

make a variety of sites eligible for consideration, the military decision should, among other things, emphatically 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

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, states such as

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

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

servicemen 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

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

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

been maintained. 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.

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

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Burke Marshall

DATE: May 29, 1963

FROM : Louis F. Oberdorfer

LEO:lin

SUBJECT: President's Committee on Equal Opportunity
in the Armed Forces

As far as I can observe, the only important legislative demand which may possibly embarrass the President is one which would require desegregation of all public schools receiving Federal assistance in order to serve dependents of military personnel. All the other recommendations seem very practical suggestions for increased effort with respect to employment of military personnel, provisions for their off-base recreation, elimination of segregation in nearby communities, and improvement of housing for military dependents.