DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY Public Information Division PRESS SECTION Tel. RE 6700 Brs. 2528 and 71252

IMMEDIATE

RELEASE

May 26, 1948

ARMY SECRETARY ROYALL MAKES PUBLIC REPORT OF NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS

Secretary of the Army Kenneth C. Royall today made public the report of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Group who toured the United States Occupation Zone of Germany from March 18 to April 5, 1948.

The report has been referred to General Lucius D. Clay, United States Military Governor in Germany and Commander-in-Chief, European Command, and to the Department of the Army General Staff for appropriate action in accordance with established Army policy and directives.

Secretary Royall expressed his appreciation for the comprehensive and detailed report to the Group, whose members are:

Mr. Dowdal H. Davis, General Manager, The Kansas City Call.

Mr. Clifford W. Mackay, Managing Editor, The Afro-American Newspapers

Mr. Louis E. Martin, Editor and Publisher, The Michigan Chronicle.

Mr. William G. Nunn, Managing Editor, The Pittsburgh Courier.

Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Editor and Publisher, The Louisville Defender.

Mr. Carter Wesley, Editor and Publisher, The Houston Informer.

Mr. Thomas W. Young, President, The Journal and Guide (Norfolk, Virginia)
The text of the report follows:

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At the invitation of Kenneth C. Royall, Secretary of the Army, the following representatives of Negro newspapers completed an inspection tour of troop installations and military government centers in the United States-occupied areas of Germany and Austria during the period March 18 to April 5, 1948:

Sincere thanks are extended to Secretary Royall for making possible this opportunity to study, at first hand, those conditions which continue to play a vital part in the future of civilization as we know it, and to observe the extent to which the Negro in the armed forces is participating. It is felt that only by seeing them at close range can the real significance and magnitude of current problems be fully appreciated. It is further felt that a personal view of conditions in Europe is indispensable if those conditions are to be adequately interpreted and presented to the American public through our generally accepted media of information and communication. The Department of the Army, and through it, the Secretary of Defense, James. V. Forrestal, are to be congratulated upon seeing the need for making possible visits to occupied Europe by lay observers.

Additional thanks are given to Secretary Forrestal for his thoughtful courtesy in making himself available for a personal briefing session prior to the departure of the group on March 18, 1948. This conference, together with a similar meeting with Secretary Royall provided a useful background of information from which subsequent observations could be made and interpolated.

Appreciation is also expressed to those persons whose generous and interested aid facilitated setting up the itinerary and arranging for the comfort and convenience of the party during the tour.

PURPOSES OF THE TOUR:

- 1. To inspect Negro troop installations;
- 2. To observe conditions of morale, general performance, and potential of Negro soldiers;
 - 3. To observe facilities for recreation and voluntary education;
- 4. To observe the degree to which Army policy is moving in the direction of desirable integration of the Negro soldier on an individual as well as unit basis;
- 5. To observe the effects upon indigenous civilian populations of the presence of American military personnel, both Negro and white;

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- 6. To observe the incidence of crime and malconduct among troops both positively and comparatively;
- 7. To survey the activities of American Military Government in the areas of its attempts to stabilize an European economy and continental peace;
- 8. To appraise the effects of Communist-aggression upon future hopes for world understanding;
- 9. To appraise those factors which will dictate the order of priority in which the European Aid Program would be administered;
- 10. To obtain a clearer picture of the relative importance of world issues in their presentation to the American public;
- 11. To observe the degree to which democratic philosophies are being accepted by European peoples;
- 12. To obtain a perspective from which apparent recommendations may be passed on to the Secretary of the Department of the Army for such consideration as they may merit.

It should be said that the tour was undertaken with full cognizance of the currently critical state of world affairs and with a sympathetic knowledge that American public opinion has imposed upon the U.S. Army and upon American Military Government in occupied Europe a tremendous task.

This task has been made more difficult because public opinion has not yet fully recognized that aggressive, anti-democratic, positive and arbitrary force cannot be successfully combatted with weak, indecisive, theoretical arguments. It is made difficult because the United States now finds itself in the uncomfortable position of trying to recover a prestige that was dissipated by a too hasty redeployment of our wartime army. It is made more difficult by the wide acceptance of the immediate postwar myth that winning a war was an automatic tantamount to winning a peace. It is made more difficult by the failure of our foreign policy to emerge in recognizable, positive form in such a way as to challenge Europe to accept a persuasive program for constructive action.

Instead of providing an imaginative leadership, we confused strength and preparedness with a possible indictment of militarism. As a result we are forced to overtake a more daring course which now threatens to engulf the entire continent with its program of confusion and its stifling of individual prerogatives.

With complete appreciation for these conditions, the inspection, nevertheless, provided many encouraging observations. Restricting those observations to those facts related to the Negro soldier and to military government, some conclusions are:

1. The American soldier, individually and collectively, gives the impression of being alert, well-trained, well-disciplined and efficient. Although greatly insufficient in number, he appears to be handling the job assigned to him in a capable and effective manner.

- 2. The U.S. Army is carrying out a highly commendable program of planned education in order to improve the quality of the soldier and to better fit him for efficient use in a modern military effort. This training includes both basic education and specialized training.
- 3. With few exceptions, a general program is being pursued for the physical improvement of troop installations and environmental conditions under which troops exist.
- 4. From an alarming immediate postwar condition, the incidence of malconduct and venereal disease among both Negro and white troops has shown a substantial decline. In the case of Negro troops the drop has been marked. In most installations visited the VD average was one or two in periods ranging from thirty to as many as a hundred and seventy days. This not only attests to an effective positive program by the army but also indicates a desirable relationship between enlisted and officer personnel.
- 5. The announced objectives of the German Youth Activities Program were found to be a sound approach to combatting the still-existing effects of Nazi doctrines.
- 6. The work of military government is commendable and impressive in its efforts to establish a stabilized economy and a representative local self-government among the German people.
- 7. An impressive reassurance is the calm but firm resolve with which our forces, military and civilian, are meeting current crises.

In the course of the inspection, some things, however, were obvious which seemed to offer a definite hindrance to complete efficiency and full utilization of available personnel. Immediate consideration of the following observations and recommendations is strongly urged.

- l. In the command of Negro troops, it was sometimes found that officer personnel was inadequate and unqualified. As to inadequacy, it developed that only 152 (11/2%) of a total of 10,000 commissioned officers were Negroes. Lt. General Clarence R. Heubner stated that a greater number of Negro officers is needed in EUCOM. General Lucius D. Clay stated that he needed good officers regardless of race. Our observations confirm those statements and reveal, further, that wherever Negro officers were assigned there was a noticeable improvement in the morale, discipline and general efficiency of the units involved.
- 2. Under prevailing army policy, segregation of troops by racial identity creates special problems in the command of such segregated units. It is recommended that selection of officers for command duties in such units be made in such a way that the personal prejudices of the officer would not reflect in his attitude toward his command nor be reflected in the subsequent morale and performance of his men.
- 3. No Negro personnel was found in the constabulary and army postoffice. Negro personnel was not adequately utilized in hospitals and dispensaries, the Public Information Division, the European Exchange Service, Military Government, and on detached duty in EUCOM Headquarters. These conditions provide no incentive for Negroes of higher qualifications and educational background to seek an army career. Greater utilization is urged

of Negro civilian personnel in all overseas branches of defense establishments. Adequate information concerning positions available is not properly distributed, and thus, qualified Negro persons have no means of knowing what civil service openings exist.

- 4. On the basis of observations at the Munich Army Education Center and the EUCOM Engineering School at Murnau, the Army's program of basic education and specialist training on the grounds of individual need shows itself to be sound. However, basic education on a segregated basis as presently practiced at Kitzingen is fundamentally undesirable and should be abandoned at the earliest feasible time.
- 5. There is an obvious failure to utilize Negro personnel in overhead installations in EUCOM and USFA Headquarters. Only an infinitesimal part is colored.
- 6. War Department Letter No. 210.10 of July 1944 specifically forbids segregation of troops at special service clubs. There was evidence that this directive is being violated at Nurnberg and Munich among other places. It is recommended that the directive be put into force.
- 7. The appointment of Lt. Colonel Marcus H. Ray as Special Adviser on Negro Affairs at Headquarters EUCOM is a forward step. Broadening of this program by the addition of other officers and enlisted personnel is recommended.
 - 8. There are no Negro WACS in Europe.
- 9. Because of special interests involved, it is recommended that Negro personnel be added to the Public Information Division at Headquarters EUCOM and other necessary key centers. This would facilitate direct transmittal of news from the source, to the general press and to the Negro press in particular, and would also strengthen the Army's public relations program.
- 10. There are only two Negro Regular Army officers in EUCOM. A policy of accepting and even inviting Negro officers into the Regular Army would serve to induce desirable types of officer personnel to make the Army a career, and also serve as an additional incentive for officers in the reserve Army. We recommend an immediate change of policy as indicated herein.
- Il. In some instances it was reported that MP details have taken it upon themselves to embarrass Negro troops and to harass them without cause other than that of personal prejudice. It is recommended that policies governing troops be applied impartially and that commanding officers be charged with responsibility of eliminating exercise of personal bias by military police.
- 12. While traveling at the invitation of the Secretary of the Army, and thus primarily concerned with Army installations, we felt it would be helpful to observe the manner in which Negro personnel is being utilized by the Air Force in overseas operations.

We are incorporating in this report our findings resulting from an MORE

unscheduled visit to the Roth Air Ammunition Depot, Roth, Germany. This visit was made despite efforts to discourage it. Our findings were:

- a. Definite evidence that the installation is disgracefully officered. The commanding officer said to be a confirmed alcoholic with little administrative ability, was charged with making frequent derogatory remarks to the men and of condoning misuse and exploitation of special service funds.
- b. It was reported to us that a vicious court-martial system existed. Minor offenders were given harsh and unreasonable punishmment.
- c. We found the operation of recreational facilities so encumbered by restrictions as to make them in effect non-existent. For instance, the lone enlisted men's service club in the town of Roth is referred to as the "funeral home."
- d. The pass system used gave practically no outlet to the men for off-the-post recreation.

These conditions and others were reflected in depressed morale a higher-than-average VD rate and generally undesirable conditions. Virtually no information could be obtained from the executive officer. One of two Negro junior officers was cooperative but impotent.

The entire situation was the most distressing witnessed during the trip.

It is hoped that the observations and recommendations will be given immediate and serious consideration. They represent changes from present policy and conditions that can and should be made in the best interests of an effective army.

It must be pointed out, however, that these and other deficiencies can all be traced to one wrong basic concept. That wrong concept is that a segregated army can be an efficient army.

As long as this framework of separation exists, there will be discrimination and abridgment of opportunity based solely upon color. The inevitable result is a waste of manpower, duplication of functions and needless expenditure of the taxpayers' money.

We have seen at first hand the inconsistency of the democracy we preach and the hypocrisy we practice. Leaders of both the Army and Military Governments in Germany and Austria admitted to us that the most embarrassing question they were asked and the question which they could not satisfactorily answer was that pertaining to the treatment of Negroes in democratic United States.

This fallacy creates a continuing skepticism toward our avowals of good faith. Thus, we find ourselves defaulting in a moral sense the very leadership which we are spending ourselves in money and men to establish. We find ourselves at the point where temporizing evasions and glib explana == tions are no longer acceptable.

America is not fighting for an outmoded, outdated and discredited status quo. The struggle is for the actual survival of our civilization. We cannot win with projudices, bias and bigotry.

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In his Civil Rights message to Congress, the President has given the Department of the Army every reason to abolish segregation and discrimination in the armed forces. He has recommended that these evils be abolished. Certainly, as Commander-in-Chief of our armed forces, his suggestions should be recognized.

The Army has the opportunity to show by example to people everywhere that democracy is a real, significant and challenging force. More than that, it has the obligation to do so.

We feel, Mr. Secretary, that any measure short of a completely democratic army is and always will be inadequate, wasteful and dangerous and will betray those fundamental principles upon which our nation has grown to greatness.

Present utilization of Negro manpower in the armed forces is restricted by policies recommended by the Gillem Board, which, however, have not yet been fully implemented. While these measures represented an advance in thinking at the time they were proposed, the rapidly changing world scene has rendered them obsolete as the working pattern for an efficient military machine.

We strongly urge the adoption of new policies consistent with democratic principles. Such a step would justify world acceptance of democracy as the blueprint for future global peace.

Respectfully submitted,

NEGRO NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS
GROUP

Dowdal H. Davis Clifford Mackay Louis E. Martin William G. Nunn Frank L. Stanley Carter Wesley Thomas W. Young

Following is the itinerary of the group:

March 18 March 19 March 20 March 20	ATC Base Westover Field, Mass Harmon Air Base Stephenville, Newfoundland Lagens, ATC Base Lagens, Azores Rhein-Main Air Base - Frankfurt, Germany
March 20-23	EUCOM Headquarters - Frankfurt, Germany
March 22	24th Transportation Truck Battalion, Frankfurt, Germany
	(Inc. 519th, 524th, 544th, 545th, Tr. Trk Cos and 427th Army Band)
March 21	Sixth Transportation Truck Battalion - Mannheim, Germany (Inc. 68th, 388th, 518th, 590th, 597th, 661st, Tr. Trk. Cos. and 510th MP Sv. Plt.)
March 21	General Inspection and Sightseeing - Heidelberg, Germany
	Kitzingen Basic Training Center - Kitzingen, Germany
March 23	(Inc. 58th, 63rd Trk Cos., Cos. C., D., & H/H of the 371st Inf. Btn. 556, 557, Inf. Plts. and the 90th MP Co.)
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Itinerary Cont'd.

March 24	Nurnberg War Criminals Trials Nurnberg, Germany
Maich 24	agoth Inf Rtn Cos. B & C Nurnberg, (Furth), Germany
	7819th Transportation Truck Co Nurnberg (Furth), Germany
	122nd Transportation Truck Corps Nurnberg, Germany
	Roth Army Air Base Roth Germany
	Roth Army Air Dase - Roth Germany Post - Munich Germany
March 25	Henry Caserne and Munich Military Post - Munich, Germany
	(Inc. 39th, Ord. MAM Co., 66th, 111th, Tr. Trk. Btn. including
	the 547th, 596th, Tr. Trk. Cos. 7730 Sp Sv Co. and 7777th
	The Dit (EC) Co. "A" 3'/0th inf. Btn.)
March 25	Munich Army Education Center Munich, Germany
March 25	Conoral Inspection and sightseeing Garmisch, Germany
1	TITO M Engineering School Murnau, Germany
March 27	office of Military Government (Bayaria) Munich, Germany
March 29	Office of Military Government (USFA) Vienna, Austria
March 30	U. S. Legation Vienna, Austria
March 31	576th Car Company Vienna, Austria
March 31	576th Car Company Vigning Garmany
April 1	7800th Inf. Plt. (HG) Berlin, Germany
April 1	Andrews Barracks Berlin, Germany
April 2-3	Office of Military Government Berlin, Germany
April 5	Public Information Office (Hesse) Wiesbaden, Germany
April 8	Orly Field ATC Base Paris, France
April 0	Lagens ATC Base Lagens, Azores
April 9	Harmon Air Base Stephenville, Newfoundland
April 10	Gravelly Point ATC Base Washington, D. C.
April 10	Citatoria

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