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Oral History Number: 391-019 Interviewee: Mike Mansfield Interviewer: Don Oberdorfer

Date of Interview: October 10, 2000

Project: Don Oberdorfer Interviews with Mike Mansfield Oral History Project

Don Oberdorfer's notes prior to recorded interview of October 10, 2000

- It was my first meeting with him since the death and funeral of Maureen. I am about to leave on a trip to China and Korea.

The following is the recorded interview with Mike Mansfield

Mike Mansfield: —about a third of the Third Marine Division is normally on Okinawa and the others are at Camp Pendleton and Hawaii. They've [base, Marines] * got too much land. They have a huge base at Anderson Air Field in Guam, practically unused. My information goes back several years. Maybe a squadron of helicopters that are stationed there maybe and a replenishing port—that failed. This could hold the goddamned thing. They say, well it takes four or five hours longer. A lot of things to be considered besides the time factor.

Don Oberdorfer: Right. Well, my idea is that there is going to be a new situation in Northeastern Asia. I've talked a little bit about this to Leon Firth, who was Gore's foreign policy advisor. I'm soliciting ideas from the Chinese as to what they think should be—

MM: They've given no indication yet, have they?

DO: What they think the arrangement should be in Northeast Asia after a reduction of tension in the Korean Peninsula: what their role should be, what our role should be, what the Japanese role should be and so forth. I'm in no position to do anything about it except maybe write about it. But, I'm interested in where these developments could lead and I've told them. Although I'm going to China in a group to discuss things with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, I've also asked the Foreign Ministry and I've asked some friends in China to set up some meetings for me with people who are thinking ahead on the arrangements in Northeast Asia.

MM: China is the key. I think that the relationship between Korea and Japan is being developed on a better, mutually understandable basis. The key to all of East Asia is Northeast Asia. It's that tripartite group that will decide it. If they forget their own rivalries and occupations and brutalities and recognize we're living in a different age. They could do great.

DO: Absolutely. So when I come back from China, I'll come by and tell you what I learned, what they say to me about—

MM: Will you have a chance to talk to Zhu Rongji?

DO: I don't think so, I'm not going up to that level, but I will talk to some of their thinkers.

MM: You ought to try it. I think he's the guy you've got to watch. He's the guy that's been responsible for many of the good changes, economically and socially.

DO: He's doing about as well as he could do. In Korea I undoubtedly will see Kim Dae Jung. I've decided to add an additional chapter to my book on Korea to cover these dramatic developments such as the summit with North Korea and these other things that have happened recently.

MM: Well that's something to write about. It's in a sense at least semi-revolutionary in the relationship. Kim Dae Jung isn't thinking about reunification—maybe way down the line—but reconciliation. He's turned out to be the ** leading leader in all of Asia. He's certainly done a good job with Japan. I wish that Beijing would listen to him and follow him in its own way and recognize the importance of that particular part. You're going to go to North Korea?

[Discussion of North Korea diplomacy and Marshal Jo visit that day. Mansfield asking and Don Oberdorfer answering.]

DO: No, not this time.

MM: You are going to meet this guy here, though?

DO: Tonight I'm going to this dinner that Secretary Albright is giving for him at the State Department. I know the person the person he's bringing with him—diplomat he's bringing with him, I know North Korean diplomat, I know pretty well—but I've never met this guy. In fact, as far as I know, no American has ever met.

MM: Is he the number two man in the government do you think?

DO: In fact, yes. Not in title. Kim Jung, the North Korean leader's only governmental post, is as chairman of the Defense Commission. Very similar to what Deng Xiaoping was the chairman of the Defense Commission you remember in China. This guy is the vice chairman of the Defense Commission.

MM: Will Perry be there?

DO: I'm sure he will.

MM: I think he's the fellow you ought to watch.

DO: I'm pretty sure he will. This guy stopped over for a day in San Francisco and Perry was his host in San Francisco at Stanford and so forth. Interestingly enough this man who is an equivalent of four-star general—a Marshall—was a fighter pilot who fought on the side of Egypt in the 1970s.

MM: Say that again.

DO: He was a fighter pilot fighting on the side of Egypt in the 1973 Middle Eastern War.

MM: Really?

DO: Yes.

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MM: A North Korean?

DO: North Korea sent some pilots to help the Egyptians and [Egyptian President Hosni] Mubarak was also a fighter pilot at the time—so they knew each other. Apparently have some kind of a relationship.

MM: Never knew that before. Never had any idea that North Korea was involved.

DO: So it's interesting. The guy undoubtedly has more clout—more power—than any of the diplomats that we have been negotiating with. It's the difference between the military guy close to the top leader and a Foreign Ministry official who is assigned to deal with foreigners and so forth.

MM: Tell me Don—we are carrying on a series of talks with North Korea, I think mostly in New York—are those talks headed by Cartman or Mark Minton or Desaix Anderson or what or who?

DO: Cartman. Chuck Cartman. I'm not sure if Minton is still at the UN. He was in our UN Mission. I think he may be still. But Desaix is head of what is known as KEDO—the organization that is building the reactors for North Korea that was part of the 1994 deal for them to stop their nuclear weapons program.

MM: Have you talked to Desaix lately?

DO: Yes. When was it? Maybe a month ago I saw him.

MM: Is he encouraged?

DO: Yes, very much so.

MM: Cartman?

DO: Chuck, yes, as the negotiator he has to be kind of cool about it, but he's the one who has been doing this negotiation and I think he undoubtedly feels it's heading in the right direction. There may be an announcement while this guy is here—a joint U.S.-North Korean announcement of some moves ahead in our relationship.

MM: Will that be with the President or with the Secretary?

DO: Probably this announcement will be with the Secretary and I'm told it may be as he's getting ready to depart they will release a joint statement or individual statements or something of that nature. It's possible that the U.S. will take them off of the terrorism list—the list of states practicing internal terrorism—which will free up the President to do much more in

lifting economic sanctions that have been levied against North Korea. Whether they will get that far we don't know, but the hints are that something like that may happen.

MM: He could do that in his last few months.

DO: Yes.

MM: Especially after Congress gets out. He can take some independent action.

DO: Right. So it's quite possible. I had dinner in New York last Monday night—not yesterday but a week ago—with the North Korean Deputy Foreign Minister, who was negotiating with Cartman. He was about as encouraged as I've ever seen a North Korean diplomat. Most of these guys are very close-mouthed and don't say much at all. But he was more forthcoming, more kind of ebullient, positive, than I've ever seen.

MM: Now the two Koreas are represented in the UN aren't they?

DO: Yes. They both are.

MM: No Korean counsel or anybody down here?

DO: No, that's another thing that might come out of this visit is establishment of liaison offices in the two capitals. Actually the United States has been willing to do that for quite a while, but North Korea, they have an office in New York so it's not that difficult for them to check on the United States.

MM: It would be nice if they had one down here.

DO: Yes, it would be much better. I don't think they wanted American diplomats in Pyongyang. Maybe they've changed their minds now after this new direction that has come along.

MM: Well they could use a guy like [William] Perry.

DO: Oh well, Perry. Perry has resigned as the special negotiator with North Korea. I think he feels that he has done his job.

MM: He has but he can still do a little job now and again.

DO: Yes. He's a very good man and he's done well. I want to ask you. First place, I meant to bring it and I forgot and left it on my desk at home. I got from the television station in Missoula a tape of the—I guess it's two or three minute—program that they had about Maureen at the time of her death and they showed this in Montana. It's videotape. They also sent on this same tape—it's about one minute maybe or less—their coverage of the funeral. They had a guy

outside and they took pictures and they had a voiceover thing. If you would like to see this I'll bring it by here and drop it off for you.

MM: I certainly would.

DO: And I apologize. I meant to bring it today and I just—in my gathering up papers and stuff—I forgot to bring it.

MM: No, I'm very happy with the way the Missoulian [wrote up Maureen] handled it.

DO: Their article was excellent.

MM: The Los Angeles Times had a nice obituary.

DO: I didn't see that one. But again, my sympathies to you for your loss. I know how much it meant to you. It must have been very difficult for you to give that eulogy at the chapel at the chapel there in Fort Myer, but it was a very impressive thing.

MM: We're not separated yet. Temporarily. One thing I wanted to do and I didn't get around to it. I wanted to—just for my own selfish satisfaction—see the Norman Rockwell show [Corcoran, I think. D.O.].

DO: Oh yes. I missed that too.

MM: I'd like to go yesterday, and it had stopped the 24th. I can see my own life in what he's done.

DO: You know, I used to work for the *Saturday Evening Post*—years ago. He was the Saturday Evening Post cover week after week for years.

MM: As far as I know, he hit the button every time, and in a way you could understand. Simple. To the point. I asked Barbara to call and see if they sold any books and get some.

DO: In connection with the show? I don't know if they do. I meant to see it and I missed it also.

DO: What are you going to fill some of your time with, now that she is gone and you don't have to go out there every day? Have you thought about that?

MM: Yes. I'll spend as much time down here as Goldman Sachs will allow me to. [long pause; nearly 15 seconds] Don't know.

DO: I have a couple suggestions for you. They're not long-term suggestions—short term ones, things that you might be interested in. The Asia Society, which I've been involved in, is having a series of two—we've had the first one already—breakfast meetings with the Asia advisers to

the two presidential candidates. A couple weeks ago we had the advisors to the George W. Bush campaign. They were Bob Zelick, formerly of the State Department under Jim Baker, and Rich Armitage, who was an official of the Defense Department.

MM: Gung-ho fellow.

DO: Yes. And they gave very interesting descriptions of what they believe the Republican views of, policies in Asia, if Bush were to be elected. Next week we're having the advisors on Asia to Vice President Gore and his campaign has designated Jim Sasser, the former Ambassador to China, the former Senator, the former Ambassador to People's Republic of China, and Sandra Kristoff, who was formerly—

MM: Kristoff?

DO: She was National Security Council staff person.

MM: Nicholas Kristoff.

DO: No, not Nick. Not the reporter. A woman who was on the UNC staff under President Clinton. She's now in private life working for New York Life or some company. But she's been following Asian matters over time. If you would be interested we would be very interested in having you come as our guest. I'm the presider at this meeting. It's a breakfast at 8:30 in the morning on the—I think Thursday a week, let's see. There will be a bunch of Asia Hands there. Your role would just be to listen. We won't ask you to do anything.

MM: No, I appreciate it Don but I think I'll stay out of things for a while. I'm not getting any younger. Not kept up as much as I should.

DO: Well it's up to you.

MM: I'll leave it to people like you, your generation. And Perry [Bill Perry, mentioned in the North Korea discussion.]

DO: Another thing I'm doing that you might be interested in—although it's the evening—I don't know if you've ever heard of John Dower. He's an author. All about Japan.

MM: He's a historian.

DO: Yes, he's a historian. He won a prize—I think a big literary prize. I can't remember whether it's the Pulitzer Prize or the History Prize, for a book about the occupation in Japan.

MM: Haven't read it, but I know about him.

DO: He's coming to the Smithsonian Thursday in a week and he's going to talk about his findings on this history of the occupation in Japan. I've got two tickets because I bought one thinking my wife would go, but she's too busy. She can't do it. If you're interested I'd be very happy to have you come.

MM: Well, I'm interested but I don't think I'll come.

DO: All right.

MM: I think I've got to commune with myself for a while. Get a little more accustomed to the situation.

DO: I want to show you a couple things. Number one—as good as anybody's memory is, it's not perfect. You thought that you had that meeting with LBJ in that little office.

MM: Off the Oval Office, yes.

DO: This one, like that. This is a picture of you and him on a different day in that small office.

MM: Not the one on the left, the one on the right going up towards the Rose Garden.

DO: But actually you had the meeting in the Cabinet Room.

MM: In the Cabinet Room.

DO: And here are some pictures. [Pictures of meetings with LBJ, question of where the 3/27/68 meeting took place.] When you came in he was getting briefed by this guy—Charles Wick, who was the head of the Budget Bureau—and Henry Fowler, who Secretary of the Treasury. And there you came in and you're sitting with LBJ. Then these guys left. The photographer then left but here's Johnson. There's Fowler. That is the afternoon of the 27th of March 1968. MM: That's the two-hour meeting?

DO: That's the two-hour meeting. He had—Johnson had—eight tiny holes drilled in the cabinet table and microphones put in those eight holes.

MM: Good. Did you get the records?

DO: Yes.

MM: Good.

DO: And then some wire went down to the basement of the White House. There was some big machine there like a recording apparatus.

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MM: I'm glad you got it.

DO: But that was the event in the Cabinet Room.

MM: Who is this fellow here?

DO: He's the Director of the Budget. His name is [Charles] Zwick.

MM: Zwick. I don't recall either him or Joe Fowler coming in.

DO: You came in while they were ending their briefing.

MM: Oh, I see.

DO: They were already briefing Johnson. They'd been talking to him for I don't know how long, 30 minutes or so. You came in and he must have said, hey fellows one more thing, or something like that because Fowler was sitting there and then you came in and then you moved over here. There it looks like Johnson's hat or maybe it's—no, it's Fowler's hat because there he's carrying it. But that's the event.

MM: Two days later I went to Missoula and gave that China speech, but I found out—I think I told you—that I wasn't the first one. Nixon had made a speech the year before covering somewhat the same subject. I didn't know about it.

DO: Here's some pictures. These are copies of pictures that are in the National Archives. This is you and Nixon at one of these breakfasts.

MM: I didn't know they took pictures!

DO: Well, there they are. There it is.

MM: This is the Englehard room. It was called the Engelhard Room then, because I think they had—

DO: Financed it or something?

MM: —refurnished it or brought it up to date.

DO: [Showing pictures of 1970, 1969, and then on an airplane in 1973] This is 10 March or May 1971, this picture's taken. And there are just the two of you at a big breakfast table. Here's another one. This one is from 1969—August 27th—and it just shows the two of you meeting. It must be in his private quarters because here's his daughter, Patricia's, picture.

MM: Don't recall it, but it must have happened.

DO: Well there's the picture. And here's a picture of the two of you on an airplane in June 1973. I'm not completely sure—

MM: Was that on the way to the Kentucky Derby?

DO: It might have been. I don't know. I have to figure out.

MM: He took Dirksen and me to the Kentucky Derby once. (Unintelligible.) ***

DO: And here are you and Maureen and the Nixons. This I think when they were going out to dedicate some project out in Montana. He [Richard Nixon] came out to dedicate it—1971. [Nixon made a speech in Kalispell on his way to a meeting with Japanese Emperor Hirohito. He told the crowd the Vietnam War was ending.]

MM: I'll be darned. What a nice picture of Maureen.

DO: Yes. If you want a copy of this, I'll get a copy for you.

MM: Yes, I would.

DO: Any of them if you want copies I'll get them for you.

MM: (?Yes, I'd like copies and I'll send them out to the [Mansfield] Library.

DO: Sure. I brought around a while ago this young man that's my research assistant and I introduced him to you. He got a big kick out of it. He's the one who does all this digging up these pictures in the archives—from the National Archives. He knows how to tickle the right things and find—

MM: I didn't even know they were there. I'm glad Johnson had the holes in the table.

DO: Yes. It's amazing. Eight little holes. Nixon must have known about it because when he took office he changed that table. He took that table out and put another table in.

MM: I wonder if Nixon had any mics or whatnot when we had those breakfasts for three or four years.

DO: Well, that's a good question. I haven't been able to find that out. They have a whole bunch of Nixon tapes. I think the tapes—my understanding is—that he had the tapes were limited to

the Oval Office. He had a separate office over in the Executive Office Building that he used sometimes.

MM: Johnson?

DO: No, Nixon.

MM: Nixon.

DO: He liked to go over there away from the West Wing and so forth. I don't believe he had any put in his private part of the White House.

MM: I thought it was pretty well taped when this Colonel [Alexander Butterfield] who unveiled these taping system—the Watergate hearings played out his picture. Connections.

DO: Well I'm going to find out more. But, so far as we can tell yes, they didn't tape those things. I wish that had, frankly. A couple of other things I wanted to ask you. You said a couple times when we talked about Johnson and the war and so forth, that you were walking a delicate line—was the phrase. I thought you said, and I had it in my head, that you said a very delicate line.

MM: Yes.

DO: But does that accurately portray what you were thinking—you were walking a very delicate line?

MM: Yes. I didn't want Johnson to cross that line and interfere in the affairs of the Senate, and I didn't want to cross that line and interfere in the affairs of the Presidency. It was an invisible line, it was a delicate line, but I think we understood each other perfectly on that.

DO: I interviewed Jack Valenti last week about the relationship with Johnson and the war and stuff like that, and I'm going to see Bob McNamara tomorrow on the same subject.

MM: Good. Johnson talked to Clark Clifford from that meeting and Clark, I think, had just taken over from McNamara and McNamara sent to the World Bank or something.

DO: That's right. That's exactly right.

MM: I think, in a sense, dismissed when he changed his mind. Something like that.

DO: That's right. No doubt about it. McNamara, by the way, is on this little group that's going to China with me in about two weeks.

MM: Good, Good.

DO: Someone told me you had described—they heard you had described—the vote on the Tonkin Gulf resolution as the biggest mistake of your life. You never said that to me. I don't know if you felt that way or not.

MM: I did, afterwards. I was going to vote against it. And then Gaylord Nelson raised the question on the floor as to whether in effect—this is very loose—this amounted to a declaration of war or anything of that nature. Fulbright emphatically said, absolutely not. On the basis of that assurance, I changed my vote. But when Johnson started using it as a signal for that, I regretted it. Gaylord and Fulbright were the ones responsible for doing what I wasn't going to do, and I think the record will show that. Not my opinion, but the dialogue between the two.

DO: Yes, it does. It does. You remember you wrote once about this young man that you knew in Butte who died--Gus Erickson, who you roomed you and then he died?

MM: Gus Erickson.

DO: Did died of silicosis.

MM: Miner's con. [consumption]

DO: You went to his funeral and kept thinking this might be me if I keep that up. Someone asked me whether you helped to pay for that funeral. I don't know.

MM: No. I didn't. Gus was a Swede, single. He pronounced Seattle Seattley. Nice man, and as I look back on it, this is hindsight—I think I mentioned the fact to you or to somebody—that at the turn of the last century—about 1900—the average life span [of Americans] of men and women, was 47 years. This was in the mid-20s. I didn't know anything about figures then. Gus died, I would say, in his late 30s or early 40s. Since then it has made an additional impression of me because of the figures that I've seen in the press about a 47-year average for men and women, 1900. That would be lower in the mines because of miner's con, copper water, copper dust flying up into stokes and working in the drifts and whatnot. So what Maureen did when she literally, almost, got me out of the mines and brought me to the surface was to add an additional lifetime to me—maybe 40 years.

DO: Yes. No doubt about it.

MM: Gus was a nice man. It wasn't uncommon. It was at the beginning of the Depression—not true indeed Depression, but at the beginning of it. He was a good friend. We stayed at the same boarding house. True story.

DO: Well, I've written 30,000 words about Mansfield and I've sent them to my literary agent in New York who is working on getting a publisher. She's quite confident there are going to be some publishers.

MM: Did you pay enough attention to Maureen?

DO: Oh yes, a lot of attention to Maureen.

MM: That's the important thing.

DO: Oh, one thing I meant to ask you. Barbara called me and asked me if I had some facts and figures that I could send in that they could use in her obituary, which I did. I wrote up a couple of pages for it. But then the question of her birthplace came out differently that what I had always understood. I had thought it was Seattle and I gave you a paper once that had that in it and you crossed out Seattle and you wrote Irondale.

MM: Near Spokane, she told me.

DO: But then in the paper it came out Anaconda. I don't understand which is the correct one here.

MM: It's a minor matter.

DO: Well I know it's minor, but which is right?

MM: Irondale, near Spokane. She said. I don't think the town exists. But I wanted to show you something. I've got a bad leg there for some reason or other. [He shows me the LA Times obit – Elaine Wu, the author, wrote a fine obit of Maureen with a good Reuters picture Wu is trying to track down. He is going to call her and thank her personally.]

DO: This is the *L.A. Times*. That's a great picture.

MM: Isn't that?

DO: I don't know where this picture is from.

MM: Look at that smile. I'm trying to get a hold of the picture.

DO: Reuter. [NOTE; MUST GET THIS PHOTO FOR THE BOOK]

MM: Take about five minutes and read the article.

DO: Do you know Elaine Wu, the author?

MM: No. The office got in touch with her and she's going to try and track down the picture and I'm going to give her a call and thank her personally for the obituary she wrote.

DO: Yes. Born in Irondale, Washington, it says here. She has everything exactly correct. I don't know how she did it. She got all the information right.

MM: Look at those last two paragraphs.

DO: Okay. I'll get there in a minute.

[They are: "On Mike Mansfield's birthday two years ago, he was asked by an interviewer what was the best thing about being 95. His reply was touching. 'The nicest thing that happened today was that my wife wrote me a love letter last night, which I picked up this morning when I woke up,' he told the Hill, a Washington publication. 'She made me what I am; she sacrificed so much, did so much, that I can't even begin to repay her. What a fortunate man I've been.'"]

DO: That's terrific. What a wonderful piece.

[Discussion with Mansfield and Stan Kimmitt]

Stan Kimmitt: Hi, Don.

DO: Hi, good morning.

SK: I'll wait out here. How are you, sir?

MM: Fine, Stan.

SK: Good to see you. I'll wait out here.

DO: No, don't wait. Sit down. I'm about to leave anyway. Mike was just showing me this obit from the *L.A. Times*.

SK: I haven't seen it.

DO: Well, it's a remarkably accurate and very beautiful piece of writing.

MM: Very truthful.

DO: It's the most accurate thing I've seen in terms of dates, times, what happened and exactly, you know. It's amazing actually. Maybe I'll ask Barbara if she can—well you've got three copies. Could I have one of these copies?

MM: Sure.

DO: I have some friends on the L.A. Times. I'll ask them both about Elaine Wu.

MM: Well I'm going to give her a call and thank her personally.

DO: That's a great obit. The Washington Post had some silly mistakes in the obit. I don't know quite why.

MM: Oh, not much.

DO: But they were little things, but they did okay. They did okay. Anyway, I'm glad to see you. I will send over or drop over that videotape I mentioned to you. I just forgot it this morning. When I come back from my trip in Asia to China—

MM: How long are you going to be gone?

DO: I'll be gone about ten days maybe.

MM: Not long enough, but better than nothing.

DO: Well I'm teaching so I can't be away from my class too much. You know what that's like as a former teacher.

MM: Yes. Well, I wish you'd try and get in touch with Zhu Rongji while you're over there.

DO: If I was on some special journalistic or governmental mission or something I'd do that, but I don't think—I mean I'm just a private citizen who is interested in this stuff and I don't think the Chinese—

MM: I've just sent for a book by two *New York Times* writers. One is called Dewei or Deway. [Sheryl WuDunn]

DO: Oh, you're talking about—

MM: Kristoff?

DO: Nick Kristoff and his wife.

MM: Is that his wife?

DO: Yes. And it's a new book. He previously had done a book on China. They were correspondents in China, then in Japan.

MM: I liked her stories.

DO: Then they have written this book. He's now covering the election. He's written several long articles on George W. Bush. He's back in this country.

MM: Where is she? Is she still out there?

DO: No, she must be back here. But I haven't seen anything by her recently.

MM: But who has taken her place?

DO: In Tokyo, I forget who their correspondent is now, but whomever the *Times* sent.

MM: Oh, one of Bush's aides, a personal assistant to Governor [Marc] Racicot, Montana—Andrew Malcolm.

DO: Yes, he was a correspondent in Japan. I knew him there.

MM: And he covered Korea.

DO: Right.

MM: I don't know about how much he covered China, but Japan and Korea.

DO: Maybe not. I know Andy. In fact, I talked to him a couple years ago when I was out in Montana, just before he left to go to work for Bush. He's still down their working for Bush?

MM: Yes. Because Racicot's term ends this year. It's a two-term limit. I think Racicot's spending some time with him too.

SK: Well your tape came in very handy at the ceremony in Missoula. I was out there Saturday. We had Maureen's ceremony and it went off very well.

DO: Could it be understood?

SK: Yes. The first few seconds were scratchy and then it worked well. Then I took the video out that Fred's wife did. And they put it in the Library and played it. Everybody that wanted to play it in there could, so we could hear them make the eulogy. So both outside and in the library it was very nicely done. Frank Hayes was there with his family. Maureen's nephew, I believe.

MM: Who?

SK: Frank Hayes.

MM: Oh yes. From Havre.

SK: And then John [Mansfield] and his daughters were there—[John's daughter] Sheila and some of her children. Pat Williams spoke. [George] Dennison, of course, spoke. Phil West spoke. [Mark] O'Keefe was there. Nancy Keenan was there. It was a nice group. It went off very well. A beautiful day.

DO: Stan, I told Mike that I have the videotape of the program—it wasn't a whole program, but the part, maybe two or three minutes on the news—in Missoula, CBS station, that they did about Maureen at the time of her death. And I meant to bring it this morning, and I just forgot and left it on my desk, but I'm going to drop it off here.

MM: They recognized her out there very well.

SK: She got very good press coverage. Maureen would of liked for what happened in Montana during the last several weeks. The last weekend particularly.

DO: When was this ceremony?

SK: In Missoula at the Mansfield Library outside around the statue.

DO: When was it?

SK: Last Friday. It was homecoming so there were a lot of the older students there. It was 1:45 in the afternoon on Friday outside the library.

MM: I want to thank you, Stan, for you and Maureen's husband—the hospital arrangements, the burial arrangements and so forth. Everything went well. I owe you both a vote of thanks.

SK: No thanks needed or expected or intended, but I appreciate it.

MM: Incidentally, just getting away from the subject, I understand that they started putting something called grass in my pipe [the statue outside the Mansfield Library].

DO: Yes, I saw that.

MM: Did you tell me that?

DO: Yes.

MM: Does it mean what I think it does?

DO: No, it's not marijuana; it's just regular grass.

SK: And they had flowers in your arm last week too.

DO: Not that kind of grass.

MM: I wouldn't have been surprised, but it's sometimes called grass.

DO: I know, yes indeed, it is. No, well, it's the kind of thing a student would do. You might have done it if you were a student and you saw a statute like that. Okay, I'm going to get out of your hair here.

SK: When are you headed to the Far East?

DO: In about two weeks. This time I'm going to Korea—Seoul—and then I'm going to Beijing.

SK: Not Hong Kong.

DO: But in December I'm going to Japan to a meeting in Kyoto, then to Tokyo, then over to Seoul again and then I'll be planning—if everything's okay—to meet my wife at Narita Airport, and we're going to Vietnam for about 10 or 12 days.

MM: Will the President be going down about the same time?

DO: No, he will be there earlier. He'll be there in November. I don't want to be there when he's there. It's too much confusion. He's going to bring something like 300 people in his entourage and I don't know how the Vietnamese—they'll figure out a way how to deal with them. They're having some bad floods in central Vietnam, which I hope will be—

MM: Have they cleared the railroad from Hanoi to Kunming?

DO: I don't know if they have or not. Whether that's been done yet. You know that they're talking about—they started work on repairing the railroad from Seoul to Pyeongchang in Korea, right across the DMZ.

MM: Are they different widths?

DO: No. I think because that railroad has not been in use since 1945.

MM: It could be the same ones.

DO: It would probably be the same old Japanese track. The question is what locomotive fit it. I don't know. Maybe they will have to get new—and it's economic.

MM: A sort of reunification in the form of reconciliation.

DO: It's a good thing. Anyway, I'll get out of your hair. I'm glad to see you, Mike.

MM: Thanks for coming, Don. Thanks for everything.

DO: Okay.

SK: Good to see you again, Don.

DO: Great.

SK: Let's get together again for lunch someday. (Inaudible.)

DO: We actually will do it, I think

SK: When you come back from the Far East and you want some American food for a change.

(static)

MM: Listen, Don. I'll see you when you come back. Take care.

(more static—Don Oberdorfer is speaking with Barbara, and other conversations are going on, but they are impossible to decipher. This continued for about 15 minutes.)

[End of Interview]

- * Information in brackets is the observations and/or comments of Oberdorfer.
- ** Oberdorfer's emphasis
- *** Question mark in parentheses reflects inaudible section of dialogue.
- **** Denotes the actual name of the person in question