MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NASH:

Subject: Letter of July 27, 1949, to the President from Charles Fahy, Chairman, President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, making progress report on Committee's work.

In line with our conversation today, I send you herewith this letter and its attachments, which Mr. Clifford gave me yesterday. I shall appreciate it if you will advise me what, if anything, needs to be done about this correspondence.

S. J. S.
S.J.S.
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1949

MR. NASH

Phil lee:

Whatever happened on Charles Fahey letter to President (progress report of Equality of Opportunity in Armed Services Committee) which I sent you about 10 days ago. Thought I'd inquire since I should make report to Clifford on matter.

S. J. S.

S. J. S.
Dear Mr. President:

Then we had the privilege of meeting with you on June 7 to make a progress report. We notified you that one of the three services, the Air Force, was about to undertake the reassignment of entire units of Negro personnel. It also reported that the Army had accepted our recommendations on recruiting and on granting to officer candidates the rating of officer petty officers. The Committee is able to report now that the Air Force's progress of integration has been undertaken and some Negro units are now being established. The Navy is also proceeding with its plans looking toward equality of treatment and opportunity.

In June, we asked and received your permission to delay the filing of an interim report because we were then in the midst of discussions with the Army, concerning changes in Army policies which we had recommended informally for the Army's consideration in formulating its third reply to the April 6 request of the Secretary of Defense for a plan to implement Executive Order 9981.

Since then, members of the Committee have met first with Secretary Navy, later with General McChesney, and finally with the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Staff together. As a result of these conferences, which were essentially frank and candid, the Army has submitted to the Committee a proposed plan of action which meets in some parts our recommendations, but which does not, in our opinion, satisfy the requirements of Executive Order 9981.

These are the changes which the Committee proposes to the Army:

1. Open all classes of Army jobs to qualified Negroes without regard to race. At the present time a large range of jobs in the Army are closed to qualified Negroes because Negro units are not authorized for such jobs.
2. Open all courses in Army Schools to qualified personnel without regard to race. At present approximately 60 per cent of the courses in Army Schools for recruits from the training stations are closed to Negroes.

3. Assign and use personnel upon completion of school courses without regard to race. At the present time, although the Army is below authorized strength in many of the specialist jobs, it assigns Negroes in these specialties only to Negro units or to overhead, i.e., housekeeping, installations.

4. Abolish the racial quota and substitute for it a quota system based on the distribution of racial quotas as determined by the General Classification Test in World War II.

In reply to the Committee's recommendations, the Army has proposed to:

1. Increase the kinds of jobs Negroes are authorized to perform in the Army.

2. Abolish the Negro quotas for Army Schools.

3. Use more Negroes in overhead, i.e., housekeeping, installations, where present policy permits Negroes and whites to work together on a 'help-internment basis.'

4. Create more Negro units to make places for the Negroes who will get specialist training.

With reference to the Committee's recommendations you will note that the Army does not meet the following proposals:

1. That all job classifications be opened immediately to qualified personnel without regard to race.

2. That school-trained personnel be assigned and used without regard to race.

3. That the racial quota be abolished.

4. That the use of Negroes not be restricted to racial units or overhead installations.
The Committee feels that when the Army sends qualified men to school for special training, it should use these specialists wherever they are needed without regard to race or the requirements of racial units. (For detailed discussion, see Enclosure 5, Interim Report, Recommendations II and III for the Army.) The assignment of school-trained men without regard to race, while not requiring at this time the abolition of all Negro units in the Army, would gradually extend the integration already practiced in overhead installations and Army Schools for officers and enlisted men. The Committee cannot recommend less than this in light of Executive Order 9981, especially as this would do no more than bring Army practice abreast of current practice in both the Navy and Air Force. Furthermore, the Committee's recommendation on this point is supported by the military demands of maximum efficient use of the Army's available manpower, as well as the democratic considerations of equal treatment and opportunity.

The Department of the Army has told the Committee that the Negro quota would be abandoned if all three services had the same minimum mental standards for enlistment, thus insuring that the Navy and the Air Force would proportionately share with the Army in the enlistment of low-score men. The Committee has recommended that there be parity of enlistment qualifications, but the Navy and Air Force have not accepted this recommendation. A job analysis which the Department of Defense has recently ordered for the whole Military Establishment during the next year should provide some basis for factual determination of this much-disputed question of parity of enlistment standards.

Notwithstanding the fact that this study is yet to be made, the Committee is of the opinion that the Army should abolish the racial quota now and substitute a system of enlistment quotas based on the normal distribution of mental classifications during World War II as measured by the Army General Classification Test. Such a quota system, the Committee believes, would insure the Army against recruiting an undue proportion of low-score men, both white and Negro. (For detailed discussion, see Enclosure 5, Interim Report, Recommendation VII for the Army.)

Finally, the Army has proposed the formation of a board of senior officers "to examine and review the fundamental policies for the utilization of Negro manpower in the Army." Even if such an intra-Army board should be created, that would not alter the requirements of Executive Order 9981, or the desirability of putting into effect at this time the Committee's present recommendations.
We are desirous of advising you in some detail of the current situation with respect to our proposals to the three services, advertised in general terms above. To this end, we enclose herewith the following papers: (1) the Army's proposals, entitled "An Outline Plan for Utilization of Negro manpower to provide further equality of opportunity" - Enclosure A; (2) a memorandum from the President's Committee to Secretary Gray analyzing the Army's proposals - Enclosure B; (3) a copy of a letter to Secretary Gray from the Chairman of the Committee - Enclosure C; (4) a copy of a letter from the Chairman of the Committee to Secretary Johnson - Enclosure D; (5) an interim report to the President, setting forth the Committee's recommendations to the three services and their present status - Enclosure E.

Respectfully yours,

[Signature]
Charles Faby, Chairman
For the Committee

Enclosures: A, B, C, D, E

The President
The White House
OUTLINE PLAN FOR UTILIZATION OF NEGRO MANPOWER
TO PROVIDE FURTHER EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

1. Abolish the Negro quotas for selection from replacement stream
   (training divisions) for school training.
   a. To be accomplished at once.
      b. Henceforth selection will be made from the next qualified
         individuals without regard to race. The total number to be
         selected will depend upon military requirements.

2. Abolish Negro quotas in major commands for school selection of
   assigned personnel and prohibit major commands from imposing racial quotas
   in the distribution of their overall school quotas within their commands.
   a. To be accomplished at once.
      b. Major commands will be required to sub-allocate part of their overall
         quotas to 7/08S units, from which qualified individuals will be selected
         and trained to meet needs of the units and returned thereto.
      c. Major commands also will be required to sub-allocate part of their
         overall quotas to overhead installations from which qualified individuals
         will be selected without regard to race. Upon completion of training
         these individuals will return to their respective overhead installations.

3. Provide, on a planned basis, a suitable number of positions in
   each occupational career field for Negroes, which will improve the present
   numerical utilization in the 7/08S of each field. This will be revised from
   time to time based on experience.
   a. To commence immediately and to be completed in six years, pro-
      vided sufficient suitably qualified Negroes become available.
   b. This expanded utilization program will:
      (1) Reduce the present utilization in overcrowded fields.
      (2) Increase the present utilization in fields such as:
         Electronics
         Laboratory and Health
         Armament Repair
         Metal Working
         General Communication and Fire Installation
         and Maintenance
         Fire Control and Precision Instrument Maintenance
         Clerical, Financial, and Intelligence

4. The foregoing will require inactivation of some presently
   organized Negro 7/08S units in order to release manpower spaces to the
   expanded fields, and the activation of some new Negro 7/08S units to
   provide new positions.

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4. Accelerate the present program for utilization of Negroes in overhead installation positions on a two-intersection basis with Whites.
   a. This will require assignment of additional qualified Negroes to each overhead installation and the displacement of a corresponding number of Whites.

5. Administer the promotion system of the enlisted career guidance program on an equal merit basis so that all promotions will be obtained by open competition on Army-wide examinations, against a single standard, without regard to race.
   a. To be effective with the next Army-wide career field examinations.

6. Initiate specialized enlistment programs for Negro personnel to assist in providing qualified Negroes for use in filling the expanded range of Negro positions to be created.
   a. Applicants would be required to meet the necessary high selection criteria required for their successful schooling and subsequent utilization in higher skilled positions.
   b. Number to be enlisted would be small initially, totaling 200 to 300. These would be enlisted in monthly increments.
   c. Applicants would be earmarked upon enlistment for school training, after completion of basic training, and for ultimate assignment to the expanded fields, provided their ability and performance of duty justified their retention in such positions.

7. Convene a board of senior Army officers to recognize and review the fundamental motives for the utilization of Negro personnel in the Army, as set forth in the various Board Reports, in the light of changing conditions and experience in the Army since the formulation of these policies.

NOTE: This outline plan contemplates that Negro racial units will be retained and that the ratio of Negroes to Whites in the Army will be continued at the 30 per cent figure established by the Milton Board.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF THE ARMY

SUBJECT: Evaluation by the President's Committee of the Army's "Outline Plan for Utilization of Negro Manpower to Provide Further Equality of Opportunity."

Detailed Comment

1. "Abolish the Negro quota for selection from replacement streams (training division) for school training ... henceforth selection will be made from the most qualified individuals without regard to race. The total number to be selected will depend upon military requirements."

The abolition of Negro quotas for Army Schools meets in part the Committee's recommendation on replacement stream students. Since 80 percent of Army Schools currently have no Negro quotas, this is a significant step forward. It is, however, largely nullified by the failure of the Army to meet the remainder of the Committee's recommendation - the utilization of school-trained men in their specialties without regard to race. Without the second portion of the Committee's recommendation, the first part will not offset the Committee's intention, which is that the Army make maximum use of its manpower by providing equal opportunity on a truly competitive basis.

The statement that henceforth students will be selected from the most qualified individuals must be understood in the context imposed by the footnote on page 3. That is, the Army will select the best qualified Negroes to get training for positions in Negro units, and the best qualified Whites to get training for positions in White units. The only exception will be the use of Negroes in overhead units.

Such an arrangement will not give the qualified Negro equal opportunity or enable the Army to make the best efficient use of its manpower. The Committee strongly feels that both parts of its original recommendation -
selection for school and assignment after school without regard to race — are necessary to effect the President's Executive Order and Secretary Johnson's supporting Memorandum of April 6, the letter of which states explicitly that "to meet the requirements of the services for qualified individuals, all personnel will be considered on the basis of individual merit and ability," and that "qualified Negro personnel shall be assigned to fill any type of position vacancy in organizations or overhead installations without regard to race."

2. "Abolish large quotas to major commands for school selection of assigned personnel, and authorize major commands to allot school quotas to the distribution of their over-all school quotas within their commands. Assigned personnel will be requested to fill a part of their over-all quotas to 1/OSE units, from which qualified individuals will be selected and trained to meet needs of the units and agencies thereof. Major commands also will be required to allot a part of their over-all quotas to overseas installations from which qualified individuals will be selected without regard to race. Upon completion of training these individuals will return to their respective overseas installation."

The proposed abolition of racial school quotas for assigned personnel, like that for replacement stream personnel, would only a portion of the Committee's recommendation for assigned personnel. By failing to propose that these men, upon completion of school, be used without regard to vacancies in racial units, the Army multiplied the value of its own proposal. For if major commands are to allot a part of their over-all school quotas to 1/OSE units in order to meet the needs of the particular units from which men are selected and to which they return, this in effect continues the racial quotas which the Army says in the first sentence are to be abolished. The two provisions are contradictory as we interpret them. If our understanding is erroneous we should be glad to be advised.

Furthermore, the requirement that a man must return to his unit after schooling will greatly limit the effect of this policy. For example, if a man is assigned to a 1/OSE service unit with offers little scope for his capabilities, he will be restricted in the kind of schools he can attend by the needs of that unit. If he is not restricted and is returned after training to a unit which cannot use his training, this is a waste of schooling.

The requirement that students from overseas installations must return to these units imposes similar restrictions. A man in an overseas installation may be capable of schooling which would fit him for a job not available in his overseas installation. Nevertheless he is confined to the opportunities within that unit.

It is the Committee's opinion that this proposal does not meet the intention of the President or the Secretary of Defense.
3. "Provide on a fixed planned basis a suitable number of positions in each occupational career field for Negroes, which will assure the annual numerical utilization in the ARs of such fields... The foregoing will assure application of now excessively manned Negro 7/OSB units in order to release manpower excess in the expanded fields, and the utilization of some Negro 7/OSB units to provide new positions."

This proposal is an offshoot of a study by the Adjutant General's Office of the spread of Negroes in MOS. This study showed that Negroes were thinly represented in many technical MOS and heavily concentrated in laundry, truck driver, bath, etc. The thesis of this study was that the GILLES board policy of a 10 percent quota should be applicable within MOS, as well as in over-all Army strength. The Committee did not look on this thesis favorably when it was presented to them, first, because it was an extension of the quota system, secondly, because the Committee doubted whether it would be possible to get 10 percent qualified Negro representation in the more technical MOS.

There is no suggestion here of a 10 percent quota in all MOS, but the Army does propose a leveling-off of MOS in which Negroes are heavily concentrated. In order to do this, the Army plans to deactivate some Negro 7/OSB service units in order to release men for other newly-created Negro 7/OSB units which would contain new positions for the school-trained Negroes.

In the Committee's opinion there are several things wrong with this proposal. In the first place, it sets up a quota system for career fields. Secondly, it makes the color the criterion of equal opportunity. There is nothing wrong about a heavy concentration of Negroes in laundry if in the natural course they are there by reason of their fitness for the work. What is wrong is to have a man driving a truck if he has the capacity for being a teletype operator. But it is equally wrong and probably more destructive of Army efficiency, to rule arbitrarily that there should be a 'suitable number of positions in each occupational field for Negroes,' and to activate new Negro 7/OSB units in order to provide spaces for these men. What if there are not sufficient qualified Negroes for these positions? Will the Army use second and third rate men in these jobs, merely because, having created the racial unit, it must staff it racially? To do this would be to invite a repetition of the Army's difficulty in finding during wartime sufficient, capable Negro officers to staff Negro units. The result is lowered efficiency and lowered morale which affect the fighting potential of the Army.

The Committee does not ask for a "suitable number of positions in each career field or MOS, but merely that the Army train according to its needs those qualified for training, and use them without regard to race. This modest proposal could be put into practice immediately, and then it..."
meets the President's injunction that equality of treatment be affected "as rapidly as possible" without impairing efficiency or morale. The Committee is convinced that its progress would improve both morale and efficiency.

4. "Accomplish the present process for utilization of Negroes in overhead installation positions in a discrimination basis with Whites. This will require movement of additional qualified Negroes to such overhead installation and the displacement of a corresponding number of Whites."

This proposal would seem to involve discrimination against both Negroes and Whites. If qualified Negroes are scheduled in fulfillment of Number 1 above, then Negro T/O/R units may not absorb all the trained Negroes. In order to prevent these men from being assigned as needed regardless of race, the Army proposes making room for them in overhead units. To provide the additional Negro spaces in overhead units, some Whites must be removed. What happens to these Whites if they can't be used in their specialty within regular T/O/R units is not clear. This preferential treatment for Negroes in overhead units would not be necessary if they were to be given equal treatment in assignments according to needs and qualifications.

5. "Administer the promotion system of the enlisted career guidance program on an equal merit basis so that all promotions will be obtained on non-combatting in non-critical specialties, ranked a single element, with no regard to race."

The above is standard procedure which is already in effect, and is merely a paraphrase of Circular I, issued on January 1, 1948, explaining the career guidance program. Circular I (page 2) states that it is the purpose of the career guidance plan to provide "a standardized system of personnel procedures for the determination of qualifications which will assure each individual an equitable opportunity to compete in a planned manner for advancement in skill and grade on the basis of merit." Despite the above description, it has always been understood that no matter how high a Negro scored in these world-wide examinations, he was still restricted within his career field to Negro or overhead units. The Army does not propose to change this arrangement in the above recommendation, even though promotion within the present racial framework defeats in part the purpose of the career guidance program.
6. "Initiate accelerated enlistment program for Negro personnel to assist in providing qualified Negroes for use in filling the up-to-date Negro positions to be created."

The Committee sees no objection, but notes that the most effective inducement which could be offered to better qualified Negroes would be a change in policy that would allow Negroes to compete with Whites on an equal basis. The quota system operates against the enlistment of qualified Negroes who will not reach quotas for quotas to be equated. The restriction of opportunity to racial units also discourages the better qualified Negro.

7. "Prove a board of senior Army officers to re-examine and re-establish the fundamental policies for the utilization of Negro personnel in the Army as set forth in the Dillion Board Report. In the Army of character positions and support in the Army above the completion of those policies."

The Committee sees no reason as to the formation of such a board. If formed, however, the Committee cannot look to it as a substitute for its own responsibility or defer to it in making its present recommendations of steps which should now be taken in carrying forward a policy of equality of treatment and opportunity.

8. "Note: This outline contemplates that Negro racial units will be retained and that the ratio of Negroes in units in the Army will be continued at the 30 percent level established by the Dillion Board."

The Committee has not proposed the immediate and complete abandonment of all racial units. It has recommended that qualified Negroes shall be sent to school and assigned where they are needed and qualified without regard to race. This will gradually bring about in Army units some extension of the integration now existing in overseas installations and Army Schools for enlisted men as well as officers. The Committee cannot recommend less than this in the light of the policy announced by the President and supported by the Secretary of Defense.

As for the racial quota, the Department of the Army has stated it would be willing to abolish the quota if all the services used the same entry score. The Committee has recommended that there be parity of mental standards for enlistment in all three services and that the Navy and Air Force should accept low score personal according to their ability to use them provided, the final decision on this recommendation may await completion of the projected job analysis by the National Military Establishment.

The Committee recommends that for voluntary enlistment a quota system based on the General Classification Test be substituted for the racial quota system. A system based on GCT would at once insure the Army of
not getting too many low score recruits, since a large number of unqualified personnel would be eliminated by such a procedure.

Such a system would be determined by ascertaining the existing GAT distribution in relation to the normal distribution in the Army as revealed by the operation of Selective Service during the war.

In order to control the number in GAT Grade IV, reenlistment of men in this category would have to be controlled. Therefore the Committee would suggest that:

a. A man in GAT Grade IV, completing his first tour of enlistment and scoring below 80 in Aptitude Area I test, be not allowed to reenlist.

b. A man with more than one tour of enlistment who is in GAT Grade IV and scoring below 80 in Aptitude Area I test, be not allowed to reenlist except upon waiver by the Adjutant General in the interest of Army efficiency.

There is good precedent for such a policy in the Allen Board Report, which criticized the Army practice of reenlisting low score men for repeated tours.

Charles Fehy, Chairman
For the Committee

cc: The White House
The Secretary of Defense
Dear Mr. Secretary:

Following the making available of the Committee's tentative recommendations some weeks ago to the Personnel Policy Board, Mr. Palmer and I met with Secretary Johnson. The Secretary asked us if we would meet informally with you and General Bradley in an effort to bridge the gap between the thinking of the Committee and the Army on the problem with which the Committee is charged by the President.

We agreed readily to Secretary Johnson's request because the Committee has believed from the outset that the best way to effect the policy of the President, which is supported by the Secretary of Defense, was to work in close cooperation with the Services, in the hope that the steps necessary to assure equality of treatment and opportunity might be taken by the Services themselves through changes in administrative procedure.

As you know, Mr. Palmer and I met first with you, then with General Bradley, and a third time with you and the Chief of Staff jointly. As a result of the first two meetings, we felt there was some hope that the distance separating the Army and the Committee might be considerably narrowed, if not entirely bridged. After our long conference with you and General Bradley on July 5, at which time you submitted for the Committee's consideration an outline plan for Army action, both Mr. Palmer and I felt some misgiving about reaching agreement on a program that would accomplish what, in the Committee's opinion, the President, supported by the Secretary of Defense, intends.

The full Committee has since met to consider the Army's suggested plan, and it is the Committee's judgment that this plan, while in part an advance on the previous position of the Army, does not meet the requirements of the President's Executive Order or the policy statement of the Secretary of Defense issued on April 6, 1949.
Specifically, the Committee does not agree that the Army, while proposing to abolish the school quotas, should at the same time propose to continue to use the school-trained Negroes only within the present restricted pattern. The Army — in a footnote — makes clear that its proposals in no way contemplate any relaxation of the quota system or the utilization of qualified Negro personnel except in Negro units and overhead installations.

The Committee believes that if the Army is to train men according to their ability, then it must contemplate assigning these specialists without regard to race, if it wishes to obtain more effective use of them and if it wishes to accord them equal treatment and opportunity. (For a detailed discussion, see Enclosure E, Recommendations II, III, IV.)

The Committee is concerned with the fact that the quota system, which in the view of the Army is necessary to prevent the enlistment of an undue proportion of Negroes in the lower GCT classifications, also prevents the Army from enlisting, over long periods, Negroes of superior ability. The Army has maintained that without the racial quota, Negroes might comprise an excessive proportion of total Army strength. On the basis of Army studies available to it, the Committee cannot understand how this would happen. If the Army has studies which would support such a prediction, they have not been made available to the Committee.

Attached to this letter (Enclosure B) is an analysis of the Army's outline plan, point by point, which represents the collective evaluation of the members of the Committee. I send it to you in order that the Army may know on what basis the Committee disagrees with this plan as meeting the needs of Executive Order 9981.

Enclosure C is a revision of the Committee's earlier recommendations, modified to meet certain objections of the Army. In the first place, the Committee has expanded the time from 18 months to four years, during which qualified Negroes already assigned to units who desire schooling should be detached. This change is intended to meet the Army's contention that the original recommendation would strain the capacity of Army Schools to such an extent as to discriminate against white soldiers, which of course is not intended or desired. (See Enclosure C, Recommendation VI.)

Secondly, the Committee suggests that the Army may wish to give consideration to permitting an enlisted man in the four lowest grades,
subject to the approval of his commander, to remain in a unit pre-
dominantly composed of his own race if he desires to do so. (See 
Enclosure C, Recommendation VI.)

Finally, the Committee has suggested the substitution for the 
racial quota of a quota based on the General Classification Test. 
It believes this substitution is wise and would at the same time 
abate the fear of the Army that it might be composed of an excessive 
number of low scoring men, either white or Negro. (See Enclosure G, 
Recommendation VII.)

In its meeting on July 11, the Committee agreed that if the 
Secretary of the Army or General Bradley requested a further meet-
ing with the Committee to discuss the revised recommendations, such 
a meeting would be welcomed. Or if you wished to make a written 
criticism of the recommendations, the Committee would give your com-
ments the most careful consideration.

With assurances of my personal regards, believe me, 
Sincerely yours,

Charles Fahey, Chairman 
For the Committee

Honorable Gordon Gray 
The Secretary of the Army 
Washington 25, D. C.

Enclosures: A - An Outline Plan for Utilization of Negro Manpower, etc. 
B - A Memorandum for the Secretary of the Army 
C - Recommendations of the President's Committee for Army 
Action

cc: The White House 
The Secretary of Defense

G.D.F.T
Dear Mr. Secretary:

When Mr. Palmer and I met with you on June 3, you asked that the Committee confer informally with the Secretary of the Army and the Chief of Staff in an effort to reach agreement on a program to achieve the equality of treatment and opportunity which the President had declared his policy in Executive Order 9901 and which you had reaffirmed in your Memorandum of April 6.

Your suggestion met with ready acceptance by the Committee, since it accords exactly with the approach that the Committee had decided on early in its deliberations, in the hope that by cooperation and consultation the Committee and the Services could agree on a program which could be implemented by administrative order within the Services. In order that the Army would have ample time to discuss a solution with the Committee, we have twice asked, and received, your cooperation in extending the dates you had set for an Army report.

Representing the Committee, Mr. Palmer and I met first with Secretary Gray, then with General Bradley, and a third time with them jointly. Our meetings were frank and cordial, and it was the feeling of both Mr. Palmer and myself after the first two meetings that, although the Army and the Committee were a good way apart, there was some prospect of accord.

In the third meeting Secretary Gray delivered to us for the Committee's consideration an outline plan for Army utilization of Negroes, a copy of which is attached (Enclosure A). The Committee has discussed this plan at some length, and Enclosure B represents the collective views of the Committee as to the Army's present proposals.

Briefly, the Committee believes that the Army, by retention of the quota system and by not undertaking to use school-trained Negroes except substantially on the present basis fails to meet the standard of equality of opportunity which is the objective of the President and yourself. Furthermore, the Committee believes that the recommendations it has made...
limited in their immediate objective and gradual in their execution—would actually result in better utilization of the Army's manpower.

In order to clear up any misunderstanding and to meet some of the objections expressed by the Army, the Committee has revised some of its original draft recommendations. A copy of these revised recommendations is attached as Enclosure C.

You will note that former Recommendation VI, which you had objected to and which I clarified in a letter to you on June 19, has now been changed so that the time, during which qualified Negroes in assigned units may be detached for school training, is four years rather than 16 months, in order to avoid any strain on the Army Schools and any possible discrimination against white soldiers. It has also been rewritten so as to make its meaning clear. (See Enclosure C, Recommendation IV B.)

Secondly, the Committee has suggested that the Army may wish to give consideration to permitting an enlisted man in the four lowest grades, subject to the approval of his commander, to remain in his unit predominantly composed of his own race if he desires to do so. (See Enclosure C, Recommendation VI.)

As to the ten percent quota, the Department of the Army has indicated to the Committee that it would be willing to abolish the racial quota system if there were parity of entrance scores for all three services. The Navy and Air Force have long objected to parity for voluntary enlistments if it means a lowering of standards. The Committee has recommended that there be parity of mental qualifications for enlistment in all three services, and that the Navy and Air Force should accept men with the same minimum GED as the Army according to their ability to use them, provided, that final decision on this recommendation may await completion of the job analysis to be conducted by the National Military Establishment in the next year.

Meanwhile, the Committee has recommended that the Army substitute for the racial quota system a quota by General Classification Test. Such a quota would be determined by ascertaining the existing GED distribution in the Army in relation to the normal distribution as revealed during wartime experience. For example, if the present distribution is 24 percent in GED Grade IV, as contrasted with the 29 percent during wartime under Selective Service, then the adjustment would have to be four percent. The Committee believes such a quota system would relieve the Army of a disproportionate number of low score men, both white and Negro.
The Committee has sent its revised recommendations to the Secretary of the Army and has indicated willingness to meet again with Secretary Gray or General Bradley if they request such a meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Charles F. Paly, Chairman
For the Committee

Honorable Louis A. Johnson
Secretary of Defense
Washington 25, D.C.

B - A memorandum to the Secretary of the Army on the above Outline Plan.
C - Recommendations of the President's Committee for Army Action.
D - Copy of a letter from the President's Committee to Secretary Gray.

cc: The White House

C.O.P. X
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUALITY OF TREATMENT AND OPPORTUNITY IN THE ARMED SERVICES

AN INTERIM REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT

The President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services held its first meeting on January 30, 1949. In the intervening seven months, the Committee, as directed by the President in Executive Order 9981, has examined thoroughly into "the rules, procedures and practices" of the Armed Services in order to determine how these rules, procedures and practices might be changed to effect the President's policy of equality of treatment and opportunity for all men and women in the nation's military forces.

In the course of its inquiry the Committee has heard the testimony of the three service secretaries, general staff officers of each service, and officers and civilians specializing in personnel policy and administration. In addition, the Committee has held hearings for organizations and individuals wishing to present their views on equality of treatment and opportunity in the armed services. Finally, the Committee and its staff have visited several military installations, and there are plans to visit several more.

As the Committee proceeded with its examination into the personnel practices of the services, it became apparent that the question of equality of
treatment and opportunity, in addition to the moral principle involved, is intrinsically bound up with the problem of the most efficient use of manpower. As war becomes more technical and the machinery of war more mechanical, it makes greater, rather than less, demand upon the nation's available manpower. This demand is not alone for greater numbers of men, but for men with a wider range of ability and skill. Consequently, the nation cannot afford to use its military personnel below their full capacities, or fail to train adequately all men regardless of race.

The Committee believes the available military manpower will not be used at maximum efficiency unless all men and women in uniform are given an equal opportunity to discover and exploit their capabilities. This interdependence of the objectives of equal opportunity and military efficiency the Committee has kept constantly in mind as it has formulated its recommendations.

As the Committee has reached conclusions on the changes in military personnel procedures which are necessary, in its opinion, to put the President's policy into practice, it has, in accordance with Executive Order 9931, conferred and advised with the Secretary of Defense and the Secretaries of the three services, directly and through the Personnel Policy Board. As a result, some of the recommendations which the Committee has suggested have been already adopted and are now being put into effect.

The recommendations which the Committee has made to the three services, the reasons for them, and the progress and present status of the Committee's proposals are set forth below.
I. CLASSIFICATION — MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALTIES

A. All military occupational specialties (MOS) should be open to qualified military personnel.

B. Every person processed at a training division should receive his appropriate military occupational specialties solely and strictly on the basis of classification procedures, without regard to race or the requirements of racial units.

Purpose and Justification: At the present time all MOS are theoretically open to all qualified personnel in the Army. Actually, many MOS are closed to Negroes because the range of Negro Table of Organization and Equipment (T/O&E) units do not require as many MOS as does the range of white T/O&E units. The above recommendation is designed to make all MOS open to qualified men regardless of race or possible utilization in racial units.

II. ASSIGNMENT TO ARMY SCHOOLS FROM TRAINING DIVISIONS

A. The present racial quotas for selection for Army Schools from the replacement stream (training divisions) should be abolished.

B. Personnel should be assigned to schools from the replacement stream solely on the basis of qualification and aptitude without regard to race or possible utilization in racial units.

Purpose and Justification: At the present time there are no racial qualifications for those Army school courses to which qualified recruits are sent after basic training. However, the Army sets racial quotas for these courses. The Army defends the racial quotas on the ground that it cannot school Negroes beyond the requirements of Negro T/O&E units and racially mixed overhead installations. But since Negro units do not require all the specialties represented in white units, and since the use of Negroes in overhead installations is dependent upon the local commander, the Army's present policy actually denies to qualified Negroes the opportunity to attend any Army school courses. For example, there are currently 106 courses for recruits from the training divisions. Of these, only 21, or 19.6%, are open to Negroes. The remainder of the courses have no Negro quotas, and consequently qualified Negroes are not permitted to attend them, even if the Army is below authorized strength in those special skills.
II. ASSIGNMENT AND UTILIZATION OF REPLACEMENT STREAM STUDENTS

All replacement stream students, upon completion of their courses in Army Schools, should be assigned to units or overseas installations, and utilized by local commanders, without regard to race or vacancies in racial units.

Purpose and justification. The Committee believes that, having given a man special training, the Army should use that man in his specialty, wherever it needs that specialty, without regard to race. The Army is below authorized strength in many MOS in white units. Yet, under its present policy, it cannot use available, qualified Negro specialists to bring those deficient MOS up to strength.

At the present time a local commander has the authority to use a man in a duty MOS different from his assigned MOS. He also has the authority to readjust or redesignate MOS. The Committee is conscious that flexibility in administration and command requires that the commander have this authority. At the same time the Committee believes it is essential that commanders use the men assigned to them with full regard to their MOS, and especially that specialists upon completion of school training should be utilized in their specialty without regard to race or vacancies in racial units.

IV. ASSIGNMENT TO ARMY SCHOOLS OF PERSONNEL FROM MAJOR COMMANDS

A. Personnel assigned to major commands should be detached for Army School training solely on the basis of qualification, without regard to race or possible utilization in racial units.

B. Negro quotas in major commands for school selection of assigned personnel should be abolished.

C. Major commands should not impose racial quotas in the distribution of their overall school quotas within their command.

D. Negroes, currently assigned to major commands, who possess the minimum qualification for Army Schools and who wish to attend an Army School, should be reclassified; and those who are qualified in the primary or
secondary NCOs should be sent to an appropriate school as soon as possible, but in any event within 18 months, to the extent required to meet the Army's overall needs in the particular MOS concerned.

Purpose and Justification. While all courses are theoretically open to qualified Negroes in Army commands, actually the limitations of Negro NCO units prevent qualified Negroes from attending any courses. Commanders do not request schooling for Negroes, even if qualified, unless they can use these trained Negroes in racial units or overseas installations. Qualified Negroes in major commands, who desire and have not been able to go to school, should have the opportunity to do so, if there is need for their specialties, in order that the Army should not lose any potential skills. It is intended that this provision shall be administered consistently with the similar opportunities accorded qualified white personnel, and not to the exclusion of the Negro. Because the facilities of the Army Schools are limited, this recommendation should be effected gradually over the next four years.

V. ASSIGNMENT AND UTILIZATION OF PERSONNEL FROM MAJOR COMMANDS UPON COMPLETION OF SCHOOL COURSES

All personnel detached from major commands for schooling, upon completion of their courses, should be assigned and utilized without regard to race or race units.

Purpose and Justification. See III above.

VI. PERSONAL PREFERENCE IN THE ASSIGNMENT OF MEN IN GRADES 4-7

So long as there continues to be predominantly racial units in the peacetime Army, the Committee suggests that the Army may wish to give consideration to permitting as enlisted men in the four lowest grades, subject to the approval of his commander, to remain in a unit predominantly composed of personnel of his own race, if he so requests.

The Committee would limit this suggestion to the peacetime Army, since the "ultimate objective" of the Mills Board was the effective use of all manpower made available to the military establishment in the event of a major mobilization . . . without regard to race or race units.

The Committee would not suggest that officers and non-commissioned officers in the first three grades should have such choice. These
officers and noncommissioned officers receive their promotions on a world-wide basis; they have applied for and accepted promotions, and their responsibilities to the service should include unquestioning acceptance of assignment.

VII. ABOLITION OF THE RACIAL QUOTA AND ESTABLISHMENT OF A QUOTA ON THE BASIS OF THE GENERAL CLASSIFICATION TEST

A. The racial quota, recommended by the Gillen Board and established as basic policy and practice in War Department Circular No. 1216, which sets a troop basis of 9 white for one Negro, should be abolished.

B. For the purpose of procurement through voluntary enlistment, the Army should institute a quota system based upon the General Classification Test, the quota for each grade in the OGT to be determined by ascertaining the existing OGT distribution in relation to normal distribution in the Army during the operation of Selective Service in World War II. These quotas would have to be adjusted to the fact that the Army does not now accept voluntary enlistments of men below OGT 60. Overages in each of the top three OGT categories would be applied against the next lower category below.

In support of the quota system, the Army argues that it is necessary in order to prevent Negros from enlisting in the Army in numbers disproportionate to their percentage of the civilian population. Since the Army enlists men at OGT 80 — in contrast to the mental qualification of 70 for Navy and Air Force enlistment — the Army contends that, without a racial quota, it would have no way of controlling the enlistment of Negroes, most of whom fall in the lower OGT classifications.

The number of Negroes in the Army which would result from the abolition of the quota is impossible to predict, as it would depend upon a number of variable factors. In any event, the Committee believes the solution to this problem is the substitution of a quota system based on the distribution of personnel in OGT grades as revealed by experience in World War II. By such a quota system the Army could at once insure itself of not getting too many low score recruits, whether white or Negro.

In order to control the number in OGT Grade IV, reenlistment of men in this category would have to be controlled. Therefore the Committee would suggest that:

1. A man in OGT Grade IV, completing his first term of enlistment and scoring below 60 in Aptitude Area I test, should not be allowed to reenlist.
2. A man with more than one term of enlistment who is in GCT Grade IV and scoring below 80 in aptitude Area I test, be not allowed to reenlist except upon waiver by the Adjutant General in the interest of Army efficiency.

There is good precedent for such a policy in the Allen Board Report which emphasized upon the practice of allowing low score men to reenlist for repeated terms.

VIII. REALIZATION OF MENTAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR ALL THREE SERVICES

There should be parity of mental qualifications for enlistment in all three services, and the Navy and Air Force should accept less score personal according to their ability to use them provided that final decision on this recommendation may rest upon completion of the job analysis to be conducted by the National Military Establishment in the next year.

Purpose and Justification. There is a long-standing dispute between the Army on one hand and the Navy and the Air Force on the other, over the question of whether there should be parity of mental standards for enlistment and induction in all three services.

The Army has had to drop its entrance qualification to GCT 80 in order to get enlistments. The Navy and Air Force have been able to keep up to strength with an enlistment standard of GCT 90. Moreover, the Army is required to take men at 70 under Selective Service. The Air Forces and Navy are under no such legal compulsion.

The Army argues that the Navy and Air Force sink the cream of the manpower pool. Therefore, the Army wants a parity of entrance scores for all three services under both Selective Service and voluntary enlistment. Furthermore, it wants all inductees and enlistees allocated by mental grade to each service in proportion to the authorized strength of each service to the total strength of the three services.

The Navy and Air Force reply that they should not be obliged to accept enlistees at GCT 80, when they can get men at GCT 90. They contend, further, that their services, being more technical than the Army, require men of higher mental qualifications.

The Department of the Army has stated to the committee that if there were parity of entrance qualification, it could abandon the racial quota.
A year ago the Secretary of Defense ruled that when all services were dependent upon induction, there should be parity of mental standards. Under voluntary enlistment, however, he ruled that there need not be common mental qualifications.

The Committee is convinced that there is some justice in the Army complaint that the unequal standards for enlistment operate to the disadvantage of the Army. It does not agree, however, that low score men should be allocated to the services on such an arbitrary basis as the proportion of each service to the overall military strength.

The Committee believes the question of parity of mental standards for enlistment and the available division of low score men between the services may be much clarified by the job analysis which will be undertaken during the next year in all three services.

Present Status of Above Recommendations

On April 6, 1949, Secretary Johnson issued a directive to the Secretaries of the three services, declaring that "it is a policy of the National Military Establishment 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," and directing each service to "assess 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..."

The Secretary of Defense requested the services to submit to the Chairman of the Personnel Policy Board by May statements detailing their proposed implementation of the policy of the President and the National Military Establishment.

On May 11, it was announced to the press from the Office of the Secretary of Defense that the statement submitted by the Army in reply to the Secretary's April 6 directive was being returned for clarification. The Secretary asked that the Army supply the additional information by May 25.

A few days after this press release, the President's Committee forwarded to the Army through the Personnel Policy Board a tentative draft of the Committee's recommendations for Army action as a possible guide to the Army.
On June 7, Secretary Johnson, in a memorandum to the Secretary of the
Army, noted the measures proposed to broaden the utilization of Negro man-
power, but was forced to the conclusion that your proposals in reply to
my second memorandum on this subject still fall to meet the basic intent
of Executive Order 9811 and my memorandum of 6 April. Concluding, the
Secretary of Defense said: "Accordingly, I am asking you to restate your
position and your proposals and at the same time to consider very carefully
the informal suggestions of the Jabo Committee which, I understand, have
been made available to you."

Thereupon, members of the President's Committee had a series of meet-
ings with representatives of the Department of the Army. Although the
Secretary of Defense had set a deadline of June 20 for the Army's third
reply, this was twice extended at the joint request of the Army and the
President's Committee.

The present status of the recommendations of the President's Committee
to the Army is as follows:

1. The Army has agreed to abolish Negro quotas for Army School courses.
   However, it would restrict, or, now, the assignment and utilization
   of school-trained Negroes to Negro units or overhead installations.
   Since the Army would limit the selection of Negroes for school
   training to the "military requirements" of Negro units and overhead
   installations, the quota system, for all practical purposes, would
   be continued in effect.

2. The Army has not yet specifically agreed to make all NSs available
to all qualified personnel without regard to race. It has agreed to
"provide . . . a suitable number of positions in each occupa-
tional career field for Negroes." In order to find spaces for
these new Negro positions, the Army proposes to activate new Negro
units. This proposal would extend rather than curtail both the
system of racial units and racial quotas.

3. The Army also proposes to accelerate the use of Negroes in mixed
overhead installations by displacing a corresponding number of
white personnel. The Committee believes this is designed to avoid
assigning school-trained Negroes without regard to race. By dis-
placing white personnel to make room for Negroes, the Army would
discriminate against white soldiers.

4. The Army states that its proposals contemplate that all units, as
distinct from overhead installations, will continue to be radial
in composition, and that the 10 percent Negro quota system will be
continued.
5. The Army proposes the formation of a board of senior Army officers to examine fundamental policies for the utilization of Negro manpower.

THE NAVY

The Navy's reply to Secretary Johnson's April 6 directive, like the Army's, on May 11, was returned for clarification. Shortly thereafter, the President's Committee submitted informally through the Personnel Policy Board the following tentative recommendations for the Navy's consideration:

I. RECRUITMENT FOR GENERAL RATIONS

The recruiting branch of the Navy should undertake a recruiting program designed to inform Negroes of the opportunities open to them in the general ratings, and to persuade them that Negroes are welcome in the Navy. To this end some Negro commissioned officers and petty officers should be brought back to active service from the Reserve in order to help with the recruiting program.

Purpose and justification. The Committee is persuaded that the Navy's racial policy as expressed in writing is sound. But the Committee finds it difficult to understand why a policy which is so progressive on its face has attracted only between one and two percent of Negroes into general ratings. The Committee can only conclude that the slow Negro enlistment rate in the Navy stems from the Negro's memory of the Navy as a white man's service in which the Negro was welcome only as a messman. It is the Committee's conviction that this memory can be erased only by a vigorous recruiting program.

II. THE NAVAL OFFICERS TRAINING PROGRAM

The Naval recruiting branch should put forth efforts to attract qualified Negro students into its NROTC program.

Purpose and justification. Although the Navy's Holloway Plan is one of the most attractive plans ever devised for subsidizing the college education of exceptional students, there are presently only seven Negroes who are NROTC students. Apparently the exceptional Negro high school student either does not know that the Holloway Plan is open to him, or knowing it, doubts whether after completing his NROTC course, he will really be welcomed as a Naval officer and be used as a line officer...
afloat. These doubts the Navy must dispel by a positive educational campaign among Negro high school students, especially in northern and western states.

III. CHIEF STEWARDESS

Chief stewards shall have all the perquisites and the rating of a chief petty officer.

Purpose and Justification. The fact that a chief steward does not enjoy the rating of a chief petty officer has done much to cast doubt among Negroes on the Navy's published policy. There is no reason why, with adequate training, a chief steward should not be a chief petty officer.

IV. THE CUT-OFF SCORE FOR NAVY ENLISTMENT

The cut-off, or entry, score for Navy, Army and Air Force shall be maintained at the same level.

Purpose and Justification. At present the Navy requires for enlistment an equivalent of 165 score V, contending that the Navy is such a technical service that it cannot use men, except in the steward's branch, with a lower intelligence rating. The Committee is unable to accept this argument. If the Navy insists that it cannot efficiently conduct its operations under any other system, then, we believe, an independent firm of job analysts should be engaged to analyze all positions in general ratings in order to determine which functions can be performed by men with an intelligence score between the Navy's and the Army's cut-off points. As already stated, the Committee does not intend by this recommendation that any one of the services should lower the qualifications for its highly skilled positions.

Present Status of Above Recommendations

On June 7, the Secretary of Defense announced that the Navy Department had proposed taking the following additional actions:

1. To promulgate a statement of the Navy Department's policy regarding minority races.
2. To augment efforts to obtain Negroes to enlist in the Navy by the assignment of Negro petty officers to duty in the Navy Recruiting Service, entering volunteer qualified Negro Reserve officers to active duty to assist in recruitment, and placing advertisements, posters, films, and pamphlets to attract Negroes to the Navy by use of photographs showing whites and Negroes working together in the Naval Service.

3. To exert greater effort to attract qualified Negro students to participate in the Navy ROTC program.

4. To promulgate a directive to insure that all members of the steward branch who are in all respects qualified are given an opportunity to change their rate to another rating branch.

5. To change the status of chief stewards to that of chief petty officers.

6. To disestablish within the Marine Corps the present separate Negro recruit training facility and integrate the training of Negro recruits with that of whites.

The proposed directive to all ships and stations follows:

"It is the policy of the Navy Department that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the Navy and Marine Corps without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

"In their attitudes and day-to-day conduct of affairs, officers and enlisted personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps shall adhere rigidly and impartially to the Navy regulations, in which no distinction is made between individuals wearing the uniform of these Services.

"All personnel will be enlisted or appointed, trained, advanced or promoted, assigned duty and administered in all respects without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

"In the utilization of housing, messes, berthing and other facilities, no special or unusual provisions will be made for the accommodation of any minority race."
At the first session of the President's Committee on January 11, 1949, the Air Force laid before the Committee for study a proposed program for putting into effect the President's policy which the Air Force had drafted following the issuance of Executive Order 9981 and submitted to the Secretary of Defense for his approval.

When the Secretary of Defense later directed the services to present plans for implementing his April 6 policy statement on equality of treatment and opportunity, the Air Force resubmitted, with minor revisions, the proposals it had previously drawn up.

The Air Force policy provided that:

1. There would be no "strength quotas" for minority groups in the Air Force troop basis.

2. While some units would continue to be Negro-manned, all Negroes would not necessarily be assigned to Negro units.

3. Qualified Negro personnel should be assigned to fill any vacancy in any Air Force organization or overhauled installation without regard to race.

4. All personnel in the Air Force would be considered on the basis of individual merit and ability and must qualify according to prescribed standards for enlistment, school attendance, promotion, and assignment to specific duties.

5. All personnel would have equal opportunity for appointment, advancement, professional improvement, promotion and retention.

6. Officers would be accepted into the regular Air Force in accordance with qualifications without regard to race.

The proposed program for effecting the above policy provided for:

1. The desegregation of the all-Negro 332nd Fighter Wing at Lockbourne Air Base, Ohio, and the reclassification and reassignment to training schools or major commands of the Air Force Negro personnel at Lockbourne.

2. The screening of all Negro personnel in each major command prior to possible assignment to service schools or white units.
3. The retention of Negroes in Negro units at their own request, or if required, because of their key positions, for the essential functioning of the units.

Present Status of Above Proposals

This policy and program were accepted by the Secretary of Defense on May 11. The President's Committee has decided that it will await the completion of the program of reclassification and reassignment of Negro personnel, which is currently going forward, before considering any recommendations for further Air Force action.

Meanwhile it is watching with interest: (1) the variety and success of assignments for the flying personnel at Lockbourne; (2) the extent of reassignment of Negroes in Air Force commands to white units and the number of Negroes who request reassignment in Negro units; (3) the number of Negro units which are kept in being; (4) the extent of new enlistments of Negroes for flight positions; (5) the extent of Negro enlistments for skilled ground positions in the Air Force.

Respectfully submitted,

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27 July, 1949