

Tape #37 Side A

N: I think what is important Bob, is that what happened in this regard is that suddenly Admiral Zumwalt, could not escape the ~~fact~~ fact that wherever he went, whatever he did, the people knew, that he was the ~~Admiral~~ Admiral Zumwalt bringing about these kind of changes in the Navy. And so even when he did something connected with haircuts, we made sure that every policy recognized the Navy as being composed of all kind of groups. And what we were attempting to do was the thing I thought was so very important and that is: to make the Navy move a little bit to meet some of these various groups ~~halfway~~ <sup>of people</sup> coming into the Navy halfway. I don't mean just with blacks but with all, to do some adjusting with these kinds of groups. And to take these various things coming into the Navy--cultures--and making them a bigger and broader based Navy in which people were not expected to give up everything in order to work in the Navy. <sup>live and</sup> Those things that were demeaning to human beings period. And so, then secondly out of this we realized that we had made a ~~big~~ mistake because we no longer had to use the meat cleaver approach any longer. Because after things started to happen, people realized that there was a problem in the Navy because we started secondly an education process of race relations education. And this race relations was set up so that every person in the Navy would go through it and have a heightened awareness of what the problem was and to be able to do something about it. What we were trying ~~to do~~ <sup>to</sup> was not sensitize ~~anybody~~ anybody. That wasn't it, sensitivity training what everybody gave us credit for, that wasn't it. What we were trying to do was to get people to be introspective, to look at themselves, to see how their actions could in fact work to the disadvantage of other

people, be it minorities, be it for sex...

R: What happened to your sensitivity...?

N: Well, there is a big difference. A person could still be a bigot and we base it upon one thing. People who were in the Navy were basically good naval officers. They were dedicated to the Navy and believed in it. We based everything on the fact that they wanted to do what was in the best interests of the Navy. And we could show that treating a person on the basis of his or her individual ~~worth~~ merit and worth as persons serve the best interests of the Navy. I mean that's really what we were doing. And so what we did...

R: ...sensitivity training, I don't want to belabor that point, but it seems to me the sensitivity thing in order to enable them to understand what the best thing, what the worth of a person is and what the individuality of a person is. In other words, you do have to get rid of the stereotype minds, right?

N: Yes but you could, in the way in which we were doing the training still have a racist attitude, and know that you are a racist, and you're not apt to change it in order to make sure that you weren't messing over people. And what we were trying to do is to get some behavioral change, and we wanted people to start treating minorities differently, treating women differently, and so on. And that was a first step, and you've obviously got to get some reinforcement behind it. And the second thing about it is, that once you get people behaving in a certain way the attitude is going to very much start getting affected, up to a point. But the point is that there is a danger in putting someone around there this is what we changed from what I call the "meat clever" approach to the rapier. Because suddenly then what we were attempting to do is to educate individuals and not have to have people doing it because they know if they

know if they didn't do it they wouldn't get promoted, they wouldn't get the right kind of assignments and those kind of things. We didn't want to stand ~~and~~ and say, your's is a racist organization, and here's why, look at this and look at that and that, and we've been around enough so that people could see them; what we now start ~~saying~~ saying is, what can we do to correct them. And so starting with Admiral Zumwalt himself, and the Secretary of the Navy and sent them to race relation training 20 hours, and which everybody in the Navy would then start going through.

R: It reminds me, perhaps unkindly, of something Orlando Wilson was asked when he was Lieutenant of police in Chicago, and was asked, how are you going to reform the Chicago police department, well, I'll just wait till all the existing members of the force retire or die. It's not quite that bad. . .

N: That's right, we realized that if we didn't start doing something immediately to deal with it. The second thing is that we realized that we had to start phasing out the Minority Affairs assistance, because their primary job was to make people aware of the problem so that people could use the regular management tools that they had in order to correct them. So what we started trying to set up then was race relation education ~~and~~ specialists, equal opportunity offices, because we were shifting it then from just the emphasis on minorities. Because when you talk about equal opportunity, and you've got a set of conditions like this, and you say suddenly, there's equal ~~opportunity~~ opportunity, and it will always continue like ~~this~~ that. So what we were trying to do <sup>at</sup> first is while providing equal opportunity to improve the lot of minorities ~~and~~ <sup>and women</sup> other people who were adversely affected, to raise them up so that they could compete equally with their peers.

And eliminate all these practices. And so that's what we started heading towards. Well, things were going smoothly until the Hicks Committee reports, and I honestly feel this, and I told Congressman Hicks this, at private meetings and at others. I thought that his study was a disservice to everything that had happened.

R: Now the report was not published until a year after the hearings, right?

N: Yes,

R: Now, you're talking about the publication of the whole thing?

N: Yes, now I ~~was~~ thought his. . .no, what I'm ~~ay~~ saying is that I thought his committee did a disservice to the Navy. Because what it did was feed fuel to the bigots, the racists, and all these other people who were trying to get to Admiral Zumwalt by saying that by trying to be humanistic it was permissiveness. And he fell trap to it himself because ~~was was~~ what he did is look at three ~~six~~ ships in the entire Navy and ignored what happened on the other almost 600. What he did at the same time <sup>was</sup> ~~was~~ allow his staff, and they will hate me for saying it, but I will stand by it unequivocally, and can prove it - that to go out and make a case not against, to examine what happened on ~~those~~ those ships, but to make a case against Admiral Zumwalt. And for everybody that was around they started coalescing and suddenly the program got a set-back.

R: Well the whole central goal was really a job to do a political job that Eddie Hebert needed done.

N: Well I don't know if he started it, I can't say that. I believe he did it. But what I know happened is that what that committee did because I met with them individually, and I met with them as groups and so on. I can say this much. I think that when got to the end

I am convinced that people like Hicks realized that he'd made a mistake; but he was so deeply in it. There were people like Congressman Lewis Stokes, and people like Congressman ~~Ryan~~ <sup>Ron</sup> Dellems, and other people that I talked ~~xxx~~ with over here who really tried to help by getting them to understand what it was they were ~~xxx~~ doing, particularly Ron Dellems, and I think that that is one of the overly in the line individuals that I know of. . .

R: If Zumwalt has credibility with Dellems he's come a long way because that's not the easiest man to make a believer out of. . .

N: That's right, except Dellems came on the Armed Services Committee because we pushed, we wanted someone on the Armed Services Committee. And I used to meet regularly with ~~xxx~~ the members of the ~~xxxxxx~~ <sup>? caucus</sup> ~~xxxxxx~~, and they knew what was happening with the Services and they knew what people were trying to do, and they could see it. And by the way you couldn't find a group that was more supportive than the members of the Congressional ~~xxxxx~~ Black Caucus, and that's one reason why I'm right here right now because ~~they~~ they during that period talked to people and did everything they could to support Zumwalt on this issue. Because they knew that it was a political problem that they were out to get him for in terms of his stance in this particular area.

R: They have a certain amount of clout at this point don't they?

N: Oh yes they do because they know, the reason why they have the clout is because when it comes down to ~~xxxx~~ those ~~xxxxx~~ issues that affect particularly black people in this country, right here now, you look around this hotel, the people who come from all over these United States, in the hall tomorrow night you won't be able to sit down to show that they support ~~x~~ this group of people in ~~x~~ Congress as all they've got to speak for them in the legislative halls to get

some things done, I mean that really, it's symbolism. Well in any event ~~gmm~~ going through that, and we spent and employed in that amount of time, and by this time I was not longer assistant for Minority Affairs, I was getting out of the Navy, ~~because~~ because/<sup>before</sup> that issue ~~happened~~ happened. I had decided that we had gotten it all set up, things were moving in the proper direction; we knew that we had a plan that was going to work. And at the time I felt that my job had been done and that my concern then was for Admiral Zumwalt as opposed to ~~rather~~ rather for the ~~the~~ Navy, I mean because it became a ~~friendship~~ friendship kind of thing and all the others that were ~~a~~ involved. But we, through all of this earlier, we started getting closer and closer on a ~~number~~ number of other issues and in ~~our~~ our kind of involvement. I started getting concerned, between the two of us I guess now, in terms of what was going to happen to him afterwards, and he didn't have time to reflect on it, and so as a result I did all of that work for him. Anything that came in in terms of ~~because~~ because he's the kind of individual, he didn't want to think about Admiral Zumwalt. So any little thing that I could take off his mind. . .(end Side A)

Tape #38 Side B

N: I guess Bob, what happened here is that we started getting more involved, we suddenly had to stop because then minorities that were in the Navy suddenly to feel that all the work that they had done was going down the drain. And there was an intensive feeling that Admiral Zumwalt was going to be canned. The ~~xxx~~ number of groups in this country that responded - oh you name a minority group that wasn't writing, sending in telegrams, getting involved, doing whatever they can, whatever they thought was necessary, I ~~am~~ didn't have to worry about getting help from ~~anywhere~~ anyplace. We had a concerted campaign that was unbelievable, that you know, to make certain that it didn't happen. But what happened to Admiral Zumwalt, is one of the reasons why to this day I'm sitting here with you now, and why we still are good friends - is simply because he had a way out. All he had to do was to simply denounce the reforms he was trying to institute in the Navy, to take a step backward, to promise in private to be little more hardnose, he had the best PR guys who could keep the image up and do it. I could never <sup>have</sup> ~~agreed~~ to that. But it wasn't even necessary, because he made the point that if he's going to go he's going to go ~~for~~ fighting for ~~us~~ what he believed in.

R: This never came up as a real option at all. . .

N: Well yes, some people brought it up to him to do it. And the point is the fact that I never or anyone else around ever had to try to persuade him, because he would never allow that to even be an option. I mean that man, and I know I sound a little bit like hero worship here in terms of my talking with you, but I'm just being honest with you that in the moment when things were its worst and lowest,

is when he, in my estimation, stood tallest. And I say that as sincerely as I can possibly say it. Because there was every opportunity to do just the other kind of thing.

R: How complicated was the Zumwalt fire in your opinion? It was not just the racial, there ~~wx~~ were a lot of other things that various constituencies didn't like, is that right?

N: Yes, well what I thought was that, here is an opportunity for anything and anyone. First of all he was considered almost an iconoclast. He was breaking all those levelling Navy traditions that might not have had any reason whatsoever, but he was breaking them.

R: Wasn't it even worse to go public about breaking them, the way he did?

N: Yes. That's right. And they could find all kind of things. Here it is the Chief of Naval Operations sending out messages with his name on it, clearly everyone knew it, and not only that in which he was not saying to the commanders, Do this; but do it in such a way that required it be read to everyone so that everyone knew that he said to do that. I mean that was the part that really goaded so many people.

R: I remember seeing an order ~~on~~ that/beards, which concludes by saying it is not the desire of the CNO that much public notice be taken of this.

N: A lot of people never knew that the first things that went out ~~wx~~ on haircuts and beards, didn't come from Admiral Zumwalt, it was what Admiral Zumwalt had done to reemphasize what Admiral Moorer had already done. And so this happened throughout the fleet. You couldn't ~~tx~~ tell a young man that he couldn't do this, because he could produce ~~xy~~ whatever the Z-gram is to say, look but I have a directive

to do this. And so what was ~~required~~ required was that you could no longer say to the individuals, yours is not to reason why, yours is but to do or die. You now had to show enlightened leadership to that individual.

R: Well how about the white ~~of~~ of personnel ~~. Granted~~ . Granted Zumwalt thinks that there was a ~~real~~ racist in the White House, and I'd be inclined to support this. Aside from the personnel policies, was ~~it~~ endangered at all ~~in~~ because of his hard line about the Naval strength?

N: Yes, every place he went, he talked about the deteriorating position of the United States vis-a-vis the Soviet Navy. That was a theme of all of his speeches. He believed it, and he could show it and prove it ~~it~~ was right but we, the people of this country, we still get back into the aspect of "manifest destiny" that we used in the ~~17th~~, 18th, 19th century. That is, we are a special kind of people, we have a certain kind of intense ability, and that we can continue on and on, and we don't want to face reality, ~~although~~ even though now, we know that it is true. It has come out subsequently that it is true. The fact that ~~it~~ he was cutting back the Naval forces to faster, to try to keep it within the framework of what we were ~~trying~~ <sup>had</sup> to do, and we weren't trying to build the biggest and best ships around because we didn't have the money to do it, but to take into consideration that we needed to do that. We were asking chief petty officers to work, to do what it is. We were saying to commanders in the Navy, and all, that you wear that Navy blue and by jove, you've got to be involved. I'm not talking about personnel kind of individuals, but ~~across~~ across the ~~the~~ board. He was saying that in this particular kind of a field that we now are going to write strategies as to how we're ~~is~~ going to operate. And it was a full range

of hardware issues, personnel issues, and so on, that we were doing things somehow a little bit different because we were not going to worry about whether it was for the air part of the Navy, or the sub-surface part of the Navy, the surface part of the Navy what we were going to be concerned about was, ~~was~~ what was going to serve the best interest of ~~the~~ the total Navy. So ~~we~~ weren't going to worry about whether someone wore their wings or things like that. Well, that goaded the people, because now people had to produce in a way in which they never had to produce. And it became exhilarating to the individual who was working hard, who was very interested in these kinds of things; but to the individual who had been able to loaf along, it became threatening. To the individual who didn't want to change, it became threatening, -who couldn't just hold back to the tradition, but had to think - it became threatening. To the old admirals, and to the old people who had gotten out, ~~who look back on~~ who look back on the Navy now and suddenly they saw a ship manned by a young officer who is a ~~Lieutenant~~ Lieutenant Commander as opposed to a Captain or a Commander now, with the mod squad, and so on. To find a young breed of people in the Navy now who were technicians and so on, to whom were being said, let's ~~make~~ do some things to make life more liveable so that they can stay in the Navy and not immediately go into industry. And that when the pay raises and things were coming around, here's a person who was fighting for something for the junior person.

R: Here we come back to the personnel again. I was more interested in say, the embarrassment at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

N: There is no doubt in my mind that when President Nixon looked on TV and saw those young men sitting on the Constellation, with fists hanging up, and if you look at the picture closely you'll see that

they're all white, every last one of them. Look at the Time Magazine. . .

R: Giving the black power signal. . .

N: And they're all from whites by the way, and look at the number of people who have been involved, sure, the message is coming out loud and strong, and I had my kind of contacts and I knew what he was saying and how it ~~x~~ was coming out.

R: The funniest thing in the Kitty Hawk report is that theological discussions in the endorsement as to whether black power salutes should be allowed or not.

N: I would say this much, and I'm getting to the end now, and I know I have to go, and I promise to get back with you later, and I'll have a chance to get some of those papers.

R: Your check-off sheet would be just great. ~~xf~~ If some of the passion and emotion is in the report of that first black officer's board, that would be fine to have. I have the report of the feedback of that and that's good reading too.

N: Well, I'll tell you what I think, I do say this much that ~~wax~~ what happened was that a spirit took over that was picked up by the other services, and it served as a model for the other services. What happened was that by putting emphasis on people, and I do emphasize people because that was one of my big concerns, that all these other reforms became centered ~~around~~ around this ~~nucleus~~ nucleus of well, let's change things for people <sup>from</sup> ~~at~~ which ~~you~~ you've got the reputation. What often got ~~xxxx~~ <sup>missing</sup> ~~xxxxx~~ however, is the number of fantastic things that he did in terms of strategy. ~~x~~ Strategy reforms, by bringing in outside advisors of the CP and so on like that. The fact that I became after I got out of the Navy a consultant to him

in a number of ~~tin~~ things. The fact that how he used the Center  
for ~~systems~~ <sup>Naval</sup> Analysis in bringing a systemic approach to the way in  
which we dealt with management kinds of ~~problems~~ problems. The fact  
that we tried to give people new tools. . .(end Side B)