

On 30 June 1974 at the age of 53, I opened the door and ~~walked~~ ^{walked} out of the

professional home, United States Navy, within which I had labored for 35 years.

My four year term as Chief of Naval Operations had come to an end. By law,

I could not be re-appointed. The Secretary of Defense, The Honorable James R.

Schealinger, had thoughtfully offered me appointment to any one of several

challenging Navy positions. I had declined these opportunities in order to

demonstrate my own personal commitment to the policy I had initiated, namely,

that flag officers should move "up or out" in order to provide promotional

opportunities and incentive for those who were more junior. In the last several

weeks of my term, I had been offered by General Alexander M. Haig, in the White

House, in President Nixon's name, the post of Director of the Veterans

Administration. I had declined this Service also after Al Haig made it clear

that there would be no White House or OMB support for increased benefits for the

Southeast Asia war veterans and after concluding that the domestic political

turmoil over the White House scandals made sensible management programs impossible.

~~But~~, But, in those final weeks before retirement, as I reflected upon the background

of my decision, I realized that there was, in addition to these specific reasons,

an all pervading desire to leave the Nixon Administration, which I communicated

to the Secretary of Defense and other associates but did not make public while still

on active duty.

There is a long and fascinating story behind this all pervading desire. It can be summarized in a brief statement . This preface is that brief statement. The book that follows is the story.

In the Eisenhower Administration I served, as a Commander in the United States Navy, as the Executive Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, The Honorable Richard Jackson, and also served two Secretaries of the Navy, The Honorable Thomas Gates and the Honorable William B. Frankey. In the Kennedy-Johnson Administrations, as a Captain in the U.S. Navy, I served the Assistant Secretary of Defense, The Honorable Paul H. Nitze, as his Director of Arms Control. Later, when Paul Nitze became Secretary of the Navy, I served as his Executive Assistant.

In these two Administrations, through the great public servants I served, I came to witness, imperically, in action, civilian control of the military. Prior to this service, it had been a philosophical concept I understood and supported. After servicing these two roles, it became a religion in which I ~~ditox~~ deeply believed. Tom Gates, Bill Frankey, Richard Jackson, Paul Nitze were dedicated to the enlightened application of the concept of civilian control. They and their superiors x in the Government made generally excellent use of the career public servants. With some exceptions, there existed full exchange of views and vigorous

debate. Within the Executive Branch, inevitable agency rivalries and differing parochial biases, were used to provide the appropriate adversary "give and take" essential to sound decision making.

Although the practice did not always apply to the public or to the Congress, these two Administrations did operate with a degree of openness and candor within the Executive Branch which set a good standard. With this background, I assumed the job of Chief of Naval Operations in the Nixon ~~era~~ era convinced that a military service chief had two co-equal responsibilities in the broad. The first was to be meticulous in the carrying out of the policies of civilian authority. The second was to be vigorous in the presentation of his views and advice within all appropriate channels.

The course of my four years of service at the national level can best be described as one of increasing disillusionment at the unfavorable comparison between the Nixon Administration ~~and the~~ on the one hand and the Eisenhower and Kennedy-Johnson Administrations on the other - with regard to the decision making process. The openness and candor to which I had become accustomed in the private councils of these two previous regimes, ^{did} ~~was~~ not by 1 July 1970, ~~when~~ when I came back to Washington, exist in the Nixon era.

And it got worse!

Even at the outset, I sensed a reluctance at the highest levels to face up, openly, to the major problems. In my field of endeavor, it was clear that we were a long, long way from granting the equal opportunity to all regardless of race, color, sex or creed to which the Administration was committed publicly. Yet, there was at the White House an unwillingness to ~~ax~~ face up to this openly and with candor. It was clear that defense budgets were going to be inadequate to compete over the long haul with the Soviet Union; it was clear that the President and his principal advisors recognized this. But it was also clear these facts were to be treated as a skeleton in the closet - not to be admitted in any open way for debate by the ~~amk~~ people or the Congress.

And as the Nixon Administration began to prostitute the democratic process in seeking re-election, as this Administration later began to unravel as the President and his principal ~~advisors~~ advisors began to search desperately for new "tactical" foreign policies successes with which to diffuse the national preoccupation with the crimes they had committed, their unwillingness to deal with the issues openly and honestly was carried a step further. In the last two years there was a positive policy to destroy the adversary process. Advice

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was
Advice ~~is~~ not only not wanted, it was manufactured to fit the mold fashioned by the President or his principal advisors. If it couldn't be molded, it was discouraged. If it couldn't be discouraged, there were threats. If the threats didn't work, they were sometimes carried out. Thus, although I left the office before the shocking disclosures of the final group of tapes that President Nixon was personally involved in a criminal coverup, I had concluded during my term that I could no longer loyally serve an Administration in which secrecy and decepti~~o~~n were rampant and in which the words "honor" and "integrity" were marked as ~~high~~ naive. As I look back on these four years, I can see many circumstances in which I could have performed more efficiently. I can see several events ~~in which I wish I had handled~~ that I wish I had handled somewhat differently. But there is ^{one} ~~is~~ decision of which I am very proud and would not wish to change. That is the decision very early in my four year watch, with the support and encouragement of my wonderful wife, Mouza, that I was going to reject the blandishments to get on the Byzantine team, and would strive to operate in an open fashion - the problems my Navy and my country faced were so serious that not only the Administration but also the American people, and the Congress, had to know about them under our democratic processes - that no matter what the pressures - and win or lose - I would maintain this policy.

Let us now proceed to the story. I am now reading into the tape a speech written by Mouza which should be labeled "October 4 - Greenbrier - Mouza".

This is an important occasion for me!

This is the first talk that I have given since my husband retired from the United States Navy after four years ~~xxxx~~ of service as Chief of Naval Operations, after 35 years in the Navy, and, what's worse for him, after 29 years of marriage to me!

And so - after many years of speaking to U.S. Navy groups about problems of the Navy and of the future, I find myself,* in this new phase of my life,* embarked upon a new voyage - the opportunity to communicate with those of you who are traveling other courses!

Let me begin by admitting at the ~~xxxx~~ outset that I am quite different than most of you in that I was born and reared in a foreign country - and if there are any of you who are immigrants to this country, ~~xxxx~~ I'll wager that we still have a difference, in that I was born in China.

My father was French and my mother was White Russian. Both of them were born in Siberia. My father owned a fur company there in the days of Czarist Russia.

My parents, in order to avoid the fate that came to many of their friends and relatives, escaped from Siberia in 1921 and I was born in this northern

province of China in the city of Harbin, in 1922.

I don't remember it, of course, but my aunt, my mother's sister, who lives with me, tells me that during my first two years, after all those years of gracious living that my parents had had in Russia, they had almost nothing in Manchuria, and my parents frequently had to feed me only on bread and water.

Later, my father who was a very resourceful man, became somewhat re-established in Manchuria, owning what we in this country would call an ice-cream parlor. We didn't have a lot, but we were happy. My parents had learned the transitory nature of success in Asia and made a conscious decision that, although they had very little, they would raise me as nearly as possible in the same way as they would have done had they remained in Czarist Russia.

They gave me piano lessons. They taught me to love good music and art. Perhaps most important of all, they and the survivors of Czarist Russia who settled in Harbin by the thousands and who set up schools and churches and social life in the tradition of old Russia, carried on as though conditions of life were unchanged. There were wonderful parties and dances and holiday celebrations, attended by Barons and Generals and their ladies as well as others. I don't remember that any of us thought it was unusual for a man whom we had seen in a chauffeur's uniform earlier in the day to arrive at a party in the evening in his threadbare uniform of a Czarist General.

I remember as a girl of 10, that this attitude continued even after the Japanese moved in to occupy Manchuria in 1932 and began their somewhat brutal administration.

The point I want to make is that somehow this group of people, perhaps the most survivable members of a society that had been destroyed in Russia by the Communist Revolution, did not live in the past, did not seem plogantly to dream of the wealth that ought to be regained, but, rather, learned to cope in an alien country, among an alien race, and to savor life as they lived it.

I make this point because I think it is relevant to the experiences I have had as the wife of a rather unique Naval officer.

I met my husband in Shanghai in 1945. I was living there by then with my aunt. My mother had developed a malignancy. My father could not afford to leave his business to take her to the Rockefeller Hospital in Peking. We agreed that I, then 17 years old, would do so. After my mother's surgery, I brought her to my aunt's home in Shanghai, China, where my aunt and I cared for her until she passed away. By that time, in 1940, the Japanese had severed all communication and transportation between Shanghai and Manchuria. It was not possible for me to rejoin my father. In my opinion, this tragic circumstance, saved my life or, at the very least, saved me the tragedy of a life in Russia. For when the Soviets came into Manchuria at the end of World War II, they killed many, including my father, and took most of the rest back to Russia. So I was

in Shanghai when my husband, who was then a Naval officer: Lieutenant brought the first ship to fly a U.S. Flag since the War began, up the Yangtse River to Shanghai in September of 1945.

He loves to tell that we met on the first of October, that he proposed on the 7th, and that we were married on the 22nd. Actually, I will admit in the presence of you ladies that I would have accepted his proposal on the third date - once I realized that he didn't conform to my perception of the typical American sailor.

Our life together ~~xxxx~~ again gave me ample opportunity to use the philosophy I had been taught as a child in a displaced society.

As a Navy wife with children, moving from place to place, having often to fulfill important social responsibilities as the wife of the head of a department or the wife of the Executive Officer or the wife of the Commanding Officer, I had distinct advantage of being able to adapt from a childhood where we had similarly adhered to the social responsibilities and the tradition of having happiness and fun, with very little income. This Spartan life of course changed somewhat after many years when my husband was selected for Rear Admiral in 1965. But again my early training was useful in keeping me flexible as my husband was accelerated from two to three stars in three years and then 29 ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ months later to the top job in the Navy.

It was possible for me to enjoy my role as the wife of the Chief of Naval Operations and yet to realize from the very outset that it was an experience to be savored additionally because it would be a very brief four year experience.

And because it would be brief, and because it came at a time of great challenge in this country, I fully joined in when my husband issued the call to restore the fun and ~~stark~~ zest of a naval career and to overhaul its personnel system.

To determine what the principal problems and concerns of the naval personnel and their families were, there has been called into Washington representative groups of sailors and officers and their wives. One week it would be the sailors from a destroyer force and their wives. Another week it would ~~xxxxxx~~ be the officers from a submarine force and their wives. Still again, it would be black officers from the Pacific Fleet and their wives.

Both husbands and wives were asked to get together and list their concerns. I made it a practice to get together socially with each wives' group in order to learn in a more relaxed situation from them directly what their concerns were so that my husband would have the benefit of these additional insights. I also attended weekly meetings at which ^{these} ~~the~~ wives and their husbands reported their conclusions to my husband. This made it possible for me to be useful to my husband and to serve the Navy wives in another way. I would meet with large groups of Navy wives

as we traveled about the United States and overseas. Because I had come to have a good understanding of the attitudes and problems of Navy wives of each area and background and because I had participated in the Washington meetings where they reported on their problems and listened to the reactions of the Chief of Naval Operations and his principal advisors, I was able to help many wives around the world in our discussions. I tried to help them to understand the ways in which we were working to solve or ease their problems. I tried to be sure they understood the reason for some of the hardships in Navy life and the sacrifices that they and their husbands were having to make.

Another part of my job in Washington was to get acquainted with and establish relationships with the wives of Ambassadors, foreign Naval attaches, and other members of the foreign delegations located there. One of the most important mechanisms for this was my participation in the International Wives Club. These clubs have operated for years in the Washington area. They are groups organized by wives of Washington officials for the express purpose of permitting foreign wives to meet with the wives of U. S. officials and vice versa and for each group to get to know the other better. I found this an important way to come to understand the problems of the various parts of the world. I came to be very impressed with the similarities of interests in home, family and children and

in spite of the differences in customs, religioj and backgrounds of these wives.

Almost every month of our four year tour my husband would receive an officaal visit ~~from~~ from the Chief of another foreign Navy so that during this pperiod, we had the opportunity to entertain in our home about 40 different heads of naval services from 40 different nations. Many of you have read about the home in which we lived in Quarters A at the U. S. Naval Observatory. It has been in the news recently as the Congress passed legislation to take it away from the Navy and to make it available as a home for needy Vice Presidents - for example, Nelson Rockefeller. But we found it a lovely home in which to live andán important way ~~to~~ contribute to our service to service relationships as the heads of services and their wives got together under informal circumstances. We had the opportunity also to repay ^alarge number~~s~~ of these visits overseas. And these ~~opportunities~~ visits gave us the opportunity to get to know the problems ofthe other countries and still further to strengthen the ties between the navies, and for both of us to understand ways in which United States Navy or our wives organizations could be helpful to those other navies who were less fortunate than we were. It was amazing to me to learn that the very high values of these friendships. On many occasions, during periods of international tension, my husband was able to pick up the phone, or to send a letter or telegram, to one of these friends and to solve

a problem quickly that would have taken weeks through normal channels.

~~Mydasianandbookalso~~

It was also a valuable opportunity to use our home for the entertainment of many of the young wives of the Navy who normally had not had access to this house. On several occasions during each month, I would have Coffees at which a few of the wives of our senior officers would co-host large numbers of the younger wives and seek to understand their problems and to be sure that they do as much as we could teach them about what was going on at the upper levels to try improve conditions of life for them.

One of my most rewarding activities in support of my husband's interests in providing ~~g~~ true equal opportunity in the Navy regardless of sex, color, race, or creed. I do have to admit that there was one aberration. One day I ran from television - my husband had just issued Z Gram 117 authorizing women, for the first time, to serve in unrestricted categories on board the hospital ship sanctuaries. When my husband came home that evening, he asked me what I thought about the announcement. I said to him "I understand the theory of what you are doing - and I guess I agree - but I'm certainly glad it didn't happen while you were still going to sea." A few other wives also had reservations since a small group actually picketed against change down in Norfolk. However, over time, it was

demonstrated that in an era when we have no draft and when every able bodied person who is interested in serving in military service is needed if we are to fill our goal, women do help.

I worked very hard to help to bridge the gap in cultural differences and misunderstandings between the races. We had weekly meetings with minority group wives in the presence of the wives of majority groups. Frequently, we had vigorous arguments. We brought in people who were technically competent to talk about the ethnic differences and the reasons for ~~psy~~ psychological hangups between the majority and the minority people ??? ^{and} #14 Side A Side B. And it was exciting to see the growth of understanding over the weeks and months between those minority and majority members of the groups. These people in turn served as facilitators in other groups as they moved to other areas or, sometimes, in the vicinity of Washington. I really believe that there is great promise in this kind of activity.

I want to describe one other activity - the Navy Wives in Washington. We discovered in our discussion groups one day that there was a general lack of familiarity in ~~skixix~~the way in which Congress operated. Accordingly, I contacted a friend, Congressman Ben Gilman, who is a freshman member of the last Congress, and asked him whether he would be willing to initiate seminars for Navy wives. Ben is a very thoughtful and dedicated public servant and readily agreed to do so.

He set up a system whereby various members of Congress took turns in meeting with our wives group ^{monthly} and over a course of several months found that we were able to acquire considerable knowledge about the way in which Congress gets its work done. This, in turn, led many of our wives to volunteer to serve in the individual offices of Congressmen whose work they came to admire. I have had many fine reports back of mutual satisfaction derived from this work.

I could go on at great length about the problems and opportunities being the wife of an official in Washington but believe that I should conclude now with one final reference to the benefit of having been trained as a child to be adaptable.

As my husband left the job as Chief of Naval Operations, we had all the help that one could wish for. We have returned to the porter(??) of a more peaceful life of a retired couple, and I am finding that it is great fun to learn gain to ~~sink~~ ^{havenot} cook and that I/~~xxxxx~~it forgotten how to iron and make a bed. Thank you very much.

KISSINGER

He is a man of great talents and intelligence who is capable of great charm and persuasion. An initial experience with him to the uninitiated is like a delightful seduction. He exudes charm. The listener, particularly in one on one situation, is convinced that he is the most important person in the world to Henry. He can perform a similar job on a larger audience by somewhat modified tactics. When he is one of liberal views, the nuances and inferences are that he, Kissinger, is a man of liberal persuasion driven by a hardline task-master and other circumstances to do the very best he can to salvage foreign policy positions which he would be supportable by the liberal side. When he is with one of conservative persuasion, the nuances and inferences are in the other direction. The seductive process becomes less charming as one gets to know him better because it becomes quite obvious as you sit in with him among a range of different groups and in this he does arrange his views somewhat to suit the taste of his audience. This process of disenchantment becomes greater when one begins to perceive the disloyalty and lack of integrity of the man. I have heard express great distrust for many of those about him none of whom I'm sure have ever heard this from him. ??? express privately his great disenchantment with the President while in the presence of the President playing the role of total

~~sympathant/sycophant/~~ There is to very strong weight evidence, not provable
in court, that he has cut down numbers of important people. The most heartbreaking
of these to me is Henry's efforts to smear Paul Nitze which led to a decision on the
part of the White House not to submit his nomination to the Congress to be again in
the Nixon Administration as he had been in the early part of the Kennedy Administration
as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. His efforts to
cut Paul Nitze down appeared to be part of the pattern with which he has operated
namely, he cannot stand true intellectual competition, Paul Nitze is his intellectual
superior and was of much harder line used concerning the Strategic Arms Limitation
negotiations. Rather than to ^{accord} ~~smear~~ him the position of a distinguished adversary
and to permit the adversary process to go forward under circumstances which Henry
had the high probability of winning ^{since} / he had the ear of the President and that was
both before and after any National Security ^{Council} / Meeting, he chose to prevent Paul Nitze
from gaining the opportunity. His tactics applied to numbers of others who ?? ??
stand up to him ~~and~~. He has operated in what I consider to be moral fashioned????
The conduct of his foreign policy, that is, he has^y not leveled with the Congress.
He has deceived important members of the Executive Branch. I believe that no one,
not even the President, ^{is} ~~was~~ aware of the extent of his commitments to the Russians
through the Kissinger-Dobrynin circuit and that the democratic process necessary to

the formulation of foreign policy which can be supported over time by the people has not been permitted to take place. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

LONG PAUSE IN TAPE (possibly asking to make next title)

ROGERS

I would describe Secretary Rogers as a decent and mild man of competent administrative talents but one who did not relish the adversary relationship necessary for him to have done a creditable job as Secretary of State. Because he did not insist upon his prerogatives, he did not face up to the Machiavellian Kissinger and he became increasingly less effective in ~~????~~ of the State Department ~~????????~~ became (approx. Part 3 of tape B Side #19) increasingly less influential.

GENERAL HAIG

I first knew Al Haig when he was a Lieutenant Colonel working ~~as~~ as Special Assistant to Joe Kolofango?) who was in turn Special Assistant to Cyrus Vance, Secretary of the Army. After the Cuban crisis was over, ~~Max~~ ^{Secretary} McNamara ~~placed~~ ^{replaced} Cyrus Vance as Secretary of the Army in charge of putting together our policy toward Cuba over the long haul. I worked with him on the formulation of the plan while I was in the office of Paul Nitze who was then Assistant Secretary of Defense. Al Haig was a man of competence professionally. But his great knack was ~~of~~ the ability to ingratiate himself with his superiors and to move rapidly up the ladder of assignments. This ^{is} of course consistent with the normal pattern of success except that in

Tape 14 - Side B - Part 4

Al's case one always found himself worrying a bit about whether or not the performance was carried out in a completely honorable manner, that is, was he ingratiating himself by solid performance or was he at the same time cutting down those with whom he /???? . I was not quite sure after my early association with him.

He came to the attention of Henry Kissingerx through Henry's old friendx and x mentor who discovered Henry when he was in the Army - Fritz Kramer, a senior civil servant in the Army has for many years been political advisor to the Chief of Staff of the Army. Fritz Kramer is also a German immigrant and has the same German accent and intellectualism as Henry but is a man of very great integrity and constancy of views. Henry brought Al Haig into his office as a Lieutenant Colonel possibly a Colonel soon after Mr. Nixon assumed office. When I came back for my April 1970 interview with John Chafee and Mel Laird, I had a brief encounter with Al Haig while waiting to see Henry Kissinger in the White House. At that time our relations seemed to continue to be cordial. Through my friends in the White House, I learned that Al's performance was different from Henry's in one respect. Both were masters of deceit and disingenuousness. Each was capable of running the other down. Each have done so to me. I am informed that when Henry was away on trips, Al used these ^{sew/doubt} opportunities to /?? out in the President's mind about Henry's loyalty

and when Henry returned from these trips, there was always a period of great paranoia while he sought to restore his normal primacy over Al Haig. At the same time there was an addition to this hate relationship a love relationship. Henry badly needed Al Haig because Henry ~~does not~~ is totally disorganized and incapable of handling the broad mass of details but rather has to save himself to concentrate on the major issues - a few at a time. Al is a good staff ~~is~~ and is ~~able~~ able to

(?)

move in Henry's name and with ?? confidence and considerable amount of ~~the~~ issues of lower importance. The significant difference between them was that Al never had the temper tantrums in front of his subordinates for which Henry Kissinger was noted. On the other hand, it is a shame ever to have inherited the true loyalty of his subordinates. He rose from the rank of colonel to a four star general during a single tour in the office of the President. A phenomenal rise without command experience during any of his ~~senior~~ senior grade. ~~On one occasion~~

On one occasion, date of which can be provided, Al Haig came to the Pentagon to have lunch with me. At this time there were rumors that he could be jumped from two stars to four stars and serve as the Vice Chief of Staff. At lunch Al pretended not to be aware of these rumors but appreciated asking me my advice as to what he ought to do next. I told him that in my view he would sit better with the Army if prior to his becoming chief or vice chief of staff, he went to

TO THE FIELD. I KNEW THAT THE FOUR STAR GENERAL IN PANAMA WOULD LOVE TO
retire . This subject was discussed by me at the lunch , the rest of the
lunch consisting of Al's reporting to me in a confidential fashion concerning
the difficulties he was having serving as the Deputy*~~between~~*the intermediary
between the President, who didn't trust Henry and Henry, who didn't feel
comfortable with the President. He also stated that the President tended to
vary radically from a position of very strong resolve to the stone age
if he couldn't get a resonable agreement and resolved to get out at almost
any price. He said that he found that it required considerable dexterity
to buck up the President when he was in a bug out mood and he lived in dread
of the fact that he and Henry would get together when the President was in one
of those moods he to do the same. From a close friend
in his*office*I*learned Henry's office I learned that immediately after returning
from that lunch, Al was apparently concerned that Henry would know where he
had been or find out and being fully educated as to Henry's suspicion and
paranoia, Al walked into Henry and said I've had lunch with the most hypocritical
man in Washington. Proceeded to give him a debrief which was so different from
the lunch we had had that I would never believe he was covering the same
incident.

knew David Young , said to me. David may not be in but he will serve
with total loyalty. I think that David trait of complete loyalty to his sup-
eriors probably gets stronger under the peculiar circumstances that the plumbers
..... handled himself
..... of idealism. Although he ppears to have*beeñ..... better than
any of the others once the plumber's operation so the light of day.

Tape 14 - Side B (end)

Halderman

I had only one experience with Halderman, I telephoned Halderman one day and tried to set up a bunch of appointments, Halderman said he had made a practice not to get to know those within the hierarchy or those in positions he would have to handle in order to exert absolute objectivity in dealing with them. I told him that I fully shared his view that a man in his position had to remain objective but it seemed to me that he could serve the President better if he knew more about problems.

End of Tape 14 - Side B

Section of Halderman continued on TAPE 15 - Side A