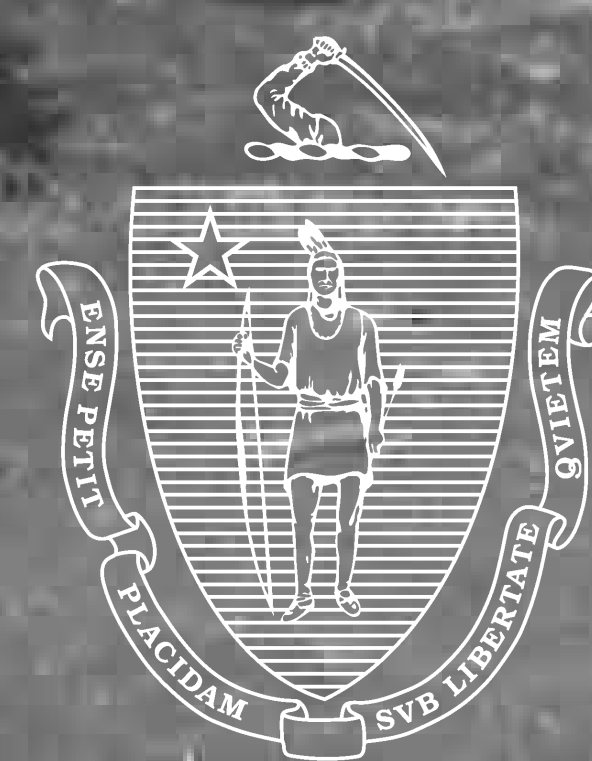


THE PATH TO INTEGRATION: African Americans in the Armed Forces of Massachusetts

Black service members have fought in every American conflict, from colonial times to the present day. Though their sacrifice and valor have secured their position among America's heroes, the path to breaking down racial barriers and unequal treatment for Black soldiers, sailors, and airmen within the armed forces of the United States has been difficult.

Throughout the history of the Commonwealth – from the Revolution, to the Civil War, to the World Wars and beyond – there is an unbroken chain of honor and military service within the Black community. At the same time, these deeds of valor have been tempered by a parallel struggle against the prejudice, segregation, and inequality Black servicemen and women have had to long endure.

The Path to Integration: African Americans in the Armed Forces of Massachusetts examines these challenges. Through a closer look at some of the units and individual persons of color who fought for freedom and democracy while often being denied equal access to those same ideals, we honor both their struggles and their achievements.



Presented by
William Francis Galvin
Secretary of the Commonwealth
Archives Division

Soldiers of Color from the Colonial Era to the Revolution

“Thus did the Sons of Britain’s King / Receive a sore Disgrace / Whilst Sons of Freedom join to sing / The vict’ry they embrace”

~ Lemuel Haynes, “The Battle of Lexington,” c. 1775

From the beginning, British colonies in North America placed heavy restrictions on Black men and military service. Amid fears of triggering a slave revolt, most colonies prohibited Black men from participating in any form of military training or service. As a result, Massachusetts – with a small population of enslaved men and women – was one of the few colonies in British North America to allow African Americans to serve in militia units. Over the course of the eighteenth century, Black soldiers from Massachusetts fought alongside white soldiers in many famous campaigns, including the Siege of Louisbourg in 1745 and the capture of Quebec in 1759.

For enslaved and free Black men in Massachusetts, the American Revolution proved to be a watershed moment. Indeed, African American men played a prominent role in the struggle for independence from the very first moment of conflict, when Prince Estabrook, a Black militiaman, was wounded on Lexington Green. Over the course of the eight-year war, Black soldiers fought in every important battle and campaign, including Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown. By the end of the war, more than



During the American Revolution, African American men often fought side-by-side with white soldiers in integrated regiments.



Peter Salem, a free African American man, was one of thousands of Black soldiers from Massachusetts who fought in the Revolutionary War. Salem served in the Continental Army for five years and fought in several major battles. He died in Framingham in 1816.

2,000 men of color from Massachusetts had fought, bled, and died to secure the nation’s independence. Significantly, they did so side-by-side with white soldiers in fully integrated regiments – the last such units in the United States military until 1953.

After the Revolution, Massachusetts joined a new nation struggling to reconcile the rights of people of color with its racial prejudices and institutions. In 1792, the federal government adopted “An Act to Regulate the Militia,” which explicitly forbade African Americans from enrolling in the state’s militia or serving in the armed forces.

For the next seventy years, African Americans in Massachusetts were forced to fight for the right to once again resume their place in the ranks of the state’s militia.

Lewis Gaul and the Battle to Serve

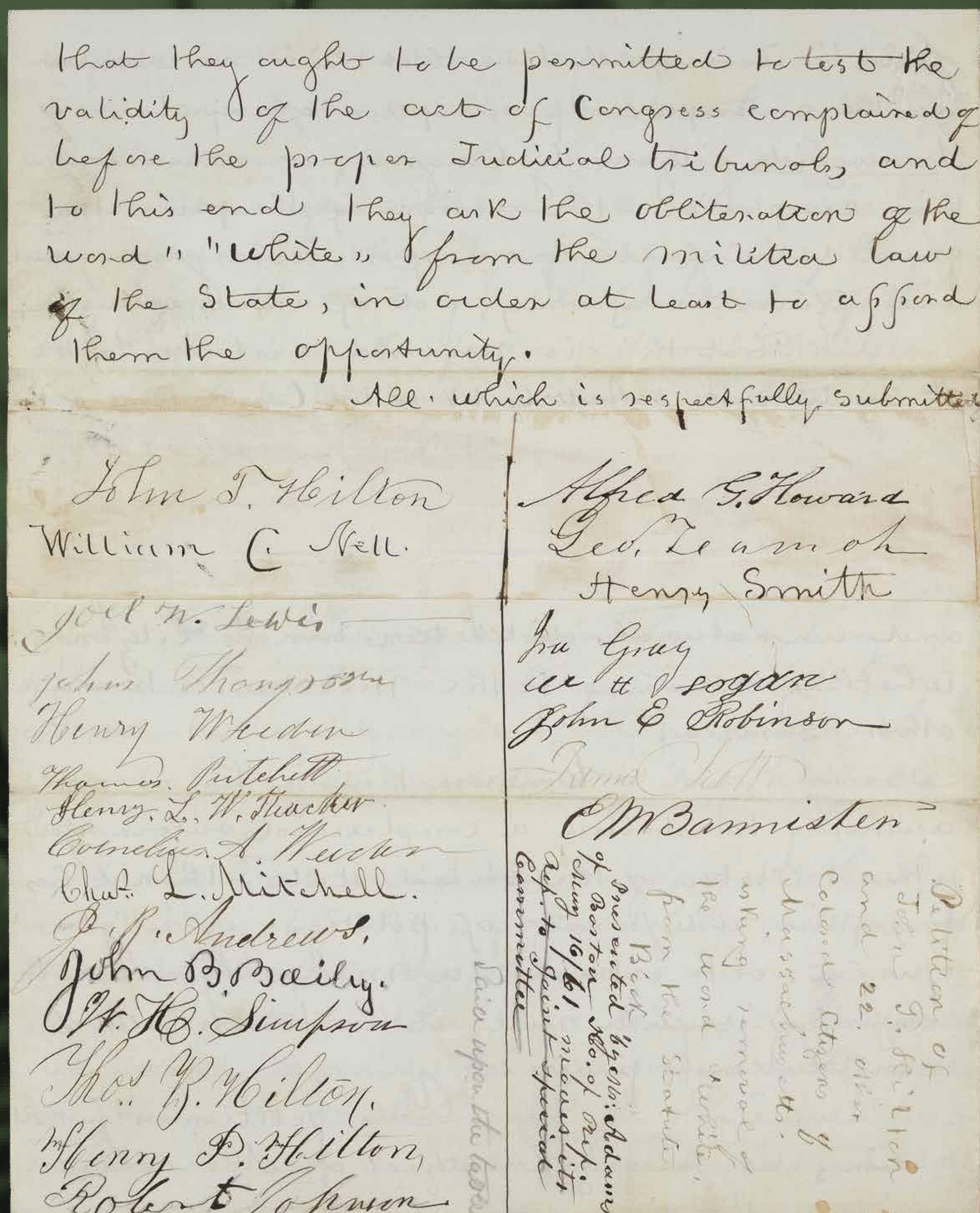
In the first half of the nineteenth century, federal laws governing the organization of state militia units explicitly prohibited African American men from the ranks. But as the struggle to abolish slavery became increasingly violent, Black men in Massachusetts began to campaign for an opportunity to fight for freedom and equality in the state militia.

One of the leaders of the state's Black militia movement was Lewis Gaul. Born in Connecticut in 1828, Gaul moved to Boston as a young man where he joined the city's growing Black community. In 1857, Gaul and other African American men in Boston formed their own independent military company. Known as the Liberty Guards, the men hoped to win support from the legislature for Black enrollment in the militia and submitted several petitions asking for recognition. Although the Guards failed in its bid for official approval, Captain Gaul shaped the company into a well-drilled, professional unit, publicly repudiating the racial prejudices that prevented Black men from joining the militia.

Captain Gaul's efforts did not go unrewarded. Motivated by the Emancipation Proclamation and Abraham Lincoln's commitment to the eradication of slavery, the United States government formally adopted a new militia act in 1863. For the first time in the nation's history, Black men could enroll in state militia companies. In September, Massachusetts became the first state to organize an African American militia unit, and Lewis Gaul and the officers under his command were officially organized as the 14th Unattached Company of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.

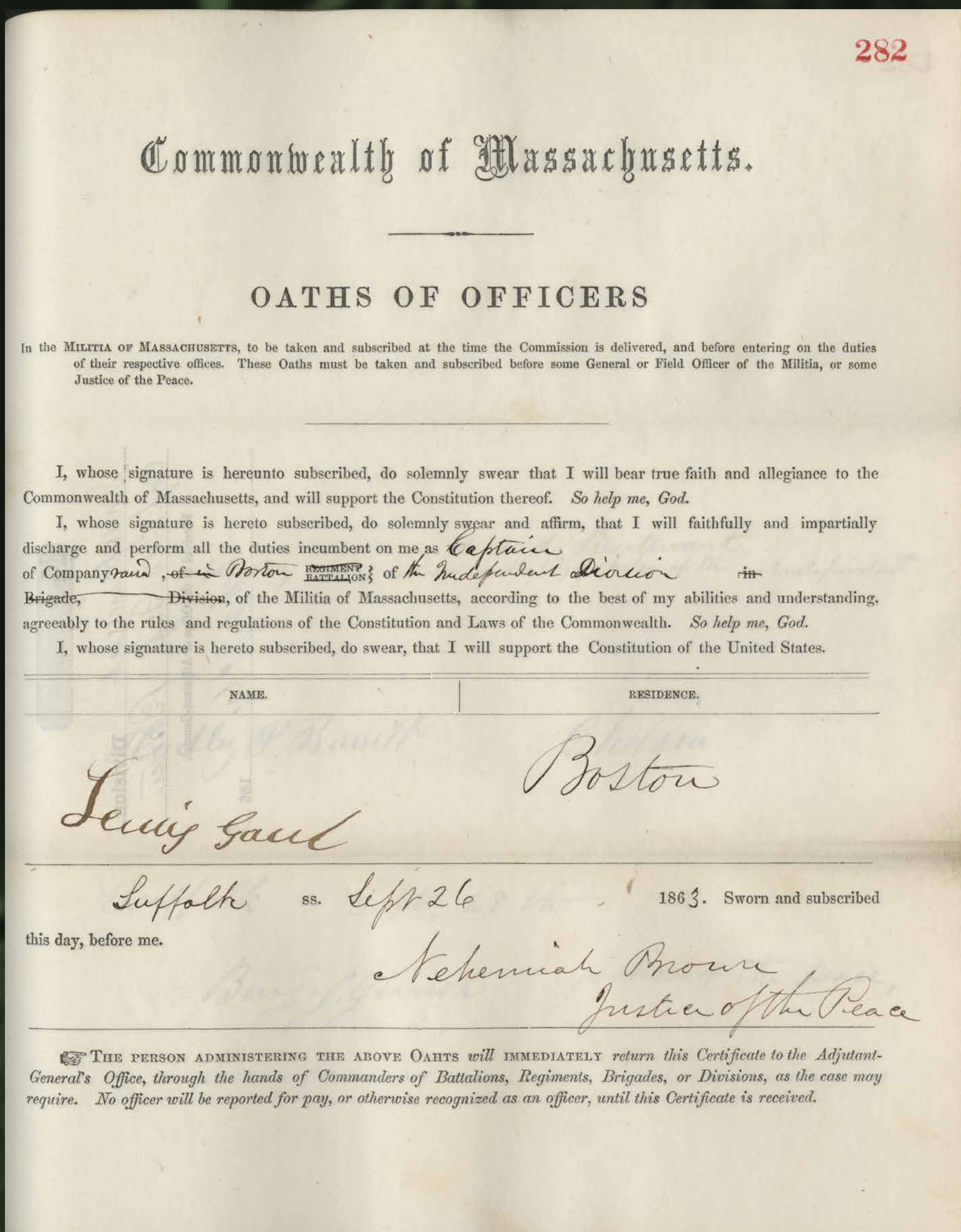
The 14th Company set an important precedent for African American soldiers in Massachusetts. Unlike African American units in the United States Army, Lewis Gaul's commitment to military professionalism helped to ensure that Black soldiers in the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia would always serve under the command of Black officers.

Lewis Gaul and the 14th Company remained an important part of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia after the Civil War. In 1874, the company was selected to serve as an honor guard for the body of abolitionist leader Senator Charles



African Americans in Massachusetts frequently petitioned the legislature for the right to enroll in the state's militia. Here, in 1853, prominent Black leaders in the state ask for "the obliteration of the word white from the militia law." Source: Massachusetts Archives.

Sumner in the rotunda of the Massachusetts State House. The company was disbanded in 1876 amidst a statewide reorganization of the militia, but the state's proud lineage of Black military service survived in Company L of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry.



In 1863, Lewis Gaul was formally commissioned as captain of the first Black militia company in Massachusetts. Source: enlistment roll, 14th Unattached Company, 1863, Massachusetts Archives.

A Born Leader

Captain Williams in the Spanish-American War

When Massachusetts reorganized the state militia in 1878, all of the Black soldiers were transferred into Company L of the 6th Massachusetts Infantry. While African Americans remained segregated in an all-Black company, Company L was the only Black company incorporated with an all-white regiment in the entire country.

This distinction fostered a fierce pride in the soldiers of Company L. This sense of dignity was personified by Captain William J. Williams, who assumed command of the company in 1891. Born in Canada and educated at Harvard, Williams ran a successful law office in Boston's Pemberton Square.

Under Williams' command, Company L became famous for its marksmanship skills.

The martial dedication of Captain Williams and Company L was put into practice in 1898.

On January 15, the United States Navy warship U.S.S. *Maine* exploded in the harbor of Havana, Cuba. More than half of the crew died in the explosion, and anti-Spanish sentiment rose to a fever pitch. Within weeks, the United States declared war on Spain and assembled a massive invasion force to attack Spanish territories in the Caribbean.

Company L and the 6th Massachusetts Infantry joined the expedition in the summer of 1898. Captain Williams and his men arrived in Cuba



Company L, 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry 1898-1899

in July, where performed guard duty in the city of Santiago. The following month, Company L joined the expedition sent to capture the island of Puerto Rico. During the hot summer months, they skirmished with Spanish forces outside the town of Guánica and served as part of the American occupation force after the fighting ended.

The Black soldiers of Company L returned to Massachusetts in October 1898, after more than four months overseas. Captain Williams returned to his home in Chelsea and, in 1900, became the first African American elected to the city's Board of Alderman. He continued to practice law in Boston until his death in 1924.



6th Regiment Spanish American War Flag

NAME	Williams William J.												
RANK	Capt.												
EYES	Brown	HAIR	Black	WHERE BORN	Toronto Canada	AGE	34	HEIGHT	5' 11"	COMPANY	L	REGIMENT	6
OCCUPATION	Lawyer												
RESIDENCE	Chelsea Mass.												
ENLISTED	May 6 1898												
MUSTERED IN	May 13 1898												
MUSTERED OUT	Jan. 21, 1899												
REMARKS	Term 2 yrs												

DEPT. OF THE ARMY		PAY ACCOUNT FROM	
MONTHS	DAYS	DOLLARS	CENTS
<p>(the place of general rendezvous), on the 6th day of May, 1898, to serve for the term where it arrived on the 6th day of May, 1898. Distance marched 2.6 miles.</p>			
<p>REMARKS:</p> <p>Originally mustered in with Co. as Captain. Absent with leave for 6 days per S.O. # from June 20, 1898. Returned to duty June 25, 1898. Absent back in hospital at Charleston, S.C. honorably etc. S.O. # By order of Regt Surgeon at Boston Mass. Sept 12, 1898. Surgeon Dept. of the Gulf. All sickness in line of duty. Returned to duty Nov. 10, 1898. On waiting orders with Regt from Nov. 15th 1898 to Jan. 1, 1899 inclusive per par II S.O. # 139 A S.O. Sept 7, 1898.</p> <p>Originally mustered in with Co. as 1st Lieut. In command of company from July 5, per S.O. of Gen. M.A. Miles. Commanded company during action at Guánica P.R. July 25, 1898. Relieved and returned to duty as 2nd Lieut. Nov. 10, 1898. On waiting orders Nov. 10, 1898 to Jan 1st 1899 incl per par II S.O. # 139 A S.O. Sept 7, 1898.</p> <p>Originally mustered in with Co as 2nd Lieut. Acting 1st Lieut from July 5, 1898 per S.O. of Gen</p>			

Muster Out Roll /Capt. William J. Williams

The Tip of the Spear: The 372nd Infantry in World War I

“Your troops have been admirable in their attack. You must be proud of the courage of your officers and men; and I consider it an honor to have them under my command.”

~ General Mariano Goybet, commander of the French 157th Division, 1918

To prepare for war in Europe, the United States government united the disparate elements of state militias into a centrally organized National Guard. In keeping with the United States Army’s strict segregationist policies, Company L of the 6th Massachusetts Volunteer Militia was combined with Black companies from other states to form the 372nd Regiment of Infantry, a segregated unit composed entirely of soldiers of color.

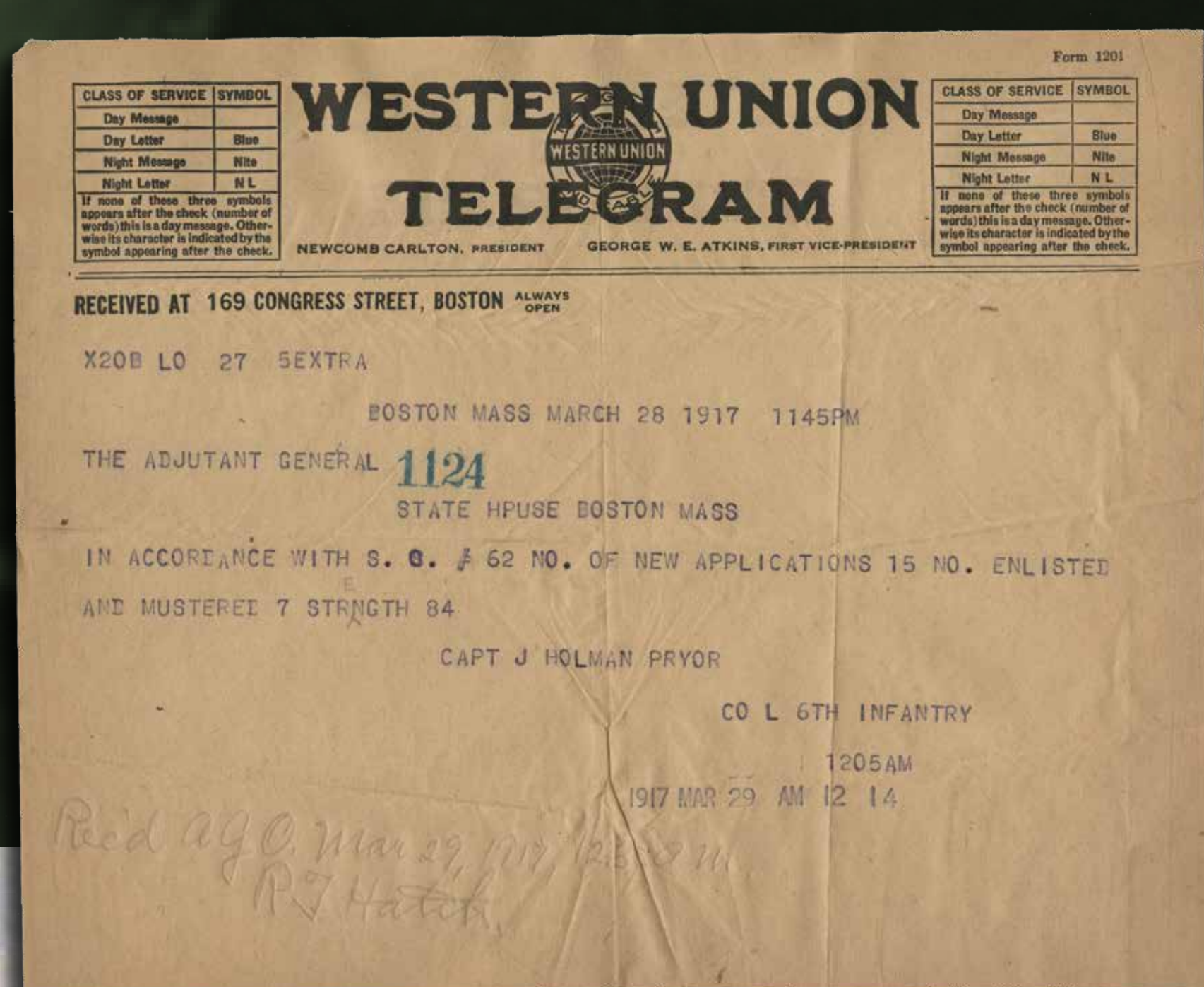


372nd Infantry Regiment in France

Upon arrival in France, the Black soldiers of the 372nd Infantry were attached to the 157th Infantry Division of the French Army. Known as the “Red Hand” Division for its distinctive insignia, the corps consisted of men recruited from French colonial territories in Africa.

In 1918, the men of the 372nd Infantry Regiment fought in Meuse-Argonne Offensive. Between September and November, more than 1.2 million American soldiers battled across northwestern France in the climactic campaign of World War I. It was one of the largest battles in the history of the United States army – and one of the costliest. At the end of the battle, more than 26,000 American soldiers had been killed, including 81 men from the 372nd Infantry.

Fighting with tenacity and bravery, the 372nd and its fellow regiments were singled out for praise by French and American generals. They returned to Massachusetts as heroes.



Western Union Telegram reporting on Regimental Strength



In sharp contrast to the discrimination Company L received from their white counterparts, The French welcomed African American soldiers and treated them with respect.

French Adrian Helmet Serving with the French Army meant that the Massachusetts men in Company L and the 372nd Regiment had to exchange their American weapons and uniforms for French rifles and equipment.



Sergeant Clifton Merrimon

“...the thunder and roar of the massed artillery shook the earth and the sky was alight with the flashes of guns. It was wondrous—it was insanity and the fever of it gripped us all...”

~ Veteran of the fighting at Bussy Farm

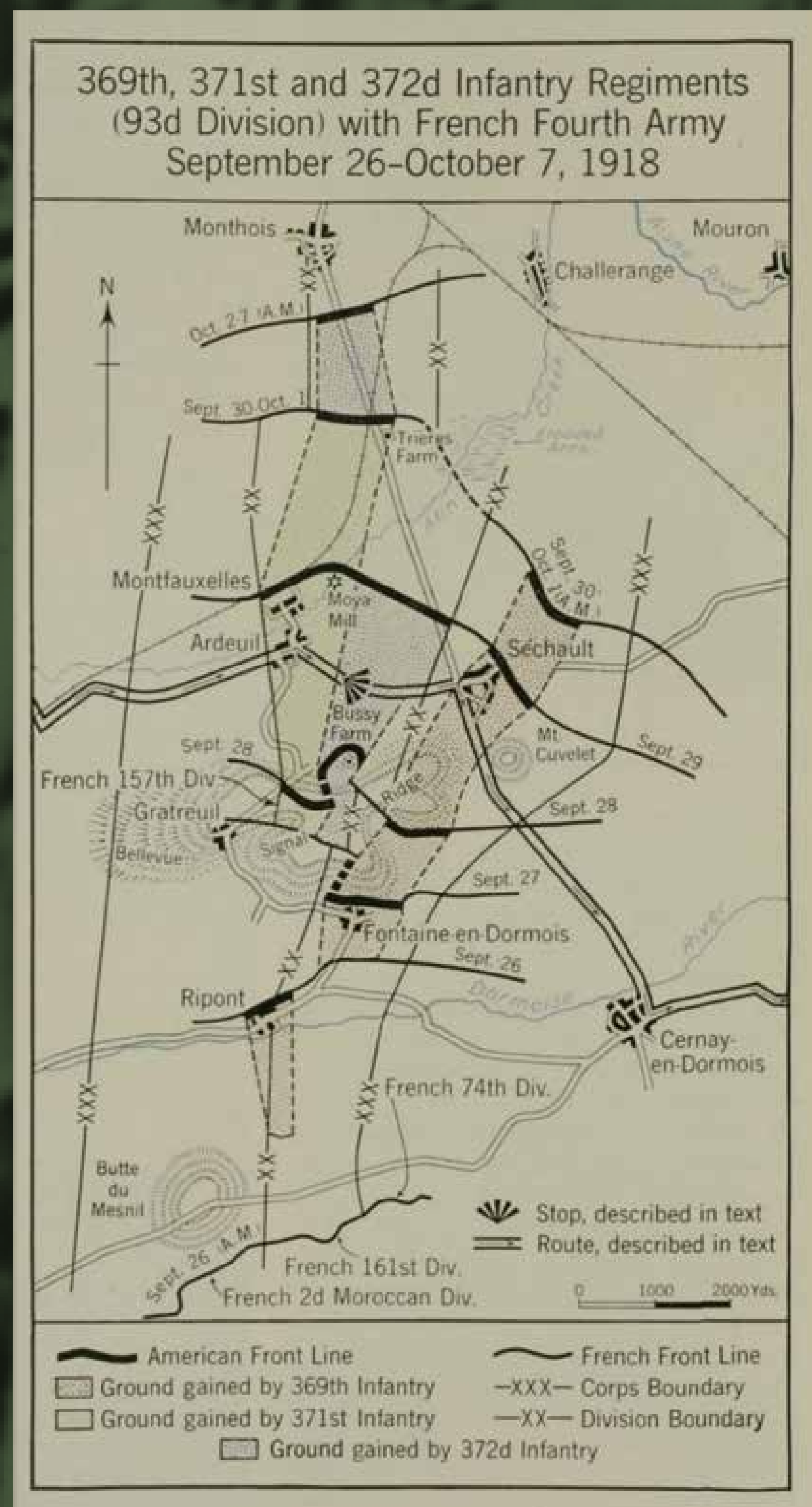
Clifton Merrimon was one of the most decorated Black soldiers in the state’s history. Born in Cambridge in 1893, Merrimon joined Company L of the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry as a young man. In 1917, Merrimon and his fellow soldiers were shipped to France where they joined Black soldiers from across the country in a newly-formed, segregated regiment: the 372nd Infantry.

In September 1918, the men of 372nd Infantry Regiment lead an assault on fortified German positions during the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. At Bussy Farm in northwestern France, the 372nd fought for two days against determined German resistance. At the height of the battle, Clifton Merrimon singlehandedly attacked an enemy machine gun. Although wounded by bullets and poison gas, Merrimon managed to continue fighting until the position had been secured.

For his bravery and courage under fire, Clifton Merrimon was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross. The French government decorated Merrimon with the Croix de Guerre and the Medaille Militaire.

Sergeant Merrimon returned to Cambridge where he worked as one of the city’s first Black postmasters. He died in 1989 and was buried at Mount Auburn Cemetery. The main post office in Cambridge’s Central Square is named in his honor.

Sergeant Clifton Merrimon



369th, 371st, and 372nd Infantry positions/ Sept. 26-Oct. 7, 1918



Distinguished Service Cross, Croix de Guerre and Medaille Militaire

WAR DEPARTMENT DATA CARD (Front) for Clifton Merrimon. Includes fields for Residence (27 Pine St., Cambridge, Mass.), Enlistment (NG Boston Mass Apr 1/17), Organizations (Co L 8 Inf Mass NG (Co L 372 Inf) to disch), Grades (Corp June 20/17; Sgt Oct 16/18), Engagements (Meuse-Argonne; Defensive Sector), and Remarks (Awarded Distinguished Service Cross for extraordinary heroism in action near Bussy Farm, France, September 27, 1918).

WAR DEPARTMENT DATA CARD (Back) for Clifton Merrimon. Contains detailed remarks about his actions near Bussy Farm, France, on September 27, 1918, where he singlehandedly attacked an enemy machine gun. It also includes the signature of P. C. Harris, The Adjutant General.

Clifton Merrimon Data Card front and back

Soldier, Olympian, Judge: General Edward Gourdin

The 372nd Infantry returned to Massachusetts at the end of World War I. The unit continued to serve as an important social organization for the state's Black men, and many young African Americans joined its ranks during the 1920s.

One of the most remarkable soldiers to serve with the 372nd Infantry was Edward Orvil Gourdin. Born in Florida in 1897, "Ned" Gourdin moved to Massachusetts to attend Harvard University. In 1921, he achieved national recognition when he set a new world record in the long jump. He was chosen to represent the United States at the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris, where he won the silver medal in the long jump competition.

Returning to Massachusetts in 1925, Gourdin enlisted in the 372nd Infantry. Due to his education and natural charisma, he was quickly promoted. For the next fifteen years, Gourdin dedicated himself to the battalion's training and professionalism.

The 372nd Infantry rushed to New York City to guard important defense installations at the start of World War II.

In 1942, Gourdin was promoted to command of the 372nd and tasked with providing basic training to African American draftees from all over the country. During the war, Gourdin's regiment trained over 10,000 African American soldiers. More than 1,500 of Gourdin's trainees served in the 92d Infantry Division, a segregated unit which fought in Italy.

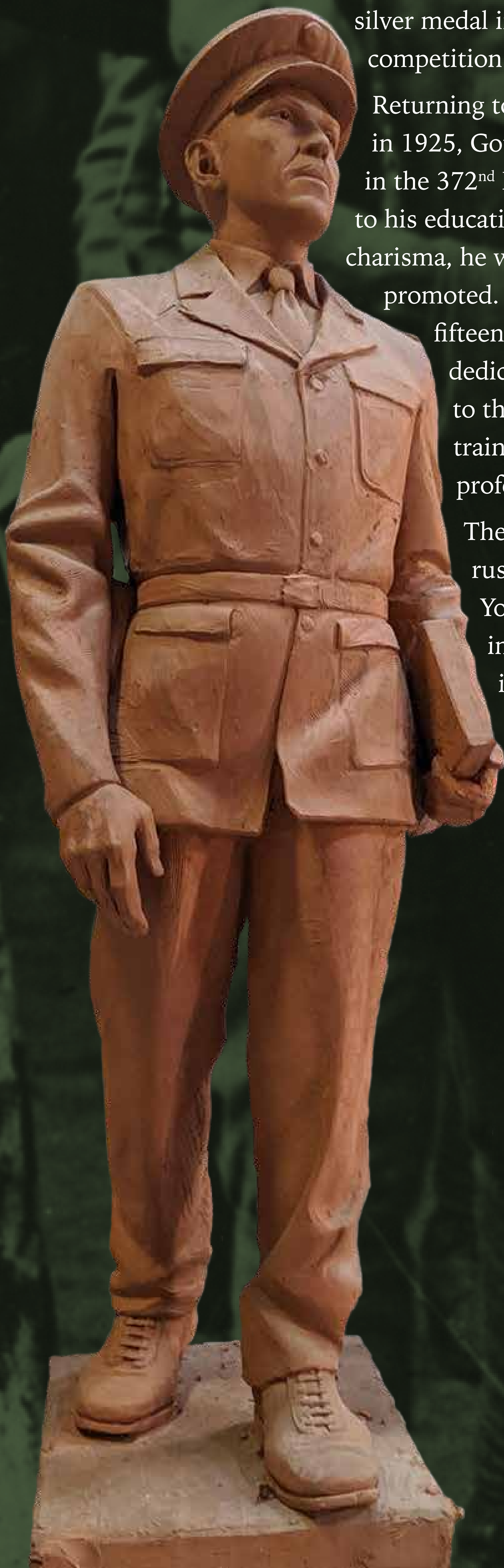
In the spring of 1945, Colonel Gourdin and the 372nd Infantry were transferred to Hawaii to begin training for the invasion of Japan. They were there when news arrived that the war had ended in August. The 372nd was discharged from service, and Colonel Gourdin returned to Massachusetts.

After the war, Ned Gourdin resumed his law practice and continued to serve as commander of the 372nd. In 1957, Gourdin became the first African American in Massachusetts appointed as a Brigadier General. In 1951, he received an appointment as a district court judge and, in 1958, was appointed a justice on the Massachusetts Superior Court – another first for African Americans in Massachusetts. General Gourdin served on the court until his death in 1966, marking the end of a distinguished career as a scholar, officer, and jurist.



Col. Edward O. Gourdin, Commanding Officer, 372nd Infantry - sketches by Charles Alston

372nd Rifle Team 1930s



They Also Served

African Americans in the Massachusetts State Guard and Women's Defense Corps

“Is Democracy supposed to be for the White or Colored? It can't possibly be the latter. What are we, am I, really fighting for? If it's what the newspapers claim, I can't appreciate it, nor the fact I'm segregated on a so-called Negro post...”

~ Black American GI, Question 78 of Survey 32, Research Branch Special Service Division, March 1943

The Massachusetts State Guard, first organized in 1863, was an independent military force created to defend the state while the Commonwealth's traditional militia units were deployed on Federal service. The state guard served within the Commonwealth in a number of conflicts throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, protecting armories and other locations deemed crucial to the national war effort.

27 Inf Roster

During World War II, the Massachusetts State Guard formed its first all-Black unit: the 27th Infantry Regiment MSG. The regiment was activated on September 3, 1941 and recruited African American men ages 21-48 for three-year enlistments.

Discrimination and racism limited African American participation in the armed forces, and Black soldiers were often assigned to non-combat units or prevented from deployment. Nevertheless, the soldiers in the 27th Infantry Regiment made valuable contributions to the war effort on the Homefront. They were trained in skills such as rifle marksmanship, cover and concealment, scouting and patrolling, first aid, guerrilla warfare, and defense against chemical warfare. In the event of a catastrophe or direct attack on Massachusetts, the 27th Infantry Regiment was prepared to assist and protect vulnerable civilians.

During World War II, the 27th Infantry Regiment was stationed at Boston's South Armory where the men guarded weapons and ammunition. By the end of the war, more than 150 men had served in the 27th Infantry Regiment.

The Massachusetts Women's Defense Corps was established April 2, 1941 as an element of the Massachusetts State Guard. Like the Guard, the Defense Corps sought to organize, train, and drill women in preparation for a wartime disaster. Its members trained in first aid, firefighting, communications, and air raid drills. They also provided canteen, transport, and communication services during the War. The Women's Defense Corps maintained secret locations throughout the state to readily offer aid in the event of an emergency. Unlike the Massachusetts State Guard, the Women's Defense Corps was not segregated. The Women's Defense Corps was disbanded in 1946.

Ruth B. Loving, an African American woman from Pennsylvania, joined the Women's Defense Corps in 1943. She began her duties in the canteen at Westover Field but was soon promoted to typing and administrative work. She subsequently worked

in military communications, learning Morse Code in a secret facility in downtown Springfield, MA. She was honorably discharged as a corporal after the end of the war and dedicated the rest of her life to community activism and civil rights.



1945 Massachusetts Women's Defense Corps photo courtesy of Ruth Loving



Dr. Ruth B. Loving

“We were really in a military unit. You didn't go there just because you wanted to be part of a group. You were in the military.”

—Dr. Ruth B. Loving, Interview with Memorial Hall Museum, Sept. 2008

Desegregation of the Armed Forces

“It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.”

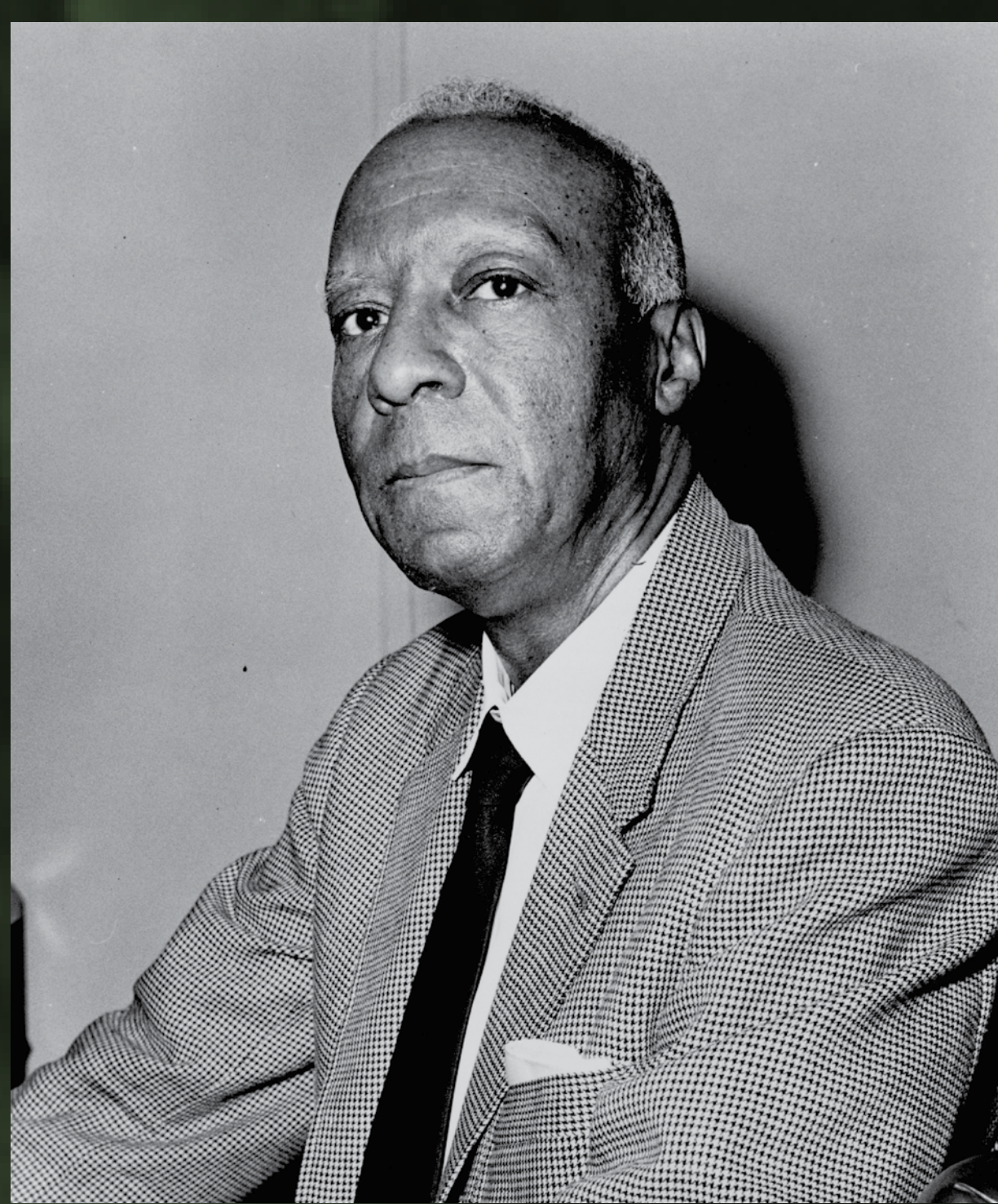
~ Executive Order 9981, July 26, 1948

Although African Americans had served in the American armed forces since the colonial times, after the Revolution they most always did so in segregated units under the command of white officers.

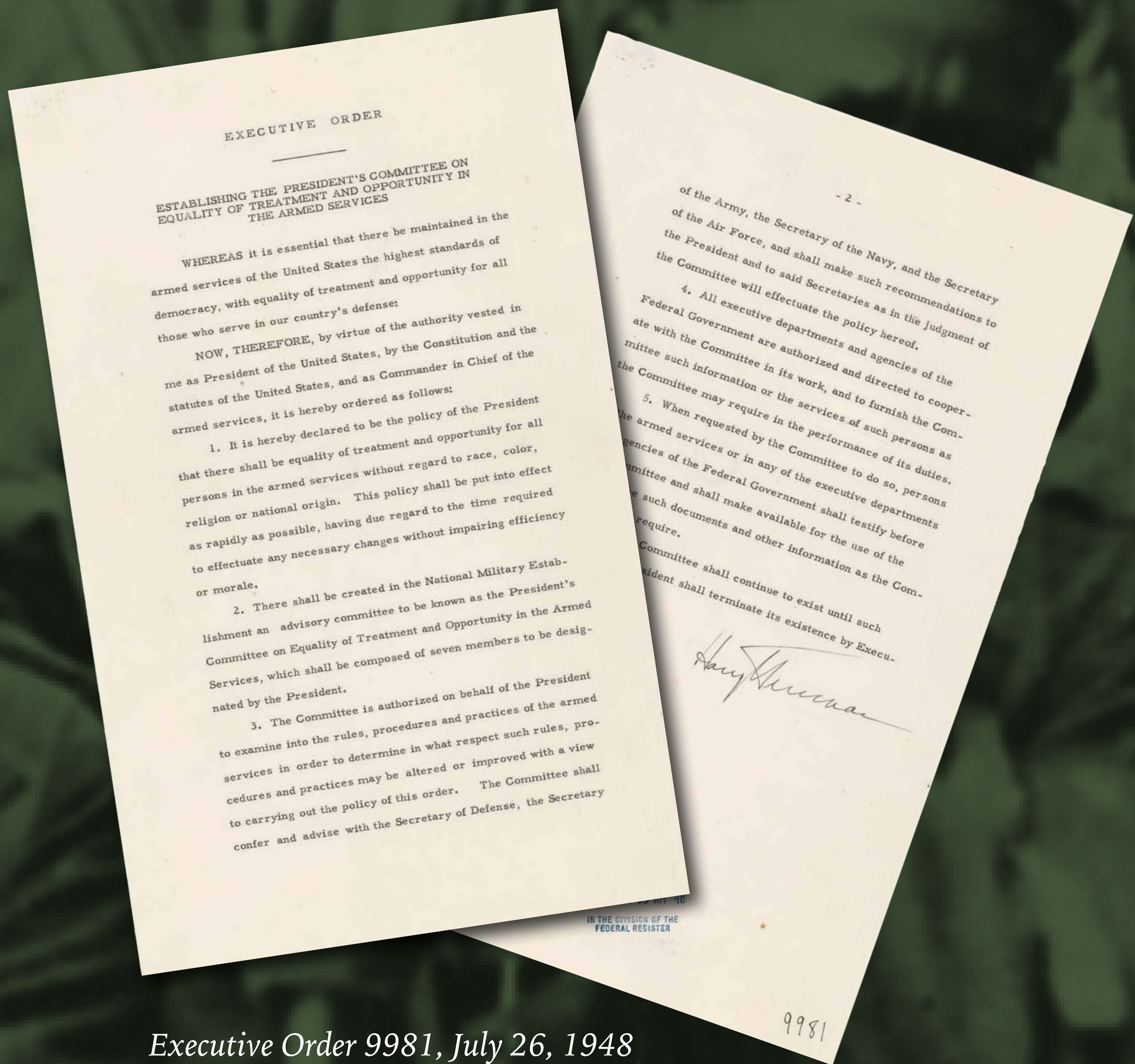
The path to desegregating the military began in 1941, when President Franklin W. Roosevelt moved to prohibit racial and ethnic discrimination in the defense industry with Executive Order 8802. During the Second World War, the United States military became the nation’s largest employer of minority workers. Hundreds of thousands of African American men and women went to work in the defense industry, contributing their labor to build the planes, tanks, and ships that helped secure victory in 1945.

Black men in uniform, however, continued to serve in segregated units. By the war’s end, more than one million African American men and women had served with honor in all theaters of combat.

In 1948, President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 in an attempt to repudiate the long history of discrimination within the armed forces. Civil rights leaders such as A. Phillip Randolph - who earlier declared that, “I personally



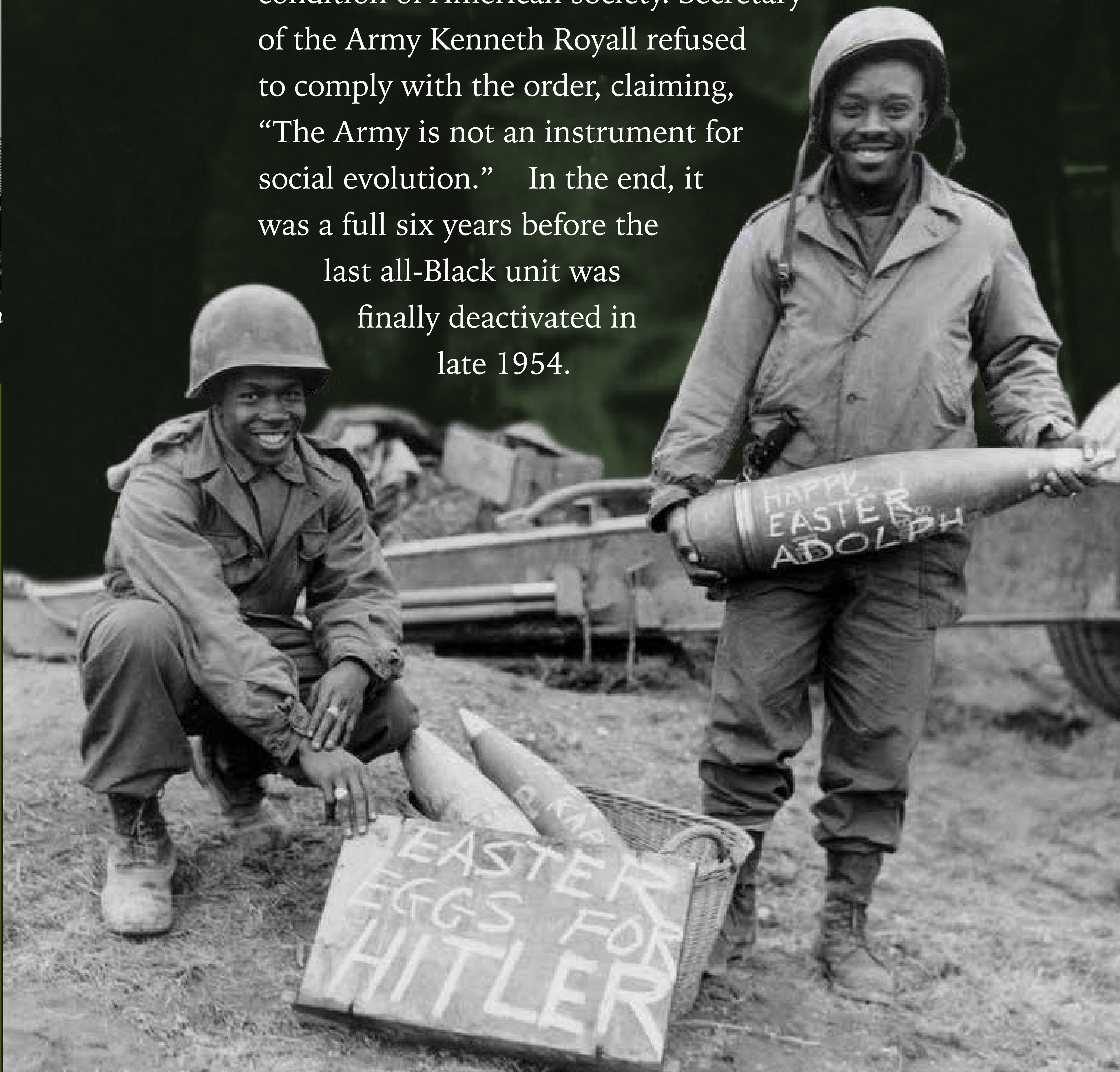
A. Phillip Randolph



Executive Order 9981, July 26, 1948

will advise Negroes to refuse to fight as slaves for a democracy they cannot possess and cannot enjoy” – were instrumental in shaping Truman’s decision. Randolph and other Black leaders expressed disgust at the treatment of Black veterans returning to the “Jim Crow” South after serving in World War II and pressured the government to reverse its stance on segregation in the military.

Lauded as a major achievement of the post-war civil rights movement, Executive Order 9981 received resistance from military leaders who remained content to accept racial prejudice as a normal condition of American society. Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall refused to comply with the order, claiming, “The Army is not an instrument for social evolution.” In the end, it was a full six years before the last all-Black unit was finally deactivated in late 1954.



The soaring rhetoric of democracy and racial harmony used to contrast the Allied cause from that of the Axis powers stood in stark contrast to the reality of the Jim Crow order within U.S. armed services. It was a reality not lost on Black troops.

“You jim crowed me / Before hitler rose to power / And you are still jim crowing me- / Right now to this very hour.”

- Langston Hughes, “From Beaumont to Detroit,” 1943

272nd Field Artillery Battalion

“There is the most wanton, flagrant, and shocking disregard of the President’s executive order calling for full integration. Bald, open, old-fashioned racial segregation is the rule at McCoy”

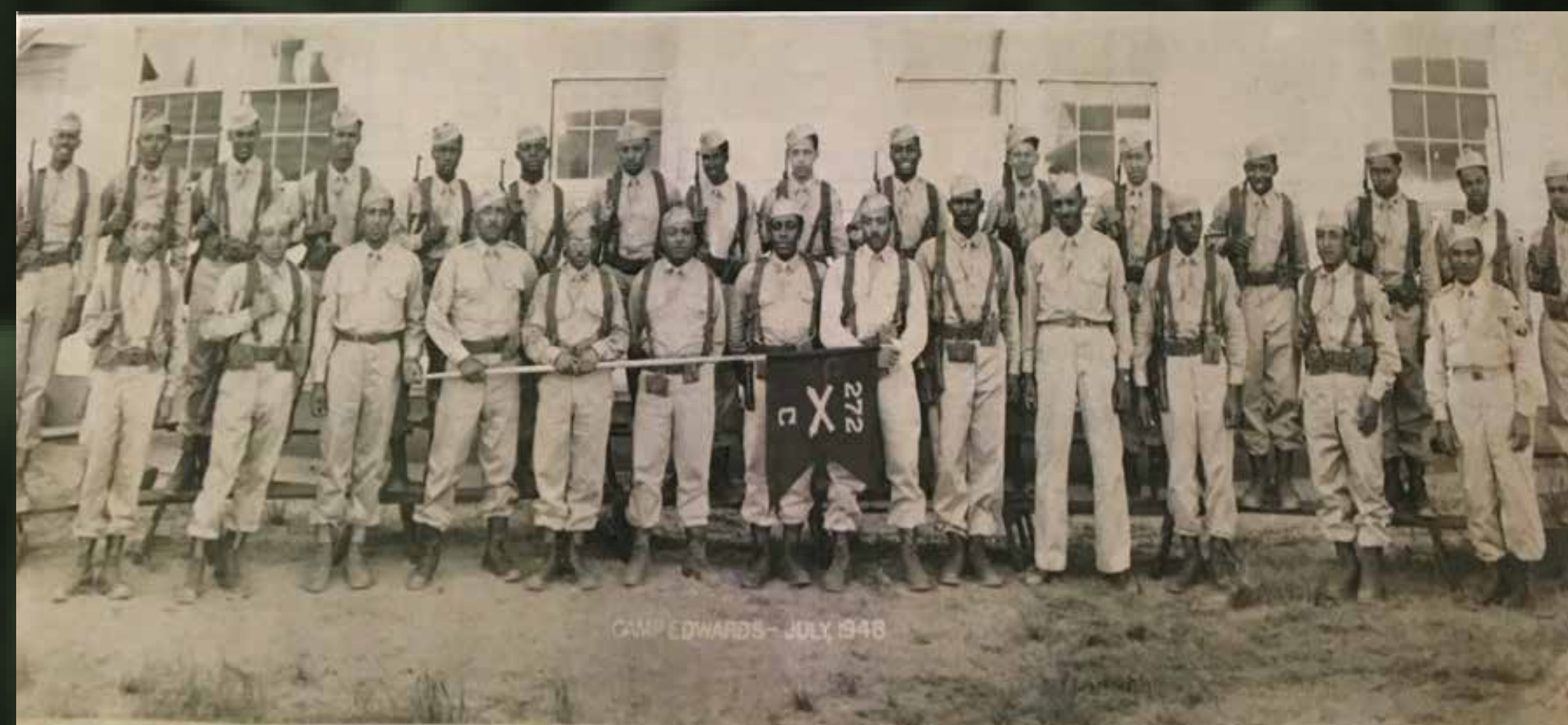
~ Collins George, *Pittsburgh Courier*

As thousands of soldiers were discharged in the wake of World War II, the United States government began the arduous task of reorganizing the army for future service. The wars of the future, it was thought, would require more specialized artillery and missile units. In accordance with this new doctrine, the 372nd Infantry Regiment – which had served honorably in both World Wars – was redesignated the 272nd Field Artillery Battalion.

The 272nd Field Artillery encountered a number of difficulties as the army continued its restructuring. The unit had fewer opportunities for training, and received substandard equipment. Although the Army adopted a policy of desegregation in the years following World War, in practice African

Americans continued to be placed in separate units. For the 272nd, this meant that far too many men were assigned to the battalion, rendering it difficult to command and control the soldiers. Lieutenant Colonel

Karl B. Russell – a Massachusetts native and the battalion’s commanding officer in 1950 – argued that the massive amount of untrained personnel severely hampered the fighting capability of the entire unit.



272nd at Camp Edwards, 1948. (Image provided by Rachele Brown)



272nd Veterans honored in South Boston, 2011

Despite these issues, the 272nd was called into service at the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and sent to train at Fort McCoy in Wisconsin.

Unsurprisingly, given the impediments the

battalion had previously faced, the 272nd failed a series of training and readiness tests. White Army officers deemed the battalion combat ineffective and its cadre of experienced Black officers were

transferred to different units.

The expulsion of these popular officers – many of whom had served with distinction during World War II – became the source of intense controversy. Media outlets used the experience of the 272nd to criticize the Army’s failure to properly integrate its forces in accordance with President Truman’s Executive Orders. The heightened focus on racial issues in the military forced the Army to accelerate the desegregation process. After years of neglect, the 272nd Field Artillery Battalion was properly integrated in 1952.

“The Old-World War type of outfit in which the enlisted men and junior officers are Negro, but the top command consists of whites using the outfit as a steppingstone to further their military careers”

– Collins George, *Pittsburgh Courier*



272nd at Camp Edwards under the Command of Colonel Edward Gourdin, 1949 (Image provided by Rachele Brown)

“Though there is little local hostility to them, they are not understood and there are no provisions for them. I sense a building up of pressure, and look for trouble eventually”

– IX Corps Artillery Unit
Assistant Commander

Black Service Members and the Vietnam War

“As to whether we have a racial problem, my answer — no. I don’t believe we have a racial problem. I believe that what we have had is an uprising that was aided, abetted, encouraged and promoted by a few individuals, possibly using racism as their vehicle.”

~ Captain Ward, U.S.S Constellation Commanding Officer (1972)

Even after the introduction of Executive orders 8802 and 9981, racial discrimination continued to plague the military. Although these orders claimed to prohibit ethnic and racial prejudice in the defense industry and armed services, many Black service members continued to experience inequalities during their military careers. Unresolved issues related to race and unit morale caused several incidents in which Black soldiers and sailors were forced to advocate for equal rights in the military.

U.S.S. Constellation

In November 1972, Black sailors aboard the USS Constellation performed a sit-in to protest the ship’s racist command structure and the inequitable policies enforced against sailors of color. The demonstration forced the ship’s commander to abort its deployment and return the ship to port. Over one hundred sailors were allowed to depart the ship for professional counseling on their grievances. Although the ship’s commanding officer, Captain John Ward, was unwilling to admit that a potential mutiny had occurred and did not formally charge the protesters, no action was taken to address the men’s grievances.

When ordered to re-board the ship days later, some sailors refused their orders and staged a defiant dockside strike on the morning of November 9. Due to heavy media coverage of the incident, most of the sailors who participated in the protest were not severely punished. Only a handful of the men who staged the

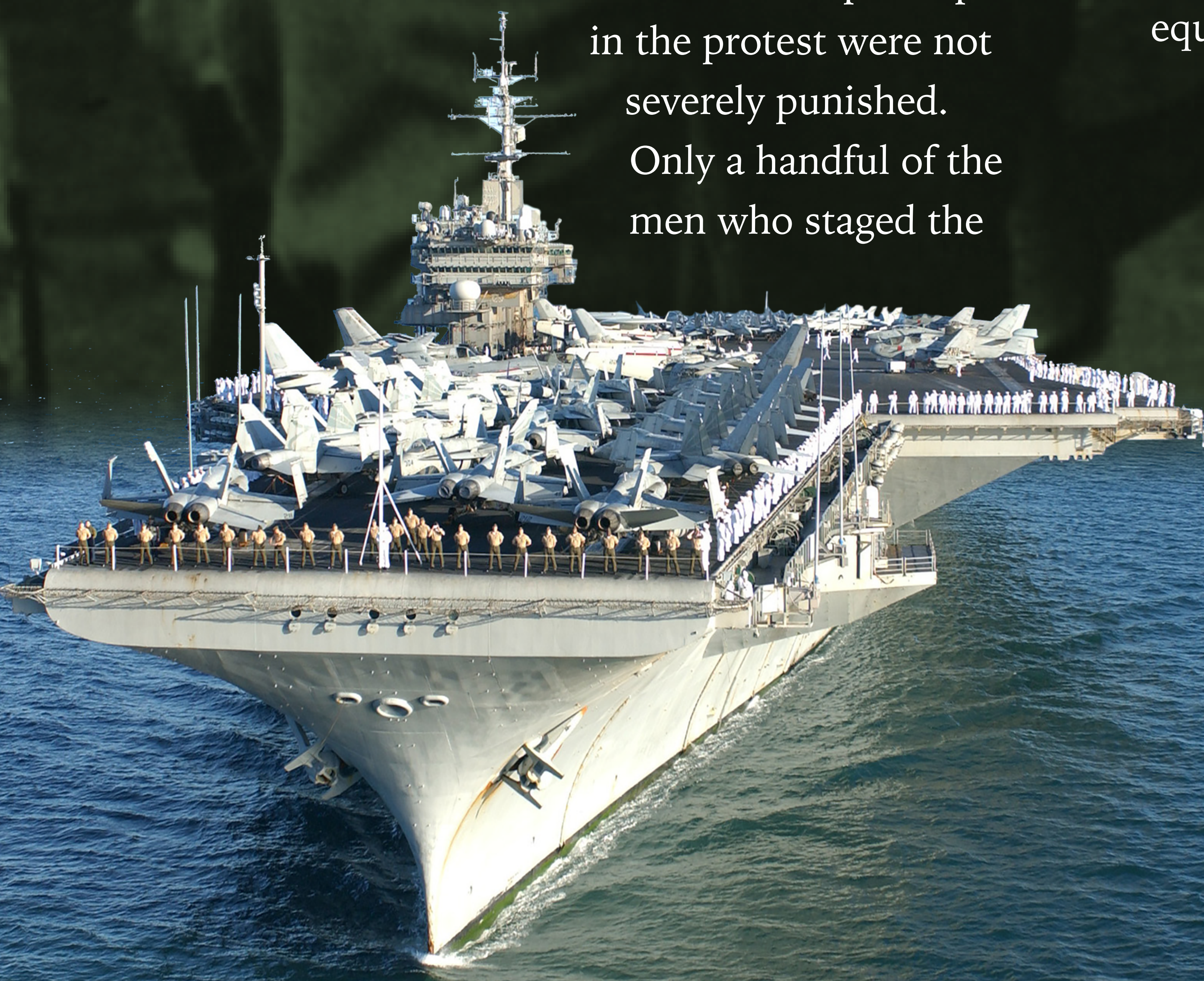
dockside protest received discharges that were not categorized as honorable, and several others were transferred from the ship. The protests aboard the *Constellation* highlighted the ways in which Black service members faced continuing racial and equality issues – even in the military’s post-segregation era.

U.S.S. Sumter

Racial tensions remained high on other United States navy vessels. Black sailors and Marines stationed at sea were faced with constant evidence of unequal treatment: inedible food, longer work assignments, and harsh discipline for minor infractions. In the summer of 1972, conflicts between Black and white sailors aboard the U.S.S. *Sumter* boiled over due to the ship’s music selection. Alexander Jenkins, a Black Marine serving on the *Sumter*, was tasked to serve as the ship’s disc jockey. Jenkins chose to play protest songs instead of the typical music enjoyed by white service members. Jenkins was placed into military prison along with two other Black Marines. All three men suffered during their time in prison, but their friends kept pressure on the ships command structure, ultimately fulfilling their calls for equitable policies regarding race and ethnicity.



Black Marines on the USS Sumter



“The explosiveness which prevails is made more serious by the amazing fact that many of those in command positions, on all levels, refuse to realize that even in a relatively controlled society as the military, racism can and does exist.”

- Congressional Black Caucus, 1971