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PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED FORCES - PROPOSALS
JUNE 24, 1963 - OCTOBER 9, 1963

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1963

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate the intensive and constructive effort that you and the other members of the Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces have given to one of the Nation's most serious problems. As your initial report suggests, the Armed Forces has made significant progress in eliminating discrimination among those serving in the defense of the Nation. Your inquiry indicates, however, that much remains to be done, especially in eliminating practices that cause inconvenience and embarrassment to servicemen and their families in communities adjoining military bases.

Your recommendations should have the immediate attention of the Department of Defense and I have asked the Secretary of Defense to report to me on your recommendations within thirty days. Enclosed for your information is a copy of my letter to the Secretary.

The timeliness of your report is, of course, obvious, and I hope you will convey to the other members of the Committee my appreciation for the constructive report that has been prepared. I am confident that the Committee will bring to its remaining tasks the same high degree of effort, competence and understanding that characterizes your initial report.

Sincerely,

S/ John F. Kennedy

Honorable Gerhard A. Gesell
Chairman
The President's Committee on
Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 21, 1963

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Because of my concern that there be full equality of treatment and opportunity for all military personnel, regardless of race or color, I appointed a Committee to study the matter in June of 1962. An initial report of my Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces is transmitted with this letter for your personal attention and action.

We have come a long way in the 15 years since President Truman ordered the desegregation of the Armed Forces. The military services lead almost every other segment of our society in establishing equality of opportunity for all Americans. Yet a great deal remains to be done.

As the report emphasizes, a serious morale problem is created for Negro military personnel when various forms of segregation and discrimination exist in communities neighboring military bases. Discriminatory practices are morally wrong wherever they occur -- they are especially inequitable and iniquitous when they inconvenience and embarrass those serving in the Armed Services and their families. Responsible citizens of all races in these communities should work together to open up public accommodations and housing for Negro military personnel and their dependents. This effort is required by the interests of our national defense, national policy and basic considerations of human decency.

It is encouraging to note that the continuing effort over the last fifteen years to provide equality of treatment and opportunity for all military personnel on base is obviously having far-reaching and satisfactory results. The remaining problems outlined by the Committee pertaining to on-base conditions, of course, must be remedied. All policies, procedures and conditions under which men and women serve must be free of considerations of race or color.

The Committee's recommendations regarding both off-base and on-base conditions merit your prompt attention and certainly are in the spirit that I believe should characterize our approach to this matter. I would hope your review and report on the recommendations could be completed within 30 days.

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I realize that I am asking the military community to take a leadership role, but I believe that this is proper. The Armed Services will, I am confident, be equal to the task. In this area, as in so many others, the U.S. Infantry motto "Follow Me" is an appropriate guide for action.

Sincerely,

s/ John F. Kennedy

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Secretary of Defense

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE
ARMED FORCES

INITIAL REPORT

EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR NEGRO MILITARY PERSONNEL
STATIONED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE
ARMED FORCES

INITIAL REPORT
EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR NEGRO MILITARY PERSONNEL
STATIONED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

June 13, 1963

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED FORCES
718 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 13, 1963

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Mr. President:

There is transmitted herewith the initial report of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces covering the work of the Committee during its first year of existence.

This report considers problems of equal opportunity affecting Negro military personnel on and off base within the United States. The recommendations emphasize matters which the Committee believes should receive the immediate attention of the Secretary of Defense. The Committee is available to consult as to any plan of action which the Department of Defense proposes to put into effect to meet the specific matters covered by this initial report.

Discrimination in the Reserve and National Guard and problems of equal opportunity affecting Negro military personnel serving in overseas areas have been under intensive study. A further report covering these matters will be completed soon.

Yours respectfully,

Nathaniel S. Colley
Abe Fortas
Gerhard A. Gesell, Chairman
Louis J. Hector
Benjamin Muse
John H. Sengstacke
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

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INITIAL REPORT

EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY
FOR NEGRO MILITARY PERSONNEL
STATIONED WITHIN THE UNITED STATES

I. INTRODUCTION

This initial report, covering the work of the Committee since its appointment in June 1962, considers certain matters involving equality of treatment and opportunity for Negro military personnel stationed within the United States.

The Committee has been actively exploring the two questions it was directed to consider, i. e. :

"1. What measures should be taken to improve the effectiveness of current policies and procedures in the Armed Forces with regard to equality of treatment and opportunity for persons in the Armed Forces?

"2. What measures should be employed to improve equality of opportunity for members of the Armed Forces and their dependents in the civilian community, particularly with respect to housing, education, transportation, recreational facilities, community events, programs and activities?" */

The Committee has held frequent sessions of two to three days' duration. During these sessions discussions were held with installation

*/ Letter from President dated June 22, 1962.

and other commanders, representatives of the Department of Defense and the Services, officials of interested Federal agencies, and others. */ Committee members have travelled to a number of military bases and have interviewed officers and enlisted personnel of all ranks. In addition, information has been gathered through questionnaires and complaints received from servicemen.

The Committee has devoted its efforts to formulating general policies and recommendations and has not conducted detailed hearings and investigations into the merits of individual specific claims of discrimination. The Committee's inquiries have been courteously received with full cooperation.

*/ The principal organizations providing information and assistance to the Committee, apart from the Department of Defense and the Services, have been the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, the Department of Justice, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (especially its component, the Federal Housing Administration) and the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission on Civil Rights has been especially helpful in furnishing factual information for study by the Committee. Generally, other agencies have furnished published information. None of these organizations bear any responsibility for the conclusions or recommendations of this Committee.

II. THE INTEGRATION AND PARTICIPATION
OF THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES

Prior to 1948, the Negro had little or no opportunity in the Armed Forces. His skills and even his ability were a matter of debate. He was officially segregated, if not excluded; his duties were limited and his ability to serve his country in time of need was minimized or ignored. Such official policies no longer exist, and, in the main, the conditions which accompanied them have disappeared. Negroes have made military service their career in increasing numbers. They are formally integrated and have served well in both officer and enlisted ranks in times of war and peace.

It is desirable at the outset to review how this change occurred. In July 1948, President Truman, by Executive Order 9981, made the following declaration of principle which has since been applied throughout the Armed Forces:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services, without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale."

On this occasion, President Truman appointed a committee to advise how this policy could best be implemented. As a result of the Executive Order

and the work of that committee, with continuing emphasis by succeeding administrations during the subsequent years, the Armed Forces were gradually integrated, and recognition was given to the ability of Negroes to train for, and serve in, all capacities.

This is the first general policy review of questions of equality of treatment and opportunity in the Armed Forces since that committee completed its work approximately 13 years ago. It is well to keep in mind the vast changes which have occurred since that time. Not only have there been dramatic developments in the field of racial equality, but under the stress of international events and technological developments the composition and mission of the Armed Forces have substantially changed. While steps taken pursuant to President Truman's Executive Order were essential first ones in dealing with racial problems in the Armed Forces, it is wholly appropriate now to consider what further must be done to assure equality of treatment and opportunity for all qualified military personnel in the light of present day conditions.

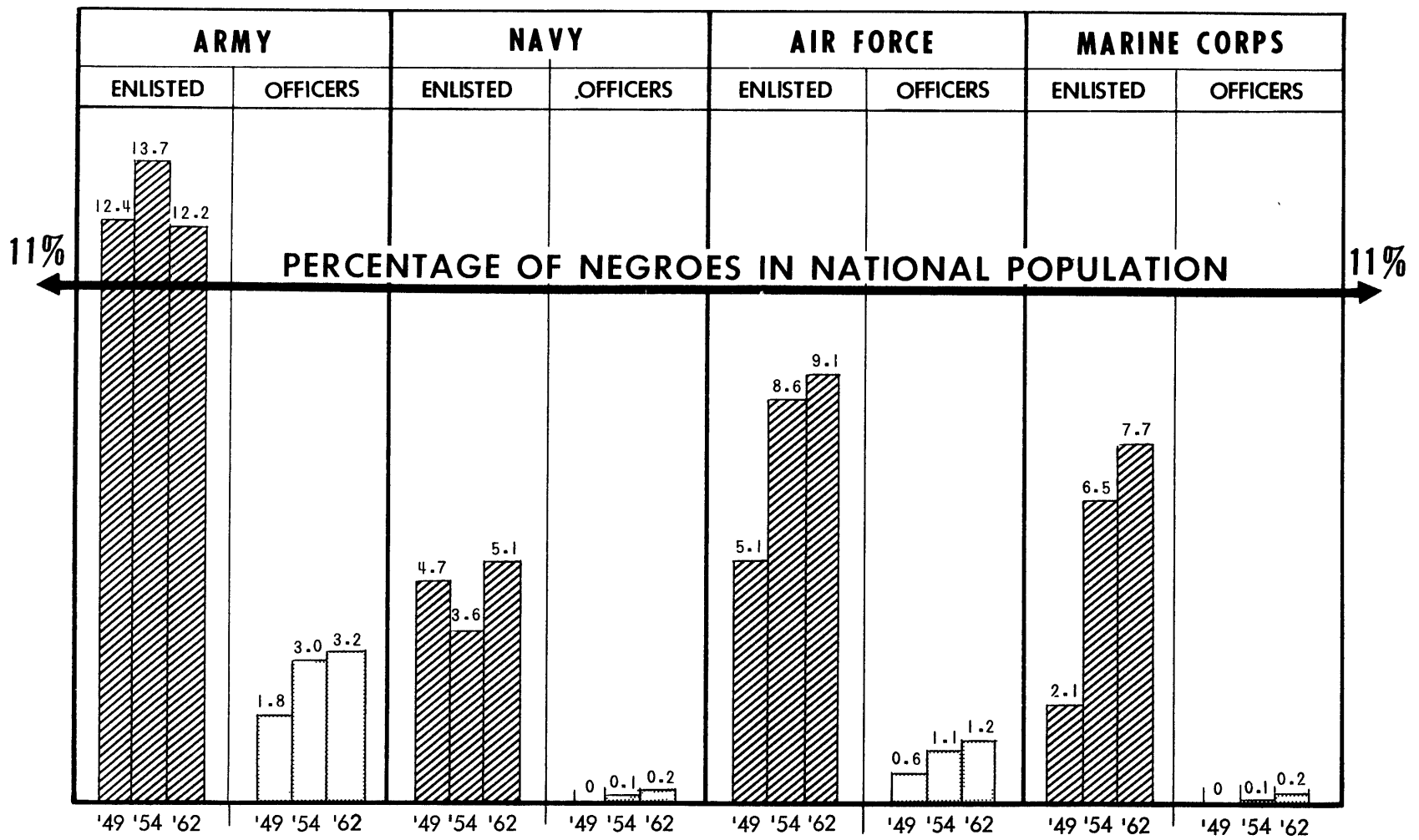
Any consideration of problems pertaining to equality of treatment and opportunity for Negroes in the Armed Forces must emphasize the vast scope and complexity of the military establishment. As of September 30,

1962, there were 2,674,000 men in uniform stationed at home and abroad. Of these, approximately 1,900,000 were stationed in the United States. Within the 50 states alone, there are 1,145 military installations to which 100 or more military personnel are assigned, and some 88,000 military personnel are assigned to many smaller installations in the United States. These installations are scattered throughout the 50 states.

There are no quotas or other forms of limitations on the recruiting of Negroes or on their assignment to career fields. All written policies governing advancement and promotion through both enlisted and commissioned ranks are non-discriminatory in character.

The number of Negroes in the Armed Forces has increased since President Truman's Executive Order was issued in 1948. Nevertheless, while about 11 percent of our population is Negro, it is significant that only 8.2 percent of all military personnel is Negro. The following chart graphically demonstrates the disparities between the overall Negro population percentage and the percentages of enlisted and officer personnel found in each Service.

CHART *
NEGRO PERSONNEL AS PERCENT OF ALL PERSONNEL
 1949 TO 1962



* TO THE NEAREST ONE TENTH OF ONE PERCENT.

As these figures show, Negro participation in officer ranks is still very small for all the Services. A breakdown of the current number of Negroes and their relative percentage in both commissioned and enlisted ranks, shown in the following tables, reveals that substantial progress must yet be achieved.

Table I

STATISTICS ON NEGRO COMMISSIONED OFFICERS*

Rank		Number and Percent (in Parentheses) of Negro Personnel in Each Rank			
Army, Air Force, Marine Corps	Navy	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps
Generals (All types)	Admirals (All types)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.29%)	0 (0%)
Colonels	Captains	6 (0.11%)	0 (0%)	6 (0.14%)	0 (0%)
Lt. Colonels	Commanders	117 (0.95%)	3 (0.03%)	67 (2.54%)	0 (0%)
Majors	Lt. Commanders	424 (2.47%)	17 (0.14%)	124 (0.60%)	0 (0%)
Captains	Lieutenants	1532 (5.21%)	88 (0.35%)	615 (1.74%)	7 (0.17%)
1st Lieutenants	Lieutenants (j.g.)	650 (4.33%)	57 (0.39%)	317 (1.56%)	16 (0.44%)
2d Lieutenants	Ensigns	421 (2.26%)	29 (0.22%)	170 (1.45%)	9 (0.28%)
Total Officers & Percentages		3150 (3.2%)	174 (0.24%)	1300 (1.24%)	32 (0.21%)

* 1962 Data for all Services. The Air Force figures include only officers assigned to duty in the 48 States of the continental United States. All other figures are complete and world-wide in scope.

Table II
STATISTICS ON NEGRO ENLISTED PERSONNEL*

Grade	Number and Percent (in Parentheses) of Negro Personnel in Each Grade			
	Army	Navy	Air Force	Marine Corps
E-9 (highest)	76 (2.97%)	22 (1.30%)	32 (0.83%)	5 (0.71%)
E-8	586 (5.72%)	89 (1.22%)	140 (1.67%)	19 (0.81%)
E-7	3,143 (7.64%)	984 (2.42%)	616 (2.51%)	142 (2.12%)
E-6	10,496 (12.65%)	2,843 (4.43%)	2,115 (4.19%)	417 (3.93%)
E-5	21,892 (16.28%)	5,370 (6.23%)	10,287 (9.33%)	1,490 (8.65%)
E-4	21,133 (12.20%)	6,771 (6.59%)	14,321 (12.47%)	2,663 (9.08%)
E-3	26,385 (11.90%)	7,502 (5.11%)	11,505 (9.26%)	3,101 (8.14%)
E-2	10,836 (10.58%)	5,396 (5.22%)	6,951 (10.23%)	3,727 (8.01%)
E-1 (lowest)	8,456 (11.15%)	1,431 (4.77%)	597 (17.17%)	1,787 (7.55%)
Total Enlisted Mem- bers and Percentages	103,603 (12.20%)	30,408 (5.22%)	46,564 (9.1 %)	13,351 (7.59%)

* 1962 Data for all Services. The Air Force figures are drawn from certain selected commands, and represent about 76% of all Air Force enlisted personnel. All other figures are complete and world-wide in scope.

The Armed Forces have made an intelligent and far-reaching advance toward complete integration, and, with some variations from Service to Service, substantial progress toward equality of treatment and opportunity. By and large, military bases reflect a clear pattern of integration. Segregation or exclusion of Negroes from barracks or other on-base housing facilities is not allowed. Military messes and all other on-base facilities are open to all personnel without regard to race. Negro personnel serve with whites in almost all types of units and at all unit levels. Negroes command white and Negro troops. Although the distribution is quite uneven, as will appear, Negroes have been placed in virtually all of the numerous job specialties and career fields which exist in the various Services.

The Committee feels, however, that the urgency of the remaining problems faced by Negro military personnel requires that this initial report be rendered at this time, so that corrective action may begin without delay. The headlines of recent weeks highlight this urgency. The great progress made is not enough. Negro military personnel and their families are daily suffering humiliation and degradation in communities near the bases at which they are compelled to serve, and a vigorous, new program of action is needed to relieve the situation. In addition, remaining problems of equality of treatment and opportunity, both service-wide

and at particular bases, call for correction. National policy requires prompt action to eliminate all these conditions. Equal opportunity for the Negro will exist only when it is possible for him to enter upon a career of military service with assurance that his acceptance and his progress will be in no way impeded by reason of his color. Clearly, distinctions based on race prevent full utilization of Negro military personnel and are inconsistent with the objectives of our democratic society.

III. IMPROVING THE PARTICIPATION OF
THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES

A. There is Need to Make Greater Efforts
to Attract Qualified Negroes

All Services are making strenuous efforts to attract and hold personnel. Only the Army still relies to some extent on the draft, but all branches of the Armed Forces report difficulty in recruiting qualified personnel of all races. As the statistics previously presented disclose, the participation of the Negro in the Armed Forces is less than the percentage of Negroes in our total population.

Negroes are only now coming to realize that opportunity is available in the Armed Forces. Undoubtedly, the glaring lack of opportunity which existed not so many years ago and the limited progress which Negroes have as yet made to higher ranks have, in part, produced this result, as have other inequalities and conditions confronting Negro military personnel off base. Moreover, continuing educational disadvantages make many Negroes unavailable for certain types of job opportunities in the Armed Forces.

The means by which individuals are influenced to enter the Services are, of course, important. While methods differ in each Service, there is, at the present time, little recruiting directed towards

Negroes and insufficient awareness on the part of recruiting officers of special matters which would be of interest to potential Negro personnel.

For example, of the illustrative photographs in the occupational training guide of one Service, the only Negro shown is an enlisted man, in kitchen garb in the Steward field, where he appears working with a uniformed, white enlisted man. In general, Negroes rarely appear in recruiting literature - and then almost never on the cover together with other personnel or in the more appealing action shots.

Service programs to attract personnel properly emphasize special educational backgrounds and technical training, a need resulting from the increasing complexity of military operations. Unless Negroes with such aptitudes are encouraged to enter the Services, there is the danger that the Negro least attractive to private industry and other career fields - men not always in a position to take full advantage of the opportunity offered by the Services - will enter the Armed Forces.

Turning from the general problem of attracting Negroes to the Armed Forces to the particular question of officer selection, it should be noted at the outset that officers are obtained by the Services from several sources. For instance, there is direct commissioning of persons with special skills, including doctors, dentists and certain others.

In addition, the Services obtain officers through the respective Academies, officer candidate programs and, in significant numbers, from ROTC programs. Negroes are currently represented at all of the Academies - 14 at West Point, 10 at the Naval Academy and 15 at the Air Force Academy - and the other programs and sources are all offering Negroes for officer training. Participation of Negroes in these programs and services is discussed below in the section of this report dealing with educational opportunities.

Additional Negro officer participation can be achieved only by attracting qualified candidates through improved opportunity for Negroes in the military service. It should be noted that the standards one must meet to become an officer are necessarily high and that the military is competing for skilled personnel with other employers who can often offer greater material rewards to Negroes and whites alike.

B. Recommendations for Attracting Qualified Negroes

In order to increase the presently insufficient flow of qualified Negroes into the Armed Forces, techniques and procedures to attract persons should be carefully re-examined to ensure that they do not operate to reduce the entry of qualified Negroes into the Service. The

problems here do not appear to be ones of an affirmative discrimination encouraged by official Service policies. Rather, the condition results from a lack of adequate attention to, and review of, several aspects of the personnel selection process. The Services should initiate a more informed solicitation of colleges having substantial numbers of Negro students, develop literature appealing to Negroes and make wider use of Negro officers in recruiting assignments. Special efforts should be made to find and recruit Negroes with the special aptitudes the Services now require and affirmative steps should be taken to ensure that no recruiting personnel, consciously or unconsciously, channel Negroes to particular career fields, disregarding their aptitudes.

To increase the pitifully small number of Negro officers, energetic efforts must be made to raise the number of Negroes in the Academies and in all other programs which supply officers for the Services.

Finally, the Services should continually review all aspects of personnel selection procedures and their operation, to minimize the possibility of discrimination, especially discrimination by individuals in positions of responsibility at all Service levels.

C. There is Need for Continuing Reappraisal
of Assignment Patterns

The assignment of an occupational classification to an enlisted man, shortly after he enters military service, is usually one of the most significant actions affecting his entire Service career. It will have an obvious bearing upon his training and duty assignments, and upon his earnings outlook, as well, since the more technical specialties normally offer greater opportunities for grade advancement and related benefits. Initial classification action normally occurs during basic training. The bases for such classification are the results of detailed aptitude testing, an evaluation of pertinent training, work experience and interests, and a personal interview. Actual assignments to particular schools or specialties are also influenced by available quotas and changes in skill requirements.

There have been a number of complaints from Negro military personnel at particular bases to the effect that discrimination exists as to duty and career field assignments. Since many factors enter into assignment decisions, the merits of these complaints are difficult to determine without exhaustive inquiry. Statistics do show that on a Service-wide basis, Negroes are to be found assigned to virtually all occupational areas.

However, there is some evidence of a disproportionate grouping of Negro enlisted personnel in the Service area. For example, one out of every five Negroes in the Navy is in the food service career field, along with a substantial number of Filipinos. The heavy proportion of Negroes in this career field undoubtedly reflects the policy, now abandoned, of assigning Negroes only to occupations such as food service and other support-type activities.

To some extent, unevenness of assignment represents the cumulation of individual preferences. In any event, the bunching of Negro military personnel in any particular category, for whatever reasons, operates as a brake upon advancement because only a limited number of promotion vacancies are available in any particular career specialty.

Conversely, Negro participation in most technical career fields is slight, though relative participation appears to be increasing. Such fields include, for example, Electronics and Crafts in the Navy, and Electronic Maintenance in the Air Force. These patterns appear to have improved in the case of more recent entrants into Service, reflecting the impact of policies designed to provide equal treatment and opportunity for Negroes in the Armed Forces. The improvement has

been dramatic in the Navy and Marine Corps, although it is evident that some difference in relative occupational distribution persists. The trend towards equal occupational distribution has resulted in an increasing proportion of Negroes in the "white collar" skills and in many of the more technical specialties.

Many of the Negroes in the Navy and Marine Corps are still grouped in assignments which perpetuate the image of the Negro as a menial or servant in respect to the total activities of these Services, and it will take some time before the more recent assignment trends rectify this discrepancy.

Service policies governing the assignment and advancement of military personnel find their reflection in the atmosphere of each particular base. Where assignments in any substantial way appear to reflect the relegation of Negro personnel to particular activities or where there is an unexplained absence of Negro officers in significant duty assignments, the posture of the base as a whole is unavoidably one of inequality of treatment and suggests to Negro personnel that there is a lack of opportunity. In some instances, of course, such patterns are created unconsciously since the Services generally assign personnel to particular bases without regard to race. As a result, the representation and assignments of Negroes on a particular installation may be

quite inconsistent with the pattern of the particular Service as a whole.

Since the number of Negro officers in the Armed Forces is very small, there are still relatively few Negro officers at most installations, and the commands and headquarters are often overwhelmingly white. Several installation commanders expressed the view that a greater proportion of Negro officers would be helpful to the morale of the installation as a whole.

D. Recommendations for Improving
Assignment Patterns

Because of the importance of the assignment of an occupational classification to a new enlisted man, the procedures affecting such assignment, as well as their results, must be carefully and regularly reviewed to see whether they operate to ensure equality of treatment and opportunity for Negro military personnel. When new Negro personnel or applicants are interviewed, they should be made fully aware of the variety of opportunities available before being required to express preferences for career fields. Special effort should be made to recognize potential capacities of Negroes at the time of recruitment and at other appropriate times, and to encourage their entering, with proper vocational assistance, into career fields which match latent skill.

In addition, continuing efforts must be made to place Negro personnel in as many special and technical career fields and positions of troop command as possible, in order to afford Negro personnel wide training and ensure the fullest utilization of available talent. In this regard, the disproportionate bunchings of Negro personnel in certain service career fields should be re-examined, these personnel retested, carefully advised about other fields for which they are trainable, retrained accordingly and reassigned.

Although the Committee does not feel competent to recommend specific procedures for assuring the participation of Negro officers at base and regional headquarters in all sections of the country, it is advisable to point out that informal efforts to minimize Negro assignment to certain bases, however well motivated, are undesirable.

E. There is Need to Improve Procedures
Affecting Promotions

The slight Negro participation in higher non-commissioned and commissioned ranks, indicated in Tables I and II above, suggests strongly that Negroes, at least in the past, have not enjoyed equality of treatment and opportunity in the Armed Forces. In any event, this pattern acts to

deter other Negroes from choosing the Armed Forces as a career.

Generally, advancement in the non-commissioned ranks is based, among other things, upon the recommendations of commanding officers, and involves board actions of various kinds as well as certain written examinations. None of the higher NCO ranks can be achieved without long periods of duty in the Service and there are many Negroes who have not yet served the minimum time required. Satisfaction of minimum requirements does not, however, assure promotion since the number of openings available are limited by the necessities of the military organization and may be smaller than the number of men meeting minimum requirements.

Selection for promotion from among qualified personnel is based on value judgments formed from a review of the entire experience of those qualified for advancement. There is at the present time no system within any of the Services for periodic review of NCO promotions in order to investigate and eliminate the possibility that elements of racial bias may have been operative in the selection or rating of candidates at installation and other levels where crucial decisions affecting a man's career are made.

Each of the Services has established a system for selecting officers for promotion by action of specially appointed boards of senior officers. While there are variations, the systems have much in common.

All Services seek to maintain high standards and are faced with very substantial attrition due to legislation and other factors which limit the number of officers that may hold a particular rank at a given time. Efforts have been made by all of the Services to establish fair promotion criteria. In the nature of things, however, it is inevitable that many officers fail of promotion. Competition is extremely keen and minor differences in experience, training and personality may be decisive as between individual candidates.

One factor affecting the advancement of Negro officers has been the emphasis given by the Services to specialized educational backgrounds in selecting candidates for promotion. The more limited educational opportunities available for Negroes, until recent years, have, therefore, operated to their disadvantage in the promotion selection process.

Seniority, too, plays a vital part in the officer promotion system. Indeed, promotions are possible only after minimum prescribed lengths of service. For example, under present conditions, it normally takes approximately 16 years of service as an officer to be eligible for promotion to lieutenant colonel in the Army, Air Force or Marine Corps, or to the corresponding rank of commander in the Navy. Since the

full participation of the Negro in the Armed Forces is of recent origin, there are relatively few Negroes with the requisite seniority. Studies show, for instance, that although 3.2 percent of all Army officers are Negroes, only 1 percent of the officers with 20 years or more service are Negroes. While this fact may explain the existence of so few high ranking Negro officers, it does not eliminate the need for all personnel concerned with recruitment, assignment and promotion to be ever mindful of the history of discriminatory practices from which this situation arose and of the desirability of closing the gap as quickly as possible.

The ability of competent Negroes to succeed is all-important. Nothing will do more to encourage the able Negro to enter military service as a career than tangible proof, as yet almost entirely lacking, that Negro officers can receive equal recognition and opportunity for advancement with whites. Actual examples of Negroes who have achieved major positions of responsibility in the Armed Forces will be worth thousands of words devoted to claims that no barriers exist.

Several problems have come to the Committee's attention concerning significant details in the machinery of officer promotions. The personnel folders reviewed by promotion boards, in the case of all the

Services, contain a photograph of the officers under consideration and, in the case of some of the Services, contain forms having racial designations. Thus, the officer's race is brought sharply to the attention of the promotion board. There do not appear to be adequate reasons for having photographs or racial designations in the materials reviewed for promotion purposes. The presence of this information raises serious questions whether individual members of a promotion board, intentionally or otherwise, might discriminate on the basis of race.

The number of Negro officers who have served on boards concerned with officer promotions is very small. This follows from the fact that the members of such boards in all Services are normally colonels (or the Navy equivalent, captain) or higher ranking officers, and, as Table I, above, indicates, the number of Negroes who have attained these ranks is extremely small. In fact, in the Navy and Marine Corps, no officers have attained these ranks. So long as promotion selection is made primarily by white officers, questions as to the impartiality of these boards will continue to arise.

Officers serving on promotion boards are selected with care and take an oath demanding objectivity, but no particular effort is made

to determine whether an officer serving on a promotion board, because of his background and personal experience, has a conscious or unconscious bias. Experience with this delicate and intangible problem in commercial organizations suggests that, on occasion, bias exists which can be disclosed by specific inquiry and attention to the individual's past performance.

F. Recommendations for Improving
Promotion Procedures

In view of the numerous complaints of discrimination in enlisted promotions and the slight participation of Negroes in the higher NCO ranks, the Services should initiate, on a spot check basis, periodic inquiries into the operation of enlisted promotion procedures, particularly to the higher NCO ranks.

To minimize the possibility that conscious or unconscious discrimination on the basis of race or color may affect the impartiality of the officer promotion system, photographs and racial designations in the folders reviewed by promotion boards should be eliminated. Every opportunity should be taken to appoint Negro officers to serve on promotion boards, in normal rotation. Techniques for assuring

that all promotion board members are free from conscious or unconscious racial bias should be developed. Wherever possible, officers chosen to serve on promotion boards should be chosen from those who have had more than casual experience serving with Negro officers and enlisted personnel. To the extent that similar situations pertain in the enlisted promotion system, like steps should be taken there.

A final comment: No system is valid if the standards used to make decisions, no matter how objectively applied, are such as to operate unfairly against any group of persons. Accordingly, the Services should each periodically review their standards for promotion, selection and assignment to make certain that latent ability is always properly measured and utilized.

IV. ELIMINATING REMAINING ON-BASE DISCRIMINATION

A. The Present Lack of Communication Between
Negro Personnel and Commanders
Causes Discrimination to Fester

Reference has already been made to the highly successful program of the Armed Forces to bring about full integration and to the progress made toward equality of treatment and opportunity. More is required. Many of the remaining problems result from the lack of communication between Negro military personnel and the command echelon at bases.

Equality of treatment and opportunity is not the responsibility of any particular official or office in any of the Services. Rather, responsibility is Service-wide, in the sense that a general policy has been defined by broad directives. As a result, no machinery exists at any particular base by which a given officer is specifically charged with continuing responsibility in this area. There is no satisfactory method of handling complaints. Conditions conducive to discriminatory practices are often not even known to commanders. The Negro serviceman may complain to his immediate superior but it is rare that these complaints reach the attention of the base commander or members of his immediate staff. As problems become

severe, they may or may not receive attention at one or more echelons in the command. In sum, there is no affirmative and continuing effort to monitor race relations problems on base.

An important by-product of the Committee's work has been a new awareness, on the part of many of the commanders of bases visited, of the necessity for greater efforts to eliminate remaining obstacles to equality of treatment and opportunity in the Armed Forces. For example, on visits to bases, Committee members noted a number of discriminatory practices. Such practices were often remedied forthwith when brought to the attention of the base commander by Committee members. This illustrates the value of expanded communications between Negro military personnel and base commanders. Means must be found to keep base commanders informed of such conditions as they develop. It is clear to the Committee that only by fixing responsibility and establishing some means for monitoring these matters, base-by-base, can problems of discrimination, which will inevitably arise from time to time, be cured effectively and promptly.

At the present time, the absence of an effective procedure for dealing with complaints has led Negro personnel to complain to Congressmen and to various private groups such as the NAACP, and to

broadcast letters, sometimes anonymous, to individuals and groups interested in racial matters. The investigation of these letters through the traditional Inspector General or Department of Defense channels is often fruitless. These authorities are not geared to handle such problems and too much time elapses, making it difficult to ascertain the facts.

There exists in the minds of many Negro personnel the fear that they will be subject to criticism and reprisal if they raise matters of this kind. Procedures must be developed which eliminate this fear and encourage them to present their complaints. Merely stating that reprisals are forbidden is not enough.

Some complaints will allege that a specific individual has suffered discriminatory treatment of some kind. Such complaints, involving matters relating to a single person, such as failing to be promoted, cannot ordinarily be investigated without disclosing the identity of the aggrieved individual. This is not true, however, where the complaint discloses a discriminatory condition on base, such as a segregated NCO club. Such conditions can be investigated and eliminated without the need for identifying a particular complainant.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that prompt correction of what may appear on the surface to be minor examples of discrimination will contribute substantially to morale. Such actions will also serve to keep the standard of conduct which national policy has decreed before all individuals on the base.

B. Recommendations for Improving Communication
with Commanders

In order to improve the processing of complaints at the base level, procedures must be established which will encourage Negro personnel to present complaints of discrimination while eliminating the risk that they will be subject to criticism or reprisal for so doing. In order to accomplish this, an officer should be designated at each base to receive such complaints. This officer must have free access to the base commander or his deputy for the purpose of communicating and discussing complaints of discrimination. Commanders at bases must, of course, be held personally responsible for the effectiveness of the system and for conditions on the base. Discriminatory conditions may exist even where few complaints are made, and the commander should be held accountable to discover and remedy such conditions.

All personnel, officer and enlisted, should be free to contact the officer designated to receive complaints at any time, without the consent, knowledge or approval of any person in the chain of command over them. Communications between servicemen and this officer should be privileged and Service regulations should prohibit the disclosure of such communications or the identity of the complainant without the serviceman's consent.

The officer designated to receive such complaints should be carefully chosen to ensure that he is sensitive to problems of discrimination. The confidential nature of his duties in this area should be thoroughly explained to him and others, and he should be provided with a detailed manual of instructions. In view of his role as a confidential counselor, consideration should be given to the designation of the local Legal Assistance Officer as the officer to receive such complaints, but the base commander should be free to designate the officer best qualified for such duties, regardless of the officer's other duties. However, the officer so chosen must not be so burdened with other duties that he cannot effectively deal with complaints presented to him; he should be so situated that servicemen can contact and consult him in privacy; and he should be independent and free from intimidation by any person in the performance of his duties.

Under this system, all base personnel should be repeatedly and periodically advised of the identity of the complaint officer, and further advised of their right to present complaints. Service regulations should forbid attempts to discourage the presentation of such complaints or reprisals against complainants, and all personnel should be advised that such attempts, in violation of these regulations, will subject them to disciplinary action.

Such day-to-day efforts to discover and eliminate examples of discrimination at the base level should be checked and supplemented by periodic field visits from personnel from the Department of Defense who are skilled and sensitive in handling problems of discrimination and whose full-time energies are devoted to such problems. In this way, commanders' efforts can be measured. In addition, servicemen should be free, if they choose, to present their complaints to such visiting personnel and to contact the Department of Defense office to which such personnel are assigned if they so desire.

C. Examples of Remaining On-Base Discrimination
and Recommendations for their Elimination

Members of the Committee received complaints from Negro personnel concerning particular conditions existing at specific bases.

These complaints were received orally during base visits and by letters from servicemen. The Committee has not had the time or the resources to conduct specific investigations into such complaints, nor did the Committee conceive that this was the role assigned to it.

Personal observations and interviews have, however, pointed to discriminatory conditions which do exist at some bases. * / These can be remedied and would appear to be of sufficient general consequence to be mentioned here, although conditions such as those discussed below are not the only ones which may exist nor are they prevalent on every base.

The Committee anticipates that if a better system of communication for dealing with racial problems suggestive of discrimination is established on base, and specific matters found on bases, such as those mentioned below, are given intelligent attention, many of the principal sources of irritation which reflect on morale, military efficiency and opportunity would be eliminated.

* / Disturbing patterns of civilian employment at some military bases, both in the Federal Civil Service and in clubs, exchange facilities and other non-appropriated fund activities, have come to the attention of the Committee during its study. Since discrimination in Federal civilian employment is under continuing review by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, these patterns have been called to the attention of that body.

1. NCO and Service Clubs Require
Careful Continuing Attention

One of the principal sources of difficulty arises in connection with the operation of on-base Service and NCO clubs. The number and program of these clubs vary from base to base. Generally, they provide a place for gathering, refreshment, entertainment and occasional dances. There is sometimes more than one NCO or Service club on a base. At some bases, due to pressures brought by white personnel or other factors, forms of segregated Service clubs have developed in practice. For example, the majority of Negro servicemen may gravitate to one club and white servicemen to another. Commanding officers have permitted this condition to be imposed by the wishes of a minority of white personnel and have not taken sufficient affirmative steps to encourage utilization of all clubs by all personnel who desire to do so.

At some Service clubs, it is customary for the command, through professional or volunteer hostesses, to arrange for girls to come to the base for a dance or other entertainment. Although such Service clubs are used by whites and Negroes alike, there are instances when too few or no Negro girls are brought to the base, thus creating unnecessary tensions. There is also evidence that on occasion civilian

hostesses have imported onto the base from the civilian community attitudes which are inconsistent with Department of Defense policy. One of the most successful Service clubs is that at an Army base in the South, operated by a very able Negro hostess, which attracts local volunteer workers and servicemen of both races.

These problems are not necessary and should be eliminated without delay. To do this, commanders should take affirmative action to insure that there is no de facto segregation or discrimination at any of these club facilities. In addition, Negro girls should be secured for dances, and greater care should be taken in the selection and training of hostesses and other civilian personnel operating Service clubs.

2. Military Police Assignments
Require Review

Another area of fairly common complaint involves the use of military police of all Services on base, at the base gate, and on patrols sent from the base into nearby communities. At some bases Negro military police have not been used at the base gate because of possible objection by members of the white civilian community. At others, there are instances in which wholly Negro patrols are

sent into Negro areas, but not into white areas, while integrated patrols are not used for off-base assignments. These problems are particularly sensitive ones because of the status and authority of the military police.

To the extent numerically possible, regular military police patrols should be assigned on a racially integrated basis, and there should be no distinctions based on race in any type of military police assignment. Sufficient numbers of Negro personnel should be included in military police units to permit such assignment policies to be effectuated. National and defense policy on integration should be clearly spelled out to personnel undergoing military police training and to those who train and supervise military police.

3. Base-Sponsored Activities Must Adhere to National Policy

The Department of Defense and the Services have prohibited the use of their names, facilities, activities or sponsorship by any employee recreational organization practicing racial discrimination. However, policies have not been established concerning the participation of bands, sports teams, choirs and

the like, in activities off base. For example, no directive specifically prohibits the removal of Negro members from bands, choirs, marching units, or other military groups representing the base at off-base functions, where such removal is sought or suggested by community representatives.

Many base commanders on their own initiative have refused to permit groups from a base to participate outside the base in events where elimination or segregation of Negro personnel would be required because of civilian attitudes. This has been a very healthy and desirable action. To remove Negro members from bands and choruses, as has been done on occasion, or from any other Service activity in response to outside pressures, creates an indefensible form of discrimination within the Services.

Base commanders themselves have frequent opportunities to attend gatherings of local groups, as speakers or in other semi-official capacities. A number of these groups both practice segregation and support local segregation policies. Such attendance may serve a legitimate and useful function in furthering objectives of the Services.

Where commanders limit their community activities to civic groups that exclude Negroes and favor segregation - as is often the case - they fail in their mission. The commander must not appear, by his speeches to such groups and his acceptance of awards from them to condone conditions which are offensive to his men and injurious to the efficiency of his command.

To assure that these off-base functions do not undermine the atmosphere of equality developed on the base, all military commanders should be instructed to follow the lead of those who have refused to permit their personnel to participate in base-controlled activities outside the base where elimination or segregation of Negro personnel is sought. While commanders' discretion must guide their own attendance policies, they should be sensitive to avoid attending any function if such attendance might seem an endorsement of discriminatory civilian attitudes.

4. Freedom of Association and Expression
Must be Preserved

Another example of the influence which off-base civilian attitudes have on base is reflected in the efforts of some commanders to discourage interracial association by military personnel off base

and to urge compliance with all forms of local segregation requirements. In some cases, it has been officially suggested, in effect, that friends segregate themselves off base in order to avoid local objections. In one case, it was reported that military police at the base gate systematically warned personnel that white and Negro personnel leaving the base together in private automobiles should not enter town together. In other cases, personnel have been advised to comply with local segregation policies without any protest, and have even been told that expressions of their views concerning such local policies may result in disciplinary action against them.

These actions by some commanders, restraining freedom of association and expression, are misguided and should be terminated.

5. Segregation in Transportation and School Buses Must be Eliminated

A number of bases utilize local transportation facilities which run with some frequency between the base and the local community. Some of these local operators practice segregation. In a number of instances, buses, while required to integrate during

the period the bus is on base property, enforce a segregated pattern of seating immediately upon leaving the installation. Conversely, troops traveling to the base in segregated patterns may change seating only upon arrival at the base. In other instances, taxis which refuse Negroes transportation are permitted to serve the installation. Thus, servicemen are carried to and from the base in a segregated pattern wholly inconsistent with the existing pattern of integration on base.

There are few schools on military bases for dependents living on base. None of these schools serve all such dependents. As a consequence, dependents living on base are sent to local public and, sometimes, private school systems. Where these public school systems are segregated, different transportation services are sometimes provided for Negro and white students. As a consequence, during the school year separate buses for Negro and white children arrive and depart from a base daily. The white and Negro children live and play together on base and may have gone to school together on base. The enforced separation and differentiation which the segregated school bus system

sharply exhibits is inconsistent with other conditions on base and is often the only example of on-base segregation. By appearing even in this fashion to support a segregated school system, the military establishment is lending support to a basically unconstitutional, and therefore, unlawful, condition.

These and any other examples of discrimination in transportation serving the base should be eliminated. Agreements should be sought with bus and taxi companies willing to provide non-discriminatory transportation for servicemen. If such agreements cannot be promptly obtained, the Services should provide other forms of transportation to terminate this indignity.

In addition, the Services should make every effort to have local school authorities discontinue segregation of all school buses traveling to the post without delay. If such efforts should in any case be unsuccessful, immediate provisions should be made for transporting these children in military vehicles or under contractual arrangements with other carriers. This will entail some difficulty and expense, but the clear national policy of on-base integration requires it. Moreover, such action will daily carry to the civilian community a demonstration of the Services' conviction that all such discrimination must disappear.

V. ELIMINATING THE SERIOUS OFF-BASE DISCRIMINATION
BY CIVILIAN COMMUNITIES AFFECTING THE MORALE
OF NEGRO MILITARY PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS

A. Civilian Communities Near Bases Often Segregate
and Discriminate Against Negro Military Personnel

The hundreds of military installations within the United States cannot exist in isolation from surrounding civilian communities. The reasons are obvious and need be only briefly covered.

Military family housing on base is, generally speaking, assigned to eligible personnel on the basis of seniority. Such housing is not sufficient, in most instances, to house more than about one-half the eligible married personnel. At many bases there is relatively little on-base housing. Therefore, it is quite usual for many of the married personnel to live off base. Statistics from the Department of Defense indicate that there are within the United States approximately 405,000 families residing in various types of off-base community housing, in communities near the service members' places of duty.

As far as schools are concerned, the overwhelming majority of school-age dependents of military personnel use the local public school system, whether they live on or off base.

A family residing on or off base utilizes many of the normal community facilities for shopping and recreation. While the Services have attempted in some degree to provide recreational opportunities on base - and there are, among other things, service clubs, swimming pools and theatres found in some of the larger bases - the limited and institutional character of these arrangements does not satisfy the needs of the military personnel. Apart from the natural desire of military personnel to exist free from command supervision, many families reside sufficiently far from the base to make on-base facilities of limited utility.

Although the Supreme Court has declared that laws requiring segregation of public schools or other public facilities are unconstitutional, the Committee's studies have disclosed that a very substantial number of communities neighboring military bases practice various forms of segregation. Segregation is found in varying degrees throughout the United States. In some communities local laws require segregation; in others the condition derives from custom and the wishes of the local population. The pattern of discrimination and segregation is, of course, particularly noticeable in the southern communities, but

there are substantial variations from community to community and state to state. Forms of discrimination appear in many northern communities. Discrimination in housing is almost universal. Some bases established in states such as the Dakotas have confronted forms of segregation and discrimination which have much of the same rigidity found in certain southern communities.

In addition to its personal examination of conditions in certain communities, the Committee requested the Services to supply information indicating prevalence of segregation in communities neighboring to bases. Studies made by the Army and Navy of certain of their domestic installations and activities illustrate the typical pattern with which the Committee is concerned. The following table containing this information is illuminating; less complete analyses by the Air Force and Marine Corps indicate that their personnel confront similar patterns.

Table III

**SEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES IN COMMUNITIES
ADJACENT TO MILITARY INSTALLATIONS**

Types of Segregated Public Facility	Number of Surveyed Installations and Activities With Such Segregated Facilities *		Number of Personnel Stationed Where Facilities Are Segregated		Percentage of Surveyed Installations and Activities With Segregated Facilities	
	ARMY	NAVY	ARMY	NAVY	ARMY	NAVY
Public Schools	48	143	178,109	58,500	24%	25%
Restaurants and Bars	68	238	257,893	110,000	34%	43%
Theaters	63	223	232,301	105,000	31%	40%
Swimming Pools	19	226	178,201	102,000	9%	40%
Golf Courses	38	164	190,931	82,000	19%	29%
Beaches	10	203	123,502	90,000	5%	36%
Bowling Alleys	32	194	205,901	103,000	16%	35%
Libraries	10	49	130,179	28,000	5%	9%
Public Transportation	4	47	41,091	22,000	2%	8%
Hotels, Motels	12	252	205,618	141,000	6%	45%
Churches	23	163	127,402	70,000	11%	29%

* The Army survey for this table covered 201 installations and activities, while the Navy survey covered 559. Each installation and activity surveyed had 100 or more military personnel assigned to it.

B. Community Segregation and Discrimination
Adversely Affects Service Morale

A Negro officer or serviceman is, like all military personnel, subject to orders. On short notice he may be transferred to any base. This dislocation of his affairs is one of the disadvantages of military service. The time allowed is limited and orders are immutable.

When a Negro officer or serviceman is transferred to a base where the neighboring community practices substantial forms of segregation and discrimination, he immediately faces very special and difficult problems. Assuming, as is often the case, that he must live off base, he must look for a house or an apartment; he must then arrange for the schooling of his children; he must find transportation between home and base. In short, he must obtain for himself and his family food, shelter and recreation in what to him is necessarily a new and unfriendly community. In making this transition he gets little help from the base or the community. He must cope with the problems as he finds them, on short notice.

Discrimination in housing confronts him immediately in most sections of the country. Private housing in many parts of town is not available. Many real estate agents will have nothing to do with him. He is forced to that part of town and type of housing occupied by Negroes. Here in many cases are structures well below acceptable standards, expensive, dirty, dilapidated - in all respects undesirable. Often Negro housing areas are farthest from the base. Almost always the available segregated housing is below the standard available for white military personnel. Frequently little or no housing is available and space is at a premium. After one or two nights sleeping with his family in his car or at an expensive Negro motel (if he can find one) he takes whatever turns up.

Schools are his next concern. Here again patterns of segregation often exist. Although he wears the uniform of his country, his dependents may be forced into segregated schools. In some communities near bases these schools are well below standards, overcrowded, distant from the base and otherwise undesirable. Whatever the quality of the schools, and school conditions do of course vary, his children, like himself, are again set apart, contrary to their wishes.

Usually the Negro officer or serviceman has few friends in the community where he is sent. He and his family must build a new life, but many doors are closed outside the Negro section of town. Drug stores, restaurants and bars may refuse to serve him. Bowling alleys, golf courses, theatres, hotels and sections of department stores may exclude him. Transportation may be segregated. Churches may deny him admission. Throughout his period of service at the particular base he is in many ways set apart and denied the general freedom of the community available to his white counterpart.

Many of these Negro military personnel are well-educated, specially skilled and accustomed to home communities relatively free from discrimination. All of them have enjoyed the relative freedom from distinctions drawn on the basis of color which prevails on military bases. To all Negroes these community conditions are a constant affront and a constant reminder that the society they are prepared to defend is a society that deprecates their right to full participation as citizens. This should not be.

Letters from Negro military personnel bring these conditions into sharp focus. Visits which members of the Committee made to

bases and their surrounding communities have served to give them special emphasis. Interviews with Negro military personnel reflect their gravity and the need for prompt action.

Complaints which the Committee has received, some in interviews and some written, show that for some Negro families, the pressures of community discrimination prove too great to bear. Homes are broken up by these conditions as Negro families coming from parts of the country which are relatively tolerant of color differences find themselves facing a situation which is both new and frightening. For them, the clock has turned back more than a generation. To protect their children and to maintain some degree of dignity they return home, and the husband is left to work out his service obligations alone. Other families never attempt to venture into these conditions in the first place. Under either of these circumstances the Negro serviceman becomes consumed with the frustration of separation and the desire for transfer. And whether his family is with him or not, the indignities suffered in the community place a load upon his service career affecting both his interest and his performance.

The impact of community discrimination is not solely upon those who have families. Such discrimination creates another demoralizing condition, affecting all military personnel. On base many of the artificial barriers caused by race disappear as Negro and white personnel work, eat and sleep together. Friendships develop between Negro and white officers and servicemen. Normally these relationships would carry over into moments of liberty and recreation. But many communities do not tolerate relations between Negroes and whites. Leaving the base, they may not be able to ride the bus into town together, attend a movie, go bowling, get a coke at a drug store or a beer at a bar or, indeed, even stroll through a public park. This sharp taboo which the civilian community seeks to impose is particularly intolerable and its effects unusually severe in view of the easy, normal relationships which develop on base under existing military policy. The contrast makes the discrimination more biting and the affront more serious. Conditions such as these cause deep resentment among Negro and many white personnel.

The isolation caused by this type of blatant discrimination is felt keenly by the increasingly large group of Negro personnel whose education and training make the facilities available in the Negro areas of many communities unacceptable. There are many Negroes in the Armed Forces

who simply will not patronize the usual places of public recreation and accommodations available to Negroes in typical segregated communities. Judged by standards to which they have been accustomed at home, these places seem both shabby and disreputable. They will not accept them merely because no alternative is available. Their efforts to find forms of recreation and pursue cultural interests consonant with their background go unrewarded because of the barriers placed in their way by community attitudes.

It is not surprising, but most discouraging, to have to report that there are bases where Negro personnel confront such intolerable conditions off base that almost any device will be employed to effect a change in duty assignment. Applications for transfer, ^{*}/ infractions of rules and a general contempt for the "system" are apt to appear. The effect on Service morale and efficiency is apparent. The Committee's inquiries, including interviews with many base commanders, made it clear that the accomplishment of the military mission of a base confronted with such conditions is measurably impaired. There was

^{*} / In order to maintain maximum utilization of manpower, the Services generally deny transfers to Negro servicemen when such transfers are requested upon the sole ground that they and their families are suffering racial discrimination in the communities where their places of duty are located. Exceptions may be made for particularly severe cases.

general agreement among base commanders that the morale of both white and Negro troops suffers in the presence of such indignities and inequities. A practical program for dealing with off-base discrimination against Negro military personnel and their dependents is urgently required.

C. Base Commanders Lack Adequate Instructions and Generally Ignore Off-Base Discrimination

The focal point of any practical approach to this most pressing problem is the base commander.^{*/} He represents the military in the area. It is his duty to be concerned with the welfare of those under his command. He is in a better position than higher echelons to identify the particular discrimination forms prevalent in the community neighboring his base. On his shoulders should fall the primary responsibility for solving local problems.

The record of base commanders in dealing with such problems has not been impressive. Their failure in this regard stems from a number of causes.

^{*/} At some bases, there are commanders senior to the person designated as the base commander. Where this is true, the attitudes of the senior commander are naturally given great weight by the base commander. In such situations, the considerations discussed in the context of the base commander's functions apply with equal force to the role of this senior commander located at the base.

While the failure can be explained by the absence of specific directives requiring affirmative programs, in part it stems from the attitudes and training which most base commanders bring to their job. As a group, they do not believe that problems of segregation and racial discrimination in the local community should be their concern. Base commanders express this view in various ways: That the authority of the base commander ends at the gate, that it is not his job to rearrange the social order, that it is not part of the military mission to change community attitudes, that any pressure would be misunderstood and merely stir up trouble, that questions of this kind should be left to the courts, that military personnel are traditionally non-political and should not involve themselves in controversial questions.

The failure stems also from the nature of assignments to the job of base commander. Such assignments are for a limited tour of duty, often between two and three years. Rarely does a man serve as a base commander more than once. The base commander naturally looks upon his job as an opportunity to exercise military command on a substantial scale, thus providing important experience as he moves up the promotion ladder. Quite naturally

he conceives of his job as overwhelmingly military in character, his mission being to develop the units and troops under his command to peak efficiency. While he has a multitude of duties, many of these may be delegated or subordinated to the priority which he feels must be given the strictly military aspects of his job, the aspects most familiar to him. His course of training as an officer has not been such as to bring him into contact with literature and experience in the field of equal opportunity. He operates without the guidance of persons experienced with such problems.

The typical base commander understands that he is expected to complete his limited tour of duty without "disturbances." The problems with which he might become concerned in attempting to improve treatment of his troops off base are emotionally surcharged and controversial, as well as difficult to solve. He will not venture into this area without specific instructions.

The attitudes and background of the base commander influence the manner in which he utilizes the fairly well-established procedures by which commanders discuss certain types of problems with the neighboring civilian community. The various Services' instructions concerning community relations suggest working through some sort

of committee or council. The civilian members of such a group are often designated by the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club or other civic group, or by officials of the local governments, and rarely are Negroes represented. The base is represented by the base commander and certain officers designated by him.

The principal function of the committee is to develop a smooth working relationship on certain matters of obviously common concern, such as relations with local police authorities. Base commanders are instructed by directives, quite properly, to recognize the public relations aspect of their jobs, to encourage parades and troop participation in civic affairs, and generally to project before the community a favorable image of the base and the Service. It has not been the practice for these community relations committees to concern themselves with racial matters. Indeed, in most communities where there is a substantial Negro population and serious forms of discrimination exist, the leaders of the Negro community are not represented on the committees, nor are whites who are mindful of these problems. The commander, moreover, selects no Negro personnel to represent the base. As a result, the base commander has little or no contact with local discrimination problems.

The pattern which the Committee has observed is clearly one of inaction by base commanders in the face of serious discrimination affecting the morale and military efficiency of members of their commands. But while the base commander represents his Service and the Department of Defense locally, it would be unfair to ascribe to him sole responsibility for the policy of inaction. If he has failed to pursue an active program, it is largely because no higher command has directed him to do so, provided him with guidance in developing a program, or assured him that he would be given support if his affirmative actions should incur the disfavor of the community.

It is true that the Department of Defense, in recognition of the off-base problem, has made some limited moves in the direction of improving conditions. Military police, for example, are not permitted to be employed on behalf of local authorities to support enforcement of racial segregation or other forms of discrimination. Where civilian authorities initiate legal action against military personnel arising out of the enforcement of segregation or discrimination policies, limited legal assistance may be provided on an ad hoc basis to assure that such personnel are afforded due process of law.

In the field of housing, a recent Secretary of Defense memorandum now provides that private housing leased by the Services for assignment to military personnel may be obtained only where the lessor agrees that the Services may assign it without discrimination. In dealing with the problem of segregated schools, the Services are cooperating with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Department of Justice in a program designed to desegregate schooling in certain communities by constructing on-base schools and withdrawing payments made to local schools for educating dependents living on base.

These are, of course, policies for dealing with rather well-defined, specific problems. It is also important to consider direct instructions to bases giving general policies for attacking problems of discrimination. The existing instructions are found in the so-called Gilpatric Memorandum, issued to all branches of the Service by the Deputy Secretary of Defense on June 19, 1961, and re-issued thereafter by each of the Services, which reads in part, as follows:

- "1. The policy of equal treatment for all members of the Armed Forces without regard to race, creed or color is firmly established within the Department of Defense.

"2. Therefore, in those areas where unsegregated facilities are not readily available to members of the Armed Forces in adjacent or surrounding communities, it is the policy of the Department of Defense to provide such facilities on military installations to the extent possible. In addition, local commanders are expected to make every effort to obtain such facilities off base for members of the Armed Forces through command-community relations committees."

The policy announced by the second paragraph of this memorandum has not been carried out. While copies of this memorandum were distributed widely in the Services, there was no well-developed plan for carrying out the program outlined in these general terms, and the words "to the extent possible" vitiated its effectiveness. Except in the Navy, the policy has not been incorporated in any of the relatively permanent types of directives which are referred to by those in the field for guidance in developing base policies. Equally serious, no Service has issued detailed regulations or manuals implementing the policy, not has any systematic effort been made to determine what, if anything, base commanders were doing to carry out its letter or spirit. Indeed, the great majority of base commanders interviewed were unaware of the existence of the policy. These procedures are fairly typical of the way in which most other policies in this area have been handled.

Apart from the Gilpatric Memorandum, no directive or policy of any Service specifically assigns to base commanders the responsibility for attempting to eliminate problems of discrimination in surrounding communities, where such problems affect the morale and military efficiency of members of their commands. The Service literature dealing with community relations has not in the past discussed the problem; apparently no higher command has censured base commanders for policies of inaction; no effort has been made to identify and commend commanders who have made efforts to solve such problems; no one has suggested to base commanders that their achievements in dealing with such problems will be considered in rating their performance of duty and in promotion selection. It is not surprising, therefore, that the base commander, without instruction, experience or technical support, keeps his emphasis solidly on the military aspect of his mission. While some commanders assert that they have quietly urged desegregation "behind the scenes" and in the course of social contacts, few, if any, have regularly and systematically sought to solve problems of discrimination.

Despite the general climate of inaction, the Committee has seen some evidence of occasional efforts by individual base commanders to deal with off-base discrimination problems, efforts which have met with some success. One commander encouraged enactment of an equal accommodations law; another has attempted to desegregate multiple housing units; others have placed considerable emphasis on breaking color lines in sports contests in which the base is involved. Occasionally, local auditoriums have been thrown open to all servicemen in the face of an established pattern of exclusion and segregation. Efforts have been made to open up cultural events in communities to Negro personnel or to permit attendance at sports events, with non-segregated seating. While, in many instances, in communities where segregation is practiced, segregated military police patrols are used - an undesirable practice - there has been some effort to use mixed military police patrols in white and Negro areas. Some commanders have been able to arrange desegregated transportation between the base and the nearby community, contrary to local practice. At least one commander started a program of meetings and discussions with local Negro civil rights leaders.

The examples given above are the rare exception, rather than the rule, but they offer an indication of the advances which a positive effort can achieve.

D. Recommendations for an Urgently Needed Program

1. The Defense Department and the Services
Must Redefine Responsibilities, Establish
Goals and Provide Detailed Instructions

While any worthwhile efforts to eliminate off-base discrimination must center on the functions of the base commander, a redefinition of responsibilities at all levels of command in this field is an essential preliminary. It should be the policy of the Department of Defense and part of the mission of the chain of command from the Secretaries of the Services to the local base commander, not only to remove discrimination within the Armed Forces, but also to make every effort to eliminate discriminatory practices as they affect members of the Armed Forces and their dependents within the neighboring civilian communities.

As a part of this process of redefinition, a different concept of the base commander's functions in the racial field must be evolved. Interviews with base commanders have led the Committee to conclude that commanders desire more explicit instructions and clarification of their responsibilities in this regard. These commanders, concerned with morale factors, increasingly feel the need to act. Before they act, they need to have their responsibilities defined. They need more explicit orders and more detailed directives. These should be provided.

2. Commanders' Performance Must be
Rated, Monitored and Supported

Redefinition is, however, not enough. There is need for a continuing program in this area, a program which must be imaginative and persistent in order to achieve the desired equality of treatment and opportunity. It must be made clear to base commanders and others concerned with these problems that they will be measured in terms of their performance. A regular system of monitoring and reporting on progress should be instituted. It should be made clear that officers showing initiative and achievement in this area will enhance their performance ratings and obtain favorable consideration for promotion and career advancement. It is especially important that such officers be assured that they will not run the risk of official disfavor for their efforts and that they will receive the support of all echelons of command if their programs are attacked by local interests.

In implementing the program to eliminate off-base discrimination against military personnel, considerable care should be taken to insure that the policies of the Department of Defense are disseminated to lower echelons by the Services in relatively

permanent media of the type maintained for continuing reference by those responsible for operating military bases.

But it is not sufficient merely to state in directives, of whatever type, the substance of the foregoing policy. There has been a great failure of communications to bases of the attitudes and policies of the Department of Defense concerning discrimination. It will be necessary to emphasize and re-emphasize that progress is required, and that a constant showing of serious, intense effort is the minimum performance accepted. While this attitude must be instilled in base commanders, it must also be part of the command philosophy of the many superior commanders who assign base commanders to duty, assess their performance, and necessarily influence their attitudes.

3. Command Training Programs and Manuals
Should Treat all Aspects of Discrimination
Problems and Solutions

Still other steps should be taken to insure that a sense of responsibility for problems of off-base discrimination replaces the prevalent notion that matters outside the gate are of no concern to the base commander. The history of Negro participation in the

Armed Forces and the problems which he confronts in the Services must be emphasized and made a definite part of the curriculum at all levels of officer and command training. The Services must insure that men reaching the position of base commander are familiar with the requirements of the Constitution and the history of the Negroes' struggle to achieve equality of treatment and opportunity. In addition, it would be beneficial for base commanders to attend regional and inter-regional seminars or conferences where discussions of techniques and results are featured. Base commanders and higher commands should be made aware of other federal agencies which work with problems of discrimination and directed to cooperate with such agencies and to seek their technical assistance and advice.

Base commanders should also be provided a carefully prepared manual, which will guide their activities in this as-yet-unfamiliar area and fill some of the gaps in their experience and training.

4. Base Commanders Must Establish Biracial
Community Committees and by This and
Other Means Lead Efforts to Reduce
Discrimination

An active program for eliminating off-base discrimination demands the creation of a wholly different working relationship between the commander and the local community in which discrimination is practiced. Solving such problems should be the means at his disposal in seeking solutions. One of the means base commanders should use to solve problems of discrimination is a Committee of base and community representatives. But satisfactory results cannot be obtained by relying on the types of Committees which have heretofore existed. Generally, these committees have represented a part of the white community, but not the community as a whole.

In the future the installation commander should be required to appoint such a committee in order to bring together leaders of both the white and Negro communities. He is in the best position to do this. Care should be taken to include individuals experienced and concerned with problems of racial equality, as a

recent Navy instruction has noted, and to insure that the Negro members are those who are not, by virtue of their job or position, subservient to white interests. Both white and Negro military personnel should participate.

The committees should function as working committees, identifying problem areas in the community and working toward their solution with the guidance and help of committee members and with technical assistance from experts when appropriate. It will be necessary to establish specific objectives and a timetable against which results can be measured. Problems of housing will prevail everywhere, but exclusion of Negro military personnel from theaters may be the most pressing problem in one community, while exclusion from restaurants is the principal aggravation in another. Various types of recreational facilities may have special local significance because of their proximity to the base, the lack of adequate on-base facilities or other considerations. It will be necessary to move from objective to objective and these objectives will differ from community to community.

Each community has its own special traditions and history. In some, attitudes are more entrenched than in others. It is significant, however, that base commanders who have genuinely undertaken to accomplish progress in this area have met some degree of success, even in communities where feelings are strong. Similarly, the progress of the national USO program to eliminate segregation in all its local facilities, discussed later in this report, shows that serious effort can produce results.

It is important to emphasize that the base commander's concern should be that of correcting forms of discrimination which interfere with the morale and efficiency of members of his command. The pattern the community chooses to follow as to its own civilians cannot be accepted as the pattern which must be imposed upon men in uniform or their dependents, when that pattern is detrimental to military morale and efficiency. The significant tradition of non-involvement by military authorities in local political matters will be unimpaired if base commanders limit their concern to problems affecting the morale and efficiency of members of their commands.

It is the Committee's judgment that many communities are awaiting leadership and direction. Proprietors of local establishments and others who must live and work in the community may

understandably hesitate to urge a change in existing customs. However, the enormous growth of relatively permanent military installations, scattered throughout the country and economically important to the communities which surround them, enables local commanders to supply some of the necessary leadership. The base commander not only enjoys an independence which permits him to do so; he can also point to the successful program of equality of treatment and opportunity which exists on his base and to the economic dependence of the community upon the base. The base commander should emphasize his concern for morale and the policy of the Services concerning off-base discrimination in conferences with individuals, in his work with the local committee, and in public expressions of his views. Such an approach, stressing troop morale and efficiency, should lead patriotic citizens to join together, where their business interests are common, to find an appropriate solution.

5. Where Efforts of Base Commanders are Unsuccessful Sanctions are Available and Should be Employed

It is important to consider what further steps may be necessary where efforts to achieve progress by persuasion and discussion are unsuccessful.

Litigation, brought in the name of the Federal Government, to open some types of public establishments to members of the Armed Forces and their dependents is one possible avenue for achieving integration. But even in those cases in which such litigation offers some hope of eventual success, it is piecemeal and time-consuming at best.

A more satisfactory approach must be developed. Segregation and other forms of discrimination in facilities in a given locality, detrimental to the morale of Negro personnel at a neighboring military base, must cease. The commander should, of course, attempt by means available to him - community committees, persuasion, emphasis of the base's importance to the local economy - to eliminate such practices. In situations in which these efforts are unsuccessful, the commander should develop a plan under which military personnel of all races would be permitted to patronize only those facilities which receive his express approval. One of the requirements for such approval should be a guarantee from the proprietor that the establishment will be open to all servicemen and their dependents without regard to race or color, and that all patrons will receive equal treatment. Qualifying establishments might be issued a display placard or decal.

Approval of an establishment is not, of course, the final step. There must be procedures for dealing with complaints that approved establishments have not fulfilled their guarantees, and for withdrawing approval if such complaints are substantiated.

Should all other efforts fail, the Services must consider a curtailment or termination of activities at certain military installations near communities where discrimination is particularly prevalent. While compelling military considerations must prevail, it is often possible to conduct certain activities at any one of a number of locations. Where this is true, alternative communities' attitudes and practices should be carefully weighed. Such relocation of activities is particularly important at bases that play an important role in the training of new recruits or officers or in the orientation of representatives of foreign governments. The objective here should be preservation of morale, not the punishment of local communities which have a tradition of segregation.

In this context, one further comment is appropriate. The Armed Forces have, in the past, unfortunately not given attention to the important morale factors presented in off-base communities at the time that new installations are opened or changes made in the deployment of forces as between bases. Where tactical considerations

make a variety of sites eligible for consideration, the military decision should, among other things, strenuously emphasize the necessity of obtaining from the communities involved explicit guarantees against the continuation or establishment of patterns of discrimination against members of the Armed Forces and their dependents. At these moments of decision the economic well-being of the community will serve as a potent influence toward assuring the conditions necessary to maintain morale and efficiency

6. Officials Charged with Responsibility for Equality of Treatment and Opportunity On and Off-Base Should be Appointed in the Defense Department and the Services

It is not within the province of this Committee to detail the administrative steps which are obviously necessary to carry out the type of program that has been outlined. Some general recommendations in this regard are, however, indicated.

It will be necessary to establish offices in each Service to monitor developments and to provide assistance. Trained individuals must be in frequent contact with the bases involved. Overall policies must be guided by an official within the Department of Defense whose full-time responsibility is the program for assuring equality of opportunity and treatment for servicemen. This official should have a full-time, biracial staff skilled in dealing with deprivations of

equality, and should, in addition, have access to consultants who have broad experience in dealing with racial discrimination. Procedures must be devised to bring the base commander into close working relationship with other federal bodies concerned with problems in this area, and with local groups working to eliminate forms of discrimination. All of the resources of the Federal Government should be made available to him and brought to bear on the intelligent solution of specific problems.

VI. EFFORTS OF THE USO TO ELIMINATE
SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION

It is appropriate at this juncture to comment briefly on some recent developments affecting the United Services Organization, commonly known as the USO. The USO, which operates some 139 clubs in the United States, is a voluntary civilian agency established for the purpose of assisting the Armed Forces. It does so by providing recreational and entertainment facilities and programs for servicemen in various communities. Operating on a non-profit basis, it collects its funds largely through private donations in a number of communities throughout the United States. No federal funds support the program within the United States. Quite naturally, the USO has a close working relationship with the Department of Defense, which is represented on its Board of Governors.

In January, 1963, the USO Board of Governors determined to implement more aggressively a policy, long established by the USO, designed to assure operation of all its facilities without distinctions based on race, color or national origin. The USO is now in the process of adjusting its program and devising methods to make

maximum service possible on a non-segregated basis to all members of the Armed Forces. It has determined that it will not sponsor, operate or finance anything other than integrated USO facilities in any community after 1963.

This new policy involves various adjustments at clubs in 20 communities located chiefly in Florida, Georgia, Texas, South Carolina and Virginia. Since January a number of clubs have integrated and established new programs. The Department of Defense and the commanders at the installations affected have agreed to cooperate with the USO in carrying out its program. As a result of these measures, it is expected that all local USO clubs will be operating on an integrated basis by the end of the year. This Committee has been in close touch with the USO throughout this program and commends its efforts, which it will continue to observe in the forthcoming months.

VII. THE UNAVAILABILITY OF SUITABLE HOUSING FOR NEGRO
MILITARY PERSONNEL AND RECOMMENDATIONS
FOR IMPROVEMENT

Representatives of the Services are unanimous in characterizing undesirable family housing conditions as the most serious problem affecting the morale of military families of all races. Some measure of the gravity of this problem is suggested by a complete 1962 Department of Defense survey which shows that of the 487,408 military families not living on military installations, 181,635 live in quarters which are below Service standards in some fashion.*/ Bad as the situation is for all personnel, it is much worse for Negroes who face discrimination in housing throughout the United States. Unfortunately, the Department of Defense is not at present acting with vigor or sensitivity in this area.

*/ Of these 181,635 families, 74,250 families live in housing which is substandard because of the condition of the dwelling or inadequate size for the family unit. An additional 27,284 families live at a distance from the base which is considered excessive by Department of Defense standards, and 80,101 live in housing whose cost exceeds the allowance for quarters paid the serviceman. The first figure given does not include 23,859 families who desire to live near the duty station of the service member, but cannot because of the unavailability of adequate housing.

The full scope of housing problems encountered by Negro personnel off base cannot be determined from available figures. These figures are based on an annual questionnaire on family housing which does not include questions identifying the race of the family or the nature of the neighborhood in which the family lives. Neither does the questionnaire inquire into difficulties stemming from discriminatory off-base housing practices. Modification of this questionnaire to develop such information is essential if Negro housing problems, as an important element of over-all housing problems, are to be adequately assessed. In planning government-owned or controlled housing, the information developed from the modified questionnaire should be fully utilized to insure that estimates of the availability of housing in the community and standards for determining the adequacy of such housing gave appropriate weight to discriminatory housing practices.

If this is done, construction of additional government-owned or controlled housing units at installations where housing problems are severe can be properly planned to help alleviate the problem of discrimination in housing. Any new units should, of course, be occupied on an integrated basis as other military housing

is now occupied. Furthermore, in order to provide a fair opportunity for all servicemen eligible for on-base housing to obtain such quarters, it may be desirable in some instances to assign on-base housing by allotting blocks of housing to certain specific enlisted grades, as is now done occasionally.

That little has been done at the base level to increase the amount of housing available to Negro personnel reflects the absence of any helpful policies or guidance from the Services or the Department of Defense dealing with this problem. While discrimination in housing is not susceptible of easy solution, there are a number of steps which, if utilized, can bring improvement in the off-base housing situation.

Some of these steps will be informal in nature. For example, base housing officials and base commanders should stimulate interest among private builders in developing multiple units available without regard to race. Equally important are concerted efforts to develop and maintain lists of private housing available without regard to race, by means of a canvass of units available in the community. Such lists, kept current and open to

all personnel, would help to avoid the embarrassment and wasted effort which results when each Negro serviceman seeking housing has to rely on his own investigation and efforts.

Other steps of a more formal nature should also be vigorously pursued. The leased housing program currently available to the Services has, in the past, been generally limited to providing housing for personnel assigned to jobs whose tactical significance required them to live near their place of duty. Such housing can now be obtained for personnel not holding tactical positions. Under this program, privately-owned units are rented by the Service and assigned as public quarters to military personnel, who then forfeit their quarters allowance. The advantages of such a program include both utilization of the private housing market and speed and flexibility in adapting to changing conditions. This program should be expanded and applied more vigorously in tactical and in non-tactical situations, where necessary, to minimize the effects of discriminatory housing practices. While current directives require that the lessor consent to non-discriminatory assignment, it will naturally be necessary for the Services to insure that the housing to which Negroes are assigned is not in substandard neighborhoods.

Section 810 of the National Housing Act has recently provided for FHA insurance of multiple-family housing to be constructed on the basis of military need. However, the number of units currently authorized is far too small to have any significant effect on Negro housing problems. This program, too, should be enlarged and made more flexible. Here, again, the agencies of government responsible for approving construction of this so-called "810" housing should weigh, with other considerations, the incidence of discrimination in housing near bases.

New housing, to be insured by the Federal Housing Administration, will be subject to the mandatory non-discrimination provisions of the recent Executive Order on equal opportunity in housing. The Services should insure that lists of such housing are made easily available to all personnel at the base level. Any discrimination in this housing should be promptly reported by the base to FHA, the Department of Justice and the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing for proper action.

As an essential part of a meaningful program, base commanders will have to utilize their good offices and those of other involved federal agencies, as directed in the Executive Order, at every opportunity, in order to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices in housing.

Some states and local communities prohibit discrimination in certain types of housing. For example, at least 17 states, including California, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, have laws to this effect. Information on such requirements, including the agency of the state charged with their enforcement, should be made accessible to base commanders and housing officers, who should be responsible for utilizing procedures available through such agencies for eliminating discrimination in housing.

The inexperience of base housing officers in attacking discrimination problems makes it necessary that rather detailed regulations and manuals be prepared, outlining the steps to be taken and the avenues to be explored. In discussing recommendations for a vigorous program, the Committee remarked on the need to impress upon responsible officials that serious, continued effort in dealing with equal opportunity matters is required. Those remarks apply with equal force here.

VIII. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO
MILITARY PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS
AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR
IMPROVEMENT

Many military personnel are stationed at locations where segregation is practiced in the schools of the nearby community. This condition is not only unlawful under the Constitution but it operates against the military program of equal treatment and opportunity and is inconsistent with the patterns of integration which exist on base. Traditionally, the military has not provided on-base schooling in any substantial degree. Where such schooling is provided, it is, of course, integrated and is specifically for dependents of personnel living on base. Thus, the great bulk of school-age dependents of military personnel, whether living on base or off base, attend local public schools.

The extent to which segregated public schooling exists in communities neighboring military installations is suggested by the following statistics.

TABLE IV
SEGREGATED PUBLIC SCHOOLING SERVING
CHILDREN OF SERVICE PERSONNEL

	<u>Army</u>	<u>Navy</u>	<u>Marine Corps</u>	<u>Air Force</u>
Number of installations or activities (with 100 or more assigned military personnel) in areas where public schools are segregated	48	143	4	53
Number of military personnel assigned to such installations and activities	178, 109	58, 500	47, 956	159, 691
Percentage of all service installations of this size in such segregated-school areas	20%	25%	5%	18%

There are probably about 200-210 thousand school-age dependents, including perhaps between 15-20 thousand Negro children, of the military personnel assigned to those bases referred to in Table IV above. Usually the majority of school-age dependent children attend off-base schools. Negro military personnel expressed deep resentment about school segregation to the Committee during its visits. One letter reported that a serviceman had decided to send his wife and child home, leaving the

serviceman alone at a base more than a thousand miles away, to avoid segregated schooling. Undoubtedly, others have done likewise.

The Federal Government has already begun steps to ease the problems. Where children living on base attend off-base locally-operated schools, such schools in some cases receive federal financial assistance. The determination of the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare that segregated schools do not provide "suitable" education for military dependents living on base will result in the establishment of a number of schools on base, with a consequent withdrawal of students and funds from the schools of the community. These on-base schools, which can under existing law serve only children living on base, leave untouched the needs of the large numbers of military dependents who must live off base. Federal financial assistance is also being furnished in some cases to schools serving dependents who live off base, but whose parent works on base; the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare has determined that such payments must, under current law, be continued despite segregation in the schools receiving payment.

Suits initiated by the Department of Justice in the name of the United States, now pending in the courts, will, if successful, compel the integration of other schools serving military dependents, including dependents who live off base. If the right of the United States to bring such suits is upheld, the burden of supporting desegregation suits can be lifted from the shoulders of individual Negro servicemen. But such litigation is by nature long-drawn-out and piecemeal.

The children of our military personnel should not be compelled to wait. Their needs are immediate and should receive more attention. Legislation requiring desegregation of all public schools receiving federal assistance which serve dependents of military personnel is urgently needed. As public schools are desegregated-- through such legislation, through litigation, through efforts of the base commander, or by other means--local commanders should insure that children of Negro military personnel are promptly placed in such recently-desegregated schools. In accomplishing this, the full power and influence of the base commander and of the Service should be placed squarely on the side of Negro parents as they attempt to overcome the administrative barriers which often accompany desegregation. Token integration is only a first step toward

satisfactory progress; efforts must not be considered successful until dispersion of children of Negro military personnel within the local school system is complete.

There are several aspects of military education programs conducted in, by or through civilian schools which also require comment. A variety of opportunities exist by which an enlisted man or officer may improve his education and hence enhance his opportunity for advancement. Efforts have been made by the Armed Forces to provide this education to Negro personnel as well as to others.

However, some of these programs involve direct agreements or contracts between the Services and segregated secondary schools or institutions of higher learning. For example, some of the Army's junior ROTC and National Defense Cadet Corps units are located in segregated secondary schools. All of the Services have ROTC units and fully subsidized professional education programs in segregated institutions of higher learning. These arrangements should not be continued. There is no readily apparent reason why similar arrangements to afford the types of education

here involved cannot be made with institutions which have desegregated. Fortunately, the number of segregated institutions participating in the military education programs is not so large for any Service that the recommended alterations of programs should cause serious difficulties.

The Services also have programs designed to permit full-time college attendance by personnel who need only a semester or a year of college work to qualify for a degree. Some personnel involved in this program are attending segregated institutions. To require these personnel to complete their work at a college other than the one previously attended would cause complications because of the difficulty of transferring credits and the different curricula involved. The Committee does not feel that those limited, special situations need be altered. It does not follow, of course, that personnel with no record of prior attendance at a segregated college should be permitted to complete their degree requirements there when integrated colleges are available.

In addition to these programs all of the Services subsidize in part so-called off-duty education programs. Many Service personnel afford themselves the advantages of such programs.

However, some cannot because of segregation policies at certain institutions. At a few bases, where only white schools are available for this program and yet sufficient numbers of Negro personnel would participate if they could, integrated courses have been arranged on base for all personnel. These examples are highly commendable, and this practice should be required wherever similar segregated conditions exist together with sufficient numbers of interested Negro and white personnel. This practice should result in continuing minimization of use of segregated institutions in the off-duty program.

There are occasions, however, when courses are not arranged because of the limited number of Negroes present. While these determinations are administrative in character and are in no way intended as a form of discrimination, the Committee feels that under no circumstances should any Negro desiring to improve his education be prohibited from doing so because of the unavailability of schools. The very lack of such opportunities will keep Negroes from moving into technical and other non-service occupational areas as mentioned earlier in this report. Where it is not

feasible to establish on-base courses, and off-base schooling is not available, Negroes desiring additional education should be freely given the opportunity for transfer to or temporary duty at other locations.

There are compelling reasons for the Committee's recommendations regarding Service educational programs involving segregated civilian institutions. First, of course, Service funds should not be provided for these programs to state-controlled schools conducted in a manner offensive to a clear Constitutional requirement, particularly one so oft-pronounced. Second, officer and enlisted personnel should not be trained in an environment which fosters among its members a policy opposite to, and at loggerheads with, that of equality of treatment and opportunity for all military personnel. To produce men trained for leadership under such conditions will make the job of correcting current problems more difficult for years to come. Finally, of course, Negro personnel who desire to partake of these educational opportunities should not be barred from doing so, for if they are, their careers and usefulness will be stunted to that extent.

In summary, then, as Armed Forces operations have become more complex, the importance of education of military personnel has

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been accentuated. This trend will undoubtedly continue. Full utilization of available talent - Negro or otherwise - demands that education programs contain no features which limit the opportunities of any personnel.

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS INVOLVING RACIAL DATA

All of the Services have, in one form or another, an indication of each serviceman's race. This information is usually obtained at the time a man enters the Service and accompanies his personnel file, together with other basic data such as educational history, experience, etc. While the Committee believes that the presence of racial information in promotion files is undesirable for the reasons indicated elsewhere in this report, it has been handicapped in its work by an almost complete absence of current statistical reports which would permit measurement of such elementary matters as recruitment, promotion or assignment of Negroes. Such information is lacking in a readily available form at the installation level in many cases, as well as at major command and headquarters levels generally. Special questionnaires and detailed statistical studies undertaken by the Services provide the basis for this report. A substantial amount of time and money have been required to develop them.

The entire problem of racial statistics is a controversial one because they can be used both for proper and improper purposes.

It is the Committee's opinion that sufficient controls on such data can be devised to insure that they are used only for proper purposes. Accordingly, with such controls, the Services should provide for the maintenance of centralized racial data which may be availed of under special circumstances to measure progress in achieving the equality of treatment and opportunity which national policy requires. Racial entries should not be maintained in records which accompany the servicemen, or on other records routinely available to those who rate, assign or promote personnel.

It is essential as Negroes are increasingly recruited into the Armed Forces, that their assignments be consistent with their skills, and that they receive appropriate recognition through promotions. The process has been, and presumably will be, gradual, although far greater acceleration is required than has been exhibited in recent years. Only with the availability of informative statistical information, subject to constant and penetrating review by the appropriate officials, will it be possible to determine, except through great expenditure of time and money, whether the desired progress is being achieved. Such statistics also will point up special areas within this general field which require attention.

X. ASPECTS OF DISCRIMINATION UNDER FURTHER STUDY

This initial report covers a substantial portion, but not all, of the work assigned to the Committee. Three specific areas are now under intensive study and will be the subject of a further report. These involve problems of segregation and discrimination in the National Guard and the Reserves and problems of inequality of treatment and opportunity affecting Negroes at installations overseas. In addition, consideration must be given to areas of possible discrimination and inequality of treatment affecting individuals of other races and creeds serving in the Armed Forces.

While pursuing these matters to completion, the Committee will maintain close contact with the Department of Defense and the Armed Forces on matters covered by this report. The Services are reviewing existing procedures and policies, and there is every prospect that affirmative action will be taken in many of the areas suggested. As these and other steps are taken, their effectiveness will be measured by the Committee during its tenure.

The Committee is mindful that the Armed Forces are an ever-present symbol of our democracy. Both at home and abroad, they must be leaders rather than followers in establishing equal opportunity. To

the extent they practice and preach equality without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, they provide a standard by which communities at home may measure their own conduct and against which citizens of other lands may judge our adherence to the principles of equality we advocate.

Respectfully submitted,

Nathaniel S. Colley
Abe Fortas
Gerhard A. Gesell, Chairman
Louis J. Hector
Benjamin Muse
John H. Sengstacke
Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Laurence I. Hewes, III,
Committee Counsel

June 13, 1963

July 9, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE VICE PRESIDENT

Enclosed is a brief summary of the findings and recommendations of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces which we discussed earlier today. As indicated, the President suggested that this summary be referred to you for your comments and suggestions.

Lee C. White

Enclosure

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
ON
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED FORCES
718 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

13 JUN 1962

Mr. Lee C. White
Assistant Special Counsel
to the President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. White:

Attached are two items which summarize the Committee's initial report to the President. These items are:

1. A summary of the problems and recommended solutions contained in the report, and
2. The report's revised Table of Contents.

The substance of these two items is the bare-bones of the report since it will be about 80 pages long. The report itself will be delivered tomorrow.

If there are any problems on this material, I will be at your disposal to try and clarify it.

Sincerely,


Larry Hewes

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- VIII. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGRO MILITARY PERSONNEL AND DEPENDENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT
- IX. RECOMMENDATIONS INVOLVING RACIAL DATA
- X. ASPECTS OF DISCRIMINATION UNDER FURTHER STUDY

THE EMPLOYEES COMMITTEE
ON
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED FORCES
710 WILSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

COMMUNICATIONS

At the 1964 meeting, the Committee has noted
that the Army is currently taking the steps necessary
to provide equal opportunity for Negro military personnel. A
survey of these problems and recommended solutions, necessarily
including almost all detail, follows:

ARMY EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND PROMOTION

The Problem

The Armed Forces have made an intelligent and far-reaching
attempt to accomplish integration and progress toward equal op-
portunity for Negro personnel.

However, in assignment, assignment and promotion, there has
been a definite barrier to equal opportunity. This has resulted in too
few Negroes serving in the Services, and a maldistribution of Negro man-
power and knowledge to positions of promotion.

Recommended Solutions

1. The Services should improve recruiting techniques to
attract larger numbers of qualified Negro personnel, and should insure
that their assignment is commensurate with their skills.
2. The disproportionate branchings of Negro personnel in cer-
tain Service major fields should be reexamined, those personnel re-
lated, carefully advised about other fields for which they are trainable,
retained accordingly and reassigned.
3. Spot checking of the enlisted promotion procedures should
be initiated to reduce the possibility of discrimination.

4. ... of ...

DISCRIMINATION OFF-BASE BY CIVILIAN COMMUNITIES

Introduction

Many civilian communities near military bases practice segregation against Negro military personnel. This practice has serious effects on troop morale and efficiency. Base and other commanders lack a legitimate directive and consequently ignore these conditions.

Recommendations

Communications between Negro military personnel and base commanders should be improved, in order that remaining disparities in the treatment of Negro personnel within the Armed Forces may be eliminated. Base commanders should be held responsible for discovering and remedying such conditions as they develop, and the specific forms of segregation now found on military bases should be eliminated.

DISCRIMINATION OFF-BASE BY CIVILIAN COMMUNITIES

Introduction

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...the Department of Defense should use their influence and position... to increase the availability of... facilities to Negro military personnel and their families. Furthermore, they should... through instructions... to the... for constant... Moreover, lack of... to give training and... and... of the support of higher echelons... local efforts come under attack.

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5. The Department of Defense should consider termination or curtailment of... facilities which have not achieved sufficient success, and... local discrimination patterns before expanding operations or creating new sites.

6. The Department of Defense and the Services should provide... their organizations... with responsibility for monitoring problems of equal opportunity and developing policies and guidance for those who deal with the problem in the field.

...the ... of ...

1. The Department of Housing and Urban Development should modify its housing ...

... efforts are ...

2. Steps should be taken to ensure that ... of ... available under both the "radical housing" program and the "GI" housing program.

3. The ... should be available without dis- ...

4. Detailed instructions, providing information and instructions on all of the approaches ... housing officers are expected to employ.

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1. [Faint text]
2. [Faint text]
3. [Faint text]
4. [Faint text]

MAINTENANCE OF RACIAL STATISTICS

Introduction

The absence of readily available racial data makes it difficult to measure and evaluate progress toward greater equality of treatment and opportunity.

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THIS DOCUMENT IS THE BEST AVAILABLE
COPY IN THE FILE. EVERY TECHNICAL
EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO ENSURE
LEGIBILITY.

Message

For Official Use Only
AFCVC

From: Headquarters USAF

To: ALZICOM

Some Commanders have raised the question of Air Force policy on participation of members of the Air Force in demonstrations. Our policy is that no Air Force member will be restricted from demonstrating as a private citizen as long as:

- 1) it is done during off duty time,
- 2) the demonstrators wear civilian clothes; and
- 3) there is no imminent danger of injury to Air Force personnel or danger to government property as a result of this demonstration.

Major General John K. Hefter
Assistant Vice Chief of Staff

**Memorandum for The Secretaries of the Military Departments
The Director of the Military Supply Agency
The Administrative Assistant to the Secretary of Defense.**

Questions have been raised as to the policy of the Department of Defense with regard to participation by military personnel in efforts to promote civil rights. This memorandum is being issued in order to provide uniform policy guidance throughout the Services in this matter.

The first obligation of troop commanders is to maintain order and discipline within their Commands so as to achieve maximum readiness for military operation. This requirement is necessarily paramount over the right of the individual to participate in non-military activities.

Subject to this paramount obligation, as determined by the local commander, military personnel may participate in civil rights activities only (1) during hours when they are not required to be present for duty, (2) when they are not in uniform (3) when they are outside of military reservations, (4) and when the activities do not constitute a breach of law and order (breach of the peace and order). They may not participate in such activities when violence is reasonably likely to result.

All personnel should bear in mind the statement of the President that: "... these demonstrations have increasingly endangered lives and property, inflamed emotions and unnecessarily divided communities. They are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination. Violence is never justified; and, while peaceful communication, deliberation and petition to protest continue, I want to caution against demonstrations that lead to violence."

The full text of this memorandum should be communicated to all Commanders

July 15

ARMY STATEMENT

Military personnel are required to conduct themselves off post in such a manner as not to bring discredit upon the service. For guidance to Commanders specifically prohibits picketing in uniform, it neither permits nor prohibits such action or similar action when military personnel are out of uniform and off post. The rights of service personnel as citizens when off post are not abridged by this procedure. Local Commanders, having full awareness of local circumstances and after proper consideration of the rights and welfare of their command are competent to take decisive action reference individual cases of soldier participation in demonstration.

Following additional sentence can be used if necessary:

Should a case arise in which it is alleged that military personnel have violated either local laws or court injunctions, their immediate Commander would be expected to take any appropriate administrative or disciplinary action warranted by the facts and circumstances developed by investigation of the particular case.

F. EDWARD HEBERT
1ST DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

COMMITTEE
ARMED SERVICES

MARY SWANN
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

October 9, 1963

Mr. Gerhard A. Gesell
Covington & Burling
Union Trust Building
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Gesell:

Our mutual friend, C. Horton Smith of New Orleans, has made available to me the exchange of correspondence between you and him regarding the so-called Gesell Report. He has given me permission to use this exchange of correspondence as I see fit and I am seizing that opportunity because I am somewhat puzzled about the statements which you make and which do not conform to the facts.

To begin with, I realize that you did not write the report which bears your name, but at least I thought you had read it. The indications are you did not, because you could not have made the following statement in your letter to Hort: "The Navy attitude is quite different from that which prevailed in 1946 when you were an ACI officer. Indeed, many of the recommendations in the Report including the ones I believe you refer to were already an established part of Navy policy before the Committee was appointed." Now, as a matter of fact, I don't know of anybody, including myself, who vigorously rejects and is most critical of the report, who has challenged the right of the military to make its own rules and regulations on base. The military has been integrated for years under a special executive order by President Truman, but never has the military been ordered by executive order to advocate and influence social reforms off base.

While I admit I am suspect in anything I might say because of the geographical location of my district, I do not approach my criticism of the report on the basis of segregation or integration. I criticize the report and assail it because of the misuse of the Department of Defense and its military components

Mr. Gerhard A. Gesell - Page 2

in putting into effect that which has not been authorized by the Congress.

Now I believe in being specific and dealing in facts, and I can say to you without equivocation or hesitation, that to the date of this writing I have not found, not only in the Navy but in the Air Force and the Army, a single officer who concurs and favors this report. On the contrary, every man in uniform that I have talked with is horrified and shaken by the use which the military is being put. I am amazed that you make the further statement: "You are mistaken in assuming that we proposed any preferential treatment for Negro members of the Armed Forces." It would be well if you would read the report and place this statement against the statements made page after page. If the proposals of the report were as you say, "...simply designed to eliminate aspects of discrimination which impair the effectiveness of the military in carrying out its important mission." then I assure you the exact opposite has been the result. I have never known the morale of the military to be so affected negatively by a proposal as in this instance. It is the most destructive document that has ever been issued and its affect upon the military has been appalling.

Now as to the Navy's position which you indicate in your letter is favorable to this report, I call your attention to these facts. In the official position of the Navy submitted to the Secretary of Defense, at his direction. This report is an official report submitted to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower in a memorandum dated 10 July 1963, subject: Report of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces, and reference: (a) SECDEF Memo of 27 Jun 1963, and it is most interesting to note that this report says:

"The Navy rejects the contention that Negro officers have been discriminated against when it comes time for promotion. The Navy stated that it has been its experience that its Negro officers have achieved marked success even though the competition is stiff.

The Navy rejects any implication that officers serving on a promotion board would, contrary to their statutory oaths, practice bias.

The Navy rejects the Committee's recommendation that photographs and racial designations be eliminated from officers' records jackets. The Navy stated that such

Mr. Gerhard A. Gesell - Page 3

photographs are necessary, and that Promotion Board members are required by statutory oath to perform their duties without prejudice.

The Navy rejects the contention that new techniques be developed to assure that Promotion Board members are free from bias. The Navy stated that the oath required of all officers serving on selection boards is all that is considered necessary.

The Navy rejects the suggestion that a detailed manual be developed for officers handling alleged discrimination grievances. The Navy said that in view of the ready availability of policy directives in this area, little purpose would be served by the issuance of such a manual.

The Navy rejects the Committee's suggestion that special consideration for promotion and career advancement be given to officers who promote integration. The Navy stated that officers should be rated on how they manage their entire commands, and not selected segments of it.

The Navy rejects the recommendation that the history of Negro participation in the Armed Forces and the alleged problems which he confronts be made a part of the curriculum at all levels of officer and command training. The Navy stated that such an action would only accentuate inter-racial problems.

The Navy rejects the suggestion that economic sanctions be leveled at off-base establishments which practice segregation. The Navy pointedly stated that public accommodations legislation is in the hands of the Congress. It added that the Command-Community relationship should not be abandoned for the economic boycott type action.

The Navy flatly rejects the suggestion that curtailment or termination of activities at certain military installations be considered as an ultimate lever of force. The Navy tersely commented that base siting is based upon military requirements.

The Navy rejects the recommendation that offices be established in each Service for the purpose of handling cases of alleged discrimination. The Navy said the present staffing is considered adequate.

Mr. Gerhard A. Gesell - Page 4

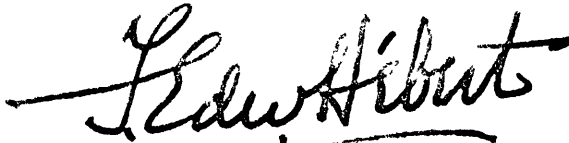
The Navy rejects the suggestion that personnel working toward a college degree be required to attend integrated colleges in all instances. The Navy said if a student covers his own tuition costs, the choice of colleges should be primarily his own. When the Government covers the cost of tuition, the Navy stated, it will endeavor to be responsive to the desires of the individual when it is not in conflict with the best interests of the Government.

I might add that the reports of the Air Force and the Army is consistent with the negative attitude of the Navy towards the very important proposals to which so many Americans object and which I have underscored.

I assure you that it is my intention to give this letter the greatest circulation possible because it exemplifies and clearly demonstrates the complete lack of knowledge and the misleading, inaccurate statements which have come from you whose name the report bears, and who must assume the responsibility for its contents even though not written by you.

I shall anticipate your appearance before the House Committee on Armed Services when the bill introduced by the Honorable Carl Vinson of Georgia negating the damaging directive, which has been issued by the Department of Defense as a result of the report which bears your name, is considered. At that time I anticipate asking you many pertinent questions which I hope you will be prepared to answer.

Yours very truly,



F. Edw. Hébert

FEH:ms

August 29, 1963

C. Horton Smith
P.O. Box 4115
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Dear Hort:

What a surprise to hear from you. Your letter was on my desk when I got back from vacation the other day. It is not a surprise that someone differs with the Committee Report. As part of our work we spent a great deal of time talking with Navy officers and visited some Navy bases. The Navy attitude is quite different from that which prevailed in 1946 when you were an ACI officer. Indeed, many of the recommendations in the Report including the ones I believe you refer to were already an established part of Navy policy before the Committee was appointed. You are mistaken in assuming that we proposed any preferential treatment for Negro members of the Armed Forces. Our proposals were simply designed to eliminate aspects of discrimination which impair the effectiveness of the Military in carrying out its important mission. I did not recognize the Report from the tone of the newspaper articles.

If you are ever up this way I hope you look in and we will have a real chat. My son graduated from Harvard and my youngest girl will be a senior at Smith next year. Time sure does fly.

Best regards,

GAG:ede

C. HORTON SMITH

POST OFFICE BOX 4115

NEW ORLEANS 18, LA.

August 5, 1963

(Dictated August 2)

Dear Gerry:

It's been a long time since Mrs. Allen tiptoed up the stairs at America House to stop Gesell and Smith from rough housing. You out weighed me in those days but I imagine I've caught and passed you since then. Incidentally, my oldest son graduated from P.A. in 1954 and was captain of football.

During WWII I was an A.C.I. officer in the Navy and since 1946 have continued my interest through the Navy League of the United States of which I am a national director and member of the National Advisory Council. Last week I read the "Gesell Report" and have seen the first proposed directives implementing it. To me it is shocking that you could lend your name to a document recommending the use of our armed forces for political purposes. Regardless of the civil rights issue, it is a most improper use of the military establishment and could certainly lead to greater abuses, even to influencing elections. If you believe in equality of opportunity regardless of race, color, or creed, I will go along with you 100%. However, equality per se is not based on race or color or creed but on the individual and whether or not he rates it and can accept the responsibilities that go with it. (Incidentally I sometimes wonder, "equal to what?") The Negro is certainly entitled to the same opportunities to improve himself as a citizen of any other color, but he is not entitled to special treatment simply because his skin is a different shade than yours or mine.

I am enclosing a number of articles, editorials, and letters that have appeared in the Times-Picayune since the Department of Defense leaked your report to someone down here. You would expect them to be anti-Gesell. New Orleans, however, is probably more integrated than New York

Mr. G. A. Gesell

2.

August 5, 1963

City or Washington, D. C. It is a sophisticated town and would be less bothered about the color issue in your report than in the flagrant misuse of the armed services recommended by you. I believe you will get just as much of a negative reaction from above the M-D line as you will from below it.

Gerry, I think you've been taken.

Sincerely,



Mr. Gerhard Alden Gesell
Union Trust Building
Washington, D. C.

**NEWS RELEASE
PLEASE NOTE DATE**



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
Washington 25, D. C.

FOR THE PRESS:

July 26, 1963

NO. 1056-63
OXford 53201
53176

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, as requested on June 21, 1963, has reported to the President following his review of the recommendations of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces.

In his memorandum, Secretary McNamara states that he has issued a directive stating Department of Defense policy with respect to off-base discrimination.

Copies of both the Secretary of Defense Memorandum to the President dated July 24, 1963 and the directive referred to in this memorandum are attached.

- E N D -

THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON

24 July 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

On June 21 you sent me a copy of the initial report of your Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces and asked that I review the document and report on the recommendations within thirty days. This memorandum responds to that request.

In its year of work the Committee observed racial imbalances and vestiges of racial discrimination within the Armed Forces themselves. Nevertheless, the Committee found that in the main, racial equality is a reality on military bases today. The Department of Defense will eliminate the exceptions and guard the continuing reality.

It is to the Department's off-base responsibilities that the Committee has devoted the bulk of its report. In eloquent terms the Committee has described the nature and pervasiveness of off-base discrimination against Negro servicemen and their families, the divisive and demoralizing impact of that discrimination, and the general absence of affirmative, effective action to ameliorate or end the off-base practices affecting nearly a quarter of a million of our servicemen.

Our military effectiveness is unquestionably reduced as a result of civilian racial discrimination against men in uniform. The Committee report has made this point with great clarity. With equal clarity it demonstrates that the Department of Defense has in the past only imperfectly recognized the harm flowing from off-base discrimination. That imperfect recognition has in turn meant the lack of a program to correct the conditions giving rise to the harm.

The Committee report contained recommendations for such a program. Consistently therewith I have issued a directive explicitly stating Department of Defense policy with respect to off-base discrimination and requiring:

- preparation of detailed directives, manuals and regulations making clear the leadership responsibility both on and off-base and containing guidance as to how that responsibility is to be discharged.

- institution in each service of a system for regularly monitoring and measuring progress in this field.

We are in the process of establishing a staff element within my office to give full time to such matters.

While the foregoing is in accord with the recommendations of the Committee, the details of the program necessarily will be found in the manuals and regulations to be issued as a result of my directive.

The initial Committee report contained many specific recommendations on recruitment, assignment, promotion, techniques for eliminating on and off-base discrimination, housing, education and recording of racial data. Many of these have been or will be put into effect, but some require more study and on a few we have reservations. These will be discussed further with the Committee.

The recommendations on sanctions do require special comment. The Committee suggests using a form of the off-limits sanction when, despite the commander's best efforts with community leaders, relentless discrimination persists against Negro servicemen and their families.

Certainly the damage to military effectiveness from off-base discrimination is not less than that caused by off-base vice, as to which the off-limits sanction is quite customary. While I would hope that it need never be put in effect, I agree with the Committee that a like sanction against discrimination must be available. It should be applied, however, only with the prior approval of the Secretary of the Military Department concerned.

The Committee also suggested the possibility of closing bases near communities where discrimination is particularly prevalent. I do not regard this as a feasible action at this time.

In your letter transmitting the Committee report you wrote that "Discriminatory practices are morally wrong wherever they occur -- they are especially inequitable and iniquitous when they inconvenience and embarrass those serving in the Armed Services and their families."

Guided by those words and the report of your Committee on Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces, the military Departments will take a leadership role in combatting discrimination wherever it affects the military effectiveness of the men and women serving in defense of this country.

/s/Robert S. McNamara
/t/Robert S. McNamara



July 26, 1963

NUMBER 5120.36

ASD(M)

Department of Defense Directive

SUBJECT Equal Opportunity in the Armed Forces

Reference: DoD Directive 5120.27, "Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower)," June 7, 1963

I. POLICY

It is the policy of the Department of Defense to conduct all of its activities in a manner which is free from racial discrimination, and which provides equal opportunity for all uniformed members and all civilian employees irrespective of their color.

Discriminatory practices directed against Armed Forces members, all of whom lack a civilian's freedom of choice in where to live, to work, to travel and to spend his off-duty hours, are harmful to military effectiveness. Therefore, all members of the Department of Defense should oppose such practices on every occasion, while fostering equal opportunity for servicemen and their families, on and off-base.

II. RESPONSIBILITIES

A. Office of the Secretary of Defense

1. Pursuant to the authority vested in the Secretary of Defense and the provisions of the National Security Act of 1947, as amended, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) is hereby assigned responsibility and authority for promoting equal opportunity for members of the Armed Forces.

In the performance of this function he shall (a) be the representative of the Secretary of Defense in civil rights matters, (b) give direction to programs that promote equal opportunity for military personnel, (c) provide policy guidance and review policies, regulations and manuals of the military departments, and (d) monitor their performance through periodic reports and visits to field installations.

2. In carrying out the functions enumerated above, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) is authorized to establish the Office of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Civil Rights).

B. The Military Departments

1. The military departments shall, with the approval of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower), issue appropriate instructions, manuals and regulations in connection with the leadership responsibility for equal opportunity, on and off-base, and containing guidance for its discharge.
2. The military departments shall institute in each Service a system for regularly reporting, monitoring and measuring progress in achieving equal opportunity on and off-base.

C. Military Commanders

Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity

Jul 26, 63
5120.36


for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours. In discharging that responsibility a commander shall not, except with the prior approval of the Secretary of his military department, use the off-limits sanction in discrimination cases arising within the United States.

III. IMPLEMENTATION

Not later than 15 August 1963 the military departments shall forward for the approval of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower) an outline plan for implementing this Directive.

IV. EFFECTIVE DATE

This Directive is effective immediately.


Secretary of Defense

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT

619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

LI 4-8138

MEMORANDUM

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

PURPOSE: Mutual aid and co-operation between civil rights groups and military base commanders.

Background

The policy of equal treatment and opportunity for all members of the Armed Forces has been firmly avowed and in the main conscientiously practiced within the military since President Truman's Executive Order No. 9951 of July 26, 1948. At that time, the President declared, ". . . there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, creed or national origin." In the fifteen years that have passed, the Armed Forces, owing in part to its hierarchical structure and rigid codes of discipline, have to a large extent been able to implement Truman's order. On-base facilities have been desegregated. Nevertheless, in many areas of the country, particularly in the South, local discrimination laws and customs severely restrict and humiliate Negro service men attempting to use off-base facilities. A Negro captain on a weekend "liberty pass" may find that he is not really at "liberty" but at bay in a hostile community that subjects him to constant disgrace and forces him to ride in segregated buses, eat in segregated restaurants, drink in segregated bars and attend segregated movie theaters. If he lives off-base, even his housing is likely to be segregated and unsuitable by military standards. As a final slap, he must send his children to segregated and inferior schools. Clearly, all this treatment places an unwarranted burden not only upon the persons affected, but also upon the military installation and its commander who is responsible for the welfare, happiness and morale of the men under his command.

In recent years, several memoranda issued by the Department of Defense have sought to deal with the problem of segregated off-base facilities. Little, however, in the way of positive, affirmative action has occurred. In part, this situation has resulted from the absence of strong imperatives from the Department of Defense, lack of information regarding off-base conditions, and obstinacy from the local community.

Up to the present time, base commanders have felt that their duties were primarily restricted to the base itself. They have not conceived it within their sphere of activity to muddle with the local racist laws and customs governing the off-base community. They have been content to maintain harmonious relations with the town by upholding the status quo. Usually this has been done by seeking advice from the local Lions or Rotary club. Since in the South these organizations are segregated, the commander thus has access only to the views of the white community. Even if the commander is personally inclined towards a policy of racial non-discrimination, he often lacks the information necessary for him to get in contact with the Negro community.

Recent Military Directives Dealing with Desegregation

In the light of recent directives issued by the Department of Defense, it has become highly advantageous for civil rights groups located in communities boarding military bases to make contact with the commander and attempt to convince him that it is to his advantage and the advantage of his men that town facilities be desegregated. Cooperation between civil rights groups and base commanders is by no means inconsistent with the military's position on segregation. On June 19, 1961, a memorandum from the Department of Defense stated that, ". . . in those areas where unsegregated facilities are not readily available to members of the Armed Forces in adjacent or surrounding communities, it is the policy of the Department of Defense to provide such facilities on military installations to the

extent possible. In addition: local commanders are expected to make every effort to obtain such facilities off base for members of the Armed Forces through command-community relations committees." (emphasis added) An "instruction" issued by the Secretary of the Navy further states that local commanders are "expected, through command-community relations committees, to make continuing efforts towards obtaining unsegregated facilities off base for members of the Armed Forces. In these endeavors, the local commanders should ensure that effective liaison is established with influential local community organizations... Membership of the command-community relations committees should include local leaders from all ethnic groups." (emphasis added) Highly pertinent is a June 21, 1963, directive from the President to the Defense Department stating that military base commanders are expected to take the "leadership" in the drive to desegregate off-base facilities. Implementation of the above military directives hinges upon the cooperation of the military with civil rights groups. To ensure this cooperation, the following steps are offered as a guide:

- 1) Contact the local commander by letter. (Be sure to make a carbon copy.)
- 2) Inform him that your group substantially represents the interests of the local Negro community, and that you are interested in aiding and assisting him in any efforts designed to lessen racial discrimination in off-base facilities to which his men are subject.
- 3) State that it is your understanding that command community relations committees have been suggested by the Secretary of Defense in his June 19, 1961 memorandum, and that it is your belief that many of the humiliating experiences of Negro military men could be lessened if the committee included persons of all ethnic groups within the community.
- 4) Offer concrete suggestions as to how you and your group might be of assistance. For example, you might offer to help military personnel find suitable off-base housing. This will probably be of particular interest to the commander in light of Secretary of Defense McNamara's March 8, 1963 memorandum stating, "all leases for family housing which are executed on behalf of the United States government pursuant to the authority contained in Section 515, Public Law 161-84, as amended, . . . shall contain the following clause: 'It is understood and agreed that the government will assign the designed premises to military personnel in accordance with Executive Order No. 11063, dated Nov. 20, 1962,

which provides that housing and related facilities shall be available without discrimination among tenants because of race, color, creed or national origin."

- 5) If the commander does not reply, or if he refuses to give any consideration to your suggestions and offers, draft a complaint to the Secretary of Defense, stating your position in the Negro community, your willingness to assist the local commander, and his refusal to cooperate. Be sure to enclose a copy of your original letter to the commander and a copy of his reply, if any.

In all cases relations with the local military establishment must be executed with a good deal of diplomacy. Threats of demonstrations and sit-ins may only encourage a withdrawal on the part of the commander. As of the present, he is not under military orders to form committees. In the past, his only contact has been with the white community. If for any reason he feels that you or your *group* is irresponsible, he will continue to have contact only with the white community. If, however, cordial relations are established, the benefits to the civil rights movement could be great indeed.

- 1) The Negro community would have equal access to a forum consisting of influential whites and under the auspices of an outsider who has the prestige and status that command the respect of the white community. Moreover, the command-community relations committees would give Negroes a chance to help the commander in his efforts to desegregate off-base facilities.
- 2) Many bases have non-utilized buildings and rooms. It is very possible that local commanders might allow these facilities to be used for voter registration classes, meetings, seminars, etc. This would give the Negro community a place of assembly free from harassment.
- 3) Almost all military bases of any size have trucks and buses. It is again highly conceivable that these might be used for transportation to the registrar's office, the polls or to the base for meetings. This would help to eliminate many of the dangers Negroes have encountered.
- 4) Recently the Department of Defense has declared that it is acceptable with the military if off-duty military personnel participate in peaceful demonstrations. If service men do demonstrate, it is very likely that some of them may be arrested by the local white authorities. The military may then be forced to use its lawyers and money in order to secure the release of these men. However, military lawyers arguing for the release of military service men will also be directly arguing the case of all demonstrators arrested. Thus, Negro civilians may find that they can seek the legal advice and counsel of military lawyers.

- 5) Most bases have a variety of recreational facilities, i.e. swimming pools, theaters, etc. It is possible that some of these might be made available to the public on certain days. Commanders might also be persuaded to allow the use of mimeograph machines, typewriters, educational films, etc.
- 6) Large bases may have radio stations or inter-base communications facilities. These might be used to advertise civil rights activities in town and to encourage off-duty servicemen to participate in demonstrations.
- 7) Finally, and perhaps most important, the Negro community may soon find that the military is taking an active part in the desegregation of off-base schools, restaurants, recreational areas, etc. by:
 - a. instituting law suits in conjunction with the Justice Department.
 - b. declaring segregated establishments off limits to all military men, and
 - c. placing economic sanctions upon town merchants who have dealings with the base.

Cooperation between civil rights groups and the military depends to a large degree upon the individual commander and his personal attitude towards the question. Nevertheless, whether the local commander is willing to help or not, it is important to record with him the existence of your group. Even more important will be the complaints you register with the Secretary of Defense. For within the next two months it is expected that local commanders will be ordered to 1) set up biracial command-community relations committees; 2) use "persuasion" as far as possible; 3) take more positive steps in securing desegregation of off-base facilities.

Complaints dealing with the military should be sent to:

1. Secretary of Defense McNamara, Pentagon
- X 2. Lee White, Special Assistant to the President, White House, Washington 25, D.C.

ADDENDUM

Within the month and a half since the first part of this memo was written, events in the Defense Department have proceeded at a rapid rate. The public controversy and the concomitant military action was spurred by the barbed remarks of Gov. Wallace. On July 15 Wallace charged that "The Air Force is encouraging its personnel to engage in street demonstrations with rioting mobs and is even offering training credits as an inducement." To many people within the Civil Rights Movement the Wallace statement came as surprising but happy news. However, to those in the Defense Department the wording of the statement was a point of embarrassment. Thus the following day Secretary of Defense McNamara, in an attempt to clarify the Department's position, issued orders restricting military participation in racial demonstrations. He declared that it would be inappropriate to participate in such demonstrations when the Department was implementing the proposals of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity of the Armed Forces. The order, however, was not designed to represent a complete ban on participation in racial demonstrations. The Secretary indicated that it would be up to the local commander in each instance to decide whether to permit demonstrations.

Quite naturally the military does not want to become involved in the social problems of the country. The Defense Department "has only one mission, to be combat ready to meet and defeat any military threat to this nation's security." However, when national social problems affect the military preparedness and moral fiber of the men who must defend the country, then the Defense Department believes it has a legitimate cause for concern. Thus on July 26 a directive was issued by the Department stating that "every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." The directive went on to state that "instructions, manuals and regulations" would be drawn up to help guide commanders in this new area of their activity. And finally the Department created a new office of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Civil Rights. This post has subsequently been filled by Mr. Alfred Fitt.

Within the period of a month, certainly not more than two months, all commanders in the U.S. will be given explicit directions through "instructions, manuals, and regulations" on how to handle racial discrimination in their area. (One of the most powerful weapons commanders may ultimately rely on is the use of the "off-limits" sanction. This is the device commonly employed to restrict off-base vice.)

The military has finally recognized that it cannot afford to disregard the inequalities facing Negro service men. It

has begun to take part in an active fight for the equal treatment of all citizens of America. Hopefully it will be as vigorous in this fight as it has been in others.

Complaints dealing with the inactivity of local commanders should be sent to:

Alfred Fitt, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense
(Civil Rights)
Pentagon
Washington, D.C.