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DOD Dir. 5200.9, Sept. 27, 1958  
NMW by Lee MO date MAR 1964

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Chapter \_\_\_\_

## THE GILLEM BOARD

### I

In 1940, when the Selective Service Act was passed, the War Department had, as we have seen, a social rather than a military policy for the utilization of Negro troops. At that time the Army stated clearly that ~~the~~ Negro troop strength would be roughly in proportion to the Negro civilian population; that Negroes would not be intermingled with whites, and Negro units would not be <sup>combined</sup> ~~used~~ with white units in the same regiment; ~~and that~~ Negro officers would be assigned <sup>only</sup> to Negro units.

Much less clearly formulated, however, were the Army's plans for the effective military utilization of its 10 per cent Negro strength. The Army declared in its policy statement of October 16, 1940, that Negro organizations would be established in each major

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little forward planning had been done on the <sup>types</sup> ~~kind~~ of Negro units which would be formed, or even on a rough division of Negro troops between the branches. And although the Army promised Negroes the opportunity to qualify for Reserve commissions when officer candidate schools were opened, it had not considered how it might make most effective use of ~~those~~ <sup>skilled</sup> skilled Negroes, who had been trained between wars in increasing number by American industry and whose skills almost certainly would not find maximum employment within the traditional limitations of Negro units.

In the next five years, the Army had no time to develop a new and considered Negro policy. Driven by the pace and importunity of events, it improvised rather than planned; and as might be expected in a field where custom and prejudice obscured the lesson of experience, improvisation was based largely on practices which had been tried in the past and found wanting.

It is true that, under the pressure of Negro public opinion and

the prodding of the McCloy committee, the Army made significant advances in its Negro policy. Such were the decisions to train Negro pilots, to

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conduct its officer training program on an unsegregated basis, and to abolish the racial restrictions on the use of post exchanges and recreational facilities. There is no question that in the over-all utilization of Negro strength, the Army improved upon its record in World War I. While the Army ignored the provision of the Selective Service Act requiring non-discrimination in the <sup>induction and</sup> training of selectees and insisted on racial quotas in its call-ups <sup>and segregated training</sup> <sup>(finally)</sup> it did increase its <sup>after</sup> ~~in response to the~~ repeated protests by Selective Negro quotas ~~upon the insistence of the War Department~~. Service. Finally, the circulation <sup>by the</sup> of War Department <sup>of</sup> letters and pamphlets on the training and command of Negro troops undoubtedly helped to <sup>reduce</sup> ~~counteract~~ some of the misunderstanding and prejudice which had always hampered the effective use of Negro units.

Despite these advances and concessions in policy, the basic Army policy remained unchanged throughout the war. The economy of national <sup>The Army conceded,</sup> resources <sup>military</sup> required that ~~the Army make~~ <sup>be made</sup> use of Negro manpower comprising

10 per cent of the nation's manpower potential; <sup>but, The Army insists,</sup> military efficiency

required that this Negro strength be employed only in racial units.

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Regarded from a strictly military viewpoint, this policy, on paper,

was defensible. <sup>But, also</sup> Regarded from a strictly military <sup>view</sup> standpoint, this

policy, in practice, <sup>soon</sup> revealed the same flaws and contradictions <sup>in World War I as</sup> ~~that~~

it had in World War I. In total disregard of all the manpower studies

prepared between wars in the War College, the Army <sup>again</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>two</sup> formed Negro combat

divisions. The battle record of one of these divisions was not distinguished.

Only part of the other division was ever committed to battle, with

indifferent results. Thus, while the Army maintained that the Negro

must bear his proportionate share of the casualties, in point of fact

he never did.

It is hardly surprising that in the midst of war the Army did not

<sup>venture</sup> ~~carry~~ a complete revolution in its Negro troop policy. The immediate

demands of war induced an attitude of concentration rather than <sup>experiment and</sup> ~~reformation~~ in <sup>personnel policies.</sup>

And insofar as ~~as~~ social factors enter into the military equation, it

<sup>during war time</sup> is probably asking too much to expect the Army to break sharply with



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except under the press of military necessity.  
custom, But considering only the over-riding demands of military efficiency,

it is to be wondered that the Army did not question a policy which in

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practice over two wars had proved seriously ineffective. Yet, oddly  
enough, it was on the very ground of efficiency that the Army continued  
to defend its Negro policy. The one experiment of <sup>combining</sup> ~~integrating~~ Negro troops  
<sup>closely</sup> with white troops -- the use of Negro platoons with white companies  
in the Battle of the Bulge -- might have been expected to raise some  
doubt of traditional policy. On the contrary, the success of this  
experiment was set down to "special circumstances" -- the voluntary  
recruitment of the men for front line duty, the relatively high <sup>number of</sup> calibre  
<sup>non-commissioned officers among</sup> of the volunteers, etc. -- and the whole <sup>experiment</sup> ~~thing~~ was dismissed as "untypical."  
This was undeniably true, but for the very reason that it was untypical  
it contained a lesson for the future. Would Negro <sup>American</sup> soldiers fight better  
in close association with their fellow white Americans? Would more  
like ~~better~~ qualified whites,  
intelligent, ~~better~~ qualified Negroes make better soldiers than unqualified  
ones? These were the questions which <sup>should have been</sup> ~~were~~ raised by the experiment of  
the Negro platoons in white companies. But as the Army neglected to

raise them, they never received an answer.

It is true, ~~of course~~, that these questions had been raised

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during the war by some officers, some of whom even went so far as to counsel the tearing apart of the 92nd Division in order to give it <sup>approximately</sup> the same distribution by mental grades as a representative white division. Other officers had recommended the dispersal of Negro troops -- one or two to a squad -- throughout white units. But it is not unfair to say, that as V-J Day approached, the Army still rested <sup>its</sup> ~~its~~ defense of its Negro troop policies on the same argument it had used in 1940 -- "This policy has proven satisfactory over a long number of years." ~~an~~ argument which had been coug~~ht~~ted by military results in two wars.

## II

If the Army was content that its basic Negro policy -- despite the record of combat inefficiency in theatre reports and the ever-growing list of disorders and riots in camps within the Zone of Interior -- was still proving satisfactory, civilian officials in the War Department, diverted who were constantly ~~tasked~~ from more urgent tasks to deal with racial

matters, had reached the conclusion by the middle of the war that, while a drastic overhaul of Army racial policy was impracticable during the conflict, the Army <sup>must</sup> ~~would~~, on the basis of its experience, ~~have to~~

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review that policy immediately upon the conclusion of the war, in order that "a definite, workable policy" for the utilization of Negro troops might be formulated for the postwar military establishment.

Because the Army, in spite of the numerous studies on Negro utilization undertaken by the General Staff and the Army War College between wars, "was unprepared to deal with the large number of Negroes who entered the service under the provisions of the Selective Service Act," Assistant Secretary McCloy, as was noted in the <sup>preceding</sup> ~~same~~ chapter, had proposed to the Special Troop Policy Committee as early as September 1, 1944, that the General Staff "review existing War Department policies regarding such participation and that this review be based upon a study which will include all our experiences during the present war, both in this country and abroad." Although ~~Assistant Secretary~~ McCloy had recommended that this study be started immediately, it was not until

January 10, 1945, that the Special Troop Policy Committee approved

this study and Secretary Stimson initialled the Committee's recommendation.

*Another*  
Four months ~~is~~ <sup>passed</sup> before ~~a letter~~ <sup>The War Department</sup> a letter dispatched to the various

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commands throughout the world, ~~by the Adjutant General~~, requesting a report on the performance of Negro troop units with recommendations on postwar policy.

During the summer of 1945, while ~~the~~ theater commands were assembling their data in response to the questionnaire sent out by the <sup>Special</sup> ~~Adjutant~~ <sup>Planning Division</sup> General (the results of which are described in Chapter \_\_), officials in Mr. McCloy's office were devoting considerable thought to the problem of the postwar utilization of Negro troops. Much of this thinking found its way into interoffice memoranda.

(civilian aide to Secretary Stimson,)  
~~Thus~~, Mr. Truman Gibson, in a long memo to McCloy on August 8

stated that, in the face of the unchanging Army attitude toward the utilization of Negroes, "there is growing doubt among representatives Army officers whether the Army is making the most efficient use of

the 10-12% of available manpower represented by Negroes." Gibson

complained that ~~in~~ all the studies conducted prior to 1940 took their start from the same basic premises, namely, that Negroes are unadaptable to modern combat; that they are, and must remain, second-class fighting

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material because of inherent moral and mental inferiority; that <sup>they</sup> Negroes cannot be made into good officer material for the same reasons; and that consequently Negro troops should be used sparingly in combat, and then only in racially segregated units.

None of these earlier studies, <sup>(Gibson wrote,)</sup> <sup>The</sup> had inquired into two most relevant questions: (1) Whether the policy of segregation itself had any bearing upon the performance of Negro troops; and (2) What <sup>was</sup> the effect of placing together in one organization large numbers of men whose AGCT scores are low." Gibson had little faith that the questionnaire recently <sup>sent out</sup> to the several commands would ~~elicit such extraordinary~~ provide a very reliable guide for future <sup>in his opinion,</sup> policy because the questions, ~~sent out~~ were leading in nature, premised and not framed to on the old assumptions, ~~with assumptions~~ elicit opinion on the effect

of segregation and the concentration of low score men in ~~separately~~ combat units.

Therefore, Gibson proposed that, before formulating a postwar policy, the Army should give some consideration to: (1) the present policy of segregation and its possible effect on military efficiency;

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(2) the advisability of committing to combat racial units with 83% of their strength in <sup>SCT</sup> grades IV and V, the two lowest mental classifications; (3) Army experience during the war with unsegregated hospitals, officer candidate schools, and the integrated <sup>Negro</sup> platoons in Europe; (4) the advances in formal education and industrial skills made by Negroes since World War I; and (4) the Navy's experience with <sup>its new</sup> integration policy, since this represented "a clean break with prior Naval policy and experience," and a "more profound change than any that has been adopted by the Army."

Having read Gibson's memo, Colonel Davidson Sommers, <sup>who was</sup> ~~assigned to the~~ assigned <sup>worked with the</sup> to the Assistant Secretary's office and who had ~~worked with the~~ Committee on Special Troop Policies, ~~participated in~~ wrote to Mr. McCloy on August 28

as follows:

" . . . . It is pretty well recognized that in this field the Army has not found the right answer in terms of most efficient use of available manpower.

"I think two things are needed. The first is the designation of a first-class officer or group of officers of high rank with the special assignment of planning for the use of Negro troops. In the past, the subject has been rather unpopular and change has taken place as a result of yielding to pressures rather than on the basis of forward planning. The officers in G-1 and ASF assigned to deal with

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the problem have had relatively low rank and have not, in my opinion, been particularly qualified for the job. Moreover, for them it was merely one duty among a number of others. The higher-ranking officials who have had to deal with the problem have not been able to give it the attention it deserves. Although Gibson has made a number of valuable contributions, he is not in a position to have any really strong influence on policies. No one person has had the responsibility, the authority, and the opportunity to do the job and as a result it has been neglected.

"I think that the present time would be appropriate for the designation of a really well-qualified officer or group of officers to study the subject.

"Appointment of a representative civilian group, not all Negro, to advise the selected officer would also be desirable.

"However, I do not think that a mere study, even by a highly qualified officer would be sufficient. Some indication of direction from high Army levels is needed as a basis for the study and I think this requires a basic change in policy. I recommend that the basic Army policy be changed to call for eventual non-segregation and assignment of Negro troops solely on the basis of ability and that the designated officer be directed to plan on this basis.

"I recognize that this cannot be accomplished at once or a hundred per cent. No one can claim, in view of the table of AGCT scores shown on Page 3 of Gibson's memorandum, that Negroes in general now make as good



soldiers as whites in general. It is not necessary to resort to racial theories to explain the difference; lack of educational, occupational and social opportunities is a sufficient explanation. The fact remains, however, that if Negro troops are assigned on the basis of qualifications, many service units will have sixty or seventy per cent Negroes. Those cases will present

1. The table referred to is as follows:

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Negroes</u>
AGCT Grade I	6.6	.03
Grade II	29.1	3.4
Grade III	32.6	12.7
Grade IV	25.8	45.6
Grade V	5.9	38.0

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a special problem and, where the proportion of Negroes is as large as that, it will presumably be necessary to make the unit entirely Negro.

"This is the kind of problem with which the study can deal, given a basic direction. Inquiry can be made as to the areas in which non-segregation can be attempted first and the methods by which it can be introduced. In this framework, the study can make use of the available experience in non-segregation (Officer Candidate Schools, hospitals, integrated platoons in ETO, and the experience under the Navy's new policies) instead of merely generalizing, as in the past, on the disappointing and not very relevant experience with large segregated units.

"In the absence of any such basic direction, I am afraid the study would be as unfruitful as those that have been made in the past. If there is a basic change in the Army's policy, the practice can be allowed to evolve gradually on a trial and error basis.

"If the basic change in policy recommended above is adopted, we shall have a number of difficulties. There will be a certain amount of social friction. There will also be a considerable amount of professional Negro agitation, since it cannot be expected that Negroes, on a purely competitive basis, will initially not achieve as much rank or as many desirable positions as they do on the present segregation system. The table of AGCT scores seems sufficient evidence of this. However, I do not see any



sufficient evidence of this. However, I do not see any cause for alarm in these difficulties. We shall be on firm ground and will be able to defend our actions by relying on the unassailable position that we are using men in accordance with their ability."

It was not only civilian officials in the War Department who were giving increasing attention to the utilization of Negroes in the postwar Army. Assistant Secretary McCloy had sent to General Marshall a copy of the study, "Opinions About Negro Infantry Platoons in White Companies *as a result of the survey in April-May, 1945,* of 7 Divisions," which had been prepared by the Research Branch of the

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Information and Education Division, Headquarters, European Theater of Operations. Replying to Mr. McCloy on August 25, General Marshall agreed that the results of the survey "should not be released for publication at this time, since the conditions under which the platoons were organized and employed were most unusual." However, General Marshall also agreed that "the practicability of integrating Negro elements into white units should be followed up."

Developments were now rapid. The replies of the theater commanders to the questionnaire sent out on May 23 by the Special Planning Division

of Army Service Forces were due on September 1; and by October 1 the

of Army Service Forces were due on September 1; and by October 1 the three forces were to have submitted to the Special Planning Division their conclusions and recommendations on postwar utilization of Negroes on the basis of the replies <sup>received</sup> from the field. On September 17 -- two weeks before the forces were to submit their recommendations -- Assistant Secretary McCloy sent to Secretary Patterson the <sup>above mentioned</sup> ~~memoranda above~~ ~~mentioned~~ from Colonel Sommers, Truman Gibson and General Marshall, together with a copy of the I & E report on Negro platoons in white companies. In a covering memo, Mr. McCloy said to Judge Patterson:

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"I am sending you herewith some papers on the problem of post-war employment of Negro elements in the Army. This whole subject has to be dealt with rather soon and it is a matter in which I feel the Secretary of War must become involved."

Four days later, on September 21, General Hodes in the office of the Chief of Staff sent the following memo to General Handy: "Army Ground Forces have issued orders for General Gillem to report to the Commanding General, Army Ground Forces, for temporary duty. . . . It

is my understanding that when he arrives, he will be given the mission mentioned by Mr. McCloy and Judge Patterson, and that he (General Gillem) will decide the method and the personnel required to determine the post-war employment of negro elements in the Army . . . ."

In accordance with verbal instructions from the Secretary of War, Lieutenant General Alvan C. Gillem, Jr., and two other General officers, Major General Lewis A. Pick and Brigadier General Winslow C. Morse, met on October 1. ~~Thus was formed the Gillem Board.~~ The recorder for the Board, without vote, was Brigadier General Aln D. Warnock. On October 4 the Gillem Board received ~~from the following~~ directive from the office of the

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Chief of Staff, approved by Secretary Patterson, directing the preparation of "a policy for the use of the authorized Negro manpower potential during the post-war period including the complete development of the means required to derive the maximum efficiency from the full authorized manpower of the nation in the event of a national emergency."

The first sitting of the Gillem Board lasted from October 4 to November 17 when it submitted a report to the Assistant Secretary of War, the three commands and G-1 and G-3 for review and comment. On January 4, 1946, the Board was reconvened to consider the criticisms of its report, and to restudy its recommendations in the light of the suggestions of the reviewing agencies. Finally on February 26, 1946, the Board issued its final report and recommendations as approved by General Eisenhower, Chief of Staff, and the Secretary of War.

In the course of its study, lasting nearly four months, the Gillem Board received testimony from 69 military and civilian witnesses,

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including two chiefs of staff; theater commanders; general staff officers; theater, army and corps commanders; general and staff officers of Negro divisions; specialist<sup>s</sup>/from G-1 and G-3; prominent Negro leaders, *officers and civilians* from both military and civilian life; and those ~~who~~ had worked closely with Assistant Secretary of War McCloy on the Special Troop Policies Committee. In addition to the testimony of these witnesses, the Board examined the various studies of Negro manpower made between wars; and it had before it the voluminous reports from the field in response to the questionnaire from the Special Planning Division, though there is little evidence that the Board made ~~much~~ <sup>large</sup> use of these reports.

The Gillem Board report was thus based on the most ~~extensive~~ inquiry ever made by the Army into the utilization of Negro manpower, and its recommendations, which were substantially adopted by the Army, represent the first comprehensive and considered policy ever framed by the War Department for the employment and treatment of Negro troops. On February 26, 1946, the War Department released to the press the report of the Gillem Board, together with its recommendations. This

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release for publication <sup>was itself</sup> ~~is~~ a measure ~~in-itself~~ of the changing attitude of the Army towards the Negro soldier, for no previous policy had ever been publicized.

At the very outset of its report the Gillem Board made plain that two <sup>principles</sup> ~~considerations~~ had directed the course of its inquiry and formed the motivation of its recommendations. These were:

1. The Constitutional right of the Negro <sup>American</sup> to enjoy the privileges and share the responsibilities of citizenship.
2. The obligation of the Army to make the most effective use of every individual in the military structure.

The first <sup>principle</sup> ~~consideration~~ the Board regarded as a prima facie <sup>political</sup> truth which required no defense or elaboration. The second <sup>principle</sup> ~~consideration~~ it regarded as a prima facie military <sup>necessity</sup> ~~principle~~ which, so far as Negro manpower was concerned, had been too long neglected in Army policy and practice.

Two of the primary lessons of World War II, the Board wrote, were the limits and variable quality of the military manpower potential of the nation. "The principle of economy of forces clearly indicates, therefore,

1. The final report of the Board appears as Appendix \_\_\_\_\_. The differences in the first and final reports are not substantial and will be noticed later in this chapter.

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that every effort must be expended to utilize efficiently every qualified available individual in a position in the military structure for which he is best suited. It follows logically that we must always strive for improvement in the quality of the whole." The Negro, forming approximately 10% of the nation's population," becomes no small part of the manpower reservoir available for use in time of peace or in the event of a National Emergency." Therefore, those officers in the military establishment charged with the responsibility of procuring, training and assigning <sup>qualified,</sup> manpower have a "legal and moral obligation under the Constitution to take all steps necessary" to prepare this manpower for the most effective employment in the country's defense.

Reviewing the Army's experience with Negro troops during World War II, the Board found that (1) Negro combat units that were required to close with the enemy to <sup>a</sup> accomplish prescribed mission performed with <sup>g</sup> least proficiency; (2) generally Negro infantry units suffered relatively light losses; (3) "in certain instances small infantry composite units, Negro platoons in white companies, when ably led were eminently

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successful even though relatively heavy casualties were suffered; (4) Negro soldiers, if given the opportunity, will/satisfactorily execute combat duties in supporting type units, such as artillery; (5) Negro service type units, even in direct support of combat units, often demonstrated a high degree of proficiency.

Although the Gillem Board concluded that the Negro soldier "definitely contributed to the success attained by our military force," it did not attempt to hide the fact that the <sup>performance,</sup> ~~status~~ of Negro units was uneven and the utilization of Negro soldiers by the Army revealed the lack of adequate <sup>prior</sup> planning and good judgment. The Board did not attempt to assign the blame for this state of affairs. It merely set down ~~the~~ facts which were incontrovertible.

The Army, reported the Board, had "encountered considerable difficulty" in the proper placement of the 909,000 Negroes who volunteered or were drafted. Admittedly, part of this difficulty was attributable to the educational disadvantages suffered by the majority of the Negro population, which in turn were reflected in the Negro's capacity for



leadership.

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On the other hand, the Board thought that many of the strictly military disadvantages under which Negro units labored were the result, not of the Negro's environment and lack of opportunity, but of inadequate staff work by the Army itself. For example, the Board pointed out, <sup>that</sup> "although it was definitely known that the Negro manpower would amount to approximately 10% of the manpower available for war, plans were not prepared prior to World War II for mobilization and employment of major units of all arms. This resulted in some instances in a disproportionate allocation of lower bracket personnel to combat elements." <sup>The Board found,</sup> There were other failures in forward planning. No provisions were made for the use of Negroes in supporting type combat units, and such units were formed only after public pressure by Negroes. Because there had been no initial plans for Negro combat units, there was a constant reorganization, regrouping and shifting from one type of training to another, with consequent confusion and loss of morale among Negro elements. Some units did not have definite Tables of Organization and Equipment, and consequently

nobody seemed very sure for what mission <sup>These</sup> ~~such~~ units were organized. The

~~upshot of these failures was in planning~~

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cumulative effect of this confusion and improvisation, the Board felt, was to create in the Negro mind a doubt whether the Army <sup>really</sup> had any definite intention of using Negro soldiers in combat; and this sense of bewilderment and doubt impaired the Negro's usefulness and may have been reflected in his "sub-standard performance in combat." Although the Army strove to <sup>compensate for the</sup> ~~mitigate the~~ educational disadvantages of the Negro by the extension of training periods, careful briefing, and careful staging into combat areas, it could not, by these belated wartime precautions, completely offset the lack of planning between wars.

A repetition of this experience could be prevented, in the Board's opinion, "by ~~proper~~ forward planning, and by the development of a broader base of trained personnel, both officer and enlisted, than that which existed prior to World War II." The Army should make a start on this forward planning by realizing the advances which had been made by the

Negro during the war in education, industry and government service. Of particular importance to the Army was the vast range of trades and skills which had been opened to the Negro. "Many Negroes," ~~xxxxxx~~ the Board/ noted,

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"who, before the war, were laborers, are now craftsmen, capable in many instances of competing with white men on an equal basis . . . . This increase in industrial experience is an important factor when considering manpower from the standpoint of national defense. These three factors of education, craftsmanship, and governmental participation have enhanced the military value of the Negro. A broader selectivity is now available than was heretofore possible, with a resultant beneficial effect on military efficiency."

Therefore, the Board concluded, " a progressive policy for greater utilization of the Negro manpower [should] be formulated and implemented now." The new policies should be "progressively flexible," "envision the continued mental and physical improvement of all citizens," "be implemented promptly," "be objective in nature." And finally, "they

must eliminate, at the earliest practicable moment, any special consideration based on race. They should point towards the immediate objective of an evaluation of the Negro on the basis of individual merit and ability.

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#### IV

Such was the over-all policy recommendation of the Gillem Board. In its immediate objective of broader utilization of Negro manpower it was more practical, and <sup>in</sup> its ultimate objective of eliminating all considerations of race it was more enlightened, than any previous racial policy of the War Department. However, of the 18 specific recommendations which the Board proposed <sup>in order</sup> to effect this over-all policy, only six represented a significant advance toward the achievement of the immediate goal. And of these six, only one took a step in the direction of integration. These six recommendations were:

1. "That . . . qualified individuals be utilized in appropriate special and overhead units . . ." (Recommendation 1 <sup>in the Board's</sup> initial report.)

An overhead unit is a housekeeping detail at an Army post or

installation. Since Negroes employed in overhead would be used as individuals, this recommendation represents the first break, so far as duty detail is concerned, with the traditional segregation policy.

1. For complete list of recommendations in the final Gillem Board report, see Appendix \_\_\_\_\_. The final list reflects revisions made in the light of suggestions by reviewing agencies. Differences between initial and final recommendations, where significant, are discussed in the text.

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Negroes integrated in their work in overhead units would continue, however, to eat and sleep in segregated messes and barracks.

2. "That Negro units organized or activated for the post-war Army conform in general to other units of the post-war Army." (Recommendation 2 in initial report.)

The intent of this recommendation was to open a wider variety of units, consequently a larger selection of military occupations, to Negroes. However, as originally worded, the recommendation was confusing since it seemed to authorize the formation of Negroes in units up to divisional strength. Military experience in two world wars had indicated conclusively that utilization of Negroes in divisional units was not justified by combat performance, and almost all writers on the subject had advocated the abandonment of this policy. Therefore, in the final recommendations, the following clause was appended to

the above recommendation: " . . .but the maximum strength of type units should not exceed that of an infantry regiment or comparable organization." The proscription against the formation of Negro units above regimental strength was a definite advance in the direction of better military utilization.

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3. "That a staff group of selected officers whose background has included command of troops be formed as an integral part of the G-1 or G-3 Division of the staffs of the War Department and each major command of the Army to assist in the planning, promulgation, implementation and revision of policies affecting all racial minorities." (Recommendation 4 of initial report.)

This recommendation parallels one made by Colonel Sommers in a memorandum to Mr. McCloy prior to the formation of the Gillem Board. In the final recommendations, on the suggestion of G-3, the G-1 division was designated as the proper staff division to appoint such special groups of officers to handle racial policies. However, G-1 objected to the formation of special groups to deal with racial problems, on the ground that "we must soon reach the point where our general staff must be able to cope with such problems without the formation of ad hoc committees or groups." This recommendation of the Board was not accepted by the Army, and there is today no special staff group in G-1,

either in the Department of the Army or in the major commands, delegated to make policy on the utilization of Negro troops.

4. "That re-enlistment be denied to Regular Army soldiers who meet only the minimum standards." (Recommendation 9 in initial report.)

This recommendation stemmed from the conclusion of the Gillem Board that "the high re-enlistment rate of professional privates in

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Negro units has in the past denied entry into the service to much potential officer and non-commissioned officer material. Economy and efficiency require that men of low intelligence and education who have proven incapable of developing into specialists or leaders be eliminated from the service at termination of the first enlistment. Any policy implemented should include all races."

This conclusion and the consequent recommendation of the Board must be considered in connection with the Army's policy of restricting Negro strength to 10% of the over-all strength of the service. When the Negro strength exceeds 10%, the Army halts Negro enlistments. However, it is also Army policy to accept re-enlistments regardless of the mental qualifications of the soldier



The practical effect of these two policies, is, for long periods, to deprive the Army of the services of many better qualified Negroes seeking enlistment and to burden the Army with low-score men who will never rise above the rank of private, and whose usefulness to the peacetime Army, <sup>of which,</sup> ~~whose~~ <sup>The</sup> principal function is to serve as a training cadre for wartime expansion, is ~~also~~ very limited.

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The Board had found "from the evidence presented by the most experienced commanders . . . that the results obtained by all units are in direct proportion to the leadership demonstrated. The failures of Negro units have in almost every case been attributed to the lack of leadership qualities of junior officers and non-commissioned officers. Leadership, therefore, must be stressed and the development of all attributes which contribute to this and must be the prime objective of those responsible for the training of the post-war Army." It was this objective which the Board sought <sup>to achieve by</sup> ~~the~~ the above recommendation. The Army did not accept the recommendation.

5. " That surveys of manpower requirements conducted by the War Department include recommendations covering the positions in each installation of the Army which could be filled by Negro military



This recommendation is complementary to that above, proposing that Negroes be used in overhead units on an individual basis. Both recommendations originated in the Board's conviction that the educational and industrial progress made by the Negro during the war opened the way for a much wider <sup>military</sup>/utilization of Negroes than ever before. The Board

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declared that "there are many places in the framework of the overhead units at Army installations where Negro personnel with special skills can be utilized to advantage as individuals," and enjoined the Army to conduct "period surveys . . .to determine such positions." Only by opening such positions to Negroes, the Board wrote in a study attached to its report, could the Army foster leadership, reward endeavor, maintain morale, and inculcate the competitive spirit among the better qualified Negro enlisted men and non-commissioned officers. The forced competition with whites "on an individual basis of merit," the Board insisted, would not only make ~~an~~ <sup>an</sup> Army career more attractive to the superior Negro, but would provide the Army with "many types of specialists needed as nuclei

for rapid expansion of Army units in time of emergency." If such a

*The Board added,*

program were adopted, <sup>quasi so</sup> the Army would not ~~lose~~ <sup>lose</sup> much of its investment as it had between the two in the Negro soldier ~~between the two world wars.~~ world wars.

6. "That experimental groupings of Negro units with white units in composite organizations be continued in the post-war Army." (Recommendation 11 in initial report.)

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The key word in this recommendation is "experimental." In a tab attached to the original report, the Board wrote: ~~that~~

" Experience has shown that one of the outstanding weaknesses of the Negro soldier has been his lack of ability to successfully close with the enemy. Experiments during World War II indicate that many of the Negro units perform satisfactorily when grouped or operated with white combat units. Examples are tank battalions, tank destroyer battalion groups, artillery units, motor transport companies operating as service units, signal communications units, chemical warfare units, and the experimental platoons . . . .

" The generally satisfactory results obtained from experimental grouping of Negro and white units and the formation of composite units in World War II is believed to be a step forward in the right direction for more efficient utilization of Negro manpower . . . .

" It would appear feasible at this time to include in a white regiment a Negro service company or perhaps a heavy weapons company without encountering unsurmountable difficulties. . . .

" It is believed feasible to carry this experimentation to the larger units in manoeuvres. The Board is of the opinion that satisfactory results can be obtained by assigning an extra battalion to an infantry regiment, an Air Force squadron to an Air Force group, an artillery battalion to an artillery group, a combat engineer battalion or pontoon companies to a combat group and the like . . . "

It was the belief of the Board that "through composite units it may be possible to build up a professional relationship between white and Negro personnel during peace-time which will prove advantageous in expanding the Army for war." (Italics added.) The Board warned, however, that such experimentation must not be carried so far as to risk "the disruption of civilian racial relationships."

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When the original Board report was circulated to reviewing agencies, G-1, G-3 and Army Ground Forces had no objection to this recommendation. Army Ground Forces, in fact, stated its opinion that "although Negroes and other enlisted men should not be mixed in the same company or detachment under present conditions, companies or battalions composed of Negro enlisted men should be employed alongside other units in regimental or higher formations." Army Air Forces, however, felt "because of the basic characteristics of the AAF, that this may prove impractical . . . principally because a group operates as an integral unit rather than as three or four separate squadrons. Personnel and equipment are often interchanged and common messes are often utilized by personnel of more than one squadron." Army Service Forces thought

by personnel of more than one squadron. Army Service Forces thought practicable that while such experimental groupings might be practical in combat organizations, mixed units would not be practicable in the smaller units --- companies and battalions --- into which the Service Forces were divided for operational purposes.

In the final recommendations the word "experimental" was deleted.

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It should be noted, however, that the Army, since the adoption of the Gillem Board policies, has in fact conducted experiments in the grouping of Negro and white units. Although the Gillem policy authorizes the formation of Negro regiments, actually there remains only one Negro regiment --- stationed in Japan --- in being. Generally the largest Negro unit is currently the battalion, <sup>which is usually assigned, or attached,</sup> ~~and while most of the Negro battalions~~ ~~are not assigned to~~ <sup>a</sup> white regiments, ~~they are attached to them.~~ It is not yet common practice to attach Negro companies to white battalions --- though there are some instances of such grouping --- and the Negro platoon in a white company is the exception.

On November 17, the initial report of the Gillem Board was sent to the Chief of Staff for circulation to the reviewing agencies. These were the General Staff Divisions G-1 (Personnel and Administration) and

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1. The grouping of Negro and white units in composite organizations will be treated more fully in the following two chapters.

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G-3 (Organization and Training); the three commands — Army Ground, Air and Service Forces; <sup>and</sup> the Office of the Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. McCloy.

Except for the Board's proposal to create a special staff planning group on Negro policies, <sup>The division</sup> G-1 endorsed the Board's recommendations as "sound" and "logical," though it "regretted that the recommendations . . . are not more specific."

G-3 likewise concurred in the "principles and general policies" enunciated by the Board, but wanted the Board to be more specific in <sup>designating</sup> the kinds of units in which experience had proven the Negro to be more efficient. since it thought "recognition must be made of the

be more efficient, since it thought recognition must be made of the inaptitude and limited capacity of the Negro soldier." G-3 approved the formation of a special planning group, but suggested it be placed in G-1, as the division responsible for personnel policies. G-3 also recommended that emphasis be placed on procuring additional Negro officers through an expansion of the ROTC program in Negro colleges. It opposed <sup>any</sup> ~~an~~ arbitrary percentage of Negro officers, parallel to the 10 per cent quota for enlisted Negro <sup>es</sup> ~~soldiers~~.

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Army Ground Forces approved "in general" the conclusions and recommendations of the Board, but proposed "that a policy be formulated at once on the future utilization of Negroes in all the armed forces of the United States," and that War Department policy should be based on this common policy<sup>2</sup> and implemented in accordance with the approved conclusions of the Gillem Board." Army Ground Forces also asked that the War Department, in formulating its final policy of Negro troops, give consideration to those ~~conclusions~~ <sup>ions</sup> which the AGF had reached as a result of the study undertaken in response to the questionnaire

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of the ~~SP~~ Special Planning Division.

*Service*  
Army ~~Star~~ Forces had several suggestions and criticism<sup>3</sup> ~~to make of~~

~~the report~~, although it concurred in the Board's over-all statement of policy. ASF had no objection to surveys to determine positions in which Negroes might be employed, but it warned against "any attempt to dictate such employment" by the War Department as a "serious infringement on  
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\_\_\_\_\_

1. See page \_\_\_\_\_ for the full list of these conclusions.

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command responsibility." ASF insisted that "determination of positions which can be filled by Negro personnel should be made at the command echelon," and suggested that the recommended special staff groups would "provide adequate War Department supervision."

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As stated previously, the ASF also opposed, <sup>*in The Service*</sup> ~~for the Ground Forces,~~ any experimental grouping of white and Negro units. Its most strenuous opposition was reserved, however, for the Gillem Board's proposal to continue the War Department policies on the use of recreational facilities, and membership in officers' clubs and messes. <sup>*1/*</sup> The ASF commented:



For the present and the foreseeable future, special intermingling of Negroes and whites is not feasible. It is forbidden by law in some parts of the country and is not practised by the great majority of the people in the remainder of the country. For example, intermarriage is forbidden by law in a number of states. To require citizens, while in the Army, to conform to a pattern of social behavior different from what they would otherwise follow would be detrimental to the morale of white soldiers and would tend to defeat the effort to increase the opportunities and effectiveness of Negro soldiers. It would be a mistake for the Army to attempt to lead the nation in such a reform as social intermingling of the races . . . . Solution of the problem will require a common sense approach in each individual case which appears to be amply provided for by the latitude in solution of local

1. These policies were described in Chapter \_\_\_\_.

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problems to be granted commanders under recommendation B 14.<sup>1</sup>

Finally ASF suggested that implementation of the Gillem Board's recommendations should be deferred "until there is not a likelihood of interference with achieving satisfactory solution of the major problems now confronting the War Department such as reorganization, the single department, and universal military training." Alone of all the reviewing agencies, ASF opposed publishing the recommendations of the Gillem Board, arguing that "such a course of action would serve to put tools in the hands of racial agitators to the possible embarrassment of the War

The Army Air Forces, like ASF, opposed both the experimental grouping of white and Negro units and the joint use ~~of~~ officers' clubs, theaters, post exchanges and recreational facilities ~~at an Army station~~ "in a locality where such is contrary to civil practice in that community."

1. Apparently the ASF had no objection to the integration in Army hospitals and Officer Training Schools.

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Aside from these two specific criticisms, the AAF confined itself to general observations on the problem, the substance of which was that the Army should not be "the testing ground for problems in race relationships," and that "the difficulties of the colored problem will be with us as long as any extensive race prejudice exists in the United States." The real solution to the problem, the Air Force thought, "lies in the overall education on this subject and will undoubtedly take generations to accomplish. In the meantime, it is believed that the War Department should use great care to march in the van of popular opinion, but that

it should never be ahead of popular opinion on this subject; otherwise it will put itself in a position of stimulating racial disorders rather than overcoming them." <sup>1.</sup>

1. It is interesting to contrast the views here expressed with the policies adopted three years later by the Air Force — policies which are currently being implemented, and apparently without stimulating racial disorders. These policies are dealt with at length in Chapter \_\_\_\_.

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Reconvened to consider the suggestions and criticisms of the three commands and the general staff divisions, the Gillem Board stood firm on all of its original recommendations which it deemed essential to its objective of "maximum efficiency in the use of all authorized manpower." It refused to accede to the proposal of Army Service Forces that individual commanders be permitted to conduct the survey of positions in which Negroes could be employed in overhead installations. Such delegation of responsibility, the Board held,

"hazards lack of uniformity and makes results doubtful."

The Board did not agree that ASF and AAF could not use smaller Negro units in white organizations, declaring that World War II experience proved conclusively not only that racial units could be so grouped, but that such groupings had achieved "the best results."

On the subject of the professional low-score private, the Board went further than <sup>it had</sup> in its original report and stated its opinion that in the post-war professional Regular Army, "enlisted personnel . . .

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should be carefully screened to eliminate more than a normal percentage falling into AGCT classifications IV and V and with permissible personnel falling into classification V, held to a minimum."

The Board was especially inflexible in opposing the recommendation of ASF and AAF that the Army take a backward step and re-establish the color line in officers' messes and in enlisted men's recreational facilities. It replied:

The Board, in considering a policy with respect to recreational facilities, officers' clubs, messes and similar social organizations, has carefully analyzed the lessons derived from World War II. . . . During the period of this conflict, over 2,400,000 Negroes were called through the medium of the Selective Service. A maximum number of over 900,000 actually served under the colors. This large segment of the population contributed materially to the success attained by our military forces. ~~In the~~ The Negro enjoyed the privileges of citizenship and, in turn, willingly paid the premium by accepting service. In many instances, this payment was settled through the medium of the supreme sacrifice. During the course of the war years, certain instructions were found necessary and promulgated. Most important, from a racial point of view, were Army Regulations 210-10, dated 20 December 1940 and War Department Memorandum 600-45, dated 14 June 1945. In these regulations the War Department enunciated a policy directed at lessening and ameliorating racial discrimination. This policy has been in effect over a period of years. With the non-concurrence to the retention of the Board's Recommendation 13, the Board cannot agree. It is the considered opinion that the Board's recommendation should not be disapproved. To do so would render the War Department's position untenable. The Board, in its report, has visualized and evaluated the progress made by the Negro race in all lines of endeavor during the war years. If the provisions of this recommendation are not approved, the effect on this manpower component will lessen its military value . . ."

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The Gillem Board had clearly seen that military efficiency required a broader utilization of Negro troops. Its recommendations for increased diversification of Negro units, for limiting Negro units to regimental strength, for surveys of positions in which Negroes could be employed, for denying re-enlistment to the low-score professional private --all these had pointed the way toward a wider and more effective utilization. Furthermore, the Board, by advocating the grouping of white and Negro units and the employment of individual Negroes in overhead installations, had made a <sup>cautious</sup> beginning on the problem of segregation.

Nevertheless, the Board had apparently not <sup>seriously</sup> questioned ~~these~~ the basic premises which had always underlain the Army's racial policy and practice; or, if it had questioned them, it had not clearly indicated its conclusions. Thus, the Board predicated its conclusions and recommendations on the continuance -- at least for a long time -- of the segregated unit as a fundamental racial principle; and it

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apparently did not inquire whether segregation, in and by itself, was not a primary factor in the inefficiency and combat ineffectiveness which, according to the reports of field commanders, had formed so large a part of the record of Negro units, and which the Board had set itself to correct. Likewise, the Board took for granted that the Army would set a quota on its Negro strength proportionate to the Negro civilian population, without asking whether such a quota system did not, in effect, deprive the Army of the better qualified Negroes who, the Board insisted, must form <sup>part of</sup> the training cadre of the peace-time Regular Army. The failures of Negro combat units, the Board <sup>possibly</sup> agreed, could be largely attributed to the inferior quality and poor leadership of their company-grade and non-commissioned officers. Yet the Board seemingly did not perceive that ~~■~~ segregated units <sup>possibly</sup> could not furnish the bracing competitive climate ~~units ~~which is~~ necessary to develop first-rate officer material, and that so long as Negroes competed only against themselves for positions ~~that had to~~ in Negro units, The superior Negro officer would be penalized, and be filled by Negroes anyway, the result was bound to be second or~~ which is

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*The inferior Negro officer benefitted, by the limitations  
this race officers.  
on opportunity which segregation imposed.*

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While the military reviewers had confined their criticisms of the Gillem report largely to matters of organization, training and assignment, it was to the basic premises that the civilians in the War Department secretariat directed their attention. The Board's analysis of the problem, these civilians felt, was excellent; but they were far from clear about the Board's thinking on the fundamental *of segregation and the quota.* issues. Thus, Assistant Secretary McCloy, who had been instrumental

in creating the Board, wrote to Secretary Patterson on November 24:

I do not want to leave without giving you my comments on the Gillem Board report on Negro manpower.

The members of the Board have performed a real service. Their report is a great advance over previous studies. It is objective and constructive and, unlike many earlier papers, realistically states the problem in terms of making the most efficient use of available manpower.

I agree with the objectives stated by the Board and particularly like the discussion of past policies and the statement at bottom of page 6 as to what future policies should be. In general, the note of progressive

1. The statement referred to by Mr. McCloy reads: "The policies prepared by the War Department should be progressively flexible. They should envision the continued mental and physical improvement of all citizens. They should be implemented promptly. They must be objective in nature. They must eliminate at the earliest practicable moment any racial

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They must eliminate, at the earliest practicable moment, any special consideration based on race. They should point towards the immediate objective of an evaluation of the Negro on the basis of individual merit and ability. They should point towards a long-range objective which visualizes, over a period of time, a still greater utilization of this manpower potential in the military machine of the nation.

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experiment and development is excellent. I hope it will represent the attitude of the Army on all matters in the post-war period.

I have two principal criticisms which I think I should bring to your attention.

In regard to the basic issue of segregation, I understand the main proposals to be as follows:

- a. for officers, complete equality without regard to race, and abandonment of all forms of segregation.
- b. for enlisted men, progressive experiments with mixed and unsegregated units looking to eventual assignment on the basis of ability alone.

On these fundamental issues, the report does not speak with the complete clarity that is necessary in this field. I do not think this is intentional, although I believe it results from a conscious avoidance of the word "segregation." The report correctly emphasizes the need for strict enforcement of policies, but our experience in this field has shown that we cannot get enforcement of policies that permit of any possibility of misconstruction. If the report means that Negro officers are to command white officers and men, it should say so flatly. If it means that we are to try unsegregated units, as well as mixed units consisting of Negro and white detachments, it should say so. If, in either case, it does not mean those things, that should be put beyond doubt. There are a number of places in the report that require bluntness in this respect.

My second objection is to the reference to a quota for Negroes. This occurs in Part IV (Recommendations) at page 15 in the phrases "Within proportions corresponding to those in the civilian population" and "That the

to those in the civilian population and that the over-all proportion not to exceed the ratio that existed in World War II."

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In the first place, these two provisions are inconsistent, since the proportion of Negroes in the Army during the war did not equal the proportion in the civilian population. But the important objection is that these provisions are inconsistent with the basic premise of the report,

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that we should make the most efficient use of available manpower. If some future Battle of the Bulge creates a drastic need for replacements and only Negroes are available, we will surely not turn them down on the ground that we have a full quota. Even if the quota is intended as a floor, not a ceiling, it is still objectionable. It tends to lower standards, as we learned in this war. I do not see any place for a quota in a policy that looks to utilization of Negroes on the basis of ability.

Notwithstanding these points, I think this <sup>report</sup> is a fine achievement for the start of your administration of this field.

Judge Patterson sent Mr. McCloy's memorandum to the Deputy Chief of Staff, for consideration by the Chief of Staff and relay to the Gillem Board, with a note:

The attached comments by Mr. McCloy on the Gillem Board report should be considered by the Chief of Staff, along with the forthcoming comments of G-1 and G-3.

Mr. McCloy, as you know, gave considerable attention to the matter of racial relations in the Army. His views are entitled to a great deal of weight.

The Board evidently was of the opinion that it had spoken "with the complete clarity that is necessary" on the issue of progressive

experiments with unsegregated units of enlisted men, and the issue of abandonment of all forms of segregation for officers, since in its replies to the suggestions of the reviewing agencies, it made no reference whatever to the questions raised by Mr. McCloy. The ~~intention~~ <sup>intention</sup> ~~thinking~~

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of the Board on these ~~fundamental~~ issues can be only deduced from the fact that it did not object to the conditions laid down by the Operations Division (S-4) for its concurrence in the Gillem report. *These conditions were:*

"That Negro enlisted personnel be assigned to Negro units.  
That no Negro officer be given command of white troops."

And in reply to a comment by Army Ground Forces on the officering of Negro units, the Board said: "Negro units should eventually be commanded by Negro officers," and added, "No need exists for the assignment of Negro commanders to units composed of white troops."

The Board did, however, comment on Mr. McCloy's criticism of the quota system as ~~inconsistent~~ <sup>inconsistent</sup> with the basic objective of military efficiency. It said: "By unanimous opinion, the ratio of Negro to white troops should be the same as in the civilian population. This is necessary both for intelligent planning and for the need to establish a

troop basis for implementation of policy." Why this exact ratio was necessary for "intelligent planning," the Board did not say, nor did it respond to his criticism that the quota system was incompatible with "a policy that looks to utilization of Negroes on the basis of ability."

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Mr. Truman K. Gibson, the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War, agreed with Mr. McCloy's reading of the Board's intent on segregation. Moreover, <sup>Mr. Gibson</sup> ~~he~~ was confident in his own mind that the Board's intent and his interpretation were identical. He asked only that the Board word its intent in unequivocal language. Gibson wrote to Judge Patterson:

.....  
I agree in general with the two criticisms that Mr. McCloy expressed relative to (a) the necessity for a clear statement on the basic issue of segregation and (b) to the deletion of the quota basis for determining the extent of the inclusion of Negroes in the Army in the future.

Mr. McCloy's statement supporting these two points of criticism was brief and requires elaboration. While his statement of the two main proposals of the Board is correct, they do not constitute the ultimate aims recommended by the Board. They are rather two methods that must be utilized in reaching them. The Board intended and so stated that Negro officers should be used freely and outside the limits of the restrictive policy of rigid segregation. As for enlisted men, the several references to mixed units show without question that the Board did not feel that the present policy of segregation should be continued.

The recommendations implementing these two proposals were not made to assuage the feelings of Negroes. They were not even intended to primarily benefit Negroes. They were included for the purpose of carrying out basic objective which the Board set out, namely that of making the best



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which the Board set out, namely that of making the best possible utilization of a manpower potential that has been greatly misused by the Army in the past. In making use of this reservoir that contains 10% of the nation's population, the Board recommended that Negro enlisted men (a) be utilized in segregated "type" units, (b) be utilized in mixed units and, (c) be utilized as specialists on a basis of individual ability and capacity. Further it was recommended that Negro officers be utilized without regard to "ceiling" and in the same manner as other officers. The long range objective

1. Gibson here refers to Recommendation 6 of the original report -- "That all officers, ~~be accorded the same rights, privileges and opportunities for advancement.~~" In the final report, the word "same" was changed to "equal."

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proposed by the Board is that a policy be ultimately evolved that will permit the utilization of all personnel on the basis of individual ability alone. This means, of course, a completely integrated Army.

It is not urged that the ultimate objective be reached in one step. Instead a reasonable and practical approach is suggested within the limits of a policy that will not require the segregation of officer and enlisted personnel by race. The Board was at the outset confronted with alternative choices. The members could (a) have followed the present pattern of segregation, (b) could have jumped to the other extreme and required a policy of complete integration, or (c) could permit a progressive and planned integration with particular regard to making the best possible use of individual officers and soldiers of ability. The last named course was the one adopted. The Board did not suggest that Negro officers immediately and in large numbers be placed in field units in command of white troops and white officers. It did suggest a course that would permit the utilization of Judge Advocates and medical officers and other specialists in a manner not prohibited by Army policy. In arriving at its recommendation concerning the use of officers, the Board frankly faced the possibility that at a future time, Negro officers would command white officers and white troops. However, this situation is not one that will immediately confront the Army in the event the Gillem Board Report is accepted. That is one of the details that would be worked out by the staff group that is proposed. The possibility that Negro officers will command white officers and enlisted men at a future date should not operate to prevent the removal of restrictions that have prevented a proper utilization of Negroes in the past. . . . .

The view of the Board on the basic issue of segregation is not revolutionary. The objective of complete integration is discussed in future terms. The immediate procedures recommended in the Board's recommendation is nature. Yet the recommendation

by the Board are gradual in nature. Yet, the recommendation that the policy of segregation be abandoned is contrary to all of the thinking that has gone into the preparation of mobilization plans in the last twenty-five years. For years the Army has said "the policy of segregation has been found sound." The Board found this to be untrue. But, since so

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many people believe that segregation is necessary-- it is vital that any deviation from this policy be clearly and explicitly stated. . . .

In view of the foregoing, I therefore respectfully urge:

a. That the report of the Gillem Board be accepted.

*Sound* b. That a clear and explicit policy be prepared on the basis of the discussion, recommendations, and conclusions of the Gillem Board and that this policy be publicized as soon as possible. It should be particularly explicit on the basic issue of segregation in the following respects:

(1) It should state unequivocally that the present Army policies requiring segregation are no longer binding.

(2) It should state clearly that the eventual goal is the elimination of segregation.

*X would be sufficient*  
*taken* (3) It should state that ~~any intermediate steps~~ to be immediately ~~should be defined so~~ clearly as to permit of no ~~misconstruction~~.

c. That the staff group as recommended by the Gillem Board be organized and that the Civilian Aide to the Secretary be appointed to its membership.

Having considered all of the comments of the reviewing agencies,

The Gillem Board on January 26 submitted a supplemental report ~~to the~~ *containing*

conclusions and recommendations of which were slightly revised. On February



and The Secretary of War; and  
26, this final report was approved by the Chief of Staff. ~~The final~~  
on March 4, 1946, it was released to the press.  
~~report contained an appendix a clarifying statement of objectives,~~

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~~L~~ six weeks later, on April 20, The War Department  
apparently in response to the recommendations of Assistant Secretary McCloy  
released <sup>as</sup> an appendix to the Gilliam Board report, ~~and~~  
and Mr. Gibson. This appendix read:

~~It is apparently in response to the recommendations of~~  
~~Assistant Secretary McCloy and Mr. Gibson a clarifying~~

statement of objectives which the Board had  
framed, apparently <sup>48</sup> in response to the <sup>suggestions</sup> of  
Assistant Secretary McCloy and Mr. Gibson. The appendix  
read:

Objectives: The Board visualizes at this time only two objectives:

The Initial Objectives: The utilization of the proportionate  
ratio of the manpower made available to the military establishment  
during the postwar period. The manpower potential to be organized  
and trained as indicated by pertinent recommendations.

The Ultimate Objective: The effective use of all manpower made  
available to the military establishment in the event of a major  
mobilization at some unknown date against an undetermined aggressor.  
The manpower to be utilized, in the event of another major war,  
in the Army without regard to antecedents or race.

When, and if such a contingency arises, the manpower of the  
nation should be utilized in the best interests of the national  
security.

The Board cannot, and does not, attempt to visualize at this  
time, intermediate objectives. Between the first and ultimate  
objective, timely phasing may be interjected and adjustments  
made in accordance with conditions which may obtain at this  
undetermined date.

The clarifying statement, then, appeared to say that Negroes, in  
a ratio corresponding to their civilian population, would be used for

the present in segregated units; that in event of war they would be

employed in integrated units if this met the best interests of national

security. What steps should be taken <sup>during</sup> ~~the indeterminate segregated~~

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incident

present in preparation for possible integration in an unforeseen war, the Board was not prepared to say.

~~On <sup>March 24</sup> April 26, 1946, the Gillem Board report was released to the~~

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VII

Following the publication of the Gillem Board report, G-1 (Personnel and Administration Division) prepared the draft of a new directive on <sup>1/</sup>Negro manpower, translating the recommendations of the Gillem Board into War Department policy, and circulated the draft to the three commands for comment.

Retained in this policy draft were the basic assumptions of the Gillem Board, i.e. that Negroes would be generally employed in 2/ "separate" units and that Negro strength would constitute 10 per cent of the Army's total troop basis.

Of the ~~six~~ principal recommendations of the Gillem Board which were discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, the draft directive

adopted four virtually without change. These were (that (1) qualified

Negroes be used in appropriate overhead installations on an individual

1. The final form of this directive, War Department Circular 124, 1946, is reproduced in Appendix \_\_\_\_.
2. The word "separate" was deleted by War Department Circular 32, 1947, though the policy of the segregated unit *remained* unchanged.

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basis; (2) that Negro units conform in general to white units; (3) that regular surveys be conducted of the positions which could be filled by Negro personnel; (4) that "groupings of Negro units with white units in composite organizations will be accepted policy."

Two of the Board's recommendations, however -- the formation of a special staff group in G-1 to promulgate Negro troop policy and the denial of re-enlistment to the low-score professional private -- were not effectively translated. G-1 ~~did propose~~ <sup>finally agreed to</sup> the creation of a staff group but ~~located it~~ <sup>proposed locating it</sup> in the Welfare Branch -- a relatively unimportant branch -- of the Personnel Division. ~~Its proposed policy~~ <sup>On the question</sup> of re-enlistment <sup>of low-score men, the draft directive</sup> ~~merely~~ <sup>existing</sup> echoed the ~~War Department~~ <sup>regulations</sup> and in no way excluded the re-enlistment of the professional private. In the

final draft of the new directive, the reference to re-enlistment was omitted altogether, and the responsibility for Negro troop policy was placed in the hands of the Assistant for Planning and Policy Coordination,

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Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-1.

1. Later, by War Department Circular 32, 1947, the Director of Personnel and Administration (G-1) was made responsible.

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In an attempt to allocate total Negro manpower by type units, the draft directive proposed the following initial distribution:

Infantry, cavalry, bomber, fighter and tank units.	40%
Artillery, air reconnaissance, troop carrier and combat engineer units . . . . .	35%
Medical, quartermaster, ordnance, aircraft maintenance, transportation, signal, chemical, finance, weather, other engineer and overhead units . . . . .	25%

The Air Force objected to this distribution, and in the final directive no attempt was made to designate the division of Negro troops by type units.

For the most part the <sup>criticisms</sup> ~~comments~~ of the Ground and Service Forces on the draft directive were <sup>confined</sup> ~~limited~~ to phrasing; only the Air Force continued to comment upon the fundamental principles of the policy.

The principle that the Negro race should be given greater understanding and improved treatment is concurred in. That the Negro race is a large potential source of manpower is undisputed. However, it is believed that the proposed approach to the utilization of this manpower is faulty. Never in history has an Army selected its man-

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~~SECRET~~



power on the basis of a proportionate share of the population, be that selection on the basis of color or creed. The basis for selection which has been used by all armies in peacetime is that of professional ability. Selection on any other basis would be wasteful and inefficient because artificial requirements would have to be established to absorb the individuals. These requirements could not be established on the basis of professional ability or intelligence. The organization of the post-war Army, like the organization of America's industrial organizations, should have efficiency as its goal. Racial minorities should neither be discriminated against or pampered.

This statement of principle was unexceptionable. However, the implications of this principle were not carried over into the detailed criticisms which the Air Force made of ~~proposals which the Air Force made of~~ the new policy directive.

Specifically, the Air Force found that it could not concur in the recommendations for the grouping of white and Negro units, the mixing of white and Negro personnel in the same unit, and the tentative alloca-

hand,

tion of Negroes to type units. On the other ~~the~~ Air Force acted consistently with its <sup>controlling</sup> principle of military efficiency in demanding the abolition of the quota system, and <sup>in</sup> opposing the proposed survey of positions <sup>which could</sup> be filled by Negroes on the ground that a qualified Negro should be permitted to fill any position.

~~SECRET~~

53.

~~SECRET~~

On April 27, 1946, the new policy on the utilization of Negro manpower was finally promulgated ~~as War Department Circular 124.~~ as War Department Circular 124.

Concurrently, the old policy embodied in <sup>the</sup> War Department letter of October 16, 1940, was rescinded. On the same day, Circular 124 was released to the press.

### VIII

The limitations of the Gillem Board report are obvious. Although its mission was to prepare a policy and program for the most efficient utilization of the nation's available manpower, it never radically questioned ~~the validity of the Army's~~ the validity of the Army's traditional policy assumptions --

t hat Negro troops must be ~~segregated~~ held to a quota and segregated —  
nor questioned whether these preconceived principles operated against  
the morale and the effectiveness of Negro soldiers. Furthermore,  
although the Gillem Board ~~was charged with the preparation of a~~  
~~searched the records diligently~~  
"complete development of the means required" for securing the maximum  
efficient use of Negro manpower, it never examined thoroughly into

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the rules, regulations and procedures of the various general staff  
divisions which inhibited the ~~most effective employment of Negro~~  
~~troops.~~  
troops.

Nevertheless, the Gillem Board report marks a milestone in the  
Army's Negro troop policy. ~~At the very~~ <sup>study</sup> outset of its ~~studies~~, the  
Gillem Board pointed out to the Army the lesson which American  
industry had writ large during the war and which the Army could  
never again afford to ignore — that the Negro, given the opportunity  
to learn, could perform tasks as varied and as skilled as those  
performed by white men. As a result of this lesson, the Gillem Board



report is unmarred by ~~that~~ preconception which ~~disfigured~~ disfigured almost every War Department study on the Negro between wars — that the Negro is inherently inferior.

On May 6, 1946, the War Department dispatched to the three commands the following letter:

SUBJECT: Utilization of Negro manpower in postwar Army

TO: Commanding Generals:  
Army Ground Forces  
Army Air Forces  
Army Service Forces

~~SECRET~~

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~~SECRET~~



1. War Department has adopted a comprehensive policy with respect to utilization of Negro manpower in the postwar Army, as enunciated in WD Circular 124, 1946.
2. While implementation of this policy will necessarily be progressive over a period of time, it is desired that it be initiated without delay. In this connection particular attention is directed to paragraphs 2,3, 5,6, 10, 12, and 13 of the above mentioned circular.
3. Of special interest is the approved "Report of Board of Officers on Utilization of Negro Manpower in the Post-War Army," reproduced in Circular 124 in order that all officers and enlisted men, both white and Negro, may be informed of the background which led to formulation of the stated policy.
4. The War Department relies upon the whole-hearted acceptance and support of this policy by commanders at all echelons. Upon their tact, resourcefulness, and judgment will depend, in large measure, the success of this policy.

EDWARD F. WITSELL  
Major General  
The Adjutant General

~~SECRET~~

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Chapter \_\_\_\_

THE GILLEM POLICY APPLIED

*I*

Assistant Secretary of War McCloy and Lt. Col. Davidson Sommers, his assistant, had warned that, on the basis of past experience, the Army would enforce a new racial policy only if that policy supplied a clear directive for forward planning, and if this planning were made the responsibility of <sup>a group of</sup> special staff officers of sufficient rank to make their views prevail.

Unfortunately the Gillem Board had refrained from indicating

the intermediate steps which should be taken to achieve its ultimate objective, and the Army <sup>had</sup> refused to adopt the Board's recommendation for a staff group to direct planning. Instead, the Army had added the implementation of WD Circular 124 to the other responsibilities of G-1, the General Staff Division for Personnel, which was soon to be renamed the Division of Personnel and Administration.

Fortunately, however, the Director of the Division of Personnel and Administration at this time was Major General Willard S. Paul, an

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officer who was not only sympathetic to the idea of broadened opportunity

for Negroes but who was <sup>also</sup> an expert in personnel management and was

aware of the inefficient use which the Army had made of its Negro manpower in the past. And in Colonel George R. Evans and Major Jerome F.

Lieblich, General Paul had <sup>two</sup> junior officers with very precise ideas of

how, within the limitations imposed by <sup>segregation and the racial</sup> ~~the racial quota and racial~~

<sup>quota system,</sup> ~~segregation,~~ the policies of the Gillem Board could be put into

practice. Whether the Army would accept these ideas <sup>remained to</sup> ~~was, of course,~~

<sup>be seen.</sup> ~~another matter.~~

The heart of the Gillem Board policy — as General Paul, Colonel Evans and Major Lieblich knew — was ~~the provision~~ <sup>its provisions for (1)</sup> for gradual expansion of Negro combat and service units until they approximated the diversification of white units, and (2) ~~the provision for using~~ <sup>utilization of</sup> qualified Negroes in camp overhead, or housekeeping, installations on an individual basis.

So long as Negroes were limited in assignment to relatively few type units, and so long as Negroes were <sup>virtually</sup> excluded from some of the

increased The type units in which Negroes could serve and thereby enlarged The range of skills and school training available to Negroes, it would fail to develop the leadership which it is the principal function of a peacetime training cadre to provide against The day of mobilization, technical and administrative services, the kind and number of Army

jobs (Military Occupational Specialties) were correspondingly restricted.

Therefore, if the Army were to make full use of potential Negro skills,

new type units must be opened to Negro enlisted men. Unless The Army

But in as much as ~~the Negro strength was set at~~ <sup>personnel was restricted to</sup> ten per cent of Army strength, there was, despite the promise of the Gillem Board policy, a <sup>definite</sup> limit <sup>number and</sup> to the variety of Negro units which could be <sup>formed,</sup> ~~created,~~ quite apart

from the fact that there would be difficulty in finding sufficient

Negroes with all the skills required by a wide variety of tactical units. It was just here that the overhead unit was designed to play its part, offering an opportunity to the <sup>qualified</sup> ~~skilled~~ individual Negro whose skill was not needed in a Negro unit and not wanted in a white unit.

Obviously this double-barreled program of creating New Negro units and opening up overhead employment could not be effected all at once or without planning. The number of combat and service units is limited by Army appropriations. If many new Negro units were to be organized, some white units would have to be converted. Before



additional Negro units could be activated, the Negro element in the Army would have to be screened in order to determine how many Negroes *already* had the ~~necessary~~ skill and training required by these units, and how many Negroes had the potential skills which could be trained in Army School courses. In the same way, there would have to be a survey of the jobs in overhead installations to determine what positions could be immediately filled by trained Negroes already within the Army and what jobs could be progressively opened up as Negroes received further *school* training. And the whole program, of course, would come to nothing unless all the technical and administrative services, which traditionally had not used Negroes <sup>or</sup> had used them only in menial capacities, abandoned their racial policy and agreed to use the school-trained ~~negroes in their new occupational specialties without regard to race~~ Negroes in their newly acquired occupational specialties.

The implementation of the Gillem Board policy would necessarily be slow, but six months after the promulgation of <sup>was</sup> Circular 124, the Division of Personnel and Administration decided it was time to make a start.



## II

On November 16, 1946, the Division of Personnel and Administration<sup>sent</sup>  
~~in~~ a memorandum to the Director of Organization and Training Division  
(formerly G-3), the commanding generals of Army Ground and Air Forces,  
and the chiefs of Ordnance and Chemical Corps, <sup>declaring</sup> ~~stated~~ that "experience  
in <sup>The</sup> ~~the~~ utilization of Negro military manpower indicates little, if any,  
constructive progress toward the development of this category of  
personnel to the point where their employment may be considered  
effective or economical." Therefore, P <sup>and</sup> ~~A~~ Division proposed that  
"a controlled utilization program" be undertaken immediately,  
involving a broader use of Negroes both in units and as individuals  
in overhead installations.

With respect to use of Negroes in overhead, P <sup>and Division</sup> ~~A~~ <sup>(prescribed</sup>  
that "fully qualified Negro personnel will be assigned to duty in  
overhead installations in numbers not less than a ratio of one to  
ten, " and that "this personnel will displace white personnel in  
equal numbers except that overage will be permitted for a period



necessary to provide on-the-job training or, in case the Negro is fully qualified, on-the-job orientation."

The assignment of Negroes to overhead would be "accomplished at all posts, camps and installations where there is a substantial Negro population, and at other overhead installations requiring performance in high type skills for which qualified Negro individuals may be available or trainable in the Army area." Furthermore, <sup>the and</sup> P & A Division directed that "where fully trained personnel are not available for assignment to overhead positions, individuals who are mentally qualified and whose aptitudes indicate that they may be readily trained for such assignment will be assigned to appropriate schools for training and, upon successful completion of which, assigned to designated overhead positions." P & A <sup>and Division</sup> then listed 64 Military Occupational Specialties <sup>commonly</sup> required in ~~most~~ overhead installations which were to be used in duty assignments of qualified Negroes. Many positions were signal, medical of these ~~MOS positions~~ or finance MOS ~~from~~ from which Negroes had been previously excluded.



In addition to this program of overhead utilization, <sup>and</sup> ~~P & A~~ *Division* also proposed that selected Table of Organization units, both combat and service, be designated as Negro experimental units. The units to be so designated were:

1. In the Army Ground Forces one Field Artillery Motorized 155 mm Howitzer; one Infantry Battalion; and one Tank Company.
2. In the Chemical Corps one Chemical Mortar Company.
3. In the Ordnance <sup>Department</sup> ~~Group~~ one Ordnance Heavy Automotive Maintenance Company.

These Negro units were to experimental only with respect to the controlled selection and distribution of abilities and skills; the controlled selection and assignment of officers and training cadre; the endeavor to maintain high morale and to develop the learning ability of the enlisted personnel.

Monthly reports were to be made on these units as they progressed through their training, and at the end of six months the units were

*and Division*  
P & A hoped to get "factual indication of the extent and scope

of the possible assignment fields in which Negroes of varying amounts of learning ability may be profitably employed and the minimal limitations under which their training or assignment could be considered ineffective."

It is instructive to note the response of the addressees to this plan. The Army Ground Forces approved in principle but wished the *until the reorganization of Ground Forces, required by the War Department economy program, were completed.* program postponed for six months. Army Air Forces objected to the

whole program on the grounds that "not only selection, but career development should be based upon consideration of the qualifications of personnel as individuals without artificially applied factors of discrimination either for or against an individual because of his race."

It is felt that in the case of Negro personnel, special consideration in station assignment only should be given on the basis of social acceptability in the civilian community, but that forcing or retarding the military development of personnel on the basis of color is debilitating and detrimental to the organization as a whole." In the



units would be invalid because comparison would be made between Negroes and Negro units that had been accorded "the utmost in special consideration regarding selection and training" and "white individuals and units that are the product of routine procedures."

The Division of Organization and Training opposed the program on the grounds that repeated studies had been made in the past, and that the <sup>problem</sup> ~~examination~~ of Negro utilization was not primarily one of training but <sup>(simply)</sup> "the application of sound common sense and leadership by local commanders." In particular, O and T <sup>Division</sup> objected to the overhead assignment of Negroes in a ratio of one to ten, and suggested that the use of Negroes in overhead be left to <sup>The determination of</sup> local commanders so as not to "jeopardize the good discipline and effectiveness of troop units."

The Chief of Ordnance and Chief of Chemical Corps both concurred in the plan but said that, inasmuch as they did not <sup>presently</sup> have the Negroes available for the designated units, the required personnel would have to be authorized if the units were to be organized.

## III

Because of the opposition of Army Ground Forces and the Division  
*The director of P and A Division,*  
 of Organization and Training, General Paul, decided to postpone that  
 part of the plan calling for the creation of experimental Negro units  
 and to concentrate on broader utilization of Negroes in overhead  
 positions.

Thereupon, the Division of Personnel and Administration prepared  
*second*  
 a ~~new~~ plan, limited to the expansion of overhead positions for  
*This plan was submitted*  
 Negroes, ~~and submitted it on January 10, 1947,~~ to Brig. Gen. H. I.  
 Hodes, the Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff, *on January 10, 1947.*

To begin with, P and A Division drew up a list of 112 Military  
 Occupational Specialties which were most commonly needed in overhead  
 installations. *In compiling the list, P and A Division concentrated on*  
~~The great proportion of these MOS were~~ signal, ordnance,  
 transportation, medical and finance MOS, since these departments had  
 always been the most most inflexible in their ~~ex~~clusion of Negroes,  
 especially in skilled jobs.

Upon the basis of this list of MOS, the plan called for *an immediate* survey of

*overhead installations*  
~~to be made~~ by the commanding generals of the AAF, the AGF, the Armies

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in the Zone of Interior and Overseas, and the Chiefs of Technical and Administrative Services. This survey was to determine *for each command*:

1. The number of MOS from the list of 112 to which Negroes might be assigned.
2. The number of Negroes who could be used in each such MOS.
3. The number of Negroes, in ZI and Overseas commands, already qualified by school training in the listed MOS and available for immediate assignment to overhead positions.
4. The number of Negroes in ZI commands only *who were* qualified for school training in the listed MOS.

Upon receipt of these reports from commanders, the War Department would then:

1. Direct commanders to assign to overhead immediately those Negroes already qualified by school training.
2. Direct that all specialist schools be available for Negroes.
3. Increase the school quotas for Negroes, both in the courses ~~and~~ open to recruits upon completion of basic training and in the courses for enlisted men already assigned to units.

Negroes who were detached from their units and sent to school would.

upon completion of their courses, be returned to their units and assigned

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to overhead. Negroes from the replacement stream --that is, recruits who had completed basic training -- would, upon completion of school courses, ~~be~~ be earmarked for overhead utilization when they were assigned to units.

The Negroes thus assigned to overhead would be interspersed on the job with whites <sup>who were</sup> performing the same duties. However, for billets and mess they were to be formed into separate detachments or attached to already existing Negro detachments. The whites who would be displaced under this plan would be retained long enough to give the Negroes on-the-job instruction and then be reassigned.

General Hodes, Assistant Deputy Chief of Staff, immediately objected to this plan on the grounds <sup>That</sup> (1) ~~that~~ the timing was bad, since continuing demobilization necessitated frequent adjustments in overhead installations; (2) <sup>That</sup> <sup>school,</sup> during the training period for Negroes, there would <sup>overhead</sup> <sup>that</sup>



have to be two men for every position to be filled by a Negro; (3) the

directive was too detailed and centralized power in Washington.

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Replying to these objections by Hodes, General Paul stated that

(1) since the <sup>major</sup> flow of manpower was now to domestic rather than overseas installations, the small shift of men contemplated under the program would cause no dislocation and would provide ZI commanders with <sup>the</sup> trained men to run their posts <sup>for whom they had been asking;</sup> (2) school training inevitably required the temporary absence of men from their units, and since commanders were always complaining about the lack of trained Negro manpower, they would undoubtedly be willing to put up with temporary inconvenience in order to have their men school-trained; (3) the Gillem Board policy had been in effect for nine months with "no material implementation by field commanders, " and "if any results are to be accomplished a specific directive must be issued." In conclusion, General Paul reminded General Hodes that WD Circular 124 charged the Personnel and Administration Division with the implementation of the Gillem policy, and

that policy expressly  
~~which provided for~~ directed the use of Negroes in overhead.  
~~and that plan for extended use of Negroes in overhead~~

General Hodes still refused to approve the directive prepared by P and A Division, and insisted that no plan be set in motion until a survey were taken in all commands to find out whether commanders were

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complying with WD Circular 124. [On February 4, 1947, therefore, General Hodes directed General Paul to notify all commanders that the Secretary of War was "concerned over certain indicated failures to implement the provisions of War Department Circular 124, 1946, especially that part which pertains to the utilization of Negro personnel in overhead installations." *General Paul was to order* ~~to be~~ *All commanders were ordered* to report to the Adjutant General by April 15/ on :

1. Action taken to effect greater utilization of Negro personnel at overhead installations.
2. Action taken to implement other provisions of <sup>WD</sup> ~~the~~ Circular 124.
3. Plans for further implementation of the provisions of the circular during the year 1947.
4. Measures in effect to provide school training to Negro personnel for particular jobs in overhead installations.
5. Recommendations for the further implementation of WD Circular 124, which should be effected by the War Department.

These orders were dispatched on March 5 to all commanders in the  
ZI and Overseas and to the Chiefs of Technical and Administrative  
Services. In the letter to commanders the Adjutant General directed  
that their reports "should itemize all MOS's of major importance involving  
Negro personnel" in the overhead installations.

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IV



The results of this survey are revealing. Actually the total of  
Negroes employed in overhead was larger than might have been expected.  
Of a total of 104,355 men in overhead in all commands, 13,928 were  
1.  
Negroes, or 13.35 per cent.

WD  
Compliance with Circular 124 on overhead utilization of Negroes  
varied widely from comand to command. For example, in the European  
Command, 2125 Negroes were employed in overhead out of a total of  
11,460, or 18.5 per cent. In the Mediterranean Theater, on the other  
hand, only four Negroes were used in overhead out of a total of 2,756.  
At Fort Francis<sup>A</sup> E. Warren, Wyoming, 490 Negroes of a total of 688 were  
used in overhead -- 71 per cent. The Corps of Engineers, however,  
employed only 32 Negroes out 1625 men in overhead --1.9 per cent.

The total figures on utilization of Negroes in overhead do not, however, tell the whole story. These totals were swelled through the

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1. These totals do not include General MacArthur's command, which submitted no figures on overhead. The Far East Command reported it would assign Negroes to overhead "at such time as positions requiring special skill became vacant in overhead units and Negro personnel qualified to fill such positions are available and can be spared from their present assignments. At the present time the services of Negroes possessing special skills are required in the Negro T/O units now activated. Effective 1 July 47 it is planned to incorporate about 400 Negroes in the bulk overhead units in Japan. These Negroes will be utilized along with whites (about 1700) in logistical operations."

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concentration of Negroes in such overhead positions as cook, baker, truck driver, general clerk and duty soldier (unskilled laborer).

For example, of the 879 Negroes in the overhead of the Third Army, 597 were employed as cook, military policeman, duty NCO, duty soldier and truck driver.

In the overhead of the same Third Army, however, there were 29 white finance clerks and no Negroes; 37 white motion picture projectionists and no Negroes; 478 white writers and no Negroes. Throughout all commands the use of Negroes in overhead in signal, ordnance, transportation, medical and finance MOS was minimal.

In fact, some commands and some departments flatly refused to use Negroes in overhead positions, not withstanding Army policy as expressed

in WD Circular 124. For example, the ~~Alaskan Theater~~ <sup>Office of the Chief of Finance</sup>

said, "It is considered impractical to have negro overhead assigned

to these [field] activities and none are utilized." The Alaskan

Department said it would be inconsistent with the "best utilization"

of personnel to detach Negroes from T/O units and assign them to

overhead. The Mediteranean Theater stated that "the project of assigning

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Negro enlisted men to duty in overhead installations in this theater has been handicapped by the shortage of skilled technicians and competent non-commissioned officers in Negro units." The Chief of Transportation reported that "continuous progressive action is being exerted to screen qualified Negro personnel to encourage them to attend various schools to develop fully their capabilities," but <sup>he</sup> omitted to <sup>not</sup> ~~report~~ that almost all railway MOS were closed to Negroes. The Army Medical in Washington, <sup>stated</sup> Center ~~which~~ had 179 whites and no Negroes in its overhead, ~~reported~~ candidly that "other than through extensive recruiting procedures, no action has been taken to implement [overhead] provision of WD Circular 124, 1946, for the 7031st Area Service Unit." The Signal Corps reported

that "personnel allotments to operating units have been revised to include a quota of Negro personnel and requisitions placed for the required MOS's," but did not specify what the required MOS were, nor indicate that virtually all skilled MOS in the Signal Corps were closed to Negroes. The Ordnance Department declared that "all technical courses at the Ordnance School are open to qualified Negro personnel possessing the necessary prerequisites to such instruction" -- a state-

1. In November, 1947, There were 440 whites and no Negroes in Ordnance schools at Atlanta, Georgia, <sup>87</sup> and 295 whites and 50 Negroes in Ordnance schools at Aberdeen, Maryland. At Aberdeen There were no quotas for Negroes in 11 out of 18 courses.

t  
men which was ~~contrary to the facts~~ <sup>(1)</sup>

In reporting on the measures ~~they had~~ taken to provide school training to Negroes in preparation for jobs in overhead installations, the commanding generals, almost without exception, stated that Negroes were granted equal opportunity with whites to attend Army schools. "Specialist school attendance is available to the Negro soldiers as well as to white," wrote the commander of the ~~Second~~ Second Army. The commander of the Third Army said, "No differentiation between Negro and white personnel is made in overall plans to provide specialist training for particular jobs in overhead installations. Likewise attendance at Service Schools is impartial."

The Commander of the Fourth Army declared that "all Negro ~~personnel~~ personnel will

be given equal opportunity for specialist training in available courses."

Undoubtedly these commanders believed they were expressing a fact, and were probably unaware that the situation with respect to school training for Negroes was precisely the opposite from what they reported it to be.

Actually more than half of all <sup>courses in</sup> ~~all~~ Army Schools had no quotas for Negro soldiers, and were thus effectively closed to Negroes regardless of their qualifications. <sup>(2)</sup>

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2. The whole subject of Army Schools will be treated at length in the next chapter.

Some indication of the importance which commanders in the field attached to WD Circular 124 may be gained from a perusal of the "plans" and "recommendations" which they submitted for further implementation of the Gillem Board policy. Although a few commanders asked for an increase in school quotas for Negro enlisted men, the vast majority reported that they were complying with the Gillem policy and had no plans or recommendations for further implementation. The Alaskan Department suggested that a team of officers be sent to the field to instruct commanders how to implement WD Circular 124; another commander proposed the establishment of a central

a third school for training Negroes in certain skills including leadership; another



school for training Negroes in certain skills including leadership; ~~and~~

general recommended orientation programs for Negroes "to instill in them

the realization that their opportunities in the Army are equal to those of

other races." <sup>commanders</sup> Others ~~proposed~~ proposed training as cooks, clerk-typists, fiscal

clerks and medical technicians; a study of MOS in which Negroes may be best

utilized; a course for white officers in the command of Negro troops. The most

constructive suggestion was made by the European Command --that Negroes assigned

to overseas command should have the same AGCT (intelligence) spread as white

personnel.

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In the end, nothing came of the survey which General Hodes had ordered, and the plan developed by General Paul for wider utilization of Negroes in overhead was shelved.

## V

In the spring of 1947 the Personnel and Administration Division was engaged in drawing up plans for a revolutionary change in the Army's system of personnel management for enlisted men. What the P and A Division had in mind was the division of Army jobs into career fields -- infantry, artillery, mechanized cavalry, food service, etc. -- and the <sup>designation</sup> ~~creation~~ within

artillery, mechanized cavalry, food service, etc. and the ~~creation~~ <sup>creation</sup> within

career fields of job ladders by which the enlisted man could progress,

through a series of school courses and examinations, from rung to rung

in his specialty. The object of this so-called Career Guidance Program

was to ~~secure, for the Army, the realization of~~ <sup>realize, in the interest of military efficiency,</sup> the maximum potential ~~of each individual; and to provide, for the individual soldier, the most~~

equitable system of promotion.

The Personnel and Administrative Division was concerned how the Negro enlisted man ~~could~~ <sup>was to</sup> be fitted into this program ~~so that the Negro would enjoy the benefits of the program and the Army could get the most~~

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~~efficient use out of him.~~ Because there was not the same diversity of Negro units as white and therefore not the same spread of jobs, Negroes had clustered in a relatively small number of MOS. This meant that Negro

soldiers would not have ~~as~~ many career fields open to them. Furthermore,

many school courses ~~had~~ <sup>had</sup> a prerequisite of GCT 90 for ~~admittance~~ <sup>admission,</sup> and since

~~72%~~ <sup>percent</sup> of Negro personnel were below GCT 90 as compared to ~~29%~~ <sup>percent</sup> whites below

GCT 90, many Negroes currently in the Army would have difficulty progressing up the career ladders.

In June, 1947, P and A Division requested the Adjutant General to  
*attached to TAG,*  
send Mr. Roy Davenport, a personnel expert */* into the field to make a study  
of the utilization of Negroes and to submit a report on how the Career  
Guidance Program might affect the Negro soldier.

Davenport submitted his report in the following August. Among his principal  
findings were the following:

1. There were heavy concentrations of Negroes in certain MOS  
and types of duty, which would *operate against* ~~not to deny~~ the full  
participation of Negroes in the career program, "since it  
is presumed that experience qualifications will be mandatory  
for advancement."



2. School quotas for Negroes were limited to relatively few courses, only 25 out of 87 entry courses being <sup>Then</sup> open to Negroes. In the courses open to Negroes, quotas were often inadequate. As a result, some qualified Negroes were denied the opportunity for schooling, and many Negroes were sent to schools for which they were not best qualified.
3. There was considerable evidence of mal-assignment of Negroes.
4. As a result of the selective procurement program <sup>that</sup> ~~was~~ had been in effect from October, 1946, through July, 1947 (under which the GCT enlistment standard for Negroes was 100 against 70 for whites), the percentage of Negroes below GCT 90 had fallen sharply. Nevertheless, a good many Negroes would be unable to attend Army Schools. ~~School entrance requirements should not be set higher than necessary~~

Davenport's recommendations were:

1. All Army School courses <sup>should be</sup> ~~be open~~ <sup>available to qualified personnel</sup> regardless of race, and larger quotas <sup>should be</sup> set for Negroes. This was necessary if the Army were to have the necessary specialists <sup>to man</sup> ~~for~~ Negro T/O units, and if Negro representation in overhead were to be *enlarged* in accord <sup>ance</sup> with WD Circular 124.



2. In order that Negroes might benefit by the Career Guidance Program, selective recruiting of Negroes should be continued. A report of AGCT distribution of all personnel, both white and Negro, would provide a basis for determining the number of Negro personnel to be recruited in order to <sup>lessen</sup> ~~remove~~ the GCT differential between white and Negro troops. Active recruitment should be directed at Negro high schools to secure recruits in higher GCT categories.
3. Standards for school courses should not be set higher than ~~is~~ warranted by the content of the courses and work for which the student <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ being prepared.
4. The use of Negroes should be broadened in order to open more career ladders to them.

## VI

Upon receiving Davenport's report, the Personnel and Administration Division ~~agreed~~ <sup>concurred</sup> on mal-utilization of Division agreed that his findings ~~represented a reflection of the situation~~ Negro troops and ~~with respect~~ non-observance of the Gillem policy were accurate.

It also agreed that his recommendations were sound. But with all the good will in the world to correct this situation, the P and A Division was caught in a vicious circle, and knew it.



Davenport had recommended that the Army broaden the list of occupational specialties open to Negroes; make all school courses available to qualified men regardless of race; ~~and~~ increase the Negro quotas for such courses; and specially procure Negro recruits of higher mental caliber to insure that there would be Negroes capable of absorbing school training and making their way up the career ladders.

But how, asked Personnel and Administration, <sup>was it</sup> ~~are we~~ to increase the jobs open to Negroes unless new Negro units <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ formed, or white units ~~converted~~ <sup>Y</sup> to Negro, so that the jobs <sup>would</sup> ~~would~~ actually exist <sup>to put</sup> ~~for~~ Negroes ~~to be put~~ into? How <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ school quotas to be increased for Negroes unless the actual jobs <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ there to justify the school training? "Negro school quotas cannot be increased," P and A wrote to the Adjutant General, "until requirements justify this training. Increased requirements cannot appear until utilization of Negroes is currently broadened in a greater number of fields."

Army Ground Forces and the Division of Organization and Training — the staff division responsible for the creation of units — had already



Hodes had stalled the plan for a general increase in Negroes in overhead. Clearly a new approach was needed. Major Lieblich in P and A Division and Mr. Davenport in the Adjutant General's office went to work.

The new "plan of attack" which <sup>They</sup>~~was~~ evolved was three-pronged.

First, there should be a study, field by field and area by area, of *all* Army jobs in order to determine ~~in~~ what positions could ~~already~~ be filled by ~~trained~~ Negroes <sup>already trained, and what positions could be</sup> ~~and what positions could be~~ filled only after an intensive program of training. When this were known, then the problem of Negro utilization should be attacked piece-meal, one career field after another.

*when the Negro job potential were known,*  
Secondly, <sup>the</sup> P and A Division would ask the Division of Organization and Training to convert some white units to Negro, in order that there would be requirements to justify the training.

Finally, P and A would undertake a special procurement to supply the necessary men for the converted units.





program was to be based, P and A Division suggested that the Adjutant General ~~be assigned~~ assign a qualified Negro officer to the Personnel Research and Procedures Branch within his office. It would be the duty of this Negro officer to provide the P and A Division "with appropriate studies, area by area, field by field" <sup>upon the basis of</sup> ~~in~~ which the Adjutant General would recommend "specific measures to be immediately taken to broaden Negro utilization." These recommendations would detail specifically "the implementing steps to be taken on such matters as increasing particular school Negro quotas, properly selecting Negro students, and properly assigning the trained Negro personnel upon completion of schooling."

This was the most ambitious and far-reaching plan which had yet been proposed, and though its approach was gradual, it gave promise of solid accomplishments, both in expanded opportunities for Negroes and in more efficient utilization of manpower by the Army. General Paul immediately endorsed the plan; <sup>on November 5, 1947</sup> and in a lengthy

the Army, he <sup>developed</sup> ~~explained~~ the program in some detail: —

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UYou have referred (General Paul wrote) . . . to the three inter-related problems inherent in broadening Negro utilization: placement, training (including school training), and specialized procurement. An <sup>advance</sup> ~~advance~~ in any one of these areas without a concomitant advance in the others will not produce satisfactory overall results. We must first chart out the areas of expanded placement before we can plan on an increase in school quotas for school training or before we can justifiably embark on any specialized procurement program to produce Negro enlistees capable of absorbing more technical school training and performing more technical duties . . . . You will recognize that, while any plan must address itself to these ~~three~~ three problems, the first and most important question is the expansion of the overhead skills and the types of units in which Negro personnel will be placed. . . .

UI am convinced . . . that the problem of further implementation to WD Cir 124, so far as utilization is concerned, has now reached a stage where our efforts must be concentrated on increasing utilization in specific areas until in each such area adequate Negro utilization has been obtained under the policies of WD Cir 124. It is at this juncture all the more important to tackle this problem of expanding Negro utilization specifically area by area as our career guidance program emerges into its final organization of military jobs into fixed career fields and job progression ladders within these fields.

UAs the career guidance program developed on the planning boards, I was also concerned with insuring that sufficient consideration was given to the problem of Negro utilization in this program. With this in mind I requested Major Davis of this Division and Mr. Davenport, Personnel Research Branch, TAG, to survey the situation and after a country-wide inspection trip, to give me their recommendations on this subject. Their report crystallized the thinking of this Division on the necessity for ~~the~~ specific field-by-field implementation of WD Cir 124 and for the closest coordination of this piece-meal implementation with the career guidance program. It also convinced me that in order to secure these specific implementation advances field by field, it would be necessary to rely upon studies in each individual field on the problem of Negro utilization in both overhead installations and T/O&E units.



[L] With regard to utilization in overhead installations, it is contemplated that, field by field, the studies referred to above will match the jobs within each field presently held by Negroes against the total numbers of personnel performing these jobs. Based upon this analysis these studies will then indicate the specific jobs in which Negro personnel must be introduced or their present use expanded. The studies must then provide the specific procurement, school training, and assignment plans to accomplish the introduction or expansion of properly selected and school-trained Negroes into the jobs within the field under study to the extent warranted by WD Cir 124 and under the policies of that directive.

[L] With regard to the expansion of Negro utilization within T/O&E units, studies will also be made comparing the units on the present and ~~the~~ on the future mobilization troop basis in which Negro utilization is indicated. These studies will ~~also~~ match the units in which Negroes are presently assigned against those in which they have not as yet obtained assignment. These studies will make further reference to the level of skills required in these units in which Negro personnel are not yet utilized and to obtaining an appropriate spread of combat units in which Negroes have not yet been introduced. These studies will thus earmark the types of units in which Negro personnel must be immediately introduced or in which their utilization must be expanded to secure for future mobilization appropriate Negro utilization in units with higher skill levels and with a greater combat spread. When the T/O&E unit program for Negro utilization has been thus developed, this Division is prepared to urge upon Organization and Training Division the necessary conversion of appropriate T/O&E units to Negro utilization on the present and future mobilization troop bases. This Division will at the same time undertake the necessary specialized procurement to staff such converted units with competent personnel.

## VII

*Paul*  
General *X* was not willing to delay action on the new program, however, until studies had been completed. Concurrently with his approval of the plan prepared by Major Lieblich, he persuaded ~~the~~ Organization and Training Division, as a kind of trial run for the new program, to convert 19 units from white to Negro personnel. Seven of these units were combat, five were *X* combat support, and seven were service. The ~~designated~~<sup>?</sup> units were:

## I. White divisional units to be designated as Negro units

82d Airborn Division  
80th AAA Battalion  
320th Field Artillery Battalion  
  
2d Armored Division  
14th Field Artillery Battalion  
  
2d Infantry Division  
3d Battalion, 9th Infantry Regiment  
12th Field Artillery Battalion

## II. White non-divisional units to be designated as Negro units

258 Ordnance Evacuation Company  
43 Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron  
500 Engineer Pontoon Bridge Treadway Company  
78 Engineer Construction Battalion  
539 Engineer Pontoon Bridge Company  
988 Engineer Treadway Bridge Company

420 Medical Collecting Company  
2d Field Artillery Battalion  
102 Quartermaster Bakery  
458 Amphibious Tractor Company  
230 Quartermaster Salvage Collecting Company  
13 TC Car Company  
651 Medical Motor Ambulance Company  
506 Quartermaster Gas Supply Company

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To man these converted units, the P and A Division in late December, 1947, launched a three-month special procurement<sup>drive</sup> for 6,318 Negroes, over and above the normal monthly <sup>recruitment</sup> ~~procurement~~ of Negroes. Eligible for enlistment in these converted units were men with prior military service who had completed high school or had been awarded the Bronze Star, ~~or~~ Army Commendation Ribbon or decoration for valor and could attain a score of 13 or higher on the standard Army test; and all others who could attain a score of 17 or better on the same test. Physical standards varied with the units, the highest being for ~~the~~ service with the parachute infantry.

The conversion of these 19 units did not greatly expand the range of military occupational specialties open to Negroes, since Negroes had already been serving in ~~parallel~~ <sup>similar T/O type</sup> units. The conversion did, however, <sup>increase</sup> ~~expand~~ the number ~~spread~~ of combat and combat support units to which Negroes could be assigned, and thereby increased the total of skilled MOS available to Negroes and offered correspondingly new opportunities for school training.

Seizing the opportunity which was offered by the conversion of units to request larger school quotas for Negroes, the P and A Division decided to try to recover some of the ground lost when General Hodes had ~~recommended~~ rejected its plan <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ wider employment <sup>in</sup> of Negroes in overhead. Thereupon, P and A

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Division directed the Adjutant General's office to :

1. Break out the school-trained MOS found in the listing of T/O ~~units~~ units recently converted from white to Negro, and recommend such increases in school quotas for each school-trained MOS as were necessary to insure that the skilled positions in the converted units were filled.
2. Examine the world-wide Army strength report to determine in what school-trained MOS the Negro element ~~was~~ <sup>units were</sup> under authorized strength, and recommend increases in quotas to ~~meet~~ <sup>make up</sup> deficiencies which could not be met by existing school quotas.
3. Submit immediate recommendations for <sup>an</sup> increase in Negro quotas for the following school-trained MOS: cablesplicer, central office technician, installer-repairman, automatic telephone system, teletype mechanic, dental laboratory technician, medical equipment maintenance technician, x-ray technician, medical laboratory technician, pharmacy technician, and military policeman.

It <sup>should</sup> ~~is to~~ be noted that most of the MOS listed in (3) above are

signal and medical MOS. General Paul insisted also that a directive

be sent to ZI major commands, <sup>making mandatory</sup> ~~requiring~~ the use of the Negro

personnel that was to be trained as a result of the increase in school

quotas.

The officer assigned by the Adjutant General to recommend the ~~use~~



The officer assigned by the Adjutant General to recommend the ~~additional~~ <sup>which had been</sup> additional school quotas for Negroes ~~was~~ requested by P and A Division, was Major James D. Fowler, a Negro West Pointer with an excellent war record.

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Major Fowler had been selected as the Negro officer to conduct the studies upon the basis of which the P and A Division was to implement

its field by field program of increased Negro utilization. <sup>The recommending of school quotas</sup> ~~This~~ was his

first job under the new assignment.

<sup>The Tables of Organization of</sup>  
As a result of the break-out of school-trained MOS found in the 19  
newly converted units, Major Fowler recommended ~~and recommended~~ <sup>that of the 6,318 men</sup>  
~~who were to be specially~~ <sup>who were to be specially</sup> ~~Negroes~~ procured, 1,134 should be trained in 37 courses

of instruction. This would necessitate an increase of <sup>103</sup> ~~of~~ Negro spaces in these courses --or a weekly increase in attendance of 47.

As a result of his examination of the world-wide strength report  
to determine the increase in school quotas required to meet deficiencies <sup>in school-trained MOS in Negro units,</sup>  
Major Fowler recommended <sup>total</sup> ~~an~~ increase <sup>in 37 courses,</sup> ~~in~~ of 172 spaces <sup>(average)</sup> or an increase weekly of 77.

After <sup>studying</sup> ~~examining~~ the so-called tables of distribution for over 200  
installations, Major Fowler recommended <sup>that</sup> ~~an~~ increase <sup>Negro</sup> ~~in~~ school quotas for



installations, Major Fowler recommended ~~increasing~~ school quotas for  
be increased by 39, or a weekly increase of  
the 11 MOS listed in (3) above ~~as follows: each unit increase in each MOS~~  
of 18. Prior to Fowler's recommendation, there had been no quotas<sup>5</sup> at all  
~~in 1947~~ for Negroes in these 11 MOS.

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The increases recommended by Major Fowler were carried out. As a result  
of this three-fold program to increase Negro school quotas, Negro ~~enrollment~~<sup>attendance</sup>  
in ~~Army~~<sup>The Army</sup> courses ~~jumped~~<sup>open to recruits</sup> from five to 13.7 per cent of the total enrollment;  
and the number of Army courses open to Negroes rose from 30% to ~~40%~~<sup>48%</sup> of all ~~Army~~<sup>entry</sup>  
courses ~~offered~~<sup>in The Army Schools</sup> curriculum.

### VIII

The conversion of 19 units from white to Negro in December, 1947; the  
special procurement of 6,000 Negroes to man these units in the ~~winter of~~<sup>first three months</sup>  
of 1948; the increases in Negro school quotas during the same period -- these  
~~steps~~<sup>accomplishments</sup> mark the high point in the Army's implementation of the Gillem Board  
policy. In fact, they represent the only really significant ~~advances~~<sup>advances</sup>  
which the Army ~~made~~<sup>has</sup> toward the Gillem Board objective of maximum efficient  
utilization of Negro manpower.

~~The~~<sup>However,</sup> three-pronged attack which had planned by General Paul, Major Lieblich

and Mr. Davenport was never carried through. The field by field studies <sup>have not</sup> ~~were~~ <sup>yet been undertaken.</sup> ~~never completed.~~ <sup>have been</sup> No more units ~~were~~ converted from white to Negro, and as

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a consequence the spread of combat units and the range of military occupations were never expanded as had been planned. No further requests were made for increases in school quotas. <sup>And</sup> Those increases recommended by Major Fowler were short-lived in <sup>their</sup> effect because as soon as the requirements of the converted units had been met, Negro school quotas were reduced <sup>once again</sup> to a level sufficient to meet the standing replacement needs of Negro units. <sup>1</sup> The P and A Division had informed Major Fowler that, following <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ submission of recommendations for <sup>increased</sup> ~~the~~ school <sup>quotas</sup> ~~increases~~ in the fields of military police, signal and medical, <sup>he</sup> ~~the~~ would be asked to make further studies "with a view to increasing other school quotas based upon the conversion of Overhead MOS positions from white to Negro." But these studies were <sup>never requested, and further</sup> ~~not made, and~~ increases in school quotas to <sup>supply trained</sup> ~~train more~~ Negroes for overhead positions were never asked for.

The blame for this failure to carry out the plan <sup>prepared by</sup> ~~of~~ the P and A

- in replacement stream courses,
1. By March, 1949, the Negro school spaces had declined to 82 out of a total of 1823, or 4.4% as contrasted to the 13.7% following Fowler's recommendations. The number of replacement stream courses open to Negroes had dropped from 48% of all courses offered to 19.8% <sup>percent</sup>.

<sup>percent</sup>  
~~percent~~

<sup>percent</sup>  
~~percent~~

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records section reveal no consistent enthusiasm for, and very often active opposition to, any positive measures for implementing the policies of the Gillem Board. This is particularly true of the Army Ground Forces and the General Staff Division of Organization and Training. Nevertheless, a

<sup>some part</sup>  
~~good share~~ of the responsibility for the failure to carry through on the

field by field approach proposed by P and A Division must be borne by The

Adjutant General's Office and

Major Fowler

Major Fowler. Even if it is conceded that ~~he~~ did not get very active

The Adjutant General

support and encouragement, the fact remains that ~~he~~ had a clear, detailed

and broad directive to make the necessary studies on which were to hinge

future recommendations <sup>to</sup> ~~of~~ the P and A Division. Major Fowler did not make

these studies. His only completed study was of the distribution of MOS

among Negro troops, and his only positive recommendation was for a 10

per cent Negro representation in every MOS. This was obviously impractical

because, in many of the most technical MCS, qualified Negroes were not available in a ratio of 10 per cent.

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IX

So far this chapter has deal<sup>d</sup> only with the principal recommendations of the Gillem Board, <sup>providing for an</sup> ~~the~~ expansion of Negro type units, occupational specialties and overhead employment. What of some of the other recommendations?

1. The Gillem Board recommended and <sup>The Army agreed</sup> ~~WD Circular 124 stated~~ that "surveys of manpower requirements conducted by the War Department will include recommendations covering the positions in each installation of the Army which could be filled by Negro personnel." No such recommendations have been made.

~~2. The Gillem Board recommended that "reenlistment be denied to Regular Army soldiers who meet only the minimum standards." The Army did not accept this recommendation, but it has taken <sup>two</sup> ~~one~~ steps in this direction.~~

In , the Army advised commanders that they could discharge  
all men with a GCT score of and below who had proven themselves  
"inapt" for military training or who

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2. With the objective of eliminating the "professional private,"  
the Gillem Board had recommended that "reenlistment be denied to Regular  
Army soldiers who meet only the minimum standards." The Army did not  
accept this recommendation. Nevertheless, ~~it has in the past three years~~  
~~adapted for a limited period~~  
~~taken reverse steps~~  
periods --  
has taken measures --intermittently and for limited ~~duration~~ to  
eliminate ~~unsuitable~~ personnel that lowered ~~military efficiency~~. *The effectiveness of units.*

[ In April, 1946, concurrently with the adoption of the Gillem policy,  
*to enlist or re-enlist*  
*(and no enlistments)*  
the Army refused ~~original enlistments~~ of men with a mental score below  
exceptions were ~~for~~ men who had been decorated for valor,  
GCT 70. The only ~~exceptions to this regulation~~  
and ~~for~~ prior service personnel with a GCT of 65 who were recommended  
for re-enlistment by their commanders.

L On August, 1946, the Army decided not only to ~~not~~ shut off the

enlistment of low-score men, but also to screen out of the service those who had proven themselves incapable of absorbing further military training. This order permitted commanders, under authority of Army Regulation 615-39 defining "unaptness," to eliminate those men with a minimum of six months service "who are incapable of serving in the

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Army in a desirable manner after reasonable attempts have been made to utilize their capabilities . . . Such personnel are normally individuals who lack the mental qualifications necessary to become suitable soldiers (generally personnel whose AGCT score is below 70) or those who, because of repeated commission of minor offenses requiring disciplinary action, cannot be economically utilized."

It is difficult to estimate with any certainty just how many men were eliminated from the service as a result of this order, but the European Command reported that it expected to ~~screen~~<sup>discharge</sup> 12,000 low score and unsuitable men out of its total complement of 43,000 by the application of AR 615-39. ~~and~~ Several commands reported that this order ~~materially~~ materially improved the quality of their Negro elements

by opening up vacancies to better qualified Negroes.

In April, 1947, the Army renewed the above order with some modifications. Commanders were permitted to separate men after three months service under the provisions of AR 615-39, but they were no longer <sup>supposed</sup> ~~allowed~~ to eliminate men solely on the basis of low mental score, and were required to ~~take intermediate~~ base separations on inability

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to absorb ~~profitably~~ further training and <sup>or</sup> repeated disciplinary infractions. This order was rescinded in October, 1948, and no further action in this direction was taken until <sup>September,</sup> ~~the fall of~~ 1949, when the Army announced that





~~In September, 1949, the Army announced that reenlistment would not~~  
men who at the  
be granted to ~~single men~~ completion of their first enlistment had not  
made the rank of corporal, if married, or private first class, if single.

Two other steps which the Army has taken, affecting the quality of  
Negro troops only, was the special procurement of 6,000 men for the  
converted units in the first three months of 1948; and the selective  
recruitment from October, 1946, through July, 1947, when the enlistment  
standard for Negroes was set at <sup>GCT</sup> 100, <sup>while remaining at</sup> ~~and not~~ GCT 70 for whites. Though  
this latter device was discriminatory, it did have the effect of ~~improving~~  
raising the <sup>general</sup> intelligence level of the Negro <sup>elements</sup> ~~element~~ and reducing <sup>somewhat</sup> ~~the~~  
the differential in GCT

the differential in color ~~differs in the~~ spread between ~~the~~ white and Negro personnel.

3. The Gillem Board had recommended a special staff group in Washington and in the ~~various~~ <sup>several Army</sup> commands to handle the planning and implementation of Negro policy. The failure of the General Staff to accept this recommendation was responsible in part for the limited success of the Gillem Board undoubtedly ~~affected the success of the Negro policy for the limited~~ policy. Although four officers of the rank of major or colonel worked hard at plans to implement the Gillem policy, they ~~worked only intermittently~~ gave this task only what

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time they could spare from their other duties, and none of them had enough authority to ~~give~~ <sup>lend</sup> real weight to their views. If the Negro soldier ~~had been regarded~~ <sup>had been regarded</sup> as an individual in the Army, there would ~~be no need~~ <sup>have been no need</sup> for a special staff group to formulate Negro policy. But so long as ~~the~~ <sup>was</sup> the Army divided into white and Negro elements, ~~the~~ the Negro's welfare required the full time attention of a staff group of sympathetic, highly placed officers.

4. The Gillem Board recommended and the Army agreed that Negro units should ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> exceed regimental size. This policy has been adhered to. There is the common pattern now is the Negro presently but one Negro regiment, and ~~no other general pattern now is for~~ battalion assigned, or more usually attached,

~~these assignments, and the assignment of Negro~~ to a white regiment. While there  
are many Negro units of company size, these are ~~not usually assigned to~~ <sup>rarely assigned to</sup> ~~white battalions~~ <sup>incorporated in</sup>  
white battalions, and it is the exception to find a Negro platoon in a white  
company.

The declared policy of the Army is for "groupings of Negro units  
with white units in composite organizations." The Gillem Board said, further,  
that "experiments and other experiences of World War II indicate clearly  
that the most successful employment of Negro units occurred when they

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were employed as units closely associated with white units on similar tasks,  
and a greater degree of success was obtained when small Negro organizations  
were so employed."

*It was not entirely clear whether the Gillem Board intended  
The ~~subsequent~~ opposition to this policy furnishes ample evidence not  
that the size of Negro units should become progressively  
only of the stubborn resistance to change which those who would reform Army racial  
smaller and be actually assigned to white units as  
practices must expect  
not but also of the need to maintain a close check upon  
organic parts of the parent organization. At any rate, many  
local commanders to insure that new policies are enforced. Two incidents  
general officers insisted on the most illiberal construction  
will suffice. of the "composite" policy. Two incidents will suffice.*

*In April 1946, Assistant Secretary of War Howard C. Petersen proposed  
that Negro units in the 88th Division in Italy be*

<sup>components</sup> made parts of larger white units. Both the Divisions of Personnel and Administration and Organization and Training opposed this request on the ground that the formation of mixed units in the 88th would ~~it~~ require the "integration of ~~mixed~~ Negro platoons or Negro sections into white companies, a combination which is not in accordance with the policy as expressed in Circular 124."

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The General Staff considered the renewal of

In May, 1947, WD Circular 124 came up for renewal. General Eisenhower <sup>The Circular had</sup> before being re-issued, ~~insisted~~ <sup>revised</sup> that ~~in the~~ the word "separate" should be

deleted in the sentence: "Employment will be in Negro regiments or groups, separate battalions or squadrons, and separate companies, troops or batteries . . ." The deletion of the word "separate" would ~~be~~ mean that Negro units could definitely be assigned as organic parts of larger white organizations, rather than merely attached to them.

Organization and Training Division protested vehemently. Because, argued O and T, <sup>124</sup> ~~the~~ WD Circular <sup>124</sup> said that "a proportionate number of these [Negro] units will be organized as part of larger units," this plainly "not the

for it was ~~not the~~  
did not mean that ~~the~~ Negro units would not be separate, ~~with that~~  
" said O and T. That  
intent of the Gillem Board, ~~that~~ a small unit be divided between Negro and  
~~should be the same as the division of the division, except for the~~

white." Furthermore, O and T added, "our implementation of the Negro  
problem has not progressed to the degree where we can accept this step, we  
have already progressed beyond that which is acceptable in many states and  
we still have a considerable latitude in the present policy without further  
liberalizing it from the Negro viewpoint."

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Army Ground Forces were equally ~~opposed~~ <sup>aroused</sup>, though <sup>its opposition was</sup> ~~the reasons were~~  
more obliquely reasoned:  
~~not so direct:~~ "This headquarters feels that the separate Negro units  
should retain their identity. When used they should be used to replace  
similar units of a white outfit and be integrated in that manner rather  
than lose their identity by becoming an organic part of a mixed regiment  
or battalion. Removal of the word 'separate' . . . would permit the  
indiscriminate organization of small Negro units within larger T/O  
units. It is believed that this would be contrary to the spirit of the  
Gillem Board Report and the present regulations. Such organization might

be detrimental to the solution of the Negro manpower problem."

General Eisenhower ordered "separate" deleted.

X

The limited progress which the Army has made in Negro utilization since the adoption of the Gillem policy is not attributable solely

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to lack of effort or the absence of good will. The inescapable <sup>conclusion</sup> ~~fact~~ is that the objective of the Gillem Board policy was unattainable within the framework in which it was forced to operate. The objective of the Gillem Board was to secure the maximum efficient utilization of <sup>all military</sup> ~~Negro~~ manpower. The framework in which this objective was to be sought was --except <sup>for</sup> ~~in~~ overhead assignments -- ~~was~~ rigid segregation of the races.

The Gillem Board declared that the Negro enlisted man must be used in ~~in order to provide for the opportunity for Negroes to be used in~~

a wider variety of military jobs. There are only two ways in which this

can be accomplished. Either Negro units must be expanded until they

~~eventually Negro units must~~  
approximate the diversity of white units, or ~~Negroes must be assigned to units~~  
Negroes must be assigned to units according to their abilities and without  
~~regarding their abilities~~

regard to race, which means that eventually the Negro units must be <sup>dissolved.</sup> ~~broken~~

~~map~~

The Gillem Board adopted the first alternative. But obviously it is impossible to have the same spread of combat and service units formed from the 10 per cent Negro element as is formed from the 90 per cent white ~~Army~~ <sup>element.</sup>

There is a very definite limit to the number of white units which can be converted to Negro, ~~even with the best will in the world.~~ That limit is





set by military appropriations, by the 10 per cent Negro strength of the Army, and the availability of skilled Negroes to fill the range of positions required in the tables of organization. And if there is a limit to the number <sup>and variety,</sup> of Negro units which can be formed, there is correspondingly a limit to the kinds of jobs and the opportunities for schooling available.

Recognizing this inequality <sup>of opportunity,</sup> ~~for what it is,~~ the Army sought to temper the injustice, while retaining segregation, by increasing the number of Negroes in overhead. While this was commendable in itself, it did not open the full range of MOS to Negroes, and it did not meet the injunction of the Gillem Board that Negroes must be trained and used in <sup>the</sup> widest possible range of combat MOS.

*in order to secure an efficient peacetime training cadre which could become the basis for expansion in event of total mobilization.*  
Setting aside ~~all questions of~~ equality of treatment and opportunity, to <sup>The moral justification for</sup>

which the Negro is entitled ~~to~~ as an American citizen, ~~and~~ and taking the narrow and pragmatic view of military efficiency, the Army will not get ~~the~~ maximum use out of its Negro soldier until he is trained and assigned according to his ability, until he is allowed to exploit his talents in free competition with whites and permitted to ~~reach~~ reach his natural level in ~~the~~ an unsegregated Army.



Although the Gillem Board set as its ultimate objective, in event of major war, the utilization of all manpower without regard to race, the Army has <sup>only once</sup> seriously contemplated the integration of whites and Negroes in the same unit.

In the fall of 1948, Secretary <sup>Kenneth C.</sup> ~~of~~ the Army Royall proposed to the General Staff the creation of an experimental <sup>integrated</sup> unit of at least the size of a regimental combat team, with an engineer battalion and the station complement of a post large enough to accomodate these troops.

It was Royall's idea that Negro enlisted men <sup>would</sup> ~~should~~ form 10 per cent of the troop basis <sup>for this experiment, would</sup> and that they ~~should~~ be used in all types of positions.

Negro officers <sup>would</sup> ~~should~~ be used in the same ratio as their numbers in the service, and, of course, <sup>would</sup> ~~should be in~~ command ~~of~~ mixed troops. There would <sup>be</sup> ~~no~~ volunteers for this experiment, but individuals assigned to the units could request reassignment if they objected to serving ~~in~~ under integrated conditions.



This experiment was contingent, however, upon the Navy and the Air Force conducting parallel experiments. Royall suggested that the Navy experiment should include a carrier, or a cruiser, plus a division of small craft and one shore station "where the social problems of individuals and families would have to be solved." For the Air Force he proposed at least a group of combatant aircraft, including both bombers and fighters, and the requisite air base facilities. As in the Army experiment, Negroes would form 10 per cent of the <sup>Navy and Air Force</sup> contingents.

The object of this experiment, Royall wrote to Secretary of Defense Forrestal, was to provide a study of --

"(a). The Command factor. That is, the efficiency of mixed units of all types under both white and Negro commissioned and non-commissioned officers.

"(b) The social problems involved, particularly with reference to the common use of living and recreational facilities by individuals and families of both races.

"(c) Individual achievement by both Negroes and whites in mixed units.

"(d) Morale and disciplinary factors.

Il fpe ym " (e) Unit esprit."



The General Staff did not view this experiment favorably, <sup>insisting</sup> ~~saying~~ that "it did not prove anything on the subject." Secretary Royall did not agree with his staff, however, and General Bradley thereupon ordered that plans should be drawn up. <sup>After considering several locations and units</sup> ~~After considering several locations and units~~ for the experiment, the General Staff finally decided that ~~the~~ designated unit should be a regiment of the Third Division, due to be activated early in February, 1949, at Camp Campbell, Kentucky. In addition to the 10 per cent Negro enlisted personnel, there were to be 10 Negro officers, but none above the rank of major. At the end of a year, the regimental commander was to submit a report.

Although plans were laid for the orientation of officers <sup>for</sup> ~~of~~ this unit and March 1 <sup>was</sup> ~~set~~ as the date for the commencement of unit operation, the experiment was finally <sup>abandoned</sup> ~~not carried through~~. Neither the Navy nor the Air Force would agree to conduct comparable experiments, nor did they see any reason why they should. The Navy <sup>had had in</sup> ~~had had in~~ operation for three years a policy of complete integration -- on the job, in messes and sleeping quarters -- <sup>in</sup> ~~of~~ general service ratings. And the Air Force was about to launch its own program for dissolving the majority of its segregated units.



## Chapter \_\_\_\_

## THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

## I

On July 26, 1948, <sup>P</sup>President Truman issued <sup>d</sup>Executive Order 9981, in which he declared it 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."

By the same executive order the President created <sup>/an advisory /</sup> committee of <sup>/members</sup> seven <sup>/</sup> within the National Military Establishment to be known as the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, and empowered that committee "to examine into the rules, procedures and practices of the armed services in order to determine in what respect such rules, procedures and practices may be altered or improved with a view to carrying out the policy of this order."



The new policy on equality of treatment and opportunity, the President ordered, was to 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."


The President's Committee was named on <sup>1948</sup> September 16, and held its first meeting on January 12, 1949.

From the outset the members of the Committee were agreed that the results of their inquiry were likely to be slim if they <sup>were content</sup> ~~contented themselves~~ merely <sup>to</sup> ~~with~~ <sup>in the Armed Services</sup> pointing out inequalities and attempted to exorcise them by appeals to religious, moral and political principles. The religious, moral and political case against inequality of treatment had been stated <sup>eloquently</sup> over and over again. What was needed now was to show, not <sup>only</sup> ~~what~~ inequality of treatment and opportunity did to <sup>individuals,</sup> ~~those who suffered from it,~~ but what <sup>its effect</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>was on</sup> ~~did to~~ the armed services that suffered and practised ~~it~~ this inequality.

<sup>The armed services,</sup>  
~~It was necessary to take the armed services on their own grounds. They~~

did not pretend that inequality was morally justifiable. They defended it on the grounds <sup>of social</sup> ~~of~~ expediency and military efficiency. What the Committee had

to determine was whether inequality of treatment and opportunity actually



*promote military efficiency. In short, it was necessary to*  
 did ~~contribute to military ends.~~  
~~meet the services on their own~~  
~~would have to itself thoroughly familiarize itself~~  
 [To do this, the Committee must make ~~a thorough inquiry~~ with

the personnel practices and procedures of the services, not only to discover

which of those practices and procedures made for ~~unequal~~ <sup>un</sup>equal treatment and

opportunity, but to determine the effect ~~upon military efficiency of the~~ of those unequal practices upon

the Army's ~~military efficiency~~ *utilization of available manpower.*

## II

The Committee began its inquiry by delving into the historical

*— which the Army itself had written —*  
 records of Negro utilization. The record *revealed conclusively — and the*

~~Army had written the record —~~ that whatever reasons could be adduced in

support of the Army's Negro policies and practices, efficient utilization

was not among ~~these reasons~~ *them*. High Army witnesses testifying before the

Committee *though* they continued to advocate the policies of the past,

agreed that in the past those policies had not produced satisfactory results.

The creation of the Gillem Board to reappraise those policies was

sufficient evidence that the Army itself was not satisfied with the ~~one~~

*results it had obtained from*  
~~military efficiency of the~~ Negro units. The Committee turned to the

*The Board had*

Gillem Board report and the background studies on which ~~it~~ based its *conclusions*

*and*  
*recommendations.*  
 1. The Committee in its hearings has taken *— pages of* testimony from  
*— military and civilian witnesses. The list of witnesses will be*



The Committee found the analysis of the Gillem Board sound enough as far as it went. But ~~it felt silent just as it came to the heart of the~~ <sup>The Board, The Committee felt, ~~failed to~~</sup> draw the conclusions to which its study <sup>as the Board reported,</sup> ~~unerringly pointed,~~ <sup>failed to make</sup> matter. It was obvious that the Army had ~~not made~~ the best use of its Negro manpower. The <sup>extent</sup> ~~neglect~~ of its failure to <sup>utilize Negro skills</sup> ~~realize the wasted~~ potential was indicated by the range of skilled jobs performed by Negroes in defense industry during the war. But the Gillem Board, while recommending that Negroes be used in the same spread of jobs as whites, never considered how that <sup>goal</sup> was to be achieved without breaking the pattern of segregation. Not did it ever come to grips with the question of whether segregation ~~in itself~~ did not, by its very nature, affect the morale of the Negro soldier and thereby lower his efficiency, regardless of the level of skill in which he was employed.

<sup>It was true that the Gillem clearly stated its ultimate</sup> ~~All this might have been overlooked in view of the Board's~~ <sup>objective was the utilization of all manpower without regard</sup> ~~ultimate objective, which stated clearly that integration was the goal.~~

<sup>to reach,</sup> But having stated that objective, the Board <sup>neglected</sup> ~~refused~~ to point out ~~the~~ any concrete intermediate steps -- except for <sup>The</sup> use of Negroes in overhead -- by which the goal was to be attained.



*inadequacy*  
The ~~deficiencies~~ of the Gillem Board's recommendations became

immediately apparent when the Committee dug into the record -- dealt with in the preceding chapter -- of the Army's implementation of WD Circular 124. Qualified Negroes were denied school training because they were excluded from a whole range of military jobs. They were excluded from these military jobs because the tables of organization of Negro units did not require these positions. And so the Army allowed actual ~~Negro~~ skills to wither, and failed to develop potential skills.

*[A full realization of the  
the extent of the human waste involved in this  
?]*  
~~Just how bad was this situation in the spring of 1949 when the  
denial of equal opportunity can be gained only by  
Committee decided to look at some figures?~~  
*reference to figures on Army schools and <sup>the</sup> distribution  
of men by MOS.  
occupational  
specialties.*

#### 1. Army Schools

There are two kinds of Army School courses. First, there are ~~these~~ courses for men who are detached from ~~these~~ <sup>their</sup> regular units ~~to which they have~~ to receive further ~~technical~~ training in their ~~reassigned~~ skill. Upon completion of training, these men are ~~sent~~ <sup>returned</sup> back to their ~~regular~~ units. Secondly, there are the school courses ~~for~~ <sup>for</sup> ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> from the replacement stream, that is, recruits who have just

finished their basic training or prior service men who have reenlisted.

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It is difficult to get a racial breakdown of students who are detached for schooling because <sup>over-all</sup> allotments are made to major commanders who suballot their quotas to posts within their command. <sup>According to from their allotment,</sup> <sup>of personnel</sup> The local commanders make the selection <sup>to meet their replacement needs, To get a racial break down</sup> for schools ~~according to their needs, within their allotments, and it would~~ <sup>of school assignment on detached service, it would</sup> be necessary to check up on every post, camp and station ~~to determine the~~ ~~racial breakdown.~~

However, the <sup>school allotted to</sup> quotas ~~for~~ the training divisions for <sup>recruits</sup> ~~replacement stream~~ students are determined in Washington, and are broken down into white and Negro quotas. The school input quotas <sup>which were</sup> published March 21, 1949, <sup>for the map</sup> ~~to become~~ listed 106 courses available to whites. <sup>effective April 1, 1949, 196 courses were</sup> Only 21 of these <sup>per cent</sup> courses -- or 19.8% -- <sup>has Negro quotas</sup> ~~were available to Negroes.~~ The <sup>reserved</sup> ~~total~~ spaces <sup>for whites</sup> in these 106 <sup>courses</sup> were 1741; the spaces allotted Negroes were 82 -- or 4.4 per cent <sup>total of the</sup>

That is, Negroes were excluded from approximately 80 per cent of Army School courses. (See reproduction of school input chart on opposite page.)

Although the figures are not available, the same situation obtains ~~with respect to the courses for detached service students, since commanders~~

recommend school spaces only to meet the needs of their units. As the Negro

units do not have the same spread of MOS, <sup>Then enlisted personnel does</sup> ~~they do not require an equivalent~~

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units do not have the same spread of MOS, <sup>Then enlisted personnel does</sup> ~~they do not require an equivalent~~

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not require the same range of school training, and therefore the men

are not eligible for attendance at the majority of courses.

~~the Committee called~~ <sup>was called</sup> this situation to the attention of commanding  
When ~~this situation was called to the attention of commanding~~

officers at several installations visited by the Committee, the officers

insisted the Committee was mistaken,  
at first ~~sternly insisted~~ asserting that Negroes

had the same opportunity to attend <sup>school</sup> ~~at~~ courses as did whites. When it was  
pointed out that Negroes could <sup>not</sup> ~~hardly~~ attend courses if there were no Negro

quotas, the officers replied that, of course, the Army did not train men

unless there were vacancies to be filled; and if there were no vacancies

in Negro units, ~~there~~ then obviously there were no Negro quotas. But, they <sup>officers</sup>

maintained, there was no discrimination involved, since <sup>quotas for</sup> whites ~~also~~ were also  
<sup>determined by Army requirements</sup> ~~subject to the same conditions.~~ <sup>in this argument.</sup> There was no dishonesty ~~here.~~ It had just

<sup>never</sup> ~~not~~ occurred to most of the officers that, ~~limitation of school space~~ <sup>in limiting Negro school spaces</sup>

<sup>and overhead,</sup> denying to the  
to the replacement needs of the Negro units <sup>the Army was persisting</sup>

Negro equality of treatment and opportunity. However, civilian personnel  
~~discriminated~~

experts from the Personnel and Administration Division who testified

experts from the Personnel and Administration Division, who testified  
before the Committee, were quite aware of the discrimination practised  
by the Army in setting its school quotas.

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## 2. Military Occupational Specialties

As of August, 1949, the Army had 490 active ~~MOS~~ <sup>military occupational specialties</sup>. In 198 of these

MOS, there were no Negro authorizations at all. This is hardly a fair

comparison, however, since many of these MOS had white authorizations

<sup>Nevertheless</sup> However, there were <sup>with</sup> 144 MOS in which  
of only two, three or four men. ~~authorizations~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~there~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~at least 10 whites~~ <sup>for 10 or more whites</sup> and no authorization for ~~any~~ Negroes.

There were 245 MOS in which there was authorization for 10 or  
~~more~~ <sup>more</sup> whites and authorization for 10 or less Negroes.

In 91 MOS there was authorization for 10 or less Negroes but  
an authorization for 100 or more whites.

There were only two MOS in which there was a greater authorization  
for Negroes than whites. ~~These~~ These were munitions handler and decontaminating  
equipment operator.

What makes this situation <sup>even less defensible</sup> ~~more reprehensible~~ is the fact <sup>That</sup> ~~in~~  
a great many of the MOS <sup>without any</sup> ~~for which there was no~~ Negro authorization, the

(curry)



strength report for February, 1949 (which is out of date and <sup>therefore</sup> does not <sup>what it costs</sup> ~~therefore~~ involve military security) <sup>will</sup> give <sup>some</sup> idea of <sup>the cost to</sup> ~~the cost to~~ <sup>to deny equal opportunity to the qualified</sup> the Army of its failure to develop ~~its~~ <sup>the Negro</sup> potentialities of its ~~its~~

~~Negro element.~~ For example, in that month, ~~the Army was short~~ here is the picture for that month in 10 MOS:

~~In February, 1949, the Army was short:~~

1st col ↓	Number of men short No.	MOS	Negro authorization	2nd col	caps	IV	3rd col.
	75	telephone operators	0				
	66	portable power generator repairmen	0				
	53	shop maintenance mechanic	2				
	79	radio repairmen single channel	0				
	143	transmitter attendant, fixed station	0				
	79	telephone and telegraph repairmen	0				
	69	artillery mechanic AA minor maintenance	0				
	528	repeater men	4				
	188	pharmacists	3				
	89	welders armor plate	7				

Perhaps a single Negro case history will serve to dramatize better than many pages of statistics how the Army's racial policy deprives the qualified Negro of equal opportunity and deprives the service of needed military skills.



James Mason, Negro — the name is fictional, the case is from

Army records — was ~~also~~ a youth interested in radio who hope<sup>d</sup> to

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find in an Army career the opportunity to follow his <sup>dream</sup> ~~calling~~. On June 27, 1947, Mason went to an Army recruiting station and was told that if he enlisted for three years he could choose the branch of service in which he wished to serve. Mason asked whether he would be sent to the Signal Corps School at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey; and particularly whether, since he had been studying radio since 1945, he would get the opportunity to take the course in Radio Repairman Fixed Station. He was assured that, if qualified, he could take that course. Mason enlisted.

[ In July Mason reported to Fort Dix for basic training, upon the <sup>given an MOS of Duty Monmouth missioned Officer and being a bright lad</sup> completion of which he was assigned to the field cadre to help train new recruits ~~and~~ there he remained for a year, when he was transferred

to Fort Riley, Kansas, where he was assigned to an Army Service Unit, <sup>performing</sup> ~~that is~~ a post housekeeping job. ~~Somehow he did not make one step~~

in the Army, during which he had ~~not~~ <sup>not</sup> progressed one step toward Fort ~~toward Fort Monmouth and take make necessary~~

<sup>The radio schooling he had been promised,</sup> Monmouth and ~~his radio career~~, Pvt. Mason wrote to the Chief Signal

Officer in Washington as follows: —

Troop I 3rd SAD.  
A.S.U. 5021 T.G.G.S.  
Fort Riley, Kansas  
Sept 16, 1948

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Troop I 3rd SAD  
A.S.U. 5021 T.G.G.S.  
Fort Riley, Kansas  
Sept 16, 1948

Maj. Gen. Spencer B. Akin  
Chief Signal Officer  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I am writing you in request for some information. I am a Negro. . . I enlisted for three years of service from 1947. I was told that if I enlisted for three years, I could choose the branch of service that I wanted to serve in. Well, I enlisted in the Signal Corps. Every time I try to go to Radio Repair School, I am turned down. I have been studying since 1945, and I am still studying, but still I can't get the branch of service that I enlisted for.

Sure, it is on my record that I am a Signal Corps man, but that is not helping me to get where I can do my part.

Now that you know why I am writing you, can you please tell me how I can go about getting in the Radio Repair School at Fort Monmouth, N.J.

As you know, such as this will turn men against the Army. If the Army is going to lie to the men that are now coming in, I can't blame them for not trying to advance. The quota of Negroes is not filled. Can't be, because there are ~~some~~ some Negroes returning from Monmouth.

I was going to reenlist, but I am not now, because I cannot get the school that I was promised. If I get that, I might stay in, but as long as the Army lies to me about Signal School, that makes me hate that I ever agreed to serve my Country, and it makes me want to get out.

Since I am only an enlisted man, you probably won't answer my letter, but PLEASE do, and tell me how I can get my

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*not only answered Mason's letter but took immediate*  
But the Chief Signal Officer ~~did take~~ action. In less than a week,

he directed the Adjutant General — "provided there are no military objections and Private ~~Delmaro Mason~~ has the necessary prerequisites — to issue orders transferring him to the Signal School, Fort Monmouth. By ~~the end of~~ <sup>29</sup> September ~~X~~ Mason had special orders to report at Monmouth, and on October 28, Mason received at Monmouth a letter from the office of the Chief Signal Officer:

Dear Private ~~Mason~~:

Your letter of 16 September 1948 addressed to the Chief Signal Officer was by his direction made the basis of administrative action which has resulted in your present assignment to the Signal School for a course of instruction in radio subjects.

With this attainment of your objective it is hoped that your morale will greatly improve and that you will apply yourself diligently to the course of study to which you have been assigned.

The Chief Signal Officer has directed me to convey to you his earnest hope that you will successfully conclude your course of instruction and that on your future assignments, you will reflect the value of ~~the~~ your military training and acquired technical knowledge.

Sincerely yours,  
X Bruce E. Holmgren

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However, Pvt. Mason had not obtained his objective. His objective was school training for MOS 649, Radio Repairman Fixed Station. <sup>But</sup> ~~There~~ was no Negro quota for ~~the course training men for MOS 649; there was~~ <sup>This course. There was a quota only</sup> ~~only a quota~~ for MOS 648, Radio Repairman. Nevertheless, Mason diligently applied himself to the course he could get into; and on December 28, he wrote to the Chief Signal Officer, thanking him for <sup>securing his</sup> ~~his efforts in~~ ~~getting the~~ transfer, and concluding: "I like my new assignment and I only hope that you will be as pleased with my work as I am in doing it."

Mason did well in his studies, and as he approached the end of course 648, he hoped that he would be allowed to <sup>progress to</sup> ~~pursue~~ course 649. He was informed, however, that 649, which had been closed to Negroes since October 1, 1948, still had no Negro quota. He thereupon wrote again to the office of the Chief Signal Officer on March 21, 1949, saying:

I am presently pursuing the 648 Course and have received excellent marks through the course and have rated as a superior student. I have also enrolled in a correspondence

course at my own expense and am studying diligently to become a qualified technician with large broadcasting equipment.

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[At the time I enlisted the 649 Course was available to me and I met the necessary initial qualifications and had been promised enrollment in this course. I have no personal objection to the fact that Fort Dix Officials used me as cadre for training other students, but the time I lost on this training job when I should have been enrolled in the 649 Course is now operating to defeat my enrollment in the 649 Course. I believe it is unfair that I should have lost the opportunity of pursuing the 649 Course solely because of the fact that I apparently possessed the type of caliber required for training recruits.

[I feel that under the circumstances an exception should be made in my case and a quota provided which will allow me to be enrolled in the 649 Course upon my completion of the 648 Course in the near future.

*replied:* ~~The Signal Corps reply puts in a nutshell how the Army's racial policy operates both against the Negro equal opportunity for the Negro and maximum efficient utilization of manpower. --~~

28 March, 1949 .

Private \_\_\_\_\_  
Company X, Signal Training Regiment  
Fort Monmouth, New Jersey

Dear Private \_\_\_\_\_:

Major Holmgren has been transferred to another

Major Holmgren has been transferred to another station and your letter of 21 March 1949 has been referred to me for reply.

At the present time there are no colored Signal units in which your services could be utilized as an MOS 649. Therefore, no quotas are allotted for colored enlisted men in a pipeline status to pursue this course.

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Upon completion of your present course of instruction you will be assigned to a unit as an MOS 648. If, at that time, the unit to which you are assigned can effectively utilize your services as an MOS 649, you can be sent to school for further training on a detached service basis.

It is regrettable that situations such as these occur, but since you have attained part of your objective in receiving radio repair training, it is hoped that you will continue to pursue your course with great diligence and that you will always perform your duties to the best of your ability.

No opening in a Negro unit, therefore no MOS, therefore no school training. There is the vicious circle ~~with~~ <sup>draws and</sup> which segregation ~~circumscribed~~ <sup>draws and</sup> which circumscribes the use of manpower. ~~the Army's efficient use of manpower.~~ There was no way to break this circle ~~with~~ except with the opening wedge of integration.

[The most ironic comment on Private Mason's bitter experience is ~~at the time~~ <sup>on</sup> ~~he was denied a place in course 649 because that on the very day that the Signal Corps denied his plea to take~~ <sup>There was no negro quota, below authorized</sup> ~~Course 649, the Army was under strength in MOS 649 by 105 men, and~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~his plea was to the Chief Signal Officer on May 28, 1949,~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~there was no authorized strength for Negroes in MOS 649. Wrote Private~~

~~Wrote:~~  
Mason to the Chief Signal Officer in one last plea: "I have an 80 average

for elements of radio and one of my white friends had 76 and got the  
649 Course . . . .My skin is brown true, but as a citizen of the  
United States, and a member of the U. S. Army, I think I am entitled

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to any training I am qualified for."

There seemed to be no answer to that.

V.

What the Army records in the Pentagon disclosed about <sup>Negro</sup> utilization  
~~The Committee's~~ <sup>observation</sup> field visits made by the President's  
of Negro soldiers was amply confirmed by ~~simultaneous observations~~  
Committee and <sup>in</sup> reports  
~~submitted by commanders~~ submitted by commanders in response to Committee

(1)  
questionnaires. There is no room here to set down in full the data  
reports, <sup>but representative</sup> figures on overhead utilization for two  
supplied by these ~~questionnaires~~

<sup>representative</sup>  
large Army posts ~~may~~ will serve to illustrate the committee's findings.

the  
[ In ~~the Headquarters Section~~ 2128th Army Service Unit, forming the  
<sup>overhead</sup>  
station/complement for Headquarters Section, ~~at~~ Fort Knox, Kentucky, there  
were 666 whites and 165 Negroes, or over 19 per cent Negroes -- a very  
good numerical showing.

The



However, in 2808th Army Service Unit, serving ~~there~~ as overhead

for the headquarters company of the Armored School at Fort Knox, there

were 155 whites and no Negroes. And in the division overhead <sup>for</sup> of the 3d

1. A list of all <sup>military</sup> installations visited by members of The President's committee and its staff will be found in Appendix —.

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Armored Division <sup>stationed</sup> at Knox, there were 1200 whites and only 26 Negroes, ~~or~~

<sup>or</sup> two per cent of the total.

<sup>headquarters of the Second Army</sup> At Fort Meade, <sup>Maryland, headquarters</sup> ~~on the other hand~~, there 199 Negroes in the

overhead complement and 616 whites, or 24 per cent Negroes. But at both

Knox and Meade, the same pattern reappeared as had been disclosed ~~in~~ by

<sup>of overhead</sup> the survey taken in 1947, that is, Negroes in overhead tended to be

concentrated in a relatively few MOS, and there was a whole range of

MOS without any Negro representation at all.

For example, in the 2128th ASU unit at Knox, cooks, food service

apprentices, MP's, firemen, duty soldiers (laborers), firefighters

and truck drivers accounted for 109 Negro positions out of the total of

165. There were no Negroes <sup>serving with</sup> in Ordnance, Finance, <sup>and</sup> ~~Signal~~ <sup>the G-3 and G-4</sup>

<sup>four</sup> sections: only ~~the~~ <sup>were</sup> Negroes ~~serving~~ <sup>serving</sup> with Signal — a lineman, an

sections; only ~~one~~ Negroes ~~serving~~ serving with Signal — a lineman, an  
electrician and <sup>a</sup>duty soldier; only one Negro with Transportation as  
truckdriver. In the 3rd Armored Division almost all the Negro overhead  
were bandmen and clerk typists. *The situation at Fort Meade*  
*was some better, though not appreciably so.*  
*was much the same.*

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VI

X [The Committee did not confine its attention to ~~the~~ questions of  
job distribution, schooling, and assignment. It also began to look into  
the 10 per cent ~~quota~~ limitation put upon Negro strength.

*At the outset*  
[~~To begin with~~, the Army defended the 10 per cent racial quota  
system on the ground that it reflected ~~the~~ approximately the ratio of  
Negroes in the civilian population. This rationalization was hardly  
acceptable, since, as the Committee pointed out to Army representatives,  
*us* ~~a~~ quota system was ~~not~~ applied to <sup>(men of)</sup> any other race, creed, color or  
~~national descendants.~~ *Descent* ~~background~~ <sup>men of</sup>

*The Army could make* *for the quota*  
[~~A much better case could be made~~ on the grounds of military  
efficiency, because it is undeniably true that <sup>proportionately</sup> a far larger percentage  
*than whites*  
of Negroes fall into the lower AGCT categories ~~than do whites~~. But

of Negroes fall into the lower racial categories than do whites. But unfortunately the Army's defense of the racial quota on the grounds of efficiency ran foul of the Army's re-enlistment policy.

*has been met,*  
[When the racial quota ~~is met~~, the Army shuts off original enlistments of Negroes until the Negro element again falls below

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*at the same time*  
10 percent. But ~~while~~ the Army refuses original Negro enlistments, it --as it does whites -- continues to re-enlist Negroes/even if their GCT score is below the current ~~enlistment~~ standard for first enlistments. Thus, there develops the ~~anomalous~~ <sup>turns away a</sup> situation that the Army ~~refuses to enlist a~~ Negro, while the quota is ~~still~~ filled, even if he has a GCT of 140, but ~~it will continue to re-enlist~~ <sup>or even lower</sup> a Negro with a GCT of 70, and sometimes ~~below 70~~. This hardly contributes to military efficiency, as General Gillem pointed out in 1945.

*original*  
[The Army ~~was~~ shut off ~~Negro enlistments~~ beginning in April, 1949, ~~them~~ until mid-November. From May through September and did not resume ~~Negro enlistments~~ ~~During this period~~

108 Negroes were taken into the Army --evidently through errors of recruiting stations, since they ~~had~~ <sup>were given</sup> no Negro quotas. During that same period the Army re-enlisted 3,448 Negroes, of whom 41 per cent

had a GCT score below 80 -- the original enlistment standard during these months.

[Here, then, were the areas of unequal opportunity and discrimination -- jobs, schooling, assignment and quota. <sup>And</sup> These were also precisely the areas where the Army failed to make maximum efficient use of its <sup>(qualified)</sup> available manpower. The argument of <sup>military</sup> efficiency, the Committee could

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plainly not accept in justification of the Army's racial policy and practice.

[It was not sufficient, however, to discover and point out where the areas of inequality and inefficiency lay. The Committee must go further, ~~as it had been enjoined by the President's directive, and~~ <sup>as it had been enjoined by The President's Executive Order,</sup> indicate what procedures should be adopted to eliminate ~~inequality~~ unequal treatment and opportunity.

## VII

On April 6, 1949, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson sent to the three service secretaries a memorandum in which he declared that ~~The policy~~ <sup>of the National Military Establishment</sup> "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the

Armed Services without regard to race, color, religion or national

(1)  
origin" was the policy of the National Military Establishment.

to achieve "uniform application" of  
[ In order ~~that the National Military Establishment~~ this ~~announced~~ general  
policy, Secretary Johnson enunciated supplemental policies to guide the  
services. These were that (1) "all personnel will be considered on the  
basis of individual merit and ability and must qualify according to the

*1. The full text of this memorandum will be found  
in Appendix — .*

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prescribed standards for enlistment, attendance at schools, promotion,  
assignment to specific duties, etc."; (2) "all individuals, regardless  
of race, will be accorded equal opportunity for appointment, advancement,  
professional improvement, promotion and retention in their respective  
components of the National Military Establishment"; (3) while "some  
units may continue to be manned with Negro personnel," it was not  
required that <sup>"not"</sup> all Negroes would necessarily be assigned to Negro  
units," and "qualified Negro personnel shall be assigned to fill  
any type of position vacancy in organizations or overhead installations  
without regard to race."

~~Thereupon~~ Secretary Johnson directed each service "to examine its present practices and determine what forward steps can and should be made in the light of this policy and in view of Executive Order 9981." to the Chairman of the Personnel Policy Board, The services were ordered to report, not later than May 1, 1949, ~~what~~ on ~~the~~ their detailed implementation of the above policy, and ~~what~~ on such supplemental policies "as may be determined by each Service to meet its own specific needs."

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On April 21, Secretary Royall replied to the April 6 memorandum of the Secretary of Defense. With respect to Secretary Johnson's general policy statement, Secretary Royall declared: ~~the Department~~ stated that "The Department of the Army has reviewed its practices and procedures . . . and is of the opinion that they are sound in the light of actual experience, and are in accord with the policies of the National Military Establishment and with Executive Order 9981."

[ With respect to the ~~supplemental~~ <sup>w</sup> supplemental policies enunciated by the Secretary of Defense, the Army replied:

1. "Under Department of the Army policy all personnel are considered on the basis of individual merit and ability. Common standards for enlistment, promotion, attendance at schools, assignment to specific duties, etc., are prescribed."
2. "... Negro officer and enlisted personnel are given equal opportunity for advancement and professional improvement through attendance at schools. . . ."
3. "Some units are and will continue to be manned with Negro personnel. All Negroes are not now assigned to Negro units. Qualified Negroes are assigned to fill any type of position vacancy in organizations (from company to regiment) and in overhead installations."

[ The Secretary of the Army concluded by saying that "the Department of the Army policy affords adequate flexibility in the utilization of Negro manpower without supplement at this time."

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[ The Army's description of its policies and practices did not accurately reflect the <sup>existing</sup> situation ~~as recorded in the Army's files~~ and ~~as observed in Army installations~~, and on May 11, the Secretary of Defense <sup>sent a reply</sup> ~~replied~~ to the Army's memorandum of April 21, <sup>in which he noted</sup> ~~saying that~~ "the lack of any response to the request made in my memorandum of 6 April that you prepare and submit by 1 May a detailed plan for such additional forward steps as can and should be made."

Secretary Johnson continued:

I have looked into the matter of equality of treatment and opportunity for individuals serving in the Department of the Army. I am pleased to note that the progress



of the Army. I am pleased to note that the progress made by the Army in this field over the past few years has been praiseworthy. I feel, however, that much remains to be done and that the rate of progress toward the objectives of the Executive Order must be accelerated.

With that in mind, please re-examine the current situation in your Department and submit to me by 25 May specific additional actions which you now propose to take."

### VIII

At this juncture the Chairman of the Personnel Policies Board, <sup>Office</sup> ~~an organization at the defense level~~ created by former Secretary of Defense Forrestal to coordinate the personnel policies of all three services, approached the President's Committee and suggested that

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it might be helpful to the Army and Navy (whose reply to the April 6 memorandum had also been rejected as unsatisfactory) if the Committee were to indicate informally to these two services the steps which, in its opinion, should be taken to bring their policies into line with those announced by the President and the Secretary of Defense.  
~~thereafter~~

[ The President's Committee agreed to do this, and thereupon <sup>(1)</sup> informally submitted to the Army a suggested four-point program. This program provided for:

1. The opening of all military occupational specialties

1. The opening of all military occupational specialties ~~without regard~~ to qualified personnel solely on the basis of qualification and without regard to race.
2. The abolition of all racial quotas for Army schools and the assignment of all individuals to school courses -- both those open to recruits and ~~and~~ those for detached service personnel -- solely on the basis of qualification and the Army's need, and without regard to race.
3. The assignment <sup>(to units)</sup> of all students upon completion of their school courses, on the basis of qualification and Army need, ~~and~~ without regard to race and without <sup>restriction</sup> limitation to racial units.
4. The ~~abolition~~ <sup>(mental)</sup> equalization of enlistment standards for all three services and, coincidentally with this move, the abolition of the racial quota.

1. The final form of The Committee's recommendations to The Army is reproduced in Appendix -- X with The exception of
- (1) clarifications of language requested by The Army, <sup>(2)</sup> the deletion of the recommendation of an equal enlistment standard, and
- (3) a more detailed recommendation on the racial quota, <sup>There is</sup> ~~no substantial difference between~~ The Committee's first and final recommendations.



The Secretary of the Army sent his second reply to the Secretary of Defense on May 26. A lengthy document, it ~~was~~ was devoted principally to a defense of the Gillem Board policy and to a resume of achievements under that policy. In the course of this defense and <sup>among other things,</sup> resume, the Army stated that: --

1. "By reserving a proportionate number of spaces in the troop basis (including all grades and type jobs) for Negro personnel, the Department of the Army insures that the Negro will have an equal opportunity with the white to train for, and attain to, the position of responsibility."

train for, and attain to, the position of responsibility he may be called upon to fill in event of mobilization .

2. ~~"The Army has been able to organize Negro units in every arm and service . . ."~~

2. "There are no Army schools from which Negro officers and enlisted men are barred solely because of color."

3. "There are Negroes in every career field so far introduced and in process of formulation."

4. "Negroes are assigned to overhead installation jobs without regard to race, and work alongside others performing this type of duty"

5. "Each service has inherent problems peculiar to its method of combat. On shipboard, an individual serves in a small group in one compartment and goes wherever the ship goes. . . The combat soldier, on the other hand, works as part of a large group in the open. Whatever his hopes and fears, he must move forward, he must keep up, all voluntarily. The soldier on the battlefield deserves to have, and must have, utmost confidence in his fellow soldiers. They must eat together, sleep together, and all too frequently die together. There can be no friction in their every-day living that might bring <sup>down</sup> failure in battle. A chain is as strong as its weakest link, and this is true of the Army unit on the battlefield. These factors are of tremendous influence on Army organization, doctrine and assignment procedures."

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6. ~~The Army limits its~~ <sup>is limited</sup> Negro strength to 10 per cent of the total Army because proportionately a larger percentage of Negroes than whites score below GCT 90, and "there is a definite limit to the number of men with low GCT's that the Army can absorb. To complicate that factor by further increasing the number of Negroes in unlimited quantity -- the Negro being not yet fully developed for modern combat -- is to jeopardize the efficiency of the Army. At the present time . . . military advisers . . . are of the opinion that an Army of even 15 per cent Negroes suffers a jeopardizing decrease in efficiency. Without a quota system of any kind, Negro membership could rise easily to 30 or 40 per cent."

insert 728 page 141 A

In a point by point analysis of this paper, which the Committee

a point by point analysis of this paper and forwarded it informally,  
made for its own use but also forwarded to the Army. The Committee

~~observed~~  
~~noted~~ that: —

were

1. While Negroes ~~are~~ found in all grades up to Lieutenant colonel, "they are not found in all type jobs, nor are spaces reserved for them in all type jobs," ~~The Committee called the Army's attention to its own world-wide strength report.~~

2. Although Negroes were not excluded from any Army Schools, they were excluded from ~~courses~~ approximately 81 per cent of school courses ~~available~~ available to recruits.

3. Negroes were <sup>it was true,</sup> included in every career field so far introduced, but these included only infantry, cavalry, artillery and food service, and Negroes had always served in these fields. That a Negro was in a career field, the Committee pointed out, meant very little. The pertinent question was, "How will the qualified Negro advance up the career ladder in his field unless the appropriate MOS is open to him, unless he can be assured of going to the necessary schools, and unless he is assigned according to his training regardless of racial units . . ."

4. Negroes were assigned to overhead, but the extent of their utilization in overhead varied widely from command to command, and ~~where~~ they were not represented even ~~here~~ in the full range of jobs.

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7. "Against the direct competition of the better-educated white soldier, the average Negro soldier would find it difficult to rise above the level of service tasks. The present system of segregated units guarantees that Negro soldiers will be given the opportunity ~~of~~ to develop leadership, unhindered and unfettered by overshadowing competition they are not equipped to meet."

8. " . . .there is a growing concern among many senior officers of the Army that we are weakening to a dangerous degree the combat efficiency of our Army. These officers are familiar with the combat performance of Negro troops

during war and feel ~~now~~ that we have already gone too far  
in inserting colored organizations in white combat units."

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- It must reject
5. ~~The Committee rejected~~ the argument that soldiers must have more confidence in their fellow soldiers than sailors in their shipmates. It noted also that the Army's ~~point of view on the proximity of living conditions~~ defense of segregation on the ground of ~~proximity of close~~ living conditions was exactly the justification ~~of the~~ *of the* given by the Navy, prior to 1942, for its non-use of Negroes in general ratings aboard ship; and that when the Navy abandoned segregation in general ratings, the friction *which it had* did not develop ~~which it had always feared.~~ *feared*

6. ~~The Committee recommended that~~ The Army had a problem while it took men at GCT 70 and the other services required an entrance standard of GCT 90. <sup>however,</sup> it could not accept, ~~however,~~ ~~that the Army~~ Without substantiating figures the Army's contention that the abandonment of the racial quota would result in an Army 30 or 40 per cent Negro.
- The Army's <sup>theory</sup> ~~argument~~ that ~~segregation permitted the development~~ segregated units gave the Negro
7. ~~in rapidly increasing~~ <sup>become an officer</sup> the opportunity to develop leadership which ~~he~~ would be denied ~~of Negroes~~

him in competition with whites was "dangerous doctrine." ~~It~~

It committed the Army to sending men into battle under

inferior officers and thereby jeopardizing battle success. Furthermore, the Committee said, the aim of ~~President~~ the President and the Secretary of Defense was equality of opportunity, not preferential treatment. ~~It~~ "If, when offered equal opportunity, Negroes suffer a loss in the number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers, that may be regrettable, but it is hardly discriminatory." The Negro should be made to meet the competition of whites. Only in this way could the Army secure maximum military efficiency.

8. <sup>attributed to</sup> The fear of Army officers over the insertion of Negro units in white organization did not square with the experience of World War II, upon the basis of which the Gillem Board had ~~recommended~~ concluded that the best utilization of Negro troops was secured when they were used in small units ~~as an~~ as an integral part of larger white units. <sup>The</sup> Gillem Board had further recommended that the Army concentrate on giving Negro soldiers some basic training ~~in preparation~~



[In this second reply to the Secretary of Defense, the Army stated that

"Circular 124 . . . will be amended <sup>ed</sup> to assure continued <sup>ed</sup> progress by

providing utilization of the Negro soldier on the broadest possible proposed,



professional scale." The only specific steps which the Army ~~proposed~~<sup>proposed</sup>, however, in support of this general promise were (1) the opening of all occupational specialties to Negroes; (2) the creation of additional Negro units; (3) an ~~and~~ increase in Negro school quotas; and (4) eventual segregation at the company, rather than the battalion, level.

[ The Army did not agree to modify its policies on <sup>(assignment,)</sup> ~~segregation~~ and the quota system, ~~and~~ nor did it propose to abolish the racial school quotas.

[ On June 7. the Secretary of Defense for the second time rejected the Army's reply to his April 6 directive, saying in a memorandum:

I have reviewed your comprehensive memorandum of 26 May concerning equality of treatment and opportunity in the Department of the Army and have noted with pleasure the significant progress made by the Army in this field in the last few years. I also note with pleasure the measures you propose in order to broaden still further the professional basis for the utilization of Negro manpower. I have ~~and~~ read with understanding and sympathy the Army's contention that its current policies and practices are in accord with Executive Order 9981 and my supplemental policy statement of 6 April 1949. I fully realize the grave problem presented by this question, and that it is of greater magnitude in the Army than in either the Navy or the Air Force. Nevertheless I am forced to the conclusion that your proposals in reply to my second memorandum on this subject still fail to meet the basic intent of Executive Order 9981 and my memorandum of 6 April.





Accordingly, I am asking you to restudy your position and your proposals, and at the same time to consider very carefully the informal suggestions of the Fahy Committee which, I understand, have been made available to you. I would be pleased to have your reconsideration of this matter submitted to me by 20 June."

## IX

~~The President's Committee felt that by~~  
~~agreement of the Army and the Navy, an extension of the~~  
 The deadline which had been set by Secretary Johnson was twice extended  
~~deadline set by the Army and the Navy, an extension of the~~

at the joint request of the Army and the President's Committee in order to  
 provide <sup>more</sup> time for <sup>the</sup> parties to meet and discuss the problem. In the middle of  
 July the Army presented to the Committee an "Outline Plan for Utilization of  
 Negro Manpower to Provide Further Equality of Opportunity." The plan was  
 predicated on the retention ~~provided~~ of segregation and the 10 per cent quota system.

Within this framework the Army proposed to: --

1. Abolish ~~all~~ Negro quotas for school training.
2. Establish "on a fixed plan basis a suitable number of <sup>which would</sup> positions in each occupational career field for Negroes," ~~to~~ be revised from time to time on the basis of experience.
3. ~~Convert some Negro service units to combat units to~~  
~~provide for the release of Negroes in overhead~~  
~~provide for the release of Negroes in overhead~~ release manpower spaces for the Negroes  
~~who would obtain more technical MOS as the result of (2).~~  
~~that is, the~~
4. Accelerate Negro employment in overhead <sup>by displacing</sup>  
<sup>whites.</sup>



5. Administer the promotion system of the career guidance program on an equal merit basis against a single standard.
6. Conduct special enlistment program to secure <sup>qualified</sup> Negro personnel to fill the expanded range of MOS opened to Negroes.
7. Convene a special board of Army officers as recommended by the Gillem report to review the Army's Negro policy <sup>(periodically)</sup>.

[ This plan will be immediately recognised as a slight variant of the three-point ~~third~~ plan which had been proposed by General Paul and Major Lieblich in late 1947 -- a piecemeal expansion of MOS <sup>(by career fields,)</sup> the creation of new Negro units requiring ~~and~~ higher skills, and special procurement of better educated Negroes.

Byproducts of this plan would be the <sup>opening</sup> ~~widening~~ of school courses and increased utilization in overhead.

[ The criticisms which were valid against the old plan were equally valid against its successor. After two weeks study, the President's ~~That President's Committee evaluated that~~

The substance Committee submitted a lengthy evaluation of this plan to the Army. ~~Revised~~ ~~many points~~ of the Committee's criticism was this; ~~deleting the Committee~~

<sup>(school-trained, were)</sup>  
 1. So long as assignment of Negroes ~~was~~ restricted to to racial units and overhead, MOS and school courses could never be fully opened up to qualified personnel.

2. The Army was actually proposing the extension of the quota system to the new career guidance program. The Committee did not ask that a certain percentage of ~~Negroes~~ ~~be assigned~~ positions in each career field be allotted to Negroes. It asked only that all men ~~have a chance to~~

~~purpose~~ qualified for training receive training and be used without regard for race. ~~It sought~~

Dr might well be that very few <sup>(qualified)</sup> <sup>(certain types of work)</sup> ~~equal opportunity, not a quota of opportunity~~ Negroes were available for ~~equal opportunity, not a quota of opportunity~~. In the Committee's view, there was nothing wrong with a concentration of Negroes in laundry if that is where their capabilities assigned them. What was wrong was the assignment of a potential teletype operator to the laundry because the ~~Negro~~ quota of Negro teletypists was full. What the Committee sought was equal opportunity for individuals, not a quota of opportunity for a race.

~~It was not the intention of the Committee to recommend for Negroes~~

3.3. The forced displacement of whites by Negroes in overhead <sup>would be</sup> ~~was~~ discrimination against whites. The Negro should get equal, not preferential treatment

4. The promotion system of the career guidance program was already administered on a single standard, but ~~this did not~~ a ~~high-scoring Negro~~ a high-scoring Negro was still restricted to assignment in a Negro unit or overhead; and if a vacancy were not available in a racial unit or in overhead, he ~~was not~~ did not climb the career ladder.

5. The Committee had no objection to special procurement, but it thought the best way to get highly qualified Negroes was to offer them equal opportunity to compete with whites.

~~It was~~

~~the Committee's recommendation that the Army should not~~  
~~recommend that the Army should not~~

Along with the evaluation of the Army's proposals, the President's formally submitted for the first time its recommendations for Committee ~~recommended for the first time its recommendations for~~

(1)

Army action. In only two respects did these differ substantially from the earlier recommendations.

1. ~~These~~ <sup>These</sup> recommendations are found in Appendix



First, the Committee recommended that so long as there were racial units in the Army, an enlisted man in the four lowest grades should be allowed, upon his own request and <sup>with</sup> ~~at~~ the approval of his commanding officer, to remain in a unit composed of personnel of his own race.

Secondly, the Committee conceded that the Army had <sup>three</sup> ~~two~~ valid points with respect to the <sup>racial</sup> quota: (1) ~~Proportionately the Negroes far outnumbered~~ ~~the whites in the Army~~ ~~with too many enlisted men with~~ ~~with too many enlisted men with~~ <sup>white or Negro</sup> with too high a proportion of men with a mental score GCT 80 and below; (2) the percentage of Negroes below GCT 80 far exceeded the percentage of whites below 80; (3) therefore, if the racial quota were abandoned, it <sup>a disproportionate</sup> gave ~~an~~ advantage to the low score Negro, and an advantage that worked to the detriment of the Army, irrespective of questions of race.

Therefore, the Committee <sup>recommended</sup> ~~proposed~~ to the Army that it substitute <sup>for the racial quota</sup> a quota system <sup>based on</sup> ~~on the basis of~~ the General Classification Test, ~~for the~~

With respect to original enlistments, the Committee proposed ~~racial quota. Specifically that the Committee proposed that the Army~~

that the Army not enlist ~~more~~ a higher percentage of men each month in ~~control~~

<sup>GCT</sup> the normal distribution of men in that category as

the lowest category than ~~was necessary to distinguish that category~~

revealed by the Army's experience with ~~a ten million men Army~~ in World War II.

1. On the basis of <sup>approximately</sup> 50,000,000 men tested in World War II, ~~the~~ 23.3 percent of whites fell below GCT 80 as compared to 67.5 percent Negroes.

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For example, while the Army <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~ enlisting men at GCT 80, the lowest category would be the upper third -- GCT 80-90 -- of Grade IV which covers the range from 60 to 90. Therefore, the Army should limit its original enlistments each month -- white and Negro -- to 13.4 per cent of its total monthly allotment,

is the percentage of men falling between GCT 80-90 because 13.4 per cent ~~was the percentage of men in World War II falling~~ upon the basis of World War II experience, when that experience is adjusted ~~between GCT 80-90, if the percentage is adjusted to an enlistment standard~~ (1) to an enlistment standard of 80. ~~and of 80~~

[ With respect to re-enlistments, the Committee proposed that (1) a man in GCT Grade IV (60-90), completing his first term of enlistment and scoring below 80 in Aptitude Area I test, should not be allowed to re-enlist; <sup>and</sup> (2) a man with more than one term of enlistment, scoring below 80 in the same test, should not be allowed to re-enlist except upon waiver by the Adjutant General.

- (1) Charts showing the GCT distribution of white and Negro enlisted men during World War II and in the peacetime Army as of March 31, 1949, are found in Appendices \_\_\_ and \_\_\_.

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During the next two months little progress was made in discussions with the Army. The Army steadily maintained, without advancing any figures to support its contention, that even if the Committee's GCT quota plan were substituted for the racial quota, there was a likelihood that Negro enlistments would run 30-40 per cent of total enlistments. ~~The Army also refused to~~

~~refuse to discuss the Committee's position on the assignment of school-trained men.~~

The Army also refused to meet the Committee on the question of ~~Committee's~~ assignment of school-trained men. ~~The Army maintained that it was not~~

The Army finally agreed to open all MOS ~~and to abolish the~~ to Negroes and to abolish the

Negro school quotas. By ~~also~~ taking these two steps and by expanding the utilization of Negroes in overhead, the Army insisted that no individual who qualified for an occupational specialty would be denied the opportunity



to follow it. But the Army would not ~~specifically~~ agree ~~to that~~ that, <sup>with</sup> with the rare exception of critical specialists, Negroes should not be ~~limited~~ <sup>restricted</sup> in assignment to Negro units and overhead.

[ The Committee as steadily maintained that equality could be achieved only by the creation of a wide variety of Negro units or by integration.

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It <sup>c</sup>ould not agree to the formation of more Negro units. Nor could it ask at once the Army to break up ~~its~~ <sup>the</sup> present segregated units, for this

~~impose on the Army the enormous administrative confusion and would create immense organizational and administrative difficulties for the~~

~~impose on the Army the enormous administrative and organizational difficulties for the~~

would create immense organizational and administrative difficulties ~~for the~~ individual

~~progressive~~ The ~~gradual~~ <sup>progressive</sup> introduction of <sup>individual</sup> qualified Negroes into white units, <sup>beginning</sup> ~~in~~

<sup>with</sup> those ~~and~~ occupational specialties in which the Army was currently under

the Committee maintained, offer <sup>ed</sup> the Army a gradual and manageable strength, ~~did, however, offer the Army~~

solution to the problem of integration, which the other two services were in the process of solving.

[ Finally, in late September, the Army informed the Committee it was sending

its proposals to the Secretary of Defense. The Committee asked the Army, in



its proposal to the Secretary of Defense. The Committee asked the Army, to leave forwarding its plan, to ~~state that~~ the question of the quota open, merely stating that it was under further discussion.

On September 30, <sup>the</sup> Secretary of Defense ~~announced~~ <sup>affirmed</sup> <sup>announced</sup> ~~with his approval~~, ~~that~~ the Army's "program . . . to give greater assurance of equality of treatment and opportunity to all Army personnel without regard to race or color." As the Army had agreed, the new plan met the Committee's

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recommendations on opening up all MOS and school courses. The question of the racial quota was left in abeyance. On the crucial issue of assignment, the Secretary of the Army said:

This program does not mean that existing Negro units will be broken up or that Negro personnel of these units will be scattered throughout the Army. It does mean that qualified Negroes, including members of these existing units, will have the opportunity to learn those skills previously unavailable to them. Hereafter, Negroes who acquire skills will be assigned to positions where their specialties may be applied in the manner most useful to the Army . . . .

~~Formerly, Negroes were excluded from acquiring certain Military Occupational Specialties. Also, they were selected to attend schools on the basis of Negro distribution in the Army. They competed for promotion only among themselves. Now all non-commi~~

Under the Army's new program Military Occupational Specialties will be open to all qualified personnel. No individual who qualified for a Military Occupational Specialty will be denied the opportunity to follow it because of race or color. This will give greater significance and provide further implementation to the Army's policy and practice of using qualified persons without regard to race in filling the operating --or so-called overhead -- positions at Army installations.

*- October -*  
[The following day the Army dispatched ~~the message~~ <sup>a message</sup> to Army commands outlining the new policy.]

On ~~the~~ October 25, it sent out a clarification of ~~the policy which stated~~ <sup>this message:</sup>

[Dealing with the opening of MOS]  
[It is not intended that paragraph 1 A of above message be interpreted to authorize assignments to troop basis spaces without regard to race or color. Negro personnel will be assigned only to T/O and E units authorized Negro personnel, and to Negro spaces in T/D units . . . . Negro and white personnel will not be assigned simultaneously to a T/O and E unit which is designated for a particular race except on Dept of Army orders . . . .]

*[Overhead]*

*me, ✓ ✓ ✓*  
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[This interpretation absolutely precluded the assignment of any Negro personnel to a white unit. Furthermore, it ~~was not~~ <sup>went further and reversed</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>even upset</sup> the Gillem

Board policy on overhead assignment, for that policy had never limited the assignment of Negroes in overhead to "Negro spaces."

[When this message was brought to the attention of Secretary Gray, he immediately issued a statement, declaring ~~that~~ <sup>a violation of</sup> it ~~violated~~ his recently announced policy. <sup>He added that</sup> "This policy guarantees that qualified Negro soldiers will be given ~~the~~ equal opportunity with other qualified soldiers to practice their specialties if vacancies exist for these specialties. In clarification of the question of assignment of Negroes to white units,

the Secretary said it was anticipated that as a result of the announced policy

qualified Negro ~~specialists~~ specialists would be assigned to some white units, but that

Negro no existing units would be broken up ~~for their personnel scattered~~ ~~and Negro personnel~~

throughout the Army.

( Meanwhile, the Committee had indicated to the President ~~for its~~  
~~in the interim between the announcement~~

~~dissatisfaction with the Army's policy on assignment.~~

conviction That equality of opportunity could not  
be secured under the Army's ~~new program~~ until  
the assignment policy were modified.