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REMARKS BY
ROBERT J. BROWN
SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AT THE
ARMY EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OFFICERS CONFERENCE
BERCHTESGADEN, GERMANY
NOVEMBER 10, 1971



I WOULD FIRST LIKE TO SAY WHAT A VERY GREAT PLEASURE
IT IS TO BE HERE TODAY. THE WORK THAT YOU GENTLEMEN
ARE ENGAGED IN IS OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE, BOTH FOR
THE FUTURE OF THE ARMY AND FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR NATION.

CHARLES E. SILBERMAN IN HIS BOOK, CRISIS IN BLACK AND
WHITE, WROTE THAT, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT
RACE RELATIONS IN THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT OFFENDING AND
ANGERING MEN OF BOTH COLORS. WE ARE ALL TOO ACCUSTOMED
TO THE VEIL OF HALF-TRUTHS WITH WHICH BLACK AND WHITE
MEN CLOAK THE SUBJECT. NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE AMERICANS
HAVE BEEN WILLING TO FACE OR EVEN TO ADMIT THE TRUTH.
BUT THE TRUTH MUST BE FACED NOW, WHILE THERE IS STILL
TIME. FOR MANY YEARS, ALL TOO MANY AMERICANS HAVE CLUNG
TENACIOUSLY TO THE ILLUSION THAT IF EVERYONE WOULD JUST



SIT STILL TIME ALONE WOULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF RACE.

IT HASN'T, AND IT NEVER WILL. FOR TIME, AS DR. MARTIN

LUTHER KING, JR. ONCE POINTED OUT, IS NEITHER GOOD NOR

BAD. IT IS NEUTRAL. WHAT MATTERS NOW IS HOW TIME IS USED.

THAT IS WHAT THIS CONFERENCE IS ALL ABOUT: THE SUCCESSFUL

USE OF TIME IN RESOLVING ONE OF THE MORE PERPLEXING

PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY.

WE ARE IN A PERIOD OF INTENSE SOCIAL TRANSITION AS

MINORITY GROUPS MOVE FORWARD TO ACHIEVE AN EQUAL POSITION

IN OUR NATION. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, SOCIAL TRANSITION

BREEDS TURMOIL. I AM FULLY COGNIZANT THAT YOU MEN OFTEN

FIND YOURSELVES BEARING THE FULL BRUNT OF THIS "REVOLUTION

OF RISING EXPECTATIONS." IT IS IMPORTANT THAT ALL OF YOU

KNOW THE PRESIDENT IS FULLY AWARE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF



YOUR SENSITIVE MISSION AND HE APPRECIATES AND FULLY
SUPPORTS YOUR EFFORTS.

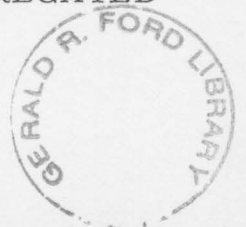
I CAN ASSURE YOU THAT THE PRESIDENT REGARDS ELIMINATING
ANY VESTIGES OF DISCRIMINATION AND RACISM IN THE ARMED
FORCES AS A MATTER OF THE HIGHEST PRIORITY. YOU ARE ALSO
FORTUNATE TO HAVE DEDICATED AND ABLE MEN LIKE SECRETARY
LAIRD, SECRETARY FROEHLKE, GENERAL WESTMORELAND, GENERAL
MICHAEL S. DAVIDSON, AND OF COURSE, GENERAL FRED DAVIDSON.

AS AN EXAMPLE OF THIS CONCERN, ONLY A FEW DAYS AGO
GENERAL WESTMORELAND AND SECRETARY OF THE ARMY FROEHLKE
JOINED WITH SEVERAL TOP PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANTS TO DISCUSS
THIS MATTER IN A LENGTHY AND IMPORTANT WHITE HOUSE MEETING.
THE RESULTS OF THIS MEETING, AND OTHERS LIKE IT, HAVE BEEN
AND ARE BEING TRANSLATED INTO SUBSTANTIVE ACTION. I CAN TELL
YOU ONE THING WITHOUT HESITATION OR RESERVATION, THAT HAS



BEEN SOLIDLY AGREED ON, AND THAT IS A CLOSE LOOK IS BEING
TAKEN AT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR PERFORMING IN THIS AREA
UP AND DOWN THE LINE, AND IN THOSE CASES WHERE SOMEONE
HAS BEEN FOUND NEGLIGENT ON THE JOB, WHATEVER ACTION THAT
IS DUE WILL BE TAKEN. SUCH ACTIONS, WHATEVER THEY MAY BE,
WILL NOT IN THEMSELVES RESOLVE OUR PROBLEMS IN THIS
CRUCIAL AREA. SOMEHOW WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO RELY IN
PART ON THE FACT THAT THERE IS SOME GOODNESS AND FAIRNESS
IN EVERY MAN. HOPEFULLY THAT GOODNESS WILL SURFACE THAT
BASIC PRECEPT FOR PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS LIVING AMONG
MEN, "DO UNTO OTHERS AS YOU WOULD HAVE THEM DO UNTO YOU."

IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT RACE DIFFICULTIES IN THE MILITARY
ARE A REFLECTION OF PROBLEMS IN THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE.
FOR DECADES THE ARMED FORCES REFLECTED THE SEGREGATED



PATTERNS OF THE SOCIETY JUST AS TODAY IT IS FEELING THE
SHOCK WAVES OF MANY OLD BARRIERS FALLING AND MANY NEW
PATTERNS EMERGING. YOU NOW HAVE IN YOUR CAPACITY AS
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OFFICERS, A CHANCE TO HELP DETERMINE,
TO A LARGE DEGREE, JUST WHAT SHAPE THOSE PATTERNS WILL
TAKE IN OUR SOCIETY. IN SHAPING THE KIND OF WORLD THAT WE
ALL WANT TO LIVE IN AND IF WE WANT MORE BROTHERHOOD AND
GOOD WILL, MORE INTELLIGENCE, AND MORE CLEAR THINKING,
MORE HONESTY AND SINCERITY, MORE TOLERANCE AND HUMAN
UNDERSTANDING, WE MUST CONCENTRATE UPON CULTIVATING
THESE QUALITIES WITHIN OURSELVES.

I HAVE HAD CONSIDERABLE CONTACT WITH ARMY AND OTHER
MILITARY PEOPLE ON THE PROBLEM OF RACE RELATIONS AND I
AM AWARE THAT THE ARMY HAS TAKEN THE FIRST IMPORTANT
STEP TOWARD CORRECTING THIS PROBLEM. THAT STEP IS TO



SIMPLY RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS A PROBLEM. YOUR PRESENCE
HERE TODAY IS A STRONG INDICATION OF THAT RECOGNITION.

WHILE FEDERAL EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS ARE
MOVING ALONG IN VIRTUALLY EVERY DEPARTMENT, I BELIEVE
THAT NOWHERE IS THE POTENTIAL FOR SUCCESS GREATER THAN
IN THE MILITARY SERVICES. THE HIGH DEGREE OF ACCOUNTABILITY
INHERENT IN THE CONCEPT OF COMMANDERS BEING "RESPONSIBLE
FOR EVERYTHING THEIR UNITS DO OR FAIL TO DO" IS VIRTUALLY
WITHOUT PARALLEL. RECENT ACTION AND POLICY STATEMENTS
BY GENERAL MICHAEL DAVIDSON HAVE MADE THIS POINT CLEAR
TO EVEN THE MOST CASUAL OBSERVER.

THE REAL QUESTION, GENTLEMEN, IS THE ACHIEVEMENT OF
ADEQUATE SUPPORT AT EVERY ECHELON OF A GIVEN COMMAND.
YOU MUST INSURE THAT EACH OF YOUR PEOPLE MANAGERS GETS
THE MESSAGE. IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY MUST BECOME



IMPORTANT NOT MERELY BECAUSE IT IS MORALLY RIGHT OR
ENCOURAGED BY A MYRIAD OF DIRECTIVES, ORDERS AND
REGULATIONS ON THE SUBJECT. YOU MUST MAKE IT WORTH THE
WHILE OF EVERY SUCCESSFUL LEADER TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS
EFFORT. YOU MUST PUT EQUAL OPPORTUNITY INTO THE REWARD
SYSTEM.

WHEN WE APPROACH EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FROM THE PER-
SPECTIVE OF THE REWARD SYSTEM, IT IS CLEAR THAT WE ARE
TALKING ABOUT AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE MANAGEMENT-
COMMAND SCHEME. PERHAPS THE MOST SERIOUS MISTAKE AN
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OFFICER CAN MAKE IS TO VIEW HIS ROLE
AS THAT OF A FIREMAN. AN EO OFFICER MUST ALWAYS BE
AVAILABLE TO HEAR SOLDIERS' COMPLAINTS AND MANAGE THE
REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES, BUT IT IS ALSO HIS FUNCTION TO KEEP
THE COMMANDER AND OTHER MANAGERS IN THE MILITARY



COMMUNITY AWARE OF WHAT IS GOING ON. ABOVE ALL, THE EO OFFICER MUST BE A FIRE PREVENTION EXPERT.

MILITARY JUSTICE IS UNQUESTIONABLY THE MOST DISCUSSED, REPORTED AND PROBABLY MISUNDERSTOOD ASPECT OF MILITARY RACE RELATIONSHIPS. IT IS AN UNQUESTIONED FACT THAT THE FREQUENCY OF PUNISHMENT FOR BLACKS IS CONSISTENTLY GREATER THAN FOR WHITE SOLDIERS. WHEN COMPARED TO THE NUMBERS IN MILITARY POPULATION, THE PERCENTAGE OF BLACKS IN CONFINEMENT IS FAR IN EXCESS OF THEIR TOTAL PERCENTAGE IN THE ARMED SERVICES.

SEVERAL APPROACHES TO SOLUTION ARE UNDERWAY FROM WASHINGTON WITH MUCH HELP FROM THE FIELD. THE PAUCITY OF BLACK MILITARY JURISTS IS CAUSE FOR SERIOUS CONCERN AND WE ARE MOVING TO CORRECT THE PROBLEM BY STARTING AT THE TOP. WITHIN A MATTER OF DAYS, JUDGE ROBERT M. DUNCAN,



FORMERLY OF THE SUPREME COURT OF OHIO, WILL TAKE HIS SEAT AS THE FIRST BLACK TO BE APPOINTED TO THE THREE JUDGE COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS. TO MEET REQUESTS FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF MINORITY LAWYERS AT THE TRIAL LEVEL, THE SERVICES HAVE BEEN DIRECTED TO RE-DOUBLE THEIR RECRUITING EFFORTS.

THERE IS MUCH YOU CAN DO TO AID IN MAINTAINING THE CREDIBILITY OF MILITARY JUSTICE. COMMANDERS MUST BE MADE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT SOLDIERS EVALUATE THE FAIRNESS OF OUR JUDICIAL SYSTEM FOR THE MOST PART ON THE BASIS OF WHAT THEY SEE AND HEAR. AS THE EYES AND EARS OF THE COMMANDER, YOU SHOULD BE MONITORING COMPLIANCE AND ASSESSING SOLDIER REACTIONS TO THESE PUNISHMENTS.

YOU MUST ASSIST THE COMMANDER IN UNDERSTANDING THE IMPACT OF THE EXERCISE OF HIS JUDICIAL AND NONJUDICIAL



DISCRETION UPON MORALE AND DISCIPLINE IN HIS UNIT. WHEN PEOPLE IN YOUR COMMAND BEGIN TO CITE EFFORTS IN THESE AREAS, WHEN THEY DISCUSS LEADERS WHO ARE DESTINED FOR "BIGGER AND BETTER THINGS," YOUR MANAGERS HAVE BEGUN TO SEE THAT ATTENTION TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IS IN THEIR SELF-INTEREST AND YOU HAVE MADE PROGRESS TOWARD MAKING IT A PART OF THE REWARD SYSTEM. IT WILL ALSO GO A LONG WAY IN RESTORING THE FAITH OF THE MINORITY SERVICEMAN IN THE MILITARY SYSTEM OF JUSTICE.

TWO OTHER AREAS OF SERIOUS CONCERN ARE JOB ASSIGNMENTS AND PROMOTIONS. RECENT PENTAGON STUDIES INDICATE A DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF BLACKS WORKING IN "SOFT CASE" MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SPECIALITIES. BLACKS MAKE UP MORE THAN 17% OF THE SERVICE AND SUPPLY HANDLERS, BUT ONLY 5% OF THE ELECTRONICS SPECIALISTS ARE BLACK. DESPITE



HIGHER RE-ENLISTMENT RATES - WHICH HAVE TRADITIONALLY
HOVERED AROUND 50% UNTIL RECENT YEARS - BLACKS HAVE
NOT ACHIEVED TOP ENLISTED OR OFFICER PROMOTIONS IN
PROPORTION TO THEIR NUMBERS IN THE MILITARY POPULATION.

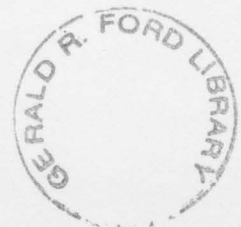
FOR EXAMPLE, BLACKS CONSTITUTE 11 PERCENT OF THE ENLISTED
RANKS YET HOLD ONLY 3.6% OF THE E-9 POSITIONS. YOUNG BLACKS
MUST BE ENCOURAGED TO SEEK CAREERS AS MILITARY OFFICERS.
AT PRESENT THERE ARE MORE BLACK LIEUTENANT COLONELS THAN
SECOND LIEUTENANTS AND MORE BLACK MAJORS THAN FIRST
LIEUTENANTS. THIS TREND MUST BE REVERSED.

THE DOD HAS INITIATED AN EFFORT TO TURN THINGS AROUND.
AT THE SERVICE ACADEMIES, AN INTENSIVE RECRUITING EFFORT
HAS RESULTED IN FRESHMAN CLASS TOTALS FOR THE SCHOOL YEAR
WHICH EXCEED THE NUMBER OF NEGRO GRADUATES IN THE LAST
DECADE. WEST POINT LEADS THE FIELD WITH 53 BLACK FIRST



YEAR CADETS AND A TOTAL BLACK ENROLLMENT OF 127. THE
NUMBER OF ROTC UNITS AT MINORITY COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
HAS BEEN INCREASED AND A FURTHER EXPANSION IS PROGRAMMED.
AND WHILE THE ENLISTED PICTURE WILL REQUIRE A CONTINUING
EFFORT, THE INCREASE IN TOP GRADE POSITIONS OVER THE LAST
DECADE HAS BEEN NEARLY THREEFOLD.

WHAT CAN YOU DO ABOUT THESE PROBLEMS? AGAIN WE MUST
RETURN TO THE REWARD SYSTEM. COMMANDERS MUST SEE A
PREMIUM ATTACHED TO CONSTANT VIGILANCE IN THESE AREAS.
YOU SHOULD BE MONITORING JOB ASSIGNMENTS AND HIGHLIGHTING
SUCH EFFORTS AS LOCAL ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS.
SENIOR COMMANDERS SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO USE YOUR OFFICE
AS A VEHICLE FOR APPRISING SMALL UNIT COMMANDERS OF
THEIR COMPARATIVE PROGRESS WITH RESPECT TO THE NUMBER



OF MINORITY PERSONNEL ATTENDING NCO ACADEMIES, SERVICE SCHOOLS, EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS, OR RECEIVING OTHER UPWARD MOBILITY OPPORTUNITIES.

YOU SHOULD BE ALERT TO EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE THE MINORITY OFFICER A REAL PART OF THE TEAM. YOUR BRIEFINGS TO COMMANDERS SHOULD ALWAYS INCLUDE INFORMATION ON WHETHER HE IS RECEIVING HIS FAIR SHARE OF COMMAND TIME, GOOD ASSIGNMENTS, AND TRAINING. THE CONFIDENT, YOUNG MINORITY OFFICER CAN DO FAR MORE TO GET YOUR MESSAGE ACROSS THAN WELL-INTENTIONED SPEECHES AND PRONOUNCEMENTS ABOUT RACIAL HARMONY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS OTHER SPECIFIC AREAS I COULD GO INTO ON THIS MATTER, BUT LET ME ALSO EMPHASIZE AT THIS POINT YOUR SPECIAL DUTY TO POINT THE WAY FOR THE YOUNG MINORITY ENLISTED MAN TO ENTER INTO CONSTRUCTIVE RATHER



THAN DESTRUCTIVE MODES OF ACTION. FOR AS HARRY
EMERSON FOSDICK ONCE SAID THAT THE REAL DANGER IN OUR
SITUATION LIES IN THE FACT THAT SO MANY PEOPLE SEE CLEARLY
WHAT THEY ARE REVOLTING FROM AND SO FEW SEE AT ALL WHAT
THEY ARE REVOLTING TO. IN SPITE OF WHATEVER SHORTCOMINGS
WE MAY HAVE (AND WE DO HAVE MANY) OUR COUNTRY, THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, IS STILL THE GREATEST NATION ON EARTH.

I CANNOT AND I WILL NOT MINIMIZE THE PROBLEM OF RACE
RELATIONS IN THE MILITARY. AS ALL OF YOU KNOW, IT IS A
VERY SEVERE PROGRAM THAT MUST BE DEALT WITH FIRMLY AND
POSITIVELY. WE ARE MOVING WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED TO
RESOLVE THESE DIFFERENCES SO THAT OUR NATION WILL NOT
SUFFER THE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS
RESORTING TO FORCE AND VIOLENCE. UNLIKE YESTERYEAR ALL OF
THESE THINGS ARE NOW HIGHLY VISIBLE TO THE PUBLIC. I WOULD



HOPE THAT IN THE COMING MONTHS AND YEARS, THAT THE ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE MEN LIKE YOURSELVES TO ISOLATE THE CAUSES OF RACIAL TURMOIL AND TO CORRECT ANY REMAINING INJUSTICES WOULD GET THE SAME PUBLICITY AND VISIBILITY AS MANY OF THE PROBLEMS YOU HAVE HAD IN THE IMMEDIATE PAST.

THIS CONFERENCE TODAY OFFERS YOU A CHANCE TO INFLUENCE NOT ONLY YOUR SERVICE BUT THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE. THIS ADMINISTRATION SUPPORTS UNEQUIVOCALLY THE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM IN THE MILITARY. WE ENCOURAGE INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO THE SOLUTION OF THE BASIC PROBLEMS THAT WE FACE. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER: THAT THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE MILITARY SERVICES MUST BE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY IT SERVES. THE PROBLEMS YOU CAN SOLVE, THE INJUSTICES THAT YOU CAN



CORRECT, THE EXPLOSIONS THAT YOU CAN DEFUSE, WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD LESSENING THE IMMENSE PRESSURE OUR SOCIETY STAGGERS UNDER NOW MORE THAN EVER BEFORE IN THE AREA OF RACIAL DISCORD.

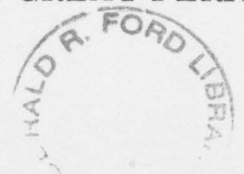
IF THE DECADE OF THE 60s CALLED ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT MINORITY GROUPS IN THIS COUNTRY WOULD NO LONGER BE COMPLACENT, WOULD NO LONGER BE WILLING TO WAIT FOR THEIR SHARE IN THE AMERICAN DREAM, THEN IT IS MY HOPE THAT THE 70s CAN BE DESCRIBED AS THE DECADE IN WHICH MINORITIES ARE ASSIMILATED, THE DECADE IN WHICH MINORITIES ARE MOVED INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN SOCIETY. THE DECADE WHEN WE LEARN AMERICA IS NOT ALL BLACK AND NOT ALL WHITE; THE DECADE WHEN WE LEARN THAT WE CAN HAVE UNITY WITHOUT CONFORMITY. THE DECADE WHEN WE LEARN THAT WE DO NOT ALL HAVE TO LOOK ALIKE, TALK ALIKE, THINK ALIKE OR EVEN SMELL ALIKE.



AS THE DECADE OF THE 70s CONTINUES TO ACCELERATE
IN OUR LIVES LET US RECONSIDER THE WISDOM OF THOSE WORDS
WHICH SAID THAT A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT
STAND, AND THUS, NEITHER CAN A NATION. IT IS THIS BURDEN
OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR RESPONSIVE CHANGE THAT I WOULD HOPE
THAT THIS CONFERENCE WOULD IMPRESS UPON EACH AND
EVERYONE OF YOU HERE TODAY. YOU HAVE A STAKE NOT ONLY
IN YOUR INDIVIDUAL CAREERS, AND IN YOUR INDIVIDUAL DESTINY,
BUT IN THE DESTINY OF THE GREATEST NATION ON EARTH.

I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE WITH THIS THOUGHT FROM PRESIDENT
NIXON WHEN HE SAID NOT TOO LONG AGO, "IT IS NO LONGER ENOUGH
TO LIVE AND LET LIVE. NOW WE MUST LIVE AND HELP LIVE."

"ABOVE ALL, LET US INSPIRE YOUNG AMERICANS WITH A
SENSE OF EXCITEMENT, A SENSE OF DESTINY, A SENSE OF INVOLVE-
MENT IN MEETING THE CHALLENGES WE FACE IN THIS GREAT PERIOD



OF OUR HISTORY. ONLY THEN ARE THEY GOING TO HAVE ANY SENSE
OF SATISFACTION IN THEIR LIVES. THE GREATEST PRIVILEGE AN
INDIVIDUAL CAN HAVE IS TO SERVE IN A CUASE BIGGER THAN
HIMSELF. WE HAVE SUCH A CAUSE."

