

## Part II - Chapter 6

## CRISIS

A chapter replete with suspense, passion, pity and terror, whose chronological span is from the Constellation incident to the announcement by Chairman Hebert of the House Armed ~~Services~~ Services Committee that he had appointed a subcommittee to investigate Navy permissiveness. This chapter contains the tough speech Z made to the Washington area flag officers, his best speech ever he thinks; Nixon's demand that Z discharge out of hand some black sailors the President saw on TV giving the black power salute, and Z's ~~XX~~ refusal to do so; Kissinger's telephone call to Laird telling him to fire Z; ex-CNO George Anderson's behind-the-scenes efforts to get Z's hide; Mouza packing and unpacking ~~and~~ the contents of her closets as the crisis rose and fell, and other valuables too numerous to mention.

## Part II - Chapter 7

## THE CRISIS ABATES

The principal thread that runs through this chapter is the hearings of the Hicks subcommittee during December of 1972 and its report in January, 1973. R's, if not Z's, view of this period is that, despite the intense pressure Z was under and the fatiguing maneuvers he had to perform, he actually was out of danger by the time the hearings started and, historically, they were an anticlimax. Interspersed in the hearings story are accounts of the return to the US of the Kitty Hawk; of a marvelous lunch with old Car Vinson in Athens, Ga.; of an evening with Robert Byrd; of a silly John Warner's silly trip to the Pacific; of the support Z got from the press and large numbers of public figures. The story of course has a happy ending: Z stayed on the job and integration continued in the Navy.

## Part II - Chapter 8

## IT WAS WORTH IT

A short, not wildly exciting, but important chapter discussing the winding down of the Z-Gram program, the further progress of the Navy's "human goals" program, and the program's results as reflected in statistics of various kinds. It's possible that the role of the press may come to roost here, too, rather than in the preceding chapter. The most significant point ~~in~~ this chapter makes is that the Navy emerged from the crisis a more together organization than it had been and that Z himself was fortified by it, externally and internally, for some rather severe tribulations that lay ahead.

## Part III - Friends and Foes (Enemies?) - Chapter 1

## A CURRICULUM IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS (would you believe?)

This is a chapter of reminiscence and reflections. 2 reminiscences in it about the various jobs he held, while a young and rising officer, as an aide or an executive to such edifying civilians as Tom Gates and Paul Nitze; jobs that enabled him to see such events as the Cuban missile crisis and the test-ban negotiations from the inside. He reflects on the proper relations between civilians and the military, on the Navy's role as an instrument of foreign policy, and on how decisions affecting America's national security were reached pre-Nixon. One of the book's thematic chapters, and full of good inside stories as well.

## Part III - Chapter 2

## THE HONEYMOON

This chapter covers Z's first 13 months on the global scene, when he and the White House thought highly of one another. It presents Henry Kissinger, who in the event will be the villain of the book, as a man of infinite charm. It covers the 1970 Jordan crisis and two conversations between Z and the President concerning it and other matters. It recounts the setting up of the Chief of Naval Operation's Executive Panel (CEP), of which much will be heard in future chapters, and Z's first participation in a Joint Chiefs' briefing of the President on the annual military budget request, in August 1970. This brief infuriated Westmoreland and through Westmoreland and iniquitous Haig.

## Part III - Chapter 3

## THE HONEYMOON PETERS OUT

During 1971, the period this chapter covers, mutual disallusionment between Z and the White House proceeded at an accelearting pace. There are Kinsinger and Haig anecdotes to illustrate this. Z traveled to Chile, saw Allende under odd circumstances, and thereby unwittingly fell into temporary White House disgrace. This is an account of the second annual JCS briefing in the White House, a session after which it became unmistakably clear that no one wanted to hear about "probabilities". This chapter ends with the Indian subcontinent war, which involved sending a nuclear force to the Indian Ocean - a tale whose telling involves both Kissinger in duplicity and a flash-forward to the Diego Garcia issue.

## Part III - Chapter 4

## KISSINGEROLOGY

This chapter takes us from the end of the preceding chapter to the SALT I summit in Moscow in the spring of 1972. Its burden is that Z, finally convinced that Kissinger was not giving and would not give the Joint Chiefs full or honest information about his activities, particularly with regard to the arms limitation negotiations, asked the CEP to try to keep track of what Kissinger was really was up to. The CEP did a pretty good job, using the same kinds of techniques that Kremlinologists use to attempt to decipher the USSR's actions and intentions. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, one of Kissinger's righthand men and a member of the CEP, plays a part in this chapter. Haiphong Harbor gets mined in this chapter. The chapter comes to a climax with what Z considers to be Kissinger's "sellout" in Moscow, and concludes with the Jackson subcommittee's hearings on the SALT treaty, and the passage of the Jackson Resolution. (Henry Jackson is one of the book's good guys.) This should be one of the book's banner chapters.

## Part III - Chapter 5

## THE YOM KIPPUR WAR

1973 began with the Vietnam agreement and the unmining of Haiphong--by the same Navy <sup>team</sup> ~~team~~ that later was to unmine the Suez Canal. SALT II talks, monitored increasingly effectively by the Kissingerologists, were under way, but little had happened at them as yet. Most of the action in this chapter revolves around the Yom Kippur War, which as far as I was concerned demonstrated that the negotiators and budgeteers had allowed the Navy to lapse into a condition that gave it a less than even chance of successfully performing its mission in the Eastern Mediterranean in the face of a real Soviet threat. This strengthened his resolve to do whatever he could to see that SALT II did not further obstruct the military. This chapter is not all high policy, however, there is a walth of anecdotal material that can be tapped.

## Part III - Chapter 6

## SALT II

The last six months of Z's incumbency, beginning with a crazy December '73 (Fiscal Year '75) Joint Chiefs/Nixon briefings. We have not really pulled all the material for this chapter together yet, but there's plenty of it and it's full of action: the emergence of the "Secret Agreement" between Kissinger and the Russians; Paul Nitze's resignation from the SALT negotiating team; the increasing effects of Watergate on the conduct of foreign affairs; more Kissingerology; an account of a critical National Security Council meeting and of the pressure the Joint Chiefs, largely through Z's activities, put on the White House just before and during the June summit; Z's letter to the President that infuriated both him and Kissinger; a Naval Academy speech that produced more of the same in the same high quarters; the White House threat to "destroy Zumwalt", or, at the very least, take his retirement medal away from him.

## Part III - Chapter 7

## REALITIES AND PROBABILITIES - 1974

A summing up of the condition of the Navy as Z turned it over to his successor: Z's strategy for assuming that the successor would be Admiral Holloway is described. Z describes the inquiry of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board into the relative naval strength of the US and the USSR and his 1974 net assessment of those strengths before \_\_\_\_\_? Congressional Committees. He also discusses probable and possible trends in both military and political relationships.

## POSTSCRIPT

In which loose ends are tied, final results are presented, hindsight is indulged in, prophecies are uttered, thanks are offered, hopes are vouchsafed and perhaps, even, a few manly tears are shed. In short, the kind of chapter, newfangled fashions to the contrary notwithstanding, no self-respecting book should end without.

## THOSE FIRST 35,000 WORDS

It seems most likely that the first 35,000 words will consist of all or parts of the following:

Preface	Introduction-1 the Summons
I-3 Rickover	II-2 Mickey Mouse
II-5 Fat Hits Fire	III-2 Honeymoon
III-4 Kissingerology	

It is less likely, but possible, that some of the following material will be in those 35,000 words instead

I-2 High-Low	II-1 Z-Grams
II-3 Families	II-4 Second Class
III-3 Honeymoon Peters	III-5 Yom Kippur

over and out