Allen: From the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center on the University of Montana campus, I’m Allen Sangster. Welcome to the Mansfield Global Leadership Podcast, a series exploring the importance of leadership, global education, and U.S.-Asia relations from the Big Sky State of Montana. I’m here today with my cohost and the Director of the Mansfield Center, Abraham Kim. Welcome Abe.

Abe: Hi Allen, it’s good to be with you.

Allen: Since this is our inaugural podcast, we wanted to begin by introducing the Mansfield Center, how this initiative got started, and why we’re doing this podcast series in the first place. So let’s begin broadly, why don’t you introduce yourself and the Mansfield Center.

Abe: Sure, so I’m the Director for the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center. Really the focus of this Center has been to promote global education here on campus, but also to help train leaders for tomorrow to understand the changes that going on around our globe and how to prepare these leaders for the future and where we think a lot of it will have to do with what’s going on in the Asia Pacific region.

Allen: So why this podcast specifically?

Abe: Well I think the podcast is important because first of all there’s a lot of different issues that are being talked about across our state related to global education and also trade, and other international affairs issues. And so this is one channel for us to talk to leaders across our state, and across our country, and people in Asia, about the future of U.S.-Asia bilateral relations and how our state is going to engage Asia and train our future leaders. This is one way to reach people around the world who have an interest in these kinds of issues.

Allen: Can you explain to people the importance of Mike Mansfield? Why does the Center bare his name and what does his legacy have to do with you and I today?

Abe: You know I think Mike Mansfield is one of the great statesmen in recent U.S. history in the 20th century. He has really shaped the Senate, when he was the majority leader. He was the majority leader from 1962-1977. As most of you know your American history that was a very turbulent time in U.S. history but also really the shaping of U.S. democracy. In addition to that of course he played an important role as U.S. Ambassador to Japan. During that period he was really an important leader, an important voice in U.S. presence and policy in East Asia. In many ways this man, this leader, shaped U.S. history. He was a Montanan.

Allen: The first piece of content that we have for the podcast is actually a round table discussion by people who knew Mike Mansfield. Can you kind of introduce that piece and sort of unpack it for us before we begin listening?
Abe: A few months ago, the Mansfield Center hosted an evening with four leaders. One former congressman, two former ambassadors, and one eminent scholar who were all touched by Senator Mansfield during the early points of their careers and really their acquaintance and work and also just friendship with the late senator Mansfield really changed their lives. So we have Dane Scott, our Director of Programs of Ethics and Public Affairs. You’ll hear his voice moderating and guiding this discussion in the next hour.

Allen: I also think it’s important to point out that this segment contains some fantastic nuggets of wisdom centered on leadership and perseverance and teamwork, both in the political realm and without. The participants of this discussion really present Senator Mansfield’s life as a case study for quality statesmanship and living. So let’s take a listen.

Dane: I’m going to introduce our guests. I think it’s important that you know who’s up here. All of these speakers have known Mike Mansfield very well and I think their careers have been greatly enhanced by that acquaintance with him. Starting over here is Thomas Hubbard, he’s the Chairman of the Korea Society and Senior Director of McLarty Associates, I hope I pronounced that right. He’s a career foreign service officer for nearly forty years. He served as a U.S. ambassador to the republic of Korea from 2001-2004 and before that as ambassador to the Philippines from 1996-2000. Ambassador Hubbard was the principle negotiator at the 1994 agreed framework aimed at ending North Korea’s nuclear weapon program and headed the first senior level U.S. government delegation to North Korea.

Next to Thomas is our own Pat Williams, who in Montana hardly needs an introduction. But Pat started his career as a teacher in Butte, and he was a state legislator, he was Montana’s congressman and a faculty member here at the University of Montana. Pat was elected to represent Montana in Congress for nine terms from 1979-1997, more consecutive terms in the U.S. House than anyone in Montana’s history. Pat’s career has remained devoted to serving the people of Montana and making it a better place for future generations.

Next to me here is Paul Lauren, another person here on the campus who needs really no introduction. He’s the Professor Emeritus of History at UM and he just recently retired, although he’s not really retired. He was Regent’s Professor of History until his recent retirement. Paul was a founding Director of the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center. He is author of several award winning books including, The Evolution of International Human Rights: Visions Seen, which was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. You can see I’m feeling humbled up here, right, sitting among these people. He has won many awards for his teaching and scholarship.

Next to me on my left is Mark Minton. He joined the Korea Society as President in May of 2010. Prior to joining he played a leading role in America’s relation with Asia during the distinguished thirty-two year career as Senior Foreign Service Officer. Ambassador Minton served as U.S. Ambassador to Mongolia from September 2006-2009 and was a Deputy Chief of Mission at the U.S. embassy in Seoul Korea. He also served as the Country Director for Korea, Deputy Country Director for Japan, as well as other positions in the U.S. State Department in various diplomatic posts in Japan, as a Pearson Fellow with the United States Senate, and as the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.
You know with these distinguished people that we are in for a rich time and an interesting conversation. I would say that there is a focus to our conversation and that is on the character of Mike Mansfield. So we do want to look at what qualities this person had that allowed him to have such a successful career and why we should be here and learning about him. I think our first question is, if you could just really briefly maybe in three sentences we’ll just go around, answer the question who is Mike Mansfield and why should we be interested in learning about him? We’ll just start over here with Thomas.

Thomas: Mike Mansfield was an American of great wisdom, of great dignity, who began with roots in Montana but probably knew more about the world than almost any senator of his time or of any time. Mike famously lied about his age and joined, I forget, I think it was first the Navy when he was 15 years old, then the army, then the marines. The thing he was always proudest of was that he was a Marine. That was something that was very apparent when he was working in our embassies abroad. I think he was a giant in many ways. A self-confident man who was at the same time unassuming, an outstanding American who knew what country he represented whether he was in the Senate or a diplomat, yet at the same time understood the world and worked tirelessly to try to bridge those two things and promote U.S. interests in the world.

Dane: Yeah, Pat.

Pat: Well I think Mike was an irony. I think he unintentionally practiced opposites. He was taciturn, appeared, and was, shy. He spoke in one word answers, usually yep and nope. And yet he was informed, gentle, considerate, kind, and when you asked Mike the right question, he was very expansive and particular and specific in his answers.

Paul: I don’t know where to begin but I’m laughing at myself because I’m a historian and I’m putting it all into some kind of historical context. That is, you’re talking about a man who was orphaned at a young age, grew up in Great Falls, and joined the armed forces, came back from the First World War looking for a job and found it in Butte, Montana as a miner. Met a young woman, fell in love, she told him that you could do more for your life than live to be a miner, why don’t you go to the University of Montana? He became a student here even before he achieved his high school diploma. He eventually became a University of Montana professor. Then decided like many people who teach as they look at Congress, I could do that, and decided to run for office. Obviously went into the Senate. He served as Senate Majority Leader longer than anyone else in American history, then went on to serve as U.S. Ambassador to Japan longer than anyone else in American History. So there’s an enormous array of achievements that are quite frankly unprecedented by any standards, but what made him great was not his achievements but his character. He was a humble man, a loyal man, he knew himself and because of that people trusted him for all the right kind of reasons and I can say more about that later if you wish.

Mark: I first met Ambassador Mansfield, I never called him Mike, when I was in my 20s and I was a brand new Foreign Service Officer just out of university. So my perspective is a little special, I met this person who was like a Roman bust or something of an emperor, and I was no one. He was, this echoes what many others have said, he was extremely courteous, and modest, and interested in my development. Not because of who I was but because he was interested in young people who wanted to
serve the country and had a sense of commitment and responsibility for representing the United States in some way. He took time to talk to me as a junior officer. He didn’t have the time necessarily, but he took the time. He took a personal interest in my career. I was able to discuss very petty issues like the next step in my career with him. He was kind enough for the twenty years or so afterwards until he died to keep in touch as I went on to other assignments and got a little rank in the Foreign Service as a diplomat and that sort of thing. Periodically once he was retired and back in Washington, he would call me up and invite me to have lunch with him and ask me what I was doing. He wasn’t just interested in what I was doing; he was interested in what I could tell him about the issues that I was working on such as the negotiations with the North Koreans. Which was exceptional, a man in his 90s who was still interested in what’s happening now, and not in the past when I did this and I did that and that sort of thing. We never talked about the past; we always talked about what’s going on now and where we were going in the future.

As I’ve said before he was very modest; he made an enormous splash when he arrived as ambassador in Tokyo because he did something with the Japanese guests to his office that was just unheard of. In Japanese culture especially if you’re someone exalted like the U.S. Ambassador in Japan, in any Japanese office tea is served to guests. Or coffee if you like, and it’s always brought in by about I’d say usually a 20-22 year old woman, who’s going to do just that for a couple of years. This isn’t sexist this is just a certain time and place; this is what it was like in Japan in the 70s. Then a young woman would bring in tea and put it down in front of the people who were meeting and disappear. When people visited Mike Mansfield, Japanese politicians, ministers, that sort of thing, he would disappear into a little room beside his office which was a little kitchenette and make coffee for them. Here the ambassador would come out with a saucer and a cup of tea or coffee and serve them personally. It was an extraordinary gesture. It told the Japanese that here was a modest man and someone with whom they could relax and talk with a little more frankness. So he was a modest man and he was a shy man, but you know, he also knew how to use his modesty and shyness to be an effective ambassador.

**Dane:** So Mark’s introduced some things and something I was going to ask you guys about. So you’ve already answered two questions. What was your first impression? Here Mark says it’s like this Roman bust, he’s an unapproachable, intimidating figure because of his reputation. What was your first impression? Pat what do you think?

**Pat:** I met him when I was too young to remember my first impression. He was friends with so many Montanans including my parents who owned restaurants in Butte and elsewhere, so he knew them and I met him when I was in 3rd or 4th grade so I don’t remember that. What I do remember about him was that he had uh, well Jimmy Stewart had Mike Mansfield’s body. Angular, long, big strides, cross one knee over the other and both shoes would touch the ground. And his face, when I first met him, not when I was eight, but probably the second or third time I met him when I was in my twenties and Mike was probably in his 40s or 50s. He had the face of an old wise man. You remember those of you, he had not wrinkles but these long lines in his face. He had these crow’s feet here. So even as a young man you knew you were talking to somebody who had been around. When I was talking to him those days he’d be in Butte. He’d be campaigning usually. They didn’t come home much those days. I don’t think Mike and Lee Metcalf, and Arnold Olson in the House came home three times a year because it was too
difficult back then. Now we all want them back every weekend, or we used to which is a bad thing to want. It really is because they don’t get to know their colleagues right. But Mike had only come home a few times a year, but every time I saw him or listened to him at a dinner, it was his face and his words. You remember he had that soaring voice that was unforgettable. His speaking voice was the same as his conversation voice.

**Dane:** Whoever feels compelled.

**Paul:** Go ahead I can wait my turn.

**Tom:** My experience comes later so maybe you want to go.

**Paul:** Okay, I first met Mike not in Montana but in Tokyo which was unusual but you know I was heavily involved in the University and when Mike came to town it was in other kind of circumstances. But I received a call in 1981 from president Dick Bowers and he said, “Paul I’d like you to be my personal representative and go to Tokyo.” He said, “We’ve been thinking about the Mansfield Center for a long time, we’ve had a number of conversations with Mike, I hate to admit this but I think you could probably do a better job than I. I want you to go and talk with him, you have basically plenipotentiary powers to do what you think is best, but listen to him. We have to find out before we proceed any further.” I said, “Sure I’d be happy to go,” and all the time I’m thinking about this man that I knew a great deal about in advance, but I knew him not as a person but I knew him as a result of policy because he had been heavily involved in issues that I had been heavily involved with. Civil rights legislation, Watergate hearings, congressional oversight of intelligence activities, and opposition to the war in Vietnam. For all of these reasons I had a great deal of knowledge about him and his positions.

So I went to the embassy and those days it wasn’t nearly the security that it is today for those of you that have been there recently. One marine guard and you walk in and they say oh the Ambassador is expecting you. Go up to the top floor there’s an anteroom and you’re waiting outside the room and there’s a series of photographs of all of the U.S. Ambassadors who had ever served in that position. As a historian I happened to know who they were, and so it meant a great deal to me to see Joseph Crew and other images that I knew. Finally he comes out, he doesn’t send a secretary, he comes out and ushers me into the office. What was so striking, as Pat has accurately described the mannerisms and the body and conversations about the tea and the coffee, I was really struck by the fact that the coffee table had a map of Montana on it with a sheet of glass over it. That doesn’t sound like anything unusual; this is a U.S. Ambassador not a senatorial office. He doesn’t have to make anybody from Montana happy. On the wall is a C.M. Russell Painting, and I said I’m going to feel right at home. So we had a wonderful conversation, a very serious conversation I might add. I could recount in detail that conversation; it’s like it happened yesterday because he said certain things that I knew people in Missoula would love to hear. He said other things that I knew would create a problem for certain people in Missoula and I had to come back and tell people here at the University what he did and what he didn’t say. At that point I had great sympathy for Moses coming down from Mount Sinai trying to explain the Ten Commandments. But that was the beginning of a very long and personal, not just professional, but personal relationship.
Mike and Maureen treated me like a son in many ways and it was just a wonderful experience, but that was the first time that I met the great men.

**Tom:** Well I guess I was wrong, Paul, I met him before you did. But I first met Senator Mansfield, Ambassador Mansfield as I always called him in 1978 when I returned to Tokyo for my second posting in Japan. I was at the time young; I was a fairly skilled Japanese speaker and language officer. My job, my role, was to deal with domestic politics in Japan, to lead our efforts to get to know politicians, to reach out to the political world in Japan. Obviously having Mike Mansfield, former Senator Mansfield as Ambassador was a wonderful entre to politics because he knew that world so well and as has been suggested, used those political skills so very well to reach out to people. But I saw him almost immediately and somewhat to my surprise he’d been in Tokyo I guess a year or maybe two years before I came back. But I was midway through my diplomatic career. He was somehow instinctively an absolute master of the symbolism of diplomacy, of the symbolism of international relations. Somehow he knew instinctively that he was representing the United States and he was representing the United States during a somewhat difficult time with Japan. We were facing trade problems, increasing frictions over a variety of things. He immediately instinctively realized that the best way for him to serve our interests and to maintain that relationship was to prove to the Japanese that he was an absolute friend. He was a steadfast representative of the United States but the U.S. interest was in working with Japan to promote our common interest. He did that with his very being. Everything he did from serving the coffee to all of the various trips he took around the country. Today I was at the archives looking at various of those trips and remembering many of them but he was playing that role and doing it wonderfully. He was sometimes criticized for that during the course of his 13 years as ambassador to Japan.

One of Ambassador Mansfield’s constant statements was that the U.S.-Japan relationship is more important than any other relationship in the world bar none. Often people accused us, those of us who worked for Ambassador Mansfield in the Embassy, as working at the bar none ranch. But it worked and in fact he was promoting our interests, and various of his equally prominent successors have gone out and failed to learn that lesson of diplomacy, which I tried to emulate too in my own post, I think have made a mistake. He was also willing to; one of my jobs was to make sure that he knew all of the important politicians in Japan. At one point I had worked up a schedule for him to meet both opposition and Liberal Democratic Party faction leaders. I suggested that he have lunch with an obscure politician named Zenko Suzuki. At that time the prime minister was Ohira. He looked like he was riding high and a couple weeks later Prime Minister Ohira died by a heart attack, and who was brought forward to replace Ohira but Suzuki. The fact that Mansfield had had a lunch with him as still kind of an obscure politician served him well and served our nation well in the remaining periods. I worked for Ambassador Mansfield in Tokyo for three years. Later, and I do want to get back to this I was Director of Japanese Affairs at the State Department in Washington, actually Ambassador Mansfield arranged for me to do that. He connived with a then rising young official Paul Wolfowitz, subsequently known for reasons other than his friendship with Mike Mansfield. But Paul Wolfowitz and Mansfield connived to make me Director of the Japan Desk and I think that may be one of the few things that they ever quite agree on, and I’m grateful. It did make my career, but I want to get back to some of my experiences in Washington with this giant of politics and diplomacy later.
Dane: Well I’m going to ask you to think a little bit on this question I think. So we’ll open it up to whoever feels they’re the most ready once I ask the question. As Mike Mansfield was leading the Senate during one of the most tumultuous times in U.S. history, and he did it very, very well, and some of the most important legislation of the 20th century was passed when he was there. So, this is a person who is working in an extraordinary time doing extraordinary things. So the question is, it’s a two part question. How does a person like that do that? What character trait did he possess that you think allowed him to be the longest serving Senate Leader during this particular time that passed this legislation? And then try to illustrate that with maybe some incidents, some experiences you had with him during your course of interacting with him. So anybody that’s ready can take that on.

Pat: Although Mike and I were friends and visited quite often, we did not serve together. I was not in the House when Mike was in the Senate. Went to Japan a couple of times to see him and saw him quite often when he returned to Washington. Mike’s leadership has always been a wonderment to Washingtonphiles. I don’t know that anybody ever led like Mike because he didn’t lead in the normal fashion of leading. He respected every Senator and realized that in their state, be it Oklahoma, Nevada, Montana, wherever, they had pressures on them that nobody else could understand. So he gave them their own rein, their own head. He might talk to them about the importance of a vote but he was not Lyndon Johnson. Short story, when Jack Kennedy decided on Lyndon Johnson for president, he shocked every insider, everybody within his ring, his kitchen cabinet. Bobby hated Lyndon Johnson, Jack didn’t have a hell of a lot of use for Lyndon Johnson yet he chose him as his Vice President. He said to his closest aide, who expressed surprise; I did it because I’ve got to get Lyndon the hell out of the Senate. We’re going to have a small majority of Democrats in the Senate and I won’t be able to twist Lyndon’s arm, he’ll be twisting mine, but I can work with Mike, and Mike will become Majority Leader, we’ll see to that. Mike was next in line and didn’t want it but Jack talked him into it. Umm where were we going?

Here’s the thing, I think. People did not want to say no to Mike, but they knew they could. Now think in your own life about somebody, whether it’s your mother, your grandmother or your grandfather and Mike was sort of a grandfather figure in the Senate. Think in your own life about that. Sure you could say no to them, but you don’t want to. Somehow Mike exuded that, and if he did it on purpose it was brilliant, but I don’t think he did it on purpose. I think he was just being Mike.

Paul: I agree, I think that was just part of his character about being Mike, and people who came into contact with him whether they were presidents, prime ministers, emperors in Japan, college students wearing Montana t-shirts, military officers, generals, admirals, university professors, knew that he was the real deal and responded accordingly. Just on this question, Dane and a follow up on Pat’s, when we were creating the Mansfield Center we clearly needed to talk with some of Mike’s colleagues in the senate. So I had occasion to have lunch with Howard Baker and Daniel Inouye and we were talking about this question of leadership. Howard Baker who became Senate Majority Leader at one time said to me, You know whatever I learned about leading the Senate I learned from watching Mike and my father in law Everett Dirksen work with each other across the aisle and he commented on that. Then I said well tell me what it was like to go from Lindon Johnson being Senate Majority leader to Mike Mansfield being Senate Majority Leader. He said, and I quote, “It was like going from Genghis Khan to St. Francis of Assisi.”
Mark: I had an opportunity in Tokyo, often, to hear Ambassador Mansfield decry what he saw happening in the Senate and elsewhere in American politics during the period I was with him there from ’78 to ’81 and later when I often saw him in Washington. One of the things he constantly came back to was that the main problem in Congress is the demise of the powerful Committee Chairmen, the people who actually commanded and exercised respect in the Senate. I think he saw his role as Majority Leader in a way of kind of giving them their lead and leading from behind and letting them take them along. He saw the whole movement towards term limits and the curtailment of the Committee Chairmanship, and the fact that Senators no longer lived in Washington and met with each other all the time as being at the root of the problems in politics. I think he would be very unhappy with what he sees today.

Paul: Several years ago, not too long ago, I was asked to give a lecture in the Senate about Mansfield, and I did. CNN interviewed me afterwards. The interviewer said, “Well, having said all that, tell me about if Mike were elected today in the U.S. Senate to be Senate Majority Leader.” I said, “I don’t believe he’d ever be elected to Senate Majority Leader in today’s Congress.” They said, “What?” I said, “Look at the partisanship. I mean here you’re talking about a man who’s concerned about the country, about statesmanship, about character.” Pat in your words, to open it up. I said, “That isn’t a highly valued quality any longer.” When that interview was replayed on television that particular segment of the interview was not broadcast for whatever that’s worth.

Tom: Some of you might know I write, fewer now, but for however long I’ve been home 16 or 17 years, written columns for Montana and some national newspapers. If I may Dane, I’d like to read two short paragraphs from a column that I spent some time with so I could get it right but I think it’s descriptive.

Dane: Sure.

Tom: Mike followed Janet Rankin into the U.S. House from the Western district. Following her lone vote against World War II, Ms. Rankin chose not to run again. Mansfield, only at the urging of Maureen, ran and defeated the Republican Howard Hazelbaker from Dillon by a vote of 42,000 to 28,000. That election night win began a political career that was astonishing for its political nonpartisanship and, at the same time, Mike’s unwavering liberalism. Mansfield although he always campaign served, and then I wrote back then, and today at 97, remains a staunch democrat always avoided party activities. He seldom attended the Democratic National Convention believing prophetically that they had, even in the 1960s, become anachronistic.

And then a final couple of sentences. Unlike many of today’s elected operatives, Mansfield avoided rancor and anger. His eyes were not riveted on the next election. Never. He was never trying to find ways to embarrass the opposition but rather befriend them. Mansfield was the epitome of integrity, fairness, and the consideration of the viewpoint of his policy adversaries and yet—and it’s important to me and I think to some of you, to remember this—and yet his voting record and his actions as Majority Leader unquestionably demonstrate that Mike held tightly to his quiet core beliefs as a Liberal.

Dane: It’s kind of what I hear, if I’m hearing right, there’s probably a virtue that’s lacking in modern day politics is modesty and empathy in a sense, some real modesty, but modesty that has power and humility that has a sort of power. And Mark I didn’t want to have my question too leading because I
think if a character or something that consists over their whole life. Maybe your experiences weren’t with him during his time in a Senate but as an Ambassador, I’m sure he still possessed those virtues. What kind of things did you notice in him that really stood out?

**Mark:** I alluded to some of this before, and some of his most remarkable qualities and characteristics have been amply explained by others. I can just reinforce that a little bit. Because now as you know, I think one of Lincoln’s secretaries said on his death bed, now he belongs to the ages. Mike Mansfield was a person for the history books and soon there will be not so many people around that ever really knew him. So it’s hard to remember that great people were themselves once young. So one thing that struck me was his empathy for people generally that were younger, but also just for other people in general. Just to amplify what I said before I first met Mike Mansfield in 1976 when he paid that trip to Tokyo that you were talking about before he became Ambassador in his closing months of his Senate Career. No one knew at that point in Tokyo that he would be appointed Ambassador to Japan by President Carter, who was elected of course in November of ’76 and took office in January of ’77 and then appointed Mansfield as Ambassador. To the Embassy, a retiring senator was coming through. I don’t know if he announced his retirement or not, but they didn’t know that a future ambassador was coming through. Embassy officers are always assigned to take care of VIP visitors. There were two of us assigned, I was the junior person. The senior person decided after a long day of office meetings and everything that I could just see if there was anything that Ambassador Mansfield needed before he turned in. You know photocopied in those days or something of that sort. So I went over to his hotel after the day was over about 6 o’clock, and he’d had meetings all over Tokyo. I discovered that he was traveling with a couple of aids, and they said the Senator really doesn’t like to do a lot of socializing in the evening and doesn’t really want to go out to a restaurant, and he had turned down invitations to go places to be taken out that evening by the minister of this, that, or the other thing, or a Japanese politician. So they said he’s probably just going to turn in but why don’t you check with him. So I approached him and said, “Is there anything I can do for you Senator, he said nope I think I’ll just have a quiet evening.” I was just about to go and he said, “What are you doing for dinner?” And I said, “Nothing,” which was literally true. So he said, “Why don’t you have dinner with me?” So I had dinner with the Senate Majority Leader. He was here in Tokyo; everybody in the embassy outranked me practically except for the char staff. And you know I had dinner with this exalted guest, this Senate Majority Leader, and he asked me, I’d only been in Tokyo about six months, and he asked me questions about the culture, questions about life in the Embassy, questions about Japanese politics that I probably didn’t answer very well, certainly not as well as Tom did later. But then he did come back as Ambassador and I stayed there for four years thereafter in his Embassy and went to meetings with him and that sort of thing many, many times thereafter. When I finally left in 1980 he stayed on for another decade almost but when I finally left as a junior officer in 1980, he called me into his office my last couple of days and gave me a photograph of himself inscribed, “To Mark Minton, a junior officer that taught me a lot about Japan,” fondly Mike Mansfield. I’ve always been moved by that. That’s an example of his interest in young people developing their careers and I think that must have been repeated many places and many times with many other junior people who had access to his wisdom, his interest, and his attention. And that’s very much appreciated.
Dane: Those are really nice accounts to kind of get us this human picture rather than this plutonic ideal. I mean he was just an incredible person, but he was human. I wonder if you could tell us a little bit about that side of him. Particularly if he had a sense of humor, and what was that sense of humor like?

Tom: Well I think one has difficulty talking about Mike as a person and how he achieved his successes and his humor and all without recognizing Maureen who Mike said was everything. The facts show she was. Mike would agree with this because I talked to him about it and he said oh that’s absolutely true but people don’t like to hear it. I think Mike would have ended up as a mucker, a miner in Butte. He was shy, he was brilliant, he enjoyed working with his hands and shovels, he saw glory in being a miner. I think he may have stayed there or not made much without Maureen who forced him. She wouldn’t marry him until he had a bachelor’s degree. It’s true. She came here; she worked down at the welfare department. She turned in a retirement pole, a gift she had from her parents or something, and she turned that in to get Mike and herself a Master’s degree. She pushed and pushed and pushed him, he didn’t want to run for the House. She forced him, he got beat, and he said to her, “See”? She said, “I’ll tell you what see, you’re going to run again next time.” And he did and he won. Mike did not want to run for the Senate. Politics was extraordinarily difficult on this man.

Pat: Now maybe a couple of our pals here can talk about Maureen but let me tell this quick story about she and Mike. I was president of the Young Democrats, I don’t know a hundred and eleven years ago in Butte. We put on a dinner for him, and it was a hell of a dinner. There were 500 people at this dinner, because of Mike of course, but the Young Democrats sponsored it and we worked four months on it. It was at the Finland Hotel in the old ballroom downstairs which is now closed. So we were going to the elevator and Mike said Pat. That’s how he said it, Pat. I came over and he put his arm around me to keep me with him. Maureen was here, he was here, and I was here. The elevator came up, Maureen went first and then he pushed me in the elevator so I had the honor of riding up. He wanted to make me coffee in the room.

Now these fellows know and are probably too polite to say, but Mike Mansfield made the worst god damn coffee in American history. He called it Hobo Coffee, he boiled the grounds then he poured the grounds in. I always refused the coffee from him after that but here’s the story. We’re going up the elevator and Maureen, who was having hearing problems and had terrible hearing problems towards the end of her life, and to my understand is she went deaf. Mike said to her, he was always very solicitous of her, and we’re going up in the elevator and he said, because she had sat through like two hours of speeches or something at this dinner. And he said to her, “How are you honey?” She said, “Not very good,” and she was doing this. He said, “You having ear trouble?” She said, “Mike, I can’t hear the applause anymore,” and he said to her, “Don’t worry, honey, you’ll know when it stops.”

Paul: Dane asked a question about humor. And I have a number of things to say about Maureen when we get to that point but on the humor question, because I think it is reflective of a personality and quick wit, one of my favorite stories about humor occurred in Tokyo. Because in 1984 and 1985, there was something called a Mirage Bowl. That is a Japanese firm had invited two American football teams to come to Tokyo to show them what American football was all about. Filled the stadium, huge thing. Anyway, Grizzlies were one of those teams, and the U.S. Army was the other team. The night before the
game there was a huge reception, all of the cadets were on one side, and all of the Grizzlies were on the other side. I happened to be invited to go along because I knew Mike so well but also I guess as kind of a protocol officer for lack of a better word. In all events there were some diplomatic speeches made after everybody had had their meal. All these big huge guys were sitting around waiting to play football the next day and someone, at the end after Mike Mansfield had made his little speech, raised their hand. They said, “Well mister Ambassador who are you going to root for?” Thank you Barbara. Everybody kind of chuckled; yeah that’s a good question. He immediately smiled because he knew that he was going to be trapped. He said, “As you know, I’m a former student of the University of Montana. As you know, I’m a former professor of the University of Montana. As you know, my boss is the President of the United States. As you know, he’s the Commander and Chief. The Commandant, of the U.S. Military Academy,” who was standing there, “and I have the same boss. I have no interest in thwarting the efforts and interests of the Commander and Chief and the President of the United States.” So he paused and he said, “For that reason my answer, in the proper diplomatic way, is that I will remain steadfastly neutral.” Then he paused and he said, “And having said that, go Griz.”

Tom: Your comment, Mark, earlier that he was like a Roman bust or something, I was thinking that he was like a Roman bust with a twinkly eye. He did have a twinkle in his eye that reflected real humor and I think we’ll all want to talk about his absolute love and respect for Maureen which we all saw. But on one of these events, when we were in Washington and my wife and I were taking Ambassador Mansfield home after an event at the Japanese Embassy, and the Ambassador always had a glass of bourbon in his hand. I never thought he got at all tipsy, and I’m sure he didn’t that night either but for some reason he was in a really good mood. He started showing us he had a magician’s trick he had some sort of thing with a coin that he was doing in the car as we took him back and we were just howling about that the rest of the night. We’d never seen that come out. He did indeed have a wonderful sense of humor but it was very taciturn one.

Mark: I have a quick one. You know having a sense of humor is also sort of, it can be a passive thing too, in the sense that you are confident enough about yourself and tolerant enough of other people that you can take almost ridiculous situations with a grain of salt. I saw one occasion like that. I don’t know if people in the audience still remember a famous figure Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia. But for fifty years he was a major figure in international politics because he was such a personality. He was Cambodian royal family he had been King, he had been Crown Prince, he had been Prime Minister, he had been overthrown three times, but he was always, until the end of his life at about 90 just a couple of years ago, he was always a very colorful international figure. He was very short, very emotional, and very colorful.

Mansfield, as I understood it in several comments he made over time, had first gotten to know Sihanouk when he went on a congressional trip to Cambodia and actually ended up playing basketball apparently. Sihanouk was about 5’3” or something, and Mansfield was I don’t know what, 6’2”. But at any rate he had met and he had bonded and Sihanouk knew everyone. He was friends with Mao Zedong, Jackie Kennedy, and Mike Mansfield and Mansfield felt very connected to Sihanouk and empathized with him a lot because shortly after Mansfield came to Tokyo, Sihanouk had returned to his country and virtually been imprisoned by the Khmer Rouge. This terrible, human rights violating, sort of regime of fanatics
that took over the country for a few years. And Sihanouk had supported them for political reasons, but they were very wary of him and really kept him a house prisoner. Finally when the Vietnamese invaded the country in the late ’70s, they let Sihanouk out to go to the United Nations because he was such an international figure, out of house arrest for the first time in about three years, to go to the United Nations to speak on Cambodia’s behalf and to denounce the Vietnamese.

To get to the United Nations in New York, he came out of Cambodia and landed in Tokyo, and Mansfield decided he was going out to meet Sihanouk as he transited in Tokyo. So I was assigned as the Embassy Officer to go out and accompany Mansfield on this trip. So Mansfield went out, and he didn’t usually talk a lot in the car on trips to the airport, but this time he explained who Sihanouk was and the things I just told you. How long he had known him, how fond he was of Sihanouk who spoke French, and Princess Monique, his wife, who was a very refined person and that sort of thing and they were both coming through Tokyo. So we got out at the airport and we positioned ourselves. I’m standing behind Mansfield and reporters are all over the place because this is the first appearance Sihanouk had made outside of Cambodia in years. As I said he was sort of a People Magazine sort of personality. So the plane landed, pulled up to the gate, the doors opened, Mansfield was just standing there. Sihanouk, this small figure began to appear, caught sight of Mansfield and broke into a run. He just ran at Mansfield and when he got to Mansfield, Mansfield’s up here and Sihanouk is down here. Sihanouk took a bounce and grabbed Mansfield around the neck and said, “Mona Mi,” and French kissed on both sides. Mansfield bent down and embraced him and that sort of thing. Never broke the mood at all, never felt embarrassed, handled it very diplomatically, although no one in my knowledge ever got that close, recounting the story I said only Misses Mansfield has done anything remotely like that to Mike Mansfield. But he did have a sense of a humorous situation and how to handle it, might say an embarrassing situation, and he handled it very well.

**Pat:** Dane if I may, one piece of humor of Mike’s, because I think as I’m thinking through it that this exemplifies Mike’s taciturn humor, his professional humor. I wouldn’t say Mike was a hilarious guy, he wasn’t you know, he didn’t tell jokes that I knew of. But he had this funny little turn, so he’s running for third term in the Senate and a few months before, a little while before Jack Kennedy had been shot and Bobby, and then a marine was killed in Georgetown coming out of a hamburger joint. The marine was from Montana and Mike said, “That’s it, we’re going to pass gun control.” Here’s a guy from Montana, 87% of Montanans are against gun control and he’s the majority leader he announces, this is it, I’m for gun control and we’re going to pass it. He did, the gun control we have today was Mike Mansfield’s. And Mike wouldn’t talk about it because he knew that you didn’t talk about the controversial part of your principles in your program. You talked about what people agreed with you on, and Montanans didn’t agree with him on this. By the way he lost 20% in the polls. Most politicians lose 20% they’re down to zero. Mike lost 20% and it left him at about 52 or 53% against his opponent in that election.

Here’s how Mike would go around the state and talk about gun control. He wouldn’t mention it, but he would talk about everything else that was going on in the Senate as nobody else in America could talk about it. He knew all of the secrets and everything that was going on and was very open about it. He’d tell you what’s likely to pass and what isn’t going to pass and what would be next. At the end of his 10 minute or 8 minute talk about things in the Senate, to usually a democratic audience although always
some republicans were there, at the end of his discussion it was very noticeable that he hadn’t mentioned gun control but at the end of his discussion he would say, now I’d like to take a few questions, and if you want to ask me about something controversial, shoot.

Tom: Just a quick add on there, Mark you didn’t mention it, but I think that the first famous thing that Ambassador Mansfield did when he arrived in Japan was in his first press conference with mainly Japanese journalists following huge interest. Mike stood up with his pipe right here and he said, “I’m the new guy on the block, shoot,” and left them absolutely befuddled.

Dane: It is remarkable that a young guy from Butte, who as Pat has told was destined to just maybe work in the mines and would have been happy perhaps doing that. The way Pat tells the story it’s Maureen that every step of the way takes him to the next level. I think his success is as much Maureen’s as it was Senator and Ambassador Mansfield’s. So without reference to Mike Mansfield, talk about Maureen herself. What were the qualities of her character that made her an equally remarkable person?

Pat: When Paul and others were putting together the Mansfield Center, the idea for the Mansfield Center. How much would it cost? What would be the administrative situation on it? What kind of policies would it pursue? We have at least one, maybe more people here attached to the Mansfield Center. It was up to Congress to finally put the whole thing together and do legislation. And Baucus and Melcher, Senator Melcher and Senator Baucus said to me well we’re going to put in this bill for a Mansfield Center. Despite all of the work that had been done, as Paul knows, Mike was very resistant to this. Although I know he worked with you guys a little bit but he was very resistant, which I discovered when I called him which I realized why Melcher and Baucus wanted me to call him.

We had a nice talk, first thing he said to me by the way was, “Hello, Pat, how’s Carol?” I said “Oh, she’s good Senator.” “How’s the Berkley Pit?” The Berkley Pit was in trouble at the time, mining had slowed down and Mike was worried about it. I said at the end of the conversation, to be short for your purposes and we’re running out of time here, I said Mike as you know we’ve been working on the Mansfield Center and we’re going to put in legislation and I’ve been asked to call you and tell you and kind of explain it to you, here’s what we want to do. And a voice came over the phone that I had heard a lot on Meet the Press, or Face the Nation, and the voice said, “Nope.” I said, “Well Senator I know you’re a little bit resistant to this but what we want to do is—” and he said, “Pat the answer’s nope.” I said, “What do you mean?” He said, “I won’t support a bill and I will come up there and campaign and lobby against it, which is very unlike me so don’t make me do that. Pat it’s nice to talk to you,” and he hung up.

If Mike wasn’t Mike people would have thought he was rude. You got to understand that about him, he got away with it. You got to understand that about him, he got away with it. So I went back to those guys, and they said yeah that’s why we wanted you to call him, we knew he’d say no. We thought about it and worked around it and I think Max may have gone through Paul and some other people to try and lighten the load. Then they said alright call him back.

So I call him back and I said, “Mike, you remember my last call?” He said, “Yes do you remember my answer?” I said “Yes, sir I do.” “So what else is going on Pat?” “I just want to talk to you about that. Nothing has changed Mike except one thing. I want you to know the one thing that we’ve changed;
we’ve decided to change the name of the Center.” He said, “To what?” And I said, “To the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center.” There was this long pause and then I heard, “You got me.”

**Paul:** Let me just carry on here.

**Dane:** We’ll have to be a little bit quick here.

**Paul:** Yeah. Mansfield supported the Mansfield Center concept from the very beginning. The one thing he did not like is the idea that it would somehow focus on him. This has to do with the humility question. Whatever was going on in congress, the legislation was one thing. But more important to us was what is it that you really want? The answer is if Maureen’s name was on it, and it doesn’t focus on me me me, which is so atypical of other centers and institutes in which you only have the man’s name on it, there was no problem. Once that issue was addressed, the Mansfield Center had his full endorsement from the very beginning to do exactly we wanted to do. On that score, this is why you will see it’s the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Library, the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center. Everything that has Mike Mansfield’s name on it has Maureen’s name on it because of the enormous contributions that she made.

I know that we’re short on time but speaking about Maureen and this is important to understand Mike. We’ve spoken about her extraordinary influence on his decisions. She was a very bright, very analytical, sharp, savvy, political counselor and he relied on her very heavily. I watched that on several occasions. But that’s not enough, and that is in my mind having watched the two of them together, this is one of the world’s real love stories, I mean genuinely. I mean she meets him as I mentioned in the mines of Butte, as a school teacher, says go back and get an education. You can do this, you can go to school, you can run for Congress, you were defeated the first time, and you can do it again. But the love that the two of them had, the way that they’d hold each other’s hands, take each other arm in arm at diplomatic receptions and other things was something really beautiful to behold quite frankly. She made enormous sacrifices for him and he appreciated that and reciprocated.

One of the really interesting experiences that I had, the last time that he was in Montana, he came in 1991 to attend a Mansfield Conference and give the keynote speech. We had over 5,000 people in Adam’s Fieldhouse for those of you that remember that. When it was over, they both said to me, Paul we’d really like to go to Butte one last time. I said fine we can arrange that, do you want me to drive? They said oh yeah that would be nice. So we got a university vehicle and we drove to Butte. What was so special is as we’re driving down I-90 and the two of them are sitting in the back seat together holding hands. I’ve got the rearview mirror and it was just a wonderful opportunity to be transported back in time because they started talking. Oh dear, remember when I-90 wasn’t here, remember how we almost collapsed here on Beavertail Hill, remember that accident that we almost had, remember that time we went fishing down here at the Lower Clarkfork. And we reached that sign that says Butte, the one that’s shot full of holes. I pointed it out to them, and they laughed. We got to Drummond and I said we’ve got one of two choices, we can either keep going up to Butte on I-90 or we can go up to Georgetown Lake. Maureen said oh dear—and it’s always oh dear, darling—let’s go to Georgetown Lake one last time.
So we went up there, we’re going through all these towns. They knew people’s names about so and so lives here, so and so lives there, this was years after the fact. We came down off of the top of the lake by Storm Lake, Dan I mean up by your place, came down into Anaconda, and Maureen said, she’s holding his hand the whole time. She said, “Oh dear, here’s Anaconda, remember how happy we always were when the election returns came in?” For those of you that know Montana politics, you know that Anaconda is solid right.

But it was just wonderfully sweet. Not political, not analytical, not calculating, just wonderfully sweet to see these two people at an advanced age of life still very much in love.

Dane: So let’s let Tom and Mark.

Mark: I’m just going to say quickly, I’m not likely to know a lot about their relationship. I met Mrs. Mansfield; she was the Ambassador’s wife, a very elegant lady. I had one occasion where I had an insight into their relationship. Again it’s only the kind of insight that somebody that’s really unexperienced and dumb would stumble into. I was in the car as usual driving to the airport with Senator Mansfield as the junior officer accompanying him. As usual he wasn’t saying anything and I’m kind of talkative. So twenty minutes goes by, we’re heading out of Tokyo towards the airport which is an hour or so away. And he’s not saying anything, which is typical of him so everything was fine, but I was nervous about that. So he was going to an ambassador’s conference for Asian ambassadors in Honolulu. I thought that was wonderful, to be able to go to Honolulu and get the government to pay for it was something that I’d like to do. Of course they weren’t sending me they were sending him. So I said to him, just to start a conversation:

“Mister Ambassador it’s quite nice you’ve got four or five days in Honolulu,” it was winter in Tokyo, “that must be very pleasant.” He just turned and looked at me with this sort of steely cold look. He said “Mark; someday you’ll understand that when somebody gives you the opportunity to leave the person you love and travel alone to a place and spend four or five days away that it’s not a lot of fun. That’s how I’m going to Honolulu.” I couldn’t think of anything else to say after that but that was an indication of how much he thought of Mrs. Mansfield and how sad he was to actually be parted from her even for a very short time.

Tom: Well I can’t top anything that has been said here. I saw a lot of Mrs. Mansfield. Some of my least favorite times were when the Ambassador would turn to me and say, “Tom, tell Maureen what’s going on.” I would start doing that and realize she wasn’t hearing a word. But she was a very elegant lady even in her old age. I think one of the most moving moments of my life was when I did attend the memorial service for Maureen in Washington. Maybe one or the other of you were there. Mike got up and said exactly what you had said Pat and basically said that Maureen made my life. It was a devastating moment that Don Oberdorfer tried to capture in his book as well, but it was something else.

Dane: Well we did want to leave a little time for your questions since I’ve been asking all of the questions. We’ve got about right around fifteen minutes so please.

Woman: I was wondering what were some of the sacrifices Maureen made?
**Dane:** What were some of the sacrifices Maureen made?

**Paul:** I would argue that she had to leave the beautiful state of Montana to live in Washington, D.C. Now some people wouldn’t regard that as a sacrifice, I would. I think that it meant that it took her away more from her family. When you live a very public career like that, family has to bear some price. I think her own freedom of action was restricted by the fact that he was such a public figure. I remember her telling me that the first time she bought a TV was at the time of the McCarthy hearings because she said I didn’t want to go out and go to the hearings myself because I was Mike Mansfield’s wife. But she said low and behold I could go buy a TV and watch the whole stinking thing in the privacy of my home. I think for any spouse married to someone with that kind of distinction and that kind of activity, I just think you bear a sacrifice, that’s all I meant by that. I just think that’s a human kind of thing.

She’d spoken to me once about, Paul would you ever be interested in writing a biography about Mike. I said, “No, I mean thank you, but no, I write other things.” There was a pause and I said to her, “Well how about if you write one?” She was a very eloquent writer. She laughed and said, “Oh no, no I could never do that,” but then she said, “But if I did it’d be good.” I said, “What makes you say that?” and she said, “Because I know all the dirt.” She had a sense of humor too. But very sweet, other people have commented about her elegance and it really was just natural. We’ve commented about how Mike was so natural in certain settings, and she was too. There were times where there was a diplomatic function, people’s attention was all on Mike as you’d imagine. She’d just grab my arm and we’d go off in the corner someplace and visit, or I’d help take care of her. It was a very sweet thing for her to do but it was wonderful for me.

**Dane:** Is there another question?

**Pat:** Because you are all, I don’t want to interrupt the next question.

**Dane:** You can say why we’re moving the microphone.

**Pat:** But to me it’s just important, I just want to say on behalf of the spouses that go to Washington with members of congress for the past 100 years in Montana. Maureen went through what Carroll Williams went through, only more so because Maureen was expected to go out every night although Mike wouldn’t do it so Maureen didn’t have to but there was that expectation and that worry. I don’t know if Steve Danes’ wife is back there but she’s going through it too. Sharla Tester is going through it. You leave your family, including your mom and dad maybe, you leave your cousins, you leave your nieces and nephews, you leave your neighbors. You leave them. Do you come back? Yeah all the time, but it’s not the same. It’s not the same, you’re gone now, and you’re somebody else. I could benefit from it because I was yes congressman, and no congressman, and congressman it’s good to see you again. She was hi what’s her name, how’s Pat. No kidding. It’s really hard on spouses.

**Dane:** Well that was worth getting in there. Other questions?
Woman: I’m wondering, you’ve all touched on this briefly, but I’d just like to hear in your own words what you think is the most significant important thing that Mike Mansfield has done or should be remembered for?

Tom: I’m not sure this answer quite rises to the quality of your question, but I do have a story that I wanted to tell sometime this evening if I may. And this goes to Mike Mansfield’s sense of bipartisanship, his grasp of symbolism both political and diplomatic. It’s an extraordinary thing that Mike Mansfield, longtime democratic Senate Majority Leader was named by President Jimmy Carter to be Ambassador to Japan, and to everybody’s amazement Ronald Reagan kept him on for another eight years to our nations’ great benefit in terms of building a wonderful relationship. I had an opportunity to see that Mansfield-Reagan relationship up close once on a very important policy issue. It happened that I almost crashed an actual meeting by the National Security Council chaired by President Reagan himself and with all the senior cabinet members arrayed around the table and it was at a critical juncture where tensions between the U.S. and Japan had risen to a very high level. Japan was seen as a trade threat, as one of our leading not only a partner but a threat in the world and it’s hard to imagine now how much tension there was in that relationship and he was a pillar in maintaining it. But we were in this meeting in the Cabinet Room and two things happened.

One, I had met Ambassador Mansfield at National Airport the previous day and he said Tom what’s going on? So I said this, that, and the other, I think this and we ought to do this, etc. Somehow when he kind of snuck me into this meeting, I was sitting behind him when Reagan asked Ambassador Mansfield, “Well, Mike what do you think we ought to do?” He proceeded to repeat back everything I had said to him the previous day. He had a wonderful oral memory. Just everything you said to him he took seriously and in this case I was sitting there and feeling like the author of policy with him. The critical issue became whether Reagan, whether the meeting in the Oval Office was all set. The question was whether the president would invite Reagan to a private breakfast the day after the meeting in the Oval Office and the Japanese very much wanted that. President Reagan, who was in his 70s, sort of started going around the room and there were a lot of famous people in there, George Shultz, Jim Baker, Howard Baker who was then Chief of Staff, the U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter etc. President went around the room and asked each of them, “What should we do? Should we do this breakfast?” Unanimously all of the statesmen in the room said we shouldn’t agree to the breakfast until we get all of the concessions we need to get out of Nakasone, until the Japanese go our way.

We went around the room and Mike Mansfield was the last to be called on, and Reagan said, “Well Mike, what do you think we ought to do?” Mike said, “You know, Mr. President, a graceful gesture can go a long, long way.” Reagan said, “Mike, you’re absolutely right,” and we agreed to schedule the breakfast. We actually got what we wanted out of the Japanese and the famous Ron-Yasu relationship between Reagan and Nakasone was launched and that’s the kind of thing that Mike Mansfield did for us as a diplomat.

Dane: I think that was such an excellent question, we have about four minutes left I think. Why don’t you guys, all three of you give a quick stab at this, let’s start at Mark and go this way.
Mark: I’d like to give up my time. These gentlemen know a lot more.

Paul: I don’t know about knowing a lot more, but I think it’s a great question, so I’m going to tell you about how Maureen Mansfield answered that question. That is we’d just finished dinner at the Ambassador’s residence in Tokyo, Maureen and I were sitting on the sofa, and I said, “What do you think his greatest contribution has been in life?”

Without batting an eyelash she said, “His character.” She said he wasn’t called the conscious of the senate for nothing, I’m particularly proud about his impact of ethical values on public affairs. So if you want to know why ethics and public affairs is an integral part of the Mansfield Center, the Maureen and Mike Mansfield Center, that’s the reason. That’s her answer, and I completely agree with that answer.

Dane: Pat you want to?

Pat: People don’t know what it is their elected officials do for them, and you don’t have to. Under a republic you really don’t have to, you ought to, but sometimes it’s hard to know. So let me give you a quick list. If you like civil rights, Mike Mansfield. If you like the Environmental Protection Agency and Act, Mike Mansfield. Eighteen year old vote, one of Mike’s proudest things. Problem is they don’t vote, but he gave them the opportunity. Endangered Species Act, Mike. Clean water, Mike. Clean air, Mike. There were fifteen years there, when America worked miracles in legislation, the envy of the world. And the guy who did it in the Senate was our guy. We should be terribly proud of those accomplishments.

Dane: Well actually I can’t think of a better way to end.

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