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AMBASSADOR ANNE CLARK MARTINDELL

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INTERVIEW

Q: Ambassador Martindell, would you tell me a little about your early years and education, where you were born, that type of thing?

MARTINDELL: Should I really admit to where I was born? (Laughter) I'm Eloise. I'm not really, but I was born at the Plaza Hotel. [Reference to Eloise, written by Kay Thompson, Simon and Schuster, 1955.] My father was in law school and the grandparents did live in New York. It was July-my birthday's the 18th -- and they said they were darned if they were going to stay in New York during the hot weather, but they would endow my parents with a suite at the Plaza because they didn't have any money -- my father was in law school -- so that's where I was born.

Q: Well, now, which law school was your father going to?

MARTINDELL: Harvard.

Q: Harvard. He was a judge?

MARTINDELL: Yes, eventually. I mean yes, much later.

Q: Were your parents from New England?

MARTINDELL: No, but we are a political family. That goes back a number of generations. It's New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. My father's family came from Pennsylvania, and they were Senators, United States Senators. That's what I really had hoped I would be. If Millicent Fenwick, who is a friend of mine, hadn't been running the year she ran, I would have run. But we were too much alike, and it wouldn't have worked.

Q: I see, yes. Now, your maiden name was Clark.

MARTINDELL: Anne Clark, yes.

Q: Was it your grandfather who founded the Clark Thread Company?

MARTINDELL: No, that was way back, 200 years ago. It originated in Scotland, you see, in Paisley. You know, Paisley shawls and all that.

Q: I didn't know that.

MARTINDELL: It was a textile manufactory and this particular ancestor was, I think they call them crofters, little farmers. He would weave in his spare time, and while he was weaving he invented the spindle.

Q: For heaven's sake, invented the spindle!

MARTINDELL: That was the first invention and that brought about the big spinning machine later. My grandfather was the first one to permanently live here. He was sent over -- it was J. and P. Coates, it is now -- and they amalgamated. They had takeovers. It was sort of an intermarriage situation, I think; I think that we were related. They sent him over as a young man of 21, having graduated from the University of Bonn.

Q: Bonn?

MARTINDELL: Yes, that was the fashionable place to go from Scotland. And it was a very good university. He came with his manservant, who was a fellow named Stains, who stayed with the family until he died. He was a wonderful man. He lived in Newark, which is where the mills were, and then later on had a country house in Bernardsville, New Jersey. I spent a lot of my childhood there. That was my father's father, and very Scottish to the day he died. One of my very close friends is Scotty Reston, and one of the things I love about him is his Scottish accent. He has just a little trace. Reminded me a little bit of my grandfather. My father's mother was the daughter of one of the Senators. Cameron, their name was. My mother's family was Blair.

Q: Blair. Now, are they the Blairs of Virginia?

MARTINDELL: Many generations back, there were three Blair brothers who came from Scotland, I think -- it could have been northern Ireland -- and landed in North Carolina. At least that's the family mythology. One of them stayed in Virginia\Maryland, Blair House. One of them went out west, and those are the Chicago Blairs, and then our antecedents came to northern New Jersey. This wonderful old fellow, my mother's grandfather, my great-grandfather, John I. Blair, was the oldest son of a minister who died when he was 12.They had a farm on the side, and he had to stop school at sixth grade and work the farm for his mother and younger brothers and sisters. Then he was apprenticed to a cousin who had a general store, and he started his own general store when he was 17. There are some wonderful books in various libraries around New Jersey. He would ride horseback all the way up through the Finger Lakes of New York. People would trade with him, you know, they'd bring in beaver pelts and things like that so they could buy their supplies. He'd go all his miles on horseback to collect two dollars, three dollars. He kept diaries.

Q: How long ago was he?

MARTINDELL: He was born in the early years of the 19th century, and he lived to be -- I think he was born in 1800, as a matter of fact -- and he lived to be 98. He died in 1898 or 1896, in there, and when he died, he was President of 20 railroads.

Q: It's a real American success story.

MARTINDELL: Part of his trading was with the Astors and the Vanderbilts. They cut him into the railroads.

Q: The minute you said furs, I thought, perhaps. He traveled in upstate New York.

MARTINDELL: Well, he traveled all over in later years. He kept a diary of inspecting the railroads as far west as Montana, Dakotas, the Colorado. He was a fabulous fellow. Somebody said he was going to write a book about him, and I've written him to say, "How's your book coming?" Because if he doesn't do something about it, one of us is going to have to. I mean, he's part of the -- well, he was at the time of the robber barons, but he wasn't a robber baron. He lived in the same farmhouse that he'd always lived in. A reporter came to interview him -- this was in his obituary -- came in to interview him and said, "How come, Mr. Blair," or maybe, "How does it happen, Mr. Blair, that you're living in the same house you've always lived in, and your son (my great-grandfather) has just built an enormous mansion on the Delaware?" And he said, "Well, the difference between me and my son is that my son has a rich father." (Laughter)

Q: I love that. So he was your great-great-grandfather?

MARTINDELL: On my mother's side.

Q: So you come from illustrious people on both sides.

MARTINDELL: Well, from interesting people.

Q: Interesting people, but they're illustrious, because they built the nation, didn't they?

MARTINDELL: They did; they were in there.

Q: Absolutely! So your mother was a Blair and your father was a Clark and you were born in the Plaza Hotel. Was your mother the typical early 20th century woman who stayed at home and ran the household?

MARTINDELL: She was, but what a pity. I still have an aunt who's 87 who's alive -- her younger sister. Either one of them could have run General Motors. My mother's happiest years were when she was, I think, the second or third in the American Red Cross during the war, down there in Washington, with hundreds of people working for her. Now, it didn't pay anything; she did it as a volunteer, but she was real executive.

Q: Tremendous managerial ability?

MARTINDELL: Tremendous managerial ability -- much more than I have. I'm better with people than she was, but she was terrific. But it wasn't in their ethic. Women didn't work, unless they had to. And they didn't have to.

Q: And if they did they were looked down on, weren't they?

MARTINDELL: My mother was a bit of a feminist. She was always -- she had a lot of friends who were Suffragettes and she sort of helped. I got that from her. I'm not a militant feminist, but I am pro-feminism.

Q: Did she ever march and that sort of thing?

MARTINDELL: I think she did. I think, when I was very little she would go out with her friends. But she wasn't a leader in it.

Q: She never -- she wasn't one of the Bloomer Girls? That was much earlier anyway.

MARTINDELL: She was born in 1890-something. Anyway, because of my father, she did get into politics, and one of my very early memories is crawling under a tea table with a big cloth, you know? She was entertaining -- I think my father was running for bar or council or something -- entertaining the ladies of the village of Bernardsville. She made a little speech. I was terribly impressed.

Q: It wasn't Mamma's usual picture! You lived in Bernardsville, did you?

MARTINDELL: In the summers.

Q: Where did you live in the winter?

MARTINDELL: In the winters we were in New York until I was nine, and then we moved here. Then my father had been appointed at that point. He was the youngest judge, I think, ever appointed to this state court, which doesn't exist anymore, in Trenton. And this was the logical place to go. Then he was appointed to the Federal bench, and that was in Newark and he had to commute. The schools were better here. In those days Bernardsville was a very remote little village.

Q: Did you have siblings?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I have two brothers.

Q: And where do you fit into the family?

MARTINDELL: I'm the eldest. We're all very close of an age, all within three years.

Q: Were you close as children?

MARTINDELL: Yes, my brothers used to pick on me.

Q: Well, naturally. Did you use to fight a lot?

MARTINDELL: I fought a lot with my youngest brother, then we became very close and stayed that way. And my next brother, who I now see a lot of, sort of dropped out of the family, in a way. Now we're traveling together, because he's a widower and he likes it and I do. It's great fun.

Q: How nice. Well, now, when you were a little child, did you play with your brothers?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: So you played boys' games?

MARTINDELL: Yes, sure, I was a tomboy.

Q: You were a tomboy? (Laughter) Well, that's good training, isn't it, for bustling your way ahead? Now, you have said that your father went into politics. He graduated from Harvard Law School.

MARTINDELL: Harvard and Harvard Law. He wrote absolutely beautifully. His opinions are still considered models. His most famous case was declaring that the Volstead Act was unconstitutional. I was off at boarding school at this point. I'd read the New York Times at home, but we weren't allowed to have it. The headmistress, who was a real tartar, would put up the front page, and there was my father, right column, front

page. You know, the first column. And then no second page, so I couldn't finish the article. She said, "It's not suitable for young women."

Q: Because, of course, she was very much for Prohibition, I suppose.

MARTINDELL: Probably, yes, probably.

Q: Well, then, you come from a family not only of doers and movers and achievers, but also of people who are liberal in their thinking?

MARTINDELL: Yes. My father was always a Republican, but he was a liberal Republican. My mother changed. See, the ancestors that were involved in politics -- this one ran for Governor and lost in New Jersey. His contemporary, the Cameron, was also Senator, and he was a political boss. He was the first political boss in this country.

Q: This is this Senator Cameron, your grandfather?

MARTINDELL: Yes, great-great. And he was a model for better or worse for people like Haig and Daley. All those people, in retrospect -- I used to think they were monsters -- in retrospect, I think we've let a lot go. We've thrown the baby out with the bath water. My youngest son, the one who's going into politics, is a Committeeman now, and in going around to ask people if they'd vote for him, he found a lot of those things that people wanted to know: "Would you find out?" That's the kind of thing we used to do and most Committee people don't do anymore.

Q: What they called "ward heelers," I think.

MARTINDELL: Yes, they would do favors for people, even help them. "How do I fill out this form?" "Did I get the -- " One question he was telling me about: this woman said, "I didn't get my homeowner's; my neighbor did. What do I do?" That kind of thing. It's not corruption. It's being helpful to neighbors.

Q: Isn't that the sort of thing that Tip O'Neill is said to do up there in Massachusetts?

MARTINDELL: That's right, that's right.

Q: And that's why he is so popular.

MARTINDELL: That's why he is so popular. Anyway, Cameron started this, and then he and John I. Blair -- one from New Jersey and one from Pennsylvania -- headed their delegations to the 1860 convention that nominated Lincoln. They both wrote accounts of it. Then Cameron put Lincoln over the top, so as a result of that he was his first Secretary of War. He is not written up very favorably in the history books. Lincoln resented the fact that he'd been indebted to him and he said very disagreeable things about him. He said that "he would steal anything except a red-hot stove and he'd take that if it wasn't bolted down." (Laughter) The family story is that he was told to, as Secretary of War, no holds

barred, get everything that's necessary to arm the Army and do it fast. Well, that costs money. And they claim that he'd stolen it. He never was all that rich, so I don't think he did steal it. The history books say he did.

Q: Oh, that's terrible.

MARTINDELL: Anyway, he and John I. Blair were both very instrumental in helping Lincoln and they were, therefore, founders of the Republican Party. So everybody stayed Republican until my mother switched, and then my brothers and I were all Democrats.

Q: Well, now, why did your mother switch?

MARTINDELL: She adored Roosevelt.

Q: Aha! Mother switched for Roosevelt. Were you very close to your mother?

MARTINDELL: Yes and no. I mean, you have rebellious moments, but yes, we, you now, talked a lot.

Q: How about your father? Were you close to your father?

MARTINDELL: Not very. He wasn't close to anybody.

Q: Was it because he was too busy or was he just that temperament, that sort of Scottish ... ?

MARTINDELL: A little of both. Scottish. That's an interesting comment, because my brother, whom he was very hard on, the next one to me, said that he had heard from Scottish friends that it's a tradition that Scottish fathers are very hard on their children.

Q: Yes, yes.

MARTINDELL: I never knew that. He was very hard.

Q: Well, I was thinking of James Barrie and what growing up he had.

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's true. Anyway, he was very -- he was hard on us and he was busy, so he didn't see much of us. He didn't have relaxed time for us.

Q: Were they close of an age, your parents, or was he quite a bit older, perhaps, than your mother?

MARTINDELL: No, they were very close in age, a couple of years apart.

Q: So, Mother was -- you would say she had a decided influence on your thinking? You were the only daughter, of course.

MARTINDELL: I was the only daughter. Yes, I would say it's true. Yes.

Q: And Daddy, of course, is always off somewhere.

MARTINDELL: But admired, although feared.

Q: Admired and feared. Yes. And how about Mother? Admired, or?

MARTINDELL: Admired, to a lesser extent. She was an overprotective mother, but she was quite a disciplinarian, so we were scared of her but, you know, she'd have her warm moments, too. And she was around. We saw her.

Q: And, of course, familiarity does breed a bit of contempt, doesn't it, because, you know, there's Mama and we'll just wear her down. (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: That's right. And then she'd cry. When we got older, if she didn't get her way, she'd cry. That really was frustrating. (Phone rings)

Q: What about your early schooling? What kind of schools did you go to?

MARTINDELL: I was a Montessori child, one of the very early ones. I went to a school that still exists in New York -- I don't know what it's like anymore -- called the Lenox School. It was just the time that Mme. Montessori was beginning, herself, and she came to this country and organized a few schools and that was one of them. Then we moved here and I went to what was then called Miss Fine's. It's now called Princeton Day School.

Q: Miss Fine's. Was that just for little girls?

MARTINDELL: They had boys up to the fifth grade, through the fifth grade.

Q: How many grades did Miss Fine's go to?

MARTINDELL: It went to high school, and I wanted to stay at home. I did not want to go to boarding school, but my mother, being very Victorian, had a notion that girls should not stay around the (Princeton) University. A few of my contemporaries started being asked out the minute that happened. I was very shy; it would have done me a world of good. But she was going to take me off and put me in a cloister, which she did.

Q: Where did she send you?

MARTINDELL: St. Timothy's. She had been there, too.

Q: Where is St. Timothy's?

MARTINDELL: It's now in Stevenson. It was at that point at Catonsville, Maryland.

Q: Oh. Now, if it's St. Timothy's, does that mean it's an Episcopal school?

MARTINDELL: Episcopal school, and run like a convent.

Q: Really?

MARTINDELL: Oh, my word, we went to church three times a day. We weren't allowed to read anything on Sunday except the Bible. And we'd intersperse with hymns. (Laughter) I'm surprised I ever go to church anymore.

Q: You were raised in the Episcopal church?

MARTINDELL: I was really raised as a Presbyterian with my Scottish forbears, but when I went to St. Timothy's, then I was confirmed.

Q: After you finished from St. Timothy's -- that would be high school -- you then went to-

MARTINDELL: Then I went to Smith, which my parents thought rather peculiar.

Q: Why did they think it was peculiar?

MARTINDELL: Well, not an awful lot of women went to college in those days.

Q: Oh, I see: because you wanted to go at all?

MARTINDELL: Yes. No, no, they didn't mind Smith, but they just thought it was peculiar. I <u>loved</u> Smith. My mother, with her traditions and Victorianism, said that I had to -- I was too much of a blue stocking -- I had to come back to New York and "come out." I was having a wonderful time at Smith, much more wonderful than I had --

Q: Now, you were a good student, obviously.

MARTINDELL: Yes, it came easily, and I liked it. I had, which I don't have anymore, absolute total recall. I could -- I was once accused of cheating because I quoted five pages of my history book. You know, it was a photographic memory. I wish I had it now. And so I loved it. I said, "Why can't I come home holidays and go to parties?" And she said, "Oh, you're too delicate." I was as strong as an ox. And having gotten out of step, you see, then it was hard to go back, and I got engaged, as much as anything, I think, because I wanted something to do that was interesting.

Q: Did you have a coming-out party, the usual debut?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Was that about 18 years old?

MARTINDELL: I was actually 19.

Q: Where was your debut?

MARTINDELL: In New York, at the Ritz Carlton.

Q: That was what Mother really wanted for you? She wanted you to have that sort of Victorian – Edwardian --

MARTINDELL: Well, it's like one of my friend's friends -- I went to a wedding, my college roommate's daughter -- and one of her friends flew in from Minneapolis and said, "You know, my father used to say that 'weddings are women's football."' Coming-out parties, the same thing; it's the same category. She enjoyed it much more than I did. (Laughter)

Q: Well now, can you tell me why you wanted to go to a college?

MARTINDELL: My friends were going. We had a little group of six of us who decided we were going, and we were all going to Smith. The leader of the group is still a very good friend of mine and she had an aunt near there. I mean, it was that kind of a decision.

Q: It was that kind of a decision, sure. Well, it's as good a reason as any. What were you planning to study or do with your life?

MARTINDELL: I had some vague thoughts of becoming a lawyer, and I don't think there were very many. That was because of my father. And then my best friend here, whose father was also a judge, had the same ambition. We used to talk about it. She got further along. She did graduate from college before she married. I don't remember whether she went to law school or not. Anyway, I had it vaguely in the back of my mind, but what I was going to major in was either history or government.

Q: Those were your preferred subjects, history and government?

MARTINDELL: English I liked, too. But if I did, and I'm still thinking about it, if I can work out a deal with Smith and they give me enough credit for what I've done in my life, I would major in history now. I would never, any more, in English.

Q: You could certainly contribute to the government part, couldn't you?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: That would be fine.

MARTINDELL: I mean, at 72 and still talking.

Q: Why not! Why not! Nowadays, thank goodness, there aren't any time limits, the way there used to be. Were you an early reader?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Indeed I was. And I can remember exactly when I first read. We had a wonderful Irish nanny, whom I absolutely adored, and I remember -- she was looking after one of the younger brothers, I don't remember which. I was playing on the floor with blocks that had letters on them. And then -- I tell the story that it was G-O-D, but I think it was D-O-G -- and I saw it was a word. She said to me, "Now, what does that say, Anne?" And I suddenly realized it was a word. I was barely four. I went right on from there. I was punished by my mother for reading, because I would get up -- she was old-fashioned, she wanted us to take naps for our delicate health -- and I would get out of bed and get a book, and then she'd come in and catch me and spank me.

Q: Can you remember your first book?

MARTINDELL: No. It may come back to me.

Q: Was it <u>Three Little Kittens</u> or something like that?

MARTINDELL: I suppose it must have been. Oh yes, all that kind, yes.

Q: Your mother seems to have this idea she wanted delicate little lady-like daughters and --

MARTINDELL: She did, and I wasn't. (Laughter) Although at the end she was terribly proud of me.

Q: Well, of course she was.

MARTINDELL: I mean, she lived the last three years of her life -- I was then elected to the Senate here in New Jersey -- and she lived at a retirement home near here, and she used to have a woman come over and do her checkbook and things like that, every so often, and they'd go down the hall for lunch, and this woman told me, after she died, that she'd wait until somebody was within earshot and then she'd say, "My daughter, the Senator, says. . ."

Q: Oh, how sweet.

MARTINDELL: Wasn't that sweet? Yes. (Laughter) One of the most touching moments of my life is when I was sworn in and she held the Bible, tears running down her face.

Q: Oh, yes. Isn't it lovely, though, to know that you were able to give your mother that wonderful experience?

MARTINDELL: Yes, yes.

Q: Of course, the very fact that she punished you for reading probably made it all the more desirable?

MARTINDELL: I never thought of that. I'm sure you're right. Sure you're right. (Laughter)

Q: Anyway, you were an early reader and you liked -- can you remember any of your early books?

MARTINDELL: Well, a series that she loved was called The Little Colonel. They were her books. I have, unfortunately not here, but I have all the books that we had as children. She used to read aloud to us. That was another marvelous thing. She used to read Dickens, which is tough going. But she used to read them. She read The Old Curiosity Shop. I remember it well. And David Copperfield. She loved Dickens.

Q: Did you weep at David Copperfield?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, oh, yes.

Q: It's a terrible thing, isn't it? Heart-rending. (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: I have all this collection of children's books. I have a house up in the Adirondacks and that's where they are.

Q: Where in the Adirondacks?

MARTINDELL: In Keene Valley, if you know where that is, south of Lake Placid. Actually, it's Keene. It's the unsocial end of the valley as I've told the reporters. (Laughter)

Q: Beautiful countryside.

MARTINDELL: Absolutely. Up there I have a brook, practically into the house; it's a big brook, too, and then it gets extended; goes on to the Ausable River, which bounds the end of the property.

Q: Do you like outdoor sports?

MARTINDELL: I love it. I used to be a very good downhill skier. Now, with a bad knee and ankle, I can only do cross-country, but I love it, and I still do it.

Q: What about horseback riding?

MARTINDELL: I was always a little scared of horses. I rode. In fact, I even went fox hunting when I lived over near Bernardsville, in Peapack. When I was first married, my husband was a mad horseman.

Q: What other sports did you participate in?

MARTINDELL: Tennis. Golf. I still play golf. Tennis is too hard on my legs. Swimming is my favorite.

Q: What about boating?

MARTINDELL: No, never. We always went to the mountains when we were little. My youngest brother got polio and the doctor said, "You live at sea level; be sure you don't live all year at sea level."

Q: This business that your mother had of making you all take naps and so forth, did any of that stem from the fact that your brother had polio?

MARTINDELL: Might have. Might have.

Q: Because you don't remember it before his polio?

MARTINDELL: No, no, we always had -- it was an old-fashioned thing. I think actually it's something that they've thrown out, again the baby with the bath water, because none of my grandchildren ever take naps and I think they'd be better off for it.

Q: So your brother had polio. Did that leave him with any --

MARTINDELL: Yes, he's quite lame.

Q: So that your mother, who seems to be a very conscientious person, was terribly upset about this, naturally.

MARTINDELL: She was. Oh, yes, it was a very tough couple of years. He was in the hospital up in Boston: Mass. General.

Q: Can you remember how old you were?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I can remember exactly -- I was nine. He was six. They say you all have it in a family when one child has it, but if we had it, it was like flu and it went away.

Q: How long was he in Mass. General?

MARTINDELL: A month. And then had to go back every year for another operation. It was really rough. Then he had to wear braces.

Q: It was a typical real bad polio case.

MARTINDELL: Yes, it really was bad. I mean, he was lucky he survived.

Q: Is he the baby brother?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: You said your parents thought it was strange that you wanted to go to college, but off you went, and enjoyed it, loved it, loved your courses, and I suppose the whole atmosphere?

MARTINDELL: It was freedom. I'd been restricted because my mother was so old-fashioned and so severe about -- you know, allowed us much less freedom. Nobody was allowed much in those days, but I was less than most, and so for the first time I was on my own.

Q: Now, did you meet your husband up there in Massachusetts?

MARTINDELL: No. I met him where we went in the summer, which is Hot Springs, Virginia. He was from a Virginia family.

Q: Was it because of your brother you went to Hot Springs?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: So it did have quite an effect on the family?

MARTINDELL: Yes, it did. My mother was very anxious, and I'm sure it increased her anxiety about everything. That was why she was so strict; she was so anxious.

Q: I gather she had the raising of these children pretty much by herself?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, absolutely. No question about it.

Q: Of course, children can't understand that. But you were thinking of being a lawyer, and then you met this man, and I suppose it was the usual coup de foudre that you have when you're 19 or so.

MARTINDELL: And so often you're silly and you're in love with love.

Q: Of course.

MARTINDELL: And my parents thought he was marvelous. He was a very sweet man, but he was not very bright. We were divorced much later. I think in part that was rebellion on my part against my parents. You know, they really forced me into it, in all the ways parents can without even realizing they're doing it.

Q: And he came from a proper family.

MARTINDELL: He came from an old FFV (First Families of Virginia). My father thought that was wonderful. He'd been in Fort Lee during the war, during World War I, and he was very impressed with the Virginia family. Well, he was very handsome, I must say, and very sweet, but we had nothing to talk about.

Q: And you were not old enough, mature enough, to realize that this --

MARTINDELL: At the very last minute I got panicked and I didn't want to do it. It was about six weeks before the wedding, and I said to my mother, "I just don't think I can do it." She said "All girls go through this." Which is somewhat true. "And I've sent out the invitations and -- so you have to go through with it." I was obliged to.

Q: You were 19? How old was your husband? He was a young man, too?

MARTINDELL: He was older. He was 25. He was an old man to me. (Laughter)

Q: Good heavens, yes. (Laughter) And had been in uniform in the war?

MARTINDELL: No. He went to war later. He went in World War II, and had a very rough war. He came back an alcoholic. That's what happened.

Q: Did he? Oh, dear.

MARTINDELL: I should have been more understanding, but I wasn't, and I was rebelling.

Q: Yes. So where did you and your husband go to live?

MARTINDELL: Well, we first -- he came up first from Virginia, wanted to get away from a very over-possessive mother -- and he came and worked in New York and then we lived in Peapack, which is right near Bernardsville. It's lovely, western New Jersey, and he was a fox hunter and he loved it there.

Q: He was an only child, was he?

MARTINDELL: No, he had a sister. But he was THE, as a boy is for southern mothers.

Q: I can imagine.

MARTINDELL: And then he went off to World War II. The first thing I had ever done, outside of study, was, four girls got together and we got a little place -- we all liked to ski -- a little place up in the Laurentians. We ran it as a hotel. Small. Well, it was bigger than a guesthouse. It was -- we took 60 people.

Q: Did you? When was this, now?

MARTINDELL: This was in 19 -- all of our husbands were overseas -- 1942. We all had small children so we didn't want to go to an office, and we could have them around. Two of us ran it. We could have the children around us, and still have something to do.

Q: How wonderful. What a good idea. Could I have your husband's name, please?

MARTINDELL: George Scott. George Cole Scott.

Q: George C. Scott. Isn't that interesting?

MARTINDELL: Yes. He was as good looking as the movie actor.

Q: Was he? Now, you mentioned little children. Do you want to tell me a little about that?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I had three Scott children, a girl and two boys, and then when I remarried after the war, I had one. That's the younger one, who is so interested in politics. That's a boy. A young man now. My older son is a little bit interested in politics and would be very good at it, too. Marvelous looking. He looks like his father but has a stronger face. But he has to make a living for a wife and three children and it costs money to get into politics, more and more, all the time.

Q: That's the trouble. Now, all your family are Democrats, is that correct?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Roger stuck with it. It's not the best thing to be in New Jersey right now, but because everybody knows he's my son, he can't change. He is -- they're all more conservative than I am. That's the trend. But they're not very conservative. No, my daughter isn't -- she's as liberal as I am. I'm not even sure I'm as liberal as I used to be.

Q: Your daughter, is she your oldest child?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Are you close to her?

MARTINDELL: Yes. She lives in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Q: Oh, she does? Connected with the university?

MARTINDELL: Yes, through her husband. His field is Iran, if you can imagine anything worse. He just nearly died. Well, he nearly died, period. He's got pancreatic cancer. He's doing all right, but keeps his fingers crossed.

Q: So I suppose he teaches Mideast history or something?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Literature, Persian literature, history. His field is actually the Middle Ages, 13th century.

Q: Boy, that is arcane, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Yes. (Laughter) It is.

Q: Middle Ages, Persian literature.

MARTINDELL: Well, history of literature and language. He's a linguist.

Q: Is he? That would be Farsi, I suppose?

MARTINDELL: Yes. One of the things I most regret is they wanted to -- I did go once when they were over there, when he was on one of those study tours -- but they went back again during one of his sabbatical years and they wanted me to join them, and I was involved with something then, I thought, "I can always go." So dumb.

Q: We don't always realize. Now you have mentioned that during the war, you went up to the Laurentians and had this-

MARTINDELL: Yes. That was my first, you see, business experience.

Q: On your own. What sort of a -- was this so people could ski, or-

MARTINDELL: Yes. We should never have let it go. We just barely broke even, which you don't usually do for five years in that sort of an enterprise. We should have held on, or at least we should have held on to the land because it's immensely valuable now. It's 45 miles from Montreal with a big highway going. You get there in 45 minutes.

Q: How long did you have this, Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: Well, my husband took it over after we split up.

Q: I see.

MARTINDELL: And he kept it. I was there from '42 to '48, and then he kept it a few more years and then he sold it.

Q: But you effectively were out of it in 1948?

MARTINDELL: I was out of it in '48, yes.

Q: Now, whatever gave you an idea to do this?

MARTINDELL: We loved skiing, and it came on the market. For $40,000, 550 acres!

Q: How many people -- you said 60 people you could take care of?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: My goodness. That's quite a lot for two young women.

MARTINDELL: Well, it wasn't easy, but it was fun. We used to get -- we used to charge top rates, which were nothing compared to what they charge now. And the people in these top rate-rooms -- a pump, which was down about at the foot of the mountain, broke down, which it did all the time, you couldn't buy a new one -- the customers spent the day fixing the pump. (Laughter) Nothing like being helpless.

Q: The water pump, this was?

MARTINDELL: Yes. All our water -- in a well at the bottom!

Q: Did you have much other impact from the war? Your husband was away all this time, and you were with the children?

MARTINDELL: He was away three years, yes.

Q: Did it affect you, yourself, personally, a great deal?

MARTINDELL: I was terribly depressed at first. And that's why I had to -- my way of coping with problems is to get busy. And so, first I worked as a nurse's aide here in the hospital, and then I went on a skiing vacation. They all became enthralled with the area, and so then we went off.

Q: And how many were you in this project?

MARTINDELL: There were four of us who invested the large sum of $10,000 each, but two of us ran it. I had the day shift and the other girl, who was an old friend from school, ran the night shift.

Q: I would say you probably got the lion's share of the work if you had the days.

MARTINDELL: Well, I did the organizing, the hiring of the staff, and she had to tend the guests.

Q: Were you surprised at yourself, that you were able to do this?

MARTINDELL: It was wonderful training, let me tell you, for politics. You had to stand there at the desk, which I would do because I was on my morning shift, and they'd come in cranky and tired and they wouldn't like their room, and I had to learn to be a diplomat. I'd move them to a similar room, but as long as I moved them it was all right.

Q: Sure, it's the appearance of whatever it is.

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right. It really taught me a lot about people. Up to that time I'd been quite shy, and that knocked all the shyness out of me. I was what -- 28, about? Twenty-seven, 28.

Q: How did you feel about yourself at that time?

MARTINDELL: That's a good question. I never had enough self-confidence until my later years.

Q: Really?

MARTINDELL: But having coped with that helped. The thing that did the most for me, though, I have to say, was my second job, and there was a long interval in between, and a lot of volunteer work. My youngest went to a little school here that now is folded up. Well, it's got a success or, but the woman who started it is out of it. She became a friend because this little boy was the brightest of my children -- well, my daughter's very bright, too. Well, they're all pretty bright, so I shouldn't say that about him, but he was one of those extraordinary children -- I've got one grandchild like that who's very like him -- immediately teachers, you know, see some potential in him. He was out of there and in high school, and she invited me over to tea and said she wanted to tell me about a good thing. She knew my older son has reading dyslexia quite badly.

Q: Oh, did he?

MARTINDELL: I think to some extent it may have run in my father's family but they somehow got over it, but he didn't.

Q: Oh. I suppose there are degrees of it, too?

MARTINDELL: Yes, degrees. She knew I was interested in reading problems and she discovered this system in England which was -- we have 44 sounds in the English language and only 26 letters, which is why it's so hard for people to learn. This coped with that by having the extra letters, but it wasn't too different. She went on and on about this. I thought it was interesting, but not as interesting as an hour and a half. It ended up when she got all through this, she said -- and I was wondering why on earth she would tell me all this, she said, "I'm going to start up this school" -- this was August -- "next month, and you are going to teach it." And I said, "Mary, I have no training; I didn't even graduate from college." And she said, "That's exactly why I want you. You have no prejudices. To some extent you'll be learning on the job, but that's all right. I've done this before." And that gave me absolute self-confidence.

Q: Well, isn't that great!

MARTINDELL: I had no training. I'm going to write an article about this sooner or later. No training and no experience. I plunged in, and succeeded, and I ended up by teaching other teachers. Once having done that, I never hesitated after that to take on anything. I never would have run for office if I hadn't done that.

Q: What sort of a time frame are we talking about now?

MARTINDELL: Well, that was -- let's see, early sixties. Sixty-three. Roger was 13. He was born in 1950. The hotel had helped. It had increased my self-confidence as far as dealing with people was concerned.

Q: Did you feel a deprivation or, I should say, a feeling of insecurity because you didn't finish college? You've mentioned that a couple of times now.

MARTINDELL: No, I think it was more because -- I don't know. My mother was very shy. My father was very self-confident, very good with people, very outgoing, very funny. It didn't seem possible for my mother or, in my mind, for me to be as well-liked and all that. It was more sort of a social lack of self-confidence.

Q: You didn't feel inferior -- insecure -- because you didn't finish college?

MARTINDELL: Not really, no. I wished I had.

Q: Sure. But it wasn't anything -- no cloud over your life type of thing?

MARTINDELL: No. It's just been an objective; it's unfinished business, which is why I want to go back to it.

Q: And also perhaps a thing that you've had to catch up?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I realize the gaps, not having had all that. I mean, I made up a lot of the gaps by reading and talking to people, but there's still gaps.

Q: How do you feel about your children's education? You wanted to make sure they all went to college?

MARTINDELL: Well, it was in their culture. Everybody went.

Q: You didn't have to push?

MARTINDELL: They pushed themselves. In fact, the one who is dyslexic is a real scholar.

[Side 1 of Tape 1 ends. Side 2 begins in mid-conversation.]

MARTINDELL:... Which I shouldn't have done, in retrospect. He went out west and then

he did drop out, and then he went in the Coast Guard for four years. His entire college career spanned twelve years, but he graduated, from the University of Washington, which really took immense determination.

Q: Good for him. I should think it must have.

MARTINDELL: But the others, you know, everybody was going to college; it was unthinkable for them not to.

Q: Yes. How it did change in that one generation. Well, we're up to 1948 now, and you are coming back to this area?

MARTINDELL: I came back to Princeton when I remarried. Lived in the house I was brought up in, and then Roger was born.

Q: You met your husband up in Canada, did you? Or was he somebody you'd known before?

MARTINDELL: I met him -- he actually lived in Bernardsville. I met him through friends over there.

Q: Oh. He is from the United States?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, yes.

Q: What sort of work did your first husband do?

MARTINDELL: My first husband started out in the brokerage business which his father had been in, and his family. My father disapproved of stockbrokers; he thought they were terrible people. I think he'd lost some money. (Laughter) So he talked him out of that, and he worked for my uncle at the Clark Thread Company, and he did that both before he went to war and then after he came back. Then after we were divorced, after a while, he went back to Richmond, where he'd come from, and started a business there.

Q: And your second husband?

MARTINDELL: My second husband was an investment counselor, and then he started something called the American Institute of Management, which has since been sold, and then he bought "Who's Who." Then sold it to ITT after he'd had it about 10 years, I guess, something like that. Yes.

Q: Now, he was the American-

MARTINDELL: Institute of Management. He became interested in management through having studied companies and what makes one company better than the other. In fact, he invented a term that's now quite generally used, called "the management audit." He

suggested I do one at the State Department. I did a couple of things for him.

Q: What was his first name?

MARTINDELL: Jackson Martindell.

Q: And while we're at it, I don't have your father's first name or your mother's first name.

MARTINDELL: William is my father; no middle name, and my mother was Marjory Blair Clark.

Q: And just so we can refer to them later, what are the names of your children?

MARTINDELL: Marjory, named for my mother; George, named for his father; David, and Roger. David and Roger live here.

Q: Are they all married?

MARTINDELL: No, Roger isn't but he's about to be.

Q: So you have grandchildren?

MARTINDELL: I have six. My daughter has three, in Michigan, and George has three, in Richmond. I've a granddaughter about to get married this fall.

Q: Aren't they wonderful, grandchildren?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I adore them. I have four girls and two boys and I never had any here, so Roger is living here -- I'm crazy about the girl he's going to marry sometime in the next few months. They haven't set a date yet.

Q: You say your last two live here? David is married but no children?

MARTINDELL: No children. His wife has a health problem so she can't have them. It's sad. But Roger and Jennifer are talking about babies, so maybe I'll have some here.

Q: You'd better be careful of that ankle so that you'll be in good shape. (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: You're right.

Q: Now, between the time that you married for the second time, during the 1950s, what was your principal occupation?

MARTINDELL:: Well, I was active in a lot of community things. Princeton's very community-minded. League of Women Voters, that was my first. I should have gotten

into politics years ago, but I didn't except the League, which was good training. I worked for something, it was a state institution for people with mental problems. The New Jersey Neuro-Psychiatric Institute. I was President of what one would call an Auxiliary, but it wasn't called that; Association.

Q: Now, was this because your son had this problem of dyslexia? Is that what got you interested in neurological things?

MARTINDELL: I was quite interested in psychological things; I just think that's part of it. Also, my friends were interested.

Q: I see. I know that you were responsible for some legislation that had to do with helping people to get back into the mainstream.

MARTINDELL: Yes. That was because of the Neuro-Psychiatric Institute.

Q: The modification program, yes, that came out of that. It's very interesting to see the way these threads develop, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right. I had, you know, a fair amount of experience and knowledge, and so I got into the thing. Women now tend to get into things that are not in their usual area. And I was advised not to, but what the hell. And was advised to get into things like transportation and budgetary matters. I'm very bad at figures -- and computations. I was fine in algebra and physics and that sort of thing, but computations! A friend of mine who went to Miss Fine's School said, "Don't you realize I've always had the same trouble? That Miss Fine said no, that you had a very poor mathematics teacher." I have a great deal of trouble with adding and subtracting. And I look at a balance sheet, and I have to do this. And I know how George feels with reading. It swims. It's panic, but it swims. And that's simply because I was badly taught. I don't think I have a real problem.

Q: Badly taught, and also it was the folklore that girls aren't any good at this. Which is a lot of nonsense, because girls are just as good as boys.

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right. Well, my daughter's very good at it. I mean, instinctively so. But I am not. I think I would have never been terribly good, but I just have a hang-up. I have a hang-up.

Q: Well, and before you ever started you were told you weren't going to be any good, probably.

MARTINDELL: That's right, that's right.

Q: Isn't it awful the way we shape our children? (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: A real handicap.

Q: Of course it is.

MARTINDELL: And I panic when I'm trying to balance my checkbooks. I don't do it anymore. I hire somebody to do it.

Q: Yes, yes. Well, you must be pleased, though, with these little calculators that --

MARTINDELL: Manual dyslexia is not good on that. I hit the wrong key. So I get so frustrated. I haven't gotten a computer and I really am going to make myself do that. Because I'm so afraid, I'm going to take a course. I'll probably do badly, but I'm going to learn it. All my grandchildren can do it like that! (snaps fingers)

Q: I know, I know. They understand what's behind the mathematical combinations and so forth. When you were in school, did you have any teachers who were particularly role models for you? We've already agreed that your mother was, to a certain extent.

MARTINDELL: Yes, yes, she was. Well, I had a wonderful fourth grade teacher, which is the first year I moved here. And it's a funny thing, I didn't recognize her. We were both at a League of Women Voters' meeting, I think, and I heard Mrs. Brown's voice. She didn't look a bit like I remembered her. But I had a wonderful teacher in the Lenox School, who was a French teacher. She spent one summer in between the two years I was there. Mademoiselle Figuet. She even lived long enough, well into her nineties, so that she knew my children and my grandchildren. For years I didn't see her, and the Keene Valley: she used to send me postcards, because she said she thought I was somewhat of a neglected child, and when I got up there -- oh, I hadn't seen her for years -- I realized that was where it was. It was familiar. And I ran into her again.

Q: Figuet, did you say?

MARTINDELL: F-I-G-U-E-T. I saw a lot of her. She said, "I don't know why you're so nice to me, an old lady like me," and I said, "Because you were nice to me when I needed it."

Q: Isn't that lovely. Now, did she think that you were a so-called neglected child because of your brother's health problems?

MARTINDELL: I think that was part of it. That nanny I told you about, my mother fired her when I was four, and I remember -- she was our substitute mother. She was of the warm -- even my mother said she was a saint-but I don't know why she fired her. I think maybe she was a little jealous because we adored her so. She never admitted that. But she said to me, at the age of four, "She's so untidy." And I'm not very tidy, and I think that I -- it was an unconscious wish to be like the adored nanny. I felt like I'd lost my mother.

Q: Did you really?

MARTINDELL: Yes. It was a terrible blow to me. And I think the difficulties I had with my mother later, which weren't serious -- but we'd grate on each other a bit -- and I think that was it, that I felt that she had removed the woman who I loved the most in the world. I never saw her again.

Q: Never saw her again?

MARTINDELL: No. She just dropped out of sight. I don't know where she went. It must have been hard on her, too, because anybody that loving must have loved us.

Q: Yes, yes. And to have three little babies -- Then in the 19 -- we're taking your time now as far as the League of Women Voters, and the --

MARTINDELL: And the neuro-psychiatric and that kind of thing. And then -- I forget, I had to make a speech as President of the Association. Absolutely -- my knees knocking over. I was -- now I love to speak.

Q: Was this your first speech?

MARTINDELL: It was my first speech, in 1960.

Q: That's terrific. Do you want to tell me a little more about what you did with this Neuro-Psychiatric Institute?

MARTINDELL: Well, we raised money and organized volunteers to go and work with the patients. There are many, many patients -- it is absolutely a crime what they did right after that. You know, they turned them all out on the streets.

Q: I know they did.

MARTINDELL: I think it happened just before I got in the Senate, but I fought behind the scenes, that whole thing. It was just <u>not</u> a good idea. And that's what the homeless, most of them, are, I think.

Q: Now, you went into teaching after this?

MARTINDELL: And then, I think I just finished it, running that organization, when this teaching thing came up.

Q: You ran the organization but you did not actually, yourself, one-on-one, work with the people?

MARTINDELL: No. A lot of them did, but I didn't.

Q: Well, you probably felt your abilities were better used in organizing.

MARTINDELL: I'm a good organizer.

Q: Yes, I'm sure you are. You began teaching.

MARTINDELL: I began teaching; I did that for four years.

Q: And enjoyed it?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I loved it. I started out with four-year-olds, and they're perfect, because they can only hug you around your knees. (Laughter) And everything you say, you're like God. And they never argue. They start getting five, six, seven, and they talk back. But they're adorable, four, and then I went on and supervised the five- and six-year-olds.

Q: And within four years you were teaching people how to teach it?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Good heavens, that was progress, wasn't it? I suppose you read a lot at the time?

MARTINDELL: Well, I read a lot. I went over to England and Scotland and saw the schools in operation, and how they did it and copied quite a few of the things they did.

Q: So that person who picked you was really quite right.

MARTINDELL: Well, she did me a big favor, because from then on I never hesitated. And then, a school that I was on the board of, where Roger had been later, it's a marvelous -- listen, if you talk to the State Department people, talk it up. Because for people who are overseas in dangerous places, they take children from nine to 14, and it's a marvelous school. And they have a farm attached and they have units where they -- Roger -- in the first place, Mary Mason at the school, thought that Roger's father was very hard on him, and she was right. I resisted, but she said, "You've got to get him away. He's too dominated." And so, here it was, eight children in a house with two house-parents, and it's a perfect situation. In fact, now they have three for each age. One of them is an apprentice, usually, or a young teacher.

Q: What's the name of the school?

MARTINDELL: North Country School in Lake Placid. It's a marvelous school. And I was on the board. And so then they asked me to raise money for them. They wanted to build some more houses. And, thanks to the fact that I found a fundraiser who did it for practically nothing, I think because he liked me. He was the master fundraiser and he taught me a lot, and boy, was that useful in politics.

Q: Where did you meet him again?

MARTINDELL: I researched and found this firm that was very good at raising money, one of those people who do that, and the man who was head of it took a liking to me, so he spent hours telling me exactly the formula. And he said I was the only person that ever did exactly what he'd tell me to do. And I raised twice what they were aiming for. Well, a lot of that was, good people liked the school. I can't take much credit for it. I did listen because I didn't know anything. And I did follow him exactly, to the letter, everything he told me. Didn't try to second-guess him.

Q: Were you at all interested in women's issues at this time?

MARTINDELL: No, not really. That didn't come until I got into politics, but it was that I was unaware, because then I got very involved in politics. Well, it was Gene McCarthy -- my brother, the youngest one -- was his campaign manager. My brother and this younger son who's interested in politics and I have the same feeling about politics. They're strategically minded, which I am not; I'm people-oriented. And they do the strategy. And so he was a marvelous campaign manager. Larry O'Brien told me he was the toughest person he'd ever been up against, in any campaign.

Q: Really? This is your number-

MARTINDELL: This is my youngest, the polio brother. And so because of him, he was against the Vietnam war, which I was, too. I thought it was the wrong war in the wrong place at the wrong time.

Q: How soon did you think this?

MARTINDELL: Not very early. Blair was there earlier than I was. In fact, Helen Meyner, who is a friend, was there, too, and I was a little uneasy about it. But then, as Blair got deeper into it, and I went to that '68 convention -- not as a delegate, I made a great mistake: took Roger there. His father said not to take him, and I thought, oh, well, you know, it's a good experience for a young person. It was awful.

Q: Is that the one in Chicago? It must have been a traumatic experience.

MARTINDELL: It was awful! We came as close to a revolution in those days as I think we'll ever get -- I hope. I mean the -- Roger, who was a page to the McCarthy delegation, which was small, from New Jersey, and so there wasn't much to do, was out on the street with a friend, just watching, when these, mostly these students, I guess, were waiting for a permit. They were sitting on the street waiting for a permit to just go to the convention and present their petitions. Because Daley went absolutely berserk. And the police, without any warning -- they had people-mashers. They had tanks with barbed wire and jeeps with --

Q: Tanks?

MARTINDELL: Yes, on the streets. And they started to move them, and the police ran at

the crowd with tear gas, without any warning at all. And Roger was standing there, off at the side watching, and sensibly ran like hell. And he's a good athlete, and he got away from them, but he did get very badly tear-gassed. And hours later, I got tickets -- the only time I was able to go -- I got tickets to the gallery, and they announced on the floor that children were being killed on the streets. They weren't being killed, but they were being badly hurt, and a lot of them were arrested. I was terrified.

Q: Of course you were!

MARTINDELL: And I went to look for my brother, and it was the first time I had ever seen Ken Galbraith and I didn't really know him; I just said, "How do you do?" And I said, "I've got to find my brother. My son's out there being killed." His huge hand took my arm and we went to find him, and then I left the convention. I was too upset, you know, trying to find out. I went back to McCarthy headquarters to see what happened. It took them six hours to get through the police line to get back.

Q: Now this, of course, was the fall of the same year that Martin Luther King was killed, and Bobby Kennedy was killed, so the whole nation seemed to be in --

MARTINDELL: A crisis of violence.

Q: What was Daley's problem there? Why was he doing this? Because he was afraid things would get out of hand?

MARTINDELL:: I think he regarded all of us as subversives, if not Communists.

Q: Oh, I see, I see.

MARTINDELL: And dangerous. He thought, we were dangerous. And got his police -- I remember two little policemen terrified in the middle of a crowd of young people who weren't doing anything, and, you know, flailing out with their nightsticks. They were back-to-back, thinking they were going to be killed and attacked. It was a very bad time.

Q: Humphrey got the nomination and, of course, lost.

MARTINDELL:: Yes.

Q: Did that sort of set up things for McCarthy the next time around?

MARTINDELL: No, he never really figured after that; McGovern got it the next time. He is a more moderate version of McCarthy.

Q: McCarthy had won in the New Hampshire primary, as I recall.

MARTINDELL: That's right. So, because of that, I got into politics. Helen Meyner was a friend, as I said, and I made her go out on the streets with me because they didn't know

what was going on, they didn't know what the police were doing. She was there. Her husband was the head of the delegation -- well, not head, he was part of it; he had been Governor. Anyway, he was running again. He was furious with her because she wrote a column for the New Jersey papers, describing it. He said it was not going to help his campaign. We were regarded as dangerous radicals.

Q: I think a lot of people thought McCarthy was.

MARTINDELL: He was just against the establishment, against what the establishment was doing.

Q: Yes, that was terrible. By this time, you were opposed to the war?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Well, I -- as I remember, coming back, I said to the newspapers, "They did radicalize me at that convention." I was very upset. And they, then immediately wrote me off and they wouldn't speak to me at cocktail parties and things like that: I was a Communist.

Q: Who wrote you off?

MARTINDELL: John O'Hara, the novelist, an old friend. And another husband of an old friend of mine, they just regarded me as a Communist from then on. Anyway, Bob Meyner was running again for Governor. This was his third, after he took an interval, and Helen talked him into making me the vice-chairman of the party. I had never had anything to do with real politics up to that point. I was to soften up the liberals and have them support him; that was the idea.

Q: To support?

MARTINDELL: Meyner, who was running for Governor. He lost. He didn't do badly, but he lost. Therefore, I had a four-year job.

Q: That's a four-year job? How do you get into a job like that?

MARTINDELL: You get appointed. A lot of people thought it was crazy of him to do it, because I had not worked up through the ranks. I had no idea how parties ran, and what's more, I took the job seriously. Nobody ever had before. I went over -- I had only been to Trenton (before) to take the train, and then for eight years I went every day.

Q: Is that right?

MARTINDELL: Yes. So I did that for four years, and I don't know if it's in the clips that you have, but what really got me elected -- and I only registered as a candidate the last 24 hours -- they didn't have anybody to oppose the incumbent popular Republican -- what really got me elected was the fact that as vice-chairman I did take it seriously, and then I became a feminist -- you asked me about that -- because I couldn't believe the way the

men treated the women in the party.

Q: Ah, good. That's what I want to hear about.

MARTINDELL: I couldn't believe it. I used to make speeches called "Women are People." I mean, they were only asked to lick the stamps and do the chores and answer the telephone, and never had any say in policy at all. I couldn't believe it.

Q: Well, did they expect you to lick stamps?

MARTINDELL: Yes. They expected me to, you know, preside at functions and smile sweetly and take orders. And these, you see, these men in New Jersey, the Democrats, were pretty largely sort of ethnic types. My boss was an Italian. He was a nice guy but he was terribly old-fashioned. Women had their place, and it certainly wasn't in the councils, or asked to do anything important. So this went on for a bit. I did the things they asked me to do, and more. But I didn't strike out until finally my brother told me to study the McGovern reform rules. So I did. He said it was important; they would come in handy. And I heard, roundabout, that they were having -- you didn't see this story?

Q: No. Your first clip is 1973, that I have, I mean.

MARTINDELL: That was earlier, probably '71. Yes, it was '71. You should, if you want to, get from New Jersey -- in fact, I have some. God knows where I've got them, though. Probably in my downstairs file. I'll look them up today, give them to you tomorrow.

Q: Oh, that would be great.

MARTINDELL: Anyway, I heard they were having this meeting on the McGovern rules and I was naive enough to think that they were really seriously discussing it. It didn't occur to me they weren't. In retrospect, what they were doing is how to get around them. So I rang up my boss and said, "I hear you're having a meeting on McGovern rules. I'm very interested. I've studied them. May I come?" And he said, "Certainly not; the boys don't want any women there." That made me just furious. So I thought about it and consulted a couple of friends.

And I got into my car -- it was in Trenton -- and they were having it in upstate New Jersey, about an hour's drive. And I drove up and I went through my move: what am I going to say when I get there? I wouldn't have been courageous enough to just go if I hadn't been so angry. And I got there. He owns a golf club and you go through a gate business, so I was announced -- I can practically hear him yelling over the phone. I got to his house and I went in with a then-Senator. I said, "I'm going to need some protection. I can hear him yelling, 'She has no idea of party discipline." I got there. Two -- no, only one United States Senator, two ex-Governors and the six big county chairmen. And the oldest and most charming, Toni Grossi, who I think was the one who had the most objections to my coming, opened up. They all glared at me and then he said, "Well, Anne, you know, we all like you, but there are times when we boys want to get together

and we like to use any kind of language we want and we don't want to offend a lady like you." I said, "I don't give a shit what kind of language you use."

Q: Good for you! (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: And that is what was going through my mind: what am I going to say? He gave me the perfect opening. (Laughter)

Q: I'll bet they were shocked.

MARTINDELL: There was a long silence and then Bob Meyner, my friend, said, "Anne, shut up and sit down." Now, the McGovern rules, reform rules, this was to reform -- The Democratic Party.

Q: Before the convention.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Before the '72 convention.

Q: And they had no intention of abiding by it?

MARTINDELL: Well, I figured this out afterward. I'm sure that was what it was about, and that's why they didn't want it, but I took it at face value that they were going to get more women.

Q: So your reaction to all of this was anger and a determination to get in there and change things?

MARTINDELL: Yes, as much as --

Q: As much as is possible for anybody to do it. And yet, in New Jersey there certainly had been role models of women in office?

MARTINDELL: Not many.

Q: I was thinking of Millicent Fenwick.

MARTINDELL: Well, Millicent and I are contemporaries. I think she's older than I, but we went into politics about the same time.

Q: Did you? What about Katherine White?

MARTINDELL: Yes, she had been vice-chairman before.

Q: So really, not a lot of women?

MARTINDELL: There were a couple of state senators. One was there when I was there

and she still is there -- Wynona Lipman, black, in Newark. There were one or two -- Mildred Hughes -- but not many. It was when Wynona, who was elected two years before me, got there, they had not even had a ladies' room for the women senators.

Q: Really? So you were what number Senator?

MARTINDELL: I was the, the -- well, there were three of us elected that year, so I guess I was about the fifth woman State Senator. There have been seven to date.

Q: Only seven to date?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: You haven't made much progress since 1972, have you?

MARTINDELL: We haven't. You know, we really haven't. Women really have not. And, of course, it's regressing all the time now in the present Administration. I mean, not just ambassadors, everywhere.

Q: I know, I know.

MARTINDELL: I think it is easier for women to run for office now, and the money is beginning to -- which is the key -- come more easily to them.

Q: Yes. At least they've gotten their hands on the purse strings, as far as having money in their rights and all that sort of thing.

MARTINDELL: Yes, but they don't spend it; they still don't spend it the way men do. You ask anybody who's raised money for campaigns. It's easier than it was, but it's not easy.

Q: Do you suppose that's because there is a repugnance?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I think they think politics is dirty.

Q: That's very interesting.

MARTINDELL: That's part of it. Part of it is a habit, I think. You either give to campaigns or you don't, and not many women have. And, I don't know how younger women spend their money. More. Better. I think that women who are earning their money and earning good salaries, they still don't spend it.

Q: They don't contribute, hmm?

MARTINDELL: They don't contribute. I think that could be checked. I was briefly on the Women's Campaign Fund Committee and I still know people involved in it. I'm

partisan enough that I don't want to do that again, because they give to, and should, to both Republicans and Democrats. I want to get Democratic women in, and Democratic people in, so I don't, I don't -- but I think they're saying they're doing better than they used to.

Q: I wonder if the Republican women do better?

MARTINDELL: Well, yes, they probably do, they probably do.

Q: Maybe this is a Democratic thing. I mean, Democratic in the sense of the party.

MARTINDELL: And yet the Democrats are, some of them, more liberal in their giving. I don't know.

Q: They are, but they are not the money party.

MARTINDELL: They're not. No, no, no. Money exists in the Republican Party.

Q: And the majority of your Democrats are people who have earned their own money coming up.

MARTINDELL: I'm going to check that, though. I'm going to see how the Women's Campaign Fund does with Republican women.

Q: That would be fascinating. Well, now, we're up to your really plunging in.

MARTINDELL: Yes, and then they came to me, you know, about 48 hours before filing day, and said, "We haven't got anybody to run against this fellow. Would you be willing to do it?" They said, "You'll never make it, but you might find it an interesting experience, which is the way I looked at it: I thought I might run for Congress later on. And then I won. Well, very narrowly, but I won.

Q: No, but you won. In that year it certainly was not a --

MARTINDELL: Seventy-three, this was. I was doing well. I loved campaigning. I adored it. I went from door to door. It was a big district, so I couldn't go everywhere door to door, but wherever I could, I did. It was fun. I'd say, "I'm Anne Martindell. I'm running for the State Senate. I'd like to talk to you about it." And they were usually very excited.

Q: Did you have little coffee parties and that sort of thing?

MARTINDELL: Yes, we had all the standard things. Gloria Steinem was very helpful to me. She came out to Princeton, and my opponent had voted against the ERA; well, he had abstained, which is the same as voting against it. She made a big thing of it, Gloria did. That was very helpful. Then when the Cox firing [Archibald Cox -- Former Watergate special prosecutor, fired by President Nixon over the issue of releasing the

Watergate tapes] occurred, I could feel the difference as I walked the streets. Yes, that really pushed me over the top.

Q: And then Elliot Richardson resigned.

MARTINDELL: Yes, all that. Nixon helped me a lot. So it was in that time that I became directly involved in politics. I became aware. I had really led a fairly sheltered life and I had not realized what a tough time women on the whole were having. And that's when I became aware of it.

Q: I see. It was while you were campaigning that you became aware.

MARTINDELL: Also, before that, when I was Vice-Chairman. And I saw how badly treated the women that worked so faithfully for the party were and then I started, you know, going around meeting ordinary people, working women. I saw blue-collar types. I had never really had much contact with them.

Q: No, of course not, of course not. So you became a Senator, and that's a four-year term?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Yes. You must have shocked your people when you won.

MARTINDELL: I shocked myself. When they told me election night that I was winning, I said, I don't believe it.

Q: Now, what were your main goals when you became a Senator? What were your priorities?

MARTINDELL: I wanted to do something about education. I ended up chairing the Education Committee of the Senate.

Q: In the 1972 campaign, when McGovern won --

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, I was very active in that. In fact, I was Deputy Campaign Chairman at the end. I was the first woman, I think, to be a Deputy Campaign Chairman. I didn't do very much. It was all so awful those last couple of months. But I won New Jersey for McGovern. And I'll tell you the way I did it. I got a meeting together -- I don't know how I got the word around, through various women's organizations -- that if you want to be a delegate, come to a delegate school, learn how to be a delegate. And I ran the school. And so, through that I got in touch with women's organizations. They got interested. And then we had mini-conventions, which we still do, county by county. And women turned out in droves, they wanted to be delegates. Up to that point women had been chosen really by the Governor and just designated to go, and then they did what they were told. These women, for the first time, I think -- oh, I'm sure -- they'd never run

on their own as a delegate. And so they turned out, and therefore, they were all for McGovern.

Q: Sure, sure, sure. Well, yes, you had to have a reason for going to all that trouble, I'm sure.

MARTINDELL: Well, they got excited at the idea of becoming a delegate. We took the state, and so then I became more and more involved. I got to know Gary Hart very well that way, you see, because he was the Campaign Manager for McGovern.

Q: What you're saying then is that women who went out would be for McGovern because he was the principal person for women's rights, is that correct?

MARTINDELL: Well, I think so. But also he was good on things that were important to women.

Q: Especially that war.

MARTINDELL: Especially the war. Did you know, I had a young friend who did a very good political newsletter. I don't think he's very well; he seems to have stopped his newsletter. But he was writing a book on women's attitudes. He went back and studied what attitudes women had had historically, and he went back to the earliest possible polls, which were much earlier than I thought they were, and it shows consistently that women were for peace. It was high on the agenda with every woman. And to prove that, in 1916, women did not have the vote, and Wilson was elected, and I think they would have voted for him because he said, "I will not go to war." And then he did go to war. So they were voting in 1920 and they voted massively against him. They voted for the Republicans. And that was why. That was one of the ways he was proving -- and the other thing he said was typical of women, and this explains one thing I did, without knowing it was the reason, was that women tend to want to alter behavior. The WCTU is one example, and I headed the campaign against casino gambling here for similar reasons.

Q: I know you did.

MARTINDELL: And won the first time out, but I didn't realize that that was a typical woman thing to do, because they would argue with me. A lot of men would -- Democratic men saying, "Oh, you, you know, let them do it. If that's what they want to do, let them do it. Why should you stop them from doing it even if it's bad for them?" I said, "Because it's bad for them."

Q: Well, women are the nurturers.

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right.

Q: It's up to them to raise the next generation.

MARTINDELL: Roger, my son, was working for me at that point and he really learned politics then. He's very good. He did publicity for the campaign.

Q: Well, I was reading that about the casino gambling, and I thought to myself, I wonder how you feel now, with all of the efforts that have --

MARTINDELL: Oh, it's terrible. I just wrote a letter yesterday.

Q: It is just as bad as you said it was going to be.

MARTINDELL: It's everything I said was going to happen has happened.

Q: Didn't take that long, did it?

MARTINDELL: No. I didn't think it would happen that fast, but it did. And the Council of Churches put up my name to be on some Commission of the Legislature to supervise casinos. And I said, "All right, put it in." I knew they were never going to appoint me. But I finally wrote the Speaker of the House and said I'd really had it -- it's hopeless. Why be the one voice knocking my head against -- and if I go along with them, then that's on my record, so I finally decided not to do it.

Q: Sure, sure.

MARTINDELL: I don't think they'd have appointed me anyhow, but I said take my name off the list.

Q: Yes.

MARTINDELL: Oh, it's so bad, and it's corrupt. My last vote in the Senate, which was in May of '77, was on the Casino Gambling Bill. I could tell then who was already in the pay of the gambling interests. You know, they don't necessarily give them cash, although they may do that, too, but they give them jobs as lawyers, accountants, and so forth.

Q: Did you -- were you basing it on what had happened to Las Vegas?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I did some research. My instinct told me that it was bad. My husband loved to gamble. He's not a compulsive gambler, which was what the Governor thought he had become. I never understood that. And he put around, or one of his people put around, the rumor that my husband was a compulsive gambler. He wasn't any such thing. He gambled only what he could afford to lose. He always said he never lost. Obviously, he did, sometimes.

Q: But you see what a cheap thing that is to do? They wouldn't have said that about some man, that his wife was a compulsive gambler, would they?

MARTINDELL: No, of course not. If she had been they would have supposed it not to

have any effect on him. Anyway, my brother was very angry with them for doing that.

Q: Well, we were talking about education and you wanted to do something.

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. I wanted to improve life for people in New Jersey, but I was particularly concerned about women. I had a number of women's bills that you probably have listed.

Q: Indeed.

MARTINDELL: I remember battered women. And then I was on the Nursing Home Commission and that was to do with older women. I tried to be their advocate wherever I could.

Q: Well, you seemed to be very, very active for Carter.

MARTINDELL: In the Carter campaign there was something about discrimination against women by insurance companies. I really didn't know anything about insurance, but I knew how to find out, so I did. We had a good Insurance Commissioner here, a man, but he was good. And we collected the people who knew, and then we asked for -- because this is a big insurance state, like Connecticut -- we asked the heads of the insurance companies in New Jersey to send a representative to a meeting. I don't think that the heads came, but they sent pretty high executives. We had a meeting in a boardroom in Newark, that somebody lent us. The men sat down there, and my group, which was some men, but mostly women, sat down here. There was one very good woman from Pennsylvania and another good woman from North Carolina and a few other experts. And it was two different worlds. Here we would all raise our points, like, okay, we grant you that you do give women a break on life insurance, but that's to your advantage. But why do you charge women more on burglary insurance if they're divorced? Burglary and theft. Do you know what their answer was? "Because single women, divorced women particularly, entertain men in their homes, and that's dangerous." "Now, did you mean men don't entertain women?" "Oh, but it's completely different." What's different about it? They were men, clearly, whose wives never held a job.

Q: We were speaking this morning about your days as a New Jersey State Senator. We sort of briefly went over many of the issues that you were concerned with, and I wondered if you like to take that sheet and talk about some of the ones that were closest to your heart.

MARTINDELL: (Reading from list) Well, we talked about casino gambling; that was very close to my heart. But that was a little out of the Senate business. The things to do with the -- here, I really was good on this, and I'd forgotten I did it. The ban on carcinogenic materials in New Jersey is the ultimate in pollution, environmental pollution.

Q: And you were after that, way back.

MARTINDELL: Did I pass that, or did I just introduce it, sponsor it? I sponsored it. I probably cosponsored it. Anyway, it was a good bill, and forward-looking. And, oh yes, this Right to Die Bill.

Q: That came out of the Karen Ann Quinlan case, didn't it?

MARTINDELL: Yes, it did. I got into the biggest argument with the Catholic Church about that. I said, "What's wrong with that?" They said -- you know, I knew how they felt about abortion, but I thought there were differences, but they regarded it exactly the same way: "You have no right to tamper with God's will," they said. I think it's more and more true that people have a right to end their lives. You hope they won't have to, but if they have to, they have to. I hope I die with my boots on. That is my plan. Now, let's see. I don't remember about tags on goods very well. I'd have to -- I have the copies of most of my bills in my file, if I can just find it.

Q: It was so that the manufacturers would have to say how much it would cost to run a particular appliance.

MARTINDELL: Yes. I don't know and it doesn't, didn't indicate, whether these passed or not.

Q: No, because these were just the news articles, you see. This is the <u>New York Times</u> New Jersey edition, apparently, because there's so much about New Jersey in the <u>New York Times.</u> And these are just as the news came out.

MARTINDELL: Health care professionals should be allowed to advocate -- advocate what? I will have to look these up, but I will do that. Tonight or early tomorrow morning. Behavior modification to help former drug addicts. That was a forward-looking bill.

Q: Did that pass?

MARTINDELL: I don't know. I don't remember.

Q: Did things break pretty much along party lines in the New Jersey Senate?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: It did?

MARTINDELL: We had a big majority but there was a bigger split, which, of course, exists even more today, between the conservative Democrats and the liberals. The liberals were about four out of, let's see, there were 40 Senators, and there were only about four or five of us that even, in any way, would be called liberal. I guess Wynona Lipman and I were probably the most liberal, and Steve Wylie next. (Reading from news clip):

"Governor Byrne support of income tax hurts Carter." Did I say that?

Q: Well, according to the paper you did, but that doesn't necessarily mean that you did.

MARTINDELL: I voted for the income tax and I was very much for it. I can't imagine why I said that.

Q: You were criticizing whom?

MARTINDELL: Criticizing Byrne, which I did, on and off.

Q: Maybe it was the way he presented it.

MARTINDELL: Maybe. Carter was very good about women. I said he stressed this. He was very good.

Q: Yes, you know he appointed or reappointed 17 women Ambassadors.

MARTINDELL: Is that right?

Q: Far and away more than any other President.

MARTINDELL: Oh, no question about it. And this was true all the way through government. Not only in the diplomatic area, but everywhere. He was terrific about women in government.

Q: He gave women their chance, but unfortunately it has not been maintained.

MARTINDELL: I'd say it was getting reversed.

Q: Yes.

MARTINDELL: I wasn't reelected because I didn't run. And then I was on the -- now, my first appointment was to the Ambassadorial Board. I wonder why I thought students might throw eggs at me?

Q: I don't know. I thought that was very amusing that you said that you carried a hard-boiled egg with you and I guess you'd throw it back.

MARTINDELL: And I'm sure that 25,000 figure is wrong.

Q: It said 25,000 women involved in politics.

MARTINDELL: If it's '76, it's wrong, because I wasn't named Ambassador to New Zealand until '79.

Q: It said 25,000 women are in New Jersey politics, exclusive of teachers.

MARTINDELL: That's absurd. Yes, I'm sure that's wrong.

Q: When you first went down to Washington, it was for the job in AID, wasn't it?

MARTINDELL: Yes, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance. That was a fascinating job. And I had a very good deputy there -- a Republican -- whom I had inherited, but some of my Democratic friends said, "You can't keep the Republican." So then I consulted around other Democratic friends and I was happily encouraged to keep him. Chris Holmes is just wonderful. I'm sure he'd be glad to talk to you, and you would find him still in the State Department. He's now ranked as a Foreign Service Officer, as a Minister Counselor. But he has to do with something to do with economics. You'd find him in the book. In fact, I've got a book upstairs; I can look up a number for him. He's just great.

Q: Why did you decide not to run again for the Senate?

MARTINDELL: Well, I had the opportunity of going to Washington to work for Carter, and the chances of my winning were very remote. I was wrong for the District. I was right for Princeton, but the District was a largely a Republican District. They were putting up their best person against me, and they wanted to take the seat back. I thought my chances were one in 10. In politics you're supposed to run even though you know you're going to lose, but I thought it was a waste of time.

Q: Sure.

MARTINDELL: Hunterdon, which was the bulk of it, was very, very Republican, and Morris County is the same.

Q: Yes, I know Morris County is. This is Huntington County?

MARTINDELL: Hunterdon. It goes up along the Delaware. It's lovely country. It always reminds me a little bit of New Zealand. But, you know, very nice, very farmy. We're now getting a lot of people that are less Republican, and a lot of developments. It is beautiful country. So there wasn't any point. I had the opportunity with the Disaster Office, and I thought, why in the hell should I knock my brains out?

Q: How long is the session, the Senate session?

MARTINDELL: It's really non-stop now. You get the occasional breaks. But it's four years and it used to -- they used to be part-time, they're still part-time but they still sit twice a week. Well, every week, but they have a little break in the summer.

Q: Sure. Let's say we're up to 19 -- well, I don't know what we're up to.

MARTINDELL: We were up to ‘77 when I went to Washington.

Q: Seventy-seven when you went to Washington. What part did you play in Carter’s campaign?

MARTINDELL: I was active. I did a lot in New Jersey. I also ran as a delegate. I wasn’t anywhere near as active as I was in the McGovern campaign. But I did, you know, whatever I was asked to do.

Q: Sure. Were you for Carter at this time? Early on?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Quite early.

Q: Were you elected as a delegate?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I was.

Q: So then he was elected. Did you get the usual phone call, asking if you’d come down and serve?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I got the phone call from Warren Christopher about the Ambassadorial Board.

Q: Tell me about that.

MARTINDELL: Well, that was a very good idea of Carter’s. He promised in his campaign that his administration would review the non-career appointments with this Board. The board was chaired by Reuben Askew. He was a wonderful Chairman. There were seven women, 13 men, and one Republican, Bill Scranton from Pennsylvania. It was fun. It was a very prestigious board, except for us women who were just mostly somebody you’d never heard of. I guess I probably was the only one that had been elected. I can’t remember who the women were. We met about every two weeks. At first we had 300 men’s names and 10 women. We dug up women’s names by combing the lists of possible women who would like to be included in the Carter Administration. That was a lot of work. They had a big file room in the EOB (Executive Office Building) and we went down there. And even then we couldn’t keep up, because we ended up with a list of over 2,000 men. We never got over 500 or 600 women.

Q: You had over 2,000 men?

Martindell: Yes. On the “possible” list.

Q: And about 500 women?

MARTINDELL: At most. Because we pushed the women very hard. We did better than any other Administration did, but still there wasn’t enough, proportionately.

Q: How long did this meet, the first year of his --

MARTINDELL: Yes. We met intensively about every two weeks. And I remember I was put on the subcommittee for no good reason at all, because I don't know much of anything. I didn't know anything about the Middle East and the Far East subcommittee. I was put on the Middle East -- we were divided into areas -- and Dean Rusk chaired the Middle East and Far East. I remember, he said -- and this is obviously very true -- he said it does absolutely no good sending a woman to any Arab country; you simply don't have an Ambassador if you do. We would discuss, quite frankly, people's pluses and minuses, and I remember we were running late one afternoon, sort of around 6:30, and we were all getting very tired and so I spoke up and said, "Really we ought to stop now," and Dean Rusk said, "Oh, don't let's stop; let's gossip some more." (Laughter)

Q: He's a nice person, very gentlemanly.

MARTINDELL: Very gentlemanly, yes. But then he got tired of it, and he didn't come to meetings, and of all the people, I was put in charge of that subcommittee. It really was not my area at all. I mean, I know a good deal about Europe and something about the South Pacific. Well, now I know a lot about the South Pacific. But I knew nothing about the Middle East.

Q: Now, did you people feel that, all things being equal, you should pick a career person, or not?

MARTINDELL: No. The Foreign Service, and at that point, Carol Laise was Director General, put forward their people, and we put forward a candidate at the same time, and then it was up to the President and the Secretary of State and Brzezinski to negotiate between them.

Q: Because you were handling only the non-career people?

MARTINDELL: Yes. We looked over the credentials of career officers just to familiarize ourselves with them, but we really didn't have a say on the career people.

Q: How did you itemize what people had done? I mean, what criteria were you looking for?

MARTINDELL: We were looking for people who wouldn't embarrass the Administration; that was the real point. Which they certainly didn't care about in this Administration (Reagan's). We did knock a couple of people off, but I won't mention names. [Reading] "A Board to Review Ambassadorial Appointments" was the correct name. And here, "Ambassadorial posts to be reviewed by the Board." And then a list of the areas and the countries, and I seem to have checked off -- it seems to start with a February 16th meeting. No, February 4th, I think, is our first meeting.

Q: This would be right after the inauguration, then?

MARTINDELL: Yes. "Cultural affairs aspect of the ambassador's role" -- I ought to re-read this again. "Biographical data. Procedure for processing of names. Recommendations should be sent to Governor Askew. All recommendations will be acknowledged, with a request for bio." Oh, I have to look up that -- let me dig it out. And then they listed them alphabetically, and then bio sheets, and, "Executive Secretary," who I think was Dick Moose, "will screen all resumes and suggest names for specific countries." The staff did a lot of the work. "And these will be presented" -- and I put in my handwriting, "board will not be limited to these choices. The State Department will provide facilities, staff assistance and information" I remember Carol Laise came to one of our meetings, and she was describing -- this one I took very much to heart -- "that a lot of Ambassadors stay in the capital and just hang around with" -- I don't think that's the way she put it -- "with their diplomatic colleagues. A good Ambassador ought to get out in the country and meet people." I modeled myself on that. I made speeches in every single town in New Zealand. Of course, New Zealand is a small country, and it wasn't that hard, but if I wasn't invited I would see to it that I stirred up something.

Q: How many months did you meet?

MARTINDELL: Well, when I got the appointment to the Foreign Disaster Assistance, I had to resign. There was a conflict of interest. I ran that for two years and then Carol Laise called me. She took my place on the board. Because at that point she had to retire from the State Department. She called me and said, "We've got three posts coming up. Would you be interested in having your name put up?" And I said, "Well, what are they?" And Sri Lanka, partly on account of that was where my father had died and partly because I'd been there for Disaster Assistance. It's awfully hot. I don't do well in the heat.

Oh, here are the names of the Commission: Joan Masek, Pris Gitlick, Nancy Flaherty, Mary Jane Patterson, Marie Duran, Barbara White, Vilma Martinez. "Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments," that was the full name of it. Here it gives the purpose, the authority, membership and organization, meetings and recommendations. And here was the charter. Then we have the ones we were considering in our first meetings, the briefing, the background notes.

Q: You were saying you were offered Sri Lanka, or, I suppose, Wellington?

MARTINDELL: I was offered Sri Lanka or New Zealand. I'd always wanted to go to New Zealand.

Q: Tell me, what do you feel you learned from your days as a Senator that was useful to you as an Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: How to deal with constituent groups, I guess. How to speak. I learned to speak quite well. I hadn't done much of it before that. I learned something about budgets,

not enough, but something. And, well, really dealing with people, negotiating. I think negotiating training is something that most people need.

Q: So that those things that you learned there would be very helpful to an Ambassador, wouldn't they?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. Politicians make good Ambassadors because it's very much the same skills. I remember my desk officer when I was first Ambassador who did so disapprove of me and didn't like the idea of women -- he was having trouble with his wife, I think. Well, I know. Later, he got a divorce. He was very anti-women and he really had big question marks about me, both from the fact that I hadn't had a career in diplomacy and that I was a woman. He said that he had seen so many cases where -- we talked a lot about this in the Ambassadorial Board -- you know, the career versus the non-career. A Foreign Service Officer would come back from some country, say in Africa, and he would only see his desk officer. An officer wouldn't even get to the Deputy Assistant Secretary, and he'd walk the halls. I mean, he might as well have stayed out there.

The advantage the political appointees have is that, if necessary, they can go to the President. They certainly have access much higher in the State Department. They do have political skills, or they wouldn't have gotten where they were.

Q: Obviously, they've done something to justify --

MARTINDELL: In the case of the Reagan Administration, and I think most of the Republicans very often are just fund-raisers; but if you've been like me in politics on a working level, you have developed skills that are useful. If you're just a fund-raiser, all you know is how to extort money from people. (Laughter)

Q: Sure, sure. How did you enjoy disaster relief job?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I loved it. It was fascinating. In many ways it was more challenging than being an Ambassador in New Zealand, as nothing much was happening there at that point.

Q: Now, you were the Director?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I was the Director.

Q: And what did that involve?

MARTINDELL: Well, the office dealt with natural disasters like earthquakes and hurricanes, but it was also dealing with civil war. We dealt with Lebanon. My Deputy said to me, "I think 'civil strife' was put in by the Congress because they feel guilty about the amount of arms that we've sold around the world, so this is a band-aid to put on what we've stirred up." It's absolutely true; I'm sure of it. We had a budget of $25 million a

year. We could get extra appropriations for the big special disasters. I didn't happen to have very big ones when I was there. The earthquake in Guatemala happened before me.

Q: What would you do, give orders that certain relief things should be sent out?

MARTINDELL: You really ought to go and see the situation room. There's a very interesting, a very good woman running it now, Mrs. Taft. I don't know which Taft she is, but she's one of the Taft family. I don't know what her first name is; I met her just briefly. They like her a lot. They did not like the man who succeeded me, or the one after that, but they like her.

Q: Now, is this done out of the State Department?

MARTINDELL: AID. It's right on the ground floor of AID. You could call and ask about it -- it's fascinating. It has, you know, a place where the telephone operators sit. We never had to use it, I don't think, when I was there, but they do, and in bigger disasters that's what they do: that is where telephone calls and cables came in. It's operated like a task force for other things. One of the things that appealed to me about the job was that I did a lot of traveling. I love that. I've been in 73 countries. A lot of them in the Third World, thanks to disaster assistance. I went to -- I said Lebanon. And I went to Mauritania. I went to Bangladesh. Who on earth wants to go to Bangladesh? I thought I could avoid Calcutta, and in the end I couldn't, when they had a flood there.

Q: A flood? Was that in Bangladesh?

MARTINDELL: Floods, due to hurricanes. I think it was as a result of a typhoon, but it's only about this much above the level of the sea, a lot of it. And they're so poor. When I went to Calcutta, there had been floods. I didn't go initially -- we'd send out one of the officers. They would report back, and then I would go to see if everything was going smoothly and if they were having problems. Sometimes I sent my deputy, but I went often.

Q: You went when the program was actually in place?

MARTINDELL: In place. And most of our work was done for us, as is most of AID, by the voluntary agencies. They would allow us to go in and --

Q: You mean Red Cross and --

MARTINDELL: Red Cross, CARE, Catholic Charities. In Calcutta I was met by the director of CARE, who had made the arrangements. He was an Indian. I got in very early in the morning on the first plane out of New Delhi, and he met me and then we dropped off my bags at one of the Oberoi hotels; I don't remember the name of it, in Calcutta. I just signed the register and we went on. We had to go way out in the country, where there were no roads finally, and we had to walk. I must have walked 10 or 11 miles on these little paths. You'd see a tent with 13 people in it. You'd see a family compound where

somebody else had had to move in. In one instance there were 23 people in a compound about the size of this room. I asked what the average income was, cash income. Somewhere between $100 and $150 a year.

I got back into Calcutta late at night, too tired to eat dinner, and found they'd put me in a suite. I thought, "Isn't that nice of them, the hotel's actually giving it to me for the regular room rate." I didn't even have dinner; I had a beer out of one of those little iceboxes. I went down very early in the morning, when I woke up. I went down and had breakfast. And then I went to pay my bill: it was $175! The State Department allowance was at that point $60 a day. I was absolutely furious. I had to pay the difference myself. I'd seen these people living on less than that a year. I've always meant to write the Oberois. I got so mad I couldn't write them, but I think I still will. Ten years later I'm still mad.

Q: That really brings it home, doesn't it? You say you had to pay --

MARTINDELL: A hundred and seventy-five dollars for one night and breakfast. Bed and breakfast.

Q: And the people there don't get that a year.

MARTINDELL: It's just appalling. It never occurred to me that I was paying extra for it. I was too tired to argue with anybody anyhow.

Q: Did you used to deal at all with the Ambassadors of those countries?

MARTINDELL: Oh yes, yes. I always went to call on the Ambassadors. In that case, in India it was a friend, Bob Goheen. I went to Sri Lanka, and Howard Wriggins was the Ambassador there. That was -- one thing, Brzezinski did get a lot of professors in, and Howard Wriggins was the expert on Southeast Asia. He wrote a lot of books about it. A terribly nice man, too.

Q: At least an attempt was made to match the job to the person under the Carter Administration.

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Had you any inkling that you were -- well, yes, of course, you said Carol Laise called you up and asked, and you said, "Put me down for New Zealand."

MARTINDELL: I didn't really think I was going to make it, but I did.

Q: So, when did you hear? Was it much later?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I'm guessing. I think she called me probably in March -- the board met at the next meeting, and they were enthusiastic and they sent my name to the White House. Secretary Vance had known me for a long time, so he was very positive, and

Jimmy Carter knew me and he liked me. Brzezinski I didn't know, but at least he didn't kill it. Maybe it's just as well I didn't know him.

Q: How well did you know Jimmy Carter?

MARTINDELL: Not terribly well. I'd seen him during the campaign and I'd been to that opening reception at the White House after the inauguration day. I was really offended though about one thing: I never was asked to one of the dinners for visiting potentates, although a lot of good Democrats were asked, and I asked if I could come to the dinner for Tito. We had visited Tito -- my husband was promoting American business, and we were there the whole week, and I said I knew him well, and I'd like to come. The woman who planned those dinners was Rosalynn' s assistant, a disagreeable woman, and she said, "No, we're asking grassroots people. We have some people from Texas and we haven't any extra room."

Q: That's a rather odd attitude to take, because if you're going to deal with these people, the first thing you do is make them comfortable, with people they know.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Well, there can be some people they don't know. But to give some grassroots worker in Texas preference over me, when I knew him and had experience in the country, didn't make sense. I complained, because I knew Jim Johnson in the Vice President's office quite well, and I complained to him. He said, "There's no way that I can do anything with that woman. I've tried." I don't remember who she was, but she was very snippy. There was a valid reason to my request.

Q: Yes, you had a point to it. Did Carter call you himself for the notification that you had been selected as ambassador?

MARTINDELL: No. As I remember, Jim Johnson called from the Vice President's office.

Q: Did you get invited to the White House to have a picture taken in the Rose Garden?

MARTINDELL: I was sworn in by Vice President Mondale, which is one of the reasons they got mad at me when I went over to Gary Hart in 1984. How could I be so ungrateful? (Laughter)

Q: Where were you when you were being sworn in, up on the eighth floor of the State Department?

MARTINDELL: No, no; it was in the Vice President's office, in the, what is it, West Wing, of the White House, where his office is.

Q: That's the Executive Office Building, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Well, no; it's on the way. The little old building, if you look at the

White House.

Q: So, you didn't get your picture taken with the President, which is what many Presidents do? He doesn't seem to have done that.

MARTINDELL: No. I don't think he did. Anyway, I have lots of pictures of myself with Mondale, and Carter, but as I remember, not as an Ambassador with Carter.

Q: Would you like a picture of yourself with Mondale in the book?

MARTINDELL: No. Because we didn't end up so very good friends.

Q: Oh, oh, of course. Oh, excuse me, that was stupid of me.

MARTINDELL: Well, I feel badly the leaders of the campaign felt angry with me, but I just didn't think that they were doing the right things, and they wouldn't listen to me. Gary was better on the issues.

Q: You have to vote your conscience, and any politician should know that.

MARTINDELL: Well, I don't like to end a relationship that went back quite a while.

Q: Can you remember anything about your Senate hearings? Were there any anecdotes or --

MARTINDELL: I remember Chuck Percy saying that he'd heard wonderful things about me and I can't remember whether he listed them or not, but the person he'd heard wonderful things about me was my niece who was his Administrative Assistant. (Laughter)

Q: Did they ask you tough questions?

MARTINDELL: Not really Zorinsky asked me about -- I don't remember how he phrased it, but, in essence, would I promote American interests or New Zealand interests in the meat question. He came from a meat -- producing state.

Q: And how did you answer that one?

MARTINDELL: Well, I wasn't sure what he was driving at first, but then when I caught on, I said, "Oh yes, of course I'd work for the United States' interests first."

Q: They ask pretty obvious questions sometimes, don't they?

MARTINDELL: Yes, and it was pro forma. I mean, you have to be pretty bad to have the Senate object to you.

Q: Well, sometimes now, they're running into a lot of problems from Jesse Helms, you know. He's holding up things.

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. He's holding the Ambassadors hostage.

Q: That's exactly what he's doing. Did you do any special preparations before the Senate hearings?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I did. I did do quite a bit of homework. They put together a briefing book, and I went into the library in the State Department and looked up old clips. The New York Times had, in a four-year period, before I went out, say '75 to '79 or '74 to '78, they had two mentions of New Zealand there, or something like that. Now they are on the front page frequently because they're not doing what we want them to do. (Refers to New Zealanders)

Q: Well, they're furious, aren't they? Did you happen to read the article by Jeane Kirkpatrick in Sunday's paper? It was in the Editorial Section.

MARTINDELL: In the Times?

Q: No, it was in the Outlook section of the Washington Post. It might have been picked up from the New York Times; I didn't notice.

MARTINDELL: No. No, I'm sorry. I used to be able to get the Post here, but I can't anymore. It may be in the weekly Post, which I have upstairs. What's it about?

Q: It's about New Zealand and how awful those New Zealanders are not to go along with us and let us have our nuclear submarines.

MARTINDELL: That's the kind of thing I'm trying to stop.

Q: I can imagine the New Zealand papers are just going crazy.

MARTINDELL: They'll go berserk, and how they expect to have people like us. I've said this in the State Department. They agree too; they try to stop it because Lehman in the Navy Department is always shooting off his mouth. He has lost us more friends out there! If we have any left.

Q: Yes, if we have any left.

MARTINDELL: I put together, you know -- I don't know if you know -- a United States/New Zealand Council; I've just done that.

Q: No, I didn't know.

MARTINDELL: For repairing relations.

Q: I want to hear about that. Was that the reason you went out there?

MARTINDELL: Yes, this winter. I wanted to let them know I was doing it. I wanted to talk to the Prime Minister and the Minister, because I have influence with them, because my mandate from Dick Holbrooke (Assistant Secretary for East Asia) was to get to know the Labor Party. My predecessor had forbidden, if you can believe this -- it probably happens all the time now -- he'd forbidden the staff to speak to any member of the Labor Party because they were, quote, pro-Communist. That was (Armistead Inge) Selden.

Q: The Ambassador under Ford?

MARTINDELL: He was appointed by Nixon first. I mean, the idea's out there. There had been no contact, and so I did it. I did what I was told, and I got to know them, and some of them I liked. I mean, after all, even if you thought they were Communists, you still talk to them. When Paul Cleveland, who's there now -- career, thank God -- went out there, I met with him before he went, and he said, "I need help." I felt that was terribly nice of him to say that. It's hard to ask somebody to help. I said, "What can I do?" And he said, "Come out and stay with me and see what you can do. I've got a very tough proposition." Because Ambassador (H. Monroe) Browne was awful. He was a right-wing, Southern California type, to the right of Genghis Khan. Not to the right of Reagan, he's to the right of Genghis Khan. (Laughter) He has the attitude, although he didn't state it, that New Zealanders were all Communists. I'm sure he felt so. It was just such a comedy of errors.

The strongest plank in the Labor Party was the anti-nuclear plank: sixty-seven per cent of the communities there have declared themselves nuclear-free zones. Muldoon, my non-friend, had called a snap election. Even the Governor General tried to talk him out of it. I guess he thought that he could win it if he called it quickly. Well, he didn't win. The ANZUS meeting was scheduled, because that's what Browne wanted, immediately after the election. I suppose that he didn't cancel, or maybe wouldn't consider canceling, because Shultz was coming out there for the meeting and that would add to his prestige. He wasn't about to cancel it. So they held it in that five-day period between governments, with a lame duck foreign minister. It was just crazy. Absolutely crazy. And then, because Shultz listened too much to Browne and was there at the time he has a fixed idea that they're all awful. I got the Prime Minister to offer a compromise, and it took some doing. Shultz has memories of that bad time, so he refused the compromises. It just didn't get publicity, but that's what happened.

Q: Letting ANZUS completely go, then castigating them in the world press?

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right, but he did it against the advice of his department. Lilly, who is now Deputy Assistant Secretary, said the same thing. He said the higher up you go, the more hard-line they are, particularly on this issue. They begged Shultz to soften up, but he was there at the time and he got angry. I think he's a man who when, once he's gotten angry, doesn't forgive. I think he's quite a good Secretary, but he does

have his hang-ups, and that's one of them. It is most unfortunate. I can't tell you how much work it took for me to persuade the Prime Minister so that he was willing to compromise. The British entered into it and they pushed it. And then Lange was humiliated, fortunately not publicly.

Q: How long did you stay out there?

MARTINDELL: I was there about two and a half weeks. I've been keeping in constant touch with both their Ambassador here and a very good friend who's their Ambassador in London, and between us we were putting this on stage. We thought it would work, but it didn't.

Q: You say your mandate was to get to know the members of the minority party who then became the in-group?

MARTINDELL: Yes

Q: Did you also have other things to do, such as trade?

MARTINDELL: That was left to the economics attaché. He would report to me and we would discuss it. He was an expert and I was not, so I left that to him.

Q: What about the nuclear business?

MARTINDELL: Well, our ship, the Buchanan, didn't come in. Oh, the anti-nuclear feeling was there. One of the things that really got it going hard was Muldoon. He was very close to Selden and he would ask the ships to come in. He'd ask for ship visits whenever he wanted to put on a display of his muscle. He would ask Ambassador Selden, who would always comply, to get a Navy ship to come, and then the protesters would get out and he'd clobber them. Not to the extent they do in some other countries, but nevertheless, there'd be police there and they would be arresting people, and it just made him look big with the guys in the bar who were his constituency. That strengthened the Peace Movement. That's what built it up.

Q: I didn't realize that. Why did they object to these nuclear ships in their waters?

MARTINDELL: They're very environmentally conscious there. They do not need us to defend them. They do not. Nor do we need them, as far as that's concerned. Our concern is the example: what they call the "Nuclear Allergy."

Q: Yes, it is the example for the rest of the world.

MARTINDELL: They were talking about the nuclear situation when I got there. One very interesting story is that I was briefed by the Navy on the nuclear ship issue. Because of my anti-Vietnam feeling, I'm not very sympathetic about nuclear power and all that. I was hostile. This Captain came; he came with his Admiral, but the Captain was the expert

and had been for years. He explained to me how Rickover set up the Navy nuclear ship program, and he'd done it very carefully.

The ships had a low amount of power, relatively speaking. Rickover had shielded the nuclear engines very carefully, and the important thing was he trained the personnel. When the Captain got through with his presentation, I said to him, "Well, Captain Hudson, I confess that I was very hostile. I knew I had to talk to you, but I was not going to be sympathetic, but you have convinced me. I think it is safe." He said there had never been an accident. Well, there has been an occasional accident to a ship that is nuclear-powered, but it had nothing to do with the nuclear power. That was the Thresher. I think there was one more, but it had nothing to do with the fact that it was nuclear-powered. This is just after Three Mile Island. I said, "Now I realize that the Navy should be running the Three Mile Islands of this world."

And he said, "Oh, Madame Ambassador -- I have been around being interviewed, and I was interviewed at Three Mile Island. I've visited five or six different nuclear plants, and it is simply horrible. They have cut corners; they have not trained their personnel; they have been careless and sloppy, and after profits and not safety. I don't know why more of these accidents haven't happened." But, of course, they did tighten up the regulations after Three Mile Island.

Q: Yes, and stopped building new ones.

MARTINDELL: And stopped building new ones, because the regulations made it so expensive, which is what they complain about all the time; that it isn't worth it anymore. I didn't know, until I was telling somebody the story not too long ago, that Rickover was asked to run our commercial plants. He wanted to be like France, where the government ran it and he would be in charge. Would they had done it. I suppose we have to have some nuclear power if we're going to continue to be an industrial society.

Q: Well, I think Chernobyl has certainly been --

MARTINDELL: It scared the hell out of people.

Q: Sent shock waves around.

MARTINDELL: I take the Manchester Guardian, to give a little insight into what Europeans are thinking. In Wales and in Scotland they can't sell the sheep because they've got fallout, and the feed has fallout. Anyway, he came and briefed me and it was an issue. First, I wasn't very anxious to have the ships: anyway, and in the second place, it scared the hell out of me. Just before I got there, they had a nuclear submarine come into the Auckland harbor. The protestors out there are crazy people, but I can understand their concern. A mother in a little sailboat, and a baby in her arms, cutting right across the bow. They say that the Captain's face, when he got off, was about that color. He was only going about four knots, but still, it could have been a terrible accident. I said, "I don't want them here." Well, they worked on me, the military staff worked on me, and finally,

oh, months, almost a year after I got there, it came. I was wrong when I testified; I'd forgotten the first ship they sent was nuclear-powered; they said it was non-nuclear. I don't think it was nuclear-powered, but it was nuclear-armed. I used an excuse to go to the islands, so I wasn't there. I let Charlie (Salmon) handle it. It must have been months later, because Charlie didn't come until 10 months after I was there. My first Deputy I inherited.

Q: I know you did. Terry Healy. What was your biggest challenge as an Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: Dealing with the Prime Minister.

Q: Let's talk a little bit about that. Before you ever went out there, he had been very rude.

MARTINDELL: Yes, he indeed had.

Q: Was that back here in Washington?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I was sitting next to him, the first time I met him at dinner in Washington, with their Ambassador there, Merv Norrish, a wonderful fellow. I was trying to make conversation. He wasn't easy socially at all; in fact, I ended up by feeling sorry for him. Seeing him at a gathering, standing by himself, the Prime Minister. I thought I'd go up and talk to him. He was the kind of man who doesn't like small talk, and I said something about having been in the Legislature here, and he said, "I do not like lady politicians." Just like that. End of sentence and conversation. (Laughter) I didn't know what to say. I thought of a lot of things afterwards, but I just didn't know what to say. So I didn't feel very kindly, or very welcome, let's say. I'm quite sure he didn't like women; he just didn't know how to deal with a woman who was in an important position. This is not unique. But he came right out and said so.

Q: New Zealand does not have many women that are in important positions?

MARTINDELL: Oh, no, they're way behind us in many things, and that's one of them. I gave a big boost to the women's movement there, just by being me.

Q: I'll bet you did.

MARTINDELL: When I talked to the New York Times about it and told them that story, I said it was off the record, but I did want him to know I had complained about it. I didn't think, as so often we don't, that when it finally broke, it would be big headlines.

Q: Did he ever warm up to you when you got to New Zealand?

MARTINDELL: No, he never liked me. He wouldn't have liked me anyway, but he had something to -- he had a handle to slight me after that. (Laughter).

Q: That plus the fact that you were being nice to those other people in his country.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Well, that's true; he must have known that I was getting to know them, which I was told to do.

Q: Yes. But I get a feeling that you were quite popular among the New Zealand people.

MARTINDELL: Oh, I was, if I say so myself. I was very well liked. I got around; I met a lot of people. And now my stock is very high that this council I've formed --

Q: Yes, now, when did you do that?

MARTINDELL: We announced it, well, we had our first meeting -- our organizing meeting -- in April, but I've been working on it almost a year, and I'll give you the names of the board members. It's the most distinguished of any -- you know, there are a lot of these things, U.S.-Austria, U.S.-Japan; it's the best board of any of them.

Q: What are you calling this?

MARTINDELL: At the moment it's the United States/New Zealand Council; I wanted to have the work "Pacific" in it because I thought it had nice connotations. We do hope to spread out a bit and include Australia, down the road, and the South Pacific, too.

Q: There should be a lot of play in the newspapers given to this, that there is a body that is trying to bring about a rapprochement, but you're getting all that flak from Shultz's office.

MARTINDELL: They're very pleased that we're doing that, because they do want it and I can do it better than they can. Well, they can't do it at all with that attitude. I can keep at least some communications going. So they're cooperating with us, and the ones that are more reasonable as saying, "Thank God." I don't know what Shultz thinks. As Co-chairman, I have Chuck Percy and Cy Vance, and I have six -- eight -- former ambassadors. I don't have enough women; I only have Carol Laise. I had a couple of other women, but in the end they didn't want to raise money.

Q: Carol Laise is on it? I should imagine she'd be very good at anything at that. Conscientious woman, isn't she?

MARTINDELL: Yes. She is good. Very conscientious. And bright, and well-trained. I can give you a list; it's very good, but I've got to add some women. I've got some in mind; I don't have enough because there's a very small pool to draw from, at least in the Ambassadorial level, as you know.

Q: How did you look on your mission? Now, you have already spoken about the fact that you were given a mandate to go out and get to know the opposition. But how did you look on the principal job of your mission? Was it to keep relations between the U.S. and New Zealand at a good level, or would it be to raise the level from what it had been?

MARTINDELL: To raise it, yes. It wasn't bad, but to raise it, particularly it wasn't good with the young. That was harder for me to do, at my age. I had one young man we did send out a lot, but the trouble with him was that he was attractive, nice, bright and young, but he was very conservative, so he just couldn't relate very well to the New Zealand young. As one of my young friends said when I was there last winter -- we have a lot of young Americans coming, and young Americans particularly love to go to New Zealand because it's so beautiful there; they are all backpacking and that kind of thing -- He said, "They're looking for reds under every bed." He said, "My age is 25, and at my age they're looking for reds under every bed."

Q: You feel that that being your principal job, you succeeded?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I made friends. I tried to explain, when I went out in my speeches, what our policy was, and it wasn't, in relation to New Zealand, and what things were going on in the rest of the world. Why we were doing it, what we were doing.

Q: I see, so you explained U.S. policy?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Would it be a fair thing to say that you believe the best way to do it is to keep the lines of communication open and flowing?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes.

Q: And this is what it's all about? That would be an Ambassador's primary role, communicating?

MARTINDELL: Communicating. And then, well, I'd go and talk to the Foreign Minister or to the Prime Minister. What they principally did for us at that point was to back us up in the UN.

Q: Did they? Very important, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Well, this Administration doesn't think so. I mean, I think they're totally arrogant. They just don't care about world opinion at all.

Q: Charlie Salmon told me to ask you to tell me about your trip to Tokelau, was it?

MARTINDELL: Oh, Tokelau! Oh, it was so funny. I went to sign the treaty, and it was really funny. I'll give you the whole write-up so you'll have it.

Q: Oh, good. I gather it was a rather rough-and-ready trip on a frigate. Something else he said to ask you about was Muldoon.

MARTINDELL: Terry Healy was horrified. Both she and my Desk Officer thought that Dick Holbrooke would fire me. Dick thought it was funny.

Q: Why, because it hit the New York Times? That is one of the schisms between career and non-career -- being not afraid to get away with it. Career people can't, and so, therefore, they have a sort of reflex action, if you will.

MARTINDELL: I think this was partly unconscious, but part of my reasoning was that this was a man who was going to be very difficult for me to deal with, and I had to scare him a little.

Q: Very sensible, I should think.

MARTINDELL: And it did. It didn't make good vibes for him.

Q: No, it would make him very aware of --

MARTINDELL: He'd better handle me with kid gloves. Terry said, "Fifty percent of your job is getting along with the Prime Minister." And, of course, she had the model of Selden, who did get along with him very well. They were very buddy-buddy. I never would have been anyway.

Q: Well, not if the man is a misanthrope when it comes to women; how can you be?

MARTINDELL: He could have been more polite. Well, he was correct. And in the end, when I went to see him when I was about to leave, he thanked me for what I had done for New Zealand. So at least he had the grace to do that.

Q: In one of those articles, you had said that your husband was retired and he wasn't going with you, and you were, in effect, going to be on your own. Now how did you handle that? Did you have enough household help and were you able to train them to your ways?

MARTINDELL: Selden had gotten a wonderful couple -- Malaysian and Chinese. And then [phone rings, masking some words] -- was everybody's dream. [Tape interrupted.] Joe was supposedly the chauffeur but he was like a personal assistant.

Q: Was he a New Zealander?

MARTINDELL: He's an Englishman. He had been out there quite a little bit. When all this flap came up I wrote "Dear Joe, I trust your political judgment more than most of the officers at the Embassy. Please tell me what's going on." Well, he's very conservative, so he doesn't approve of the Labor government, what they're doing; but he did give me quite good insights quite often. He was just marvelous, a British upper servant type and devoted, tactful.

Q: So you were able to set up, then. You must have had a heavy entertaining schedule.

MARTINDELL: Yes, not as heavy as England and France. We didn't have as many CODELs (congressional delegations) as other places; only had one. No, no, that's not true; I had a few, but only one big one. That was where Tip O'Neill came out to speak just before I left. Now, let me see -- how did I handle it? Doing both jobs is not easy. I don't see how a man does it because that's even harder.

Q: Aren't the men usually given an Assistant to run the house, a housekeeper? I believe they are, if they don't have a wife.

MARTINDELL: They certainly should. Because there are a lot of single officers around.

Q: I know. There have been so many divorces.

MARTINDELL: And wives who don't want to leave their jobs at home. I did have my aunt there a lot of the time. She is now 87, so she was then around 82. But she would do a lot of that sort of thing for me. My Secretary and my Deputy, one or the other, would help me with the seating -- because in the beginning I didn't know many people or who should be seated by whom -- and do the invitations, and then Joe would set the tables after I showed him how I wanted them.

Q: But who did things like the flowers?

MARTINDELL: The cook did. She was very good at it.

Q: So there are ways to do it, but still it's a pretty rugged job to try --

MARTINDELL: To try to do both.

Q: Very, very difficult.

MARTINDELL: If I had had a serious situation like they have now, I wonder how I would have been able to do it. I did have enough time to do both, but with a very serious diplomatic situation I don't know how I'd have done.

Q: But you had to spend a good part of your time checking, didn't you, to make sure that --

MARTINDELL: Well, once I'd set up the pattern it was all right.

Q: What about staff or country team meetings? Did you hold those?

MARTINDELL: Yes, we had meetings once a week. Then I instituted one thing that hadn't been done before. In the room we used for our meetings, which is a room that held maybe a dozen people, I'd have six, eight people to lunch, and I'd bring the lunch in from

the residence because we didn't have a kitchen. We did other things like coffee, and we'd have a cold lunch and I would ask parliamentarians in groups. I did that once a week, occasionally twice a week.

Q: Was this after your country team meetings?

MARTINDELL: No, I'd have the country team meeting, say, Tuesday, and then I'd have -- that would be early in the morning -- and I'd have a lunch, not usually that day, but, say, Wednesday and Friday.

Q: And who would be there? Different members of your staff?

MARTINDELL: No, no, parliamentarians. Because I'd focus particularly on them. I'd have my staff, you know, in rotation to that and to the functions I had at the residence.

Q: Yes. These working lunches, what were they, six or eight people?

MARTINDELL: Six or eight.

Q: Were they all men?

MARTINDELL: No.

Q: No? They have some women parliamentarians, do they?

MARTINDELL: Yes, not enough, any more than we do, but they have some. Like one of my best friends out there is Ann Hercus. Could be Prime Minister someday. She was a strong contender this time.

Q: Are they that liberated, that you think she might be Prime Minister?

MARTINDELL: Well, I'm not sure. If they could get that liberated, she'd be it. Her post now is women's affairs and police. The police are crazy about her. She's a tough lady. She's bright.

Q: She was your best friend out there, you said?

MARTINDELL: In the Labor Party. I don't remember the National Party having any women members.

Q: Who were your other friends, among the diplomatic corps?

MARTINDELL: Well, the British Ambassador, French Ambassador Guery. The British Ambassador, the first one when I was there was all right but I didn't like him. The second was very nice, Skatton. Oh, and the Canadian Ambassador and High Commissioner (Irene Johnson). She came just a few months before I did. She and I became very good

friends.

Irene decided to take on the male establishment. She was a very strong feminist. The American Ambassador, the Canadian High Commissioner, and all the top Ambassadors, always have been members of the Wellington Club, which is a men's lunch club. So she applied. They sent around somebody to see her Deputy. She said it was so cowardly of them, they wouldn't come out and ask her to withdraw her application because they didn't want to turn her down. Well, she made a hell of a stink about that.

So I was asked, when I got there, whether I was going to apply, and I said I wouldn't be caught dead applying. (Laughter) I don't like clubs anyhow. But it really was awful. I knew they wouldn't change, and so I wasn't going to take on unnecessary fights. The club is where the decisions are made. Now, of course, I've been enough the only woman or one of two women in a men's thing to know they talk differently when we're around. Therefore, you know, it might not have made any difference even if we'd been there; we still might not have been in on the real scoop.

Q: That's true. So that is certainly one drawback to being a woman as a diplomat.

MARTINDELL: It is. And I don't know that that'll change; I really don't know.

Q: Can you think of any ways in which it's a plus to be a woman Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: I think it's a plus to be a woman in politics, in that with the public you get away with things that men wouldn't, so I guess you could apply that to being a -- well, one big advantage is they certainly notice you. (Laughter)

Q: The public notices you, yes. Did you get a lot of press coverage, good press coverage?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I got a fantastic -- that's not always considered a plus in diplomacy.

Q: Well, no, but it depends on what kind of a press you're getting.

MARTINDELL: I got very good press. In fact, one of my parliamentary friends said to me when I was out there, "You had a very high profile, and it was all positive." And he said, "Brown had a very high profile, and it was all negative."

Q: The staff that you inherited, leaving aside the ones we've already discussed -- did you find they were pretty competent?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, they were good.

Q: Did you have any problems with alcoholism, infidelities, or any scandals that you had to cope with?

MARTINDELL: No, I was lucky.

Q: Yes. Now, you were able to select Charlie (Salmon), when it came time. You didn't know him. You took his name from a list?

MARTINDELL: I knew that office because I knew Patt (Derian) quite well. I think I just met him to say, "How do you do." Then Frank (Sieverts), whom I knew from my disaster work, wrote and said, "If you're coming back, it's about time for you to be changing. I have a very good candidate." I did interview two or three other people and I wrote and telephoned some others. But Charlie was so understanding that it didn't take me a minute to decide, once I talked to him. He was great.

Irene was a trained diplomat. Well, she was a trained government person. She had been in another area. They sent her out from Canada, and I think this is an idea we ought to copy. They get somebody who is a civil servant, and they offer them a post overseas. She had been trained in the trade area, and that's what she specializes in, and I wish I had. We used to play golf.

Q: Did you? Golf -- that's something else you haven't told me that you did.

MARTINDELL: I did it as a young person and I hadn't played much till I got to New Zealand. It's the ideal place to play.

Q: You like sports?

MARTINDELL: I love the outdoors.

Q: You have a lot of energy?

MARTINDELL: Yes, enormous amounts.

Q: What sort of culture do they have there? I mean, is there a lot of this Maori art, is that something --

MARTINDELL: I got -- oh, I'm glad you asked me that question. I just love the Polynesian art museum. I studied Maori, not that it's in daily conversation, but I just wanted to know a little bit about the real -- even the -- what they call the Pakeha. The white New Zealanders are very proud of that part of the New Zealand heritage. So I studied Maori and my teacher, who was a brother of the high chief of the eastern region, said, "Would you like to come up to our village?" They call it the Marae. It happened to be when my daughter and son-in-law and grandchildren were out there, so I said, "We've been invited, and I think the experience will be absolutely unique." Well, my son-in-law, being a professor and also German, dots every I and crosses every T. He read five books about how we should behave. I said, "Allin, we're Americans and if we do the wrong thing, they'll forgive us." But he gave me all sorts of bad advice that he read out of the books. (Laughter) And we got out there and I called Charlie, my [Maori] teacher, and I said, "Do we bring this; do we bring that?" He said, "You don't have to brush your teeth

in a stream. We do have a wash house and there are hot showers." (Laughter) I can't remember what question triggered that, but we were told to bring blankets or sleeping bags; they would supply mattresses and pillows and sheets. They spread them on the floor of what they call their meetinghouse. I learned quite well one speech which I now can't remember, except it began Ko Anna Au, which means "I am Anna." Then you have to describe where you come from, and you have to be, to be respectable, from a mountain or a lake. Well, I thought about Carnegie Lake, and it's a fake lake. (Laughter) I decided I wouldn't say it; it doesn't translate well, so I said I came from Whiteface Mountain in the Adirondacks. That translated very well. I had it all prepared and I practiced and practiced. Charlie met us at the edge of the village, looking sheepish, and he said, "In our tribe, we allow women to speak -- " The Polynesians are very, I wouldn't say anti-women, but they're anti-women in any status.

Q: "Keep 'em down there?"

MARTINDELL: "Keep 'em down there." Women serve the men their meals and stand in the background; that kind of thing. But anyway, he said, "In our tribe women are allowed to speak in the Marae, but we have a visiting tribe and they don't, so you'll have to appoint a talking chief." Well, Dick Imus, my economic officer, was studying Maori with me, and I turned my speech over to him. We got there and went in and they did the greeting -- the way they did when they had the Te Maori show, and the calls to the ancestors and all that. Then we had tea. Then we went to listen because their visiting tribe was a group of young people from some college on the other side of the island, and they were raising money to go to the States. They are the most wonderful dancers. My son-in-law was sort of uneasy about this whole thing. He recorded it, and he plays it over and over again. My daughter said he just loved it. We had another tea, and then Charlie said, "We all sleep together in the big floor of the meetinghouse, but don't worry about getting undressed. It's like the beach. You put your blanket around you; nobody looks." Well, I didn't take a chance, so I went to bed early. (Laughter) My son-in-law and daughter stayed around and talked to these young people, and they are the first ones who alerted me to how unhappy the Polynesians and the Maoris are. They are, and I tell my white friends this, and they say, "But we've treated them so well." They have, but it's in a condescending way. You know, they treated them much better than we have our minorities, and far better than the Australians, who have been awful.

Q: Really?

MARTINDELL: Oh yes, they're very guilty about this now.

Q: Well, they couldn't have been much worse than we are with the American Indian.

MARTINDELL: Oh, they are worse. They killed the Aborigines. There are pictures in the museum in Tasmania of the white settlers going out with bow and arrows and going after the aborigines as if they were deer. It's just shocking, that they'd have pictures like that. I mean, they were drawings, because it was before the days of photographs. Awful. So they were much worse, believe it or not. It's true that New Zealand is better.

Q: New Zealanders are not like the Australians. The Australians are the -- many of them -- are the descendants of prisoners, but that's not true of New Zealand, is it?

MARTINDELL: No.

Q: What were they, second sons?

MARTINDELL: They were second sons, but they were a religious colony. It was largely founded, as we were, by people escaping religious persecution. It was later, so there was less persecution, but, for instance, Christ Church was a planned community, so many doctors, so many lawyers, so many ministers, even down to so many maids. What happened to the maids was they all ran off and married Maoris. (Laughter) So nobody has a maid in New Zealand. Except Ambassadors, who have to bring them in. (Laughter)

Q: Oh, dear. Well, what do your staff do?

MARTINDELL: They use clubs, or something like that, and Dick (Dols) did go. Ask him about that. Because his wife said she wouldn't do it, and he had to entertain, which wasn't easy. I can understand her point of view; she had her hands full. It was a second marriage for both of them and there were a lot of children. I think it was principle with her more than the work. She felt that she ought to be paid to do something she didn't want to do. Wives had to do it. They weren't allowed to work until -- that's one thing Terry did. I okayed it and pushed it, but she instituted a dialogue with the New Zealand Government to allow our wives to work, and that was good. In fact, she was good with the wives and that kind of thing. She understood their problems. Anyway, we did get that through. You see, the thing is that, as somebody pointed out to me, it is assumed that because you speak the same language, there's no problem about relating, and the same language may be just as much of a barrier as no language. And they were lonely. Once they got to work, they were less lonely.

Q: You mean, they couldn't take jobs?

MARTINDELL: They couldn't take jobs when I first got there.

Q: So, the wives can work now, on the economy.

MARTINDELL: But they were very lonely, those women, until they could get out and do something.

Q: Is their accent like the Australians?

MARTINDELL: It's a modified version, much pleasanter.

Q: Did you used to deal much with the businessmen out there?

MARTINDELL: They were uneasy with me. I'd make speeches to the Chamber of Commerce and things like. I didn't have any close friends. No, that's not true. I had one good friend in the business community -- with the bank.

Q: Well, and you have been married to businessmen.

MARTINDELL: That's right.

Q: Certainly, it wasn't you.

MARTINDELL: No. It's the New Zealand culture. Only 25%, you see, of the New Zealand women work. I think it's gone up a bit. When I was there it was 25%, and at the same period, it was 50%, or close to it, here. The older women -- some of the wives of the cabinet officers -- one of them said she wasn't going to have me in the house because I was a "career woman," which I really wasn't. Just chance I became so. (Laughter)

Q: Yes. You did give speeches, though, you said? To the Chamber of Commerce and things like that?

MARTINDELL: Yes, a lot.

Q: Well, I suppose if they wanted the Ambassador -- the American Ambassador -- they had to take you.

MARTINDELL: They had to take me.

Q: Did you get much involved with the health-care people, or religious figures, or the educators?

MARTINDELL: Well, I went to church.

Q: I mean, you didn't have the equivalent of the White Fathers, for example.

MARTINDELL: Who were the White Fathers?

Q: Well, <u>Les Peres Blancs</u> are all through the Middle East. They are American missionaries.

MARTINDELL: Well, the Mormons are out there in force, but I didn't have much to do with them. They are especially in the Islands. In fact, Charlie, my teacher, is a Mormon. Oh, I forgot to finish that story.

Q: Oh, yes! I'm sorry.

MARTINDELL: He's now a Mormon missionary in Tonga. He quit his job in the Maori Affairs Department. Anyway, then everybody came to bed. I didn't get really undressed,

but I took my shoes off, and we were so close together that when one person turned over, everybody had to turn over. (Laughter) You just wanted to establish some room. And the next morning when we got up, I looked for my shoes. I'd put them right beside my mattress; I couldn't find them. I happily had brought another pair. So, we all went to breakfast and the students said they'd clean up, and nobody found my shoes. Well, Charlie came with them to the Te Maokri show. He said, "You know what happened to your shoes?" They were enshrined in a glass case. (Laughing, making it unintelligible) They'd stolen them. They certainly weren't Cinderella size.

Q: But where did they enshrine them?

MARTINDELL: In a glass case at the university. It's sweet.

Q: Isn't that sweet? Your shoes were enshrined!

MARTINDELL: Anyway, Charlie said, "After breakfast, we're going to have a church service, and you don't have to come, but you can." And it was in Maori. There were familiar hymns -- protestant hymns. And then he got up and made a most extraordinary speech. He said, "I'm going to tell you the history of this Marae."

It was at the meeting house -- the Marae -- with a roof-tree on it. "Up there is my great-grandmother" -- no, his grandmother. They have ancestors all the way around -- carvings -- but the main one was this grandmother. And he said, "She was a princess; she was a daughter of the Chief of the biggest tribe of the islands at that point." And this was in maybe 1840-something or'50. He said, "We had just joined the British Empire, and we knew we had valuable land and assets; and like many of the tribes, we hired an agent. The agent was a Scotsman and his name was Cooper." Well, apparently, he's written up, because this is the way he behaved. He and this princess got this meeting house as their homestead; they were given land, and they had a baby. The baby was Charlie's father. Well, then, Mr. Cooper had been out there several years and so he asked if he could go home for a year on leave. They allowed that that was all right. He came back a year later with this Scottish bride -- he just hadn't taken his Maori wife into account. Madame Butterfly.

Q: I was just going to say that, poor old Cio-Cio San.

MARTINDELL: So Charlie said, "The elders felt pretty nasty about that." Imagine being able to get up and tell this about your family. And so they moved it off the land that Mr. Cooper kept, and she was then taken back in the bosom of her own family -- it was very sad. Poor thing! Anyway, it was a fascinating experience. Oh, yes -- I started to say -- the British Empire: the story in New Zealand is that they celebrate their National Day when they joined the British Empire. We celebrate when we left it. And the Australians celebrate when they became a penal colony. (Laughter) That's the attitude.

Q: What did you call that house? Marae, did you say?

MARTINDELL: It means village; it means sacred area of the village.

Q: And that's what you visited?

MARTINDELL: Yes. The most sacred area is the meeting house. It acts as everything there -- the place, as it sounds, to meet -- a place to have services, a place to have sing-songs and all that kind of thing.

Q: Well, you said, "That's my grandmother up there." Was she actually, physically there?

MARTINDELL: No, the carving.

Q: Oh, the carvings of ancestors. Because I know in some societies they do actually put the skulls around.

MARTINDELL: No, as far as I know there were no skulls.

Q: Did Washington give you a free hand? Do you feel you were given adequate policy guidance by the Department?

MARTINDELL: Yes, they'd send out whatever they wanted. They gave me free hand because we were so remote and there weren't any serious problems, so they didn't interfere very much. In fact, the famous story, and I don't know if it's true or not, but there was an Ambassador, right after the war, a man named Scotten, and he was career, I think. The story goes that he loved New Zealand and he had nothing whatever to do, except entertain, which he did very well. He'd have house parties and things. So, he decided he wouldn't send cables back to Washington. The story goes that seven years later someone in the Department said, "Wellington! Who's out there? We haven't heard from him for years." (Laughter) I don't know; it may be totally untrue.

Q: Oh, I love that. How to get to stay in a post a long time. Don't make waves.

MARTINDELL: Right. I think there's something to that.

Q: You never had any big problems such as they're having now, where you would have to get in touch with the President. You want to talk about the Tip O'Neill visit? Did that create any particular problems, or were there any funny stories?

MARTINDELL: Well, Scotty Reston said, You know, it's a junket, but I believe in junkets. They learn something.

Q: Reston was with them but he stayed with you?

MARTINDELL: No, no, he was staying with me; he was making a speech or getting a report or something.

Q: How long did they stay?

MARTINDELL: Five days, I think.

Q: Did they create a lot of trouble or were they pretty easily satisfied?

MARTINDELL: The wives gave us some trouble because they wanted to go shopping, and there isn't much to shop for in New Zealand, and they'd get bored. I think the men enjoyed themselves because they'd be meeting with parliamentarians.

Q: Was this sort of a goodwill thing?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Well, they're very pleased in a small country to have a big, important delegation come. They are.

Q: It pleases the country.

MARTINDELL: Yes. I mean, I had individual Congressmen come, but I think that was the only large group. I had Sam Nunn come, and I had Bill Alexander. I had a lot of people coming out from the Department of Defense and from the State Department, but the only big group I had was that Speaker's trip. And I had to ask to stay for that. My husband knew Haig. Because, you know, all of us in the Carter Administration got a two-week telegram. It was awful. Dave Newsom told me he had to send it out. He was acting Under Secretary or maybe he was Under Secretary. Not only did he have to send it out to all Ambassadors, but everybody but me had to pack up. Thanks to interference, I was allowed to stay.

Q: Two weeks to get out?

MARTINDELL: They had to be out by February 15th; that was the way the telegram read. Well, that was actually three weeks. But Dave said he was told, he didn't do it -- but he was told to put on everybody's disk -- all the political appointees. You know, it's absurd in the Department that they would have their desks cleaned out and be out January twenty-three. This was what the transition team told him. And he went to somebody quite high up and said, "How do you think you're going to run the government? You can't get even through the Senate." These were all people who had to go through confirmation. "You can't even decide who to have and get them through the Senate, for months." So they did rescind that instruction. But to think of even thinking about it! It was amazing.

MARTINDELL: *It's the lack of grace that shocks you so.*

MARTINDELL: Yes, because you can't be polite if you have to get out in two and a half weeks. You can't make your call; you have to arrange all your packing. Oh, it's awful.

Q: I wonder if they did that to the career people, too.

MARTINDELL: I don't think so. Did you know that? Selden was the only Ambassador who never gave the protocol letter of resignation in a change of administration? He said he was going to stay as long as he felt like it, and he had been a Congressman so he had support. So he did. He stayed his five years so he could get a pension. I think it's the only time in history that that's happened. That's why I was appointed late; that was why I was a mid-term appointee.

Q: Now, did you have any intra-mission rivalries -- political versus CIA, for example? Did the AID people dislike the economic people?

MARTINDELL: We didn't have any AID people. New Zealand's never taken any. No, a small post, they got along well.

Q: Because that can be a problem.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Not everybody liked everybody else, but they got along.

Q: Did you have many consular matters at your post?

MARTINDELL: Yes. A lot of New Zealanders wanted to come here, either temporarily or permanently, and so we did a lot of that.

Q: What about U.S. citizens welfare services? Did you have much of that, or -- do not too many people go there?

MARTINDELL: No. I only remember two real problems. One was a man -- he must have been a New Zealander, I think -- who had married an American and settled in California. I don't remember the whole story. But it was something like, he was called up for the draft and he didn't want to go, so he went back to New Zealand, then he couldn't get back in, and he wanted my help. I felt sorry for him. I don't remember whether I was able to do anything. Then another case where a New Zealand family -- and I don't think this still resolved -- the daughter got into the Moonies' cult. I tried to help on that, but that did not work.

Q: That would be hard.

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: There was a lot of that, though, in that generation.

MARTINDELL: And they're so naive and sweet, the young New Zealanders, that they'd be easily sucked in.

Q: Yes. Do you have another -- there is a Consulate there, isn't there?

MARTINDELL: In Auckland.

Q: How often did you go there?

MARTINDELL: I used to go about maybe once a month. It might not have been quite that often. I'd go off whenever there was something for me to do.

Q: What was it -- a two-man post, or one-man post?

MARTINDELL: I think it was three persons: Consul General and two assistants.

Q: Oh, really, Consul General? And you would go just to sort of cheer the troops along?

MARTINDELL: Yes, and you know, if there was a school or function of some kind that they thought appropriate for me to come, I would go. I think I went to Christ Church more often, where we had a Consular Agent. There are not very many of those. He is a New Zealander, but he's married to an American. Wonderful fellow. He became a very good friend.

Q: Now, did you go there because you liked Christ Church, or --

MARTINDELL: I love Christ Church. I got in a lot of trouble in Wellington -- I ought to have known better -- in Wellington by telling the press in Christ Church that it was my favorite city. (Laughter) A friend of mine was the Mayor of Wellington, and that was very embarrassing.

Q: I should say it is. Now, did you ever have any particular difficulty with dividing up official contacts with your officers, as far as economic types, trade ones, political, and so forth? I know, I realize that you were getting to know the people who were in the Labor Party, but, presumably, your political officer was also?

MARTINDELL: Yes; I would take him along, or have him to a lunch, or whatever; yes, I helped.

Q: And it sort of sorted itself out, did it, who was going to get to know well certain people, because you couldn't get to know everybody?

MARTINDELL: No, I couldn't. I encouraged my economics officer to get to know the business community, and they accepted him, where they were uneasy with me. I tried to help the political officer as much as possible. The one big lack we had was Labor, and that was because they sent us a career man who later died. He had a tumor, a big tumor he didn't know about, that's what was wrong with him. He was doing a very bad job because he wasn't well.

Q: Did inspectors come while you were at the post?

MARTINDELL: I think they did towards the end; I don't remember who it was, though.

Q: How did they treat you?

MARTINDELL: I don't even remember what their report was, so it must have been all right. Charlie would remember; it was during his era.

Q: Did you have any young officers who needed to be trained?

MARTINDELL: Well, there was one young fellow, who was supposed to be our labor attaché, and I thought Dick Dols was a little hard on him, and I'm sure he must have felt badly when he found out what was wrong with him, but he wasn't doing the job. And that was bad, because that was very important. The labor unions in New Zealand and Australia both were particularly, at that point, very influential in the Labor Party, and they didn't like women. It was something I couldn't do. I had trouble in politics with that, too. That type of person doesn't -- they're uneasy with women, very uneasy. I did all right with the Labor women, even though one of them in particular was very militantly left-wing, but because I was a woman, we got along.

Q: What do you consider your major successes?

MARTINDELL: Well, I think in getting about and getting to know the New Zealand people, and getting them to trust me, even though I was an American. Not that the feeling was that bad then, but it gave a basis for what I'm doing now.

Q: And you met the right people to go back to see later.

MARTINDELL: Yes, exactly.

Q: You opened doors. So as you look back on this experience, it was a positive experience and you feel you acquitted yourself well?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I loved it. Thank you. (Laughter)

Q: That's very good, because sometimes you leave a post and think, "Oh, my Lord." Some people have that feeling.

MARTINDELL: Some people just don't leave any imprint, I find out.

Q: Precisely, precisely.

MARTINDELL: And some people leave a bad one, like poor old (H. Monroe) Browne. I think I left a good one.

Q: Well, obviously you did, or certainly this current Ambassador wouldn't have asked you back, would he?

MARTINDELL: No; oh, no. He'd been out there before and he'd heard that I was well liked and that, therefore, I could be helpful.

Q: That really shows quite a bit about him, doesn't it?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I think it speaks very well for him, because it's very unusual for anybody that's been before them.

Q: And also he's putting himself in a vulnerable position.

MARTINDELL: That's right.

Q: He's saying, "I don't know."

MARTINDELL: Yes. I think it takes a very big person to do that.

Q: Absolutely. Funny, how most people, when that happens, think it shows weakness; it doesn't. What are the opportunities of having a private life when you're a Chief of Mission?

MARTINDELL: Not much.

Q: That's what I thought. Is it like living in a fish bowl?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I didn't realize, really, how much it was true. The only time I got called down by the State Department was when I had two engagements one night. I thought I could get by with it. One of them -- neither of them were anything that I wanted to do, but one was the Lions' group meeting there. I thought I could go to the early part of the evening there, and then go to the whatever else I was supposed to do later. Well, I made a mistake, because I thought I could slip out, and, of course, I was observed slipping out by one of the Lions who is a constituent, I think, of Selden, who came from Alabama, and who was looking for things to criticize me. Well, he wrote the State Department and said, "The American Ambassador behaved very badly and embarrassed us." (Laughter) I thought I could slip out, and I couldn't.

Q: Too high a profile, yes. You did have your family come out, did you not, for some of the -- ?

MARTINDELL: I endowed all of my children with enough money to come and visit, so they all came -- all the grandchildren; and my aunt, as I said, came and spent months with me. My two brothers never were able to come, for one reason or another.

Q: Oh, too bad.

MARTINDELL: One of them has a sick wife and the other one had a -- also a sick wife,

and he was looking after the little boy.

Q: So, you weren't too lonely then?

MARTINDELL: Not often, no. First, my oldest son went out with me, which was awfully nice, and then my aunt came. Then she left. I hadn't been there more than maybe two to three months when I was left alone. For a month in there I was lonely, 'cause I hadn't had time to make friends at that point, and you don't have much time to do socializing when you're entertaining officially.

Q: How did you feel about that? Had you become inured to it from your stints here, your eight years here in New Jersey politics? That when you entertain, it has to be for a reason?

MARTINDELL: Yes, I've done that a lot.

Q: So that part didn't bother you?

MARTINDELL: That didn't bother me, no.

Q: Did you ever do any entertaining -- just people you wanted, just casually? "Kick your shoes off and put your feet up" type-of-thing?

MARTINDELL: Later on, when I got to know people.

Q: Yes. But that would take a while, wouldn't it?

MARTINDELL: It takes a while. Particularly, it takes a while with New Zealanders, who are very, on the surface, friendly, but are very family-oriented; so weekends they go off on expeditions. Later on, when I got to know people better, the Ambassador -- I mean, the High Commissioner in London -- who had been out of the country enough; and I guess had been divorced and knew what it was like -- there were two or three families that sort of adopted me. His was one, and the Consul -- the Consular Agent in Christ Church was another. And then I had friends who had a sheep station about an hour out of town. So, those three -- the weekends were not too good -- but one of those three families I would spend a weekend with, when I didn't have official visitors.

Q: So, this was at the beginning that you had-

MARTINDELL: It was just that one month I was lonely.

Q: And you had not lived overseas before, had you?

MARTINDELL: Not ever.

Q: No, so it was really quite a shock.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Then Christmas came, and my family came out after my aunt came out; then I was okay.

Q: Did you find it takes six months to get used to a place?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I would say that was a good criterion.

Q: Well, now, we have talked about the fact that being a woman was difficult because the labor people were uneasy with you, and this sort of thing.

MARTINDELL: And businessmen were equally uneasy. I think this is more true; and New Zealand is very chauvinist; less so than Australia, but still it's chauvinist.

Q: Less than Australia?

MARTINDELL: Less. Australians are macho. Like Texans.

Q: Really? Anyway, you said you couldn't always do the job, but can you think of times when being a woman was an asset to you? Well, you've already said you can get away with a little bit more.

MARTINDELL: You can get away more, yes. And you're noticed more. But then, the older women, as I told you, wouldn't have me in the house. But they wouldn't, in any event. The younger women, of course, thought it great.

Q: Now tell me about your being a role model for the younger women, because that's very important.

MARTINDELL: Well, I was asked a number of times to tell that story I told you about the men's meeting. And it gave them courage to do more than they would have done. Irene Johnson helped, too, because she was there. So, for the first time they had any women, they had two!

Q: But you were the first woman Ambassador to New Zealand?

MARTINDELL: I was the first American woman Ambassador. Irene got there just a few months before I did.

Q: You know, you're one of several who have told me the same thing, that you can say things that a man could not say.

MARTINDELL: That's interesting.

Q: I had never realized that.

MARTINDELL: I might not have known that if I hadn't been in politics.

Q: Yes, you had already found that out.

MARTINDELL: Yes. And yet, they couldn't attack me, as if I were--a man they would have attacked. They'd ignore me, but they wouldn't attack me.

Q: Men would ignore, but wouldn't attack. That's very good.

MARTINDELL: I remember, when I was Vice-Chairman, being quoted as saying, "They'll carry my briefcase, but they won't listen to my serious ideas." I suppose eventually, as men get more used to women in what they consider male roles, then they'll start treating us less nicely.

Q: Well, if women come in and say what you said, they'll get used to you. (Laughter) That's a great story. Now, in a way, that job you had in AID you'd have to call--no, it wouldn't be multilateral, because it was country-by-country, wasn't it? One-on-one. You never dealt with a whole group of countries, did you?

MARTINDELL: Well, occasionally that would happen. I don't think it happened when I was there, but occasionally you would have an earthquake here and an earthquake there, pretty much at the same time, and the aftermath.

AMM: So you'd have to talk to several people, several different countries, to get the thing organized?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, oh, a lot.

Q: Well, then, which do you prefer, multilateral or bilateral diplomacy?

MARTINDELL: I have to think about that. If you have a narrower focus, like you did at the disaster office, it's interesting to do multilateral. But if you're expected to cover the whole spectrum, then I don't think you could do it as well.

Q: I'm told there are quite different skills involved when you're dealing especially at the U.N., where there are all these little countries that band together and beat up on Uncle Sam.

MARTINDELL: One of my first thoughts was that if I was an Ambassador, I'd like to go to the U.N. And all of my friends in Congress said, "You're crazy. It's a hell of a job; don't take it if they offer it to you."

Q: Were you given any honors by the New Zealanders?

MARTINDELL: They don't do that. Because Ann Hercus said to me, "If we gave anybody who isn't a New Zealand citizen an honor, you certainly have deserved it.

Unfortunately, it's not anything we do." Have any women ambassadors had honors?

Q: Clare Booth Luce did.

MARTINDELL: In Italy.

Q: In Italy, but that was because of Trieste, I think.

MARTINDELL: I would have loved to have had an honor. I didn't raise the subject; she did.

Q: She did, yes. Well, if they don't do it, they don't do it. Did you have any health problems out there? Of course, the climate's perfectly salubrious.

MARTINDELL: Oh, it's fine, but in the islands I picked up something.

Q: Did you?

MARTINDELL: We never quite identified it. My doctor and I decided afterward that it wasn't malaria but it was some fever that is sort of like it but doesn't last as long, because I had intermittent aches and a low fever for a while.

Q: It wasn't a life threatening --

MARTINDELL: Oh, no, no.

Q: Were you ever in danger?

MARTINDELL: Yes, and that -- I will get that thing out of my file for you.

Q: That's that trip you took on the frigate?

MARTINDELL: I think I'll get it; you'd better read it, and then I'll supplement it. I damn near broke a leg.

Q: Today is July 9, 1986. I was wondering if you could tell me what was different between Carter's board to select ambassadors and Dave Newsom's Institute of Diplomacy?

MARTINDELL: Our board was politically chosen. His board is--as I remember--is mostly academics and Foreign Service people. And that is actually going to be the problem they're going to have. They have a political problem on that, because they don't have any influence. They have knowledge, but no influence. This is the theory that we are discussing in the Council of Ambassadors. We are all political people. Even though some of us aren't very involved in politics very much anymore, we're enough involved to have our fingers on who's good and who isn't and be able to say

to whatever Administration of our particular party, "So-and-so isn't very good; you'd better stay away from him."

Q: Yes, I see.

MARTINDELL: They'll probably come to pretty much the same conclusions as Dave Newsom's group.

Q: And you operate in pretty much the same way?

MARTINDELL: No, we don't attempt to be as academic, I guess you'd say. Well, more so than the nominating association for fun and games. But the fact is, the structure is there. The reason I say this is because I notice the Republican members of this Council have very tight lines to the Administration, and when we want something, when we feel strongly about something being done, we turn to some of them.

For instance, I have on my Board for New Zealand, and the reason he's on, because he couldn't be more antipathetical, if that's the word I'm looking for, to my ideas; I mean, we're poles apart, but he likes New Zealand and he's useful because he's very close to Reagan.

Q: This is one of the members of your Board?

MARTINDELL: Yes. My New Zealand Council. We have these types on the Council of Ambassadors. Every person who was ever an Ambassador is asked, every non-career. We're all non-career. And therefore, there are people who usually have been working in politics, raising money or something like that, so there is definitely political clout there.

Q: Yes. If I am correct in quoting you on this, did you say that there were more fundraisers among the people put up by the Republican Party?

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. Yes. Very definitely. I think it's always true, and not only in this Administration. I think this is typical of Republicans. But they've gone further (under Reagan), because they have many more non-career. Even Nixon had much more. Much more. [Tape interrupted.]

Q: Talking about this Ambassadorial Seminar book that you have, I noticed that Nancy Rawls talked to the group, Ambassador Nancy Rawls. She had been Ambassador to Mali, and she was going to the Ivory Coast. Do you remember her?

MARTINDELL: Vaguely, vaguely.

Q: But not enough to give me an impression? Because, you see, she died. She died last spring, and I'm having -- I've lost three in a period of a month: Katherine White, Nancy Rawls and Patricia Harris.

MARTINDELL: Pat Harris I knew.

Q: Could you give me any --

MARTINDELL: She was a wonderful gal. Very, very bright; very warm; very attractive.

Q: In what capacity did you happen to know her?

MARTINDELL: Democratic things that I belong to. I don't know whether it was the Charter Commission or one of those sort of things.

Q: Did you ever see her after she was an Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: I think I talked to her after she was an Ambassador.

Q: Did you have any feelings of how she felt about it?

MARTINDELL: No, I can't remember; she did make comments, but I don't remember what they were.

Q: Now, what about Barbara Watson? She gave you a lecture on consular affairs.

MARTINDELL: Yes, Barbara I knew, and she was the one who had the hardest time with that two-week telegram. She had just gotten out there. I mean, a few months, and she had to turn around. She had just said hello; couldn't have time to say goodbye. It was hard on her. I don't remember whether she told me that herself or somebody told it to me about her, but it was a real blow. She was terribly pleased to be Ambassador.

Q: Was she a good speaker?

MARTINDELL: Yes, my recollection is she was a good speaker. A nice, warm person. I had her over to my house a couple of times. I mean, I wouldn't go so far as to say she was a close friend; she wasn't, but I liked her.

Q: She was a likeable person. Was this seminar only two days?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Oh, so that's why it was so superficial. Well, what happened the second day? There's nothing in the book about that. Was that all hush-hush stuff?

MARTINDELL: That was mostly CIA the second day.

Q: Did you find this book in here, called <u>This Worked For Me,</u> a useful book? It has been given to me.

MARTINDELL: Yes, I thought that was quite good.

Q: Charlie Salmon asked me to ask you about a speech you were going to give before you left New Zealand that he advised you not to give. Do you remember anything about that?

MARTINDELL: That was my peace speech -- my only peace speech in New Zealand.

Q: Yesterday we were talking about the wives and how some of them were very lonely and they didn't have enough to do. Can you remember any steps you yourself took to help their morale?

MARTINDELL: Well, they had monthly meetings, and I tried to get to them. And then I tried to be helpful and told them to come see me.

Q: Did any of them ever take you up on that?

MARTINDELL: I can't remember that any wives actually did. I must say Terry was good with the wives.

Q: So they would go to her rather than you?

MARTINDELL: I think so. What happened when Charlie got there, I wouldn't know; you'd have to ask him. But by that time they were working, so there were fewer problems. I don't think there were serious problems. Nothing--just those women were a little lonely.

Q: You said they used to get off in corners and talk about babies?

MARTINDELL: That was not them; that was the New Zealand women, in their old-fashioned way.

Q: Did you have any other women officers at the post?

MARTINDELL: No. One came just as I was leaving -- the political officer that replaced Dick Dols. She had been DCM in Fiji.

Q: Oh, really?

MARTINDELL: She was good. Charlie would remember her name -- Stillman, or Stillwell, or something like that. Very attractive girl. Now there is a problem -- she had a problem, and I wonder if she's still in the Foreign Service. Her husband went around

with her. He was a professor, which meant he had to move every two years, and I think he really had a hard time. It must have been a big strain on their marriage, I would have thought.

Q: Yes, it must have been. How often did you entertain the staff?

MARTINDELL**:** I included one or two of them on a rotating basis at every party.

Q: Did that include the communicators?

MARTINDELL**:** No, they came to the big things, like the Christmas reception.

Q: How about the Marines?

MARTINDELL**:** For things like the Christmas reception. I only had five marines. You know, they would feel a little uncomfortable. Also, there was nobody ever their age there.

Q: Well, that's right. And they always have their own --

MARTINDELL**:** Have their own things. I used to go to their Friday night things -- not every Friday night, but I would go once a month to the Marine house. It wasn't really a Marine house. We didn't have a Marine house. It was just an old-fashioned rooming house in the community. They were going to build one. I think they're still going to build one.

Q: They're still in the process? What about recreation activities? In addition to golf, because I know you're an avid golfer.

MARTINDELL**:** Well, I became one there. I had a very good pro.

Q: Was it too cold to swim much?

MARTINDELL: Yes, and I tried to persuade them to build me a pool, because that's the thing I like best, but they said they studied the degree days and convinced themselves, at least. I would have swum anyhow because I just love it so, but I must say I don't think other Ambassadors would have.

Q: Do you swim every day in your pool here? You do? Wonderful! Now, I know that you're very culturally-minded. Is there much New Zealand literature <u>per se?</u> I notice Katherine Mansfield --

MARTINDELL: Katherine Mansfield's the best known.

Q: Do they make a lot of her down there?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Of course, she hated New Zealand. She left and never came back. Yes, there was always a prize -- not given by me -- but I used to go to the ceremonies of writers. They were real good writers; they're great readers.

Q: That's what you said in your speech. I was very interested in that speech that you gave.

MARTINDELL: They're more painters, I would say, than writers, but there definitely are some good writers.

Q: Are these your paintings, that you did yourself?

MARTINDELL: No. These are by a New Zealand friend of mine -- he did those two and that one. And that was by a woman painter behind you, also from New Zealand.

Q: I understand that you speak French very well. Did you have to use it much at the post?

MARTINDELL: No. Although the French Ambassador did compliment me on my French, but that's because he was so courtly. I speak very fluent French, but I have an accent. It's not unaccented because I have trouble with the Rs. That's my best language, I know. I studied Spanish when I was in the Disaster Office, and I passed that first test, the first level, and I haven't used it since. I was down in Mexico, and I could understand everything.

Q: Really?

MARTINDELL: I could understand everything that was said to me and I couldn't find the words. I thought to myself, I should have gone back to Berlitz for at least two or three sessions. The first level test of the State Department I passed, and I'd gotten a little past that; I was getting ready for the second level when I went overseas. Well, Spanish is an easy language if you've studied Latin and French. My accent is not good in Spanish; I do not have a very good ear.

Q: It's whether you can say the words that counts. What was this vin d'honneur you did on July Fourth? That's what I understood Charlie to say you did on the Fourth of July. Because it was cold there then, of course. Maybe I better just ask you, what did you do on the Fourth of July?

MARTINDELL: We had a reception.

Q: A signing thing? A book signing?

MARTINDELL: Yes, they came in. Yes, that's right. Maybe that was the diplomatic name for it. It came after the reception. Everybody has one on their national day.

Q: The usual thing, yes.

MARTINDELL: I think there was some question that we didn't do the right thing the first year. I mean, we did something, but it wasn't what we should have done and it wasn't what I did for Charlie.

Q: What you subsequently did, yes. A DCM (Deputy Chief of Mission) can make quite a difference.

MARTINDELL: When you don't know the ropes, it makes a lot of difference. Oh, there was the worst thing that I got into. That was a real bummer. Not the present Ambassador, and not the one before him, but there was a man who was a great buddy of Muldoon, and sent him to Washington. No one told me that I was supposed to give him a party. Well, it was a terrible gaffe, and I was put into a very embarrassing position. When I was back in Washington, after he got there, he gave a dinner for Muldoon, who was not there on official business (with the U.S. Government), but for the IMF.

Q: Was this man coming over here to be the Ambassador?

MARTINDELL: Yes, and I should have given -- well, I would have been perfectly happy to, but I didn't know I was supposed to. It was considered an insult. I don't know why one of my New Zealand friends didn't tell me. My staff didn't, and they should have, but I guess they hesitate to tell the Ambassador.

Q: Yes, I suppose they do.

MARTINDELL: And so I didn't give the dinner. Then, this man, whose name I've forgotten, was here and giving the dinner for Muldoon, he didn't ask me. Dick Holbrooke saw me the next day, because I was here at Princeton; I had just stopped by the house to see how everything was.

Q: But you were still the Ambassador to New Zealand?

MARTINDELL: I was still the Ambassador to New Zealand.

Q: Oh, boy!

MARTINDELL: Dick Holbrook said, "Where were you?" And I said, "I wasn't asked." He was absolutely furious and he got Ed Muskie to chastise the Ambassador for it.

Q: Muskie was Secretary of State then?

MARTINDELL: Yes. It was very embarrassing to me, because my instinct would have been to do it, and why I didn't think of it myself, I'm not sure. But I didn't know; I didn't

know it was protocol. I didn't happen to like the man, and I felt it was a bad appointment and that colored my thinking. Everybody thought it was a bad appointment. The reason he was sent, I think, was because Muldoon knew he was quite ill, and he did die in office. He'd never been friendly, and his wife was one of the ones that said she didn't want to have me in the house. So there was definitely no warm relationship there, but still it would have been polite, and I'd have been happy to do it whether I liked him or not if I'd known it was protocol, but I didn't know.

Q: And look at the repercussions!

MARTINDELL: It was about halfway through my term, and I remember Dick telling Mike Armacost, who was his Deputy, in front of me, that I had been badly let down by my staff, and that was the reason I wasn't asked, and what could they do? They did get Muskie to speak to the Ambassador, if not to Muldoon. But I have to say, it was very embarrassing all around.

Q: Of course, it was embarrassing all around. It's amazing to me that you were able to rise above all these terrible things.

MARTINDELL: That's the only thing I remember being troubled about, because I felt I should have figured it out myself.

Q: Sure, sure. So, in a way you blamed yourself?

MARTINDELL: If it had been somebody I liked, I would have done it automatically, protocol or no, but I didn't like him, and I didn't like his wife particularly. She'd been very rude to me.

Q: Speaking of staff, what about your secretaries?

MARTINDELL: I didn't have very good luck. I had a wonderful one temporarily, but she was retired. She was great. Then I had a man.

Q: Oh, yes? How was he?

MARTINDELL: Terrible.

Q: In what way?

MARTINDELL: He was just the worst and he was flip. I don't think I even interviewed him. I think his papers were sent to me, and Terry helped me decide. It was a wrong decision. Then I got a very nice woman, but she wasn't top quality. She was very nice.

Q: How did you get her, from a list?

MARTINDELL: It was from a list.

Q: Because the Ambassador has the right to pick the secretary and the DCM.

MARTINDELL: Yes, and I tried to persuade Ethel (Chipowsky) to come. Then there was a girl in San Francisco. I don't remember how I got in touch with her. Oh, I know. She had some connection with Seattle and my son was living there. She'd have been terrific, but to go through all the paperwork, when my new appointment wouldn't be there that long -- finally I gave up on her. She would have been terrific, and terribly interested -- dying to do it. I had a very good secretary in the Disaster Office; wonderful, wonderful, wouldn't stay. And then I got a girl who was very competent but was always having terrible family problems, so she was out half the time.

Q: She was your third one?

MARTINDELL: Second one in the Disaster Office. She was always having to rush home to a sick child. It was one of those cases where she was divorced. But my last secretary, whose name I can't remember, was very good, but not quite as good as I thought a Foreign Service secretary ought to be. The man was awful.

Q: Well, has that put you off having a man secretary, or would you have another man secretary?

MARTINDELL: It did put me off. Men don't like women telling them what to do, you see. Although my husband had a wonderful man secretary who ended up by being his office manager.

Q: Could you tell me how you regarded this tour as Ambassador, when you compare it to your time in the Senate or to your teaching career or to your career in politics? How does it stand in the overall spectrum of your life?

MARTINDELL: Oh, at the top.

Q: Being the Ambassador is at the top?

MARTINDELL: I love it.

Q: Sort of a culminating thing?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: And very satisfying?

MARTINDELL: Yes. You get spoiled rotten. You get spoiled rotten.

Q: When you came back, did you have any decompression problems?

MARTINDELL: Oh, boy, did I!

Q: Can you tell me about that?

MARTINDELL: Well, it isn't a big thing. I was at the A & P two or three days after I got back and saw one of my friends who said, "What's the Ambassador doing pushing a cart around?" I said, "Who the hell else is going to do it? (Laughter)

Q: Coming down with vengeance, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: It really is. Because of all the publicity; and the people liking me and all, I had been -- I was very much the center of attention out there. And then nobody could care less when I came back. (Laughter) It was a big adjustment.

Q: Well, it took you six months to get used to being out there. How long --

MARTINDELL: I would say it probably took me six months to get used to being back, the decompression period. Not quite as long, probably.

Q: Did you miss things like the chauffeured car?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: And having to drive yourself?

MARTINDELL: No, I love driving. But having, you know, someone who did it was very pleasant. Joe was like a nanny, my chauffeur. (Laughter) He looked after me, and he would be sure I got places on time. You get helpless when you're looked after like that. One thing that just suddenly runs into my mind is going to a reception and being announced. They wouldn't say my name, they'd say, "The Ambassador of the United States." Time after time, the guests would look over my shoulder, look for the man.

Q: That's a good story, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Yes. (Laughter) Yes. You know, you just accept it. It becomes part of you, being waited on.

Q: It's second nature, subconscious.

MARTINDELL: Second nature, yes. And then suddenly, whammy, you're dropped into the icy cold pool of life itself. (Laughter)

Q: There are some very funny stories. What is your feeling toward the women's movement? You told me how you became sensitized to it when you went into politics.

MARTINDELL: That's right. I think that having been sheltered from it, I probably didn't

understand it until I bumped into it. But, boy, then I saw!

Q: Well, now, 10 or 12 years later, how do you feel? Do you feel strongly about it, or less intense, or --

MARTINDELL: No, no, I think it -- I feel just as strongly about it. Helen Meyner and I were talking about this last night, how we've retrogressed. Society has retrogressed badly. She's on a number of boards, boards of directors, and can't understand why I wasn't asked to be on them. Well, I know in one case, because Helen did propose me for something, and the men said -- I thought this was just an excuse -- that they all had to retire at 60 or 65 and I was older than that. She says that she's the last woman left on the Prudential Board. There were two others, who have now retired. She called me to ask for suggestions for younger women, and I thought of a couple. She said, "They won't take them. They won't replace them. They don't want them." There she is on the board, isolated. She can't moan and groan all the time because they get tired of it and it becomes counter-productive.

Q: When you say "Prudential," you mean the life insurance company?

MARTINDELL: Yes. She said she's talked to other women who were directors, and it was the same story. There was a period, you know, when we were doing well, when they were all on the lookout for women, but now the last thing they want is a woman on the board.

Q: Well, you know what they always say: "The tone comes from the top."

MARTINDELL: Yes, that's right. I think we've retrogressed badly, in many, many areas.

Q: I think we have, too. It's interesting that you see that, too. Are there any changes you'd make in your career, if you could, either in your career or as an Ambassador? Well, you would have given that dinner for that man. (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, that's one thing I really regret, because I felt I should have known better. Even without briefing I should have known better. No, I think, on the whole, that I did as good a job as I could. You mean, what would I have changed in what I did?

Q: Yes, if you could have changed your path. In other words, you chose this path and you might have chosen that path.

MARTINDELL: Well, I lucked out on being an Ambassador.

Q: So you don't have any "if onlys"?

MARTINDELL: No. Yes -- I should have gone into politics sooner. I was interested in Adlai Stevenson. And I -- well, I did have Roger as a little boy, so I couldn't have done a

lot -- but I didn't know how to go about it. I didn't know where the Democratic Club was, and I say this to people, you've got to list yourself in the phone book. If somebody decides they want to volunteer for a campaign and they don't know anything about politics -- I should have known, but I didn't. All my friends, you see, were Republicans.

Q: Yes. How do you list yourself in the phone book? Oh, you mean by your own name?

MARTINDELL: No, as somebody. I don't know. But there should be a Democratic Club, which there usually is, and they should list themselves, maybe in the President's name: Democratic Club and the President's number and so on. They really should. How are you going to find it if you don't know? So I didn't get involved. I did give some thought to it. Obviously, if I'd really badly wanted to, I would have found out, but I didn't, and I didn't work. That would have been 15 years earlier than I did, and that's what I should have done. Even if I didn't have time to do much, I'd have learned the ropes.

Q: I quite understand what you're saying. At that time we had too many things to overcome, didn't we?

MARTINDELL: Yes, we did. Women didn't know how to do these things. It was not in the social consciousness of women, and it was an uphill battle to do anything. Especially if all your friends were Republicans. Yes, that's it. None of them were working.

Q: The impact on you and on your personal feelings, of the amount of power you had, did it change your image of yourself?

MARTINDELL: I never thought I had power.

Q: Oh, really?

MARTINDELL: I knew I had influence, but I never in my mind felt -- I probably had more than I realized I did. I probably could have done more with it if only -- that would be an "if only" -- because I was so used to being a relatively old-fashioned woman and so used to not telling people. When I was in the actual position of Ambassador or so forth, I had no problems telling people what to do, but to tell people who weren't actually working for me what to do, I would hesitate, particularly if they were men. I probably could have done a lot more with that than I did. I knew I had influence, but that's a female thing; women always have influence.

Q: That's right. That's very interesting. Now, would you have any suggestions as to advising young women? What would be the best preparation to go into politics or to go into the Foreign Service?

MARTINDELL: Well, they're so related that I think they could do either or both. It's tough to be in the Foreign Service now if you're a woman. Linda Stillman would be a good example. Another example is the young fellow Roger got to work for me in my office who was in the Woodrow Wilson school. He worked part-time and then for a year

he worked full-time. He married while he was still a student, and his wife has had to submerge her career to his. She couldn't work in AID where he went after leaving here. I think they ought to hire them together if they're good. She was just as good, if not better than he was. She worked for the World Bank and when they went overseas she was always having to fiddle around, and sometimes she couldn't get a job, so then she gave up her career.

Q: Yes. This is the tradeoff. You enter into another dimension if they do favor the couples -- tandems, they're called -- because then you get flak from the people who aren't tandems. They think they're being ill-used. It's an insoluble problem.

MARTINDELL: It's a very difficult problem. I didn't know there was actually a name for it.

Q: Yes, there's a name for it, and they have something like 600 couples in that situation.

MARTINDELL: Do they? I don't know how it is in the Foreign Service, but I know from having, occasionally, household couples, that very rarely are they both good.

Q: I know just what you mean; I've seen the same thing. Well, isn't that true, even of your married friends, seldom do you like them both the same?

MARTINDELL: With social friends, usually you like one or the other much better. In nine cases out of 10, the woman's better than the man; more able, more interesting.

Q: Do women make more of an effort?

MARTINDELL: Yes. I mean the women are better as people, and usually not using their full potential. Of course, this is my generation. It's not true of the younger women. There's one bit of advice for the young women which I'm going to write an article about, and I think this probably shows my generation: I'm very disturbed by one phenomenon that I ran into at a dinner party in Washington. There were a lot of Senators, and celebrities. One man who's on TV in Washington has a wife who is very pretty and I sat next to her after dinner. She's a young woman in her early thirties. I was making conversation. I asked, "What do you do?" She hesitated and she looked very upset and then she said, "I'm looking after my four-year-old child." I said, "That's wonderful. Good for you." Well, then, tears came into her eyes, and she said, "You don't know what it's like, the pressure, the peer pressure. All my women friends are working. They all, if they have children, have delegated them to somebody else, and they hardly ever see their children." She said, "I don't want to do that to my daughter." I went on to tell her how great it was, and I told her that at her age I had not done anything. I forgot about the hotel but the children were with me and it was just as if I were going out for a volunteer job a few hours a day, or a paid job for a few hours. But they were there; they had meals with me. So I said, "I didn't do anything until I was 50, outside the home." I said, "I've done quite a lot since. We're living so much longer that you can have your children and you can have a career. First, have your children, take time off to be with them when they're

little, when it really counts. You'll never recapture that. You can't go back."

Q: You're disturbed by the fact that the peer pressure's so bad?

MARTINDELL: Yes. The peer pressure's so bad. My college roommate's two daughters -- one works on and off, but when her children were at their littlest point, she was all the time out of the house -- 8:30 in the morning, dropping them off to a babysitter. Picking them up at 6:30 in the afternoon, maybe spending an hour. My nephew's wife, very high-powered woman, was Chuck Percy's administrative assistant. Two little babies. She was his administrative assistant and now she's working for Margaret Heckler (Secretary of Health and Human Services). Out in the morning, early, early; back. Keeps the children up 'till 10:30 or 11. What are they going to do when they go to school? I just don't think it's a way to bring up children.

Q: No, I don't either. Isn't that maybe the answer to why people are so rude today? Nobody trains them. You know yourself that you have to get after a child to write a thank-you letter or whatever.

MARTINDELL: Or even to say "Good morning" or "Good night." And then this other daughter of my friend is a career woman. The other one is sort of a part-time career woman. She's very high in some bank in Virginia, and she never sees her children, except maybe on weekends. She has a very good woman in the house.

Q: But it's not the same thing.

MARTINDELL: It's not the same thing. I mean, my mother delegated to some nurses and governesses, but she was there.

Q: You didn't feel abandoned.

MARTINDELL: No.

Q: Latch-key children. They look so pathetic, don't they?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I really disapprove of it. Women have time to do both. Okay, so maybe they don't get to be President of the United States, but they can still have a perfectly satisfactory career.

Q: Or, if they want to go the top, then cut out the children.

MARTINDELL: Then don't have children. There are too many children in the world anyway.

Q: Do you think there's any particular scholastic preparation young women should take?

MARTINDELL: Very seldom, statistically -- I think I'm right about this -- is it true that

the major is ever related to what they do -- men and women.

Q: So it doesn't really matter?

MARTINDELL: Not as long as they're using their minds. I'll amend that. For either politics or foreign service -- two skills: writing and speaking; the verbal skills. I can write reasonably well, but I was never trained in "cable-ese," and so I found them difficult to write. It's a special skill. And then, I think, history.

Q: History for the perspective?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Can't go wrong if you major in English and history?

MARTINDELL: At least for the writing skills.

Q: And also, in any of those careers, you have to be able to speak in public, don't you?

MARTINDELL: That's right.

Q: What do you see as the future role of ambassadors, given the fact that more and more Secretaries of State are going over their heads, or the President goes over, or somebody else goes over -- the special envoys and such?

MARTINDELL: I think already ambassadors are way down below where they were a hundred years ago, when they were making decisions.

Q: Of course, part of that is the communications speed now, but part of that is also because it seems to be looked at as something you give friends, a goody you give to friends, for having worked for you in the party.

MARTINDELL: Yes. Certainly the non-career ambassadors.

Q: But the President is not going to listen to them?

MARTINDELL: No, because they owe you. But they have access. That's where the non-career ambassadors have the advantage.

Q: That is very true. But now non-career people are sent to places that career people always had before, because nobody wanted them -- awful places like Belize. They're going there just to get the title "Ambassador."

MARTINDELL: I think so. That's what I figure too.

Q: Well, what's that going to do to the role of Ambassador? Isn't that going to cheapen

it?

MARTINDELL: Yes, certainly it is. If every Tom, Dick and Harry gets to be an Ambassador, it doesn't mean much. My brother says it doesn't mean anything. He loves to kid me. He gets my goat. Well, it doesn't mean what it used to. I have gone a step further, because of the current problems in New Zealand.

Q: That's true. You're in a special situation.

MARTINDELL: Just going for a couple years to Belize doesn't make you anybody. I'm too old ever to do anything official again. I'm not too old, but I probably would be considered too old. I've got the energy of somebody much younger, like Reagan. He and I, physically, I think, prolong life.

Q: Well, look at Averell Harriman; he's up in his 90s -- still going strong.

MARTINDELL: I know. He's pretty far gone, but he was very active right up 'til the time he was 90 or 92, and his mind still works just fine. He can't hear and he can't see. I would love to be just that kind -- sort of a roving Ambassador or special envoy, like Phil Habib. I certainly can't compare myself to him, he's far more able and far more experienced, but I'd love to do that kind of thing. I'd love to, but I'd probably never have the chance.

Q: It's too bad; we do need that. How many of the non-career ones do you feel are good?

MARTINDELL: I'd have to guess.

Q: Well, what proportions?

MARTINDELL: Half.

Q: You think half?

MARTINDELL: Half are no good.

Q: Half of the ones that are appointed. Okay.

MARTINDELL: Half are good, really good. I'll take Angie Duke (Angier Biddle Duke) as an example. Some people consider him rather silly, and he is very social, but he did a good job. He did the speech at the Foreign Policy Association last year with 30 minutes' notice. Whoever was going to speak dropped out. He just ad-libbed about what he had done in Morocco, and it was fascinating. He, obviously, was very good.

Q: Yes. Tell me, what percentage do you think is a good mix of career and non-career ambassadors?

MARTINDELL: I think the way they used to have it: one-third or two-thirds.

Q: One-third non-career. Do you think it will ever go back to the way it was? I suppose the President can do whatever he wants. Sometimes, though, he sets a precedent and then it builds on that. I'm wondering about the trends for the State Department people. Is there any hope for them, in other words?

MARTINDELL: There'd better be, or we will never get and keep good people. I think Democrats are better about this than Republicans, but I may just show my prejudice.

Q: Except under John Kennedy; not good under Kennedy.

MARTINDELL: Really? He offered my brother Morocco. My brother, the same week, was offered President of CBS News, and obviously, he chose CBS News. But it was a pity, because he ought to have known it was a revolving door. It had been before and it's certainly been since. He was there four to five years, and he was terribly chagrined when he resigned.

Q: I bet he was.

MARTINDELL: I mean, he was still quite young. This was early 60s, or middle 60s. He was a great friend of Jack Kennedy's; that's obviously why they offered him the job.

Q: Were your brothers, as well as your son, Choate and Harvard?

MARTINDELL: No, he was St. Mark's and Harvard. Same pattern. He got Jack Kennedy into his club at Harvard, which was difficult to do.

Q: Because he was Irish-Catholic?

MARTINDELL: Yes, Irish-Catholic. And also, when my brother was President of the Crimson, he got Jack Kennedy on the Crimson, which wasn't hard.

Presidents like to be their own Secretary of State.

Q: They do. We're talking about Kennedy, who came in after Eisenhower, and how he thought that after eight years under the Republicans, the people of the State Department were Republicans. Politicians don't understand that the people at the State Department are apolitical; they have to be to survive.

MARTINDELL: That's logical. They can have their own views and their own way of voting.

Q: I've never, ever known a man let it interfere -- or a woman -- interfere with the job. If they felt they simply couldn't carry out the President's policy, they'd retire; they'd resign.

MARTINDELL: That's right. No, they're very loyal. But you'd have to be in there to know that.

Q: As Carol Laise says, "Every four years they have to reinvent the wheel." (Laughter)

MARTINDELL: That's one thing that I think we're very bad about in this country. I've seen this in New Zealand and heard about it in other countries. In fact, I've known some British Foreign Office people. They keep their top people. They have the Cabinet Ministers who are in Parliament. This, I think, is a very good thing, after the moments of truth when you've been elected. For people who have never been elected, let me tell you, it's a totally different view. But they have the civil servant there as the permanent head of whatever department, so there's continuity. They don't have power, but I have a lot of respect for them, because they know their stuff. They were wonderful, and they're wonderful in England, too, I am told.

Q: We have that, but we don't always use it.

MARTINDELL: We don't allow them to get to the top. Now there should be an assistant secretary with good political connections, but his deputy should be the permanent person. At least that. I shall never have the chance to implement that. I think that's worse than non-career Ambassadors, that they don't have a career person as at least Deputy Secretary. Now you take a David Newsom, who is -- was career. That's a different story. Well, they do use them to some extent. Larry Eagleburger is career.

Q: But usually they're "Under Secretary for -- " but they're not the Deputy Secretary of State. No. Those top jobs are big plums, you know.

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes, indeed.

Q: Now, of course, the "Plum Book" goes way down. ["Plum Book" - compilation of positions in federal government subject to patronage.]

MARTINDELL: Much too far.

Q: You've heard about that, I'm sure.

MARTINDELL: Well, in the Reagan Administration, I understand, very much so.

Q: Yes. It really digs in; scares people to pieces.

MARTINDELL: And so many right-wingers in that book!

Q: You mentioned your fever yesterday. Getting back to the subject of health --

MARTINDELL: I'm basically a very healthy person, but I did have that recurring fever.

Q: Was it very debilitating to you?

MARTINDELL: No, because I'm strong.

Q: Didn't slow you down?

MARTINDELL: I'd feel lousy and run a small fever.

Q: Has your health ever been a problem -- when you were little or at any time?

MARTINDELL: Well, I had cancer once.

Q: You did?

MARTINDELL: Same thing the President (Reagan) had. Exactly the same operation. It's been 11, 12 years.

Q: So that was before you went out as Ambassador.

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. I was considered cured.

Q: Wonderful.

MARTINDELL: Oh, yes. My mother had a theory, because I had pneumonia and a little shadow on my lung, that I had incipient tuberculosis. Because I had a great aunt who had it. I mean, my mother was really convinced of it.

Q: She was a worrier.

MARTINDELL: She was a terrible worrier. She was very anxious. I mean, that was her rationale for taking me out of college when I had to go to all the parties I didn't want to go to. Because I couldn't commute to college. It was too far.

Q: I see. Are you bothered by the fact that you're growing older?

MARTINDELL: No, I'm not. Not as long as I've got the energy that I've got.

Q: And you're looking forward to producing many good things?

MARTINDELL: Yes. My mother would have said, had she been alive, and some of my friends keep saying, "Oh, you're running around so much; you never sit down and have time to think." My doctor said, when I quoted that, he said, "Keep it up."

Q: Yes. That's probably why you're able to walk on that foot now.

MARTINDELL: It is. I made myself go to New Zealand because I'd committed myself to go, so I got the cast off for that trip much earlier than I was supposed to.

Q: Good for you. I was surprised that you were able to manage it, when you told me about that. That's terrific.

MARTINDELL: I've been lucky I have a good constitution.

Q: Yes, you are lucky. I'm going to ask you a perfectly terrible question now: what do you consider the most significant achievement in your life?

MARTINDELL: Oh, that's a tough one!

Q: Isn't that a tough one?

MARTINDELL: I think one is working for women and the other one would be opening up the political process. Both of them go together.

Q: Yes.

MARTINDELL: They've ebbed; they're at a low ebb right now, but, for a while, it was better. And the pendulum swings. We hope.

Q: Those are the things. Now where do your family and children fit into your scheme of things?

MARTINDELL: Oh, I adore my children and grandchildren.

Q: I gathered that. They're a very big part of your life?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: A lot of your energies and thoughts go to that? In other words, all the career in the world --

MARTINDELL: Comes second.

Q: Family is first.

MARTINDELL: Although I'm like my mother was, very conscientious when I've taken on responsibility. It distresses me if I can't deliver. I mostly do deliver, but sometimes there'd be family things, or something, that had to come first. Hopefully, it was less. I probably was less good as a wife. No, I was a very good wife in the beginning.

Q: Well, tell me something: where do you think you get this feeling you have, this obvious desire and willingness to go to a great deal of trouble to help other people?

MARTINDELL: I can tell you exactly where I get it; it's one of the strongest influences in my life. Because that year that I had to go to parties I did have one interesting thing to do. I don't care much about the Junior League; I think it's sort of a nothing organization, really. I may be wrong about that. But in New York I joined the New York Junior League. I don't know if it was my mother's idea or not. They had a marvelous woman running the orientation course. Her name was Claire Towsley, and she was something very high in the CSS -- something charities. She gave us such a picture of the poor in New York, and she was also a good friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's, and Mrs. Roosevelt came to speak to us. My parents knew the Roosevelts, but I had never known any of them at that point.

In fact, remind me to tell you a story about my parents and the Roosevelts. I remember my mother saying to me, "Oh, I thought you were going to have fun this year, and here you are working so hard." Well, I always liked to work so hard; that was no big deal. But she said, "Here you are working just as hard as if you were in college. Why are you doing it?" And I said, "Because I feel that I am privileged, probably over-privileged, and I owe it to society." I remember saying that. I was about 18 or 19. Even though my mother had somewhat of this orientation, she thought I overdid it. I guess you could say -- a psychologist would probably say it was guilt.

Q: Well, never mind. I don't think we necessarily have to always put everything on to guilt. I think we can say people do have altruistic impulses.

MARTINDELL: Yes. It's kinder to say that. Why not be positive if you can be? Oh, yes. I was going to tell you about the Roosevelts. My father went to Harvard, as I think I told you. Roosevelt was older; he was about ten years ahead of my father, but they did know each other, I guess from politics, although my father always stayed Republican. But he supported Roosevelt, and Roosevelt appointed him to the Third Circuit as his Republican appointee.

They were invited to the White House -- I don't know if it was the only time, but they didn't go very often -- to a Sunday lunch. This was in the winter. They took the train down from Princeton and they took a taxi to the White House. My mother was told she was going to sit next to the President, but he was tied up at the moment. It was a small luncheon. She was thrilled. She adored him. And he didn't come, and he didn't come, and he didn't come. Finally, Mrs. Roosevelt said, "We're going to sit down, because Franklin's still very busy. He's tied up with the Japanese Ambassador." They went out of the White House and got a taxi to go home, and the driver said, "Did you know we were at war?"

Q: Pearl Harbor Day!

MARTINDELL: Pearl Harbor! And nothing was said at the White House about it. But it had been on the radio.

Q: You know, when you said, "He's with the Japanese Ambassador," a chill went right up my back. I thought: she's going to tell me that was Pearl Harbor Day.

MARTINDELL: I saved it for fairly late so you wouldn't get the idea.

Q: You certainly did. That's a good story! I don't want to ask you about these shoes that you said were enshrined. In a university, did you say?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Waikato University.

Q: That's for the Maoris, is it?

MARTINDELL: Well, no. It isn't for them. I think it's for, like all the universities, for anybody, and $300 is all it costs.

Q: Is that so? And they put your shoes in the case because you had visited this -- ?

MARTINDELL: No, no. Because we'd been together.

Q: Oh, that's sweet.

MARTINDELL: That's really sweet.

Q: And the other thing I must ask you is, what happened to Bella Abzug's hat? The one you won at an auction.

MARTINDELL: You know, I don't know. (Laughter) I think I gave it to somebody else. I think I gave it to another auction.

Q: That's such a fancy story title: "Bella Abzug's Hat."

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: I guess she wore one when she went over to the Decade for Women in Nairobi, and she sat under a tree.

MARTINDELL: I went with her to Geneva.

Q: Oh, you did?

MARTINDELL: Yes, where there was this organization called "Women for a Meaningful Summit". I'm not sure how meaningful the organization is, but I was invited to go and I thought it would be fun to go.

Q: When was that?

MARTINDELL: That was last November. We spent 45 minutes with Gorbachev himself. There were only 35 of us in the group. Well, I guess they added on. Jesse Jackson dominated. He wasn't part of our group, obviously. But SANE had sent a small delegation and the nuclear freeze people had sent a small delegation, so there were about 41 or 42 of us. And anyway, the story was -- Bella Abzug triggered the story. I sat next to her on the plane. When I was Deputy Director of the McGovern campaign, one of my assignments was to look after Bella, because they found her very difficult to work with, and they figured I was diplomatic enough to cope. I ended up by liking her, but she was difficult.

Q: Brash?

MARTINDELL: Yes, very brash. But people kept coming up on the plane. I thought, "Isn't that nice -- two old ladies together" -- she's not as old as I am -- "can just go to sleep quietly." But people kept running up to get her autograph -- all night. It drove me crazy.

Q: What did Gorbachev tell you?

MARTINDELL: He started out in English. It was the first day of his meeting, and he said, "I've just come from a two-and-a-half-hour meeting with your President. It was a very business-like meeting and that's all I'm going to say." They had agreed not to say anything although he didn't say that. Then Jesse Jackson said to us that we were being criticized for being there -- we were undermining the President, which was correct. Our embassy was awful. They wouldn't let all of us go in, and the five women they did let in took a beating from the Deputy Assistant Secretary. You know, there was Bella and there was Jane Alexander.

Q: Jane Alexander, the actress?

MARTINDELL: Yes. We were not peaceniks. We were women who head up various organizations.

Q: You mean the Deputy Assistant Secretary --

MARTINDELL: He said, "What the hell are you doing here?" It was just awful.

Q: Who was he?

MARTINDELL: (Charles H.) Thomas, I think the name is. He was ruder than hell to us. What we were promoting was the comprehensive test ban. That's the only good way you can get real arms control. It wasn't even on the agenda, but we were saying it ought to be. Anyway, Jesse Jackson asked Gorbachev about Soviet Jews, which he said to prove that we were standing by the President. What he was really doing, of course, was mending his own fences. But he is articulate. I have to say he behaved -- for him -- quite well, and he asked good questions and they had a good interchange. But he got all the attention. I

suppose in fairness that's probably why we saw Gorbachev, because Jesse Jackson was a presidential candidate. I'm going down into Washington next week because they're having a rerun -- well, not a rerun -- but they're having a gathering again. We felt we didn't want to wait 'til the summit; it had been postponed so long. We're going to see congressmen and I'm going to lead the delegations to the embassies. That's what we did; we were going to visit various embassies in Geneva.

Q: Which ones are you going to go to in Washington?

MARTINDELL: I can't remember which ones they are because I haven't spent enough time getting ready for this event; I have to do it in the next few days. It's the people who did the five-power -- India's one, Greece is one, Mexico's one. They all came out saying, "Let's have arms control." I don't remember exactly what they said or who they are, but we're going to see them and a few others; again, on the comprehensive test ban. And I'm quite sure the State Department is now pleased with me because of my writing the Prime Minister and saying, "Let's compromise." I sent them a copy of the letter. But they're going to be unpleased with me when I appear with this group.

Q: You go up and down, don't you?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: So there was you and Bella and Jane Alexander --

MARTINDELL: Oh, there were a lot of us. There were about 35 of us.

Q: But only five of you got in?

MARTINDELL: No, no. With Gorbachev, all of us got to see him. I don't know if you remember, there was a ribbon project?

Q: Yes, I do remember that.

MARTINDELL: The head of that -- I can't remember her name -- Jean Merritt, I think it was. She was our spokeswoman, which was too bad. It should have been Bella. But Bella does irritate people.

Q: Does she?

MARTINDELL: Very much. But she is very articulate. Also, she's a name. It would have been much better if we'd had her. Jean Merritt is a very nice woman, but not very articulate, and sort of mousy.

Q: Only five of you got to the American Embassy?

MARTINDELL: Five got to the American Embassy. All of us got to Gorbachev.

Q: Well, was it the Ambassador who told them that only five could come in?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: That's (Faith) Whittlesey.

MARTINDELL: That's right. On my board, Ken Galbraith was the first person I asked, because he loves New Zealand. Did I tell you what he said to me when I called him up? He's a friend of my brother's; I don't know him all that well, but he's a friend of my brother's. I called him up and said, "Give me advice on how to be a good Ambassador; I'm such a neophyte." He said, "Leave diplomacy to the diplomats. I wrote four books when I was Ambassador to India." I tell this story quite a lot. I can't write books, unfortunately, and so it's not what I said, it's what I did as Ambassador. What I did easily was to speak. That's why I agreed to go out. That and the fact that I had been recommended by Carol Laise.

Q: Very good. You would have your children apprentice to a trade?

MARTINDELL: Yes.

Q: Like plumbing?

MARTINDELL: Yes, like plumbing; especially plumbing.

Q: Just to wrap up, could we speak a little bit about what you have done since you were an Ambassador? Of course, you've already told me about this group that you have formed.

MARTINDELL: Yes. That's my main thing. I've been thinking about that. I decided I'd put my emphasis on working for arms control.

Q: Yes, and that's what Plowshares Foundation is all about?

MARTINDELL: The Plowshares Foundation is one of them.

Q: Nuclear Freeze in New Jersey?

MARTINDELL: I co-chair the Nuclear Freeze in New Jersey.

Q: Now is that industrial nuclear business?

MARTINDELL: No. This is arms.

Q: Okay, fine. I didn't know if it was our nuclear power plants, because you were against that, too.

MARTINDELL: Yes, less. Probably wrongly less, but -- no, I want a world for my grandchildren. That's a trite thing to say.

Q: I saw that in one of your speeches. You're quite right, you know; you're quite right.

MARTINDELL: There won't be one if we don't do something. The nuclear freeze was a simplistic idea, as I told the young man who came by to see me who was running for Congress, but it was a way to get it across to the public, and send a message, hopefully.

Q: Sure.

MARTINDELL: And so I've done those sort of peace-related things.

Q: The idea for this council, was this something that had been simmering for a long time in your mind? A New Zealand Council?

MARTINDELL: I'd often thought about it, yes. There wasn't any urgent need, but once the thing flared up in New Zealand, then I --

Q: Something had to be done about it?

MARTINDELL: Something had to be done. It took me a while, but --

Q: It must have, to get all of those people committed to it.

MARTINDELL: Well, to get all of them, yes.

Q: But I would love to see your testimony.

MARTINDELL: Yes, I'll get it. I forgot the first ship that came in was after I was Ambassador; It was months after I got there. I don't even remember exactly when it came in. It was, I think, close to a year. It was a nuclear ship and I said it wasn't. I should have checked. The Navy called me up about a letter to the Washington Post and I had to write a rebuttal which made me look silly. Charlie was in Burma. I could have checked with the New Zealanders, even, but I didn't do that. Anyway, I think I also said the same thing in my testimony, but nobody caught me at it then.

Q: You had mentioned that you're very interested in painting. Do you ever get a chance to do any?

MARTINDELL: I did for a while, but my hand-eye coordination got me so frustrated. I knew what I wanted to do and I couldn't do it.

Q: And yet you must be able --

MARTINDELL: I have a very good sense of design and a good sense of color, but executing the finished painting is beyond me.

Q: It takes a lifetime, doesn't it?

MARTINDELL: Maybe if I'd started when I was in my teens. I'm very visual.

Q: No wonder then you loved New Zealand.

MARTINDELL: It was so beautiful.

Q: You were talking about it in a speech. I've heard it's the most beautiful place.

MARTINDELL: It is.

Q: You were talking about the air, and the brooks, and the mountains, and the hills --

MARTINDELL: And the green fields and the sheep. Oh, it's just --

Q: A painter's paradise?

MARTINDELL: It's a painter's paradise.

Q: They must make a great deal of the light, the way Georgia O'Keefe does, for example.

MARTINDELL: That's right. It's such clear, unpolluted air. It's like Greece and Italy used to be and they're not to the same extent, anymore. The painters and poets all respond to it. My next brother, who is a poet, absolutely adored it.

Q: Did he? He didn't go there when you were there? You said your brother couldn't get out --

MARTINDELL: No, he couldn't because his wife was sick, and she finally died. My other brother couldn't go because he had this trial on, and he still hasn't been.

Q: It's a place I've wanted to go. Sounds nice. You say you didn't begin really to have what people would call a "career" -- if you don't call raising children a career -- until you were 50, and then look at what's happened.

MARTINDELL: Well, that's my point to young women: they have time.

Q: Sure. And women do outlive men, don't they?

MARTINDELL: It's good to have something when you don't have a husband. Politics is the perfect thing, or diplomacy, because it's total -- and also it gives you a built-in family. You're part of the campaign, or you're part of the staff.

Q: I hadn't thought of that: "It gives you a built-in family." Did you feel that, too, at the embassy? That you had a built-in family?

MARTINDELL: Yes. Now that might not be true in a big embassy. New Zealand is a Class 3 post.

Q: It's interesting that you put politics and the Foreign Service together.

MARTINDELL: They have lots of things in common. The Foreign Service is much more precise, while politics is fluid, but the same skills overlap: dealing with people, negotiating, communicating. Those are all skills that are very useful in politics.

Q: I hadn't thought of that. I know that academia lends itself in many instances.

MARTINDELL: Except for the people part. Although some academics are very good with people.

Q: The ones who are really good with people do very well?

MARTINDELL: They're perfect, because they have the background. Yes, they have the background more than politicians. That's true. I mean, that's true of Howard Wriggins, who went to Sri Lanka.

Q: Sure. Well, Galbraith.

MARTINDELL: And Galbraith.

Q: I guess he'd be considered-

MARTINDELL: Oh, he's a wonderful speaker, as well as writer, so he's got all the communications skills.

Q: So those careers blend very well. Politics do and so does academia. The trouble is when you put in business people. That's where you run into problems, because you can't run an embassy the way you do a business.

MARTINDELL: On the other hand, I have found that Billy's friends were often very knowledgeable about ethics -- sometimes more so.

Q: Is that so? Yes, they do. They certainly know the economics. And economics, very often, makes policy, doesn't it?

MARTINDELL: That's right.

Q: The sheep, and all that, they would know all about. In New Zealand it's mostly sheep

and casein, and dairy products, isn't it?

MARTINDELL: Agricultural products. Our businessmen knew what they wanted to sell, which they couldn't always do. But we do have a favorable trade pact still. One of the few places left.

Q: They're such good allies, aren't they?

MARTINDELL: Yes, they are. It was a pleasure to serve there.

Q: Well, thank you so much, Ambassador. I really appreciate having this opportunity to talk with you. Your story is very interesting indeed.

End of interview