the facility?*

KENNEDY: No.

*Q: Okay, because I heard from the Air Force that the State Department was providing a budget for the conference and payments.*

KENNEDY: I don't remember, I don't remember that at all.

*Q: Okay, what I was trying to say, I guess, on the Dayton stuff, did you know that— when you were organizing and planning, and I know it was an impromptu decision, was that hard of getting everything ready within few weeks and putting all the resources there and building everything and organizing and making sure that everything works?*

KENNEDY: No, for two reasons. One, the Secretary of State said, make this be and he had policy guidance from Tony Lake and Sandy Berger at the NSC and the President's approval . This meant that the State Department was fully engaged. Given the President, the NSC, Secretary of State, I'm sure but I don't know for certain, though I am 100% sure this came up at some meeting, either an NSC meeting, or a meeting where the Secretary Christopher and the Secretary of Defense had a conversation. It was clear, as I may have mentioned before, that the Air Force clearly had orders to make this happen. It won't be difficult, even if it's different from something you've never done. But the State Department says this is the way it's got to be. Go for it. So no, there was no problem.

*Q: You pretty much had full implementation power, like everything was going.*

KENNEDY: I mean I had to have conversations. There is a three star general commanding the Air Force Training Command, which is the owner, so to speak. I had conversations with him and followed up on conversations with the Project Officer that he had designated. I think I may have mentioned, you had this hotel, and then you had, I don't know, maybe an eighth of a mile away, the five officers quarters that we were going to split among the parties. You'd have to walk out to a road, down a road and then back to the hotel. I had a conversation. I said, "Could I have a sidewalk between the back door of the hotel and the compound with the five" and by the next day, there was somebody out

there surveying how to lay out the sidewalk. I mean, so that's the kind of cooperation we got. That was clearly the spirit in which DoD was approaching this. I was then the Assistant Secretary for Administration. The Assistant Secretary for Administration owned most of the other resources, translation, interpretation booths, audio visual equipment for the press center. I mean those were all mine and they just convened a meeting with the various sub units, and laid out the program, and said, "you come back to us with what you need." And then one of the subdivisions had the State Department trucking fleet, not big, but big enough. And so it all just came together.

*Q: How was working with Richard Holbrooke on this whole effort?*

KENNEDY: A pain in the ass.

*Q: Wow, was he demanding? Was he trying to take over?*

KENNEDY: As I mentioned to you, we had these five buildings. Four of them were, in effect, in a square, facing a quadrangle, and there was a fifth one sticking out like a panhandle. We put the EU and the Russians in the panhandle, then the Serbs, the Bosnians and the Croats and the US were the square. Then because each delegation was slightly different, we made some changes in each building. This was to the Secretary and Holbrooke that this was how we needed to do it. After I gave this briefing, on the Saturday night before the delegations were arriving on either Tuesday or Wednesday, Holbrooke's Chief of Staff called me and said that he wanted to change, switch around between the Bosnian the Croats and the Serbs who got which building. I said, "No." This was briefed to you. I made the physical changes. I can't change it. I mean, it requires knocking holes, building walls and swapping furniture. I can't do it. She hung up. Called back 30 minutes later, and told me that he said "you have to do it." I said, "No, not going to do it." The next 30 minutes later, she calls me again, just clearly beaten to a pulp. I said, "No, have him call me. I cannot do it." She never called back. That's the way he was, and I should also mention that. I had gotten a small aircraft from the Air Force to take a couple of people from Washington. I offered Holbrooke and his aide a seat on that aircraft that was going to go at our convenience from Andrews direct to Wright Patterson AFB to show him the grounds. He said he was too busy to do that, so he could have seen it, but he didn't, but then he just wanted to exercise his domain to me.

*Q: Makes sense, because I heard from a lot of people that it was his theater show that he had. It was his play.*

KENNEDY: It was his play, but it wasn't his theater. To pick up your image. The theater is a physical thing, and you can make some changes, but the day before opening night, you don't change all the scenery out? You can't change the staging because there's not enough time to build new staging. Well, there wasn't enough time, and no one was offering me some reason why this was necessary and I think by this time, we had also shown each country's advance team their space. They'd seen that, no one had indicated that those advanced parties had offered any objections to what we were giving them right, because each one of them saw that, except for the little things that they wanted to change

inside. Each of the three buildings of theirs were cookie cutter images. They looked exactly alike from the outside. This is how the Air Force builds.

*Q: You're also dealing with a foreign delegations, right? Like not only Holbrooke, you know you're you were asking, you know he was complaining and asking for certain things. But the foreigners were also in foreign, right? All three, four delegations?*

KENNEDY: The foreign delegations accepted what we offered. I mean, we made it clear that we cared for them. That we get the importance. You are going to get your meals. And here is your own separate building. We've created a two room suite, bedroom and office parlor for your President.

The Russian and the EU split the fifth building, the "panhandle" building. And I think they saw that we had taken an extra step to make them part of the thing. They didn't have to live in a hotel. They each got a floor in a building. They were traveling obviously, with smaller delegations than the negotiators for the three countries.

*Q: Yeah, that was probably the organization was pretty much on a tight schedule, meaning it was on a tight schedule. 24/7 work—*

KENNEDY: Right—

*Q: Meaning they were probably working overnight and getting everything together and it's impossible to change. I guess on that front, Warren, Christopher were involved, right? And I'm curious, what were his thoughts, if you remember the conversations with him about organizing the whole conference, and how did that go?*

KENNEDY: Well, it was a very brief conversation with him. I had known Mr. Christopher slightly when he'd been Deputy Secretary years ago, and I had been a Special Assistant to the Under Secretary for Management. He knew me, and he knew I was the sort of the Admin Gopher. You want something, ask Pat to organize it. He trusted me. I had also known Sandy Berger, the Deputy National Security Advisor and Tony Lake in a previous life, and so they also knew me. Mr. Christopher said, "Go find this." As I mentioned, go find it in the air. The Pentagon says "you should do it at Langley AFB, Virginia. So several of us go to Langley." Well, I went to Langley, as I mentioned before, and it just wasn't there. And I thanked the briefing team but said that the facilities would not work for this event. And said I was going to go back to Washington and the Pentagon and advise them. A Navy officer who had been part of the briefing team said, "no, no, I hear you," because he was walking around Langley with us, and he had heard me, so he knew what we wanted. And he said you need to look at Wright Patterson AFB in Dayton, Ohio. When I went back and told Mr. Christopher, that was not it, but I had a lead from Langley. His view was, Okay, go. It was, "I've given you a mission. You got the concept. Go, go, plug it in." And when I came back and said, "Here's what I've got." I had a little eight and a half by 14 of a map of the compound that showed him where the hotel was.

And then there were the five bachelor officers' quarters that we discussed earlier. All this was away from the perimeter fence, etc. It was okay. Mr. Christopher then said: "Okay, that looks good. Go, go over the White House and show this to Sandy Berger," so went over and saw Sandy and showed it to him. He said, "will it work?" I said, "Yes," and that was it. I mean, Mr. Christopher was very, very intellectual. I mean, a brilliant scholarly lawyer, but he had a sort of a buried, practical vent, that if somebody explained that this worked for him and he trusted the person, then that was fine. He just never had any questions about it.

The second time I went to Dayton, I went out there. I took two people from the Executive Secretariat who handle the Secretary's travel. One supports his policy side, and the other supports his logistic side. They saw what we got and that it was the perfect setup that they wanted. He had a two room suite, and there was room on the two floors to have space on the lower floor for offices with a little more privacy upstairs. The Executive Secretariat, which does the direct support of the Secretary's travel, saw it met all their qualifications because there was enough space. They could put their communications and they had backup. They had backup like when they were overseas. They had comms in the hotel, but the backup was at the embassy. Well, here they had comms in the BOQ. And if there was some kind of a problem, they could have gone right over to the military comm center and gotten any assistance they needed there.

*Q: Let me ask you, did you work on anything so on providing administrative and sort of assistance to opening embassies in those Balkan countries and getting everything started there? Or that was not your area?*

KENNEDY: That was a split responsibility. One of the divisions that I had the leader and builder of embassy facilities overseas. It was then called the Office of Foreign Building. It's now called the Office of Overseas Buildings Operations. When the decision was made to open embassies, a team went out from the three parties that were that concerned, the European Bureau, which was going to provide the staff; the Office of Foreign Buildings, which would have to lease the buildings and outfit them ready for Embassy use; and the Diplomatic Security Bureau, which would go out and check on both the technical and physical security needs of it. One of my units was part of that. Also another one of my units does major procurements: vehicles, office furniture, the other requirements you'd need to furnish an office building. So, yes, the Bureau of Administration, which is what I then headed, right, had had that responsibility. But it was, I should say there's a fourth player too. There was also the Communications Division, the tech Communications Division, not public affairs. They were also involved. And this was, this was a hurry up project to get it going

*Q: Right, yeah, because I know the Sarajevo Embassy was in like containers, if I remember.*

KENNEDY: Yes.

*Q: It was like, you gotta move. And especially after the day, in accordance, he had it pretty quickly to get it in a more suitable building.*

KENNEDY: Yep, and we've found one, and we rented it and then fixed it up.

*Q: Meaning that's also a nightmare, not only because of the organization of a conference, but because I think the same conference was when they recognized each other, and now you're moving to the full embassies and all that, which is another layer.*

KENNEDY: But luckily, at least in most terms, the entities responsible for fitting out, getting fitting out, and securing a building, were different from any of the units of mine or others that were involved in Dayton, right? We don't send simultaneous interpretation equipment. There's a field pack that goes with the Secretary, which is different from the package for communications that's installed at an embassy, the Diplomatic Security, people who protect dignitaries are a different division than the Foreign Operations Division of Diplomatic Security that secures embassies. Some people were tired and worn out from Dayton, but it was a different, different sub unit that was deployed for embassy openings.

*Q: But you were pretty much managing both, right? You were-*

KENNEDY: Well, I'm just just the foreign buildings and some of the procurement parts, but again, the Chief of Foreign Buildings was absolutely superb. I gave it to Patsy Thomasson, the Director, and that was what she just took and ran with it. Now I'd see her once a week. I had a one on one session with her once a week, and then I had a meeting of all my division chiefs once a week. So, I mean, she could come see me anytime, but the State Department has really, really good professionals, and you give them a task, and you get periodic briefings to make sure they're on track. But it's that micro management is not something I really had to practice,

*Q: My next question is, what did you learn from this? The Dayton experience about the State Department staff, and how did that, did they in accordance, change your perceptions or strengthen your views of the State Department?*

KENNEDY: I would say it confirmed my views. I had been a special assistant to the Under Secretary for Management years before. The Under Secretary for Management supervises administration, security, finance, etc. I knew the organizations. I knew their competences, and I would say it confirmed my belief that, faced with the problem, they can solve almost anything.

*Q: Did you do anything regarding Kosovo, and you know the next sort of a stage in the Dayton, sort of peace negotiation, sort of a next problem, next challenge in the Balkans. Was there any organization on your end that you were participating in?*

KENNEDY: No, I don't think I was directly involved. I don't remember any major meetings or major conferences taking place. And by major, I mean where you set up an

entire conference area. You know other times you had previously had Middle East peace talks before that. That involved doing things around the country and also in the State Department, building itself. So figuring out how to put together a conference is not necessarily easy, but there are enough people in the department who have done it before, even if they've done it at a junior level and 5-10 years later, it's there. They've risen in the ranks, but they've remembered being involved, and they've got the concept in their minds that you've got to treat all the other parties equally. Or as equal as you can make it so that you know they don't come into the conference with a chip on their shoulder, right? For example, when we did Shepherdstown, what was it? It was maybe in a Best Western, or something like that. But it was a whole hotel. It was one of these nice three story hotels with the foyer in the middle, with all the elevators, and then there was a left wing and a right wing. Well, we gave one half to the Syrians and the other half to the Israelis. You know, it was again, it was division, and it's just like, you just have to make sure that they're no one's bitching or kvetching about not being treated as an equal party to the talks, right?

*Q: Meaning your role is very important, because that's where you know it's a symbol of equality, in the sense that everybody has the same and it's the hardest, because they have to make sure that everything is pretty much equal, right? Let me ask you, so like, what are not only looking back to Dayton, but your whole experience. What are your sort of lessons learned or advice for future Foreign Service officers, or for people that are interested in administration and management, what are some lessons learned that you would like to share?*

KENNEDY: The lessons learned are watch and learn, and also, if you're a junior officer, and someone asks you to go work on a conference, might mean leaving town and leaving your family for a week or two or three or four, seize every opportunity as a junior to do that, because when you see other people do things, and you watch what's, because there's no better way to learn. Someone asked me once, I think the question was, sort of, can you write a handbook for this? You can't really write a handbook, because it all, I mean, for the Middle East peace talks, it was always just the US, the Israelis and one of the other parties they, that was the Arabs, would never agree to multi party talks. That's very different from Dayton, where it was multi party. You had the Serbs, the Croats, the Bosnians, plus the US, plus the Russians in the UN so you can't really write a handbook, because you'd go on and on. But the answer is, get involved, and if anything else, make sure you send a good team. I did not stay in Dayton the whole time. I got it set up. Mr. Christopher wanted me to come back when he thought he had it, because he wanted to make sure that the final signing ceremonies and everything went perfectly. But there's an officer who had been the Director of the State Department's Office of International Conferences, who I had served with when we were both assigned to Paris. He had subsequently retired and was out on the west coast. I called Scott up, and I said, "how would you like an all expense, paid vacation at Wright Patterson Air Force Base for a month?" And he said, "Absolutely." He flew in. I flew back for the grand meeting with all the Air Force people where the three star general presided. He knew what I had given him, the outline that the Secretary wanted. He met the military people, and you just have to have somebody put in charge. It doesn't have to be, it doesn't have to be me, because

there are other good people in the Department who understand the principle of conferences.

*Q: Let me ask you, what the meaning- being in Foreign Service is, of course, stressful, and there are many challenges. But can you talk a little bit about why diplomacy matters and how overcoming those challenges and the impact that each Foreign Service officer, individual working has on the larger international security goals and interests. And talk a little bit about diplomatic matters.*

KENNEDY: Wars cost money. Wars cost lives. The goal is to solve problems while you're supporting your national interest without fighting. In the Foreign Service, there are about a dozen different specializations. Each one of them fits together seamlessly because, it's one of these cases, that bad old phrase about the whole being the sum of the parts. I mean, you have people who are doing political reporting so they understand the politics of this country. You have people who are doing economic reporting. They understand trade and investment and how the economy is doing locally. You've got people in the public diplomacy section who follow the local press, the local television, so they know what the masses may be feeling, if it's slightly different from the leaders. You've got people in the Consular Section, who see all kinds of foreign visitors who want to come to the U.S., and they also get a feel for what's going on. You have all that policy fitting together. Then you have what I call the platform. You have management people, logistics people, security people, engineers, technicians of various types, communications, information technology, medical. That's what constitutes the platform in which diplomacy operates. The pieces fit together and it works. In most cases, you get a few arrogant individuals who think their specialty is better than anybody else's, but you just ignore them, and that you can ignore their arrogance. I know this sounds very simplistic, but it works. It works because you have professionals in about 10 disciplines, each respecting the other, each owning a piece of the action, but also knowing that each piece of the action is supported by others, both on the policy side and on the support side. And it just worked. Is it stressful? Yes. It's places like London and Paris where so much is going on, the stress is volumetric. Then there, there are small places where the stress is both, both volumetric and at times security driven. I mean, there's ongoing shooting and turmoil in Port au Prince Haiti all the time. Yet our Embassy has to continue to function there. You've got our embassies in Moscow and Beijing, where it's important to be able to see what's going on there and try to work your way through the morass, yet, at the same time being subject to constant harassment. There are places in the world where food can be in short supply, their endemic diseases, and times where the school systems aren't very good. The people who go there are willing to take their kids, and do a little bit of homeschooling on top of what the best education we can get them on site. There's lots of stress, some elements of danger, either medical or or physical terrorism, violence, gang violence. It's stressful, but I think people do it because they think it's an honorable profession that's supporting their country. They're doing in civilian clothes what they know their counterparts in military uniforms are doing every day. You know, go to work, and the military goes to work and trains to be so it's always ready to fight. The State Department people go to work every day trying to make sure that we don't have to fight. I don't know. Does that answer the question in a roundabout way?

*Q: Yeah. I'm thinking because very often I think about misconceptions. One of the things that Susan and I talk about is about misconceptions of the Foreign Service, what people think the diplomats actually do. Because I used to do talks on what I call citizen diplomacy. I remember one time I talked to one individual and I said, "What's the first word that comes to your mind when you hear the word diplomacy?" And there was like, I don't know. A lot of people are like, "State Department, what?" They've never heard of it. It's kind of interesting to send people that are heard of in the general population, they're like, "oh, yeah, you know, it's just a nice life. You go to parties and you do nothing, and you're just getting your salary." And that's it's being a prince, rather than being on the front lines and doing actual work.*

KENNEDY: Yep, that is- and that's certainly something that the MAGA Crowd now is doing, but I don't know how. I don't know how you change that. Because for the people whose loved ones die overseas, the State Department helps to get the remains home or the people who lose their passport overseas and the embassy helps them out, or the people who adopt a baby overseas, or the people whose business depends upon selling overseas. They tend to be the supporters, but the Americans are not great foreign travelers. I mean, I think after you subtract Canada and Mexico, most Americans don't go. The percentage of Americans who go outside the US would drop significantly after you take away Canada and Mexico, and then if you take away the United Kingdom, it probably drops even farther. They're just very few Americans who are overseas. They don't understand the differences. They don't understand the risk. But when someone runs into trouble, and the State Department gets them out of trouble, they and their family then appreciate it, but that's one in 1000.

*Q: While you're saying that, I'm thinking about the Dayton Accords and just there was an accident. Mount Igman accident that happened in August, and then there was an accident over in Croatia. I don't know whether that was 95th 96, but it's Secretary Brown. What I'm saying, it's filled with risks. It's not an easy meaning, looking at the Dayton Accords, the diplomats died, and that was a sacrifice that probably contributed to the end, inspiring people to push to the end and get the agreement. Meaning on our own side.*

KENNEDY: Meaning, I think I mentioned that the three star general commanding at Wright-Patt was the brother in law of one of the diplomats who died. He would have done it. He would have done everything anyway. For him, this was professional and personal. I don't say that I got anything more in terms of support out of him than I would have gotten out of another three star. I'm sure it didn't help when all the people who worked for him knew that his brother in law had been killed, working for peace. It may have extended this feeling of we're contributing something important. That's something I should have mentioned earlier when we did these things. We try it at a location. You try to gather the staff of the hotel in Shepherdstown or the staff of the Wye river conference center, and talk to them and give them a kind of a briefing on who's coming, why they're coming, why this is important to them, why this is important to the US. I mean it's not a pep talk. It's a briefing. But you want to get them engaged in comprehending that what they're doing is not a party. It's not a social event. This is serious. The things we've

worked on, I've worked on, and others which involve either the Middle East peace talks in their multiple variations, or Dayton, Wye River. We were lucky it was in the newspapers. Then get the people to focus on what they may have seen on the news. In Shepherdstown, West Virginia, it's not a hotbed of internationalism, but we couldn't have gotten better support out of everybody in Shepherdstown. There's nothing else we could have asked for. They were great supporters from everyone down to the fire department.

*Q: Were you ever worried about, like the staff of those hotels, that they might undermine negotiations?*

KENNEDY: No. I mean, no, for two reasons. The odds were very small that they would. Because they would be in very close proximity to senior US and foreign officials, every one, from the kitchen staff to the General Manager, had their names run through security databases. The same kind of debate database you'd run through if you were, if you were going into the State Department, or you're going into the White House. So you run those. The individuals were, they were, they all had, they were all clean. Now, obviously you know your point is potentially correct. I mean, there could have been someone who was harboring a deep resentment to one of the three Dayton parties because one of their extended family members had had a terrible event happen to them but there is State Department or Secret Service security, and each one of these delegations also brings their own security. You just watch things right, and you depend upon the fact that the odds are that 99.99% of the local staff are loyal. If you figure that if there is somebody and the action that he or she might take will likely be noticed by someone else, and the odds of there being two in a conspiracy, anything can happen, but no. You take precautions by running what are called National Agency checks. Yeah, on people, just to make sure that there's nothing that you should be concerned about.

*Q: Yeah, I was just wondering, not only in that regard, but also in just regard of chatting, you know they're talking, and saying their views, and the first amendment and all that. But just kind of thinking, Oh, we read in papers and so on and on, like, kind of engaging more than they should.*

KENNEDY: No, no, I think they realize that this is very mean. They see this penumbra that's laid over the event by federal security, local security, military security, on the perimeters. And, you know, the care and attention that's being paid to it. And I think the individuals then develop a certain sense of pride that they're stage hands in a great play. I mean, they don't get to be Lawrence Olivier, but they're a stagehand. And nothing wrong with being a stagehand at a great event. It's something to tell your children and grandchildren about years on.

*Q: Right, and probably it was a good moment for all of them, just witnessing and being part of it, just observing and also acting what I would call a citizen diplomat, meaning they're also representing.*

KENNEDY: That's right. I saw that in Dayton. I saw it at Shepherdstown and Wye River, among other places as well.

*Q: Yeah, because I heard from many people that were with the Air Force, regarding, you know, at the Dayton conference, a lot of them just realize the importance of peace. And many of them at their own non profits works, and in various different capacities, and devoting their life to peace in the Balkans. Now when they're retired, even more. But it's quite interesting how just witnessing and being part of it had an impact on them as individuals.*

KENNEDY: I think so. I mean, I think the military knows that if we go to war, they or their friends may be killed, and so they are great supporters of State Department operations, whether it be the Secretary flying around the world or what happened at Dayton, or there were also talks at Bowling Air Force Base. There was another, there another series of smaller talks at Andrews Air Force Base. You know, they know that they're there in case of war, but they're the first people who would, who prefer peace to war, right?

*Q: Let me ask you this. You've been through a lot of historical moments. I'm curious, what is your sense of like now, looking back to all those moments and knowing that you live through that history, what do you think about it? How do you just appreciate, how do you see history as something that you took part in?*

KENNEDY: I feel that I had an incredible amount of what I'll call situational luck. I just happened to be in the right place at the right time and asked to participate in or, or in some cases, direct the back end. I feel very lucky, very privileged, to have had that opportunity. I'm a kid from the west side of the city of Chicago who had never been outside the United States until the State Department sent me overseas. It was a privilege to have the chance to participate in these things.

*Q: This is an unfair question, but what did you learn about the world and about life from that experience traveling abroad and serving the country?*

KENNEDY: I think you learned that you have to always be certain that you are representing the US in the best possible way, you need to be unfailingly polite, but never, but never, back down while remaining polite. I mean, if someone challenges the US's integrity or the US position, you must defend it, but you defend it in a very positive, non acerbic, non demeaning response, because we're blessed. We come from a great nation, and people look up to us. I still think they do. You've got to try to show them that we respect their culture as well. You ask for their assistance. You don't demand it. You ask for it. Most of the times, I can think of, I'm stretching to find out sometime when I was working on a conference or working at an embassy, or working when I did Secretary of State travel for five years where we had a problem that if I asked nicely and explained why, people would respond, and if they couldn't, they often would point me at someone else who could fix the problem. You always tried to be gracious and thank people. When you do that, it pays back. I think it also builds if you're a good diplomat within quotes, you help diminish the feeling that they're all these Ugly Americans running around the world being arrogant and abusive, and so you never want to do that. Right?

*Q: Any favorite moments from your foreign service that you look back on and you're like, wow, they were quite interesting.*

KENNEDY: I got a lot of them. I was in Paris in 1984 when Ronald Reagan came to Normandy to do the 40th anniversary of Normandy. I was the Logistics Officer for the Embassy on loan. I also coordinated the logistics for the return of the Tehran hostages after their release, and was at West Point when they got back. And in effect, supervised a funeral in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris after one of our people had been killed, and got to travel for five years with the Secretary. And so I've got lots and lots.

*Q: I know it's an unfair question. It's like asking a musician about their favorite song.*

KENNEDY: No, it just, but it was that all the things that I worked on were always team efforts. Who gets a front row seat in history? Not everyone can get a front row seat and you meet wonderful people- foreign nationals or fellow Americans. And so it's a great life. It's great. If anybody talks to me about it, I turn into a recruiter immediately. Come on in the water's fine.

*Q: Yeah, I know it's to be honest. Really, one of the things, and that's why I'm asking questions like this, one of the parts that I want to try to get it well, I'm conducting the Dayton Peace Accords interviews, is try to capture the image of what Foreign Service is all about, because going to that misconception and try to, because very often people think that diplomats are different creatures. People from a different planet or something, and try to humanize that. It's actually a life of privilege and a life of service, where service is a noble calling that people are answering and sacrificing their lives in many different ways in order for the benefit of the rest.*

KENNEDY: That is very much appreciated what you're doing, at least by me,

*Q: So I'm asking questions like that, just to get the sense who you know, who you know, who you are as an individual, because a lot of those, you know the historical facts are historical facts, but each individual is different. Your previous experience contributed to the Dayton Accords, and the Dayton Accords changed you as well, and probably, but so that's why I'm asking you know, questions like this. Also I think there is a shortage- one of the things I'm working with interns, and one of the things that I have to tell them all the time is that diplomacy is not the same as international relations. Very often they were studying in schools about international relations without understanding diplomacy and what actually is the work of Foreign Service. I think there are people who should learn.*

KENNEDY: Yep, exactly, exactly.

*Q: Let me ask you a final question, and then I'll share with you a transcript, and we can decide if you want to include any other observations and reflections. Sure, curious, I guess, reflecting on it, is there any advice for yourself when you were young looking back*

*at your career for your younger self, what would be something looking back to the career that he had, to the person that was entering Foreign Service years back?*

KENNEDY: I'm sorry, do you? I didn't quite understand the question.

*Q: It's pretty much like looking back to your career. What would be advice to your younger self, but also advice to other younger individuals in terms of Foreign Service?*

KENNEDY: Stay calm and seize any opportunity to do something, to do something that will be a learning experience and sacrifice a little bit in order to gain the most experiences you can, because in those experiences, you will meet people. You will learn something from them, and then five or 10 years later they may reappear in your life, and if you are a good colleague in working with them, not arrogant, not abusive, you've made a friend. Years later you're going to need some help, and all of a sudden, Joe or Sally are going to happen to be in the circle that you have to touch, and that happened to me. I did my first tour overseas, and then I came back and I was the personnel officer and sort of gopher in the admin office for the Bureau of African Affairs. I just met lots of people, and then I went from that job to working for the Under Secretary for Management and people I had met. And when I needed to figure out something I knew someone to call in that office; who then, then years later I'm back, and I'm working on the Secretary's travel. Some of these career people, either Foreign Service or Civil Service, they've been rising through the ranks, and all of a sudden, I now know the division chief. I can call the division chief who remembers me because we work together, and that was the word I wanted to use. I think, is respectful that they're just there are people who get a little arrogant in the Foreign Service, and that's sad, and arrogance puts other people off, because you never know when you're going to need something. You're going to need it fast. You're going to need it done right. If you made the right contacts over the years, and I'm not talking about doing this in a greedy or malicious way, but if you can, – and the other thing, this thing's work needs to work in reverse. If somebody calls you and says, I need help on something, and because of where you are, you can help them. You want to help them for two reasons. One, because it's the right thing to do, because they're asking in the course of business, but in the strange sense, you also want to do it because you may need a favor later, and I don't regard that as wrong. I mean, it's wrong to do favors just to collect chits, but getting chits without asking for them is something that it's very much worth doing. The other thing is, if you're asked a question and it's either simple or complex, it doesn't matter, the first word out of your mouth cannot be “No”. Unless the person has asked you to go shoot the Secretary of State, I mean, or do something totally criminal, then you want to listen to the question. You want to take the question, you want to ask some questions back and then say, let me see what I can do. Because you may not be able to give the person what they're asking for, but you may be able to give the person a chunk of what they need. That kind of responsiveness and professionalism builds a network of people who will work, be glad to work with you again, because you helped them get out of a problem they're in. I always felt if someone helped me out of a problem, I just waited for their next call, so maybe I could do a favor for them. Some people think that's just mechanistic. No, it's not. It's building relationships and supporting the institution at the same time. Because they're not asking for some personal favor for self and

self-aggrandisement, they're asking for a favor to help them solve an institutional problem that they're facing. You want to help them, because it's your profession, but it so happens that they remember the next time you need to figure out something complex, and they remember that you're a stand up person. Hey, man, that's also good.

*Q: All right, all right, that was great. Thank you.*

KENNEDY: Certainly.

*End of interview*