

AMBASSADOR JOHN GUNTHER DEAN

Interviewed by: Charles Stuart Kennedy

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Q. Today is September 6, 2000. This is an interview with John Gunther Dean. This is being done on behalf of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training. I'm Charles Stuart Kennedy. Let's start at the beginning. Could you tell me when and where you were born and something about your family.

DEAN: Okay. I was born on February 24, 1926 in the German city of Breslau, an industrial city of 650,000 people, where they made locomotives, airplanes. Silesia is one of the two lungs of Germany: the Ruhr Valley and Silesia. My father was a corporation lawyer who was on the Board of Directors of banks, chairman of a machine-tool company, mining corporations, etc... He was close to many of the leading industrial and financial people in Germany, in the period between the First World War and the Second World War. My father was also the President of the Jewish Community in Breslau. His friend Max Warburg played the same role in Hamburg.

Q. Was this the banking Warburg.

DEAN: That's right. Max Warburg was the head of the banking house at that time. Sigmund was his nephew who went to England.

Q. "Dean" was ...

DEAN: My father changed our name legally by going to court in New York

in March 1939. My father's name was Dr. Josef Dienstfertig. You will find his name in books listing the prominent men in industry and finance at the time. One interesting anecdote was the trip of my late father to Palestine in the late 1920s. He, Mr. Warburg, Mr. Goldschmidt and others were invited to attend the opening of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. All the representatives of the Jewish community in Germany said the same thing: "We are German citizens of Jewish faith. We are not Zionists. We will help you, but we are part of an assimilated society." I mention this here, because this approach to religion had a great impact on my own attitude toward Zionism.

Q: I want to go back a bit. Breslau was...

DEAN: Breslau is a city which used to be in the 13th, 14th, and 15th century Polish. It then became Austrian. It then became Prussian when Frederick the Great defeated Austria in the 1740s. My father's family had been living there for the last 500 years, and we have records to that effect. The reason that Jews had been living there for such a long time is that they were probably descendents of the Kazars who were allowed to settle in about 1500 or so in Neustadt in Silesia, and later were allowed to move to the big cities. They lived there quietly. In the city of Breslau, where I was born, we had nine Nobel Prize winners, from the beginning of the 20th century to 1933. More than half of the Nobel Prize winners were Jewish. But they were all very assimilated Jews. They Included Paul Ehrlich, Fritz Haber etc... who were part of the German establishment. Along that line, I have in my possession a book given to my father in 1899. It is inscribed as follows; "This prize of the Emperor to the best student in town".

The idea of belonging to a nation, being part of a community, and your religion being between yourself and your maker, was absolutely cardinal in my upbringing.

Q: What about your mother's background.

DEAN: It was completely different. My mother was the daughter of a well to do banker by the name of Ashkenaczy living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Her father's cousin, Simon Ashkenaczy, converted (with a name like Ashkenaczy) to Catholicism. In 1920, he became the first Polish Ambassador to the Court of St. James. After being stationed from 1920 to 1926 in London, he served from 1926 to 1932 as Polish Ambassador to the League of Nations in Geneva. My mother's cousin became Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Poland in Warsaw. That is my mother's background. My mother's sisters and brothers got married all over the world.

Q: This was on your mother's side.

DEAN: Yes, my mother's oldest brother came to France in 1917 and fought in the war. Today, I have a French cousin who was honored by having bestowed on him the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor by the President of France. He was a hero in the Free French Resistance Movement. He then became an Ambassador in the French Diplomatic Service.

Another first cousin went to England and attended Oxford, He ended up as Chairman of British Petroleum Chemicals. Another cousin is Dr. Petersdorf. In the early 1980s he was Chairman of the Association of American Medical Schools. He served as Chairman of Medicine at Harvard, Dean of Medicine in California. That is my mother's family. This family, Ashkenaczy, goes back to Amsterdam. They came from Amsterdam to what

was the Austro-Hungarian Empire in about 1702. They never, like my father's family, stayed in one place very long. I still have family living in Europe. Some of them are Catholics, others Jews. The only lesson I learned from my own past was that tolerance is important. I listen with respect to other peoples' views and I consider religion to be a personal relationship between myself and one's God.

Q: How religious was homelife for you.

DEAN: Not very religious. For the first four years of my life, I attended a rather exclusive private school. That was the end of that cycle. Afterwards, I had a Swiss tutor at my house, Mr. Pezet, and an English governess, Eleanor Mary McCarthy, so I would learn English. I also had a French teacher come to our home. Once a week, I had somebody come to the house to teach me religion. I was able to read Hebrew. While attending school at the age of 7 or 8, I had a friend who said to me one day: "My mom tells me I shouldn't go home with you; we shouldn't walk together." I said: "Why." "Oh, because you are Jewish. But never mind. We are buddies. We are going to play soccer together." I am mentioning this because some survivors of the Nazi persecution claim today that all Germans were nazis and anti-semites. From my Limited I found this not to be true.

We left Germany in 1938.

Q: Let's-talk about growing up. 1926. So, in 1932, you were six years old or so. What were your personal observations of the Hitlerzeit as far as how they gradually impacted on you.

DEAN: I was very young at the time. It impacted relatively little. I went from 1932 to 1936 to this private school for four years where there were only two Jews. That was the end of the cycle. At that point, I shifted and I had tutors at home. I assume the reason was that I could not go to the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium.

Q: This was just when the Nuremberg laws were passed.

DEAN: The Nuremberg laws were in 1935.

Q: They were beginning to bite.

DEAN: The Prussian Jews had received citizenship in 1742. They were eager to be part of the nation. They assimilated and inter-married. They also converted at times. Making a contribution to their country was important to them. They did this in spades. They lived their lives as Germans. Today, some people carry their religion on their sleeve. It becomes their identity. This was not the case of my family. They wanted to be part of the nation. I brought that concept of life very much with me.

Q: Were you picking anything up from your family about Hitler and what was happening - at the dinner table?

DEAN: No, because my father always believed (and so did my uncles) "It's going to blow over." I won't say my father was part of it, but he was close to the "Herrenclub". The Herrenclub were the people who helped Hitler coming to power. They were the industrialists and bankers who decided that having to choose between communism and this crazy fellow Hitler, they said: "We can control this paper hanger." My father remained until his death a carrier of German civilization, German culture. In order to please my father, I took a one-year survey course of German literature. Then, my father said to me: "You are not a complete human being unless you have read Faust." So, I studied half a year "Faust" at Harvard. My father always claimed that I had German roots. Therefore, I should learn about German culture. Certainly, my father

was disappointed in the way some Germans behaved. Others were very helpful. My father never had any hatred or ill feeling toward Germany. In 1938, I saw the concierge come up to our apartment and shout: "Herr Doktor, Herr Doktor, Sie kommen. Du must raus" which means: "Doctor, they are coming, you must go." The Gestapo were coming to pick him up. The concierge was trying to protect my father. Another uncle was held as a hostage at Buchenwald in 1938 for ransom before he could leave Germany. The head of the Breslau police force was helpful to another uncle in getting him a visa in order to leave Germany because he had been awarded the Iron Cross first class during World War I. I think what happened to the German Jews (I'm not saying it about others) was the great effort they made to be assimilated into the German nation. For example, note the role the Jews played during the period of Romanticism (1830s) in German literature. The matter of faith was between yourself and your maker. The number of Jews who won the Nobel Prize for Germany in every field was amazing. There was no question of loyalty to another nation. Palestine became important for Zionists during the Hitler period as a destination for rapid emigration. There was a tremendous difference (and very few people ever talked about it) between the effort of the assimilation of German Jews and the Jews in some other countries who were never allowed to be part of a nation, as for example in Russia.

Q. This was reflected very much, say, in New York, where the German Jews were part of the establishment. When all of these people came out of Eastern Europe at the turn of the century, these were country cousins and they were not well appreciated.

DEAN: The German Jews who came to the U.S. in 1848 often inter-married and became part of the American scene. They went out West. They became

merchants. They started as peddlers and ended up owning department stores.

Q: Sure, like Goldwater and all that.

DEAN: These people became part of the country. They assimilated. Today, In the 21st century, many young Jewish men marry non-Jewish girls. According to Jewish law, the faith of the children is decided by the mother. This is one of the problems the Orthodox and ultra-conservative Jews have in the U.S., saying: "Hey, wait a second! in the melting pot of America, we are melting away." Reformed Judaism can live with that. The Orthodox cannot. This may lead to Orthodox Jews emigrating to Israel or in Israel questioning the validity of marriages performed by reformed Rabbis.

Q: When did you leave Germany?

DEAN: 1938.

Q: It was a good time to get the hell out.

DEAN: It was more the influence of my mother who made us pull up roots. My father believed that it might still blow over.

Q: In 1938, you went where.

DEAN: To Holland.

Q: How long were you in Holland?

DEAN: About three or four weeks. My father had friends there. They were together on the board of a mining corporation in Greece. They

played a role later in my father's life. Then, we went to England. We went to see our governess. From there, we took the S.S. Queen Mary for the United States.

Q: That would be when.

DEAN: At the beginning of February 1939. I have a daughter-in-law who came on the Mayflower. When I went to the wedding, I said: "You know, I feel sorry for your ancestors. They spent six long weeks on that ocean, being tossed around. I came in five days. It was very smooth sailing." But we both got there!

One of the first things we did when we arrived in the U.S. was to go to court. We petitioned the court to change the name of Dienstfertig to Dean. That was done. I have kept this paper very precious for over 60 years. At that point, we became known as "Dean". In early 1939 my father got an offer to do some sporadic teaching at the University of Kansas. He did a few lectures and then got a job in Kansas City, Missouri. The family moved to Kansas City, Missouri in 1939.

Kansas City played a major role in my life. Let me cite an example. My father was a very polite gentleman. One Saturday afternoon, we went to town in a streetcar. My father was sitting next to a white lady and he saw a black lady coming in. She had done her Saturday shopping and carried a couple of bags. My father, in his European manner, tipped his hat, got up, and tried to give his seat to the black lady. Well, in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1939, it was the custom for black folks to go to the back of the car. My father giving up his seat for a black woman was unheard of. The white lady objected. She said: "Why, you" and used very foul language about my father and his relationship with blacks.

The streetcar conductor said: "Fellow, you take your boy and get off that streetcar. I don't want no trouble on that streetcar." He stopped right there and then, and we had to get off. It was not even a regular street car stop.

My father was involved in a debate when Mr. Lindberg came to Kansas. It was 1940. The war had broken out in Europe in September 1939. Congress had passed the "Lend/Lease Bill "to help the allies. My father wanted the allies to win. Lindberg favored staying out of war.

Q: Lindberg was part of the America First movement and kept saying: "Germany is our best customer" and all that sort of thing.

DEAN: He was quite friendly to the fascist regime. That ended my father's very short teaching career at Kansas University. We lived in Kansas City, Missouri. I first went to junior high-school and then to high school. One of the teachers, an English teacher, said: "John, you want to go to college, don't you?" I replied: "Yes, I want to go to college." "Where do you want to go?" I replied: "I want to go to Harvard." "You want to go to Harvard? We have never sent anybody to Harvard from this high school. I'll tell you, John, if you are really serious, you read one play of Shakespeare a week - extra assignment.

Every time you come across a word you don't know, you look it up in the Webster dictionary and write out the definition. Then, you give me one page on what you think of the play." I did this for just about a year. Miss Seacrest, rest her soul in peace, never got a nickel for it, never received any real expression of gratitude from anybody, but she got me into Harvard. I was able to pass the Eastern College Boards.

I am eternally grateful to her. That particular woman and her action and her willingness to help a young student influenced my actions later in my life. When I came into a position where I could be of help to others, I did. I sit on a board today in the Far East, of a university entirely devoted to science and technology. We only have masters and Ph.D. students. I pleaded for scholarships for young Vietnamese, a country where I had fought for 2 years. I pleaded for scholarships for Cambodians where I had played a major role in their country. I pleaded for scholarships for people from Laos and I got them altogether about 300 scholarships. I feel today that the Kansas City tradition of openness and tolerance, and giving young people a chance, had become part of my own outlook on life.

I would like to mention something else. In Kansas City, we attended a congregation. You wouldn't know whether it was a congregation of Christians or Jews. It was a meeting hall. When the Christian Science Church burnt down about two blocks away, we offered our meeting hall to them and they used it on Sundays. It was reformed Judaism. It followed the Cincinnati Rite. I was the only one in my age group in the congregation who could still read Hebrew. All my colleagues didn't know a word of it. We got confirmed together.

Q: Not a Barmitzah.

DEAN: No. It was a confirmation. I had the honor of reading the Ten Commandments, in Hebrew. I was the only one who could read that language. Some of my fellow confirmees went with me to Harvard. Most of them had gone to private preparatory schools. I had gone to public high school. Yes, Kansas City was a good place to grow up. While in Kansas City, I became a Boy Scout.

Q: You basically came into high school from Germany.

DEAN: Well, into junior high school.

Q: How did you find the adjustment? I'm just talking about the system.

DEAN: First rate. In Germany, I had an English governess, so the English language was not the big problem. The problem was that I did not know much about the American way of life. That was new to me. Mind you, I think every immigrant, whether they come from Latin America or Scandinavia or from the Orient, emphasis is on adjusting and being part of the gang. I learned to play baseball. I ran track for the school races. I played basketball. I was not good enough to become a member of the school team, but I participated in every sport. What struck me the most was that if you did your homework and you were willing to do a little extra reading, you could prepare yourself for college. In that effort, I found that most of the teachers were willing to help a student who was interested in learning. I also went to the public library to read and select books.

Q: We have a wonderful library system in the United States.

DEAN: I used it. Sixty years later, I still remember Miss Lewis, the librarian. She knew my past. She said: "John, what do you want to read now?" I said: "I want to read more about Alexander Hamilton." She said: "Alexander Hamilton is more authority-oriented. Why don't you read about Madison also?" I got interested in America's past. At that point, my father started collecting the original editions of books about the American Revolution. The books are still in my

possession. In some of them are the drawings of Benjamin Franklin. Another series include Jefferson's memoirs, etc. He bought those books because he had great respect for the Founding Fathers of our country, I got interested in American history. For my father, it was more a question of learning about a new civilization. For me, it was learning more about my country. At this point, I began to think about ways I might be of service to my new country. Doing something for my country became a goal to be pursued over a lifetime. Nobody could change my mind. My father wanted me to go into banking. One of the last German Chancellors before Hitler was Heinrich Brüning. Heinrich Brüning was a friend of my father, so my father wrote him with the hope he could help me. In 1947 Brüning had suggested that I should go to Bering Brothers in London and learn about banking. "You'll get to be a good banker. Your father was chairman of a bank, so a career in finance makes sense." I replied that "I wanted to become a Foreign Service officer." He said: "Where did you ever get that strange idea? You'll never make it. Foreign-born, with all the baggage you carry..." I said: "I'm not interested in money per se. I would like to serve. I would like to do something for somebody."

Q: Let's go back. You were interested in the American Revolution. Did you read the Kenneth Roberts book "Rebels in Arms"? This was a historical novel.

DEAN: No, I read more biographies about historical figures and the issues they were involved in. The Middle West in those days was quite different from today's; nobody locked their front door. You left your car unlocked. I had a paper route. Neighbors sometimes complained: "I did not get my paper" and I had to rush over and give them the latest newspaper. It was a nice environment. It was an open, caring society, and a very tolerant

one. People did what they wanted to do. I enjoyed school. Today, I am told that the high school I attended is closed.

From Kansas city, my folks at one point moved back East. I went off to Harvard and I did not return to Missouri,

Q: During this time you were in Kansas City, was the family following events in Europe? How much were you involved? This was a great drama.

DEAN: In May 1940, I remember sitting in the dining room with a radio on the table. We were listening to H.G. Kaltenborn who reported on the surrender of France. It was General Hutzinger, the French general, who actually handed over the surrender document in the railroad car, to the German generals. My late mother, who had family in France, was crying. I understood at that point how attached she was to her family. I realized how meaningful was to her the defeat of France, the France she knew and loved. Her tears at that moment made a big impression on me. From that point on, I was hoping I would get as much education as possible and the war would last long enough so I could get into war and do my duty to my country and for the values it stands. This actually happened. I was in a hurry. I finished high school in June 1942. I was barely 16.

Q: You went to Harvard. Where did you get the idea of Harvard?

DEAN: As a child, I heard a lot about universities. My father had a doctorate and everybody in the family was well-educated. Harvard had the reputation of being the number one school in the U.S. Then, there was my father's friend. Dr. Bruning, who was teaching at Harvard. It never occurred to me that I should apply to several universities in case

of being rejected. Also, I had not heard of so many other schools. Harvard was, as far as I could see, the best. The difficulty was how to get in and how to pay for it. My father paid part of the tuition and part of it I had to earn. I waited on tables my first year.

Q: Where? In one of the houses?

DEAN: Yes, As a Freshman I lived in Wigglesworth, B. Entry. I served at tables at Winthrop House, which was not my house. Later, I also served as an usher at football games so I could see, free of charge, the football game. Ambassador Arthur Hartman, with whom I was at Harvard, remembers me. "Hey, John, I remember when you were selling laundry contracts." Arthur had bought one of my laundry contracts, which gave me an income. The second year, I had better jobs. I had moved up. I must admit that most people were nice and helped me.

Q: You adjusted quite well - at the right age - to the American system. In the European one, you don't work; you don't -

DEAN: In Germany, I was too young for higher education. In Germany, I was exposed to the concept of serving the state. Undoubtedly that idea stayed with me all during my school years in the U.S. The name "Dienst" means "service". Somehow, "serving" became important to me and how to prepare myself to serve. I got the idea of serving in the field of international relations. Most of my elders thought this was crazy. They said: "How can you make a name for yourself in diplomacy?" It was not common in those days for immigrants to enter the Diplomatic Service of the U.S.

I think we should talk about the war years because the war years were absolutely of key importance to me.

Q: Let's talk about Harvard and the war years. First, at Harvard, when you went there in 1942, what were you taking? You were 16 years old.

DEAN: The first year there was no choice. You took the required subjects. I made fairly good grades. Among other subjects, I took during my Freshman year English composition, world history, French, and science. But when I entered in 1942, some students were already leaving Harvard to join the armed forces. I was young - 16 - and had two more years before joining our military forces. Most of us who stayed at Harvard in 1942 and 1943 were eager to get as much education as possible before leaving for the war. I recall vividly, I was at the movies in Harvard Square when Field Marshal von Paulus surrendered an entire German army to the Soviets at Stalingrad in the beginning of 1943. It was the turning point of the war on the Eastern Front and the audience applauded at the end of the Newsreel.

Q: Von Paulus commanded the Sixth Army?

DEAN: Yes, that was a big event. I recall the image of the old Marshal von Paulus holding his Marshal staff high as he surrendered the whole Sixth Army. I was worried that the war was going to end too soon for me to have made my contribution,

Q: Also, El Alamein had happened about that time.

DEAN: At that time, the Kansas City Star ran a story with a picture of my first cousin who had fought in North Africa. That is the fellow who received the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor in September 2001. He was the hero of the battle of Bir Hakeim, which was the first battle that the Free French won.

Q: This was part of the North Africa campaign...

DEAN: That's right. The French held the line against German and Italian forces, but needed ammunition. My cousin was a truck driver bringing badly needed ammunition to Bir Hakeim. The German Junker planes came to bomb the munitions convoy. The truck in front of my cousin got hit and started blowing up. He took his fire extinguisher and put out some of the fires until he was blown up himself. The convoy got through and he was left on the battlefield for dead. Scottish soldiers came to clean up the battlefield. They saw the 20-year old lad in a puddle of blood and gave him a direct blood transfusion. He lost his right arm at that battle and also lost two fingers on his left hand. He has three fingers left.

In 1944, I volunteered for induction into the Army. Born in Germany, I was classified by the draft board as an enemy alien and could not be drafted. I did not want to miss the show, so I volunteered for induction.

I left Harvard and drove to Fort Devins, Massachusetts, in 1944. There, I was processed as a private. In reply to a certain question, I made a boo boo.

Q: You were saying you made a boo boo.

DEAN: Yes, I was asked to sign up for a \$10,000 GI insurance in case of death. So, I told the officer:

"I am the only child and my parents would not need \$10,000 if I am dead. I don't want to take out this insurance. I prefer to get the \$21 a month a private is entitled to."

"Step aside. Dean."

So, I stepped aside. Half an hour later, "Have you changed your mind, Dean?" No. I didn't. "My parents still would not be happy with \$10,000 in case of my death."

Well, I never took out the \$10,000 insurance and I got processed.

"What do you want to do. Dean?" asked the sergeant processing me.

"I don't want to walk".

"Okay, we'll send you down to the Corps of Combat Engineers at Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

I was given orders to proceed to Fort Belvoir in Virginia, outside of Washington. I did my basic training there. Among the soldiers in my training unit were young men who did not know how to read and write. My name being Dean, the soldier ahead of me was named Corvin. Corvin was illiterate. He was 18, was married, and had a child. He came from the Appalachian Mountains. So, I said: "Corvin, I'll make you a deal. You clean my rifle and I'll write your letters." We had a deal and we carried out this arrangement during the four months of training. Another fellow was named Baines. He was also illiterate. Because of that handicap, illiterate soldiers could not stand guard duty because they could not learn by heart the Orders of the Day. One of them put the flag upside down purposely so he did not have to stand guard duty again. They were clever and nice buddies. They knew how to shoot a lot better than I did. At one point, we built a pontoon bridge. Building bridges in combat areas over rivers was one of primary duties of the Combat Engineers. During this exercise, we used a "gin pole". A gin pole is a big, heavy pole used for maneuvering a large construction piece into place. It was a rainy day. Suddenly, I started sliding into the mud, always holding on to the gin pole. At one point, I was the only one holding the pole. Suddenly, I found myself under the pole and my leg caught under the heavy log. Next thing I knew, I woke up in the military hospital and spent two weeks there. They had to do a little surgery to repair broken veins. After 2 weeks, I returned to my training

unit and we finished training all together. By that time, the invasion (D-Day) had taken place (June 6, 1944) and every military unit had losses. By the time our unit had finished our basic training and our final maneuver in the hills of Virginia, U.S. forces had crossed France and were approaching the Vosges Mountains and fighting near Belgium. It was early November 1944. Winter was approaching and U.S. military units in Europe needed replacements for those who had been killed or wounded in battle. That was to be the fate of most of my buddies in my training course.

One day, after returning from maneuvers, we got orders to assemble on the parade ground of Fort Belvoir, Virginia. It was a cold autumn day. The commanding colonel said: "Men, you have finished your basic training. Now, it's your turn to do your duty and help your comrades in arms." We had full field packs on our backs, rifle slung over the left shoulder, and a duffle bag on the side. The administrative officer called out names. As the name was called, the soldier had to take one step forward. On that day, everybody's name was called except mine. Everybody - except me - stepped one step forward, made a left turn, and marched off the parade ground. I was standing all by myself on the parade field. The administrative officer shouted: "Dean, go and see the Captain." I didn't know what was wrong. I went to see the Captain and said: "All my buddies are gone." He said: "They are going to be replacements in Europe. They are not going as a unit, so don't complain. They are being sent as replacements for those who have been killed."

Q: To a report depot.

DEAN: That's right. "They are going, but you've got different orders. Here is a nickel." I said: "What am I going to do with a nickel?" He said: "A staff car is going to take you to Alexandria, Virginia. You go to the drug store on Queen Street and call this number." I said: "What kind of nonsense is this?" He said: "I understand you speak German and French, don't you?" I said: "Yes." He said: "You do what you are told." A staff car took me from Fort Belvoir to Alexandria. I made a phone call at a booth in the drug store, with the nickel which had been given to me. "This is Private Dean reporting." "Okay, Dean. you wait at the corner of Queen Street and we will pick you up." Another staff car picked me up half an hour later. For the next two years, I served at Post Office Box 1142, Alexandria, Virginia. I was sent to Europe at one point, but I always remained part of "Post Office Box 1142."

Q: Was this OSS?

DEAN: It was military intelligence. The OSS colleagues with whom I worked lived in a mansion on the road to Mount Vernon. I went to Fort Hunt, also a stop on the Mount Vernon Highway, about 5 minutes from our OSS friends. Today, at Fort Hunt, you can see nothing that existed during the war. I took my wife there, 30 years later. There is nothing there except some areas designated "Off Limits". During my military career, I could wear most anything I wanted - civilian clothes, military clothes (but I was a little young guy at 18 to pose as an officer). In 1944, I heard for the first time the word "atomzertrummerung" meaning splitting of the atom. Few people had ever heard about it until one year later.

Some of my colleagues were interesting people. One of them died quite Recently: Alexander Dallin. There was a long obituary in "The New York Times". He was a specialist on Russia. Alexander Dallin's father had been one of the revolutionaries in 1917. As the revolution devoured most of the others, he fled Russia via Berlin and Paris, and then came to the States. Alex Dallin's specialty was speaking Russian. We had others who spoke fluent Russian. They dealt with very senior officers in the Vlassov Army.

Q: This is the army... How did they get out? Weren't they still fighting on the German side?

DEAN: Yes, but some of these officers felt that the war was being lost by the Germans and they surrendered to American forces in France. The Vlassov Army were Russian forces who had deserted the Russian Army and had engaged themselves on the side of the Germans. The Russians considered them traitors, and the Germans used them as mercenaries. We, in the U.S., knew little about Russia. The high officers of the Vlassov Army knew a lot.

But let me now turn to one episode of my military career that taught me a lot. While at P.O. 1142, I had the great pleasure of meeting and working in a most humble capacity with a German citizen by the name of Gustav Hilger. Gustav Hilger was a Russian of German extraction. His family had been living in Russia for centuries. They were well educated merchants. In 1924, Gustav Hilger was appointed by the German democratic government of the Weimar Republic to be the representative of the German Red Cross in the Soviet Union. Hilger spoke three languages fluently: German, Russian, and French. He did not speak a word of

English. In 1932, as the Germans established diplomatic relations, Gustav Hilger became Minister Plenipotentiary of the German Embassy in Moscow. He was probably one of the most knowledgeable Germans about the Soviet Union. In 1939, Molotov and Ribbentrop signed the Armistice, the treaty dividing up Poland.

Q: The Ribbentrop Pact.

DEAN: Yes. In the famous photograph commemorating the occasion, our friend, Gustav Hilger, stood right in back of Ribbentrop. Hilger was married and had one son. The only son was killed in Stalingrad in January 1943. In 1944, Hilger constituted himself prisoner and he was brought to the United States. Gustav Hilger was the most knowledgeable man about a country we knew relatively little. He was a fine gentleman. People came from all over the U.S. Government to talk with him. Sometimes they needed interpreters. Sometimes I would just take him to a tea house and have a cup of tea with him - always in civilian clothes. He told me his life. I kept him company. We bought whatever he needed. He stayed on in the United States until the early 1950s. He was a major advisor to the United States. He held very balanced views. Hilger represented what I thought was good in the German people. He explained some of the horrors of the Stalin period. He also tried to explain why the Russians did certain things and how they did them, and the reaction of Russians and how Westerners interpreted them on the basis of their own cultural background. Very often, there was complete misunderstanding of each other's positions. Fear or suspicion on both sides - West and the Soviets - became to undercut the political alliance created by the common war against the Nazis.

I was able to practice my French and German with him. He was one of the first ones outside academia who explained to me the "game of nations" reality versus mythology. I learned that perhaps sometimes bad solutions are better than the alternative, which might be a tragedy. Hilger is long dead. When I talked to my German colleagues many years later about him, their eyes light up. He was an outstanding personality. He was not at all militaristic. He tried to understand and explain actions taken by the Soviets while in power. He also related how well the German army was initially received in the Ukraine, sometimes with arches of triumph made of flowers. Some of the German prisoners of war I dealt with carried photographs with them of their arrival in the Ukraine, which bears out Hilger's explanations.

Q: Bread and salt.

DEAN: Yes, some dignitaries came forward with bread and salt. Some Ukrainians saw in the German army liberation from the Soviet yoke. This was for me, as a young fellow, a tremendous awakening. Alfred Rosenberg who was the racist philosopher of Hitler, some weeks after the German invasion of Russia, tried to explain that the Slavs are "Untermenschen" ("sub-humans") and Russians should be treated as such that turned the Ukrainians and Belorussians, who were basically suffering from the Soviet system, into supporters of the Stalinist regime fighting the Germans. For me, at the time, the fact that at the very beginning of the German invasion in June 1941, the Germans had been received with open arms until this racist Rosenberg turned the Slavs into supporters of Stalin, was a revelation. (The Russians had 26 million people killed during World War II.)

I found that my relationship with Hilger was very educational. I learned about the drawbacks of the Soviet system as imposed by Stalin, as well as the heroism of the Russian people in defeating the German invaders. Hilger was an excellent historian who helped me to understand the various strands that make for the record of history.

Q: What was the purpose of Fort Hunt? Was this to understand the Soviet Union, or did it have other facets?

DEAN: The Soviet Union was only one aspect of the work at Fort Hunt. The main thrust was to interpret intelligence on the German war machine in order to help Allied Forces to win the war. But, even after the German defeat in May 1945, the work of Fort Hunt continued. Let me cite an example.

On May 5 or 6 1945, a German submarine surfaced off the coast of Uruguay. The captain of the ship was Captain Muller. By radio he asked the Americans to accept his surrender. In the submarine, which was on its way to Japan, was a German four-star Air Force general, a German navy commander by the name of Heinz Schlicke, and some others, including \$30 million worth of mercury. Two Japanese officers had committed hara-kiri. The survivors were flown to Washington where I was told to take care of Schlicke. At the age of 19, I was in good shape and we did all kinds of sports together. Schlicke was a terrific sportsman. As I got to know him better, he confided that he had been a physicist and had been working at Pennemünde, the testing station where the V1 and V 2 had been developed during the war. Schlicke talked about his work at Pennemünde where he and his team had as task to invent a system which would permit military planes to see "through clouds, woods, in darkness, and through other visible obstacles" in order to detect the

presence of enemy troops or groups of resistance fighters. What Schlicke revealed was that his team had invented INFRARED technology, the location of humans by technology that picked up the heat generated by the human body. Hence, dense woods, darkness, etc. were no longer an obstacle for observation by the German military. His presence on the German submarine on its way to Japan was to convey to Germany's ally, Japan, the technology of Infra Red! At the time, the U.S. and its allies did not have that technology, although we were working on it.

Schlicke agreed to work in the U.S. to help us develop our own technology, provided we could bring his family to the U.S. It turned out that his wife with their 2 children were living in that part of Germany occupied at the end of the war by the Russians. Hence, reuniting Schlicke with his wife and children implied somebody bringing them out of the Russian zone, and then all four back to the U.S.

To make a long story short, I took a troop ship to France, from there got orders to enter the British zone, and finally ended up in Bavaria. In between, I had changed into civilian clothes, entered the Russian Zone, had met up with Mrs. Schlicke and the two children, and brought them to safety in Bavaria. There, Heinz Schlicke was waiting eagerly for his wife and children. Let me just add that the 24 hours in civilian clothes into the Russian Zone of occupation, engaged in an activity which was certainly not appreciated by our Russian ally, seemed long to me at the time.

But looking for scientists or researchers who had developed new technology and weapons for Germany was a quest shared by all victors of the war. I recall one of my colleagues brought the son of Professor Hertz to the

U.S. The father. Professor Hertz, whose name is associated with the Hertzian wave, was given by the Russians a laboratory in the Crimea, after the war. His son turned out to be much less inventive than his brilliant father. German missile developers, German scientists in physics and chemistry, many working in Pennemünde, were sought by by Americans, Russians. British and French. I don't think anybody cared at the time whether these people were part of the Nazi establishment or not.

While in Germany, shortly after the war, I also became aware of the suffering of the German people caused by the war they had started. The destruction of certain cities was visible. Housing was scarce, the normal population had been swollen by the millions of refugees that had fled into that part of Germany occupied by the U.S., Britain and France. Most of the men folk were still in prison camps. Food was scarce. The economy was destroyed. No work. It was a difficult period for the Germans, and I admit that there were times I felt sorry for them. Yes. we had won the war. The Germans had committed atrocities during the war. They had invaded many foreign countries. Civilians in other countries had suffered from the German occupation. In 1945 and thereafter it was the turn of the German civilians to learn what it means to be defeated in war. Nonetheless, I could feel some empathy for those who suffered – regardless of what side of the war they had been on.

Q: You were discharged when?

DEAN: August 1946.

Q: What did you do, go back to Harvard?

DEAN: Yes. I went back to Harvard.

Q: When you went back to Harvard, did you have a different goal? Did you know what you wanted to do?

DEAN: Yes, I wanted to finish college and get my Bachelor Degree. But I came back a different man than when I had entered Harvard in 1942. I had been at war. I had done my duty to my country. I had seen a lot of suffering during my years in the army. I also had learned that events looked differently depending on which point of view one held. Were my values still correct? To explore our ethics, I asked to audit a course in theology at Harvard. The course was given at the Harvard School of Divinity. The year was 1946-47. The professor's name was La Piana. La Piana was a former Nuncio -- a Pope's envoy. As I went for the last lecture in May 1947, I saw the President of Harvard, Conant, sitting in the front row. Most of the Faculty of Harvard was in attendance. Since the seats were taken by the distinguished visitors, the students had to stand in the back. La Piana spoke with an Italian accent; he was not easy to understand. His lecture centered on Albertus Magnus. As he was getting toward the end of his lecture, he looked around and said: "This is my last lecture before retirement. This is my goodbye. Well, gentlemen, perhaps my outlook on life can best be summed up in one phrase which goes back to the early days of Christianity: 'Ubi Libertas, Ibi Spiritu Dei' (where there is freedom, there is the spirit of God)". This event took place more than 50 years ago and still today brings tears to my eyes. The old Professor had given me guidance in the field of ethics.

Sure, I took all kinds of other courses - Economics, (Schumpeter, Harris,) German Literature, Geography, History, English Composition, French, etc... Since I had a good grade average, I was asked to sit for the honors examination. It was both a written and oral examination. On the written examination, there was a question on Walter von der Vogelweide, a German Mediaeval Poet. I am quite sure that I must have been the only candidate to write on that topic. Having taken a survey course in German literature, I could easily write several pages on that subject. I guess I was lucky. After several days of written and oral exams, I emerged with a Magna cum Laude degree from Harvard. When I was informed of the good news, I called my father and said; "Dad, I made Magna cum Laude". He said: "I would not have expected anything else." I was pleased that I had lived up to his expectations.

My folks came for the graduation. It was the year that General Marshall gave his famous speech at Harvard on the reconstruction of Europe.

But there was a problem on the horizon. My best friend and I had met two very attractive young ladies. We planned to get married. We informed our parents of our intentions. My father was smart enough not to say "No". He said: "John, that is a wonderful idea. We are going to go to New Hampshire in the summer. Bring your girl-friend along. Promise me only one thing: For one year, you won't get married. As a matter of fact, I talked to your best friend's father, and we have decided that if you want to go and study in Europe in view of your European past, then when you come back, we will give you a wonderful wedding." We were very innocent and agreed to this deal. We went to New Hampshire and had a wonderful time. Then, we sailed for France. We had applied to Oxford University but the acceptance came after we had been accepted in France.

So, we sailed for France. On board ship, we met other beautiful girls. In France, we met many other attractive young ladies, and within six weeks, I wrote a letter to the young lady I considered my fiancée to the effect that "I'm too young to be married."

While in France, I got interested in art, science, music, subjects which I never had the time to study at Harvard. My primary focus was international law and relations. I spent two years in France obtaining a Doctor's Certificate in Law.

Q: Which Faculty did you attend?

DEAN: I went to the University of Paris Law School. I learned a lot about different kinds of international law.— International Public Law, International Private Law, International Law of the Sea, International Law of the Air, Conflict of National Law. etc.. In 1949, I got my diploma. Again, my father said: "Now, don't you want to go into banking? This is a serious profession. I'll call my friends in London and we will see what they come up with." My father's friend, Dr. Brüning, suggested Bering Brothers as a good place to get started. Since I was not eager to go into banking, it was suggested that I return to Harvard to study for a M.A. degree in international relations.

So, I went back to Harvard in 1949 to the Graduate School. In that program, I met some wonderful people, among them, Ambassador Shoemith, and Ambassador Robert Miller, Brademus who later became President of the University of New York and, while in Congress, became the whip of the Democratic Party. We were all together learning about economics

and international affairs.

By the time I finished the Harvard Graduate School in 1950, I had received two job offers. 1950 was a wonderful time for a young man to come on the market. Jobs were abundant. Everybody who wanted to work could get a job. I got one offer from the CIA, and one job from Mr. Harriman, with the Economic Cooperation Agency in Paris. Mr. Harriman had in pre-war days been owner of a mine in Silesia where my father was on the Board of Directors. I was interviewed by Lincoln Gordon, who became later Assistant Secretary of State. He was a Harvard Professor and worked with Mr. Harriman. He said: "Why don't you come to Paris, to the headquarters of the European Marshall Plan? We'll put you in the Program Division. That is where economists are working on some very exciting ideas." My father urged me to accept the job offer in Paris. As for the offer to work in the CIA, my dad thought I was not cut out for it: "John, as a human being, you need applause. When you work for the CIA, you can't get applause. If something works, they will never admit it. If it fails, you might get the blame. It's a "marshy" atmosphere. Since the job in Paris has been offered, why don't you take it?" I took the assignment in Paris. It was one of the best learning experiences one can ever have.

Q: It was a very exciting time, too.

DEAN: It was a terribly exciting time. They needed people who had ideas. I worked with brilliant people: Tom Shelling of Harvard and his model building. He was one of the officers in that section. I was assigned as Program Officer for Greece and Turkey in the European Headquarters of the Marshall Plan. Jimmy Houghting, who became

Professor at Pennsylvania University, was in charge of Italy. John Lindeman was Director of the Division. Henry Tasca was in charge of Finance. He was one of the people starting the European Payments Union, which was the forerunner of the European Currency (EURO). The European Payments Union was a step toward the convertibility of the European currencies. Every country had a line of credit which it could draw on. These increments were known as "tranches". Settlement of debts was in dollars. This mechanism permitted multilateral trade. Greece and Turkey were heavy borrowers and I spent quite some time in visiting specific projects for which requests for funding had been made. I went several times to Greece and Turkey.

Q: What dates were you there?

DEAN: September 1950 through December 1951. John Craig, who is still very much alive, was my buddy. He is a very intelligent man and made his entire career in the Economic Aid business.

I learned much at the ECA European headquarters. Our office was located next to La Concorde in Paris, in what was known as the home of the great French diplomat Talleyrand. In 1950, Averell Harriman had been replaced by Abe Katz, as the chief in Paris. The people working in that office included some of the best academics and leading business people. Many of my colleagues and bosses were bright and brilliant. I learned something about economics, about business projects, finance, politics, central planning, and different cultures. The Marshall Plan was market oriented and promoted free enterprise. We in the U.S. benefited from obtaining new markets for our products, and Europeans profited from U.S. dollar credits to buy needed commodities and food to reconstruct their countries after 6 years of war.

It was probably one of the finest periods in American diplomacy.

Q: I have been Interviewing Arthur Hartman.

DEAN: He was working with Ambassador Bruce on the bilateral side of the Marshall Plan for France.

Q: Yes. Did you have the feeling you were all true believers? Jean Monnet was sort of the guy...

DEAN: I went over once to Jean Monnet. He spoke English and never needed an interpreter, a role I often was asked to play. I went to his house on Avenue Foch, as a notetaker.

The people who worked on the Marshall Plan, whether it was Arthur Hartman on the French side of the Marshall Plan, or in the European Headquarters side which I was on, were mostly believers in the need to build up Europe and maintain a close link between the two sides of the Atlantic. We all thought we were doing something useful and important. We were building a new world. There was no doubt that part of our job was to help Europe maintain some form of capitalism, a free enterprise system, and above all, democratic rule. One has to remember the spirit of the times. In the post-war period, the governments in France had included communists. There were also communists in other countries' governments. Governments in Europe were debating whether they were going to follow an authoritarian form of ruling with significant central government interference, or maintain a more democratic way of building up Europe. By 1950, Europe was already divided by the Iron Curtain. You remember what happened to Masarik in Czechoslovakia?

Q: A coup which really turned the..

DEAN: It was a big change. The Czechs at one point had said "Yes" to the Marshall Plan. The Marshall Plan provided the essential foreign exchange for these countries to feed themselves and to get their industries started again. Was it altruistic on our part? It was good common sense. We, at this point, helped to make Western Europe choose a path which is similar to ours.

As far as Greece and Turkey were concerned, the Marshall Plan also brought about some painful changes. Why? Because they were the largest exporters of tobacco to Central Europe. In many part of Europe, people smoked Greek and Turkish tobacco. During the Second World War GIs handed out American cigarettes - Maryland and Virginia blends. People got accustomed to smoking American-type tobacco. They preferred it and bought American cigarettes. But the Marshall Plan helped Greece and Turkey to rebuild their economies. We suggested new ways for the Greeks and the Turks to earn foreign exchange by exporting or by substituting domestic production for foreign imports. For example, we helped the Greeks to export and sell their grapes on foreign markets. In Turkey, we built a steel mill in Zanguldak, replacing some of the imports they could make cheaper themselves. In certain parts of Europe, without U.S.-provided foreign exchange and the Marshall Plan, people still did not have enough to eat. The U.S. provided badly needed wheat and corn to feed Western Europeans who did not grow enough grain immediately after the war. The Marshall Plan also provided modern technology. The concept of productivity was pushed by the Marshall Plan and it took hold all over the world. All of us who were involved in ECA felt we were doing something useful and it made our lives worthwhile.

Q: Oh yes. I mean, what are you here for?

DEAN: You have to give a purpose to your existence. When I accepted the job in Paris, I had not yet passed the Foreign Service Examination. I was not part of the U.S. Foreign Service. It was more of a contractual arrangement. Yes, Paris was not only a wonderful professional assignment, but I also met my wife there. To be precise, I met her on the ninth of February 1951 and it was one of the luckiest moments in my life. We have now been married 50 years.

Q: What was she doing?

DEAN: She was working pro bona at the French Foreign Office, what is called the "Quai d'Orsay". At the time, I had an old aunt who died in the States and she had left me \$5,000 in her will. With that money, I bought a car and it gave me a nest egg.

Q: You could get a pretty good car for \$1,000.

DEAN: It was a brand new Ford. In those days, I could park near my office. One day, I found on the windshield, a paper with "Yankee, go home". I said: "These French are a bunch of unfriendly people who are ungrateful for what we are doing." Soon thereafter, I was invited to the home of the president of what is the equivalent in France of our Supreme Court. They gave a party and I was invited. The friend who got me the invitation had been a school mate of mine in Paris. At that party I met my wife. That was the luckiest moment of my entire life. But I was suddenly transferred to Brussels, Belgium and I was not going to see my future wife for a while. The job was with the Marshall Plan to Belgium and I was assigned as industrial analyst. It was also the

first time that I came across corruption in government. My immediate boss accepted a bribe in order to give a contract to a certain Belgian company. A colonel in the Army Judge Advocate Corps came to Brussels to investigate. I was queried. What was my relationship with my boss? I replied: "Why are you here?". The Colonel claimed that my boss had deposited \$15,000 in an American bank which was equivalent to what the Belgian company had paid him for getting the contract. It had never occurred to me that somebody who served his country could accept a bribe. One of the redeeming features of the Brussels assignment was on occasion to see one of America's great ambassadors at work: Robert Murphy.

Q: He was a major figure, particularly in World War II.

DEAN: In 1951-52, he was the U.S. Ambassador to Brussels. He was truly a role model for an aspiring young Foreign Service Officer.

Q: I want to capture one thing. You were talking about currency and economics. Did you have the feeling that behind whoever was coming out ahead industrially, the basic thing that you were trying to do was to integrate a Europe so that basically the Germans and French would not go at each other again?

DEAN: I think this was part of it. I also believe that the immediate post-war period threw up these great leaders in Europe who realized that Europe has to work together if Europe is to play a role again on the world scene. Roosevelt had never got along too well with De Gaulle, but De Gaulle knew how to lead his nation. He understood that France could never be a major player without the full cooperation of Germany. De Gaulle started his rapprochement with Germany for strictly national reasons. On the German side, Adenauer fully understood that Germany, after World War II, needed to work closely with the rest of democratic Europeans to become "acceptable" and this meant in the first place an alliance with France.

In Italy, the U.S. helped the Christian Democrats to pursue a pro-European policy, and the Treaty of Rome is the corner stone of today's European Union.

Q: Particularly in the elections of 1948.

DEAN: Yes, there was discreet advice given to the Italians to join the fledgling European Community. This brings me to an important point. In the immediate post-war period, U.S. foreign policy seemed to me primarily oriented toward mutual benefits. We were interested in helping Europe to get back on its feet because only one country had won the war: the United States. While the British were among the victors, Britain was basically exhausted. The Russians had won the war but their country was partially destroyed and they had had 26 million casualties. So, the only ones who emerged as the great victor from the war was the United States. By pursuing a policy of mutual interest toward Europe, our policies became highly acceptable to the Europeans. Americans were perceived as friends, in some countries as liberators. The Germans found out that while we had fought the war under the slogan of "unconditional surrender", once the war was over, we behaved with a great deal of understanding for Germany's problems. We held out our hand in friendship to the Germans. We provided funds under the Marshall Plan to build up and reconstruct Germany. But the U.S. also benefited from the reconstruction of Europe. American firms established branches in Europe and we invested in new industries in Europe. We helped to feed Europe and at the same time increased our market share for U.S. agricultural exports. It was a great period for U.S.-European cooperation in the mutual interest of both parties.

Q: Could you talk a little bit about how -- we are talking about 1950-1952 -- the Soviet Union was perceived? At that time, the coup in Czechoslovakia had happened. We were fighting the Korean War, which we felt had been inspired by Stalin and all. How did we feel about the Soviet Union?

DEAN: Let me be very frank. I am not a Soviet expert. My knowledge of the Soviet Union comes from my very interesting two years in military intelligence.

Q: We are talking about this particular period.

DEAN: The impression I get -- and I did not voice it a great deal at the time but I felt it then and still feel it's true today -- is that there was a certain amount of fear and distrust of each other. That fear was magnified when in the immediate post-war period, some European governments had to include communists in their government. In the Resistance movement of some nations, the communists had been in the lead fighting the Germans. In France, De Gaulle asked Maurice Thorez to come back from Moscow and he put him in the French Government. In the areas under Russian occupation or control, the Russians shipped back to their country whatever they needed and was still standing. They helped themselves without any real pangs of conscience. As a result, while the governments in the areas under Russian influence may have been imposed by the Russians, they did not make that many friends in the local population. The distrust of the West of the Communist world and vice-versa may have undermined certain wartime agreements. Distrust and fear existed on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The Europeans had a different problem. Part of the population was communist. Sometimes, as much as a third of the population was. For example, in order to avoid civil conflict, De Gaulle had no option but

to put communists in the government and later on remove them. The best example of a European statesman who managed to "balance" the West and the communists was Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia. He did not want to be under Soviet control, so he worked with the West and ended up as one of the leaders of the Non-Aligned world. In the European Headquarters of the Marshall Plan we quickly started a Yugoslav section which helped Tito to remain independent while still following a number of Marxist policies. But they were national Marxist policies!

Q: This was again 1948-1949.

DEAN: Yes. Not everybody perceived in that particular period of time -- and I'm talking about the period of 1946-1951-- that there was national Marxism, and then there was communism with nations subservient to another power, i.e. the Soviet Union.

I want to open a parenthesis, because my name is very much attached to Southeast Asia. In the summer of 1947, Ho Chi Minh came to Fontainebleau, France. He wanted to be part of the French Union, which was comparable to the British Commonwealth. That process would eventually lead to independence. There were some key people in France who favored that process for Vietnam. It must be recalled that the United States had worked with Ho Chi Minh during the Second World War. Major Patty of the OSS helped the Vietnamese to fight the Japanese military. The French were politically too weak in 1947 to grant Vietnam membership in the French Union which would lead to independence. Instead of fighting, Ho Chi Minh wanted support to create an independent state with some linkage to France. He also represented national Marxism. Maybe some of the great scholars in our country will contradict me, but

we in the U.S. have a tendency to equate communism usually with subservience to the Soviet Union. Many communists were also ardent nationalists. The Chinese are a good example.

Q: We certainly were talking that game. It was part of the rhetoric of the time.

DEAN: In the post-war period in Europe, Tito was the exception of a communist leader taking his distance from Moscow. We helped him financially and economically in his effort. He really built up a relatively sound state. Yugoslavia had a central government and the different ethnic groupings had their autonomous units with their own political assemblies. I think there were autonomous states and two or three "Territories". Tito had decentralized a great deal, but his strong, forceful personality kept the country together. Some of the leaders in today's Europe are former communists, but they are national communists and they adapted to the new world. As a matter of fact, the former Prime Minister of Italy was in this category. In those days, we did not differentiate much between national communism and countries subservient to Moscow and under Soviet control. From the Soviet point of view, the U.S. and the West was anti-Moscow, and mutual distrust led to what became known later as the Cold War, Moscow interpreted most U.S. initiatives as being against the Soviets, regardless of what was the motivation of the U.S. or the West.

Q: They were being surrounded.

DEAN: That is the way the Soviets saw it in the period of Stalin. We were trying to contain the expansion of communism and not have this disease spread any further. That was our doctrine at the time,

Q: Let's go back. When you were with the Marshall Plan, you were dealing with Greece and Turkey. Did you feel that, as a Junior Officer, you were left with the katzenjammer kids, the real problems? These other countries had real economies. Greece and Turkey hated each other. They had lousy economies. They were backward and many felt they really were not part of this European business anyway.

DEAN: I don't really agree. Greece is, after all, the cradle of Western civilization. Turkey was the heir of the great Ottoman Empire which had many links with Europe. But the leadership was highly educated and eloquent. George Papandreou, the old George, spoke fluent French and German. Venezelos, another great Greek statesman, was in the same situation. In Turkey, it was the same foreign language situation. All the technical people, for example the engineers, were trained in Germany. Most of the lawyers, diplomats, and doctors were educated in France. Just because the elite of these countries did not speak English, did not mean that they were uneducated. They just had been exposed to European influence. Today, in both Greece and Turkey, most people speak English. This is the result of America's paramount role in the world.

The two countries were very different from each other. At the time, in Greece, raged a civil war. First, the British helped the Greek government. When the British threw in the towel, we picked up the support for the Greek government. On Greece, you would be well advised to listen to Ambassador Robert Keeley who was one of our most distinguished ambassadors to Greece. Personally, I know little about the politics of Greece and Turkey. My job was to improve their economy, their balance of payments, and raise their standard of living. This implied obtaining funds for specific projects and see them to fruition. We had a huge ECA mission in Greece. Don't forget I was in the European Headquarters where I had to defend Greek and Turkish projects and explore how to finance them.

Other colleagues had the same job for Italy, France, Belgium, etc. One of the finest people in our Mission in Athens at the time was Mike Adler, one of the great Americans serving in Greece.

As for Turkey, we must remember that Turkey had been very much part of Europe until 1914. After all, the Ottoman Empire got to the gates of Vienna. Whether people like it or not, Turkey has a great interest in Europe and Turkey was very much part of the European Recovery Program in which the ECA was directly involved.

Q: You were in the Program Office. What were you doing? Were you basically trying to figure out ways to get more money out of the system to go to "your" country, as opposed to one of the other countries?

DEAN: We tried to explain to much higher ranking people, both Americans and Europeans, what projects in the countries for which we had responsibility made sense. For example, in Turkey, the Turks imported steel though they had both coal and iron in ample supply. ECA helped to find them financing to build a modern steel mill at Zanguldak. That was one of the projects I worked on. In Greece, I searched for markets for their grapes and how to package them and transport them to new markets. When I worked with representatives of the European Payments Union in Paris, I would submit papers to justify the granting of credit, if needed, for the balance of payments of specific projects. My colleagues did the same for the countries they represented in the Program Office. The Program Office was a kind of planning staff. Decisions were made on a much higher level.

Q: When other people were saying "Belgium needs this" or "France needs this", did you say "You've got to think about Turkey and Greece"?

DEAN: No, not really. We were just one section in this European Headquarters of ECA. There were many other sections: a financial section, a political adviser's office, etc. We were something like the geographic bureau in the State Department. Obviously, we hoped that our program would also contribute to building democracy. Greeks and Turks have different ways of negotiating. When a Turk says: "Yes", it's yes. When it's "No", it's no. In reply to a leading question, Greeks have a tendency to waffle. But it's easier to strike a deal with the Greeks. They are more flexible and are quite compromise-oriented. Our role basically was to help these countries to move economically forward so that politically, they would shun the extremes. We were more sensitive to potential threats from the extreme left and perhaps, at times, more permissive on the dangers of the extreme right, i.e. the Colonels in Greece.

Q: In Belgium, you were there from 1951 to 1952.

DEAN: Yes, I volunteered there. At that point, my relations with my wife got to the point where I was saying: "Are you going to marry this girl or are you not going to marry this girl?" I went to see the Chief of the ECA Mission, Mr. Gilchrist, and I said: "I would like to marry Miss Martine Duphenieux .Here is my resignation, which I understand will be held until the Security people give their agreement. If the Security agents do not give her clearance, my resignation can be accepted". Well, I was willing to resign in order to marry my future wife. A few weeks later, I was told that the resignation was not accepted; I could get married. Little did I know that my wife came from a prominent family.

As a matter of fact, the NATO headquarters today, in Belgium, is on her land. In 1965 or 1966, De Gaulle asked NATO to leave Paris. The Belgians offered a site near Mons. During the Second World War, there stood a huge castle which belonged to my wife's family. The Germans requisitioned it as the Western Headquarters for the German Luftwaffe. They built an air strip on it. It remained the Headquarters of the Luftwaffe until January 1945 when the British bombed the chateau. Today, there is very little left. When De Gaulle asked NATO to leave, the Belgians offered that piece of land with the destroyed chateau on it, but it had an excellent air strip. When Alexander Haig was Commander-in-Chief of NATO, he was always invited to do a big hunt on the grounds.

In 1952, we were married in Paris. I immediately offered to leave Brussels. I had heard there was a war in Indochina. I offered to go to Indochina for the Marshall Plan. Since I spoke and wrote French, and that language proficiency was essential in those days in French-speaking posts, American French-speaking officers were needed, and I volunteered to go to Indochina. We were accredited to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. Our main residence was in Saigon. We arrived in Saigon in March of 1953.

Q: You were in what was Indochina from 1953 until when?

DEAN: From March 1953 until January of 1956. I was with the Economic Mission to Indochina (i.e. 3 countries). During that time, I decided to take the Foreign Service Examination and become a regular member of the Service. By that time, I got to be fairly well-known among U.S. Government employees in Indochina. Some of the American ambassadors I had worked for wrote back to the State Department recommending me

for acceptance if I passed the exam. I went back to Washington, took the written Foreign Service Examination, and passed it.

Q: You got a score of 72, and 70 was passing. George Kennan, by the way, got something like 71. I was on the Board of Examiners and looked him up.

DEAN: I barely passed and got in.

Q: You went to Saigon in March of 1953, What was the situation when you arrived?

DEAN: There was a huge French military Expeditionary Corps. The American Embassy and Economic Mission was small. It was to a large extent a French show of fighting the Viet Minh. The fighting basically took place in North Vietnam.

Q: Around the Red River and that area.

DEAN: The first job was to work with the Financial Adviser of the French High Commission. Few people realize today that the French Expeditionary Corps, the Vietnamese Armed Forces, the Cambodian Armed Forces, as well as the French advisers to these Indochinese forces, were all financed by the United States. That year, 1953-1954. the United States spent \$875 million in support of the French and Indochinese armies to fight the communists. My job was to document how the money was spent, I had a counterpart who I have met again many years later, Pierre Hunt, who became a well-known French Ambassador to Morocco, Tunisia, and Egypt. He was on the side of the French. The French military would give us details on how they spent the money, for example for pay, for ammunition, for training of Vietnamese or Cambodian pilots, etc... In Cambodia, there was not much fighting. My official title was "Economic Commissioner".

We also worked on development projects in the 3 Indochinese states.

I was at hand when the French Commanding General of the Expeditionary Corps, General Navarre, came to see Ambassador Donald Heath to ask for American air strikes to silence the North Vietnamese artillery which was installed on the hills overlooking the French camp of Dien-Bien-Phu.

Q: He was my ambassador in Saudi Arabia.

DEAN: I remember one occasion when the French Forces were surrounded in Dien Bien Phu. He had a party for the French High Commissioner.

Ambassador Heath climbed on the table and toasted the French "heroes" defending the Free World. As I said before, one day, I was asked to go to the Embassy. The Commanding General of the French Forces, General Navarre, was going to come to see the American Ambassador, and in case of need for an interpreter, I was there. Fortunately, the embassy had other competent interpreters and the First Secretary was asked to attend the meeting. It was at that meeting that General Navarre requested U.S. air support for the encircled French Forces at Dien Bien Phu. The request to bomb the hills overlooking Dien Bien Phu was turned down in Washington a few days later. It should be added that during the campaign at Dien Bien Phu, American pilots flying Air America, risked their lives to deliver precious ammunitions and supplies to the beleaguered French troops. So, the U.S. was helping France in this war.

At one point, since the ambassador was accredited to all three countries, I was asked by the American authorities to go to Phnom Penh with my wife for two months. The Chargé had left on home leave. Having no

children yet, we were available to spend 2 months at a neighboring posting. It was on that occasion that I first met Sihanouk.

Q: He is still around.

DEAN: He is still around. Sihanouk played a major role in my efforts, 20 years later, to find a negotiated solution in Cambodia – something I achieved in Laos. My role in Cambodia in October 1953 consisted largely of looking after the few economic aid projects we had in Cambodia. But I got an insight into Cambodia and how Sihanouk functions, which later on was going to be helpful. When I see Sihanouk today, nearly 50 years later, he still remembers some of the events that occurred at that time.

Q: What was your impression of Sihanouk at the time?

DEAN: He was extremely Frenchified but he was truly the "father" of his people. That role he took seriously. When Sihanouk mounted on the throne in 1941 or 1942, he was a young man of 18 or 19 years of age. He was not the logical choice to become king. On his mother's side, Sihanouk was a Sissowat, the other royal family. On his father's side, he was a Norodom. The Sissowats were more nationalistic and more independence-oriented. But the Cambodians, whose territory had been reduced both by the Thais and the Vietnamese, had to worry about two tigers, one on the East, and one on the West, who had designs on the remaining Cambodian Empire. So, the Cambodians turned to the French who were far away but had no territorial designs on the country. Cambodia was under French tutelage but also protection against encroachment by Cambodia's neighbors. Between all the evils they

faced, French influence was the lesser of the evils. Sihanouk Norodom was a young man well prepared by French military and civilian advisers to assume his duties. While he, the Prince of Cambodia, had never read Machiavelli, he received a good education in what it means to govern. There was no doubt that over time Sihanouk became truly the father figure of his country. The average Cambodian saw in him the incarnation of the nation. In America, we have had a difficult time understanding Sihanouk. During my long career, I stood up for Sihanouk many times. We will get to this. I always thought Sihanouk's primary interest was to defend Cambodia's national interest. I recall that in 1954 Sihanouk left his capital Phnom Penh, went to Bangkok, and said to the French: "I will not return unless I get full independence." He insisted on it and he got it. When students study the Geneva Conference of 1954, it was Sihanouk who absolutely refused any mention in a treaty which alluded to organized opposition within his country (i.e. Khmer Rouges). Both Vietnam and Laos had to sign a document which discussed the Viet Minh and the Pathet Lao. In 1953-54, we knew relatively little about Cambodia. We considered Cambodia to be part of the zone of French influence. Cambodia had a small, well educated upper class. It was small, but the French had helped Cambodia to have their own military. their own doctors, their own atomic scientists, their own lawyers, etc. In 1975, I took a Cambodian atomic scientist with me out of Cambodia. (He ended up in France). If needed, Sihanouk would also stand up against the French, In 1970, when he was deposed by a coup d'état of Long Nol and Sirik Matak, Sihanouk spent a couple of days in the Soviet Union, but from there he went on to Beijing to await the end of the conflict. Sihanouk had a sense of history. He knew that for centuries China had been the protector of Cambodia.

Cambodia is first mentioned in the diplomatic annals by a Chinese emissary who visited Angkor Wat in about the 10th century. Cambodia was a vassal of the Chinese Emperor. Sihanouk knew that if he wanted to return to Phnom Penh, he had to work with the Chinese. He did return to Cambodia after the Khmer Rouges had occupied Phnom Penh in 1975. Sihanouk always understood power, but we made little effort to see the area through his eyes.

Q: I'm talking about the time you were there. Were we seeing him as a powerful figure, or were we seeing him as a figure of fun?

DEAN: Our ambassador at the time, who was one of my bosses, McClintock, always called him the "Little King". He made fun of Sihanouk and Sihanouk knew it. This was poor psychology. Sihanouk also had an ego and he did not appreciate any gesture or remark which did not give him his due as Chief of State of an ancient kingdom.

Q: That was Robert McClintock.

DEAN: Yes. He was the first American ambassador to Cambodia. He was a very able man, but he saw Cambodia as an operetta state. Sihanouk, at one point, was King, then he put his mother on the throne, but he always remained the real power behind it. He established the "Royal Socialist Boy Scouts". He saw no contradiction in terms. He was surrounded by French advisers. Sihanouk did not listen to the U.S. a great deal. Even back in 1953-54, Sihanouk was basically a neutral and a neutral at the time of Secretary of State Foster Dulles, was not the best way to endear oneself to the U.S.

Q: I can't remember the exact wording, but it was basically, if you are neutral, you are a communist or you are the enemy.

DEAN: Basically, Secretary Dulles preferred to see the small states being either in one camp or another, i.e. communist or free world. The advisers to Sihanouk realized that Thailand and Vietnam were the real long-term threat to Cambodia's territorial integrity. They favored a middle road, a neutralist policy, as the best way for Cambodia's survival. Sihanouk was one of the founding fathers of the Bandung Non-Aligned Nations Conference in Indonesia, and he may be the last surviving one. That policy was anathema to American diplomacy at the time. I was, at the time, at the dawn of my Foreign Service career. I honestly felt that it was okay for small states to be neutral. I was not convinced that every nation had to choose sides. I remembered that Belgium had been neutral in World War I. Belgium was invaded and Herbert Hoover made his name by helping the starving Belgians during the German occupation to survive. The Belgians, still today, so many years later, are grateful to Herbert Hoover. For many years, neutrality had been a respected principle. The Swiss had neutrality in 2 wars in the 20th century. After the Second World War, Austria was given neutral status. Sweden was neutral during World War II and they were helpful to all sides. Portugal was neutral in the Second World War. The U.S. had remained neutral from September 1939 to December 1941; I felt at the time that Cambodia was a rich country, agriculturally. It had a unifying cement: Sihanouk. People did not go hungry. It was not a democratic republic but a Monarchy where King and deity were somewhat linked. But the people of Cambodia also remembered that nearly 100 years earlier, the Vietnamese had put a puppet as Viceroy in Phnom Penh to rule on behalf of Vietnam. During the Second World War, the Thais had annexed all the rich provinces west of the Mekong. Who remembers that the price for Thailand's entering into the United Nations was to give back to Cambodia and to Laos the areas annexed during the Second World War?

Neutrality made sense to me at the time because some of the small countries did not want to be dragged into the Communist-Free World conflict. And Vietnam was already looming on the horizon as a conflict between two ideologies and a war of independence as seen through Vietnamese eyes. After all, Cambodia had independence and did not need to fight for it. We are In 1953;

Q: You were there when McClintock replaced Heath?

DEAN: No. McClintock became Ambassador to Cambodia in 1956 or so. At that time, we sent separate ambassadors to Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. When I went in October 1953 with my wife to Phnom Penh, we had one Ambassador, Donald Heath, who was accredited to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. We had Chargés in Cambodia and in Laos. I went there in order to replace a Chargé who was on home leave. It lasted two months. There was one prominent American who supported Sihanouk at that time: Mike Mansfield, Senator from Montana. Senator Mansfield remained a friend of Sihanouk until the very end.

Let me switch the subject from politics to art. In 1953, my wife and I drove for the first time to Angkor Wat. Both of us were deeply impressed by the great ruins and temples swallowed up by the tropical forest. The "Smile of Angkor" had done its magic. We got interested in another civilization, an art form alien to our Western culture. My wife and I spent a wonderful week ambling through these ruins at a time when there were hardly any tourists. We were alone with the temples and the trees.

Q: During this time with AID, particularly in Saigon, were you getting a feeling that the French were on a losing streak... What was the atmosphere?

DEAN: The atmosphere was basically that, unfortunately. The French made the same mistake we continued to make after their departure. The Vietnamese are an able people, regardless whether they are from the North or from the South. When we were there in the early 1950s, I thought that the French should be more willing to give the Vietnamese control over their own affairs. I honestly felt at the time that President Roosevelt had been right because he understood that open colonialism had come to an end. Unfortunately, we also made the same mistake some years later. A people struggling for their independence will take their support from wherever they can obtain it. The West was clinging for too long to obsolete concepts. The Vietnamese turned to the Russians and Chinese and used communist support to gain their independence.

Q: Roosevelt was quite emphatic about this.

DEAN: Yes, I think Roosevelt was right. I would like to say, there were people on the French side who agreed with this reasoning and they were not communists. Mendes-France, Prime Minister at the time of the Geneva Accords, was certainly one of the more enlightened French leaders. He afterwards played an absolute cardinal role in giving independence to Tunisia and to Morocco. He was involved in that process of turning over sovereignty to the newly independent countries without losing the relationship with the former colonial power. Not everybody was able to do that, turning over sovereignty to the indigenous governments and still maintaining a close link with the former colonial country. Perhaps French leaders don't see everything in black and white but more grey.

Let me switch to Laos. We are in 1953. I am sent to Laos. Mike Reaves, a FSO-6 -- the lowest rank in the Service, was Chargé. As for me. I was not in the Foreign Service yet. There was also a lady with him in charge

of economic assistance. Prince Souvanna Phouma was Minister of Public Works in the Royal Lao Government. He was a French-trained engineer. He was a graduate of one of the best specialized schools in France. Prince Souvanna Phouma was part of the Viceroy's family of Laos. In those days, the children of this elite often were educated in the good private schools of France, for example, "L'Ecole de Normandie". In the summertime, during the vacation period, it was too difficult for the youngsters to return to Laos. A round-trip by boat took 6 weeks. My wife's family had some cousins who attended the same school. At least two of the children of Prince Souvanna Phouma had gone to school with my wife's cousins. During the summer vacation in France, not being able to return to Laos, they were asked to spend some weeks at the country home of my wife's family. Furthermore, the King of Laos had attended the same school in France as my father-in-law. Hence, when I went up to Laos in 1954 or 1955, I was invited by these two gentlemen to the homes of key Lao officials. These contacts were to play an important role in my later assignments to Laos. When Martine and I went for the first time to Laos, we saw about 10 or 12 automobiles in Vientiane. Working toilets were rare. When Secretary Dulles visited Vientiane, he was lodged at the King's guest house which did not have a solid water closet. Mr. Dulles had an unfortunate incident which did not help to dispose him more favorably to the neutralist government of Laos. In the 1950s, Laos was still living in a different world, many years apart from the modern world.

In 1954, I returned to Washington to take the Foreign Service Examination. I first passed the written examination and then was scheduled to take the oral examination. When I entered the Foreign Service, there were very few foreign-born Americans in the career Foreign Service. While I had reached a relatively high rank in the Economic Aid Program, I was

determined not to be integrated laterally. I did not want to be criticized later that I had entered the Foreign Service by the rear door. So, I took the written and oral examinations and started my career from the lowest rank upward.

Q: Do you recall your oral exam?

DEAN: Yes, I do. Ambassador Green, former Ambassador to Ethiopia, was a distinguished Foreign Service Officer. He presided. I had a Foreign Service officer from USIA, one from AID, and a consular officer by the name of Rose. Actually, he had given me my visa in Berlin in 1938 to go to the United States. He was also on the Board of Examiners. They did not give me an easy time. They wanted to test me whether I could represent honorably and knowledgeably the United States. Here are some of the questions they asked me: "Mr. Dean, what makes you think you are able to represent the United States? You were born in Germany. How do you think you can represent the United States?" I said I had come to the States at age 12. I had attended the American public school system. I had served in the American Army during war time. I had known the rich and the poor. I had lived in the Middle West. Above all, I thought I had acquired the values which made the United States great. Like all immigrants, I had made George Washington a role model and I wanted to serve the country which had given me a new home. When asked to talk about Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson in my oral examination, I remember that I was well equipped to address these questions.

Q: Thanks to the librarian in Kansas City.

DEAN: Later on, mind you, I had a good political science course at Harvard. Education in the public high school system of Missouri, plus

Harvard University helped me to explain differences between both men but both views were needed to make the United States. After that question, I was asked what kind of cattle is raised in Texas. Answer: Longhorn. What was the economy of Oregon? Did Oregon have different economies in the east and in the west? I was able to address these questions quite well and passed the oral examination. Having passed the Foreign Service Examination, upon my return to Saigon, the Economic Counselor of the Embassy, Mr. Gardner Palmer, took me into the Economic Section.

Q: You went back to Saigon.

DEAN: Yes, I went back after taking the examination. There was no money to get an appointment in the Foreign Service right away, but I had passed the written, the oral, the physical and security examinations, and once back in Saigon I was treated somewhat differently. I was awaiting appointment as a Foreign Service Officer and had become a "colleague". It was in those days that I met Patricia Byrne, later one of our able ambassadors and friends.

In the Economic Section in Saigon, in 1955, I was given the job of helping in the negotiation of the sale of assets of the Bank of Indochina to the Bank of Vietnam and to the Bank of Cambodia. For the sale, the French sent from Paris one of the top executives of the Bank of Indochina. He was rather well known because he had been a major player during the Vichy period in France. Some considered him a war criminal. As Prefet in France, he had been responsible for rounding up Jewish children who were sent to concentration camps. He was the person with whom I negotiated.

Q: What was his name?

DEAN: His name was Rene Bousquet. He was assassinated around 1990 in France, René Bousquet's name appears on the negotiating contracts. The Bank of Indochina sold its buildings, its facilities, and they wanted to be paid in convertible currency. The year was January 1956. Since the U.S. Government needed local currency, piastres, I was asked to convert the piastres paid by the Vietnamese Government into U.S. dollars, which is what the French wanted. At the time, Ngo Dinh Diem was President of South Vietnam. The U.S. Government agreed to exchanging dollars for piastres. The Vietnamese put up the piastres. We put up the foreign exchange. The French took it home, and the Bank of Vietnam was created. I then flew to the United States to get new bank notes printed - no longer in France - but in the United States. The plates were in the United States. That was an important consideration. As will be noted, this transaction also reflected the change of influence in Vietnam, from France toward the United States.

Q: Was this a point of conflict?

DEAN: There is usually suspicion and some bad feelings when one foreign country is being replaced by another foreign power. At the time, Ngo Dinh Diem, who was a highly educated, French-speaking, nationalist mandarin, came to power. Perhaps there were elements in the French military and political establishment who felt that the U.S. did not give them the support they wanted or needed. But it was at that time that we began to replace the French in Vietnam as the guardians of the ramparts fighting communism. This was not the case in Cambodia.

Cambodia was a relatively peaceful place in those years, Laos had not yet become a site of confrontation. In January of 1956, I left Indochina, having helped the Vietnam National Bank to be established. In Cambodia, the National Bank of Cambodia was established. In Laos, it was slightly slower. The Bank of Indochina stayed up there for a couple of years longer and the Lao Government took over financial control in a very peaceful manner. Most French realized that the era of French colonialism had come to an end in Asia. The more enlightened political leaders, for example, Mendes France and General de Gaulle were decolonizers. They realized that the time of overt political colonialism had come to an end. The overpowering influence of the former colonial power behind the scenes also had come to an end and different ways had to be found of working with these emerging nations. Was there bad feeling? Probably some, but not for very long. Colonialism had brought good and bad features. At first, the countries of Indochina saw us as supporters of their independence. As time went on, in all three countries, the authorities realized that the United States also had its priorities and they did not always coincide with the goals of the indigenous governments. For example, in Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem was killed; Sihanouk was forced out by Long Nol; and in Laos, the Pathet Lao replaced the King. It was too bad that the West did not accept earlier that colonialism had come to an end in 1945 with the conclusion of World War II.

In January 1956 we returned to Washington and that spring I formally entered the U.S. Foreign Service. I entered at the bottom of the scale as a FSO-6. At the time, that was the lowest level. Shortly thereafter, the ladder was extended by 2 grades to FSO-8.

Q: You came in 1956 as a 06, then fell back to 08, and got promoted rather quickly to FSO-7.

DEAN: That's right. That is exactly what happened to me. I fell back to an 8 and was quickly promoted to a 7 at my first FS posting. Before leaving Washington, I attended the FSO basic course where I made a lot of good friends.

Q: You started your FSO basic course when - in 1956?

DEAN: Yes, in 1956. Then, Jefferson Graham Parsons said "I need a very junior officer in the Political Section in Vientiane. I have been made Ambassador to Laos. I want you to go with me out there." I had an offer. Obviously, what had helped me up to this time was the fact that I had studied in France, spoke fluent French, and wrote French without difficulty (and if needed, I could always take the paper back to my wife who would correct it). 1956 was the period when we replaced the French in supporting the Meo tribesmen in their struggle against the communists. The French had used the hill tribes as mercenaries in their fight against the Viet Minh in North Vietnam. As you know, Dien Bien Phu is located in that area between Laos and North Vietnam where the hill tribes hold sway. The CIA was going to replace the French by hiring not the Thai Dam tribe as the French had, but by using similar people, the Meo people who were basically not Lao or Thai, but Chinese. They had drifted southward from China.

My big boss was Ambassador Jefferson Graham Parsons. He had a very able wife, Peggy. Ambassador Parsons believed in Foster Dulles' policies that all countries had to choose sides. Neutrality was frowned upon.

Q: You were in Laos from 1956 to 1958.

DEAN: Yes, I served two Ambassadors. Jefferson Graham Parsons who went back in 1957 to Washington to be Assistant Secretary for the Far East, at a time when Laos had moved to center stage in our effort to contain communism in Southeast Asia. The second Ambassador was Horace Smith, who did not speak a word of French.

Q: You were in Laos from when to when?

DEAN: 1956 to 1958. As the lowest member of the Political Section, I was the French speaker on the team. I worked with the Prime Minister, Souvanna Phouma, an outspoken Francophile and an avowed neutralist. The Ambassador at the time, J. Graham Parsons, who had been kind enough to select me to go to Vientiane, was close to Secretary Dulles and did not believe that countries should follow a neutralist course; rather, they should choose either "to be with us or against us".

Q: Did Parsons buy this? This was Dulles' line?

DEAN: Yes, but he was the executor of this policy. My wife and I had this personal relationship with Souvanna Phouma. We were asked at times to go to his house and play bridge in the evening. At the time, it became clear to me that the French did not believe that the policy pursued by Ambassador Parsons was the right one in Laos. I had a particularly close relationship with the adviser to Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma. His name was Mathieu. He was a military officer. He wrote speeches for the King; then, he wrote the answer for the Prime Minister, and then the Prime Minister would make a speech which required a response from the President of the National Assembly.

All the speeches were written by the same man: Mathieu. My wife and I got along with him. The Ambassador asked me to report directly to him, thereby knowing what was going on in Laos. There was no doubt that Mathieu was the best informed foreigner in the country. It was a time when the CIA sent an extremely able Station Chief. His name was Henry Hecksher. Henry and I got to be friends. From time to time, he would ask me: "Can you do this?" I felt my job was always to be helpful to my colleagues - so I did. One day, Hecksher asked me whether I could take a suitcase to the Prime Minister. The suitcase contained money, but I did not know that. Since I had easy access to most Lao, I complied. Whereupon, I received an official reprimand from the Secretary of State that I had abused my functions as a Foreign Service Officer, since a State Department Officer is not allowed "to pass funds"

Q: In the first place, how did whoever did the reprimanding action at the State Department find out?

DEAN: Somebody must have informed them. I never saw any difference between members of the Embassy. We were all supposed to be one team. What I did find out was that not only a suitcase was taken to the Prime Minister, but several suitcases full of money were being ferried over to the President of the National Assembly, Mr. Phoui Sananikone, who was much more in line with the official American position on Laos. But the delivery of these suitcases was not entrusted to me.

Unfortunately, events lead to a political confrontation between Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist, and Phoui Sananikone who was basically very pro-Thai and lent the American Embassy his ear. Souvanna was forced out of office in 1958, which coincided with the end of my tour.

Phoui Sananikone took over the reins of the government and initiated a more hostile policy towards the Pathet Lao. Souvanna Phouma's half-brother, Souvanna Vong, was Head of the Pathet Lao. The two brothers always kept some channels of communication open. Souvanna Phouma was a great believer in finding a negotiated solution. Phoui Sananikone not at all. He was more interested in fighting the Pathet Lao and favored the business interests in Southern Laos. My Ambassador, J. Graham Parsons, appeared to prefer Phoui to Souvanna. I do remember something which I think is of interest to future generations of Foreign Service officers. J. Graham Parsons was a reflective ambassador. He would write thinkpieces to the Secretary of State. Foster Dulles. Then, he would call me in and say: "John. (and I was then the lowest man on the totem pole) I know you disagree with this paper, so would you please write one paragraph, no longer than a page, and I will put it at the end of my message?" He started the paragraph. "My political officer, John Gunther Dean, disagrees with me. His views are" and I provided the rest. I thought, for a junior officer, I could not ask for anything more. I did differ, but I was pleased that I was allowed to put my analysis forward without having my criticism held against me.

Then, Parsons was recalled to Washington to take up the position of Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. We received a new ambassador by the name of Horace Smith.

Q: Before we do that, what was the situation in Laos when you were there at that time?

DEAN: No, the joint government came much later, when I served again in Laos in the 1970s. The Pathet Lao were still up in the hills or on the Plaine des

Jarres. They were not yet a major military force nor was Laos yet a divided country. The King was still quite respected around the country. His son may be less so. But it was the beginning of the CIA training and arming the Meo hill tribes against the Pathet Lao. This trend was accelerated after the new Ambassador, Horace Smith, arrived at post. He arrived in Vietnam toward the end of 1957, Horace Smith was a China expert and spoke Chinese, Unfortunately, he did not speak a word of French. The working language in Laos was French. It was used in public speeches, in written communications with the government and in daily contact with the elite. Even among educated Lao, they used French among themselves. The Ambassador's inability to speak French made it difficult for him to communicate with the leading personalities of the Kingdom.

My wife and I were asked to help him. Ambassador Smith was a nice man, but people wondered whether he was the right man for the job. To assist in the communication, Ambassador Smith asked me to accompany him on his calls. The Ambassador would say something, and I would translate it into French. When the King, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, or the Commanding General of the Lao Armed Forces spoke, I would translate into English and at the same time take notes. My wife and I played a similar role at the Residence when the Ambassador entertained. At one point, we were asked by Ambassador Smith to move into his residence to help him entertain. Later in 1958, when I accompanied the Ambassador on his calls, he said: "John, you know what to say". I would be allowed to say more or less what I knew was on his mind. I would present that point of view and take notes when the person answered. While the Ambassador was nominally in charge, there was another person at the post, the Head of the CIA, Henry Hecksher. who was both professionally able

and spoke good French. Soon, the officials in the Lao Government and in the Lao Armed Forces began to realize that the real power at the Embassy was not the Ambassador but the CIA Station Chief. I had good relations with Henry Hecksher. But it seemed to me that his orders were quite different from the policy pursued by the Ambassador. The Ambassador was supposed to support the Lao Government and basically not rock the boat. Henry Hecksher was committed to opposing the neutralist Prime Minister and perhaps bring about his downfall. That is what happened in 1958, and the pro-American and anti-Pathet Lao Prime Minister Phoui Sananikone took charge. American resources and support were funneled to Phoui's Government, probably at the expense of French influence, which had supported Souvanna Phouma. Phoui Sananikone, former President of the National Assembly and then Prime Minister, and his brother Ngon, were basically nice human beings. They were Bangkok-oriented. Souvanna Phouma was Paris-oriented. He was a prince from the ruling class. He was nationalist but looked to France not only to oppose communist expansionism but he also feared encroachment of the Vietnamese and Thais on his territory. He thought that the best way was to stick with the French. His policy was more oriented toward keeping Laos from being dismembered by neighbors and less motivated by fighting communism. In all these attitudes, Souvanna had a lot in common with Prince Sihanouk. Perhaps Souvanna was come educated than his Cambodian colleague.

The dichotomy in the American leadership in Laos got to be known in Washington. In 1958, when I returned from Laos, a Committee had been established in Washington on how to avoid a leadership conflict, a turf battle within large diplomatic missions overseas.

In 1960, after John F. Kennedy was elected, one of the first steps he took was to write a letter which has been institutionalized ever since. It is the Letter of the President to the Ambassador. It says that "You, Mr. Ambassador, are responsible to me for all the activities going on in the country of your jurisdiction, whether they are military, political, intelligence, financial, agricultural, economics, drugs, etc. except if there is a military command which is directly responsible to a higher American military authority outside the country." This letter was designed to make the American ambassador the coordinator of all American activities in the country of his accreditation. It meant that if the Drug Enforcement Agency wanted to run a certain operation, it needed the approval of the ambassador. If the CIA wanted to penetrate a certain institution, it needed the approval of the resident ambassador. If there was a conflict between U.S. agricultural interests shipping U.S. wheat or rice to a country, versus the Secretary of the Treasury making the money available for this transaction, the coordinator in the field was the ambassador. It also meant that the ambassador had to be well informed on all activities carried out by the representatives of U.S. departments and agencies within the diplomatic mission he is leading. Hence, when you have several intelligence agencies in large diplomatic missions and turf battles develop, the ambassador must arbitrate. If you have a professional ambassador at the post, he usually can weigh the pros and cons and make a decision on the spot. He does not have to consult "Washington". The Presidential Letter says: "You are in charge" so, you do it. It can happen that, for example, on drug enforcement issues, the CIA representative may have different views than the DEA officer at the post. The military may have a conflict with one of the Intelligence Agencies. They may be targeting the same person -- which could be a disaster. Both of them may be running against a double agent.

In the economic area, we may be dumping PL-480 rice into a country which is actually exporting rice grown at home. You, ambassador, are in charge of this. I would think this letter, which has been used now for the last 40 years, is one important reason why in sensitive posts the professional ambassador makes a difference. A political appointee having to arbitrate the differences among U.S. departments and agencies may not know all the ramifications of every decision which is to be made. On the other hand, most career people do have the background. Let me give you an example. A wife of a very prominent Prime Minister was deeply involved in the sale of drugs. We knew that. When the Prime Minister refused to sign a certain piece of paper which we wanted signed, we had to threaten the Prime Minister, or at least make it known, that we knew that his wife was very much involved in drugs. The paper was signed. The ambassador, as coordinator of U.S. activities abroad, is probably the only way to avoid in the field what is a problem in Washington where every department and every agency runs its own policies and operations. While theoretically the National Security Adviser to the President is supposed to be the coordinator, I don't think that every problem can be resolved from thousands of miles away. A good relationship between the National Security Adviser in Washington and the Ambassador at a sensitive post is very helpful to the over-all interests of the United States.

Q: Tell me, while you were in Laos, from 1956 to 1958, what was the importance of Laos?

DEAN: It was being built up, artificially I think, as a major point of confrontation. If you think at one point there was a Bermuda Conference with British Prime Minister MacMillan involved with the American President

in trying to diffuse the confrontation in Laos, while most average Americans had never even heard of that far away place. Laos had become a flashpoint where the U.S. saw its interests being challenged by the communist world through the communist Pathet Lao. I thought this conflict had been blown up beyond our real national interests. We saw the Pathet Lao not as a national force, but as a prolongation of the communist Vietnamese and the communist Chinese. We saw Laos as part of a global challenge. The Bermuda Conference was held because it was feared that this regional confrontation could spread into a broader conflict. Mind you, we were living in an era of "containing communism".

Q: At the Embassy, were we saying that maybe this thing was getting exaggerated? You were a Junior Officer. Were people pretty much on board that this was the navel of the universe?

DEAN: Since I had been close to Souvanna Phouma personally and I played the role of liaison with the French, I supported Souvanna's neutral policy. With the approval of Ambassador Parsons, I could make known my views. I was allowed to dissent. Most of my colleagues thought their job was to support the new Lao Government under Phoui Sananikone which opposed neutralists and gave priority to fighting the communists. Also, many officers in the Mission were CIA staff involved in supporting the Meo forces fighting the Pathet Lao. There was relatively little dissent in our Mission. After the U.S. elections in 1958, when Governor Harriman entered the Lao scene, he supported again a neutralist general as counter weight to the warrior clan. That was in 1961-1962. It also reflected a slight change in U.S. policy. Dulles had disappeared from the scene. The elections in 1960 brought Kennedy to the fore and an effort was made

to find a negotiated solution. It was Harriman who at that point succeeded to deflate the Laos confrontation.

I would like to pay a tribute to a person who may still be alive: Campbell James. He was a CIA officer. His grandfather had been one of the founders of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He was quite flamboyant. I had started at my home regular roulette evenings. I learned how to be the croupier to run the roulette table. People were able to bet small amounts . I held the bank. This was a good way for the Lao military, Lao politicians, and foreign diplomats to come to my house. People of high rank came to our home to mix, talk, and enjoy themselves. Campbell James, who came from a well-to-do family, said: "John, why don't you introduce me to your friends?" I did. I felt -- and I still feel today -- that whether you work for this department or that agency, we all work for Uncle Sam. While he may have had different reasons for coming to my house, he was my colleague. When I was scheduled to depart post, I turned over most of my contacts to Campbell James, who continued to run roulette evenings and used fun evenings to make friends among the Lao military who loved gambling. Campbell James and I had contact with many foreign missions: Poles, Canadians, Indians... These roulette evenings helped to keep all channels open.

Perhaps the most important result of my tour of duty in Laos was the letter from the American President to the Ambassador which put an end to confrontation between different U.S. departments and agencies at diplomatic missions abroad, especially between the CIA and the Department of State. At least, that was the purpose of the Presidential Letter making the Chief of Mission the Coordinator of all U.S. activities under his jurisdiction.

Q: It became a very important instrument. Some ambassadors used it; some did not; but they had the authority up to a point.

DEAN: I used it extensively later, wherever I was assigned as Chief of Mission. Some called me a "meddler", an "intervener". Years later, when I appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for confirmation. Senator Javits chastised me and said: "If you are confirmed, Mr. Dean, will you continue to intervene in the domestic affairs of the country where you are stationed?" I think I replied to the satisfaction of the Senators, because I was confirmed. But when you are the American Ambassador, you have the means at your disposal to influence the situation. The naked truth is that the Ambassador is more "than a reporter." Often, he can't help but take positions. Whether you call this "interference" ... I don't know. For example, when you answer the question to the King "Are you in favor of this?" and you reply: "Yes", you have "intervened". Most of the time, when it's a vital issue, you can't say: "I am going to get my instructions from the State Department and I will get back to you." Your personal relationship with the interlocutor and his confidence in you matters. That is why I do believe that the selection of ambassadors is a very important process. Yes, there are many situations where the ambassador's advice or opinion is a form of intervention in the internal affairs of a country.

Q: While you were in Laos, was any European press present during the time you were there?

DEAN: It was still off the beaten path and foreign journalists were a rare breed. The medical facilities in Laos were also very limited. That kept some people away. For example, foreign women were reluctant to have their baby in Laos. My wife happened to be pregnant in Laos. Everyone urged her to go to the American Hospital in Bangkok but my

wife replied: "I prefer to stay with my husband." I have one son who was born in Laos. Quite often, he has to explain to a Passport Officer why he was born in Laos. At the time, there was only one hospital in Vientiane: the French military hospital. That is where our older son was born. The Lao have remained themselves. Western ways have not had a significant impact. They are basically nice, decent people who got hurt when Laos became a bone of contention between the West and the communist world.

Q: Let's go to 1958. Where did you go then?

DEAN: In 1958, I got orders to go to East Africa. I was supposed to go to Nairobi. But before proceeding to Nairobi, I was first sent to Washington to attend the mid-career course. I never worried about promotions. They came by themselves. Once back in Washington, I was told: "You speak good French. We are going to open up some new posts in Africa and you are the right man for that job." Togo had been a German colony before World War I and some of the old Togolese still spoke German. French is the official language. "We want you to open the post in Lome, Togo". I wrote my mother the good news; "I'm going to Lome." She wrote back: "Oh, congratulations ! You are going to Rome." I replied: "No, Mom, I'm going to Lome in Togo. It's right next to Upper Volta." She said: "Upper Volta? Where is Lower Volta?" I said: "Let me explain to you. Togo was a German colony. It is now a U.N. Trust Territory under French administration !"

In Washington, I was instructed to first proceed to Paris because the Consulate in Togo was going to be under the supervision of the Paris Embassy. I said: "You mean my supervisor is going to be living in

Paris, a couple of thousand miles away? That's great! I'm all for that !"
In Paris, I saw Ambassador Amery Houghton who asked his Administrative Assistant to give me \$5,000 in cash and a small code book. The latter was tiny -- about four inches by three inches. "In case of emergency, you use that to send coded messages to Paris." I was also given a small American flag. With the good wishes of Ambassador Houghton, I was put on a plane to Dakar and looked at a number of other African posts before proceeding to Togo.

I also went to look at Abidjan; Liberia (where the only good road at that time was the paved road from Monrovia to the Firestone plantation). I also went to look at Guinea. Then, I went to Accra where I met the American Ambassador. Embassy Accra offered administrative support in my assignment to open the Consulate in Togo. I was given a car in which I drove to Lome.

Lome was a very small town. I think I was through Lome before I knew that I had been in Lome. I tried to find a hotel and I did. After finding a lodging, I went to the Post Office and said: "I would like to register the address of the American Consulate" and suggested that I may be getting telegrams via the local post office. Next, I put down a deposit, and returned to the hotel to get a room. I was given a room which was in the annex of the hotel. There was no air-conditioning; no overhead fan; but I had a mosquito net. It was March 22, 1959. I also sent a message to Washington saying: "opened Post - March 22, 1959".

Q: I take it your wife was not with you.

DEAN: No, I was all by myself. In my room, at the hotel, I had a small

fan on a chair, and there was no private toilet. My room was next to the public toilets. One day, as I woke up, I noticed a rather odd smell. There was an overflow from the toilet next door to my bedroom. I complained. I was moved into a better room.

Then, I had the very interesting job of making all the administrative arrangements involved in opening a post. I had to find lodgings for all future American employees who were scheduled to join me. I had to lease a building which would become a Consulate, and interview local Togolese for staffing the Consulate local secretaries, general service assistants, chauffeurs, translators, etc.. To carry out my responsibilities, I established relations with the French Governor, who was favorably disposed toward the U.S. It was the last year that France was in charge of the U.N. Trust Territory of Togo.

Q: Your arrival was before Togo became independent?

DEAN: It only became independent in April 1960. I arrived in March 1959. I was the first foreign representative to Togo to be accredited. It had been decided that after the Trusteeship had come to an end, the Togolese leader, Sylvanus Olympio, would become President. In 1959, Olympio was only Prime Minister. Olympio was a very able and nice person. Olympio had been a Director of the United Africa Company which was a well-known Trading Company in England. Olympio had been raised in England where he had attended the London School of Economics. He spoke still some German which he had learned in grammar school before 1914. He also spoke rather good French, but English was definitely his first language. He was to become Togo's first President.

I then started to look for real estate to lease. I found a large house but it needed some alterations. This meant further delay in having my family join me. From March onward, I was all alone in Togo. There was nobody else from Washington to help me at this stage. I had to go and get another house and an office. For the office, I leased a villa next to Mr. Olympio's personal home. I am mentioning this because its location was going to play a major role. In 1963 or 1964, Olympio was assassinated as he was climbing over the wall between his house and our Chancery. He died in the arms of the American Ambassador, Mr. Pullada, after I had left the post. Who killed him? Today's Chief of State, General Eyadema who then was a Sergeant in the army !

Q: Very sad.

DEAN: Olympio was the first African Chief of State to be assassinated.

A few months later, in the Summer of 1959, an American Administrative Officer arrived. Finally, a Principal Officer was assigned to take charge of the post. He was Jesse McKnight. My wife and three children joined me in the late Summer of 1959.

In April 1960, independence came to Togo. The French Government had sent the Baron de Testa to be the Diplomatic Adviser to President Olympio. Since he did not enjoy good relations with Olympio, de Testa was sent back to France, just before independence. At the same time, Olympio sent a message to Secretary of State Herter: "You have this chap, John Gunther Dean, down here, who is Consul. He opened your post last year. We get along well with him. In a few weeks, we will have our independence celebrations. Would you put him at our disposal as Diplomatic Adviser for a short-while? He speaks English and French

and we have to use French in every day communications. He also speaks German. We were a German colony. In short, we need some help". The Secretary of State approved the request. I was asked to go every morning to work with President Olympio and his team. Every day, I went to the big castle overlooking the ocean which the Germans had built as their Governor's Palace, to work with Olympio. Independence came, and the celebration was grand. For the United States, the Head of the Delegation to the Independence celebrations was Attorney General Rogers who later became Secretary of State.

When the celebration was over, I was asked to come to the newly established Togolese Ministry and help President Olympio to reply to the mountains of mail which had come for the independence celebration. Olympio had received messages from many dignitaries, among them: President Eisenhower, President de Gaulle, the Queen of England, and the Presidents of China, Taiwan, the Soviet Union, etc.. All messages had to be answered in French. So, I submitted a draft to Mr. Olympio and then took the incoming mail home and showed my suggested reply to my wife so that there would not be any mistakes. Then, the Togolese typed up the letters and I would submit the correspondence to the President. I remained always deferential. Olympio was an impressive man. I liked him and it was mutual. He signed most of the correspondence submitted for his signature. Among the mail to be answered was a letter from His Holiness the Pope. So, I looked up in a French protocol guidebook how to address correspondence to the Pope. We had to answer all communications in French. How does the Chief of State close his communication addressed to the Pope? The French protocol book states that it depends - if the Chief of State is Catholic, he signs one way, if he is not Catholic, he signs another way. So, I went to Olympio with the mail and said: "Here are a couple of letters,

Mr. President, for your signature. By the way, Mr. President, are you by any chance Catholic?" "Yes, I am." He continued signing. I went outside to look at the protocol book. It said that if the Chief of State is a practicing Catholic, he signs one way. If he is not a practicing Catholic, he signs another way. I had a good friend and colleague in Accra who was a very good Catholic and I asked him: "John, how does it work out here in West Africa, practicing or non-practicing?" He replied: "Well, it depends. Since there are some Africans who have several wives, they can attend Mass, but they cannot take communion. But if they are monogamous, then they can take communion. If they take communion, then they are fully practicing Catholics." I said "Thank you John, that's very helpful." The next day, I went back to the President and said: "Tell me, Mr. President, do you ever go and take communion?" I could not ask him "Are you monogamous?" I knew some of his ministers in the cabinet were Catholic but were polygamous. He said: "Yes, I take communion. Why do you need to know?" I said: "The way you sign your letter to the Pope. In your case, you sign 'You Devoted son'." I then showed him the protocol guidebook to support my point. He signed the letter to the Pope just as he signed all the other letters to de Gaulle, Eisenhower, the President of the Soviet Union, and all the other leaders who had written him on the occasion of Togo's accession to independence.

Q: You know, the French must have been spitting mad at this.

DEAN: No, I don't think so. What I always do when I have a problem is to keep people informed. That is the best way you avoid a problem. Whatever I did, I told my colleague on the French side. When I had a letter from the President of mainland China or one from the Chief of

State of Taiwan, I answered Taiwan first, and after a while answered the letter from Beijing. Olympio signed both letters but Taiwan was quicker in establishing a resident mission in Lome. But I also had to answer the Queen of England. Olympic had gone to university in England, the London School of Economics, and he had been a member of the Board of Directors of an important British company. Writing to the Queen was a different matter for Olympio. This was the first time he would write to Her Majesty in his capacity as Chief of State of a sovereign country. Do you know how to address a letter in French to the Queen of England?

Q: "Chère Majesté"?

DEAN: No, "Madame". Olympio answered exactly what you said: "Votre Majesté". He first refused to sign that letter. He said: "John, it must be at least "Your Majesty, Your Gracious Majesty." I said: "Here it is in the protocol book: "Madame". The envelope is addressed differently: Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II, Queen of This, and Duchess of That, and all the other titles which she has. Again, I showed him the French protocol book. Olympio was not satisfied: "Isn't there another book you can show me?" I said: "Look, English protocol and French protocol may not be the same, but you are supposed to use the French language. That was part of the agreement of independence." So, he signed the letter. We remained good friends and I saw him again when he came to Washington as the guest of John F. Kennedy.

Q: Let's stick to the time you were there.

DEAN: One of the first assignments I had as adviser to President Olympio was to help with the visit to Togo, after independence, by the last

German Governor of Togo in 1914, the Duke von und zu Mecklenburg, a relative of the Russian Czars through Catherine the Great. He came with his own "Leibartz", his personal doctor accompanying him. Ever so often, one heard a little ring from the doctor's watch and he would say: "Your Grace, It's time to take your pill." The Duke was an old man. He spoke not a word of English. He spoke fluent French and German. I accompanied him on his trips to help him in translations and to facilitate his travels. Before he came, all the constructions and lasting achievements had been attributed by the Togolese to the German colonial period. The Togolese would say: "Oh, the Germans did that." So, I took him to all these places, and quite often the Duke would say: "Well, this did not exist in my time. When was that built?" He was an interesting person. The Togolese brought out all the German speakers they had, Togolese who had gone to German schools or had been brought to Germany before 1914. It was a very sentimental event and the Togolese were very pleased to have his visit. Perhaps the Togolese also hoped that the visit would help the German Bundes Republic of 1960 to consider assisting Togo in its development as a sovereign nation. On the whole, the Togolese are one of the most educated people of West Africa. The country of Togo, unlike many West African nations, is long and narrow, like a sliver into the heart of Africa. The racial groups align horizontally. Hence, as you went from the Atlantic Ocean inland, you encountered different racial groups. The Ewe race, which was also Olympio's race, was spread between Togo and Ghana. The Hausa people inhabit the inland areas of West Africa and are completely different from the Ewe. The Hausa are largely Muslim and over time intermarried with Arabs. I found that Olympio was very much western-oriented, very pro-American and pro-West in general. He was interested in developing economically Togo.

He succeeded partially because the Grace Company from America got involved with the extraction of minerals. The Germans then built a port years later.

During my time in Togo, the struggle for power was between Grunitzky and Olympio, but Olympio became President and stayed President until he was assassinated. There was, and still is, a certain rivalry among Western nations for influence. In Africa, I always felt that there is enough work to be done by the West. Instead of rivalry, it would be preferable to have a certain amount of cooperation to avoid duplication and waste.

Q: Were the Soviets involved in this at all?

DEAN: No, not really. The Soviets were not players in Togo. The only nation in West Africa which might be open to Soviet influence was Guinea. In Guinea, the Soviets played a significant role just after independence, when Sekou Toure walked out of the French Franc Zone and declined to work with the French. From 1960 onward, 'the newly Independent countries of West Africa which had been under French colonial administration, remained in the French Franc Zone and continued working with France for the next 40 years. Guinea was the exception.

Q: Was it a *chasse gardée*?

DEAN: The French provided a lot of help to the newly independent West African states. Their assistance was quite generous, both in the military and economic fields. Some of the French assistance was provided through the Lome Convention, or through the European Union. The cultural aspect was also Important for France and led to the establishment of Universities in Dakar, in Abidjan, and in the Cameroon. The French Oil Company

ELF/TOTAL brought in a number of oil wells in the former French African colonies, for example in Gabon. Humanitarian assistance came also from voluntary associations, for example: Medecins Sans Frontieres. Above all, the former French African colonies remained in the French West Africa Franc area, which gave their currencies value and convertibility. Guinea was the only country to walk out of the French Franc Zone and its currency became nearly worthless. While Sekou Toure was able to establish a very independent Guinea, the country's economy suffered enormously. The Russians gave them some assistance, but on the whole, the West stayed out for many years.

Guinea does have natural resources, and a joint American-French operation invested large amounts in a bauxite/aluminum facility (Harvey -Pechiney). Guinea fell behind, and still today, 40 years later, suffers from the fact that they factored themselves out politically and economically from the area.

Yes, France also benefited from their close links with their former colonies. French remained the administrative language for most former African colonies. French culture was paramount and was actively promoted. French Africa remained a market for French exports, and African commodities found markets in Europe. For example, the French made cacao a big export of the Ivory Coast. In 1954, as France withdrew from Indochina, rubber trees were sent by French plantations in Vietnam by plane to West Africa. Today, rubber is a major export of Ivory Coast. Togo is a poor country, but its people are relatively well-educated and able. Many Togolese found work as clerks in other French African countries. Colonialism was not all bad. One of the worst features of colonialism was racism, the suppression of indigenous cultures and lack of respect for the African Individual. Compared to Liberia, which had been independent

for over one hundred years, West Africa had a decent road system, well-trained military officers, teachers with school buildings, dispensaries staffed by indigenous and foreign staff, etc... In Ghana, the British left behind a rather well educated upper class. The same is true for Nigeria. In Togo, independence came to a competent people, in a country with few natural resources.

Q: Did we find ourselves as a policy saying: "Okay, here are these West African countries. We are going to keep our presence here, but we are certainly not going to try to supplant the French". So. were we sort of pussyfooting around to make sure the French did not get their noses out of joint?

DEAN: I think this is not a bad description. I honestly thought that at that stage in history, there was still a feeling of "We, the U.S., can't do it all." This approach may have changed in those countries where we would like to participate in sharing markets, develop resources, or for strictly strategic reasons. For example, Dakar has always been a jumping off point for air and naval traffic from Europe to South America. New technology may also change the strategic importance of specific areas. Today, I think the competition may well be between the U.S. and the European Union for influence in many parts of Africa. It is no longer France alone, but the European Union that defends certain economic advantages in Africa. But, more than 40 years ago, the U.S. was not unhappy to "play second fiddle." From Togo, I went to Mali.

Q: You were there in Mali from...

DEAN: From March 1960 until July 1961. From Togo. I was assigned as Principal Officer in Bamako, French Sudan.

Q: That is a name that is completely lost.

DEAN: Yes, the French Sudan is known today by its ancient name of MALI. When assigned to Bamako, the French Sudan was part of a Federation with Senegal, which had its capital in Dakar. In short, I was heading a Consulate under the jurisdiction of the American Ambassador in Dakar, Mr. Villard. Before taking up my new posting, I took a vacation in Switzerland. While relaxing in the mountains of Switzerland, I received notification from Washington that there had been a break-up of the Mali Federation. Modibo Keita, a Malian who had been a minister in the French Government, left Dakar in a huff and declared the Republic of Mali (in what used to be the French Sudan). At that point, I sent a message, at my own expense, to the State Department: "Am proceeding directly to Bamako" and booked a flight from Paris to Bamako.

By the time I arrived in Bamako, the split-up of the Federation had been consummated. Modibo Keita was declared President of the Mali Republic. I went to call on him. The American Government followed suit by declaring the post of Bamako directly linked to Washington. All links between the American Consulate in Bamako and the American Embassy in Senegal were severed. My boss now was the Department of State in Washington. Letters of credence as Chargé d'Affaires à pied were sent to me. It meant I was Chief of Mission, and for the foreseeable future, the American Embassy in Bamako would not have a resident U.S. Ambassador. I was "in charge" but had no American staff.

Quite often. I drove up to the Presidential Palace which was on top of a small hill overlooking the city in order to meet President Modibo Keita. He was very pleased that the U.S. Government, as the French, had

immediately recognized the newly independent state of Mali. He asked what sports I was interested in. I replied that I loved to play tennis. "Do you play volleyball?" I replied that I had played volleyball in the past. "Do you want to come and play volleyball with me up here from time to time?" It took me no time to accept his offer. Modibo Keita was about 6 feet 5 inches tall, a good looking man, and an excellent athlete. From time to time, I went up and played volleyball with him, which established a relaxed relationship with him. Later, when the American staff had joined me, I took my colleagues with me and we had a regular American-Malian sports competition.

Q: We had nothing there.

DEAN: For the first few weeks, I was all alone. Both my bedroom and office were at the Grand Hotel, which was quite grand and comfortable. Later, all other foreign missions got their start there. One of the first to arrive were the Soviets. The French had their own building. Everybody else had to look for lodging and office space. All foreigners lived at first together at "Le Grand Hotel". The Russians would come and say: "Hey, I'm going back to Moscow. I need some dollars. Can you give me some dollars? I want to buy something there." I would say "Okay" and give him \$20 and he gave me some local currency. Mali had remained in the West African French Franc Zone and its currency was convertible.

Then, the revolutionary shadow of Sekou Toure began to fall on Mali. Modibo Keita was flirting with the idea of establishing Mali's own currency, the "Malian Franc". Next, he asked the French military forces to leave Mali. The Soviet Mission was quite popular among the Malian politicians. The Soviets offered aid and advisers from Guinea. The Advisers came from Guinea to Bamako to offer their services. Mali

showed its political leanings by holding protest marches at night with torches, objecting to the killing of Lumumba in the Congo. The Malians made it clear at the time that they thought foul play was involved in Lumumba's death, and the West was responsible. It was the beginning of discussions among Malians whether to leave the West African French Franc Zone and discontinue membership in the French Union, and questioning their ties to the former colonial power.

With storm clouds on the horizon, I received a phone call from Fernand Wibaux, who was the French High Commissioner in Mali. Prior to his diplomatic posting, Wibaux had been the Director General of the Office du Niger, a 10,000 hectares (25,000 acres) project to grow rice and cotton in Mali. It was a highly successful project in developing the agriculture of that relatively poorly endowed country. When I met with the High Commissioner, he asked me to do him a favor: "The French troops are standing down. Would you come and see the last parade?" General Charles was the commander of the French troops stationed in Mali. I replied that we were NATO allies and I found it natural to stand next to the Frenchman, taking the salute of the departing troops. Then Wibaux said: "Don't be surprised if the Malians ask you to help them in the training of their troops." "Why not" I replied, "but let's wait and see what happens." It was my impression that the French had even suggested the idea to the Mali military. Perhaps they thought better American advisers than Russian officers.

My attention then turned to finding office space. A former French bank building was offered to me. Soon, the first American colleagues began to arrive to staff the post: an Economic Officer, an Administrative Officer, an Economic Aid Officer, and a Political Officer. The Head of what became the Economic Aid Mission was Sam Adams, a very distinguished Afro-American

who later became U.S. Ambassador to a country in Africa. We became good friends. The new head of the Political Section, Robert V. Keeley, became my best friend in the Foreign Service. One day, I received a request from Modibo Keita to call on him. He said: "John, I have André Malraux coming as the Representative of Charles de Gaulle. His flight arrives at 4:00 in the morning. Would you accompany your French colleague to meet him, thereby showing Western solidarity on what I am trying to do in Mali." It was an interesting experience for me to meet with one of Europe's leading authors and cultural personalities.

Q: Was he Minister of Culture at that time?

DEAN: Yes, he was Minister of Culture under De Gaulle. But he was sent on many diplomatic missions by General de Gaulle. He was going to play a role later in my life with Robert Kennedy. When I first met him in Bamako, in the early hours of the morning, he thanked me for meeting his plane, and revealed the reason for his coming to Mali. "We have to try to keep the Malians in the West African French Franc Zone. We don't want to repeat Guinea and be overrun by Soviet advisers and Soviet ideology in Mali." Malraux also stressed the "strategic location" of Mali. I never thought of Mali in these terms. Mali is south of Algeria and north of the Ivory Coast and Guinea, the latter two leading to the Atlantic Ocean. It's the ancient trade route between the Arab North Africa and the Negro tribes in Western Africa. He also urged us to keep each other informed so that there would not be any duplication of effort.

Shortly thereafter, I went to see Modibo Keita and he said he would like to establish his own currency. Instead of giving a negative or