

ADMIRAL ZUMWALT'S ADDRESS TO THE
AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION IN NEW ORLEANS
1 SEPTEMBER 1974

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN I AM FORTUNATE TO HAVE HERE WITH ME TODAY IN THE AUDIENCE, RADM CHICK RAUCH, WHO IS THE NAVY DIRECTOR OF ALL OF OUR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM. WHEN HE AND I CAME TO TAKE THE JOB IN WASHINGTON, 1 JULY 1970, WE ELECTED TO ADOPT WHAT I WOULD CALL THE "RIGHT HARD RUDDER, ALL AHEAD FLANK" METHOD. IN THE DESTROYER NAVY WHEN A SIGNAL IS HOISTED, THE MEANING OF WHICH ISN'T YET KNOWN, AS IT IS HOOKED UP TO THE SIGNAL HOOK, ONE PUSHES THE RUDDERS OVER RIGHT OR LEFT HARD AND CRANKS UP THE ENGINES TO FLANK SPEED AND THEN PROCEEDS TO FIGURE OUT WHAT THE SIGNAL MEANS. THERE IS MORE TRUTH THAN FICTION IN THAT, BECAUSE A GOOD DESTROYERMAN KNOWS ALMOST INTUITIVELY WHICH DIRECTION HE SHOULD BE BREAKING AND WHETHER OR NOT HE IS GOING TO NEED MORE SPEED.

NOW, THE QUESTION IN OUR MINDS, AS WE TOOK THIS JOB, WAS HOW WAS IT THAT WE KNEW WHAT THE SIGNAL MEANT. WELL, FIRST IT WAS CLEAR TO ALL OF US WHO HAD COME UP THROUGH THE NAVY SYSTEM THAT WE HAD A MAJOR PROBLEM WITH REGARD TO THE NEED TO INTEGRATE THE NAVY. IN MY OWN EXPERIENCE WHEN I HAD BEEN SENT TO DETAIL LIEUTENANTS AS COMMANDERS IN THE NAVY, THE BRIEFING I GOT WAS-- THE WAY YOU GET THE BLACKS PASSED OVER IS "WHEN THEY ARE COMMISSIONED, SEND THEM TO RECRUITING DUTY." (AT THAT TIME IT WAS VERY BAD DUTY: NOW IT HAPPENS TO BE VERY GOOD DUTY) "AT THE END OF THEIR TWO YEARS THERE, GET THEM EXTENDED FOR A YEAR, THAT GIVES THEM TOO MUCH SHORE DUTY; THEY SHOULD HAVE GONE TO SEA IN THE FIRST PLACE. THEN SEND THEM TO AN OLD, BROKEN-DOWN AUXILIARY

SHIP AND BY THE TIME THAT'S OVER, THEY'LL BE PASSED OVER." AS A SKIPPER OF SHIPS, I HAD PERSONALLY EXPERIENCED THE FRUSTRATION OF TRYING TO GET FILIPINO STEWARDS CHANGED IN RATING. THEY WANTED TO BECOME ELECTRICIANS MATE OR STOREKEEPERS, AND I HAVE HAD TO FIGHT THE BATTLE ALL THE WAY UP TO THE BUREAU OF NAVAL PERSONNEL.

WE KNEW AS A BASIC FACT THAT THE NAVY WAS WELL BEHIND ALL THE OTHER SERVICES. WE HAD LESS THAN A PER CENT OF OUR OFFICER CORPS OF MINORITY BACKGROUND. LESS THAN 4% OF OUR ENLISTED COMMUNITY WERE OF MINORITY BACKGROUND. THE OTHER SERVICES WERE MUCH CLOSER TO THE NATIONAL FRACTION, AND WE HAD A LONG WAY TO GO. MOREOVER, WE HAD JUST COME FROM A 20MONTH PERIOD, THE TWO OF US, WITH THE FORCES IN VIETNAM. IN COMMAND OF THOSE NAVAL FORCES, WE HAD DISCOVERED A WHOLE HOST OF PROBLEMS WITH WHICH WE WERE GOING TO HAVE TO DEAL. WE HAD HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO HAVE RAP SESSIONS WITH PERHAPS 20,000 OF THE 37,000 MEN UNDER OUR COMMAND THERE. WE KNEW THAT WE HAD PROBLEMS WITH REGARD TO DRUGS. THEY WERE BEGINNING TO BE DISCOVERED IN LARGE QUANTITIES OUT THERE. WE OBSERVED FIRST HAND THE PROBLEMS OF ALCOHOLISM AS OUR PEOPLE WERE AT THE OUTLYING COAST. WE KNEW ABOUT RACIAL PROBLEMS ALL THE WAY FROM THE FOUR-MAN BOAT CREW, WHERE WE HAD ZERO PROBLEMS, TO THE 10,000 MEN ACTIVITY UP IN DANANG, THE NAVAL SUPPORT ACTIVITY WHERE WE HAD LOTS OF PROBLEMS. AND, WE KNEW SOMETHING ELSE ABOUT THE NAVY OF OURS, AT THAT TIME. WE KNEW THAT WITHIN THAT 600,000 MAN NAVY, IF THEY WERE AT ALL LIKE THE NAVY FROM WHICH WE HAD JUST COME IN SOUTH VIETNAM, THEY WERE PEOPLE WHO WERE DEDICATED TO MAKING THINGS WORK RIGHT AND WE KNEW THAT THERE WAS A TREMENDOUS RESIDUAL OF GOOD WILL UPON WHICH TO KNEAD. NOW, WE KNEW

SOMETHING ELSE, AND THAT WAS THAT WITH THE NAVY IN VIETNAM, WE HAD DISCOVERED THAT THERE WAS A WHOLE NEW TECHNIQUE FOR DEALING WITH RACE PROBLEMS. WE HAD INTER-CULTURAL PROBLEMS OUT THERE AS WE HAD TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATING VIETNAMESE NAVY CREWS INTO OUR OWN NAVY CREW. AND THIS WORKED WELL.

WHEN WE CAME BACK TO THIS JOB, IT WAS QUITE CLEAR TO US THAT THERE WAS A TRADITION GOING BACK FOR MANY DECADES THAT HAD TO BE OVERTURNED, AND WE FACED A REAL CRISIS IN THAT THE ERA OF THE ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE WAS JUST AROUND THE CORNER. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE DRAFT WAS GOING TO BE ELIMINATED AND THAT WE FACED, THEREFORE, THE PROSPECT OF NO LONGER HAVING THE DRAFT PRESSURE TO WIN VOLUNTEERS FOR THE NAVY FROM THOSE BOYS WHO DID NOT WANT TO BE DRAFTED INTO THE ARMY. IT WAS CLEAR TO US THAT WE HAD TO MAKE OURSELVES REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATION AT LARGE IF WE WERE GOING TO CHANGE THE NAVY'S IMAGE FROM THAT OF THE MOST TRADITIONALIST OF THE SERVICES, AND WIN THE ADEQUATE NUMBER OF RECRUITS THAT WE NEEDED. AND, THIS AGAIN MEANT THAT WE HAD TO GET ON, NOT ONLY WITH INTEGRATION, BUT ALSO WITH THE PROVISION OF TRUE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR WOMEN AND ALL OF THE REST OF THE THINGS THAT REPRESENTED SHUCKING OF BARNACLES FROM THE PAST. SO AS WE CONSIDERED HOW BEST TO DO THAT "RIGHT HARD RUDDER," WE CAME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WE HAD TO INITIATE NUMBERS OF THINGS NOW AND THEN TO GET ON WITH DIGGING INTO THE ROOTS OF OUR PROBLEMS AND SOLVING THEM AT A DEEPER LEVEL. WITH REGARD TO THE BUSINESS OF MAKING IT CLEAR THAT THE NAVY WAS GOING TO BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NATION, THAT IS THE YOUTH AT LARGE, A CHANGE AS SIMPLE AND AS CONTROVERSIAL AS LONGER HAIR, BEARDS AND MUSTACHES DID THE JOB. IT KIND OF SIGNALLED TO THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY PROBABLY

MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE WE DID. IT HAD IMPACT WITH REGARD TO OUR RECRUITING.

I'D LIKE TO MAKE THE POINT THAT WE'VE DEPARTED FROM THE LIBERAL PERMISSIVE DRESS STANDARDS OF THE 1930'S AND RETURNED TO THE CONSERVATIVE HAIR STANDARDS OF OUR GREAT GRANDFATHERS. THERE IS A POINT THERE AND THAT IS THAT IT REALLY DEPENDS ON HOW YOU LOOK AT IT, AND TO THE YOUTH, THIS WAS AN IMPORTANT CHANGE. IN THE CASE OF MINORITY PERSONNEL, AGAIN, WE AUTHORIZED THE AFRO-HAIRCUTS--THE PROVISION OF BLACK BEAUTY AIDS IN THE EXCHANGES OR SOUL FOOD IN THE COMMISSARIES--SIMPLE, IMMEDIATE CHANGES THAT COULD SET A PATTERN, WHILE FIGURING OUT WHAT THE SIGNAL MEANT.

IT WAS CLEAR TO US THAT WE HAD, BEYOND THESE CHANGES, HAVING CREATED A WAVE OF EUPHORIA, TO GET ON WITH DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM IN GREATER DEPTH. WE ALSO ELECTED AS ONE OF OUR SUPERFICIAL CHANGES TO BEGIN TO IDENTIFY THESE CHANGES WITH THE LETTER "Z" TO TRY TO PUT ACROSS THE FACT THAT SOMEONE UP THERE WAS TRYING TO GET THROUGH TO ALL HANDS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO THESE FEW CHANGES FROM AMONG A WHOLE MASS OF DIRECTIVES GOING OUT EVERY DAY AND EVERY WEEK.

THE PHASE I, OUR HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM, WAS OUR EFFORT TO GET ON WITH FIGURING OUT WHAT THE SIGNAL MEANT. IN THAT PROGRAM, WE ELECTED TO TRY TO GET THROUGH WHAT I WOULD DESCRIBE AS AT THAT TIME, EARLY SUPERFICIAL TRAINING--BUT NEVERTHELESS IMPORTANT TRAINING--EVERYBODY IN THE NAVY. BY THE END OF MY FOUR YEARS IN THE NAVY, WE HAD COMPLETED THE TRAINING OF ABOUT 95% OF THOSE WHO WERE AT PETTY OFFICER LEVEL OR ABOVE, AND ABOUT 75% OF EVERYBODY IN THE NAVY. WE HAD GOTTEN THEM THROUGH THE BASIC RACIAL SENSITIVITY TRAINING PROGRAM.

WHILE GETTING ON WITH THIS, WE WERE IN THE PROCESS, THROUGH ADMIRAL RAUCH, OF PUTTING TOGETHER THE BROAD BAND OF PROGRAMS WHICH HAS BECOME KNOWN AS OUR HUMAN RELATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. THE PROGRAM WAS DESIGNED TO DEAL WITH THE BASIC PROBLEMS OF PERSONAL COMMUNICATION, A SPECIAL PROGRAM TO DEAL WITH THE INTER-CULTURAL RELATIONSHIPS OVERSEAS--THE VERY BASIC CORE ACTIVITY OF INDEPTH TRAINING WITH REGARD TO RACIAL PROBLEM--THE TECHNIQUES FOR DEALING WITH ALCOHOLISM AND DRUG PROBLEMS--ALL OF WHICH HAD BEEN PUT TOGETHER IN A CENTRAL CORE ACTIVITY. AND THE REAL FRUITION OF THIS PROGRAM, IN MY MIND, HAS BEEN THE FACT THAT WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN GETTING THROUGH TRAINING SEVERAL HUNDRED COUNSELORS WHO ARE ABLE NOW WITH PROFESSIONALISM TO DEAL WITH THESE PROBLEMS. WE HAVE SOME WHO ARE EXPERTS IN EACH OF THOSE VARIOUS FIELDS AND SOME WHO HAVE EXPERTISE IN ALL; AND TOGETHER IN FIVE MAJOR CENTERS THROUGHOUT THE NAVY, ARE IN THE PROCESS OF PERMEATING THROUGHOUT THE NAVY THE ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THESE PROJECTS.

NOW, AS WE PROCEEDED WITH THE SERIES OF CHANGES, THE SUPERFICIAL ONE BEING FOLLOWED UP BY THE LONG-TERMED FIXES AND WE FOUND VERY RAPIDLY, THE NEED TO BEGIN TO SET UP A SERIES OF MONITORING DEVICES. IT WASN'T ENOUGH AS IT'S BEEN SUGGESTED HERE, JUST TO ESTABLISH THE PROGRAM AND THEN EXPECT TO COME BACK UP THROUGH THE SYSTEM.

WE FOUND THE NEED TO SET UP A MINORITY AFFAIRS ASSISTANT THROUGHOUT THE NAVY. THIS WAS DONE FOR ABOUT A TWO-YEAR PERIOD OF TIME, AND THEN AS THE SYSTEM BEGAN TO WORK, THROUGH THE LINE, WE WERE ABLE TO DO AWAY WITH THOSE. WE HAD OMBUDSMAN SET UP THROUGHOUT THE NAVY. BLACK WIVES IN EACH ACTIVITY ASHORE WERE

GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF REPORTING TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER ON ALL OF THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF MINORITY FAMILIES. A SERIES OF OTHER MONITORING TECHNIQUES MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO BEGIN TO UNDERSTAND HOW THE SYSTEM WAS WORKING. AT THE SAME TIME, WE THOUGHT THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR US NOT TO BE A VICTIM OF OUR OWN PREJUDICES HAVING COME FROM CERTAIN SET OF EXPERIENCES RECENTLY FROM VIETNAM BEFORE WE TOOK THESE JOBS. WE BEGAN THE TECHNIQUE OF BRINGING IN TO WASHINGTON, IN ROTATION WEEK AFTER WEEK, GROUPS OF NAVY PERSONNEL AND THEIR WIVES. ONE TIME DESTROYER OFFICERS' WIVES AND THEIR HUSBANDS; ON ANOTHER OCCASION, THE ENLISTED MEN FROM THE SUBMARINE FORCE AND THEIR WIVES. ON STILL ANOTHER OCCASION, A GROUP OF BLACK OFFICERS AND THEIR WIVES. IT WAS WHEN THIS PARTICULAR GROUP CAME TO TOWN FOLLOWED BY A GROUP OF BLACK ENLISTED PERSONNEL AND THEIR WIVES, THAT WE BEGAN TO FIND JUST HOW SUPERFICIAL OUR OWN KNOWLEDGE OF THE PROBLEM WAS. WE HAD THOUGHT THAT WE WERE OBJECTIVE. WE HAD THOUGHT THAT WE WERE SENSITIVE, AND WE FOUND TO OUR SHOCK THAT THERE WERE THINGS THAT WE JUST DIDN'T EVEN KNOW, ABOUT HOW BADLY THE NAVY WAS DISCRIMINATING IN UNKNOWING WAY. THE NEED FOR ALL OF US TO GET OURSELVES AWARE OF THE FINE GRAIN OF THE PROBLEM, WAS DRIVEN HOME BY THESE VERY FINE OFFICERS AND SAILORS AND THEIR WIVES WHO REALLY TOLD US LIKE IT WAS. THIS GAVE US THE DEDICATION TO KEEP ON DRIVING INTO THE ROOTS OF THE SYSTEM. NOW, AS THESE CHANGES BEGAN TO TAKE PLACE, AS ONE WOULD EXPECT IN AN ORGANIZATION WHICH WAS PERHAPS AMONG THE MOST TRADITION BOUND WITHIN THE UNITED STATES, THERE WAS A POLARIZATION EFFECT. THERE WERE THOSE WHO SOUGHT TO GO BEYOND THE LEVEL OF THE CHANGES, WHETHER WE WERE DEALING WITH THOSE IN THE FIELD OF

MINORITY AFFAIRS OR WITH REGARD TO THE USE OF DUNGAREES GOING TO AND FROM WORK OR THE LENGTH OF THE HAIR. THERE WERE SOME WHO SOUGHT TO GO BEYOND THE AMOUNT OF CHANGE THAT HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED. OUR INVENTORY OVER THE YEARS HAS LED ME TO BELIEVE THAT THIS WAS ON THE ORDER OF 5% OF OUR PEOPLE. THERE WAS ANOTHER GROUP, AS IS THE CASE IN ANY TRADITION BOUND ORGANIZATION, WHICH FEARED CHANGE OR RESENTED IT AND WHICH HAD TO BE DRAGGED KICKING AND SCREAMING INTO THE 20TH CENTURY. AND, HERE OUR POLLS INDICATED THAT, AGAIN AS ONE WOULD EXPECT, THE LARGER FRACTION OF THESE PERSONNEL WERE AMONG THE OLDER AND MORE SENIOR. SO THAT FOR EXAMPLE, SOME EIGHT OR NINE MONTHS AFTER WE HAD INITIATED THE BROAD MASS OF CHANGES OF ALL CATEGORIES, NOT DEALING JUST WITH RACE, WE FOUND THAT CHIEF PETTY OFFICERS AND CAPTAINS AND ADMIRALS IN THE NAVY FAVORED THE CHANGES, ABOUT 75% FOR AND ABOUT 15% AGAINST OR 5 TO 1, WITH ABOUT 10% STANDING ASIDE. WHERE AS YOU WENT DOWN INTO THE LOWER RANKING GROUPS, BOTH OFFICER AND ENLISTED, IT RAN ABOUT 90 TO 95% IN FAVOR, IN OTHER WORDS, ONLY ABOUT 5% WHO OPPOSED. AGAIN, ONE GOT THE MEASURE OF THE NATURE OF THE TRADITION BOUND ORGANIZATION AND ITS ADMINISTRATION. WE HAD ALWAYS KNOWN THAT WE WERE GOING TO HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY. WE ALWAYS EXPECTED THAT THERE WOULD BE A LARGE FRACTION, AS THESE POLLS INDICATED THERE WAS, THAT WOULD SUPPORT THE CHANGES EITHER OUT OF LOYALTY TO THE INSTITUTION AND ITS LEADERSHIP OR OUT OF RECOGNITION OF THE NEED FOR THOSE CHANGES. I THINK IN RETROSPECT THE THING THAT WE MISSED WAS THE EXTENT TO WHICH ALL THE INTEREST GROUPS IN THE NAVY, GO OUT INTO OTHER AREAS AROUND THE LAND. THERE WAS A VERY STRONG LOBBY WITHIN OUR RETIRED COMMUNITY WITH WHOM THAT

15% OF OUR SENIOR PEOPLE, BOTH ENLISTED AND OFFICER, WERE IN TOUCH. THERE WAS A STRONG CONSTITUENCY WITHIN CAPITOL HILL WHO DID NOT DESIRE TO SEE THESE CHANGES TAKING PLACE. THERE WAS A CERTAIN FRACTION WITHIN THE PRESS, ALTHOUGH VERY MINOR INDEED, WHO DID NOT FAVOR THESE CHANGES. AND, AS THOSE WHO DID NOT BELIEVE IN THE CHANGES WITHIN THE SYSTEM CONTACTED ALL THESE OTHER INTEREST GROUPS, THERE BEGAN TO BE A HARDENING UP. THE NAVY ALSO BEGAN TO HAVE A SERIOUS PROBLEM ABOUT THAT TIME WITH REGARD TO THE HARDSHIPS THROUGH WHICH OUR PEOPLE WERE GOING. THIS CAME TO A THERMIDOR IN THE FALL OF 1972. BY THAT TIME, FOR NINE MONTHS WE HAD FALLEN SHORT OF THE GOALS FOR OUR RECRUITS AS A RESULT OF THE FACT THAT WE HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT SLOW ABOUT GETTING HIGH QUALITY PEOPLE INTO OUR RECRUITING FORCE. BY THAT TIME, WE HAD BEGUN TO SEE THE INFLUX OF LARGE NUMBERS OF MINORITY PERSONNEL AS A RESULT OF OUR CONSCIOUS CHANGE AND OUR EFFORTS TO RECRUIT AT THE NATIONAL FRACTION, AND THESE NUMBERS COMING IN, LOOKING UP AND SEEING ONLY VERY SMALL NUMBERS OF MINORITY PERSONNEL AT THE TOP PYRAMID, FOUND A PERCEPTION OF INSTITUTIONAL RACISM AND IN ADDITION, THERE WAS, OF COURSE, A CONTINUING HISTORY OF RACISM WITHIN THE NAVY. THIS WAS ALSO THE PERIOD IN WHICH WE HAD TO ESCALATE IN ORDER TO DEAL WITH THE MASSIVE INVASION ACROSS THE DMZ. WE HAD TWICE AS MANY SHIPS IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC DURING THAT FINAL YEAR, FROM THE SMALLEST BASE OF SHIPS EVER IN THE NAVY, WHICH HAD BEEN REDUCED IN THE NAVY DRAMATICALLY DURING THAT PERIOD OF TIME. THIS MEANT THAT OUR SHIPS HAD VERY RAPID TURN-AROUNDS BACK IN THE UNITED STATES. MEN WHO HAD BEEN SPENDING, FOR YEARS, 40 TO 50% OF THEIR TIME AWAY FROM HOME, SUDDENLY HAD TO SPEND 70 TO 80%

OF THEIR TIME AWAY FROM HOME. WE WERE FLYING THE LARGEST NUMBER OF SORTIES, SPENDING THE LONGEST NUMBER OF HOURS ON PATROL, FIRING THE LARGEST NUMBER OF GUNFIRE SUPPORT MISSION AND SO FORTH OF THE ENTIRE WAR. THESE WERE THE KINDS OF CONDITIONS WHICH IN WWII LED TO MAJOR FIGHTS, AND DURING THE KOREAN WAR AS WELL; BUT BECAUSE WE HAD NOT INTEGRATED, THOSE FIGHTS IN MOST CASES WERE BETWEEN WHITES AND WHITES--AND WERE LARGELY UNREPORTED. IN THESE PARTICULAR CASES ON BOARD TWO OF OUR AIRCRAFT CARRIERS, WE HAD A VERY WIDELY REPORTED FIGHTING LARGELY BLACK VERSUS WHITE AND THE FAT WAS IN THE FIRE. THE INVESTIGATION WHICH ENSUED AND THE ACCUSATIONS WHICH ENSUED DID NOT, IN MY JUDGMENT, DARE USE THE WORDS "TURN BACK THE CLOCK" ON INTEGRATION. AND SO THE BUZZ WORDS WERE LIBERALISM AND PERMISSIVENESS, AND IT WAS A FIGHT ON THOSE TERMS AS IT TRANSPIRED. AND SIGHTING THE TRANSGRESSION OF THAT 5% TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED, THE 5% WHO SOUGHT TO GO TOO FAR, THE EFFORT WAS MADE TO SMEAR AN ENTIRE NAVY WHICH WAS CARRYING ON ITS MISSION, ON ALL THE SHIPS AT SEA, NOT INTERRUPTED EVER, AND WHICH WAS SURVIVING UNDER THE MOST ARDUOUS IMAGINABLE CONDITIONS-- CONDITIONS EXCEEDING THE PACE WITH WHICH WE HAVE HAD TO OPERATE IN ANY PREVIOUS WAR. THE THING THAT WAS OF GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE TO ME DURING THIS PERIOD OF MAXIMUM CRISIS IN DECEMBER 1972, WAS THAT THE PRESS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY BY AND LARGE, REPORTED THE STRUGGLE AS IT WAS AND RECOGNIZED IT AS AN ISSUE WITH REGARD TO WHETHER OR NOT THE NAVY AFTER A CENTURY OF FAILING TO DO SO, WAS GOING TO GO AHEAD AND MAKE ITSELF TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY AT LARGE. UNDER THE IMPACT OF A FAVORABLE PRESS, THE RECALCITRANT MEMBERS OF CAPITOL HILL CAME AROUND,

AND WE FOUND THAT OUR INITIATIVES WERE NOT HAMPERED. PERHAPS THE MOST DRAMATIC MANIFESTATION OF THIS, TO ME, WAS THE DAY THAT GREEK LOBBYIST, AN EX-PATRIOT GREEK NEWSMAN BY THE NAME DEMO ACROPOLIS, CAME UP TO SEE ME. HE HAD BEEN MILITANTLY AGAINST MY EFFORTS TO HOMEPORT SOME SHIPS IN ATHENS, GREECE, BECAUSE HE FELT THAT THAT WOULD HAVE BEEN SOMETHING THAT WOULD HELP THE JUNTA TO STAY IN POWER; AND HE HAD BEEN CAMPAIGNING ALL OVER CAPITOL HILL AGAINST IT. IN THE MIDDLE OF THIS CRISIS, HE CAME UP TO ME AND SAID, ADMIRAL, I KNOW THAT YOU KNOW I'VE BEEN FIGHTING AGAINST YOU ON HOMEPORTING IN GREECE; BUT I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT IF YOU'RE REALLY IN TROUBLE, I HAVE 102 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE WHO HAVE PROMISED TO WRITE LETTERS TO THE PRESIDENT IN YOUR SUPPORT. I THOUGHT THAT WAS A REMARKABLE TESTIMONIAL TO WHAT THE NAVY WAS TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH. AS SOON AS THE CRISIS WAS OVER, HE WENT BACK TO FIGHTING US. I THINK THAT THE NET OF ALL OF THIS IS AS FOLLOWS: WHEN THE CRISIS WAS AT ITS MAXIMUM, WHEN THE CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION TOOK PLACE ON TERMS WHICH WERE INADEQUATELY DEFINED, BY THAT TIME, SOME TWO YEARS DOWN THE ROAD, THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF SENIOR LEADERSHIP IN THE NAVY, BOTH OFFICER AND PETTY OFFICER, HAD UNDERSTOOD "WHAT THE SIGNAL MEANT." THERE WAS A TREMENDOUS RALLYING AROUND TO ENSURE THAT THE ABERRATIONISTS WERE TAKEN IN HAND, TO ENSURE THAT GOOD ORDER AND DISCIPLINE WAS MAINTAINED--BUT MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL, TO MAKE IT CLEAR AT ALL LEVELS THAT THE BASIC UNDERLYING ISSUE WAS TO GET ON WITH INTEGRATION OF THE NAVY; AND THAT THAT EFFORT WAS NOT GOING TO SUFFER. I THINK THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT SPEECH THAT I HAVE EVER GIVEN IN MY LIFE WAS THE SPEECH THAT I GAVE AT THE TIME

OF THE RACIAL INCIDENTS TO A GROUP OF FLAG OFFICERS IN WASHINGTON WHO WERE REALLY JUST A GUINEA PIG AUDIENCE. THEY CAME TOGETHER FROM TIME TO TIME, AND I HAD TALKED WITH THEM. BUT, ON THIS PARTICULAR OCCASION, THE TALK THAT I GAVE AND THEN RELEASED PUBLICLY, WHICH WAS HIGHLY CRITIZED AS A DRESSING DOWN OF THE ADMIRALS IN WASHINGTON, WHICH IT WAS NOT, WAS DESIGNED TO DRAW THE ISSUE INTO FOCUS AS CLEARLY AS POSSIBLE. I WANTED THOSE WITHIN THE NAVY TO RECOGNIZE WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT, THEIR FAMILIES, THEIR WIVES, THEIR PARENTS. I WANTED THEM ALL TO BE REASSURED THAT WE WERE GOING BOTH TO MAINTAIN GOOD ORDER AND DISCIPLINE AND TO RENEW OUR DEDICATION TO ELIMINATING RACIAL PREJUDICE IN THE NAVY. I WANTED THE PRESS AND THE CONGRESS TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IT WAS THAT WE WERE GOING TO ACCOMPLISH AND HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY, UNDER OUR DEMOCRATIC GIVE AND TAKE, EITHER TO REMOVE THE NAVAL LEADERSHIP AND RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS CENTURY OR SUPPORT US AND LET US GET ON WITH IT. AND I THINK THAT IT WAS A GREAT TESTIMONIAL TO THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS THAT WE WERE PERMITTED TO DO SO.