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Ralph J. Bunch Legacy: Minority Officers

AMBASSADOR JOHN E. REINHARDT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERVIEW

Q: My name is James Dandridge the interviewer with the interviewee Ambassador John E. Reinhardt. Ambassador Reinhardt, why don't we get started with your beginnings as far as your parents is concerned. What can you tell me about who your parents are or were? Where they were from? Any other significant information about their backgrounds that influenced your development and your thoughts etc.?

REINHARDT: Well! that's a tall order. One's parents, of course, have a great influence on any child. Mine certainly did too. I was born in 1920, longer ago than I would like to admit these days, March 8, 1920 in a little town, hardly a town at all maybe a hamlet called Glade Spring, Virginia, in the southwestern corner of Virginia, Washington County. Abington is the nearest town of any size and Glade Spring is about 25 miles from the Tennessee border, Bristow which would be the largest town near it. All the other towns are hamlets and less, Chilhowie, Saltville, Emory, Meadowview, you name it and we had it there in those hills. I was born in Glade Spring because it was a typical example of a young woman, my mother, who went home to have her first and as it turned out her only child. I was born in the same house where she had been born and where generations of people had been born. My mother's maiden name was Miller. She had grown up in Glade Spring and in those days schooling was very limited for black people and when she reached high school age she had to leave Glade Spring if she was going to high school anyplace. She ended up in a place called Morristown, Tennessee. Morristown, Tennessee had a place over there named College, Morristown College. It was not a college but it was established by the Methodist Episcopal Church. My mother was a Methodist and she went to Morristown. The exact year she went I don't know, don't ever remember her saying. But it is there that she met my father who had come a shorter distance than she because he had lived in Newport, Tennessee. So it was a young… and ultimately between a Tennessean and a Virginian. Newport, Tennessee was rather close to Morristown, 15 or 20 miles. So he could go home on weekends. She could not. Exactly when they fell in

love and the circumstances of that I never got any details. Don't remember asking for any. But in 1919 they married. The next year I was born in Glade Spring, Virginia. Obviously, I have no recollection of that. I have recollections of Glade Spring, oh say, from the age of eight or ten and on. It had some little influence on my life, the town itself, the area itself. But shortly after I was born, and in accordance with their planning as I understand it, they moved back to my father's hometown in Newport, Virginia where he worked for a brother who had a restaurant establishment in Newport. I think that, that was an inflated name for an eating place, any eating place in Newport, Tennessee. But that is where he worked. I gathered mostly from my mother that she was determined that they were not going to live in Newport, Tennessee. She didn't like it very much. I (was) left to guess all the reasons. I am not sure that even guessing is productive of anything but I do remember her emphasizing that she would say frequently to my father, "Ed, we have got to get out of here! I gathered that he was reluctant; That he would use the old adage, "doing well is hard to beat" but somehow she prevailed as she did throughout my life. And, she was generally right. They left Newport and came to Knoxville, Tennessee, where I grew up. This would have been in the early 1920's but I don't know the exact year. When they moved to Knoxville, having little or no money, they "boarded", as it was called in those days when you were in some one's home. There were no hotels and motels that were going to accept anyone and they didn't have enough to buy a house or to even rent one in those days, apparently. So they boarded with a family that I knew for a long time in Knoxville. Finally, they worked up to renting a house in a year or two. My father having become employed as a cook, he had a restaurant background in Newport and he got a job in the Farragut Hotel, then Knoxville's leading hotel, as a cook. First, a short-order cook, long hours, hard work and you eked out a living somehow. So they moved to a house on Otis Street in Knoxville, Tennessee and they lived there for a short while, I don't know exactly how long. They didn't own the house, they paid monthly rent and after a period moved on to a bigger house on Patterson Street, in Knoxville, Tennessee and rented that house for a longer period, three or four years. My mother again, trying to prevail, and prevailed, "We have got to save our money and move to our own house." And, as was generally the case she won out on this one also. They moved to another part of town. They moved from East Knoxville, to another area called Mechanicsville which was in the western portion of the city. Large area, all black, everything in those days was at least all black or all white. They were in a black community in Mechanicsville where they had bought a house.

Q: Ambassador, what I would like to do is…your name is very, very unusual, particularly for that part of the world. If you can go back and share what information you have as far as your father is concerned and the family name? Also their conditions, were they freed persons? Were they born, obviously, before the emancipation? And then we will come back to Mechanicsville when they are buying a house.

REINHARDT: All right, I am not much on genealogy; I have never had much success in going back, never attempted it to any extent. But my father's father, my grandfather whom I do not remember at all…I remember my grandmother's maternal/paternal but neither of my grandfathers. But my paternal grandfather was a journeyman preacher. He must have had some other work, he had a large family, but he did preach. My father

would only half jokingly say that my grandfather would bring preachers and church members home every Sunday to eat up all of the dinner. He didn't seem very happy about that but he had to endure that as a child, apparently. I asked him how much he knew about his great grandfather or anyone going back in his own history. I asked him more than once. The answer was not much and I concluded that he didn't know much. But according to him, his ancestors came from South Carolina, the area around Spartanburg, South Carolina as he told the story or as he remembered the story. Because he would often half humorously point out that we felt freer in Tennessee, "We blacks in Tennessee were above those blacks in South Carolina so we were working up in the world." I never quite understood that, it seemed to me we were all in the same boat. However, if he is accurate in chasing his ancestors to that area, obviously, somewhere before the civil war, somebody belonged to some family named Reinhardt. So far as I know that is the origin of the name. Whatever research remains, I have not performed, may tell more but there is no question how the name came in. My father and his sisters and brothers would always say we even spell it the right way. Reinhardt is spelled numerous ways. The German way is with the *dt* and the *ein*. They were kind of proud of that for some reason. They were unlike the people who spell the name *rine* or *rhein* and the numerous other ways. That's the origin of the name in so far as I know it. Now to come back to Mechanicsville, in the western part of Knoxville, Tennessee that my parents had worked up to, they bought a house in 1926 or so, '25 or '26, I don't know the exact date but that is the period. Not much of a house, a shotgun house we would call them. You shoot from the front and it goes out the back. On a good decent street, quiet neighborhood, excellent neighbors and they paid something like $2,000 to $2,200 in early 1920 dollars which apparently pushed the envelope a bit. The lender would have been much happier lending him money for a $1,500 house than for a $2,000 house, as I recalled the conversations. Nevertheless, that's where it was. That is the house I remember, mostly. I lived in it through my college days. They became more affluent and added to the house. It was a good comfortable house in a decent neighborhood. So, that was not the zenith of their Knoxville existence but they were pretty "high on the hog" as the saying went in those days, on Counselor Street in Knoxville. My father continued to work at the Farragut Hotel. He must have had troubles that all of us have. The Depression came along later and he continued to work at the Farragut Hotel. Don't know what the wage was, but it couldn't have been much. People in those days were paid in an envelope in cash. He would come home with the cash to my mother; he would discuss what we were going to do this month. They had credit. They were proud to have credit at the various department stores. They would buy various things. We were clearly poor, anyway you describe poor. But as they were happy to say that they didn't live in poverty. I don't exactly know what the monetary difference is between being poor and living in poverty. But what made this more endurable then it would have been is that everybody else was poor. The next door neighbor, the next street neighbor, and the next block neighbor all of the people were poor. There would be a few people, the mailman for example who had a good steady job and would be earning more than anyone else. But there was no class distinction. There was no race distinction. We were all black. That is how everybody grew up in that part of the South, at least. Tennessee was the upper South. It was not this part of Tennessee, at least, East Tennessee. Then and now it is heavily Republican, for example. It supported the North. Tennessee is a Southern state and practically every way I could find out, this was

republican mountain people speaking. Blacks didn't vote, of course. But the whites who lived there were republican mountain people and Tennesseans to this day. East Tennessee is Republican , two Republican Senators this day. Howard Baker, the Republican Leader in the Senate a few years ago was from Knoxville. My father got another job ultimately and knew his father. We used to refer to this.

I had started to school early, at the age of four in a kindergarten before we moved to Mechanicsville. There were a couple of women who operated a rather large kindergarten near where we lived on Patterson Street. Certainly the earliest teacher I have any recollection of whatsoever, and good recollections stem from this four or five year old age at the Mayer's school in East Knoxville near Patterson Street on Payne Street. (I) went there a couple of years. My parents used what we would call, influence, I guess to get me in the school. My cousins and other relatives said to get me out of the house. For whatever reason the Mayer's school admitted me at the age of four. I got an early start and continued more or less on that track right up to college. I went to college early. It is all traceable to going to school at four rather then at six. Not to any brilliance of mine.

Q: You refer to the school as the Mayers School?

REINHARDT: M A Y E R S was the name of the school as I recall it. The lady who operated it was named Mrs. Mayer, I can see her now but she had no influence. I don't remember much about her. I do remember the teacher Faustina Wilson. So, when we moved to Mechanicsville I was ready, I was six then, I was ready for public school. There was a public school within a half a dozen blocks of where we lived on Counselor Street in Mechanicsville and that is where I entered school. My most surviving memories of school came out of that experience. I was there throughout the elementary grades except for those two years at the Mayers School. This public school then and now I think was called Maynard School. I remember teachers to this day. I don't remember any great intellectual experiences. I was a kid and we do what kids do in school. I always went; my mother was going to see to that. I don't remember having any reluctance.

Q: I would *imagine since you had started kindergarten at age four you probably had a leg up on most of the other children who got into public school?*

REINHARDT: I think I had something of a leg up but I had a leg back in that many of the students at the Maynard School were older than I. They had a few years on me. That was true for a long time. I'm as old as anyone now but it took me a long time to catch up. These were big boys; these were boys who were worldly. They had been to public school. You learn whatever you learn in public school, good, bad, and indifferent, I guess. But I remember a Miss Nellie Jones my first teacher at Maynard School. Don't remember anything great about her but she was a likeable woman. She kept discipline. She went to our church. So I knew her even through Sunday every week. She must have had some influence that probably I can't account for.

Q: Was that the Methodist Episcopal Church?

REINHARDT: Methodist Episcopal Church, I will tell you a little more about that but back to Maynard School for a minute. I also remember a Miss Lenora Tate who was a teacher in the classroom next door to Miss Jones' classroom. I remember her largely because she was not my teacher. I remember her because I thought she was pretty. Then the next year after I went, a teacher who was on the other side of Miss Jones' classroom named Wilson, Virginia Wilson. I was not in her class but I remember her even more fondly because I thought she was even prettier. When I grow up I am gonna marry Lenora Tate or if I am really, lucky Virginia Wilson. Kind of memory of something the psychiatrist could make something out of. I don't know what to make out of it. Along the line someplace the Maynard School had two older teachers a Miss Hardin and Miss Leaper and in the seventh grade, a Mr. Bradley. All known as strict task-masters, they tolerated no foolishness. I think some of them at least didn't do much teaching because Mr. Bradley was greatly interested in penmanship. Until this day my penmanship is very bad. I always attribute it to Mr. Bradley. That he didn't teach me right. That's probably a burden Mr. Bradley shouldn't bear, but I do remember that. Geography, we studied in those days and history we studied in those days. We didn't dress it up and call it social studies. I remember I became awfully fond of geography for example and Miss Leaper had to have something to do with that. I became very fond of history; she and Ms. Hardin must have had a good deal to do with it. There was a woodworking class taught by a Mr. Richards. .I have never been very skillful with my hands but I made a little cedar chest, which I have until this day, in Mr. Richards' woodworking class, I was glad to have the production. I thought it was a decent job, my mother liked it and I presented it to her and I remember that very fondly. Those are the earliest memories in that particular school and the people who were in that school. I remember some students by name, I have seen some of them and many of them have expired by now. These are old people by now, they were already ahead of me and of course I remember them, played with them and went to school with them every day.

Q: Now, to what do you attribute this interest that you had developed in geography and history? Do you attribute this solely to the teachers or because of your other interest?

REINHARDT: Well it is hard to say. I had more of a bent in that direction for a reason I can't account for than I did in the science directions for example or the mathematics direction. Mathematics was known as something hard. If you didn't believe it, ask every student around you. You don't want to fool with it that much. That had to have some kind of negative influence. I liked places. Some were far away and some were close by. Until this day I am very fond of reading maps. So far as I can tell, it went back to that period, no later education in geography that would have reinforced this early bent, which is what it was. The teachers must have done something to help it along. There may be other things that I can recall later about Maynard School but I don't think very much.

Q: Well, while you were in Maynard School and in your house I would assume that it was already a determined fact that you were going to attend college. Is that how you looked at your schooling?

REINHARDT: There is no question about that. I don't ever remember a period when I

was not going to college. And if I ever had such a thought, my mother would have corrected that one in a hurry, "Yes! Of course, you are going". Great, influence from the parents, but mostly by my mother. Neither had been to college. They had been to something called Morristown College which was a far cry from any college. But they were determined that I was going to succeed. The name of success was college. I never had any dream of fighting that idea. I always wanted to go to college, too. There is a black college that I ultimately went to in Knoxville. The University of Tennessee which was beyond any black persons dream was in West Knoxville. I was always fond of roaming around near the campus and looking at football games at the University of Tennessee so I was always attracted to higher education and continue to be. The Church had some influence. While we were in East Knoxville on Patterson Street we attended the Methodist Episcopal Church for no reason other than my mother and my father had grown up in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Q: Was that the Methodist Episcopal or the African Methodist Episcopal?

REINHARDT: No, in those days that was the Methodist Episcopal Church carefully to be distinguished from any other kind of Methodist. There are more than a half a dozen of Methodists both now and then. The African and Methodist Episcopal Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Zion and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church were all there but they were not the Methodist Episcopal Church which my parents belonged to, my father in Newport and my mother in Glade Springs. So they naturally gravitated to the Methodist Episcopal Church for no reason under the sun other than they were brought up in that Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church was heavily segregated. Most segregated hour was 11:00am on Sunday. It had split during the war, of course, the civil war that is, into the Methodist Episcopal Church South and then what was left of it in the North. There was a black jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it was that segregated called the Central Jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now you can't get much more segregated than that.

Q: Ambassador Reinhardt I would like you to just develop a little bit more about the Methodist Episcopal Church?

REINHARDT: Well! The big body of Christians calling themselves Methodist then and now, but then, was spread into many other branches of it as I pointed out earlier. The Methodist Episcopal Church split itself into a Church South and North. Methodist Episcopal Church South it was called. That was segregated because these were people who supported slavery and openly and overtly supported slavery. Those who were left in the Methodist Episcopal Church did not. They were abolitionists and their followers, mostly in the North. That branch, the Methodist Episcopal Church South was all white. They made no pretensions of having anything black in it in those days, certainly. But the remaining body calling itself the Methodist Episcopal Church was not all white, it was white, predominantly white, but also had blacks segregated again into the central jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If you were black and lived in, I don't know, Portland, Maine or Baton Rouge, Louisiana or San Francisco you were in the central jurisdiction having been put there by race. That is the jurisdiction that I grew up

with, went to Church and Sunday School every Sunday at a reasonable large but not the largest black church in Knoxville called East Fine Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church. I remember a whole series of preachers assigned there and remember all the names. Had to go to Church every Sunday whether I liked it or not. But I had not disliked it for some reason. But my mother surely would have seen that I got out. I had clean starched trousers and shirts to go to Church, but go to Sunday School first. She did not go to Sunday School. I went to Sunday School and ultimately joined the Church. She would come to Church every Sunday at 11:00 AM service, of course, and I would join her there and we would worship. My father had to work on Sunday but twice a month could leave his work in time to come to night services beginning about 7:00pm at the East Fine Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church. He joined us then, all three of us went. The influences of the Church on one's life in those days are great, I guess. We surely remember them fondly. Don't know how religious I became but until this day I still go to church. I still go to the Methodist Church. I wasn't very old until I began to think about this segregated business and knew that there were Churches over on Henley Street and on Broadway that I could pass by but not go in, they were Methodist too. Just as I could pass by a many a school. I bring that in at this point only because growing up in the segregated South had influence on everyone who did it black and white, later influences in their lives. These were the formative years. You didn't pay much attention to it as a child but as an upper adolescent you paid a lot of attention to it, of course. Wasn't much you could do about it, but you thought about it a lot. As a child, eight or ten, eleven, twelve years old, it was just the way things were going to be, it seemed. Nothing happened in the house or the school or the church to disabuse a child of this. You were to stay out of trouble, all kinds of trouble. You learned that at home. Staying out of trouble in those days, we are talking about the 20's and the 30's, at least meant very largely, staying in your place. You knew it somehow. You never went into a 5 and 10 cent store in downtown Knoxville and go to the white fountain if you were thirsty. You knew somehow, you could read to go to the colored fountain. All of this seeps in deeply, of course. More so then anyone knew at that time. And the Church had its role, kind of ugly role as you look back on it in doing this to children. The Church would have its annual conferences and you would always look forward to the annual conference to wonder if your preacher was coming back or not. The Bishop came to the Annual Conference and the Bishop was white. He seemed like a nice man. You always looked forward to the Bishop's sermon. And he would send you back what you had or he would send you a new preacher. You would help to get him settled. Mostly the adults, of course, but I have vivid memories of all of this. The ministers were all black and the Bishops were in the earliest of those days were all white. Ultimately, the presiding elders, district superintendents, we called them, were black. Let me say they were mixed. You might get a white one. You might get a black one. But for the most part, in my day at least they were black. The members didn't give them credit, the ones you are calling presiding elders or district superintendents. They didn't give them much credit not enough credit for whatever was happening, they somehow thought they were tools of the Bishop. They did not hold this against them. But this was the way things were or were led to believe. They probably had more influence than we knew. The Bishop couldn't have known all the ins and outs of all the churches in his conferences, so he was heavily dependent on his district superintendents.

Q: Did the black preachers vote for the bishop at the Conferences?

REINHARDT: The Methodist church then and now had something called the General Conference. Bishops then and now are elected at the General Conference. How much influence the black ministers had, I don't know but I would guess not much. None of them were ever elected until later. I remember they were so scarce that I could remember all the early ones. A man showed up one day at a conference one day named Bishop Clair and it was almost like God descending from heaven, to see this venerable preacher in charge of this East Tennessee Conference of the central jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Clair was from a Church here in Washington that exists until this day called Asbury. Asbury then as now is very proud to have produced this bishop. Later there was a Bishop A. P. Shaw from a Church in Baltimore. Big stately gentlemen with a heavy voice and we liked him, we liked both of them. We like them as black people, we like them as religious leaders. Then somewhere along the line the president of a black college in the South called Philander Smith, Little Rock came to be a bishop. So we remember all those bishops but we remember them largely because of race. These distinctions as the black bishops came into the church; of course, these racial and ethnic distinctions became sharper. Again, you were in a segregated world, you didn't know how you were ever going to get out of it, indeed, you had no vision of getting out of it, that is one of the worst parts of the reminisce of slavery. You were going to be there. You were never going to the University of Tennessee in West Knoxville. The Church had its influence on this.

Q: The Church had a profound influence on molding you, you were an only child. How about the other youngsters your age did they have the same experiences?

REINHARDT: No doubt they did. They were in that church and other churches… the Baptist Churches the largest churches in Knoxville, so they went to Tabernacle Baptist Church, Mt Zion Baptist Church and all other Baptist Churches. The AME and the AME Zion Churches were also larger than the Methodist Episcopal Church. But back to your question, they had a great influence on us. You have got to bear in mind in those days there wasn't much competition. You went to church on Sunday or you didn't go anywhere else. Everything was segregated that you could possibly go to. The movies weren't even open on Sunday. The church had as much social influence on people, adults and children, as they did religious, probably more…The church and the church clubs. I used to go with my mother to Clubs, Ladies Usher Board for example. I liked it because they served food. But this was your social life. It probably repelled some people in their later lives, I have heard sons of ministers, for example, say, "I have had enough." Then they grew away from the church. But I think most people of my generation and the people I grew up with stayed with the church at least would certainly say they were religious. It had to come from this kind of forced religion in one's youth of those days because there was no substitute. What else were you going to do, school and church clubs throughout the week and church itself on Sunday.

(I) ultimately, left Maynard School grew out of Maynard School. There was a black high

school, a high school for blacks in Knoxville in a city of better than 100,000 people with about 20 to 25,000 blacks. It made no difference where you lived in this rather large and spread out city. It you were going to high school and you were black you were going to Austin High School. Austin High School happened to be, what we called, across town. I was in the western portion and it was in the east. It was even beyond our church. This was not before the days of the automobile, I don't go back that far, but we didn't have one and had no vision of ever owning one. You walked or you went on public transportation. Public transportation didn't cost much but it cost something. So you didn't take public transportation you walked. My father walked to work every day a distance of a mile and a half to two miles to his work and the high school was two to two and a half from where we lived. He walked and didn't think anything of it. Everybody walked. You would have a good time while walking, get into trouble while walking or whatever you did going to school, you walked. I remember and was proud that in my senior year in high school .I had a perfect attendance record. So I got there every day by foot. This was a high school like all high schools you got different experiences. You were growing up then, you got to learn what high school boys and girls learned. You guessed at it earlier now and it's all out there. What you didn't know the boys could tell you. Then and now I am sure. As high schools go it was satisfactory. I am speaking academically. It had some good teachers, it had some mediocre teachers and it had some bad teachers as you look back on it. You didn't make those distinctions very much then. But to the extent that the distinctions were made they were made on the basis of how we called it. Strict the teacher is, there is no foolishness in Miss. Ardor's class. Miss. Ardor was an English teacher. If you wanted to cut a few corners, that is not the place to go. You could go to Mr. Seal's class. He was known as a great talker. He was teaching Science. Half the class was known as science and half the class was known as Jesse Seal's, as Jesse Seal's sees the world. Some students would feed into Jesse Seal and keep him going as long as possible but that's a memory. You surely didn't want to fool around with Miss Singleton. She would not only tell your mother, but she probably wouldn't have to tell her, she took care of any disciplinary problems. She was the History teacher. We had the book on all teachers. Nothing new about that, it exists until this day among students. But it had something to do with what you were concentrating on. You had to concentrate on English in Miss Ardor's class. You couldn't do much daydreaming in there. I remember some of those teachers very fondly. I think that Miss Singleton is as good a teacher as I have had anywhere. She just died a couple of years ago in her nineties. I remember her fondly from those days. Miss Ardor I remember fondly, I never had much trouble writing a sentence for example and she had something to do with that. Other teachers, we even had an automobile mechanics taught at high school in those days, Mr. Anderson. Mr. Anderson taught automobile mechanics. I went into automobile mechanics in high school rather than in the woodworking that I hadn't made much progress in Maynard School and I didn't make much progress in automobile mechanics either. I guess it is as much my disinclination to learn those things, far more that, then the teachers fault. Nevertheless, I had the exposure.

Q: Did you participate in sports?

REINHARDT: I did not… awfully fond of sports. I was a little boy. Austin had good

football teams. But people like Kenneth Brown and Arthur Thurman and those guys, they were men. They were big guys! Some of them went on to college and did well in college. You looked up to them. They were older than I but they were also bigger than I. The rumor was that these guys went to school only in the football season. That was true of some of them. Dusty Leonard, then the coach would make sure they attended even his artist class during football season. Something would happen to them, but they would be back the next season. And there is always some question about eligibility but not much of an enforcement eligibility who's going to determine, no one. And they had good football teams; I liked football then and now. I hadn't a ghost of a chance of playing in it, and I continue to like it. We had football, we had basketball… The basketball teams were pretty good. Dusty Leonard was the coach of basketball, also. Joe Matthews at first was the coach, but Dusty Leonard became the coach before I left high school. I attended games and liked them and liked the guys who were playing the games. You had the usual clubs. I wasn't much for those clubs. I was more interested in football and basketball, neither which I played but I was more interested in them in the High Y, I think it was called and other clubs of that type. You would go through the motions but your heart, my heart wasn't in some of that, much as in football. You had your class plays, dramatic productions, drama classes and productions and I fiddled with that. I was never going to be a Hollywood star but I did something toward the effort. The girls had home economic classes and demonstrations and girl reserves…

Boy Scouts even through high school, I wasn't much into the Scout movement. I was a Scout for awhile. But I was never going to become an Eagle Scout. Probably for a lot of reasons but I fell by the wayside.

Q: Who sponsored your Scout troop?

REINHARDT: The church, someone in the church. Or the Scout troops would be sponsored by someone in some churches. Mine happened to be one. And if you were a Baptist kid and you didn't have a Scout troop in your church you would surely come to the Methodist one if that was close by or the Presbyterian one, whichever it was. All churches didn't have one. But that was the source of Scouting.

Q: Now, did your interest in Scouting come from your personal interest or was it something your parents also expected for you?

REINHARDT: More of the latter. Every decent boy growing up had to be a Scout. I didn't have any great fondness for it. Didn't learn to tie all those knots, saw no need to tie the knots really. But I went through it for, I don't know how long, three or four years, did alright. Don't look back on it as having any great influence. I don't know what else throughout the church or the early schools. I ultimately graduated from high school in 1935. I was second in the class. A girl beat me out there and a girl beat me out in college, but deservedly so, they were smarter than I was.

Q: Did you have girlfriends when you were in high school?

REINHARDT: Yes and no. Girlfriends that you had and girlfriends you wanted to have. I was a little young for Mabel Steward to pay much attention to me. But she paid a little, while her heart was somewhere else. But it was Mabel Steward that I really longed for. Mabel was not much older than I. But she was much more mature than I. She liked the bigger boys. I saw Mabel a few years ago, she too has died and we recalled those days. Anna Watson was more my style and my age, even her sister, Yolanda Watson, who incidentally is the mother of Nicky Giovanni, the poet. Yolanda, Nicky's mother, Nicky Giovanni's mother, was a few years older not much than I, but I wasn't going to have a shot at her but I did at her sister.

Q: Ambassador Reinhardt we are now at that point where you are matriculated or are in the process of matriculating from high school and getting ready to go into another major phase of your life. But, before we go there are there any elements in these formative years, family, church, school and your other social experiences you feel are important to talk on as a bases for the kinds of things we will be getting into in your later professional life?

REINHARDT: Jim, I think I have included the things that come to mind about these early years. Digging back into one's history is not easy. Sometimes things have influenced us that we don't even remember having influenced us. I can think of a couple of episodes around Knoxville, for example, that I kind of distinctively remember and these episodes must have much to do with the way I think now. I remember I had a bicycle as most boys did. I wore that bicycle into the ground. Among other things I was going down Commerce Street in Knoxville one day and a car door suddenly opened and I ran into it. I hurt myself. I didn't break any bones but I was really shaken up by just running into this suddenly opened car door. I looked up and it was a policeman had opened the door. A big cop, there were two of them but one was speaking. He said, "Nigger get up from here and get out of here now! You got no business here anyway." That was pretty rough handling for a kid; I don't remember how old I was, eleven or twelve years old…from someone you looked up to as a law enforcement officer. I bring that up only because I have never forgotten it and because it has surely influenced racial views probably in ways that I don't even know. It said something about early attitudes toward law enforcement; said something about earlier developing attitudes about race. I assume if this had been one of the few black cops in Knoxville this wouldn't have happened. But I also know, if he had been one of the few black cops he wouldn't have been driving the police department car at all, they walked. There must be a lot of episodes seemingly insignificant that turned out to be somewhat significant at least in ones development. That one seems to stick in the craw, for example. There was no appeal to this. You go home, wherever I was going and get over it. That's the way things are even in the upper South. That's the way things were, even in the upper South.

Q: Did you share that experience with your parents?

REINHARDT: Yes. Yes. I don't remember their exact words, but their reaction was, too bad, awfully sorry this happened, be more careful the next time. They were resigned to what had happened. Had I been seriously hurt, I assume, there wouldn't have been much

that could have been done about it.

Q: That was a traumatic experience?

REINHARDT: I remembered it, it must have been.

Q: But, were you angry?

REINHARDT: Yes, it was a mixture of anger and resignation. It is the resignation part of it that is troubling, of course this is the way things are. I will have to be more careful next time because there is nothing else I can do about it. I remember much later in my life and I have not even gotten to college yet or I may have even been out of college. I had a cousin who was a bell hop in the leading hotel in Knoxville...the same Farragut Hotel where my father had worked for so many years. I was back on leave from something, I don't know where I had been. I had been out of town and I went by just to see him one day, went in the back door as I usually went in the Farragut Hotel. We chatted, chewed the fat as we say and I got ready to leave and he said you can go out this way. This way was through the lobby to the front door. I didn't. Tell it for what it was worth, but it has something to do with race growing out of formative years.

Q: Social customs then?

REINHARDT: Absolutely! Absolutely! When the University of Tennessee was forced open by later civil rights cases, they forced the door a little. There was no black law school in Tennessee. But arrangements were made so black students who wanted to study the law could study in an off-room from the white students. I wasn't involved in this but I remember this happening. (I) could study in a corner in the library. I could look through and see, yes there was a couple there. Avon Williams was there. I never thought that was going to happen in my day. We did and much more by now. I liked football. University of Tennessee was a football factory, then and now. So they had good teams. No blacks as I was coming up and no black spectators. At first, blacks sat on the roof of a nearby house that happened to belong to a black woman and she would sell you a ticket for a quarter. You could sit on the roof way outside the stadium, but you could see, not much, but you could see. That is sharply in my memory. Now every black who liked football and wanted to see the University of Tennessee football was on that roof. It was a big roof. It did not cave in, fortunately, or you did not see it. Teachers were there, high school principal was there, preachers were there, anyone who wanted to see the University of Tennessee football games. This has influence on a kid. Their presence there (was) acceptance of the system. They didn't have to see football; they didn't have any choice in this case. They couldn't go look at it on television. If they wanted to see it, this was the way it was. But it spelled acceptance of the system. Don't rock the boat type of acceptance. It must have been any number of things that influences a kid as he prepares for the greater world somewhere along the line. Those are a few of the things that just readily come to mind without my searching.

Q: But these things did have an impact on your later development of attitudes as far as

race relations were concerned? Well, we will get to that later. I don't want to try to prejudge that you felt these overshadowed any attitudes and any behavior that you might have had.

REINHARDT: Well, it sharpened your dislike for the system. It sharpened your attitudes toward other people of different colors, predominantly white, of course. I did not grow up hating them. But I did grow up knowing that they did not much care for me. I didn't know whether they hated me or not. But they surely considered me inferior to them and to their children or they would not have been treating us this way. But the hardest thing to overcome is the kind of ordained acceptance of the system. It was gonna always be this way. Obviously, you grow to a certain period when you realize that whatever you thought at ten or fifteen, things have now changed and "Thank God!" for Martin Luther King and all that grew out of it. But then, the attitude of the black neighborhood was that, there was always going to be an Austin High School. There was no horizon; there was no vision of anything else. We had relatives as I was growing up in Chicago. All black people in the South had people who had escaped from the South. Ours had gone to Chicago rather then some other centers. And we would find bus fare or something occasionally and go to Chicago. It was a great experience, of course. You weren't free at last but you were freer than you were in Knoxville if you were in Chicago. You would see things there and hear things there and go places there, that you didn't go or do in Knoxville even if they existed in Knoxville, you didn't go do it. I bring it up only because that's a little light out there. The tunnel was awfully long and in Knoxville it had no end. It's a pinch of light when you went north, as we said. I went to the 1933 World's Fair. I would have been thirteen years old in 1933. It was in Chicago… great experience for a kid. I went to see the clubs play baseball in Chicago, in Wrigley Field, with my Uncle Mack, great experience. I didn't see a Jackie Robinson down the road anywhere. I knew we could play baseball. I knew that the Monarch's and the Royals in the Negro Leagues existed. I didn't have any television to see them but I read about them in the Pittsburgh Courier, or the Norfolk Journal and Guide. But I never saw Jackie Robinson coming along the line. Jackie Robinson was at UCLA and he and Kenny Washington were idols from afar as I was coming up. But, one year the University of Tennessee had an unusually excellent team and there was thought that they might get ready for the Rose Bowl. It was very clear that they did not want to play against black players at UCLA. I have forgotten exactly what happened but they went to the Rose Bowl and lost. I believe that they didn't have to play UCLA, they played Southern California or somebody else. That is vividly etched in my memory. They had made it, Kenny Washington and Jackie Robinson in another world, in the North world. That seemed better at the time to a kid growing up in the segregated south. But it also seemed to be the only ray of light anywhere, for me ultimately, but it was out there. All the experiences that accommodated these and all the happenings in American that accommodated the World's Fair in Chicago and Jackie Robinson playing football at UCLA, all of this had something to do with world vision with local vision and with what horizon you had of racial developments that you may experience later. I finished high school on time, 1935… gave a class address...parents awfully fond of me. My father could get off from work to attend commencement, baccalaureate. That's what he had to do otherwise he would have been working. I got some honors; the medals were presented by the superintendent of schools who was white. This was one time he would

come to Austin. It was a big occasion in my little world, a big occasion for me, too. I never finished anything that I could look back on as fondly as looking back on that and the medals that I got and whatever else I got. The class oration that I worked hard on and my mother listened to and coached me and made sure I had down pat.

That too and June 1935 faded, it's over the next day and you realized that you had to go to college. I had a couple of scholarships that I had earned in high school. One was to a college in North Carolina called Johnson C. Smith, still there, Charlotte, North Carolina. I knew it was there and had known some people who had gone there. School mates had gone to Johnson C. Smith, but it was in Charlotte. Knoxville College was in Knoxville, walking distance from where I lived. I wanted to go in the best of all worlds, to Fisk University which was in Nashville a couple of hundred miles from Knoxville but couldn't afford it. It was that simple. I didn't blame anyone. My father didn't make but so much, so he would say, "You can't get blood from a turnip." I was surely not going to Fisk in the fall of 1935 where I wanted to go. I could have somehow, as I recalled, gone to Johnson C. Smith but I did not have any particular desire to go to Johnson C. Smith. I had the scholarship and I would just as soon go to Knoxville as go to Johnson C. Smith and that is about how it played out. Somewhere, (along the) way (in) another world, there were Harvards and Yales, in Californias and Michigans and Minnesotas that you heard of them but never any thought of going to those places. That is how much it has changed. Can't say you didn't want to go to someplace like those but the horizon was not there, the opportunity was not there. Even if you could gain admission you were not going and you knew it. In this connection there was an extraordinary football player, halfback named Jimmy Thurman. He could do everything that could be done with a football. I remember Arthur Thurman running down the field now and he came to the attention as was said in those days, of the white people. There was a broadcaster in Knoxville, named Lowell Blanchard and Lowell Blanchard managed to see Arthur Thurman play football a couple of times. And Lowell Blanchard had gone to the University of Illinois. He got in touch with his alma mater and to make a long story short, Arthur Thurman's football ability appealed to somebody. At Illinois he could get in with some kind of athletic scholarship. But Arthur Thurman had problems, in the classroom, outside the classroom. The then old folks, not my old folks in the community, said he was wild. And sure enough in that summer before I went to college Arthur Thurman was murdered on the streets of Knoxville and never made it to Illinois. Bring it up, yes it was possible to go somewhere else but the circumstances had to be unusual and somebody had to get you in as we understood it in those days and Lowell Blanchard had gotten Arthur in. It is highly probably that Arthur couldn't have stayed at Illinois had he gone. He could have stayed through a few good football games and that's the way it was. That is what happened in the formative years. I went on to Knoxville College. Knoxville College was a much better school in those days then it is now, but had been a much better college before. I entered Knoxville College in the fall of 1935. The class number, it was not very large, probably was fewer than a hundred…But kids coming from all over, mostly all over the South, but not exclusively. We had kids from Gary, Indiana, Chicago, Cincinnati, Toledo, Ohio, Detroit just to mention a few that I distinctively remember. Before I registered for a single class, you're here, were meeting the world on what was to be a sustained bases, four years, that you never met before, and I am looking back on this now. Don't know

how much I realized it at the time, but just meeting this, we were all black, of course, but it was a heterogeneous group. These are the people who went to the Regal Theater in Chicago. These are also people who had come from sharecropper's homes in Alabama and all in between. That was to be as important as anything that happened in the classroom. I didn't know it the day I enrolled but it certainly - It was my introduction to the world so to speak. I had been to Chicago, short visits. This was a promised land but I wasn't there, it couldn't have much influence on me. On one of the trips to Chicago, my uncle went out of the way to see if I could see or meet Joe Louis.

Q: Was this Uncle Mack?

REINHARDT: Uncle Mack. Uncle Mack had a chili parlor on 47th Street directly across from the barber shop that Joe Louis allegedly visited. Uncle Mack told me that. Joe Louis then lived on the corner of Michigan and 47th Street in the Rosenwall Apartments. I would walk with Uncle Mack through the interior courts of the Rosenwall and boy that looked fabulous. You are never going to see anything else like this. I did get to see Joe Louis. I never met him. I never shook his hand but I got to see him from afar. Uncle Mack couldn't get me in to see the great man. The only reason for going back to the Chicago experience is that it was limited. More than you could handle in a week or ten days, but limited. You were going back to where you came from. When I entered college I was having friends, some classmates who not only had seen the Rosenwall Apartments but had lived in Chicago. They had fabulous stories, I suspected invented and real. I don't know. They lived in Toledo, Ohio or Cincinnati, Ohio, the city with the great railroad station that I had seen as I went to Chicago. Coming in touch with these people for the next four years was going to have an awful lot to do with my development and education. You registered with whatever the procedures to register were. You were certainly a greenhorn as a freshman. Sophomores and juniors and seniors let you know if you didn't already know it. I don't remember any hazing. There were no fraternities. You stepped aside on the sidewalks for the big men in the senior class to get by. You didn't want to harm them in anyway. You registered for classes and you got the stories about the teachers. Knoxville College in those days had its first black President. Its last white President was a man by the name of Geffen who was a remarkable educator. He had a lot personally to do with the development of a number of blacks who had come out of Knoxville College. The faculty had been and was then when I entered in 35' predominately, white. Knoxville College is a United Presbyterian College. The Church contributed to its budget considerably in those days. I don't know if it had a whopping endowment, it had some, but, nothing like Fisk University's endowment. You registered for classes, everybody was going to have to go to, she was called not so fondly, Maude Anderson's English class. Miss Anderson was an old woman even by my recent recollection of age. She was old. A kind of dried up gray haired woman who surely knew all about gerunds and participles and wanted to make sure that in the course of her class that you knew a lot about them also, if you were to get out. People feared her. You heard about her before you even saw her. At any rate you didn't have any choice you had to take Freshman English so I had the class with her. I had a class with "Boo Boo" Wallace who was a Biology teacher. Fix things under the microscope for you but then you were on your own and the next time you might have to fix your own specimen and make sure

you got it right and draw it and explain it. He was not Jesse Seals of my high school days. He didn't talk trash for an half an hour he was all business. Had a very interesting public speaking course taught by a young man, white again, Melvin Moorehouse who had just finished a small college in Pennsylvania, West Minister College, I think. I didn't know anything about West Minister College except that it existed. But he seemed to know what he was talking about. I wasn't absolutely sure that with experience that would enable me to compare or contrast him with anyone else. Then I had a language course with a German teacher. Not only by a white teacher but a German, Dr. Rodaman.

Q: Would you like to go back and pick up with studying German under Dr. Rodaman?

REINHARDT: The other class I was enrolled in was German. You had a choice between German or French, there was no Spanish. I am not quite sure why, but I chose German, rather then Miss McFarland's class in French. That was the lineup and those were the teachers. Those were the classes and I had this kind of heterogeneous group of classmates from all over. Heterogeneous, in the sense of their origins and schoolmates. This was the beginning of college education. I got along alright scholastically. I have forgotten what the grades were but I made it, other people made it and some didn't quite make it. I liked the classmates. I was a little young to deal with those seniors or juniors, a little standoffish, between me and them, especially the girls. Tilly Smith looked like a woman to me, she was a senior…ultimately, married a teacher, incidentally. So, maybe I had a shot but didn't know it. Gwendolyn Smith surely (I) wasn't gonna have a shot at; she was Chicago, she had seen a lot on South Park Avenue and had contributed a lot to Michigan and South Park in Chicago and she knew her way around. She was reserved for someone else. I did have a shot at Roma Williams and Fanny Bird both of them from Alabama. I thought they were pretty. Other people thought they were pretty. So the social life was not as developed especially with these upper classmen as it could have been had I been two or three years older. But I started out at four and still catching up with it. The college had a football team that never won any games or many. But I always went to the games and later on became the manager of the football team when I couldn't make the football team. So that was fun. We had a basketball team that was not much better. But some of my classmates and people I had known in high school were on the basketball team. So they had a leg up on me socially because they could do things that I couldn't do and therefore had entrées that I couldn't get, didn't know how to get. But Richard Swanson and the Bryant boy, Hi-Y singer and these Athletes from Austin High School were along with me. The first year in college there and I guess many other places you are not into extra curriculum activities to the extent that you were going to be later because you are trying to find your way. And you are trying to pass in the classroom at least. It was more meaningful there. The academics more serious than anything I had experience in high school. So the year went by uneventful. Good times and hard times because of Boo-Boo Wallace's microscope. That is as hard as it got. Then you make up your mind as you ultimately will be called upon to as to what direction you want to go in. Looking back on this, was very influential, was that you didn't have a hard time making up your mind because your choices were so limited. There was not much out there in the great world you were going to do anyway. You knew in '35 remember this is '35 not '55. Teach, preach, medical (dentist or doctor) that was about it as far as preparation was concerned.

You may end up an undertaker but you need liberal arts to become an undertaker. You may make more money than anyone else burying people. But assisting people otherwise it was an image. There were black lawyers out in the community. So you could be a lawyer. Your perception was that they were not doing but so well. They were writing deeds and other minor legal matters. You didn't want to go that way. There was no reason to believe in 1935 that you wanted to be a lawyer although you could have been one. You could have had that vision. It dawned on me certainly in that year that education (was) about where I was headed. Some, school teacher, you had to strain a bit to conceive of becoming a principal, but maybe you might make that sometime. If you were awfully lucky, maybe you could get in teaching some college, Flounder Smith, Lane, some black college you were not going to teach at Yale. I am speaking of vision. Some people must have broken out of. The civil rights lawyers for example came along then, too. Whatever their formative backgrounds, Charlie Huston of NAACP's fame must have had some vision that was unavailable to most of us at Knoxville. I think I can speak for classmates and others; they did not become civil rights lawyers either. Whatever it was you were going to teach, or preach or practice medicine or dentistry and I made my mind up or it was kind of made up for me I don't know exactly what happened but I was going into the education field. Then I was going to study, ultimately when the time came to declare a major which as I recall you didn't have to do until your junior year, that I was going the English route. The Professor of English at Knoxville was a then old man in my opinion, was named James Carrey, who was black. There were not many black professors there to begin with. But I was, for reasons that probably were not strongly developed, I don't know why, but I would go Mr. Carrey's route. Carrey had been trained in Knoxville and at Northwestern. He had a Master's degree from Northwestern. There are a handful of other black teachers there, including the father of my wife-to-be, but he was in Sociology and I didn't know much about Sociology. All of that rather rambling thing to say that the possibilities were very limited but the intellectual horizon was also very limited… English, History, Mathematics the major sciences Chemistry and Biology Language French or German that's about it.

Q: Was this your first experience to languages?

REINHARDT: No, I had had Latin. Thank you for reminding me because I had wanted to go back for other reasons. I had had Latin in high school from a man who I should have mentioned earlier on named J.B. Watson, who was the Latin teacher. I got along well in Latin.

Q: What grade was that?

REINHARDT: Ninth, tenth grade. Watson had gone to Fisk which was another reason why I had wanted to go to Fisk because if Fisk turned out people like Watson who was some kind of a role model for me. He was a very gentle man. I thought a very learned man. His learning had to be more limited than I thought then. But he surely knew Latin. He learned it at Fisk. I had no longing to be a Latinist. But I understood the importance of the language in influencing your learning of other languages, even on your writing and your vocabulary and all which was stressed rather well by Mr. Watson. Mr. Watson was

also the father of three daughters. Yolanda Watson, the mother of Nicky Giovanni, Anna Watson and Agnes Watson in descending order of age. I knew all the girls and liked them and liked Mr. Watson, liked Mrs. Watson. But that was my language back to your question. That was my introduction to language even if I had wanted to pursue Latin in college, it was not available at Knoxville College. Undoubtedly there were teachers who knew some Latin but they didn't offer it in Knoxville College. The thing I look back on not so fondly about college is that they did not offer much else. I told you the subjects, small college, 250 students, very religious college.

Q: Did you live on campus?

REINHARDT: I did not, I lived at home six blocks from campus, cheaper. The question of living in the dormitories never came up. I didn't have any great desires when I entered college and I surely couldn't afford it. The whole ream of social sciences for example the ream that has come to be so important in our lives was just blocked it out, doesn't exist. You could take an introductory course in sociology and maybe one or two others in sociology, you could take economics and that was your social science. There is no anthropology, there wasn't any of the broad field of the social sciences for better or worse that's just the way it was. Sciences were limited to the two that I told you about. Microbiology, you didn't even know the meaning of the word, much less the opportunity to study it. So I came by English by some rather narrow routes. It was either English or History or whatever else they did offer. And that's how you gradually got into that. Knoxville College was a very conservative college, conservative religious school. My first year, bearing in mind we are speaking of 1935, is the first year that dancing was allowed on the campus. That didn't deny me a lot of opportunities because I didn't dance very well anyway. Whatever my inclinations, this was the first time you could do it under strict system of chaperons. The Chaperons didn't do anything but they didn't dance with you and they didn't dance among themselves on the floor of the gymnasium. That's where the dances were held. But even Miss Anderson the strict English teacher was sitting there looking. The Robb sisters the other strict constructionist and social decorum was sitting there watching. There was all kind of rumors that they were going to take it out on you if you danced too much or if you did much of that jitter-bugging stuff, they were going to take it out on you in the classroom. I don't think any of this was well founded, but it was a rumor. I bring it up only because it is 1935 and dancing on this college campus for the first time. This was the general pattern of southern colleges. Some of them may have started dancing in 1930 or 1933 before Knoxville, but some were after Knoxville, also. The smoking was strictly prohibited. Some of the boys smoked. No girls smoked, of course. No girl would be caught smoking. But the fact is that no boy could be caught smoking on campus. The boys went down to the gate, those who wanted to smoke. Those bold enough to smoke went outside the campus and stood at the gate and smoked. That's the atmosphere. Drinking, of course, was unheard of. These were days of prohibition, of course. No college boy is going to drink anyway. He surely was not going to drink on campus. Or if he did and was caught he was gone the next day. Due process was determined by the president and you had none. If someone saw you smoking or drinking you may get away with taking a drag on a cigarette but you were not going to get away with drinking.

Q: How open was dating?

REINHARDT: Dating was open. The girl's dormitory L. Nathan Hall had a huge porch. After social events or musicals or wherever you had gone with your date you took her home. You had to take her home. She had to be in that door by a certain time. You could linger a little on the porch of L. Nathan Hall. It was generally known it was a lot of lingering on the porch. You could call on the girl in the parlor as we called it. But everybody else was calling on his girl when you were there also so that was not very private and the matron made it her business to pass by occasionally. So, yes it was permitted but it was permitted under strict supervision and you had to be very creative to get around the system in anyway.

Q: Now was this the college where your yet-to-be wife's father was a professor?

REINHARDT: He was a professor. But he was known as a liberal. First place, he was teaching Sociology and that was one step short of communism. No telling what those sociologists are. He was known as a liberal.

Q: What was his name?

REINHARDT: Daves. Herman Daves and he had gone to Knoxville College also and he had gone to what was then the University of Buffalo which is one of Buffalo State Colleges in the New York University system now.

Q: Was he from Tennessee?

REINHARDT: No, he is from North Carolina. He was from Rocky Mount , North Carolina. The Robb sisters, venerable ladies from the North, and Miss Anderson and the other Presbyterian Church sponsored teachers from the North would get along all right with a man like Daves but they were suspicious. He was a liberal, whatever liberal meant, he was one of them. Anyway this young white Professor Melvin Moorehouse he was liberal too. The attitude was among the conservatives, no telling what these guys are up to. So we will watch them. We surely are going to watch the students. The French teacher, also white was a liberal. The liberals were known and the conservatives were known. I guess they are not unknown on college campuses today but it surely meant something different in those days. That emphasis on a kind of a very conservative environment in the conservative racially segregated South is where Knoxville College was, where I was for four years and every other student was for four years. Things happened to you I am sure that you can't account for and you don't know that they are happening but you do know that the environment has influence in various ways that you cannot describe.

Q: With a student body of about 250 students I would imagine that the teacher/professor ratio was rather desirable.

REINHARDT: Desirable. Classes were small. If you were a science major you got an awful lot of attention from the Professor of Biology Wallace or the Professor of Chemistry Copland. That was all to the good. A generation or two of black doctors trained in Knoxville College under these two men who went on to Meharry (medical college). That was the only place you could go, or Howard, but most of the Tennesseans went to Meharry because it was cheaper and closer. Most of the Knoxville graduates. I don't know the numbers but awful lot of medical care started at that college and finished up at Meharry. Classes in general were small, fifteen or twenty. Twenty-five was a large class. Individual attention was forced upon you even if you didn't want it. Good planning in that sense. Teachers had their own limitations, of course, to the extent that they had knowledge to impart or they knew the forest of knowledge to guide you through. You got it.

Q: So basically you had to do your homework so to speak?

REINHARDT: Yes!

Q: You could not just slide through with the masses?

REINHARDT: That is correct. Take the English class again that Miss Anderson instilled so much fear in the students; she was not nearly as bad as her reputation. But she was strict. Now it was a composition class. Freshman English is a composition class then and now I guess. People are supposed to hone their writing skills. She was more of a grammarian then a composition teacher. You soon learned this and you gave her what she wanted if you could learn it at all. You didn't get a great increase in writing skills. You sure knew a noun from a verb. You knew a verb had objects and adjectives didn't and all else that you learned in grammar, for better or worse, that's what it was. The History class, Miss Anna Robb was the History teacher, "its Chapter 17 tomorrow" or whenever the class met next and she went from wherever that chapter started to wherever that chapter stopped and grilled you on it. Little discussion, what do you think about this, in other words getting into the ream of what history really was. You had to write papers on the collateral reading and they were due every Friday. She didn't mean Monday, she meant Friday. So you turned that in I suspected that there was as much plagiarism in these papers as anything else but they were required.

Q: Ambassador Reinhardt what we would like to do is pick up where we left off we were talking about your matriculation in Knoxville College and I believe you were talking about Miss Anderson and her English composition courses. I don't know if we talked about your major or whether you had made a decision at that time as to what your major or what you thought you would study.

REINHARDT: You spend four year in college and of course you have a major and you have a minor. My major was English and my minor was history. Between the first year and the fourth year a great deal happens in and outside the classroom, of course. I participated in any number of extra-curricula activities. I was on the debating team. I was in the dramatic society. I was the manager of the football team and I was the editor of the

school newspaper. All of those things that happened and as we go along we think that we are a big fish and we learn later in a small pond. But whatever one does for four years, they end and one finishes college. I finished number two in my small class and thought that I had conquered the world by that time. I like to look upon all of the early years culminating after college as formative years. Whatever one does in those early years one is formed for better or worst. That is about it for life that is the base from which one springs for life. So in 1939 a long time ago, I was the proud possessor on June' 39 of an AB Degree from Knoxville College.

It was the world ahead of me with mine to conquer. I did not know exactly what that world was going to be like. I had very rough plans for what I was to do. I was to be a teacher as I've said earlier. There were not a great many choices in those days, but I had made mine. I thought that I would be happy teaching somewhere at some level. So I left the college. I went into a group of unforeseen years. I didn't know exactly (what) was to happen. And when you look back a lot happened in those years. I went off to graduate school at the University of Chicago in the fall of 1940. There were war clouds on the horizon. Didn't pay much attention to it. The war was not going to catch up with me. Even if it did it's something that you can't make preparation for. So you didn't think much about it. The radio programs told you what was happening in Europe and told you what was happening in Washington where President Roosevelt was making certain noises that one didn't pay a lot of attention too. So I spent a year in Chicago, a very helpful year that was quite different from Knoxville. The city was many, many times larger. I had been there before but I did not know the city. The new campus was a huge campus in comparison. What was really happening in Chicago was not so much what went on in the classroom but the new experiences. This was the first time in my life that I had any real semblance of integrated living, racially integrated living. The dormitories were integrated, the classrooms certainly were integrated. I had never been around many white people in any close associations. This came during this one year period. I didn't find it traumatic in anyway. It was more or less a general happening that I was to experience for the rest of my life. But that was the beginning.

Q: Did you live on campus?

REINHARDT: I lived just off the campus, roomed at a private home that the campus housing system had recommended. Rooms on campus were, for me, were expensive. There weren't many of them, as a matter of fact. I surely didn't go to graduate school with a lot of money in my pocket. My parents didn't have much money. What they had they devoted to my education, to my future. I didn't have the dormitory experience but I did have the classroom experiences and teachers and all else that one has in college.

Q: But the rooms off campus were in an integrated neighborhood?

REINHARDT: Nope! As a matter of fact, it was not in an integrated neighborhood it was in a completely black neighborhood, 63rd and Evans Avenue in Chicago, Illinois. 63rd Street was a highly integrated street, it was a main thoroughfare. Evans Avenue was solid black, upper middle-class blacks. These were people who did all kinds of work. I believe

the person from whom I rented was a chauffeur and he and his wife were nice people. Saw some of them but not a great deal of them. I went and came from the library to the room on Evans Avenue. This was a helpful year a very fruitful year. I learned what I didn't know. I learned what really little I knew.

The formative years, you are formed but there is a long ways to go when you are 19 or 20 years old. I had finished college at 19, rather young. Spent this year at Chicago and then got a job, first real job. In college I had worked in hotels in the summertime, that kind of thing. But I got a real and responsible job. As a matter of fact, in September this would have been 1940.I had two jobs. Headquarters of the Tennessee Valley Authority is in Knoxville I secured a job at the Tennessee Valley Authority. I had forgotten what I was supposed to do, I never took the job. But at the same time my alma mater was looking for an English teacher to spell a regular teacher who was going off to school for a year, had a sabbatical for a year.

Q: That was at Knoxville College?

REINHARDT: That was at Knoxville College my alma mater. So I very proudly accepted that job. I have forgotten what the salary was but it surely was not that much. It didn't make a great deal of difference, I could stay at home. Not pay rent and not pay board. So, I took the job a Knoxville College and I found myself actually succeeding Miss Anderson who had retired by that time, she was an old lady when I knew her. But I was teaching freshman English, which was a composition class also. This was a beneficial year I would go by these things rather rapidly. I was glad to have the job. I was going back home. So the experiences except for teaching were not entirely new. You went to the same Church. You saw the same people. You had the same friends. These were people I had grown up with and had known over the years. But this was a job from September to June.

The person whose place I was taking was coming back. There was no question about that. I secured another job which was to become effective in the fall of September 1941. It was at Fayetteville State Teachers College in North Carolina, now Fayetteville State University it is called in Fayetteville, North Carolina. So I went to Fayetteville, in September, made more money and it was a larger pond in which to fish and it must have had three times the number of students as Knoxville College. And, again I was teaching English. But, again I was there in someone else's place. It was not my job to keep and as it turned out I couldn't have kept it even if I had a regular job because this was 1941 and in December 1941 we all remember what happened, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. I had registered for the draft back in Knoxville as I was required to do and the draft board postponed my induction until the summer because I had a job. They accommodated me and accommodated the school they said by postponing induction for six months. Now this was kind of a traumatic six months. Every young teacher there was drafted, of course. So we were all going to the same place, ultimately. But, you really didn't know what to look forward to.

Q: Since you were in Fayetteville was the military installation Fort Bragg?

REINHARDT: Yes, the large military base in Fayetteville is Fort Bragg, large then and large now. We will come to that. The year in Fayetteville surely gave you some experience to become a teacher. Added another year, I already had one. Learned new teaching skills, you learned whether you were likely to want the job for life or not. And I did. The social life was a good one for teachers. It's a large area with number of colleges around and a fair size city. Fayetteville itself must have been a city at that time of about 30,000 people. The Capital of Raleigh was nearby not too far away had become the North Carolina Research Triangle. So you had Durham and Chapel Hill and all else in between. So this was a profitable year. The draft was hanging over my head. I knew it was coming and sure enough in July 1942 it came. I was inducted into the Army at Camp Forest Tennessee. My draft board was in Tennessee. So I reported to the draft board in Knoxville, and was sent immediately to Camp Forest Tennessee. Raw recruits were treated all alike. I had more formal education than most of the boys who accompanied me to camp and those whom I found at camp. (I) made a lot of friends. Formal education didn't count much for a private in the Army. We were soon hustled out because it happened in such a great hurry of Camp Forest, Tennessee and I ended up in Fort Dix New Jersey for basic training. The basic training was conducted by the 372 Infantry Regiment of the United States Army. Heavily segregated Army in those days. This was a black regiment. There were no semblances of integration in those days. Most of the officers from the Colonel on down were black, which was somewhat unusual. They were black because this was a black regiment that had been part of the National Guard. It was formed from battalions in Massachusetts, New Jersey, Washington (The District of Columbia) and Ohio. Every Company had a Captain that was black and Lieutenants that were black and the Colonel, the commanding officer of the regiment. This regiment was based in New York City. The headquarters for the regiment was in New York City. We were in Fort Dix because it was close to New York City, Fort Dix for our training. After the training ended, I have forgotten how long it was now, several months. We were dispersed among the battalions and companies of the regiment which was scattered all over the metropolitan area on guard duty. Then that early, this is 1942 there were fears of attacks. We didn't call them terrorists in those days. But somehow a bridge may be attacked or a subway or the like. So we guarded monuments and we guarded bridges and we were scattered from Long Island all the way back down to New Jersey in the area. This continued until 1944. Now, this was a varied experience. Outside the Army you needed a pass. But if you got a pass wherever you were you headed for New York City and all that New York City had to offer, good, bad and indifferent actually, it was an enjoyable period. You didn't get enough passes but those that you got you made the best uses out of going around New York. This lasted until 1944 when the regiment was assigned to the 92nd Infantry Division then fighting in Italy. So, one didn't want to hurry to go to this new assignment. In Italy was a bloody one and the 92nd had distinguished itself up to this point. We were to be new recruits going into the 92nd but by way of training, additional training. So we were sent to Fort Huachuca, Arizona for our additional training. Then companies and battalions were shipped out of Huachuca to Italy as it went along.

I went to Officer Training School instead of Italy; I went to Fort Benning, Georgia where

I was trained as an Infantry Officer. We were called 90-day wonders in those days, 2nd Lieutenants. We were trained in 90 days. This was hard training. It's harder than any training, hard physically and all other ways. You endure this and you come out as a 2nd Lieutenant with the bars in May 1945.

Q: How were you selected to go to OCS?

REINHARDT: You were selected by the recommendation of the battalion and the regimental commander. The battalion commander knew me with the regimental commander, took the word of the battalion commander. You were given some kind of test as I recalled. It was not a difficult test not nearly as difficult as the Foreign Services examination later on. But that was the process of selection. It was normal selection. Each regiment had its quota. And I happened to make the quota to go from the 372nd Regiment. This would have been in early 1945.

Q: This is after about two or three years of enlisted service, then?

REINHARDT: That is correct, from July 1942 until about January, February 1945.

Q: You had obtained which enlisted grade?

REINHARDT: I had become a Staff Sergeant, your Private First Class, Corporal, Sergeant and then Staff Sergeant. So I was a Staff Sergeant, frankly, didn't aspire to be much else. The Army was not my first love. But, these things happened in the normal course of being a soldier. I came out of Fort Benning in May. The war in Europe was about over. So you were not going to be sent to Europe. But, there certainly was a raging war in the Pacific. You had an awfully good chance of being sent to the Pacific and, indeed 2nd Lieutenants were in great demand. I was among them. Having ordinary leave before going to a new assignment I received the assignment and it was to go to the Pacific. It was to go to a camp in the Philippines that processed 2nd Lieutenants and you would be sent to some officer's assignment from this processing center. You will recall President Roosevelt died in that year and I was on a bus going from Fort Benning, Georgia to Knoxville, Tennessee for leave that I had earned, proudly wearing my 2nd Lieutenant bars. The bus stopped at some way station in Georgia, got out to stretch ones legs. There the radio was blaring about the President's death. Some new President we hardly were acquainted with by the name of Truman was to succeed him. All of this became clear and you could feel tragedy in the air, even in this Georgia town, whichever one it was as you get off the bus. People were not crying, but they were almost. The great man had fallen and a little man was to succeed him, no one could see the future, could understand the future. But my future was not changed by this event. Soldiers needed a certain number of points. Points they had accumulated by tenure in the Army and by good behavior and other factors I have forgotten. I have forgotten the exact number of points but if you need 30 I had 28. It was almost there, but I was going overseas. Before I got there Hiroshima or Nagasaki occurred. So this made a difference but it did not make any difference in my own assignment so I went off to the Philippines where in effect and I was also in the Dutch East Indies on a little Island called Mora Ti and we stayed there in

effect doing little or nothing, just abiding our time. The war was clearly coming to an end.

Q: What unit were you with?

REINHARDT: I was in a processing center. But I was lightly to be assigned to the 93rd Infantry Division which was scheduled for the invasion of Japan. The 93rd but I was assigned to the 92nd that was in Italy but I never reached there. Then I was to be assigned to the 93rd and I actually never reached it because of the war ending, plans were changed and I sat around the Philippines in an Army camp in Manila most of the time near the Presidential Mansion Malacañang. I sat around there until May 1946. Came back to Fort Chaffee, Arkansas where I was processed out of the Army. No distinguished career in the Army by a long shot but honorable service and honorable discharge with the fear again of being recalled because of the coming Korean War. That didn't happen. The war happened but I was never recalled, went off to other things. So this ended another phase, excellent experience but no contribution to a future life. Little teaching, two years of teaching, found out I liked it or didn't dislike it. Had no job, you were discharged from the Army. Then fortunately there was a GI Bill of Rights.

Q: Before we go to the GI Bill of Rights, let me ask you about your experience in OCS. Was that an all black OCS Class or were you integrated?

REINHARDT: The OCS Class was completed integrated. I have forgotten numbers, there were probably 150 in our class and a dozen were black and the rest were white. The officers were all white; the lieutenant in charge of my unit was from New Hampshire and had finished the University of New Hampshire. He was a good guy, as we would call him, we liked him. One of the dozen or ten or twelve black soldiers was a man who was to become **Lieutenant General Julius Becton**. Julius Becton was a distinguished Lieutenant General. I see him occasionally now and tell him that I taught him all that he knew. I was his buddy in OCS. I was surely exaggerating to say the least because I did not learn anything that was not required for finishing OCS. He was a good soldier and I was a satisfactory soldier. I made revile but grudgingly. He made revile half an hour early. I went on leave every opportunity though I had nowhere to go in Columbus, Georgia. He just decided there was no place to go in Columbus, Georgia and so he didn't go on leave much. So, he was an excellent soldier. I bring this up simply because that's what happened. So, it couldn't be a fruitless class.

Q: Were there any other black officers that graduated from that class that you recalled how their careers developed, later?

REINHARDT: I recall some of them but they did not have a future in the military or didn't want a future in the military. So they scattered all over in life.

Q: What was the wash-out rate of the class and how was the finishing rate for the black candidates?

REINHARDT: The wash-out rate, I don't know in exact numbers, 5 to 10% I am guessing were not in the class at the end. Probably one or two of the ten or twelve blacks again I don't recall exact numbers. But, most of us finished. Most of the class finished.

Q: Did you perceive any difference in how you were treated in training from the other white candidates?

REINHARDT: No great perceptible difference at all.

Q: You all lived together?

REINHARDT: We all lived together, got along alright. The integration stopped once the classes were over and the week's work was over. Whites went their way and blacks went their way. There wasn't an awful lot to do in Columbus, Georgia. You didn't venture as far as Atlanta very often, at least. There was no perceptible difference in treatment. The then commanding general of the British Army made a trip to the United States at some point during my ninety days at OCS. He came to Fort Benning, Georgia. Just to see how things were going I suppose. I have forgotten his name but he was a very distinguished military man. The red carpet was rolled out and we knew he was coming and he was coming to watch a training session in my battalion.

An additional thought recollection about OCS and the end of this ninety day training. I was telling the story of the distinguish Commanding General of the British Army who had come to Fort Benning to watch training facilities in general. Parachute regiments were trained in Fort Benning. There was a lot to see. It was the infantry school of the United States Army was there so he came for a visit. Our class was selected for one that he would visit. We were assembled in an outdoor theater and the general came to address us. I was selected to address him in terms of the kinds of training we had gone through for the last ninety-days. I have never any trouble speaking. Public speaking had never frightened me. So, I told him, I think I was allotted five minutes but I probably took six. And he seemed to be interested. He came up and talked about the life of a coming 2nd Lieutenant in the United States Army. My colleagues in the class seem to be impressed. That meant a great deal to me, of course, that I had been selected. Again I was not a great soldier by a long shot, didn't want to be a great soldier but surely wanted to do one's duty. That was my one personal highlight perhaps in the whole Army. But certainly for the OCS.

Now I have already jumped forward to Japan and the Philippines to mostly the Philippines and more Thai in the Dutch East Indies. Indeed the end of my military career.

So I was mustarded out in Fort Chaffee in 1946 and I applied for the GI Bill which was readily granted in those days. I went back to school in 1946 without very definite plans except the general plans of teaching, the determination to get as much education as possible. This time I went to the University of Wisconsin. I had known people in Knoxville who had gone to the University of Wisconsin. Professor of Sociology at my college had gone there. Actually, the man, who was to become my future father-in-law. I

knew of a distinguished professor of American Literature by the name of Harry Haden Clarke. He had done considerable writing and I did not know him in person but I liked what I read. So I thought I would like to go there. Whatever the combination of reasons one cannot delineate reasons from ones recollection, but I went to Wisconsin in ‘46, the Fall of ‘46 and a lot happened there. I met my wife. I had known her but I was ahead of her in college and we had gone to different colleges. I had known her some coming up in Knoxville but not closely. But I did come to know her a great deal in the fall of 1946 and in the fall of 1947 we married. This was Carolyn Daves, the daughter of J. Herman Daves the Professor who was at Knoxville College. So we married in Knoxville in September 1947. Our first child was born in August 1948.

Q: Was your first child a son or daughter?

REINHARDT: A daughter, I have three children and all three are daughters. A child born in 1948 especially if it is a girl is not eager to talk about her birthday nowadays because one can count the number of years. That’s how far back she goes. The second child was born in 1951 in different circumstances not in Wisconsin and the third child was born in 1957 when I was in the Foreign Service. She was born in the Philippines. Then and now I have three children. Back to Madison, Wisconsin, we lived happily in Madison including life in a trailer camp, trailer camp for GI’s. Before our child was born we had a one bedroom trailer camp. The fact is that they were not divided into bedrooms we had one small trailer. But after the child was born we got a two bedroom. That is to say a large trailer and you didn’t need much more in life. Everybody in that camp was certainly in the same boat all poor, all GI’s all striving for an education when the children weren’t crying. Social life was largely the social life that families in this trailer camp put together for themselves. You knew some of them better than you did others and they were the ones you tended to socialize with. You didn’t have much money. But occasionally you would go to the movies and occasionally you would go out to a restaurant. Remember this is ‘46 and I left Wisconsin in ‘50 having picked up two degrees before I left.

Q: These were which degrees?

REINHARDT: Two degrees in English, a Masters and a PhD in English both from the University of Wisconsin. This was four years of work. The years did not go by as slowly then as they did in college. In college you thought you would never grow up. I knew full well I was going to grow up in Wisconsin. I bring it up again because it is a vital factor in the formation and life and livelihood of any black person in those days. This was a segregated environment. The University was not. The trailer camp was not. But you didn’t go far out of the trailer camp until even in a free state, sort of speak, a state that had no formal segregation, there was some. The white friends we would go out to restaurants with would frequently call the restaurant before we went to see what the lay of the land was. Do you take blacks? I don’t know how they formed the questions but that was the essence of it. Sometimes in the capital of the State of Wisconsin the answer was, No! No incidents at the University. No incidents that I was involved in off campus. But there were incidents, ugly incidents of racial segregation even in Wisconsin. The football team, I am greatly interested in football had a coach by the name of Harry Stuhldreher.

One of the Four Horsemen of the Notre Dame fame and he had been coaching in Wisconsin for a number of years. He was widely known as a coach who did not prefer to have black players on his team. But he did not have many victories, either. And before I left Wisconsin he had black players. He was succeeded by other coaches. I mention this only for the racial angle that is connected therewith. No incidents, but the feel the touch of segregation was all over the place. Wisconsin is a Big-10 school. It had black students, of course, but not a lot of them, not nearly as many as Michigan and Ohio State for example. Certainly in my day all levels, undergraduate and graduate levels at Wisconsin there were fewer than 100 black students. So few that you knew them all one way or another. You either had them in class or you knew them on campus

Q: That was for all levels, undergraduates and graduates?

REINHARDT: Yes, undergraduates and graduates.

Q: How about faculty?

REINHARDT: None, a headline in the Madison paper, The Capital Times, sometime during my four years front page headline, "Black Admitted to Medical School." First black to go to the University of Wisconsin Medical School. That tells you something about the tenor of the times. God knows how many are there now. But this would have been sometime before 1950 0r the late 40's. That is how it was. Things came to an end as they always do at Wisconsin. Pleasant four years, a wife, a child and no job. It was very clear where a PhD in English who happens to be black was going. He was going to a black college in the South. The unit at the university that helped all students secure jobs half-heartedly apologized for this fact but said, you certainly are going to have a better chance if we get in touch with one of those schools than if you attempt to go to an integrated school. It was not unheard of in those days to go to an integrated school. I didn't know many people who had done it. I heard of a few. That is how tight jobs were. But I was offered more than one job in this process of selection.

A PhD in English in those days, I wasn't the first black to receive one but they were scarce and it was worth something. I selected Virginia State College in Petersburg, Virginia as the place where I would go. Pay was not great, $4,000 as I recalled for a school year. But that was kind of the going rate. You weren't going to get much more if any more at a sister college. This again, was heavily segregated. It was a black college in every sense of the word, all of the faculty, all of the students. The college was actually located in a little town called Ettrick, Virginia. Its location was not by accident because it had been placed there by the State Legislature as so many of those colleges because it was in an out of the way place. You had to want to come to Ettrick in order to go to Ettrick. You are not likely to be going to Richmond and find Ettrick. I stayed there five years. Second child was born. It was not the place where I wanted to retire. That was about all I was certain of at that time. I was a dedicated teacher, liked teaching, loved the people at Virginia State. The many friends made were lovely people. Some of my best friends today are still at Virginia State. I was teaching English, but this again meant English composition. We received our share of well trained students. But we received

more than our share of students who had come from high schools that were unable for one reason or another to prepare them as they should have been. So there was a lot of remedial English, very necessary. You accepted the students where you found them but professionally not terribly rewarding. I did that without grumbling or without being unhappy indeed, but I looked forward to something else.

It was at Virginia State, believe it or not, my Foreign Service career actually started. The remainder of our sessions will be on the Foreign Service. But it is interesting how I came into the Foreign Service. At least I find it interesting. To back up just a bit you remember that the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools came while I was at Virginia State College. Remember that this was the State of Virginia that was determined to find some way around that decision. Harry Byrd was not the Governor then but he was quite a presence. He decreed that there would be massive resistance. Sure enough there was. Free white academies were established all over the place. The noose of segregation was tightened to the extent legally possible. Court battles were fought. Farmville, Virginia of infamy in those days where a near riot, because of an attempt by a black student to enter into a public school, was 30 miles from Petersburg and Ettrick. So we were in the heart of this. At the same time and in other places for the most part efforts were made to integrate as the law then demanded. The Department of State sent a recruiter to Virginia State College. I don't know this to be a fact but it was almost certainly the first time that the Department of State had ever sent anyone to the Virginia State College. State and the recruiter, of course, knew where he was coming and there were announcements around the campus, if you wanted a career in the State Department in the Foreign Service of the United States you should report at a certain hour on a certain day in a certain room to listen to a State Department recruiter.

Q: Now this was about what year?

REINHARDT: This would have been about 1953 or 54. The man showed up, the great recruiter showed up. Not looking for me I was a teacher. He was looking for students, people who were going to graduate from Virginia State College. And, as it turned out, not many students were interested. There may have been 30 or 35 students in the room, when the recruiter addressed them, but I was among them. I was the only teacher there. I went out of curiosity more than anything else. I had a vague interest in foreign lands, perhaps a little more than a vague interest. Japanese, for example had fascinated me as a people. Didn't know much about Japan's culture or any other foreign culture in those days for that matter, but I had a general interest. I liked to read about foreign affairs. I came out of the war having wetted that interest a good bit and I went to hear the recruiter. His speech as I recall it is what recruiters say now a day. What a wonderful career the Foreign Service is. This was all news to most of the students who were listening to it. They had no idea what a foreign affairs career was. He kind of told them. He left papers and applications and the like and went his way. I went home and told my wife that this sounded interesting. So with her connivance and encouragement I applied for, I didn't know what. But it was something connected with the Department of State. And to my surprise I got a favorable answer back. I was not ready to quit teaching. This seemed like a happy year abroad some place if I were selected. To make a long story short when I

finally came to Washington at the State's urging I was sent not to the State Department, didn't even see inside the State Department didn't know where it was located. I was sent to some agency called The United States Information Agency, I had never heard of frankly. This was not exactly what I had in mind when I applied. I was going to the Department of State. The fact is The Department of State was not looking for many black people in those days. But the United States Information Agency was to recruit several and whatever the AID agency was, USAID now. One of its predecessor's incarnations was recruiting black people.

Q: When you say they sent you to USIA was this before or after you had taken the Foreign Service Examination?

REINHARDT: I hadn't taken any examination.

Q: You had not taken the examination?

REINHARDT: Absolutely not!! But the recruiter as it turned out, I learned a lot after I got in, was never recruiting me for the Department of State. He was recruiting me for the United States Information Agency. Several of us blacks from various colleges in the South turned up on Pennsylvania Avenue at the office of the United States Information Agency. Now let me jump many years ahead, I finally, became the head of the United States Information Agency. I learned more over the years. But, I don't know if the Department of State had quotas to reach but they were certainly filling them it seemed in 1951 this would have been...no, no, later than that this would have been 1954 or 55. They were recruiting them for the United States Information Agency by and large. I have many friends who came in at the same time and none of them came into the Department of State. There were black officers in the Department of State, but a hand full. You knew the names, like five. I was not one of them. I was going to the United States Information Agency if I wanted the job in the Foreign Service. Now USIA or AID or State neither of these Agencies was recruiting people for limited service. They were recruiting people for the career service. You signed up for the career service as I did. In the back of my mind was, leave from the teaching position see how I liked it for a year, maybe two and back to the teaching position. So I accepted whatever offer was made. I have forgotten the exact offer. I accepted the offer in 1955 and on a date certain in 1956 I was to report to Washington for training in the USIA. Secured the leave, probably secured the leave first before I accepted from the President of Virginia State College and the leave was for two years. The assignment that I was to receive, I had no assignment at that point. The overseas assignment that I was ultimately to receive was for a two year tour so I had leave from Virginia State College with every honorable intention of returning at the end of two years.

Q: Ambassador Reinhardt when you were directed toward USIA you had to take the exam, was the standard Foreign Service exam that you had to take with other Foreign Service applicants?

REINHARDT: It was not. As a matter of fact, it was an oral exam. Modeled after the

regular Foreign Service oral exam, but there was no written exam at this point. Later there was a written exam. But I entered the service without passing any written examination, passed by a board of three people.

Q: Was this considered a lateral transfer because of your professional?

REINHARDT: It was treated as one at least. It was treated as a lateral transfer. I later took a written exam but two years later, three years later, I have forgotten exactly when it was (I) entered the Foreign Service. I had come up from Virginia as directed as invited and I reported to an office on 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue and it turned out to be the office of the United States Information Agency. Now I said "turned out" it was not literally true that it turned out, the papers that I had received from Washington from a recruiting office said USIA but his meant very little to me. I had never heard of the agency. I thought it was the branch of the Department of State that had recruited me and I was going to that branch. I was surprised to learn later that it was an entirely new and separate agency not affiliated with State, but actually had its own director and its own Foreign Service which is not exactly what I had applied for but there was no question that was where I was going. I can't say that I was unhappy but I was surprised. The admission to that part of the Foreign Service was by oral examination. We were given some training all in Washington and much of the training consisted of imagined episodes overseas and you are confronted by foreigners who ask and do certain things. What would you do in these circumstances? That type of examination, some on questions of general interest and knowledge about America, its history, its art, its culture, questions that you could expect if you were going abroad to represent the United States. This training lasted perhaps, lasted two months or maybe three I forgot exactly when. My family was still in Virginia while I was in Washington going through these initial phases of the Foreign Service. I was admitted to the Foreign Service of the USIA or a date of record, I have forgotten what the date was. It would have been in early 1956.

Ultimately, after the training routine ended and you were processed and sworn in and all the rest, I received an assignment as an Assistant Cultural Officer to Lucknow India. I had some idea of what I was going to but not much. There was a Cultural Center in Lucknow, India. The embassy was not in Lucknow, India and no consulate was in Lucknow, India unto the best of my knowledge. And there was some general discussion of what you would do in a Cultural Center. It had a library and it had lectures and exchange grants and all else. It didn't make much difference in the end because that assignment did not develop for reasons I discovered after I became the director of USIA but did not know in 1956. It simply said you are not going to Lucknow after all. But there will be another excellent assignment. I said thank you very much and kind of forgot about Lucknow and forgot anything I had read about Lucknow or studied about India, I wasn't going. It was not clear whether I was going to some other place in India or even whether I was going to South Asia or Asia or Latin America, I had no idea. Somewhere along the line I was told, now you are going to the Philippines. Well I had been to the Philippines and I was looking for new experiences. I had been to the Philippines in the Army. I was not unhappy but I would have been happier if the Lucknow assignment had been maintained or any other assignment outside of the Philippines, simply on the grounds that

I had been there and wanted to go some other place, not very good grounds of course. So I was assigned to the embassy in Manila as an Assistant Cultural Officer. In the course of my family and my general preparation for going overseas it didn't make a lot of difference. Lucknow, hot climate and so was Manila and the clothes that you had bought to go to Lucknow in the summer time at Lucknow at least were the same ones you needed in Manila. You would need other things; they told us all of this.

Q:. *Let me interrupt you. This is quite interesting. Lucknow is considered as one of the centers of the intelligentsia of India. It has quite a bit of history where the British made their first inroads into that part of the world. I would assume that this was probably a very large bi-national center that you were originally slated for?*

REINHARDT: That is correct. All of that is correct. But in 1956 I was not told why I was unsalted. I can tell the story now or tell it later

Q: Yes, I think it would be useful if you keep it within the contexts of the chronology of the times.

REINHARDT: Well, as general as the case, race raises its ugly head. The USIA authorities in India at the time told the personnel system in Washington this assignment should not develop because they were not certain that this was not a good time for blacks to come to Lucknow, India. None of this was apparent to me or even hinted, of course, until years later I learned precisely what the facts were. That's what I learned. When I learned this it would have been in the late 70's. Bear in mind that we go back to 1956 and we jump forward to the late 70's. That is when the information became available, not exactly because of the Information Act but because I knew something first hand of the personnel system when I became Director of the Personnel system. I never knew the person in New Deli at the embassy who made this recommendation. I suppose I must have known who the PAO was in those days and he must known something about it but I have even forgotten who he was. It was a man. I knew the personnel officer, the chief of personnel in the USIA and this certainly had his blessing.

So I ended up going to Manila where I arrived in May, 1956. There were two Assistant Cultural Officers and there was a Cultural Attaché'. The Cultural Attaché was a lovely lady by the name of Margaret Williams. I was succeeding an assistant and there was another assistant. The responsibilities of the office were divvied up in some equitable fashion. I have forgotten exactly what I was to do but I had a lot to do with the exchange of persons program. That was to be my chief focus.

Q: Do you remember who the Ambassador was at the time?

REINHARDT: The Ambassador's office at the time of my arrival was not filled. It had been Senator Ferguson from Michigan, he had been the Ambassador. He had come back on a normal rotation of some kind. He was not to go back to Manila. He was not a Foreign Service officer, he was a political appointee. I never saw Mr. Ferguson or Ambassador Ferguson nor did I see any other Ambassador for a good while thereafter

which is a long story within itself. But the DCM was a man named Horace Smith and his wife were lovely people. They were at the top of the heap and I was at the bottom of it but we were treated well, went to social occasions and all the rest. My overall boss in Manila was a man by the name of William Copeland. He was a Public Affairs Officer. He had been a United Press Newsman in the Latin American/Argentina, I believe, for many years. He was recruited for this job about the same time that I was recruited from Virginia State College. He had a deputy, a man named Richard Barnsley who was in affect a civil service employee of the Agency in Washington who had come out for a tour with no intention of staying out. But he and his wife were also lovely people, taught me a great deal as we got around. You know what Foreign Service people do? You meet a lot of Filipinos, in this case. Friends until this day are met on this first tour. The whole USIA establishment at this large embassy numbered approximately 20 people. All people got along quite well.

Q: 20 Americans?

REINHARDT: Yes, 20 Americans and 100 and some foreign nationals Philippines employees. So it was a large operation. It had publications, it had the cultural programs which I was involved in and it had general public affairs work, press placement and that kind of thing on a very large scale. The big issue facing the two countries at that time, general friendly relations, of course, but the big issue was our bases, our military bases in the Philippines. Certainly a large segment of the Philippine political establishment did not want those bases and did not know exactly how to get rid of them. I don't think there was any ambivalence on the part of the United States of American military, which certainly wanted to keep the bases, large air base and large naval base and other smaller establishments. Negotiations over these bases were to continue throughout my tenure in the Philippines and even later. An Ambassador was ultimately assigned and his name was Nufer who had come out of the Latin-American establishment. As I recall, he came to Manila from Argentina where he had been Ambassador. But Ambassador Nufer a tall personable diplomat, he was a kind of a prototype of a diplomat in just looks, went swimming at noon, shortly after he arrived and died in t e Army-Navy swimming pool at the Navy Club in Manila. This was a tragic time, we hardly knew the man. The Filipinos were equally hurt by it. We went through all the routines connected with the death of a distinguished Foreign Service officer. The place was vacant again. The office of the Ambassador was vacant again and remained vacant for a good while, until ultimately most distinguished of American diplomats, Charles Bohlen was appointed Ambassador to the Philippines. The rumors were, newspapers were filled with the rumors, American and Philippines newspapers, that Bohlen didn't know anything about the Philippines didn't want to come to the Philippines and somehow was being punished by the Foreign Service establishment and the White House. He had been a distinguished Ambassador to Russia. His assignment after Russia was Manila. He came, was an able and distinguished man as the reputation which had preceded him.

I used to write speeches for Ambassadors, very proud of this. We used some of them and we wouldn't use some of them. But we were certainly on very good terms. He and his wife were what one's concept of an Ambassador became over the years.

Q: It is obvious that they noted your background as a PhD in English. This is a rather unusual position to be the speech writer for the Ambassador as the assistant cultural affairs officer as opposed to one or the other or senior officer. Is that a correct assessment or characterization?

REINHARDT: I suppose somebody had to do it and other people did not want to do it was always my guess. The Public Affairs Officer and his deputy said we have got a good man who can, let's try him. Bohlen seem to have no objection and so it became my job by default if nothing else. I suppose that my bosses knew I could read and write and knew my background so let's see if he can't handle this and Bohlen had no objection to it.

Q: So what I am hearing you say is that you were being judged professionally by the character of your professional preparation and as far as your ethnic background was concerned that was secondary, you were completely integrated into the team?

REINHARDT: Secondary, tertiary? It played no role whatsoever, were you the only minority Foreign Service officer at the time. To the best of my recollection there were black officers in AID or whatever AID was called in those days. There were no others in USIA. There were certainly none in the State Department established or political section or CIA in the economic section. So I was it.

Q: Had there been any before you that you know of?

REINHARDT: Not to my knowledge. There were not many of us around. And those of us who were around in 1956 were in AID and USIA. There were a handful of Foreign Service Officers and I knew of all of them at the time. But I have forgotten who they were even. Terry Todman must have been at some place at State in those days. I did not know him then and I don't know where he was assigned but he was certainly a State officer. There were undoubtedly two or three others who went from Liberia to Washington, to Liberia to Washington or from the Canary Islands to Washington and back again to the Canary Islands for their assignments. There were surely other black officers in USIA; I knew some of them and some of them I did not know. There were no others in Manila at this time.

Q: Now one of the major functions that you carried out as an assistant cultural affairs officer dealt with exchange programs?

REINHARDT: That is correct.

Q: Then you had an opportunity to get to know quite a number of Filipino opinion makers. Are there any particular contacts that you identified that you consider significant?

REINHARDT: Yes, there was a newspaper in Manila in those days called the Manila Chronicle which when it is described politely was anti-American. It could be viciously

anti-American. Its editorial policy questioned much about the United States but it also had some very distinguish writers, and people who could write well. There is a woman still living, I think, by the name of Carmen Guerrero Nakpil, whenever her columns appeared, if it was about America you knew it was not going to be very complimentary. There was a male columnist by the name of Solé Ankel who was even more vicious with his dislike of American policy and American culture or anything American. It showed. Assessments were made in the embassy about these and other people, many in the educational establishments, some few in the Government. Assessments were made in the highest levels of the embassy and in USIA discussions were held, confidential discussions, obviously. But it has been a long time and some of those people are dead. Some of them have changed their views. But the general attitude was that many of these people who were specialist in things anti-American and they were probably beyond the pale, that there wasn't going to be very much you could do to turn them around,. that they had a kind of career interest in being anti-American. The bases were the big problem. These little tokens of American sovereignty around military bases did not go down well with the Filipino intellectuals. They were the ones in the educational establishment and in the press. These were the people we knew. People at my level and maybe just a little above it dealt with it. The embassy itself, the political section, didn't deal with these people very much because the assessment was they are not going to help very much. I am not sure that we did anything that helped an awful lot. There was no question that the great majority of Philippine citizens were very pro-American. We often said that if any referendum could have been taken, they would have voted very easily to become the 51st State of the United States. But they were not the people in charge. When I first went to Manila, Magsaysay their distinguished and then rated President, was the President and while I was there was killed in an airplane accident. So the head of government's attitude and his cabinet and his people and his associates and the political parties varied in their assessments of us, of the United States. There were good periods and there were some not so good periods. We saw in my two years in Manila, we saw these fluctuations in American attitudes. Generally highly pro, but always a vocal minority that kept the pot boiling, particularly about the bases. Washington would send negotiating teams over to have another round of negotiations on the bases and not much ever happened except publicity in Manila papers, the Manila Chronicle and other that we didn't need, we as a nation did not need, so they striked way beyond my day in Manila. Bohlen stayed for an Ambassador, relatively short period. Most people thought that he was glad that the period ended. He played a lot of golf. He knew Filipinos. He and the then Mayor of Manila were great golfing companions. They would play in Baguio and they would play in Manila. So he got around. He was a thorough diplomat and his opinion on the situation had to be of great value to Washington insofar as Washington was looking for opinions from Manila. It's not high on the list except for the bases I am sure. The social life in Manila was a demanding one. The Filipinos are a party people. They like to party. They are lovely, friendly people. They staged parties and they accepted invitations and you, at my low level, got around. I was not even on the diplomatic list as I recalled. You participated enjoyably in these affairs. The embassy was not a demanding embassy in the usual sense of the word "demanding". Nothing was going to happen in the Philippines the next day that was going to affect America very much one way or the other, particularly as long as we maintained the bases. The Philippine military establishment and the parts of the

political establishment wanted the bases. They had to satisfy domestic critics. But the bases were never in jeopardy. What else was there in the Philippines for the United States? These were relatively smooth times. You went to church. You went to parties. Your kids went to school. The schools were, as far as schools go, pretty good.

Q: You were Ambassador Bohlen's speech writer and quite sure that even though you say you had a rather lower position there, but you must have had a good relationship with him in order to draw on both how he characterized our relations with the Philippines and also how you saw the articulation of our policy on those issues which puts you up at a position where you could make significant input?

REINHARDT: The speeches that he was making around the Philippines in and out of Manila, most of them in Manila. Were to groups that you would expect some education, some schools and colleges. The Philippines are full of colleges, rotary clubs, commercial groups and some patriotic speeches that the American Cemetery on the 4th of July for example, this type of thing. I would go in and the Ambassador would tell me what he had in mind. And his general assessments of what needed to be said and what he was trying to accomplish. You piece together that he recognized he was in a post unlike his previous post, Moscow. Without much tension between governors, he was in a friendly land, he didn't pretend.

During Ambassador Bohlen's tenure in the Philippines and indeed throughout my stay there, I was there for about two years. There were a minimum of tensions. I mentioned that last time that the military bases agreements were under consideration continually and the two sides never got together until much later after all of us had left. A negotiating team would come from Washington and stay six or eight weeks and negotiate with the Filipinos. Philippine Government was basically favorable toward the bases. They provided a great deal of employment. They also provided a great deal of protection for vulnerable islands in the pacific. The Government was under a great deal of pressure from intellectuals in the universities and the newspapers and magazines. They had to be responsive to that. In my day no agreement was ever reached but we stayed in the bases, also we had huge bases at that time. Indeed the relations between the two nations were such that this was an excellent place for one to begin one's Foreign Service career. The cultures were different but not so severely different that one had to start all over again as it were. Sometimes we used to say that there were as many Filipinos in California as in the Philippines. They knew us quite well and in general liked us. The masses of the people liked us a great deal. Pockets of what I am calling intellectuals, like to make a lot of noise and that controlled some of the media were worrisome. We in USIA, of course, were working with the media trying to overcome some of these problems. And unless you controlled the media as we certainly did not you can never completely overcome them.

Most of our work as Assistant Cultural Officer was, of course, with the universities, students and faculty, artists and people of that kind. Pockets of anti-Americanism very popular in those circles but they were only pockets. Hard to measure success in this line of work but for the most part, we think, that there was considerable good will for the

United States and that our work was done reasonably well. I was in the Philippines for almost exactly two years and the time to go came two years after I went there and then there was always a question, what you do next, of course, as is a part of the Foreign Service. Toward the end of my tour I left in August '58 and in April or May I was not absolutely persuaded that I wanted to stay in the Foreign Service even.

I was on leave from my teaching job in Virginia and it wouldn't have taken much at that point to say that I was going back to the career that I had trained for and liked and thought I had a reasonable chance to progress in. But I was routinely assigned to Japan for my next tour of duty. Not only Japan but to Kyoto, Japan. That seemed too good to turn down. So I secured another leave from my teaching job, knowing full well that this could not go on eternally but one more I thought would work alright. After leave and the goodbye's in the Philippines and there were a lot of them. Filipinos are very, very friendly, people, of course. All of that was behind me and then we came on leave, spent six weeks or two months, whatever it was, in the United States. Children had not lived in the United States very much at all, so we took advantage of that six weeks or two months and then we were off to Japan.

Q: Let me ask you about your departure from the Philippines just before going into Kyoto. What do you consider to have been your most significant contribution? I know that you said earlier that you were just an Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer but again you enjoyed the position of the confidence of the Ambassador and also the fact that there was a significant "pocket of intellectual issues" identified and of course as an assistant cultural affairs officer you would have had some interaction with them. Did you feel that any of your contributions might have centered in that area?

REINHARDT: The position of Cultural Attaché was vacant half of the time that I was in the Philippines, literally half of the time. I had three Cultural Attachés in the key position. So another assistant and I were pretty much on our own for the most part and we divided the work between us and kept going. It is always difficult to say what is your significant achievement. Because as achievements go, most of the things we call achievements are really drops in the bucket. I came to know a good number of Filipinos, substantial Filipinos and in the media, in the universities, in the labor movement, artist and the like. Some of the most vocal critics of the United States, a man named Sol Uncle writing for the Manila Chronicle a lady named Carmen Herrera Knocpeal writing for the same newspaper were just about as critical of the United States as you could possibly be. Unfortunately, from our point of view they were awfully good writers. So there is never any ambiguity in their positions. I came to know these people pretty well. Surely didn't turn them around. I don't think you can turn them around. The Ambassador used to say that some of our critics had a career interest in being critics. Nevertheless, you could get together with these people for lunch, dinner. They would come and you could have other people, I would have other people at our house. Then you would discuss things in general. Not the hard issues we were not going to move those bases the next day. So there was no need to discuss them. And though critical these were very polite people and you could deal with them. The same thing with the students, met with any number of student groups, for example, generally talking about the United States. Sometimes talking about

policies, they were critical. They didn't like everything that we do. This was a time of racial tension in the United States and the headlines were glaring about whatever was happening it seemed on a daily bases. You had to deal with this. The manner in which you deal with it, of course, is that we think that our society is one that can produce results in the long run. And indeed there have been results. But so far to go from slavery to wherever we are, it is difficult to see the results. So those kinds of meetings, those types of contacts I would say were among the most personally fruitful activities that I was engaged in the Philippines. Again, no pronounced attentions other than the military bases, general good will toward us. Most of us in the embassy never had any doubt that if there was a fair referendum taken among the Filipino people that they would have voted to become the 51st State of the United States. Now that is quite different from some other areas where we worked throughout the Foreign Service but that was the way it was in the Philippines. There was some reluctance to leave even. You met a lot of people and you were not going to see these people tomorrow night or the next night again and may not see some of them ever again. This was our first farewell at a foreign post. But it was a glorious one and a tiring one. Parties every night. Adulation or certainly high friendship, but we did leave. Took a boat trip back to the United States. I am repeating myself now. I had the two months leave, glorious leave. And then off to Japan where we started in August 1958.

Q: No language training?

REINHARDT: No language training. Now a day, thank goodness, no one goes to a post of that kind particularly when ever we had younger officers who began to get the two-year training in Japanese and some of them showed up while I was there. I was in Japan almost five years. The tour of duty in Kyoto was at an American Cultural Center, the name being very expressive of exactly what it was. What we intended for it to be. In Japan at that time this was '58 there must have been 15 or 20 I could count them up. But something like that. In all the major cities of Japan, certainly every university city had an American Cultural Center. The centers had grown out of the (military) occupation. The military had established centers. For the most part USIA simply took over those centers.

Q: Did they establish the Cultural Centers as we know them now?

REINHARDT: Yes, the base of the center was a library, free public library in the American sense of the term. The military had that and we improved the libraries and books in all fields and the Japanese are avid readers. They have a language problem, of course or we have a language problem, in that they had to read English in order to read these books. Some translations, USIA had translation establishments several places around the world, including Japan.

Q: While Japan was in a growth recovery did they have a comparable public library system?

REINHARDT: Not at that time, certainly, which made our libraries even more valuable to them. They had gone through a devastating war, of course. This is again 1958, no full

recovery at all at this period. We still had some military bases in Japan until this day, have others. But this was a nation recovering and you could almost see the progress and recovery on a daily basis as you got around. In the five years that we were there, there was never any doubt that this was going to be a booming economy. But I am a little ahead of the story. The Cultural Center was a free public library where everyone was welcomed and they were well used. Some places better used than others which Kyoto is a university town. Students used to flock to the place. We had no American librarian there, we had a Japanese librarian and a Japanese staff of about 15 people. We would have lectures, Americans coming out and lecture in our auditorium depending on the subject. They would attract an awful lot of people, again the exact people that we were interested in attracting, university students and faculty people. Kyoto University is one of the great universities of Asia, of the world. Tokyo is another one. But there is no question that they are the Harvard and Yale of Japan. And a kid finishing high school or the equivalent of high school wanted to go to one of them he may or may not be admitted but if he was admitted he was considered the cream of the crop. We used some English speaking Japanese professors in our lecture series on a subject that was part of their discipline, of course and their American counterparts from all over we had an American Specialist Grant we called it in those days. One of the better things that the government has done these would be imminent people who would come out and promising young people in the academic world. They would spend varying degrees of time but would meet a great number of Japanese. Translators were always needed. Very few of these Japanese scholars spoke American (English). Japanese scholars of things Japanese, spoke the language. Most of them did not want to lecture in it. It's a tough language. So we furnished translation services. We depended on the availability of the specialist as to how often we would have these. The newspapers and the magazines not censored in anyway, whatever Harpers' or Atlantic or what was published last month was what was on the shelves. We thought that this kind of openness was one of the things we could do to demonstrate the openness of our society. Some of the critics of USIA wondered why and vocally wondered in Congress and elsewhere why in the world would you have a magazine with an article in it like this. The answer to that was, they had the magazine. We would have art exhibitions and we would have even symphony orchestras, came. The Boston Symphony Orchestra came while I was there at great expense, at public expense. This was an excellent program. The Japanese have their own symphony orchestra but not at that time, they were rebuilding. The Japanese are very fond of Western music. Most appreciative of Charles Munch and the Orchestra. We even have soloist and instrumentalist and the like, cultural things in general. We did a little placement of articles in newspaper. Not a great deal from these Centers because our press operation was in Tokyo. But we would receive materials from Tokyo and distribute them locally to the local Press. These would show up or not show up in the press and these were, of course, things we were eager to put before a foreign audience. These were articles that we were eager for a foreign audience to see, some political spin and some just straight news. The Japanese have access to as much news as we do and they were beginning to gain more access while I was there. They have huge newspapers that are distributed nationally. We were in that part of Japan called Osaka and the consulate was in Kobe and Kobe and Osaka, Kyoto were favorite visiting places for Americans and others.

Q: As you recall, were you the first or one of the first minorities to sign up for that post?

REINHARDT: To the one in Kyoto or the one in Japan? There is no question between the second one or the first. Others came while I was in Japan most of them were in Tokyo in the Press Section, the Cultural Section and I don't believe there was a minority Cultural Center Director while I was there.

Q: There were not too many in 1958 or '59.

REINHART: I am sure there have been some since I left. But I left a long time ago. So progress has always waited. But at this time we were rather scarce in the Foreign Service. Remember this is late '50's and early '60's. There were more in USIA and AID as I mentioned before than were in the State Department. And to go back to the Philippines I believe at the time I was the only minority in the Embassy. There were several AID Officers there that I knew and they did various AID type jobs around the Philippines. But not many in Japan at this time, though during the five years, others came. The United States had its problems in Japan in those days. Particularly among students who didn't like various things we were doing. They would stage peaceful strikes. It would seem as though there were thousands marching on the streets. Probably fewer than that but the numbers looked awfully large. This was not unknown to Kyoto with all the universities in Kyoto. Nothing ever threatening about it, but the press stories that emanated from it were kind of damaging.

This was during the Eisenhower Administration and when Kennedy became President he appointed a series of Ambassadors around the world who knew the language of the countries to which they were to be assigned. Two notable ones in Cairo and Tokyo, our Ambassador most of the time I was there, not all of the time, was Ambassador Abram Reischauer, the famous Japanese scholar. He knew Japan well having grown up in Japan. He spoke the language and read the language even better. He would "wow" Japanese scholars as he would go into some library at some university and read text that they themselves had struggled with. He made few public statements in Japanese. Anything official was going to be translated.

Q: Why is that?

REINHARDT: Didn't want to make a mistake. That is how difficult the language is. The explanation is just that simple. He had an outstanding translator Kneesay Yucahama. Who knew both languages well. He had grown up in Utah. He was caught in Japan during the war and never got out. After the war he chose to stay there. He and Ambassador Reischauer would play games as they would go around to particularly academic audiences. Yucahama had rendered some translation perfectly and Reischauer would interrupt and say No! No! No! It should be this. This was a game, Yucahama would expect the interruption and he hadn't done anything wrong but he would translate it the way the Ambassador would want and it would bring down the audience, of course. Reischauer would come down to Kyoto because of the universities over there.

Q: Who was your Consul General while you were in Kyoto?

REINHARDT: A man by the name of George Emory. He was the Consul General in Kobe. Kyoto was in his jurisdiction, of course. He would come occasionally, he was a pleasant man. I believe he was not a Foreign Service officer. I think he was a political appointee. He subsequently died many years ago. There was a Branch Manager in Osaka but it was a branch that was George Emory, also. Some FSO's in Kyoto and one or two in Osaka, all of them would come by occasionally, we had very good relations.

Q: Your Branch Public Affairs Officer?

REINHARDT: There was a Regional Director of USIA activities who was in Kyoto. So his region extended all the way down to Kyushu, Fukuoka, Nagasaki, and up to Nagoya. So that was several centers that he looked in on. I had two branch PAO's, we called them, during my time in Kyoto, good men, pleasant men, good relations.

Q: Did they go on to make careers in Foreign Service of any note?

REINHARDT: Can't say of any note. None of them became Ambassadors. I don't think any of them became Consul Generals.

Q: In your interactions with both the State side as well as the USIA side did you have an opportunity to have personal interaction with the Consul General or the Ambassadors?

REINHARDT: Yes! Whenever they were in Kyoto, of course the generalized question would be, "how is it going" by which they meant certain specific things made clear "what is the temper of the times in Kyoto?" "What are these marching students like?" I had seen it and they had read about it. And we had substantive discussions about my little part of Japan. If they got around to all the centers they probably got around to the same kind of discussions wherever they went.

Q: Did they participant in any of your programs?

REINHARDT: Yes, occasionally, Reischauer was in great demand. You could not get him every week at all although we worked for the same government. He and I must say, if you have a valuable asset such as Reischauer as an Ambassador, he is much better off talking to Tokyo University or Kyoto University than he is instead of our Cultural Centers. That is what he did for the most part. My last year I became the Area Director for Cultural Centers. I was in charge of all of them. Having succeeded a man named Frank Tenny who is an old Japanese hand, I got to see more of Japan than I did in Kyoto, got to live in the big impossible city of Tokyo. If you haven't lived in Tokyo you have not lived it seemed. It is relatively docile city but hurly burly they put the name in cities. Subway cars you can hardly get in and you have seen them push passengers on, became a part of growing up in the Foreign Service and was seen from an entirely different perceptive than I had in Kyoto. Now I got to see more of the embassy, so you got to see

more of various officers and sections of the embassy. To go back; one of the better things in Kyoto was the visit of outstanding Americans in all kinds of fields. I used to tease the people in Tokyo of making sure that they got them down on the weekends so that they could be free. It was a pleasure to see the President of Harvard University or to have Joe Alsop, the newspaper man, and any number of others, too numerous to mention. They were strictly on vacation they had not come to participant in programs but we would squeeze a little out of them occasionally or get them together for dinner with their local counterparts. These were very successful adjuncts because they happen by happenstance because they happen to be coming to Japan at this time. Less of that in Tokyo, not that they were not there.

REINHARDT: I think I would say that the time I had in Tokyo from a sheer personal growth point of view and from a sheer point of view of happiness was probably the highlight of a foreign service career. The culture that you were either born into or were not born into, you never know Japanese culture. But that is the fascinating part of it. There was something every day it seemed that was going to bring new light on a very different culture from one that I knew. In that I am describing the highlight of the tour.

Q: Not to belabor a point and a stereotype but the Japanese have been Xenophobic at least as far as ethnicity is concerned. You would probably describe this as one of the highlights of your foreign service career. That is a tribute you your own personal professionalism and charisma. But do you feel there was a greater acceptance of you as a professional officer of a lesser acceptance due to your ethnicity?

REINHARDT: I think there is a certain curiosity among the people whom we dealt with that quite comes out, who we dealt with, and we dealt with a number of Japanese on the job, in the home, in their homes but so did other officers all over Japan except for what I am describing as curiosity, I don't think it made much difference one way or another. Remember that the racial stories, the civil rights movement was there, and the ferment in the United States centered on Black Americans one way or another was in their newspapers before it was in our newspapers almost. Transmission of communications was of course almost instantaneous. So we learned a lot about it, occasionally it would raise questions. I had no evidence that they raised any more with me when I met with other officers. Indeed when we got together at our meetings, I think that was the general conclusion.

Q: Was the possibility of a positive attribute of your presence that it added credibility to the multi diversity?

REINHARDT: Probably. Not knowing what to expect, I would emphasize it too much. I think we were pleasantly educated as to what it is like. You see in Japan, Japan as I said is a xenophobic society without much question about it. You are either Japanese or you aren't Japanese. It is not unlike some other societies, particularly in Africa as you may or may not know. So it isn't what makes the immigrant. More pressing for the man of the country is they are trying to get citizenship. Very little of this. They have a Korean minority in Japan, and in those days and unfortunately to this day there are certain

tensions between them. So they had an intellectual interest I think in other people. They probably had more in me than they had in some African Ambassador who we saw last night. He was surely different. I was surely different. After that I would think they measured us on the basis of our own personality or whatever we were contributing at the time.

Q: So race was really not the deciding factor as far as xenophobia is concerned.

REINHARDT: Absolutely not. Now it is interesting that I went to Japan. As I told you earlier I did not go to Lucknow this is a few years different but not very much. So whoever makes those judgments those assignment judgments and it is always difficult to find that person, of course. You know who is responsible, but who makes the real judgment, I am it. I have no problems whatsoever.

Q: You and I got involved with your assignment. This was a matter of the position was offered to you and you accepted?

REINHARDT: Yes, that is exactly the way this one turned out. Someone comes through from Washington occasionally where would you like to go next? You usually think that whatever it is, it isn't going to make much difference, but you answer the question. I have even forgotten what I told them when they came to Manila. But I didn't tell them Kyoto, Japan. I had not dreamed of that assignment even. I had no idea where I was going. So my name appeared from a hat if you want to put the best face on it, somebody thought it out and said, "Let's try it." I don't know exactly what happened.

Q: Now you mentioned that when you moved to Tokyo of course you assumed greater responsibility to being a regional director of BNC (Bi-National Center). How were your promotions. Were your promotions going along about the same level as with your contemporaries?

REINHARDT: I was going along fine. I wish I could tell you exactly what my level was then, but as compared with nowadays it is hard to understand anyway. But I had no, I must have been the equivalent of a 3 before I left Japan. My next assignment I became a 2. Now you can't fuss much about that because the assignments came along. I had no problems, I had no run-ins with top bosses. Some bosses you like better than others that is part of life.

Q: Your efficiency reports you felt were fairly written in the ongoing process?

REINHARDT: Yes, I felt they were fair. On the basis of those reports I was promoted, so I had no trouble about that. The next assignment, I think that is about all on Japan. I told you that it was kind of the highlight of a career. Next assignment was in an entirely different part of the world, and in an entirely different culture, and presented many differences. It was in Tehran. I don't know who pulled my name from the hat or whatever happened that I went from Japan to Iran. Incidentally you ask about language a few minutes ago. We studied Japanese with a tutor I did in Kyoto and I did in Tokyo. And in

the coming assignment in Iran I did the same thing, but there was no language preparation before you took the job, and no formal training. And with a language like, Japanese you never learn quite enough even if you had two years of intensive Japanese, it would come out the best ones would come out with an S-3, R-3. Getting up to 2 is very difficult and 5 is almost impossible. Some people have done it. But the assignment was to be cultural attaché in Tehran at our embassy in Tehran. I liked the title. I liked the opportunities that the job would present or that I conceived of them at least, and as I had known these opportunities in two other posts. So in '63 the Japanese tenure came to an end and we moved direct transfer to Tehran. No great problems between Iran and us in those days. This was the day of the Shah. It was the heyday of the Shah. I considered it a repressive society in the way you define a repressive society. You could almost feel it as you moved around the city. If you ventured into the countryside where it was even more there because the Shah's problems were pretty largely in the countryside and not in the cities at that time at least, and he clamped down pretty hard. I went to Iran in September I suppose it was, 1963. One of the headlines in the Iranian press was Khomeini banished to Iraq. I was told what this meant, but I had never heard the name. It is important only because of what he later did. So sometime in the fall of '63 he left Iran under pressure. It was not going to be the place for him to stay and thrive as long as the Shah was there. We had no bases there, but we had close military alignment with the Iranian military.

Q: We had a lot of intelligence arrangements.

REINHARDT: All of the above. Then a large MAG group, military assistance group, to help the Iranians absorb the military materiel that we were selling them or giving to them even. There was great opulence in Iran, and great poverty. The caviar doesn't flow but the caviar the equivalent of flows at cheap prices as a symbol of the opulence. But you could go 15 miles outside the city and you would see great poverty. For the most part women were not in purdah. The Shah had released them, and they seemed to appreciate it. The skirts were short, and the veils were removed. That was the atmosphere in this Islamic society in '63-'64. We left in '66.

Q: Our relationship with Iran was largely defined by our military.

REINHARDT: Largely defined by our political decision, the nation's political decision to make sure there would be no disruption of oil supply in Iran, and the Shah was in charge of the oil and the oil flowed freely and the prices at that time were cheap compared with what they were to become. As long as those relations were maintained, as long as his health lasted, the relations were good. Now this had started much earlier, this closeness. We had brought him to the throne of course, in '53. The celebrated CIA activities in '53 now known to everybody so he was our man. And we wanted him as our man. I don't know what the ambassador's instructions were but they had to be something like don't rock the boat.

Q: Who was the ambassador?

REINHARDT: Well I had two, Julius Holmes, a remarkable man was ambassador when

we first went there.

Q: Was he career?

REINHARDT: Career. He was succeeded about halfway through my tour I guess by Armin Meyer, another career ambassador. Holmes and Meyer saw the Shah on schedule. I don't know whether it was weekly. I guess I did know but I have forgotten. They would chew the fat, and how are things going type of thing. The ambassador's reports were generally upbeat. I don't mean that there were no problems, but none that were not manageable; put it that way. The embassy staff was 20. There were certain assets and certain liabilities. There was a huge library right at the front gate of Tehran University, later to be used for other purposes in the Khomeini days of course. You had to be careful. No question that their undercover police, SAVAK it was called were all over the place. You generally did not know them but you took no chances either. Several had to be present in the library outside the university campus and several had to be present at the Iran American society, a lovely architectural structure that we had built with some block of currencies that were available in Tehran in those days. This was a great gathering place where Iranian intellectuals, students, faculty and the like. We had some excellent programs there. You always knew where you were. If you didn't know you may learn the hard way. So you need not be told that many times. That is what I am calling the repressive society. We certainly didn't have to censor anything because of that. We surely wouldn't go out of our way either to feature some article critical of the Shah. That would not have been smart. There were numerous such articles outside of Iran. So there were limits as to what you could do. We had a large exchange program. USIA operated that program overseas, and the State Department operated it in Washington. The embassy was interested in it. All embassies are not as interested but this one was greatly interested. We would have some tough discussions about the candidates for a leader grant as we called them in those days. State Department colleagues would put forth someone I didn't think should be put forth and vice versa, and then they would discuss it and if necessary the ambassador made the final decision. He wasn't in on the discussions. This was a successful program. You are never quite sure what happens to the guy when he comes back from anywhere in the world, but you hope that he sees America in a different light than he knew it before he went; particularly if he had never been before. Programs were operated very openly in the United States. They saw the people they wanted to see. They saw the establishments they wanted to see, and they would come back and resume their job.

Q: What was the segment that was most represented in the IV, the International Visitor program?

REINHARDT: Education. There were more educators than anyone else. Other fields were not neglected including business people. I would always argue they had other ways of going, and there was no need to use one of our scarce grants to send a guy who owned half of Iran. I am exaggerating a little; he didn't own quite that much. But the State Department would argue you don't know the influence of this guy, and you would go both ways on this. You would win some and lose some. It all came out all right. There

were no dissidents in Iran at that time. I never realized the extent of the dissidents. As it turned out later after Khomeini returned, but there was no question they were there. I don't think, this is a personal judgment, I don't think that we as an agency reaching out to the people knew many of these people. It wasn't good for your health to know many of them closely. The SAVAK was surely watching. But I did go to parties in Iran, generally bachelor parties, men. Frequently the parties that I was invited to by CIA colleagues. There I would see people I had never seen before, never heard of before. They were pretty vocal in discussing the local landscape. I thought too vocal for their health. But so far as I know nothing ever happened to any of these people, but I mentioned it mainly because this was the single most glaring knowledge that I had of Iranian disaffection in the ranks. As it turns out later, and I am jumping way ahead, when I had gone from Iran the outlying areas were just filled with these people of course. In retrospect one wonders just how much good we did. We surely didn't do any good with him because we didn't know him.

Q: Now these were people from among the masses that are necessarily upper class?

REINHARDT: These were people, clerics for the most part. Their theological schools, a school is a school and a school is our territory as cultural officers.

Q: You didn't have much contact?

REINHARDT: No, not much contact with him. Not much at all.

Q: You did realize the potential of their importance.

REINHARDT: Well I don't want to play this for too much. I surely didn't realize what was going to happen later. But I realized that these clerics and the people whom they were training represented for their own reasons, their own theological and religious reasons, Islamic reasons, elements in the society who were against the Shah. The Shah was a rather flamboyant man, he was a rather materialistic man. He had a lot of money and wine, women and song were not unknown to him and especially to the people around the throne. All of this was generally known. It couldn't set well with the forces that finally overcame the Shah.

Q: These clerics were mainly, would you say they were mostly Sunni?

REINHARDT: Shiite. These were Shiites. Which is a story in itself because Iran has had problems with other countries in the area over religion, bitter vicious problems. But I don't think we made a dent, and I doubt seriously that the embassy made a dent. CIA probably did. They probably knew far more of these people than any other element of the embassy, as you would expect. Again we could not associate with these people on any regular basis having them coming in and out of your house and you going in and out of theirs would be known and the ambassador would get a call from somebody saying what goes on here. You didn't need many of those calls, and you didn't need to be told about it. Still the library at Tehran University was a wonderful facility. It was heavily stocked with

books and magazines coming out of American society. You couldn't get a seat in it. These things spoke for themselves. They came in; they read; they absorbed. They may have learned how to build bombs, I don't know. You can't test a guy if he reads a newspaper or a magazine or checks out a book. Again this is a free public library, you can take it home and bring it back. All of our activities, program activities were in the Iran American society several blocks away from this installation. Fascinating society, always has been, always will be as we can see even unto this day.

Q: We will pick up from where we were discussing this important sector, the religious sector.

REINHARDT: The Shah generally was seen, I never heard him express it. If you stay out of politics, if you are an Iranian and you stay out of politics you are going to get it all all right. You are going to make as much money as you can as a banker, but you must stay out of politics. Most of the smart Iranians did. Those who were not smart were generally in exile. Toward what turned out to be the end of my tour, my wife and I were invited to the PAO's house one night for cocktails.

Q: Who was the PAO?

REINHARDT: A man named Larry Hull. I had two, Hank Arnold was the first PAO and Larry Hull was this PAO who invited us that night. We went and there was a guest from Washington and nobody else. A strange cocktail party it seemed to me, but you don't object. The guest from Washington was a man named Olexi who at that time was the assistant director for the Far East. I had never met him before; I had heard of him. So you do whatever you do at cocktail parties. Talk to Olexi and Olexi talks to us. It finally ends and you go home. Olexi was to be my future boss, direct boss, and that is one of the reasons he had stopped in Tehran. He had worked in Iran as a younger officer years before. I just thought he was coming back home as it were. I had no idea what was up, and neither was I told anything by anybody present. My wife and I said something to the effect as a stranger he was no wilder than anyone else there, but we were either thick or non observant or didn't know we were being had. I don't know which it was. So this must have been March or so, 66. Shortly thereafter three couples took a trip across the desert to Iraq and Israel and Syria, a wonderful trip having dealt with Olexi without knowing what else was up. It soon came out. I think through the PAO who was authorized to tell all. I was going back to Washington to be Olexi's deputy in the far east division of USIA. Iran was never my favorite post. I didn't dislike it but I had enough in three years. It is what I am calling repression that I like least. So I wasn't adverse to leaving. Neither was the family. We had a daughter who was going to college this year. She finished high school there in Iran. So she was going to college in September, and we were kind of glad to come back. The problem was we never lived in the United States for about 11 years. We had been overseas all this time. So we had to come back and get established which we did. I was welcomed by Olexi and briefed by Olexi and you do whatever administrators do in Washington looking after your posts overseas, and making sure that they are staffed correctly and their resources were adequate and so forth. Watching their programs. This went on this would have been '66. One of the problems associated with that job at that

time was Vietnam was raging and Vietnam was in our area. We had huge resources in the public affairs office in Saigon, and we had over 100 people assigned around Vietnam. We also had all of the demonstrations, more than we needed, in Washington. There was nothing we could do about the demonstrations. I bring that up only because it shows the dissidents within our own society. We were in charge of keeping it buried according to policy. So you knew that this couldn't go on long but you also knew what your job was. We did this as best we could. We were not in charge of distributing any messages within the United States. That is prohibited by law, so our problems were elsewhere in the world and for the most part not in the Far East. The problem itself was in the Far East in Vietnam but it was Western Europe and elsewhere that the fires were burning. I stayed in that job as Olexi's deputy 18 months and then I was promoted to be director of the African Area of USIA.

Q: Your personal promotion must have also been concurrent with that.

REINHARDT: Yes, I was still getting along all right.

Q: You were class 1?

REINHARDT: I was Class 1 by this time. I was not a Class 1 when I received the job in Africa. I was soon promoted to it. I am skipping along a bit because these purely administrative jobs, you may have personal reasons for wanting to be home, but there isn't much substantive about administrative jobs. You have all of the problems and few of the allurements of the foreign service in my opinion. So I will talk a great deal about Africa. I have been in practically, well I have never been to Rwanda, but I have been everywhere else in Africa. This job enabled me to see it all including South Africa which was seized by apartheid in those days. But from this job I was honored and elated of course to be named ambassador to Nigeria.

Q: Before we go to Ambassador to Nigeria, as the assistant director for Africa RA, what were your specific responsibilities?

REINHARDT: The specific responsibility was to assure administrative coherence and administrative and resource allotments. But also to monitor programs. What are we doing in Cambodia, and what are we doing in Ivory Coast? The people on the ground in those countries all over Africa and all over the Far East have the main responsibility of course. We have a PAO in each of these places. They tell you what they are. Are they carrying them out as they said they would. This was a major responsibility.

Q: Were you getting much interagency experience here in Washington in that position?

REINHARDT: You would go to staff meetings. The assistant secretary from the Far East and the assistant secretary for Africa would hold meetings to which Olexi and I would, Olexi did a lot of traveling, so in his absence I went to these meetings and reported back to him where ever you report. I had a great deal of interaction. There was some interchange of personnel. Not nearly as much in those days as now. But we had to work

out some kind of agreements about personnel that they were seeking or that we were seeking. So it was a good deal.

Q: Who was Secretary of State then?

REINHARDT: This would have been Dean Rusk. For the most part the Secretary of State would have been Dean Rusk. He was Johnson had replaced Kennedy of course but Rusk stayed on and had one of the longest tenures of any Secretary of State. Bill Bundy was Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East. You knew these people. I didn't know Rusk very well but I had been to some of his meetings. I saw a lot of Bundy. I knew what was going on or at least as much as they wanted to discuss around a table.

Q: Did you get the feeling that there was interest at that level both the Secretary and assistant secretary level for what we were doing in what we now call public diplomacy?

REINHARDT: No. I don't think that at that level it was regarded as a great asset. There would be exceptions to this. Vietnam was one of them. The large establishment we had in Vietnam led ably by a man named Barry Zorthian who every ambassador in those days in Vietnam was awfully fond of his work and of his people's work. So they knew about this and would occasionally call about it and what is going on wherever in Vietnam. But I don't think that public diplomacy at that level and in those days was fully appreciated. Part of this I think always was that the USIA establishment was kind of separate. The USIA director didn't report to the Secretary of State. He reported to the President if he had a report. USIA had its own budget, its own communications system. They had a lot of problems with the Voice of America from our point of view, USIA's point of view, unnecessary problems. Somebody in State was always calling about some broadcast yesterday that somebody in Japan or China or wherever didn't like. We had to put these fires out. I don't think there is any question that if you are operating a free press that they were generally wrong and we were generally right.

Q: Now Voice of America was operating as a semi autonomous, completely autonomous as far as journalistic independence is concerned, but it had its personnel and its budget under USIA, therefore you were within the chain of responsibility.

REINHARDT: We were completely responsible for the Voice of America in those days. USIA was completely responsible. It was an adjunct of the USIA. There are people in the Voice who didn't like this. There are people outside the Voice who didn't like it but for different reasons. The major complaints from State would be little embarrassing stories or the placement of stories in the broadcast. Why did you have to do that first on the broadcast type of thing, which turns out to be a journalistic decision. Now if the head of the Voice or chief officials of the Voice is going to broadcast something that is absolutely nonsense they wouldn't give it first place unless it absolutely deserved it of course. But you couldn't bury a racial story because somebody in Africa is going to be upset by it, and we didn't, but that was a kind of continual part of tension unlike most others. So my administrative days in Washington for this go around at least ended in '71 when I was appointed Ambassador to Nigeria.

Q: How did that happen?

REINHARDT: The fairest answer I can give you is I don't know. The first I knew of it with any assurance was I heard from the USIA director, Frank Shakespeare. He congratulated me and told me. Then I would get the usual leaks out of the State Department, out of the African area of the State Department. There was a very good friend named Ben Carter who was at that time responsible for the West African desks. Having became Deputy Assistant Secretary after being responsible for the West African Desks, he confirmed it, a don't say anything about it type of confirmation of course. Then it was finally announced. I am not exactly sure where along the line it was announced but it went on all of that summer. So in summer of 1971 I knew I was going and most people didn't. Then in the fall we went. My first ambassadorial post of course.

Q: The president was...

REINHARDT: Nixon. Nixon had been through all of the Vietnam mess also. So November '71 my family and I, parts of my family, my oldest daughter stayed back here, arrived in Nigeria.

Q: Before you arrived in Nigeria you had your courtesy call with the president. Do you want to characterize that at length?

REINHARDT: It went well, but he did not have any great messages about what you are to do in Nigeria. He knew where Nigeria was of course, and then at that time it was a source of oil. We knew there was oil in Nigeria but we didn't know as much about the amount of oil until later on, and didn't know its importance until after the embargo of '72 I guess it would be.

Q: In your meeting with him, did he treat that strictly as a protocol event or did he have any serious, and I mean serious in the sense of...

REINHARDT: Strictly a protocol event. Some of his well chosen words he could have used with an ambassador going to El Salvador or where ever. It was surely not a country at the top of his agenda. He and others had been through the Biafran War. This was right after that war and that was terribly important to him in those days how are you going to handle it, but that was before my day.

Q: Do you know now, did you know then how you came up on the short list? Who was the person, and you have already answered and said you don't know.

REINHARDT: I don't know. I assume that part of it emanated from Frank Shakespeare in USIA. Part of it was surely David Newsom who was assistant secretary for Africa at that time. Or at least I give him credit; I did not know the Secretary of State personally. William Rogers was the Secretary then. But State had been unhappy with its representation in Nigeria, and decided it was going to change. You never know all of the

inner workings of these decisions of course, but I was seen by somebody as a person who could turn it around rightly or wrongly. No that is really unfair to my predecessor because he was there during the heart of the war.

Q: And that was who?

REINHARDT: I would just as soon not name him. I did not know him well. I had met him. He was over there and got impossible orders. Anyone in that position would have had difficulty. I didn't get any such orders, but I surely had difficult days in that position. Based on whatever he did or didn't do the decision was made to make the change and I was the chosen instrument of change.

Q: How did things get interesting in Nigeria then? Was it oil?

REINHARDT: Coming oil. Our basic interest in Nigeria at that time was to help hold the country together. Which had been our interest throughout the Biafran war. We were not loved by the Nigerian government, which thought that we held back when we could have helped the central government. Now that we had won we practically don't need you. It never came out quite that way, but the Nigerians to their credit, had used whatever resources they had during that war to win it. And to maintain Nigeria. We and other nations, the British for example who were the colonial power there, were also frightened at the possibility of a splintered country. It is made for splintering of course. Three major tribes and 250 minor tribes all more loyal to the tribal leader than to anybody in Lagos.

Q: Did religion play a significant role at that time?

REINHARDT: Yes, the Imams who had seceded and were fighting as the dissidents in this case were heavily Christian. The North was Muslim and the Yoruba were some of each but also an awful lot of animists. The religious factor was very important in the north, and still is for that matter. The Ebos had an awful lot of Western friends, Christian missionaries had flocked to Ebo land. And they had friends outside the country and inside who all made contributions, they had taken as a contribution at least to the war effort, and they extend a lot of guidance. This remained a source of tension. Genocide had been predicted. Stop the fighting and they will start fighting one another informally and wipe out people. This never happened. It doesn't mean they didn't have difficulties but that never happened. It is one of the great largely unwritten stories. What happened that despite winning the war the central government did not preside over brother killing brother. Most people would give it, the leader, General Gowon gets most of the credit for this; but he couldn't have done it all on his own. He was a great gentleman and he was Christian which didn't set well with anyone in the north. So the Nigerians had two requirements of any outsider, particularly an outsider representing power. One is we need to develop and you haven't done anything for us recently. What are you going to do tomorrow is kind of the way it would come out. The other was we have pseudo colonialism and brutal colonialism, inhumane colonialism in South Africa. When is the last time you shipped any arms there? Are you helping them or helping us? We will never be happy as a people until our brothers in South Africa are free. This is no exaggeration.

These were the two main concerns of Nigeria in its external policies. If you are not prepared to discuss those two we will listen to you but we are not much interested in anything else.

Q: As the ambassador how did you transmit those concerns and how did they receive them?

REINHARDT: The concerns had been transmitted before I got there, and were surely transmitted when I got there, and at the desk level and at the AF level.

Q: AF, African bureau.

REINHARDT: African Bureau in State. They did not have to be told, but they had a very difficult time of getting it out of the bureau, and you could understand why. You are not going to get an awful lot of AID if you are competing with the rest of the developing world for AID. We had some but our AID mission while I was there and had phased completely out as oil supplies grew. The South African issue which was high politics, AF was not going to prevail on that. They could surely make clear what you are doing right and wrong while you think you are right or wrong and they would get an audience, but would seldom prevail on this issue.

The Portuguese were still in Africa at that time as you know. We were not unfriendly with Portugal. All of this was noticed. One of our first demarches on instruction was to go in and tell the head of state that on a certain date, I had the date, we are going to relinquish the embargo that we have on Rhodesian chrome. We will begin receiving Rhodesian Chrome on whatever the date was. Well you could almost write the answer to that before you go in. No one in Nigeria was going to see this as we wanted it to be seen, just as a simple transaction between nations, and indeed it wasn't. And indeed the newspapers, the American Newspapers made it clear. But few things could have been a greater slap in the face of Nigeria and other Africans, say all Africans except South Africa, than to lift this embargo at this particular time. But it was lifted. We got through that. They were unhappy. They said they were and why.

Q: Was there concern in Washington over that unhappiness?

REINHARDT: Most of the concern would be in AF.

Q: The Africa Bureau again.

REINHARDT: And this is the answer to most questions that you will have of that nature. I said Japanese were basically Xenophobic. If anything Nigeria is even more Xenophobic. You can understand it culturally and historically. It is a highly tribalized society. Nothing is above the tribe, so other Africans are outsiders, much less other nations.

Q: Interviewer is Jim Dandridge, this is tape #6 side One

REINHARDT: Therefore the xenophobia causes external relations to be conducted with great gingerly and delicate and sensitive processes. We were not in the best of positions because they did not appreciate what we had not done during the war. They were not hesitant to express this. I think upon Nigerians, the masses of the Nigerians our relations were good. They appreciated what we had done. A lot of Nigerians had studied here. A lot of Nigerians had visited here. Earlier Nigerians leaders had gone to American colleges. So that base served us well in this time of governmental sensitivity. But they had a large diplomatic corps in Nigeria as you would expect from the largest country on the continent. One of the discussions that purely diplomatic meetings were when have you seen him last, type thing. Can you get in? This seems to apply to everybody. It was awfully difficult to do business in Nigeria because of a whole series of factors, some of which I have already mentioned. Why should we accommodate anybody when we won our own war without anybody else's help which was not quite true. The Russians had helped them a good deal. The Chinese had helped some and the French had helped the other side the Ibani. So those countries had some access with not much more than anyone else simply because we would, "row our own boats", was the general idea behind their foreign policy. The number-two man in the Foreign Ministry in my day had been the Ambassador to the United States during the heart of the Biafran War. He had been delivered demarches by the Department rather frequently… we are sending a plane in with relief supplies tonight and its going to land in Ibani. It is for humanitarian purposes and we don't expect you to shoot it down-type message. He had about had his fill of those. It showed when he got home and assumed the number-two job. The Foreign Minister was a very sweet elderly gentleman who was all milk and honey but presumably less influential in the circles of government than other people. You asked about race earlier in other connections. It was generally thought, I am sure the Nigerians thought it, they said little about it except one notable occasion. Generally thought that I had been appointed largely because of race. See how he can do.

Q: Was your predecessor white?

REINHARDT: Yes. All of my predecessors were white.

Q: Had there been any Black Ambassadors in Nigeria?

REINHARDT: No. There were no previous black Ambassador's. I called shortly after arrival, you call upon all the Ministries, the Head of the Ministries, they call them Commissioners instead of Secretary as we do. So I called on the Secretary of Communications they called it. He says, "You are race conscious and I am race conscious and you will do alright in Nigeria but you are going to do alright in Nigeria not because of your race, we Nigerians will not do anything simple because you are black. In those blunt words. Don't expect you to do so sir, thank you for your admonition. And that is all I heard of race, really, that amounted to anything. But I presented credentials to General Gowon who is a lovely man still living. He was very cordial but brought up nothing of

this kind. He did bring up the sensitive issues of South Africa and help during the war. Now we need help in rebuilding our country and hope that we can secure it from you, type thing.

Incidents would arise; they had trouble at the Peace Corps…Peace Corps before my day. But a Peace Corps volunteer had dropped a postcard that had unflattering comments about Nigeria. They had a large contingent of Peace Corps volunteers at that time all of whom were sent packing. Based on this card, evidently that could not be explained to anyone. But they needed volunteers almost as badly as we needed to send them. You ask for it and their needs were great. They were preparing for an African Olympics. I have forgotten which year but they needed some training. Swallowed pride or whatever it was long enough to accept some trainers from the United States under the Peace Corps hospices but we still don't have the Peace Corps here. Bring it up as an incident of love/hate relationship. The British had a lot of that. More Nigerians had trained in Britain and lived in Britain than in the United States. But they were the colonial power and they had much love/hate relationship. That kind of thing would come up occasionally and you could get something done. But then after the Oil Embargo in '72 as I recall, oil became precious and the quality of Nigerian oil is almost sulfur free, right out of the ground or the water much of it is off shore and it was in great demand. And the prices shot up all over, of course. Not just in Nigeria. But it became a kind of different nation. For better and for worse, they had a lot of money and they had a lot of corruption. Lot of money coming from oil and they were not going to be eligible for aide from anyone, purely on assistance grounds. There may be a country such as Russia that for political reasons would extend aide. But not only did we not extend any, we phased our AID mission completely at that time. The AID mission was headed by a black man Bill Ford was his name. But Bill Ford was the last AID Director in Nigeria, I think. He and his staff left about the time I did or shortly, thereafter.

Q: This must have had a significant impact because the division of wealth was just as bad as it was before?

REINHARDT: Or worst. Corruption is not unknown in other places including Chicago. But the scale of it is unknown when you are talking about Nigerian corruption. After I left the leadership of Mr. Abacha, the Swiss banks are just now settling those accounts. And it was not quite to that extent or at least so far as anyone knew as not to that extent. The head of state was given complete credit for being an honest man and not skimming anything off but not many people under him were given like consideration, that didn't help. If every dollar earned by oil had gone into Nigerian development, there would not have been enough dollars. If you asked, they had the needs, tremendous population, out of control, tremendous needs; Lagos in those days did not have one single sewer line in the whole city. So nobody knew quite how many people were there, but 3 million people living in those conditions, you are inviting an epidemic which never occurred for some reason. But I mentioned it only to exemplify the need that they had. Communications were phoning to more than they could come in. Electricity, electrical power, could have been solved easily by oil money but it did not happen. Later they did better.

Q: How did the corruption work, to the best of your knowledge?

REINHARDT: Ha-Ha! I am not sure I know exactly how. Something called the Nelson-Nigerian Oil Company. It has it counterparts in all oil producing countries, of course. So this was not purely Nigerian. They almost certainly started there. And so far as we know, oil companies were reasonably honest about this. They may have paid something in order to get in. But if you are shipping oil out at a certain price per barrel that's what it was, they had to pay it. It ended up in some bank that other people had access to. So it was some scheming of that type that did it.

Q: Generally Off Shore Banks?

REINHARDT: Generally off shore banks, generally Swiss Banks, American, or British or Dutch Banks to the extent that the money was needed here for our company or the British or Italian or whoever was there. It must have been a half a dozen countries represented in this. That was less touchable then other money. The off shore monies, deposits were very touchable. I am sure there was a great deal of shaking down of business people who came in. The AID business person would come from Europe or the United States interested in doing, everybody wanted to do business there. You got a lot of people. Many of the Americans would come in and say well the opportunities are great here. We recognize that, but there are just easier places to do business. They would have before they left New York, or San Francisco or Chicago the business people would have an appointment set at 2 o'clock on a given day with a certain individual, they would go there at 1:30 pm and secretary and I have been present on a number of these occasions when the secretary comes out and says, sorry "he is not on seat today." That was their favorite expression. Ten o'clock tomorrow morning he is not likely to be on seat either. Part of this was deliberate. Keep them waiting. The colonialist had been going through this for decades. The Italians or the British business person knew he had to wait. You may have to wait two weeks to get in. The Americans were less patient. As I just said, "There are easier places to make a living." There was a lucrative automobile contract going while I was there. They did not have any automobiles manufacturing in Nigeria. Many cars, but they were all imported. Most of these were European. Of course, General Motors was interested in this. They would have assembly plants in the North, someplace and whoever got the contract was going to have a lucrative deal or it seemed that way. American companies did not get it. We have to surmise what the other companies, who did get it, did in order to get it. I don't argue that American business people are pristine in all of their dealings. But when you take an awful lot off the top you can easily turn it down. And that was the kind of thing that was going on.

Q: I assume that those who benefited from this level of corruption and of course their interest was personal and not in the long range interest of Nigeria, nevertheless, there must have been opportunities to exchange with the Government the long range impact of these levels of corruptions.

REINHARDT: You mean the outsiders to exchange with Government?

Q: Well the mission. Well how the adverse long-range impact on Nigeria and all of its sectors?

REINHARDT: Nigeria and corruption was not a secret. Everybody in town knew about it. The people you were talking to were talking about it. The people you went in to talk about long- range interest knew about it. It's not me they would say, it's the other guys. Of course you are right. What can we do? The long and the short of the answers. The person you are talking to may personally be corrupt.

Q: Not to belabor at this point but contrasting that as you point, correctly point out, corruption is not a phenomena not limited to Nigeria or to Chicago or even countries like China. But the reactions to the levels of corruption are treated quite differently in both of those places. Just recently in China, where those who are business-types who are involved in drugs have been executed but we don't see the ones who have been dealing with the 200 million dollar level not the 500 million dollar level.

REINHARDT: The executions don't take place in Nigeria; the punishment does not take place. No, Government not even the military government is stable enough to crack down. That is one of the big problems. Nigerians have a whole series of military governments, of course. You would think that a soldier could cut down on another soldier until you begin to think about it. Here is another soldier. If corruption or any violation goes unpunished you are inviting more. It becomes a vicious cycle. I as the head of state cannot afford to crack down. I don't crack down I wink at it. And nothing happened until this day. It got worst after I left, not that I had anything to do with toning it down. But it became much worst under this man Abacha. There is no question that this is a central deterrent to Nigerian growth. Nigeria is one of these fortunate countries with an awful lot of oil. So much so that it can neglect all other sectors of government, I mean of the economy. Rich agricultural country, it could feed all of Africa if the agricultural sector was functioning correctly. But you would have to step on an awful lot of feet before it would be functioning correctly. An American company wanted to set up pineapple factories in Nigeria and it could never put together enough land to make it worthwhile. The land they wanted to put together was in the North and the near North in Islamic territory. This is inherited land and I have a little tract that I got from my great-great grandfather I am surely not giving that up. I am overly simplifying this. That was the basic reason Dole Pineapple did not come in. The pineapple that they would have canned would be closer to the European market, much closer than Hawaii. There was every reason for any outsider to want in but you literally could not put it together. While I was there General Gowon went off to Ethiopia to attend an OAU meeting as I recall. His Aide told me this story and later he did, the General did. They were flying, chartering the Ethiopian Airways Plane, they say, "My God this is a good plane, good service, why isn't ours like this?" He was a very open man and he was just astonished to see this kind of service from the Ethiopians. Other Africans had a notoriously bad airline at home. How did they get this way. They had TWA helping them, sir. So he himself called me and told me the story. And he said, "We would surely like to see if TWA would be willing to come help us. Well we will certainly let you know. In a short time, the answer was, yes and jumped way ahead, it never happened. Too many feet were going to be stepped on if

these outsiders come in here and tell us that a plane that is to leave at 8 o'clock in the morning can't postpone leaving until 2 in the afternoon. That's what airways are notorious for doing. That type of thing. Furthermore, they are going to bring all these Americans in they will have children and they are going to want schools. They are tolerated for, but they did not want it in this sector. And so we found ourselves finally wasting our time talking about this. Furthermore, anyone who was going to grant the proper authority below the head of state wanted a shake down. Again, I don't know anything about the inner workings of American business but I suspect a reasonable shake down may be alright with most businessmen if it's going to be a lucrative contract. So the airway sectors continue to deteriorate and are notorious.

Q: Your tenure as Ambassador must have been one of the highlights of social frustration in your current career as far as getting something done, not liking or disliking the assignment or the country.

REINHARDT: I would put it a little differently. Substantively, if you are looking for something to do tomorrow or somebody to talk to you there is no greater opportunity. Substantively, it presented a million opportunities but it also presented many other frustrations and when you think you are getting something going and it crossed back. The USIA did an awfully lot of good work there. By simply distributing magazines they did much more than that. We had a magazine called Dialogue. Dialogue was a compilation of the magazines with permission copyrights observed and they couldn't distribute enough of them, a hungering and thirsting for knowledge by generally intelligent people. There was a lot of illiteracy in Nigeria, of course. There were a lot of people who were not illiterate. Foreign broadcast mostly BBC but some VOA and mostly BBC because they had a better signal then we did. So that kind of reaching out to the outside world to get beyond whatever was bothering them inside was there. It was one of the examples of how a cultural program particularly can be very helpful. Public diplomacy we now call it.

Q: Did you have cultural centers and libraries even though you say illiteracy was high, nevertheless, there was still a hunger.

REINHARDT: Not throughout the country. Not throughout the country in legal shifts. Ibadan yes, he University Center. We had something in the North, better described as reading rooms than libraries. Part of that decision, I was not in on the making of the decision. I don't know exactly when it was made as a matter of fact. It must have been the illiteracy that prevails in outlining areas.

Q: Were there any expressed concerns here in Washington over what you have described, one of the great drawbacks with a blessing on one side as far as having such good quality of oil and on the other, the damning of the long range development of the country? Was there any concern as far as our relationship with Nigeria was concerned and its development or were we happy that we could have access to?

REINHARDT: Well, more of the latter as you are putting it than of the former. The squeaking wheel gets the grease. This was not squeaking much. AF knew all the

problems as well as we in the embassy knew them. But it is hard to get a hearing elsewhere in Washington or elsewhere in the Department when something else is foremost. After all, the Algerian War was over. There was poverty, but there is poverty everywhere was the general answer. In fact, in Washington you had to make some kind of choice. In the AID levels we were dispensing in Africa would have been a drop in the bucket in this heavily populated country that didn't need many more bridges. Or, we were not going to build the bridges at least. Not that they didn't need more. This was a World Bank job. And they did some of it.

Q: What would you consider as the highlight of your tenure as the Ambassador to Nigeria?

REINHARDT: I think general communications with the Nigerian People, not the masses of the people. You didn't see them or talk to them very much. But the government itself was difficult to deal with, for reasons that I have stated and implied. You can always deal with them. You could get in, but it was a chore just getting an appointment in many instances, the levels of government immediately below the cabinet, the bureaucrats and the permanent secretaries as they are known as. Well known people who in the end were responsible for the ruining of the government since the military was not the presided, more than evaporated. These people were successful you could see them. You could see them socially. You could go to our office and play tennis with them or whatever you did with them. The same was true of the educational systems. But you had to bear in mind that the schools, the colleges, were closed half the time having been shut down by the government because of some presumed or real insurrection that they didn't know how to deal with except by closing it down. The media, not exactly controlled but they knew their limits. And you could deal with the media people.

Q: There was censuring?

REINHARDT: That is correct. You didn't want to write the wrong thing from the government's point of view. Still to communicate in a society of very diverse society such as this is an achievement. And in the long run it would do us as much good as anything else we can do in Nigeria. Everyone in Washington, everyone in the world knows Nigerian problems, then and now. But there is a lot of hand wringing in the face of those problems and unless those rise to the top you aren't going to do much about it. South Africa's problems were not solved while I was in Nigeria. AID was not stepped up while I was in Nigeria. So the two things that they were mostly interested in or the government was mostly interested in, we didn't do much.

Q: I realize there was still development by post colonial independent African countries but you have said on several occasions the interest in Nigeria towards what was happening in South Africa was significant enough to have an impact on their foreign relations and how they perceived our relations, our bi-lateral relations. My question is was there a sense of unity in upper post colonial African countries that would have made a difference as far as putting greater pressure on the West and particularly on the U.S. in trying to solve the situation in South Africa?

REINHARDT: We were there by degrees but I was already interested. The larger countries such as Nigeria would bring as much pressure if they could to highlight the problem. The countries with great resources would bring as much pressure as they could to highlight the problem. But there were forces at work that just would not get Mandela released from the prison and the power until it happened. That's the historical cycle; everything seems to have a time. I don't think there was much we could have done as a country to have made it come about sooner. Perhaps marginally we could have and the Nigerians knew this, they were making a bigger issue out of it for their own reasons, of course. But the direct answer to your question is in varying degrees there were problems all over. There were a lot of rumors about what we were and were not doing. Who got a great deal of credit and discredit for helping the Portuguese. The Portuguese were there to keep Mozambique and Angola in bondage, was about the way that it went. Then the African Wars when we managed to get on the wrong side of the civil war of Angola for example. The wrong things got said in some high places. None of this does any good in the field.

The staff in the embassy in Nigeria, they did their jobs well. Their morale was good. Just living in a place like Lagos does something to lower morale, of course. Everyday is more of the same. Housing by Lagos was not particularly good, expensive but not luxurious living and that is the way in was in a differential post. I think that is the highlights at least of my stay in Nigeria. I enjoyed the post in the sense that I describe as substantive. Something on your plate on a continual basis that you had some interesting people to work with.

Q: The new Nigeria and you find yourself in a greater posting back in Washington. You want to tell me how that comes about?

REINHARDT: Well, again the intricacies of Washington, whether it is in the State Department, USIA or wherever are never clear, particularly when you are overseas. A cable came one night and said you are going to be recalled on "X" date, this was in early '75 and, you are going to become Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs.

Q: You had no knowledge that this was about to come about?

REINHARDT: None whatsoever! None whatsoever! Even that's better than going to an appointment to Nigeria because that did leak out. We had guest in the embassy, in the residence, a large crowd, a group as I recall. A Marine guard came down and said, "Sir, I need to talk with you." and he was carrying one of these messages to be closely held. And, that is what it said. That is all I knew about it. I knew there was such an office in State but I surely did not know it was coming. So, we go through the usual farewells again and you board the plane and you return to jobs unknown.

Henry Kissinger was then the Secretary of State. He swore me in, he, himself. He was present, someone else swore me in. He said whatever the Secretary is supposed to say. He was a man of words; he said it appropriately and told me in general what he expected. He

expected the American people to be informed about our policies, his summary of it. This is a little different from USIA work where we didn't, were not permitted to do anything with the American people. The Public Affairs job in the State Department is the exact opposite through publications, and through seminars, and lectures and appearances by State Department officials. But I learned more about foreign policy. We were going to… the highlight was working with the Secretary himself who he would say, I think conceived in the project entirely, that we would refute that a bit, by saying that we suggested some of these things to him. He would hit upon the idea and which was very acceptable to him of going to heartland as he called it and would make speeches all over the country in a format that was of our own designing but there was always going to be a speech for the relatively large audience wherever he was and there would be a small meeting with 250 or so of the elite of that community whether that community was Birmingham or Los Angeles. Senators and Congressmen became involved in this. The Secretary of State was going to appear in their territory and he would do this regularly, at least once a week. He aimed for once a month and must have averaged it pretty well. And there were not many communities of any size that he didn't visit.

Q: Interviewer is Jim Dandridge, this is tape #7 side One

REINHARDT: What we would do is some members of the staff would go to the scene of the appearance several days in advance to make sure that the specially invited people for the audience of 250 had been notified we were coming. That nothing was going to go wrong logistically and generally it didn't or we would have heard from him. He has an unusual way of dealing with his staff. His reputation is well known. An awful lot of bark, has some bite but don't get comfortable in your position and think that I am not looking. I am not watching was his general method of working and he is known for this. Those of us who were close to him, I was close only in connection with these visits, I expected some things to go wrong or if they hadn't gone wrong, allegedly wrong. For the most part, they didn't or you wouldn't have been there long, I assume. I have told him and he half-heartedly agrees, I think that out of all of his outstanding work, while he was the Secretary of State these trips were the best things he ever did. I don't think he wants it quite that way but he did something in foreign relations overseas. I do think he was an imminent man in those days. A controversial man but very imminent and people were delighted to see him, would like an invitation to wherever he was appearing. The right people always got their invitations although occasionally he would go to a school and talk informally. He is a wonderful speaker. His speeches were crafted but he was the final craftsman of speeches. Nobody ever prepared one that he was going to admit that he was going to read just as it was prepared and they were excellent speeches. He had a way that an audience would think that it was hearing State secrets, he was hearing far less than that but as he was putting it you are here on the inside. Let me tell you how important it is that you be on the inside. This had a great effect. This was surely the highlight, and most of the rest of the work was kind of routine. The publication division worked well and we staged similar appearances in the heartland by lesser people in the Department and I think did some great work in this respect. We would go to the Councils on Foreign Relations and World Affairs Councils wherever they were and Under Secretary or Assistant Secretary for Geographic Bureaus or others would appear and lesser people in the

hierarchy . This job turned out to be far more interesting than I had ever imagined it would be. There were things to be done and my predecessor in the job, Carroll Lace had managed to attract a lot of bright FSO's and we maintained the record and it was the place to be, a young FSO would think in those days. I don't know quite what it is now. No secretary has made quite the same thing out of it from the Secretary's personal point of view.

Elections were coming up, Presidential elections, Ford and Carter were the opponents and you waited to see the results. You may be a Foreign Service officer but still its likely to affect you, particularly if you had a Presidential Appointment. I had no idea what was going to happen until after the election was determined. Cyrus Vance was named Secretary of State, Phil Habib, wonderful Foreign Service officer, of some note, came to me one day and said, "what do you think about going back to USIA," and I said, "what do you mean, what do I think?" Well there is Director of USIA. Well! If it happens, I would be glad to give it a shot, words to that effect. And then Vance called me to New York one day, one Saturday to his office in New York. We talked about it and he in effect made an offer and the President will have to confirm this, of course. Presumably it was already confirmed but he put it that way. That's how it happened, had no inkling, otherwise.

Q: Your predecessors, most of them had been Political Appointees?

REINHARDT: All of them.

Q: Were you again the first career director of USIA?

REINHARDT: Yes. It was a political plum for a good number of directors. Not that they were not able men. But it was a job that Kennedy had sold to (Edward R.) Morrow and Morrow seem to like and thrived on it and his successors liked it equally well. But I was the first career person they took a chance on.

Q: You were not only the first you were the only one. All of the subsequent directors were political appointees. .

REINHARDT: I believe that is absolutely true.

Q: When Cyrus Vance called you to New York he had not yet been confirmed, or had he been confirmed or had he been confirmed as Secretary of State?

REINHARDT: I don't remember exactly, but probably not. He had probably not been confirmed… known that he was going to be the Secretary of State.

Q: Again, you don't know how you got on that short list?

REINHARDT: No.

Q: Do you know who else was on that short list?

REINHARDT: No. I suspect others were on it, a short or long list and it took Vance's concurrence and it took the President's concurrence. It was no secret they were seeking minorities for positions and I suppose that had something to do with it although it was never, I never heard any discussion about it.

Q: As your career is progressing in a rather positive, unusually positive mode, had you made, were you making contact with other minorities whose careers were also progressing?

REINHARDT: Yes, and thank goodness others were progressing. This is getting pretty late you know, this is, we are talking about 1975 and career officers were ambassadors here and there, all black career officers. In the Carter administration they did not exactly become plentiful but there was a good number appointed by Carter, himself. I knew most or all of these people. Yes, USIA had always been a hospitable home as I said earlier for minorities. I don't know the numbers where we had any number in my day and they were progressing. PAO's not just to African countries but to other countries, Assistant Directors' and the like. I suppose you can never say that enough has been done. But it was surely different from what it was when I started. State had the same problem and was accused of doing less about it. But it seemed to me that in the mid-70's State, during Carter's Administration practically solved its women's problem, of minority women. Any number of women was appointed to the imminent positions, far fewer blacks. There is no question in my mind that Cyrus Vance perhaps more than any of his predecessors or successors made diligent efforts. He believed in it. A country with the diversity of population that we should have should reflect the diversity in its overseas establishments. Mr. Vance died recently and I am sure he died convinced that he never solved it and probably never reached the point that he would have liked to have reached. Maybe none of us do. But his heart was in the right place. He made documented efforts. Now the problem is not insolvable or a long shot but it is not easy. There is no question, that in the long range the minority representation is going to move or fall based on young FSO's. career FSO's, the next generation and the next generation. These people will rise to the top and none of us will be here to see the results. The other avenues, most of the lateral appointments are political appointments. There have been some but not a great number, probably not enough. The question is do we continue the struggle and that is going to be determined very largely by who is at the head.

Q: In your tenure as the Director of USIA, of course now you are at the Cabinet level, what were the most significant challenges in the area of policy formulation and implementation?

REINHARDT: The most significant challenge and the one you did not have to fight hard to achieve was a VOA. Everybody was interested in it. Everybody easily recognized it as an instrumentality for good or sometime they would say help if the broadcast didn't suit them. It was no question that you could reach as far as your signal would reach and people would listen, it was the United States broadcasting. The signal was never quite as

good; we never got it to be absolutely suitable in my day. What are you going to say besides the news was the question. The news reflected journalistic efforts, was the best journalist you could find. You don't tamper with it, was our position but other programs could be of equal importance in reflecting American life and thought. So, recognized by many people outside of USIA, for that matter and I don't know that your question was influencing policy, I don't know that any of this would influence policy. I doubt seriously that the policy was ever changed for better or worst, because of anything we were broadcasting. But that surely had the greatest effect we could have on it. As for high policy, are we going to invade or are we not going to invade type policy, we had no role. We were fooling ourselves if we thought we did. I surely recognized that. But ours was public diplomacy and you are dealing with publics as should be.

Q: We now recognize the importance of public diplomacy because of the explosion in the development of communication and technology. More and more people have access to the information of what is happening in the world. More and more policy makers are attuned to that. I remember one of your predecessors, Edward R. Morrow who made an earlier observation that this would have to change with the advent of the transistor radio. During your tenure as Director of USIA do you feel that you were able to bring that level of consciousness to the policy makers even though there might not have been the immediate measurable results but at least being conscious of the receptivity by public opinion on how our policies were implemented in foreign countries?

REINHARDT: Yes. But bear in mind; let's not take more credit than I am due. My job in that respect was somewhat easier than some of my predecessors because the level of communications had advanced to such an extent and more importantly foreign public opinion had influenced foreign governments to such an extent that it was kind of obvious, how important it was. It does not mean that everyone who rendered lip service to this fact is going to help you do much about it. We needed great money, got some, from the Voice of America signals, it was that simple. Short wave broadcasting, which was the main broadcast then, was not everyone's cup of tea. If you are making it available in the boondocks of Africa where everyone did not have a transistor for what purpose are you doing this? Well it is a mast medium. You hope that everybody listens but you have no control over who tunes in except as your programmers may invite tuning in more and more tuning in. I heard it last night and I want to hear it tonight. It is just as we are; I think when we look at TV programs or radio. And I don't think it is any question that this advanced a great deal. We had wonderful women, me and Nez named Mary Bitterman as the head of the Voice of America. She was a young woman in her early thirties in those days. She was our internal selection. She had competitors for the job and somehow we won. She had to come up for confirmation as the Presidential Appointee. Senator Helms, Jesse Helms, of North Carolina seemed to be giving her a very hard time in confirmation. His stance was generally, I believe you have been doing the job when you show me. He held it up almost single handedly. The vote came and he voted for her. He came to her and said, Ms. Bitterman, you know I tried hard but the only thing I could find wrong with you is that you are younger than my daughter, which was some testament as to what was going to happen in her regime. She did a marvelous job at the Voice not that her predecessors had not done a good work too, but it was a different age and in an age where

it counted a lot then. That was for everybody to see and reason that the people outside of USIA could see what value a public radio would be overseas, some of our other programs. Nobody was against them or very few but they did wonder why is the tax payers' money was going into sending this golfer to Burma, as Senators would ask, and any other number of programs. One of the better programs around the world was live, libraries. They were one of the first adjuncts of USIA to be closed because they are not free and we are doing that at our loss. But that which can easily win the heart and minds of people is the radio, if it is done right. The exchange programs also, of course, no trouble on the Hill, generally in the Congress about not getting nearly enough. But getting the funds for the Fulbright Program, or for the Voice of America, after that, it's a tough battle when people aren't against you but they aren't for you. Who is going to be against Electra?

Q: I think what you have described here is the fact the Agency that you headed up then as now, well, probably more so then than now, did not have a constituency on the Hill. Elsewhere for all of the, as we say above reasons, the fact, that what was done in USIA there was Congressional constraints as to what the tax payer could, not necessarily should, but could know about, therefore the ground swell of saying, Hip! Hip! Hooray! Let's go out and do more positive things in this other dimension of about policy and implementation.

REINHARDT: Not only was there not a ground swell the whole constituency was overseas. The Senator from X State may see us as neutral, not against it, I guess what they are doing is good. But there is nobody in his constituency who must do more for USIA. And that was a built-in problem. USIA no longer exists, of course, and there was always a case to be made out that it should have been in the Department to begin with. Was earlier. It is no question that there is a history of neglect in the Department. It's the first budget that was cut when budgets need to be squeezed. On the other hand public diplomacy as a foreign affairs endeavor has never been recognized as much as now in its great importance. So perhaps it will fare better. But we see in the war against terror the same problems comes up. "What have you done for me lately?" And you can't find many people who have done anything, because they don't exist as an organization any longer. This will take a while to work out. It will have to be worked out. Foreign audiences are gone to rise up for and against their governments. The whole Arab world now is not very unhappy with us. I am not arguing public diplomacy, first rate public diplomacy in the Arab world, every country today would turn this thing around. It doesn't work that way. But it sure would do more good than we think.

Q: We are coming to the end of your professional career not to the end of your career, what happened after USIA?

REINHARDT: At the end of the '80 election that I had a Presidential Appointment and I left and I had six or seven wonderful years at Smithsonian. Again, I had not planned this and there may be something faulty about my planning, perhaps there is. But, I got a call from a friend one day that said somebody was going on leave could I come and help out. I said, of course. That developed into a very, very rewarding experience.

After that I was on the George Peabody Awards Committee down at the University of Georgia. A Dean at the University of Vermont spoke to me saying, "Why don't you cap your career by coming up and teaching. I said, "It was too cold up there to teach" and put him off some way. And he persisted and the next year and the next year and so finally I left the Smithsonian, as I now like to put it, because I didn't want to go to work every morning at nine and leave at five. I was getting tired of that routine. I went up to Vermont with the clear understanding that I would teach in the Fall Semesters but not the Winter's Semester. That's about the end of that.

Q: Back to teaching English Literature?

REINHARDT: No, I was teaching political science, in the political science department, public diplomacy and traditional diplomacy and stayed away from the English department.

Q: There was one question I did not ask in the chronological order that I should have but I am going to ask it anyway. Voice of America came up as it should have on several occasions, were there any minorities in substantive positions in Voice of America during your career?

REINHARDT: Yes, The Head of the Voice wasn't and to the best of my knowledge never has been a minority. But there were country administrative jobs, voices divided into countries, into language broadcast. The broadcasters are generally natives of those countries. So if you are broadcasting in Swahili your race doesn't make much difference. You look for someone that can speak Swahili and has experience in it. But their supervisors were regular USIA officers, and excellent ones some good, some not quite so good. But the answer to your question is, yes. I should have mentioned that in Nigeria the cultural officer was black and I only mention it because you are interested in minorities. A guy named Pete Peters. If there were a Nigerian in Nigeria that he didn't know, it was unusual. Call Pete in and say; do you know Professor So-and-So at EFA University? Oh, yes and if he didn't, he knew how to find out. I think it was very helpful. It was very helpful. I suppose Pete I never asked him the question but I think he would say that being black helped with contact there. He was the most valuable employee in context there.

Q: Do you know what happened to him?

REINHARDT: He is retired now. Anybody that I know is retired now. He is retired and living in North Carolina.

Q: We are at the end of your oral history are there any areas that we have not touched that you think is significant as a part of this legacy project?

REINHARDT: I can't think of any off hand and maybe I may have to come back to do an addendum. But I can't think of any, I have thought of what I was going to say before I came and I think that I covered the highlights. If you are covering a whole career you

can’t be sure that you have not missed something unless you are working from notes. I think that you have got it.

Q: This is the end of the oral history of Ambassador John Reinhardt.

End of interview