

Tape 22 *John*

did not believe the changes were appropriate but who remained loyal subordinates ~~that~~ would have been fully bogged down even before the serious deployment of ships and aircraft to Southeast Asia. They already faced the prospect of having to train larger numbers of lower mental group 4 than before. They already faced the prospect of shortages in men as the dip in recruited numbers began. They already faced the problem of keeping in line the two polarized groups that - those who went to far and those who resisted the change. They already faced the problem of achieving racial harmony in a Navy which was receiving unprecedentedly increased numbers of minority personnel. They faced the decade long continuing prospect of inadequate funding of over-haul and maintenance accounts, inadequate numbers of trained people, and inadequate time to train or to over-hall. Now, as the Navy responded to the call of the Commander and Chief, they faced the prospects of doing all of this in double time with only half as much turn around time. On the line in Southeast Asia the hours were longer, the gun-fire support missions more numerous, the air sorties more numerous, the underway replenishment of fuel, ammunition and stores more frequent than at any time throughout the war. All of these factors were of the kind and order which lead to occasional major fights in previous wars (I recall several in WWII and during the Korean War. It always seemed amusing to me that Ad. George Anderson, former CNO, who reacted with such horror to ~~the~~ fights between black vs. white was the same man who in

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referring to a major fight in the Navy between whites had said to me in 1956-57, "Boys will be boys".) But one other ingredient was necessary to provide the final catalyst to our difficulties. Throughout most of the Southeast Asia war our ships were able to take turns standing down from the battle-line and to steam to pleasant liberty ports where the crews could take a break from the ~~vigil~~ rigors of sea and war. Exotic places like Singapore, Hong Kong, Sasabo, Ukosko and occasionally Australia and New Zealand, provided the necessary opportunity to get away from it all after months of dangerous or worse boring and long hours. But after the 30 March 1972 North Vietnamese offensive, the requirements for Naval and Air support for US and South Vietnamese troops was simply too great to permit these excursions. When ships did get away for necessary voyage repairs and over-hall we could ~~not~~ ^{only} spare them long enough to go to the nearest navel complex, Subic Bay in the Phillipine Islands . Subic Bay is an ideal naval port facility for things in this complex a number of miles northwest of Mif Manila , ships and aircraft can be cared for very well with its deep water harbor, a naval air field built in peace time through the precients of Ad. Radford, former Chairman of the JCS, and a fine ship repair facility, supply depot, and ammunition storage. But Subic Bay is far from an adequate place for large numbers of transient naval personnel. There is Grande Island, a small

island in the bay, which has modest recreational facilities. And there is the small town of Alangapo which has almost no decent facilities but is loaded with cheap bars and whore houses. In the previous war years, blank thousand sailors a month had taken liberty in Alangapo. These sailors tended to segregate themselves into recognized black and white enclaves in the town. Local bars and whore houses adapted themselves to catering to one group or the other. Thus the situation was ready made to provide the catalyst for racial difficulties. Then, after the surge deployments in March 1972 came, the visits of transient sailors to Alangapo increased to blank thousand a month. Despite increased precautions by local police and increased shore patrols, fights began to break out more frequently in the town. Sometimes these fights were between white and white. Sometimes they were between black and black. But most frequently they were between white and black, because under the influence of alcohol, tired over-worked, bored, lonely, inadequate occupied on liberty sailors, latent hostilities was the most volatile trigger. Thus it was on the night of Blank

(Here describe the Hausiampia Story from the file.)

(Tie into the KITTYHAWK Episode) (Tell the KittyHawk Story) (Tie into the Constellation)

actions

(Discuss any operations taken by SINCPAC Fleet, 7th. Fleet, COM Naval Base Subic, CNO

during the Hausiampia and Kitty Hawk actions) (Discuss the detailed chronology of times and

telephone conversations with Clarey, Warker, Warner etc) (Mencon concerning Warners delay)

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(Trip to China Lake and recall) (Call from Kissinger ^{to} and Laird and Kissinger to Zumwalt)

With events having reached this stage, it was apparent to me that major actions were required to insure that no further episodes occurred. We had ~~some~~ somehow to break through to the completely separate channels of communications that the brothers had come to use. We had to make it clear that we were going to preserve good order and discipline and to take action against any who violated regulations and the law. We had to be fair in the administration of the justice that would ensue. We had to resist the over-reaction that would set in as an aftermath of these events and which could set back our efforts to intergrate. And finally, in the midst of the uproar, while many were clamoring for this reaction, we had steadfastly to reaffirm our comitment to human goals in creating equal opportunity for all - the lack of which was after all the basic ingredient in the discontent leading to these events. In evaluating how to go about dealing with this multifaceted requirement, I had also to consider how public or private to be. There were all manner of private channels through which my views could be communicated to the Fleet through the chain of command. Or I could go public in my guidance so that all of our constituencies would know about it. I had more to worry about than all hands in the Navy. There were, in addition their loved ones who would be vitally concerned about the way in which we would be handling the specific circumstances and there aftermath. We had the American people at large to be

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atisfied. We had the press and the congress. It was already apparent the media interest in this, the Kitty Hawk and Constellation, had made these events a matter of national interest and concern. It was also apparent that there was strong interest from key members of congress- some in strong support in what I had ~~done~~ been trying to accomplish and others ready to use these incidents to force the Navy to abate its efforts to intergrate. Ad. George Anderson was operating covertly from his White House desk. He telephoned the Sec. of the Navy John Warner almost daily (but never telephoned me) to report presidential concern over the Navy situation. He was in touch with some of our highest ranking active duty Naval officers urging them to join, under the table with him, to get direct and indirect pressure put on congress to investigate the Navy's "malfeasance". Other jackals were lurking. Col. Robert Heinel, the racist retired Marine officer who as a columnist printed numerous falsehoods about me and the Navy over the months, was hard at work. I concluded that this ^{issue} ~~course~~ was so critical to the Navy and the nation that I must go public in my guidance and to do so in a way which would force the debate concerning the rightness or wrongness of my stand into the open. It seems to me that the George Andersons and their ilk were seeking to have the best of both worlds, talking about "liberalism" and "permissiveness" in the Navy while privately making it clear that these were buzz words for "turn the clock back", "Don't let the Navy intergrate" etc. I decided that the

thing that could happen would be to force these people and their attitudes out from under the rug and into the light of day. While I was searching for the proper vehicle for accomplishing this, a fortuitous opportunity came along. Mel Laird, who had been tough and hard in support of what we had been doing and who, I believe, sensed that John Warner's lack of commitment to intergration in the Navy, ordered two of his assistants to provide advice to the Sec. of the Navy. These two were Daniel Henkin, Ass. Sec. of Def. for public affairs, and J. Fred Bushart (later to be associated with the Watergate scand^{els} in the W.H. who was then the General Consul to the Sec. of Def. As they surveyed the ~~sc~~ scene these two men observed that I was about to have one of my occasional briefings for all of the flag officers in Washington. They noted that I was planning to speak to this group about the Kitty Hawk, ~~S~~ Constellation incidents. They recommended to John Warner that my speech be made public. At about the same time Mel Laird made it clear to John Warner that he expected John Warner's total support of the Navy's human goals program at this critical juncture. John Warner then ordered me to broarden the meeting with all flag officers to include all Marine Gen. Officers. He directed that the ^{Commandant} ~~common~~ man of the Marine Corp and I both give our views and stated his intention to give his befor that forum. I protested to him his decision to include the Marines, it seemed to me they had choosen another route to personnel administration, that they had intergrated their service far earlier than the Navy

Navy, and that their troubles had come about earlier. They had brought in a much larger group of minority personnel before the Navy had. Their racial unrest had already occurred. Congress had investigated it. It seemed for the time to be behind them. I thought we should not include them in addressing ~~their~~ this special timely Navy ~~problems~~. John Warner's decision remained firm.

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I considered also whether to reclaim his order to make my speech public.

I concluded that this presented the very occasion I had been looking for. I would have preferred a different form because my previous talks to this Washington flag officer group had normally been informal and off the cuff and, further, this group was not directly in the chain of command involved in the Kitty Hawk and Constellation incidents. But having the weight of Mel Laird and his staff behind the decision to go public with this speech meant that I would get a speech of the kind that needed to be given cleared by the Public Affairs Office. It further meant that the normally negative attitude of John Warner toward our commitment to racial integration could not so easily intervene to modify the things I wanted to say in the speech in the clearance process. I, therefore, concluded, that I would go forward using this occasion as the vehicle for the publicly delivered guidance to the fleet.

My staff and I labored meticulously on the words of that speech. I considered it to be most important of my Naval career. I wanted it to state the issues clearly and forthrightly. I wanted it to serve as the beacon for those who believed as I did. I wanted ^{it} at the same time to serve as a rallying point or a target for those who disagreed so that I could bring them out into the open. I wanted it to reassure the officers and men ~~and their~~ their families that I was still in charge and would brook no lessening in our commitment both to eliminate racial prejudice and the requisite discipline and justice. The speech follows:

AT THIS POINT, I WOULD QUOTE THE SPEECH.

This speech was sent up to the Public Affairs Office for clearance, two or three days before delivery, and was cleared for publication by that date. I gave it as printed. John Warner spoke from notes. General Cushman, the Commandant of the Marine Corps, gave his speech.

Immediately after the speech, John Warner reiterated his order to me that the speech be published. For the reason given above, I was glad to do so. He stated his intent to have his speech go out too publicly. Before he sent his speech up to the office of the Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs clearance, a great hue and cry went up from the old guard and their friends on Capitol Hill,

~~was~~ criticizing the speech that I had published for providing my guidance in a public way. At this juncture John Warner re-wrote his speech, changed it appreciably, and sent it out in the following form:

AT THIS POINT, QUOTE JOHN WARNER'S SPEECH

The issue was now fully joined. The press was filled with news stories and editorial comment about both the incidents and the speech. Typical examples follow:

AT THIS POINT, I NEED TO PUT IN SOME ARTICLES FROM THE NEWSPAPERS
that provide a range of opinion.

The night of the speech, the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Congressman F. Edward Hebert, of New Orleans, attended the Marine Corps Birthday Ball in New Orleans. He was besieged by protests from some of the senior naval officers and Marine officers about the unwarranted nature of my speech and the unorthodox "chewing out" I had allegedly given. ^{Mr. Hebert} ~~He~~ had become increasingly concerned about the Navy's effort to achieve racial balance through what he suspected were ~~quota~~ quotas given to the recruiters. He had expressed serious doubts about sending women to sea. He was convinced that long hair and beards were not consistent with the military life. But he had been a good and loyal friend of mine and had held back from doing more than complaining privately. Now he was

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convinced he had to move. Not only were ^{some of} the senior people at the Ball distressed, but he was hearing from other members of the retired community, frequently stimulated by George Anderson.

Congressman Hebert issued the following press release without advising me that he was going to initiate hearings:

QUOTE THE PRESS RELEASE

When I read this release, I called Congressman Hebert who was in New Orleans and the following conversation, according to my notes, transpired:

QUOTE THE CONVERSATION

At the conclusion of this conversation, I knew that I would get the issue before the American people but I also knew that I would have ~~xxx~~ my hands full with the Subcommittee that Mr. Hebert had set up (at this point put in ^{Vincent} ~~stacy~~ from my earlier dictation) ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

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The Hicks Committee was not to be as totally hostile as the kind that Mr. Vincent had described to me that my friend, Eddie Hebert, who had ^{grown} grown up in a rough and tumble school of Congressional hearings had given me a major chore. He had designated the following three members of his Committee. Floyd Hicks of the _____ Congressional District of the State of Washington was Chairman. Eddie Hebert told me that he done this to give major responsibility for the first time to Mr. Hicks and to find out how well he could do on his own. Mr. Hicks was (Here, take my description of him from other dictation)

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~~xEddieHebertxtakexthatxhadxcomexthis~~
Eddie Hebert had, however, covered his bet on using this unpredictable Chairman by flanking him with two more predictable members. The Democratic member was _____ Dan Daniels of Virginia. He is a man who has fought hard to improve military life for military personnel. On matters of generalized welfare for the military, he could be counted on to be a positive and vigorous force. But came from Virginia's _____ District. He does not believe in equal opportunity in its full sense. His views resemble more nearly those of the Chairman of the Senate Armed Forces Committee, John Stennis, who said to me when I went to brief him on the racial difficulties that he understood our problem but that I needed to remember "those people came out of the trees a long time after we did". Mr. Daniels is also a fighter and a vigorous adversary. He had orders from Eddie Hebert to report back by telephone each night that the Subcommittee was in the field investigating so that Chairman Hebert could make sure that Floyd Hicks was carrying through with a hearing that would be tough on the Navy's personnel policies. Mr. Purney(?) was also a known equation. He was a lame duck Congressman from the _____ Congressional District of New York. He is what I would describe as a very tough law and order man, that is, he was not

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particularly interested in inquiring into the cause or factors of the difficulties but, rather, into whether or not prompt and sufficient punishment was awarded to those who had transgressed (I need to check to check this with Admiral Robertson).

The Hicks Committee held hearings from _____ (date) until _____ (date), and finally published their report on _____ (date). The Navy was given no opportunity to comment on it. They took testimony in the following places:

NO MORE DICTATION ON THIS TAPE SINCE ADM Z HAD TO LEAVE ON ANOTHER FLIGHT.

END OF TAPE 22 - SIDE A - ended completely at Part 8 - no dictation on Side B of Tape 22.