

CR 1.2: T75''



Trouble in Greensboro

A Report of an Open Meeting
Concerning the Disturbances at
Dudley High School and North Carolina
A&T State University

By the North Carolina State Advisory
Committee to the United States
Commission on Civil Rights

March 1970

NORTH CAROLINA ADVISORY COMMITTEE
TO THE
UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

King Virgil Cheek, Jr. CHAIRMAN
Raleigh

Curtiss Todd VICE CHAIRMAN
Winston-Salem

Sarah Jobsis SECRETARY
Durham

Millard Barbee*
Durham

Rev. W. W. Finlator
Raleigh

Cecil Bishop**
Greensboro

Everett Gill
Ashville

W. J. Bowser
Fayetteville

Mrs. Sarah Herbin
Greensboro

G. McLeod Bryan
Winston-Salem

Robert L. Holt
Greenville

Julius Chamber
Charlotte

Robert T. Kimzey, Jr.
Chapel Hill

LeMarquis DeJarmon
Durham

Clayton L. Stalnaker
Raleigh

*Term Expired December 1969

**Appointed January 1970

CR1.2:T75

CR 1.21
75
10

CONTENTS

Preface	I
Introduction	III
Dudley High School Chronology	1
Dudley High School	4
A&T State University Chronology	10
A&T State University	12
Recommendations	17
Appendices	22

PREFACE

The United States Commission on Civil Rights

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is an independent agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government created by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. By the terms of the act, as amended by the Civil Rights Acts of 1960 and 1964, the Commission is charged with the following duties: investigation of individual discriminatory denials of right to vote; study of legal developments with respect to denials of the equal protection of the law; appraisal of the laws and policies of the United States with respect to denials of equal protection of the law; maintenance of a national clearinghouse for information respecting denials of the equal protection of the law; and investigation of patterns or practices of fraud or discrimination in the conduct of Federal elections. The Commission is also required to submit reports to the President and the Congress at such times as the Commission, the Congress, or the President shall deem desirable.

The State Advisory Committees

An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as amended. The Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission upon matters of mutual concern in the preparation of reports of the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission in matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

This report was submitted to the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the North Carolina State Advisory Committee. The conclusions and recommendations are based upon the Advisory Committee's evaluation of information received at its open meeting held in Greensboro on October 3-4, 1969, and on staff investigations. This report has been received by the Commission and will be considered by it in making its reports and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

INTRODUCTION

Because of the widespread concern generated by the civil disturbances that took place in Greensboro, North Carolina, during May of 1969, the North Carolina State Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights held an open meeting in that city on October 3-4, 1969. Many Greensboro citizens had called for an objective airing of the events surrounding the May disturbances, but local groups and other State groups were either unwilling or unable to sponsor such a meeting.

The North Carolina State Advisory Committee convened the open meeting in accordance with its responsibility to collect information on the status of civil rights in North Carolina. The Committee sought to determine what actually happened at all-black Dudley High School and predominantly black North Carolina A&T State University; what were the underlying causes of the disturbances; whether excessive force had been used to restore order and, if so, if it had been racially motivated.

During the 2-day open meeting, the Advisory Committee received information from 32 persons, including city officials, school officials, students, and representatives of local community organizations.

The report that follows contains a general analysis of the situation as known at the time of the open meeting, and a point-by-point analysis of specific questions that came before the Committee. It contains, as well, a consensus of the Committee's impressions and judgments made during the open meeting and its subsequent evaluation of the written record.

The Committee feels that the citizens of Greensboro should have a candid, straightforward report, rather than an overly-legalistic document. The report does not attempt to assign points as in a debate. It is hoped that there is value in documenting how Greensboro looks to the Committee.

It is also the sincere hope of the Committee that this report will be of assistance to the citizens of Greensboro and to all citizens interested in dealing with the current problems present on campuses and in communities across the country.

DUDLEY HIGH SCHOOL CHRONOLOGY
MAY 1969

The following is an attempt to list, in chronological order, the events which occurred at James B. Dudley Senior High School in May 1969. At the open meeting of the North Carolina State Advisory Committee in October, there appeared to be general agreement that the issue which sparked much of the discontent was the elections committee's exclusion of Claude Barnes from the ballot as candidate for student council president. Barnes had been president of his junior class, president of the student action committee, vice president of the Octagon Service Club and a member of the student council, but was also active in black youth groups outside school which were considered militant.

May 1 An emergency meeting of the Dudley High School student council was held the day before the election to explain Barnes' exclusion and to prevent a threatened walkout.

May 2 Circulars were distributed encouraging students to boycott the election.

Two assemblies were held to hear the candidates.

Five students walked out of the second assembly and were ordered to leave the campus by the assistant principal.

The five students visited the director of Upward Bound at the A&T State University campus.

Elections were held and it was reported that the student elected president received 200 votes and that Barnes received 600 write-in votes.

Franklin Brown, principal of the school, granted a conference to A&T student leaders Nelson Johnson and Walter Brame to discuss the election. They requested that the principal meet with community leaders.

May 3 Guilford County OEO workers were informed of the problems at Dudley.

May 5 Male students who walked out of the assembly were suspended.

- May 6 Female students who walked out were suspended.
- May 7 A meeting of the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) was held at A&T State University.
- May 8 A rally of Dudley students at Nocho Park concluded that no official channels were open to them and called for a walkout.
- May 9 Between 30 and 125 students left Dudley to join the protesting group.
- A large crowd of Dudley and A&T students entered the Dudley campus. They were asked to leave by the principal but refused; police were already on the scene.
- Protesters entered the building and attempted to hold a mass meeting; school was dismissed.
- Police arrested three persons for violating North Carolina General Statute 14-273 -- disturbing a public school. Seventeen Dudley students were also arrested.
- May 11 A meeting was held at Trinity A.M.E. Zion Church with parents, students, and community leaders.
- May 12 Another meeting was held with Mr. Brown; Owen D. Lewis, public information director for the Greensboro City Schools; Lafayette Morgan, president of the Dudley PTA; parents, and suspended students.
- The five suspended students were readmitted.
- May 13 The negotiations committee composed of 15 students met with Mr. Brown and Mr. Lewis.
- An account of the confidential meeting appeared in the evening newspaper.
- Local OEO workers assisted in informing the community about problems at the school.
- May 15 Students, believing that meaningful negotiations were impossible, planned a walkout.
- May 16 Students picketing in front of the school were warned by Mr. Lewis to cease and desist or be arrested.

May 19

Picketing was resumed. Students were ordered to disperse. Nine students were arrested. Police misconduct was charged. Some police were removed from campus and the crowd began to disperse.

Students returned to the campus, entered the building, and encouraged students to leave.

Disruptions broke out, property was destroyed, more students were arrested, and several students were injured.

School was dismissed at 1 p.m.

May 20

The boycott of Dudley continued. The Community Forum met to discuss problems at the school.

The Community Unity Division of the Chamber of Commerce was contacted.

May 21

Students reassembled near the school; Greensboro Human Relations Commission officials observed the action. Commissioners reported seeing a student with a weapon.

Mr. Brown requested police assistance on the campus.

Mrs. R. Thorpe Jones, assistant superintendent of schools, attempted to get students to leave campus. She instructed police to withdraw and the students dispersed.

Rock throwing erupted; tear gas was used to disperse crowd; students were dismissed from school.

Twenty-seven students were suspended from school.

A restraining order was issued and disruptions ended at Dudley.

Mayor requested assistance from the National Guard.

May 22-24

Community Unity Division held several meetings. School officials attended the last meeting.

May 23

Greensboro City Board of Education adopted a policy statement on disruptions.

Board requested an explanation of police action at Dudley from the community relations department of the police department. Its reply indicated that there had been no "unnecessary" use of force.

DUDLEY HIGH SCHOOL

In attempting to understand the causes of the May disturbances, the members of the North Carolina State Advisory Committee recognized that they must go beyond the statements made and the points of view represented at the October open meeting. The attitudes and customs of the city which parallel this record must be allowed their proper importance.

The Setting

Greensboro has a population currently estimated at 150,000 of which approximately 28 percent is black. Although Greensboro appears to take pride in its designation as the birthplace of the sit-in movement in 1960, the Committee was told that, almost 10 years later, schools are still segregated, and there is still widespread discrimination in housing, employment, and municipal services.

One of the most discouraging facts that the Committee uncovered was that as late as October 1969, both sides in the controversy were still convinced of the validity of their own positions. No one would consider that his actions might have been ill-advised or might have been a contributing cause to what happened. It is not the desire of the Committee to indict anyone although it became evident that certain persons could have helped prevent the May disorders.

The Student Council Election

The Committee learned from the information presented to it by students and school officials that a student elections committee had been appointed by the Dudley High School student council president in April 1969. This committee, acting under provisions of the school constitution, nominated three candidates for the office of student council president. The committee did not nominate Claude Barnes, a popular activist. While the Advisory Committee is not convinced that the failure of the elections committee to name Barnes as a candidate was the sole cause of the subsequent disturbances at Dudley High School, it must conclude that it was a major contributing factor.

The facts presented to the Committee by school officials and student relating to the disturbances at Dudley High School differ only in individual perceptions.

The problems at Dudley High School must be considered as symptomatic of the basic problems in the city. The fact that one student was denied the opportunity to run for a school office is insignificant per se; it becomes highly significant when seen in the context of the inequities charged against the total system which

permeates the school and the community. The Committee is convinced that the prevailing system at the school was unjust and that the school constitution was used as a means to suppress dissent on the part of students who raised questions about the system. There were indications that the problems at Dudley were more serious than those of a mere election.

The constitution did not provide a truly democratic procedure for elections. There was no mechanism for write-in votes nor was there a procedure by which the students could express their opinions without pressure or interference by school officials.

The Administration of Dudley High School

Dudley High School appeared to be an institution that was normally allowed by the Greensboro school system officials to be administered with relative freedom by black administrators. There is no information to indicate that the central administration was concerned or even aware that only Dudley High School students were restricted to campus for lunch and limited in the type of dress and hair styles they could wear. The absence of intervention by the central administration indicated to the Committee that the school authorities approved any methods used by the Dudley administration to keep order. However, when serious trouble threatened, the black principal was replaced, for all practical purposes, by a white official, Owen Lewis of the central staff. The official position of the superintendent of schools was that Mr. Lewis was sent to assist Dudley Principal Franklin Brown. This position is not supported by the information collected by the Committee. From the time Mr. Lewis reached the school on May 9, he was the controlling factor in interpreting and enforcing school policy.

The record shows, and Mr. Brown admitted, that there were problems and dissatisfaction long before the elections became an issue. The rules governing the activities of students have been classified as "unenlightened." By their very nature such rules tended to insult and inflame many students.

The arrival of Mr. Lewis on the scene placed the principal in an awkward position. The fact that the superintendent's representative acted in complete disregard of the authority of the principal was an indication to the students that it would do no good to deal with the principal, since he had been shown to be powerless to make decisions.

The Committee can only speculate as to what would have happened if Mr. Brown had been more conciliatory. It appears that he would have been backed by the central administration as long as

he kept the students under control. The Committee believes that a "hard line" was taken because the Dudley administration had convinced itself that it was dealing with a "national problem" and wanted to show the central officials that it could deal firmly with the matter.

The May 19 Disorders

The situation was clearly out of control by May 19. Prior to that time, students had attempted to hold meaningful meetings with the principal and community leaders had met and requested meetings with the principal. Several arrests had occurred, but there had been no indication by the school administrators that they considered the situation "serious."

The events of May 19 and the manner in which the situation was handled indicate that the principal and the representative of the central administration misjudged the intensity of the students' feelings and the limits to which the students were prepared to go to make their point.

The tragedy of the situation, according to one of the students, was that it really did not have to happen. The Committee shares this feeling. There were many opportunities for the administration to deal with the students but none was utilized. There was no response to the student negotiations committee; the principal refused to meet with community leaders; the board was silent; the mayor was silent. The students were left to create situations that would force the officials to take notice.

The record showed that all avenues for assistance, including the Greensboro Human Relations Commission, were explored. It is a sad commentary that the only group in the community who would take the Dudley students seriously were the students at A&T State University.

The disruption that occurred at Dudley High School on May 19 resulted in the destruction of property by Dudley students and some injuries suffered by students in the lunchroom and outside the building in struggles with police.

It is the opinion of the Committee that the full range of violence which took place on May 19 must be examined within the context of the total situation. The destruction of property in anger cannot be separated from the provocation and consequent violence of the other forces and individuals involved.

Mr. Lewis stated that his thinking on May 19 was influenced by the events of May 9, and his reaction had been emotional. It was noted that obscenities were directed at Mr. Lewis and he was

allegedly referred to as a "white pig." While anger in this situation can be understood, it is difficult to comprehend that the official representative of the Greensboro public schools would allow his personal animosity to direct his actions.

The Committee reiterates its belief that the tragedy that occurred in Greensboro could have been avoided. If the principal had seriously considered the concerns of the students, an atmosphere might have been created that would have permitted rational discussion and a resolution of the problems. On May 9, following the arrests, the city officials and the school board should have taken firm action to prevent a recurrence. Officials waited until May 21 to seek an injunction against demonstrations at the school. By this time the situation was so far out of control and the issues so distorted, that the events that followed were almost inevitable.

While the Committee feels that the entrance of the students from A&T intensified the situation at Dudley, it must also be pointed out that the A&T students seemed to be the only ones in the city who appeared to be aware of the gravity of the situation and who attempted to bring about a resolution of the problem.

Attempts at Resolution

The Committee is struck by the fact that on seven different occasions unsuccessful attempts were made to communicate with the principal. There were attempts to resolve the problems at the school through discussions by the following:

- (1) Student Negotiations Committee
- (2) Parents of suspended students
- (3) Community Forum
- (4) Committee of which Charles Davis, Guilford County OEO Director, served as chairman
- (5) Group led by A&T student leaders Nelson Johnson and Walter Brame
- (6) Chamber of Commerce's Community Unity Division
- (7) The Greensboro Human Relations Commission

Failure of the school administration to use one or more of these avenues to attempt to resolve this problem is indicative of its disregard for the students and the black community-at-large.

It appears to the Committee that the principal was obviously not in a position to influence the course of events at Dudley after the arrival of Mr. Lewis. The information presented to the Committee indicated that all decisions relating to the handling of the students were made by Mr. Lewis. There is no information to indicate that the principal had even been consulted about Mr. Lewis' actions. On the contrary, the statements indicating that efforts were made to find the principal prior to

the arrests, strike the Committee as hypocritical, since the principal was on the premises at all times and told the Committee that he observed the actions of Mr. Lewis and the arrests from his office window.

In its own defense, the school officials felt it was only necessary to state that they were justified in taking any actions necessary to keep the schools open. This is a desirable goal, but it should be pointed out that the educational process requires more than a building free from disruption. There was no occasion when officials indicated that they saw the students' activities as significant. Rather, the officials attempted to give the impression that a group of not-too-bright black students was being led astray by "outsiders" and "radicals." The chairman of the school board saw the problems being resolved by the return to Dudley of black football players who are playing for predominantly white high schools.

The Committee rejects the labeling of those persons who had worked closely with the Dudley students in tutorial programs and other community projects as "outsiders." The issue of "outsiders" is frequently raised to divert attention from the real problems in the community. "Outsiders" cannot create problems although they may exploit them. The vestiges of discrimination in Greensboro were vividly described to the Committee by Dr. George Simkins, President of the Greensboro National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and A. S. Webb, Chairman of the Community Forum: the schools are still mostly segregated; blacks are not afforded equal employment opportunities; housing conditions are poor; and the police and members of the black community distrust each other.

There were many statements presented to the Committee which attempted to clarify the relationship between Dudley and A&T students. The Committee notes that there is in Greensboro, as in communities across the country, a new feeling of togetherness among young black students. There is clearly a movement toward separation and self-protection on the part of these students. The incidents in Greensboro provided an opportunity for those persons who are interested in consolidating the black people in the community, to show that the "system" is unsympathetic to blacks and their problems, no matter how valid or severe. Greensboro proved them correct, again.

The Community

The Committee does not consider the problem at Dudley an isolated school problem; it is a community problem. The failure of the faculty, PTA, and other community leaders to realize this and to demand action from school and city officials is a clear indication of the gap that exists between the students and those who should be providing leadership for them.

Nowhere in the record is there to be found an indication of attempts by the faculty at Dudley High School to make its influence felt during this time of crisis. It must be concluded that the faculty endorsed the actions taken by school officials.

The PTA showed that it was ineffective and out of touch with the students and its own membership. The Committee commends the PTA president for his attempt to intervene, but it is clear that his intervention was more that of an individual than that of an official who could speak for a concerned membership and demand to be heard and heeded.

The students appearing before the Committee expressed a sense of frustration over and over again. There was no indication that they felt the adults in the community would fight to right the wrongs that they feel so strongly. There were indications that they had given up hope of having a desegregated school system in Greensboro. It is a mark of youth that they feel that no one understands their problems, and, in Greensboro, the youth have many facts on which to base their claim.

The Police

The results of the confrontations with the police were predictable -- injuries, suspensions, and destruction of school property. The Committee is aware of several instances of student injuries during the arrests on May 19, 1969. There were also allegations that there had been excessive use of tear gas in and around the school. Since officials stated that only 5 percent of the students were involved in the disorders, it is difficult to understand why it was necessary to gas the whole area.

Even prior to May 9, there were reports of policemen in the area of the school in riot gear. Police cars toured the area with shotguns on view in the front seat. Experiences in other cities indicate that the presence of the police attired in such gear may well lead to confrontations. It takes only one person in a crowd interested in exploiting the situation to set off a disturbance. If there were such people in Greensboro, the police department was in a position to oblige them ... and did.

A&T STATE UNIVERSITY CHRONOLOGY
MAY 1969

- May 2 Nelson Johnson and Walter Brame of A&T State University, at the request of Dudley students, conferred with Dudley's principal, Franklin Brown, about student problems.
- May 7 Students Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) began meeting on A&T campus.
- May 9 Dudley students staged a walkout; support was given by SOBU conferees and other A&T students.
- May 10-20 A&T students attempted to build community support for Dudley students. Several meetings were planned and a committee was established. No meaningful contact was made with the Dudley public school administration.
- May 21 After the disturbances and arrests at Dudley, A&T students threw rocks at cars in the Paradise Drive-In area, near the university. Several persons were injured and one was hospitalized.
- 8 p.m. - Police barricaded the streets to prevent white motorists from traveling through the area.
- 8:10 p.m. - A crowd gathered and tear gas was used in the South Homes area.
- 8:45 p.m. - A crowd gathered in the Market-Benbow area; no tear gas was used.
- The National Guard was alerted.
- 10:45 p.m. - First sniper fire was reported from campus.
- May 22 Willie Grimes, a student, was killed by a shot through the head. Police returned continuing sniper fire. Clarence Counts was shot in upper leg.
- Reports of sniper fire continued until dawn and reports of some vandalism in downtown area were heard.
- 10 a.m. - Mayor Jack Elam declared a state of emergency and 500 additional Guardsmen were called at the mayor's request. A curfew was imposed to begin at 8 p.m. and continue to 5 a.m.

May 22

4 p.m. - Dr. Lewis C. Dowdy, president of A&T State University, announced the closing of the university. All buildings were to be vacated and closed by 6 p.m. Friday, May 23.

Evening: Skirmishes and exchange of fire between police and students continued.

May 23

1 a.m. - Reported firing upon a group of police resulted in five policemen hit, one seriously.

During the night, a strike force of National Guardsmen to sweep the men's dorm was assembled and prepared.

6:30 a.m. - Dr. Dowdy was informed about the sweep.

6:45 a.m. - Wylie Harris, dormitory counselor, was informed by a student that National Guardsmen were approaching Scott Hall.

Harris notified the students to stay in the building, in accordance with Dr. Dowdy's policy plan.

6:55 a.m. - A Guard NCO demanded that Harris "get out."

7 a.m. - The sweep of Scott Hall began.

Students were placed in "protective custody" and released into the custody of university officials in the afternoon.

A&T STATE UNIVERSITY

A significant number of students from A&T State University did not become involved in the "Dudley problem" until the afternoon of May 21, 1969, when it was reported that the police had used tear gas and excessive force in dispersing the crowd on the Dudley High School campus.

Prior to May 21, only the students who were attending the Student Organization for Black Unity (SOBU) conference had taken an active interest in the activities at Dudley. The report of the activities of the police at Dudley High School and the arrival on the A&T campus of students who had been involved in the incident at Dudley produced an atmosphere of tension on the campus. Some of the students involved in the disturbance at Dudley had proceeded to the university campus following the issuance of a restraining order against demonstrations at the school. There were disruptive activities in the vicinity of the university, according to police reports.

The May 21 Disorders

Reports of rock throwing, stoning of cars, and harassment of drivers brought police into the university area. A worsening of the situation during the night of May 21 prompted the mayor to alert the National Guard.

The Guard was notified after police reported that weapons were being fired from a Scott Hall dormitory located on the A&T campus. There were conflicting reports as to who fired the first shots during the exchange of gunfire between police and occupants of the dormitories. During the early hours of May 22, Willie Grimes, a sophomore student, was shot and killed and one other student was wounded.

With the death of Mr. Grimes, tensions increased and rumors about the shooting spread through the campus and the community. On May 22, the mayor ordered a curfew, effective at 8 p.m. Turbulence on the campus escalated and university officials decided to close the school, effective Friday, May 23, at 6 p.m. The announcement was made in a directive issued by the president of the university instructing students to vacate the campus by the time indicated, and to observe the 8 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew ordered by the mayor.

Gun shots were reported by local policemen in the vicinity of Scott Hall. Five policemen and one student were injured. National Guardsmen moved toward the campus, and at approximately 6:45 a.m., undertook a military operation to clear Cooper and Scott Halls.

The Committee strongly opposes the tactic of sniping from the dormitories by students, but it believes that more

professional methods could have been used to subdue those few students who engaged in such activity, based on the paucity of weapons found in the dormitories.

It is widely felt in the black community that the Guard would not have reacted in the manner it did at a predominantly white institution.

The Role of the National Guard

The Committee received statements alleging that personal property was removed from rooms while the Guard was in control of the dormitories. The Committee was unable to obtain the cooperation of the North Carolina National Guard in responding to these allegations. The letter from the adjutant general declining the Committee's invitation appears in the appendix of this report. The allegations have been forwarded to the U.S. Department of Justice with a request for an intensive investigation.

The Committee believes that, given an opportunity, the university administration could have dealt with the problems on campus, even though they stemmed from the refusal of city officials to come to grips with the trouble at Dudley High School.

Statements by students and A&T staff members indicate that university officials had previously been able to resolve students' grievances. It was the impression of the Committee that the president of the university had the respect of the students and maintained the kind of rapport that would have allowed him to deal effectively with the sniping, if given the opportunity, prior to the entrance of the National Guard. The president of A&T State University, told the Committee that he was not even "advised" by local officials that the Guard was being sent to the campus.

At the time the Guard entered the buildings, the students were still operating under the directive issued by the president closing the dormitories at 6 p.m. on May 23. Although Guard and police officials claimed that an announcement was made, the response by the students indicated that proper notice was not given and many students who were asleep or packing to go home did not know the Guard was entering the building.

University officials charged that the Guard did not consult with them or give them the opportunity to change their directive and clear the dormitory themselves. Rather they "informed" the president of their intention at approximately 5:30 a.m., showing a complete disregard for the university officials and disrespect for the rights of those innocent students who were unavoidably

caught in the situation. At the time the Guard "secured" the building, there were no reports of and no signs of disruption by students on the campus.

The offensive staged by the Guard included the dropping of tear gas from the air and forcible entrance of rooms by kicking and shooting off locks that could have been opened with keys. Over 65 percent of the doors in the dormitories were reported damaged by being smashed or blasted with shotguns. Despite this massive use of force, only two operable weapons were found in the building.

It appears to the Committee that the official response of the Guard to the incidents on the campus far exceeded the apparent danger at the time the clearing operation took place.

Damages to the buildings totaling \$56,759.76 were reported by Dr. Dowdy and this damage was inflicted by law enforcement officers, not by students. It is difficult to justify the lawlessness and the disorder in which this operation was executed. It appears that those persons responsible for restoring law and order to the campus engaged in a disruptive and unprofessional exercise, destroying property and endangering their own lives and the lives of innocent students in the dormitories.

Aware of the constant calls for "law and order" and the condemnation of violence by officials at all levels, the Committee expresses its agreement with the assessment made by the president of A&T State University when he said: "... but the damage done to 1,300 students who were housed in these two dormitories, and their personal, individual confidence in the respect of the dignity of man will be hard to repair, immeasurable and incalculable."

Law and order must be accompanied by justice. The action of the Guard was certainly not an example of professionalism in law enforcement. The State of North Carolina and the city of Greensboro must show to all, but especially to black students, that the law is neutral and race plays no part in its enforcement. The North Carolina National Guard cannot take pride in its actions at A&T State University.

Community Organizations

The traditional black leadership in the community completely relinquished its role to college and high school students, during the May disturbances. Although the Committee heard ringing statements from black leaders at its open meeting, the record does not show that these leaders made their influence felt when it was most needed. Some members of the black community attempted to resolve the problems at Dudley, but these efforts were inconsequential and fruitless primarily because those who attempted to

exert leadership had no constituency. If black leaders slacken in the fight against racism, they will be ignored and rebuked by the black community when they attempt to serve in leadership roles during a crisis.

Unfortunately, there seemed to be a concerted effort in Greensboro to brand all participants as radicals and militants. While there were no overt accusations of Black Panther involvement, there were statements made implying that the student leadership operated in a "Panther-like" fashion. These accusations and insinuations damaged the image of the student leaders and made officials appear to be looking for a scapegoat rather than attempting to deal seriously with a profoundly significant problem.

The Committee recognizes that some citizens of Greensboro were sincerely confused about the issues involved in the events surrounding the disturbances at Dudley. Confusing statements were made by persons in influential positions and frustration on the part of the average citizen is understandable. However, the Committee believes that persons of goodwill should search out the facts and make themselves heard on vital community issues and demand corrective action on the part of those persons responsible for making decisions. It is still not too late for community leaders to play this role.

Many persons apparently felt that there were no clear issues involved in the controversy. The Committee believes that the issues involved were simple and quite clear. The main issue was the unequal treatment of citizens of Greensboro because of their race: discrimination in housing, employment, education, and the delivery of services, coupled with institutional racism and the unresponsiveness of the official system.

The record reveals that the religious community was strangely silent during the disturbance in the city. There are no indications that religious leaders publicly sought to intervene in a situation that badly needed a third force that could have been acceptable to both parties in the controversies.

Calls for law and order in the absence of justice will not be heeded by those persons who have been led to believe, by the inaction and over-reaction of persons in authority, that disruption and militant advocacy on their part are their only weapons in their fight for full citizenship. Many members of the present generation, including Dudley and A&T students, do not accept current institutions as valid and have attempted to show that there can be no order until there is justice and wide ranging institutional change.

Groups such as the Chamber of Commerce's Community Unity Division and the Community Forum are to be commended for their attempts to resolve the problems surrounding the disturbances at Dudley. The efforts of those groups and the daily press for a "Blue Ribbon" investigation into the cause of the disturbances were laudable, but they would have played a much more useful role if they had taken steps to abolish some of the glaring causes of the disturbances. There is limited usefulness in reacting to a crisis. There must be continuous attention focused on the unequal treatment afforded blacks in Greensboro to prevent crises from arising.

Concluding Impressions

The overall impression of the Committee is that black people do not feel that they are represented in official circles, even though it heard statements that blacks serve as elected officials, members of boards and councils, and are active in other civic groups that exert influence on city policy. The Committee is left with the impression that those black community members involved in the system did very little to resolve the problems which caused the disturbances in the city. They appeared to play their roles as members of the "team."

The record of the local board of education is one of unresponsiveness, as witnessed by its last-ditch efforts to retain the "Freedom of Choice" method of school assignment that has resulted in only token desegregation of the city's schools. The board of education appears to exist in complete isolation from the daily problems of the schools and by its inaction during the time of crisis has brought disgrace to the city. Boards that purport to serve the interests of all citizens of the community must become accountable to all citizens and heed the cries of those persons who, in frustration and desperation, might turn to irrational acts to attain rights that should exist as a matter of citizenship.

Changes in the climate of the city will only come with a change of attitudes and a willingness on the part of all citizens to put behind them the animosities of the past, and have the courage, understanding, and patience to admit that there are real problems that can only be solved by goodwill. Failing this, the disturbances in May might just have been a preview of the kinds of disturbances that other less fortunate cities have experienced.

The Committee believes that there are enough men of goodwill in the city of Greensboro to meet this challenge. These men must speak out forthrightly. No city can afford two separate societies, nor can people tolerate the unequal treatment of citizens because of the color of their skin.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations, based on the evaluation by the North Carolina State Advisory Committee of the information presented to it, suggest steps which should be taken in Greensboro to deal with the immediate problems in education, law enforcement, and community action.

GREENSBORO PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. A faculty-student committee should be formed at Dudley High School to establish a procedure that will assure communications between students and the administration. The procedure established should be one that can be easily monitored by students and administrators so that necessary changes can be made periodically to improve it.
2. There should be a greater opportunity for student involvement in school affairs. Since the school is supposed to be a training ground for life, representation and the redress of grievances in schools should closely parallel procedures used in the city at large. The board of education should issue a policy establishing such procedures.
3. The board should employ, at the earliest possible date, a specialist in intergroup relations, who would serve as an advisor to the board and school administrators in the area of race relations. Many school systems have obtained Federal funds for such positions.
4. Relevant training in human relations and intergroup relations should be required for all school administrators and teachers.
5. A written policy defining the way disturbances will be handled should be issued by the board, distributed to all students, and explained in assemblies at each school.
6. The superintendent should appoint a task force of teachers, students, and outside consultants to develop a curriculum in the Contributions of Minorities to American History. The curriculum should be implemented immediately upon completion.
7. The board of education should take a firm public stand in favor of quality integrated education. To show its good faith, the board should voluntarily drop its appeal of the present "Freedom of Choice" plan and establish a truly desegregated school system in the city of Greensboro.

8. An impartial, biracial group should be appointed to monitor the progress being made in establishing a desegregated school system.

9. The board should hold regular district meetings to gain a better understanding of the differing views and needs of different schools in the system and to bridge the gap between the board and the community. Such meetings would enable parents' associations, student organizations and community groups to make known their concerns to board members and school officials.

A&T STATE UNIVERSITY

1. Written guidelines should be distributed to all students, indicating under what circumstances the university may be taken over by State law enforcement authorities.
2. The university trustees should seek assurance from the Governor that the authority of the president of A&T State University will not be usurped by State officials without first consulting university officials.
3. A procedure for advising students when university officials are being relieved of their authority should be developed at the earliest possible date, so that students will know whom they are to obey when conflicting directives are issued.
4. University trustees should make every effort to ascertain what action the National Guard has taken to investigate reports of the removal of personal property from rooms while the dormitories were under the control of the Guard.
5. University and police officials should take steps to assure students that the "protective custody" arrests will not be considered as an official arrest for breaking a law.

GREENSBORO POLICE

1. The city council, in cooperation with the chief of police, should establish at the earliest possible date, a police review board to investigate and act on all complaints filed by citizens of the community alleging police misconduct.
2. The Greensboro Police Department should make a greater effort to employ and retain black policemen. The records of present black officers should be reviewed and measures taken to correct past practices which have prevented them from obtaining higher grades.
3. The department should make every effort to appoint a black person to a supervisory position, since it may take some time by the regular promotion route, for a black police officer to become eligible for promotion to a position of influence in the department.
4. The practice of having policemen exhibit shotguns in full view in their cars should be discontinued.
5. The police department, in cooperation with the school system, should develop a program that will provide for frequent and positive contact between policemen and students, especially black students.
6. Policemen must be trained to be more sensitive to the problems of the students. Continuous and relevant instruction in human relations should be a standard part of in-service training.
7. The police department, in cooperation with the Greensboro Human Relations Commission, should conduct a study of the attitudes of black citizens toward policemen. Utilizing the information obtained, a program should be initiated to destroy the myths and misconceptions each group has of the other and to correct the real problems that exist in the relationship between policemen and black citizens.
8. The department should attempt to identify and enlist a group of creditable community leaders who will be on the scene to observe the activities of the police if or when there is a disturbance. These individuals should also make themselves available to ride with policemen on high crime nights to observe the police in action and report their findings to the chief of police.
9. A series of community meetings between policemen and interested residents should be undertaken to establish lines of communication with concerned citizens.

COMMUNITY AT LARGE

1. The mayor and city council should review the role and effectiveness of the human relations commission and restructure the organization to give it the needed powers and responsibilities that would enable the commission to play a useful role in the community.
2. The mayor and council should encourage the human relations commission, with the assistance of other groups in the community, to undertake a thorough study of the status of black citizens in the community, and in all facets of community life.
3. The mayor and council should issue at the earliest possible date a directive insuring equal employment opportunities to all citizens of Greensboro and providing adequate enforcement provisions for carrying out and monitoring the directive.
4. A critical examination of the relationship between the board of education and the city council should be made and corrective measures should be taken to make the board ~~more~~ responsive to the community. Consideration should be given to changing the method of selecting school board members.
5. The mayor and council should request the Governor to make public any findings of misconduct on the part of National Guards men that have been uncovered.
6. Religious leaders should take a leading role in bringing about a reconciliation between whites and blacks in the city.
7. Community leaders from all segments of the community should state forcefully that violence will not be tolerated in the city, whether by students or by law enforcement officers, whether by blacks or by whites.



State of North Carolina
Office of the Adjutant General
Raleigh

CLAUDE T. BOWERS
MAJOR GENERAL
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

ROY E. THOMPSON
BRIGADIER GENERAL
ASST ADJUTANT GENERAL

WILLIAM J. PAYNE
BRIGADIER GENERAL
ASST ADJUTANT GENERAL
MUNICIPAL AIRPORT
CHARLOTTE

30 September 1969

RECEIVED
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

OCT 1 1969

SHAW UNIVERSITY
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA

Dr. King V. Cheek, Jr.
Acting Chairman
North Carolina State Advisory Committee
Shaw University
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Cheek:

Reference is made to your invitation to me to appear at a hearing in Greensboro on October 4th at 2:20 p.m. This is to advise you that I will not appear before the Civil Rights Commission.

The National Guard is a volunteer organization, composed of officers and enlisted men who qualify, regardless of race, creed or color, as set forth by the Department of Defense, with a dual mission as follows:

a. Federal Mission: To provide trained units and qualified individuals available for active duty in time of war or national emergency in support of the Army's war plans and at such other times as the national security may require augmentation of the active forces.

b. State or Federal Mission: To provide units organized, equipped, and trained to function efficiently at existing strength in the protection of life and property and the preservation of peace, order, and public safety under competent orders of State or Federal authorities.

The North Carolina National Guard, when on duty in Greensboro last May, was responding -- as it has on several occasions -- in its State role. The National Guard, when ordered to duty, either as a State force or as a Federal force, will perform its mission to the best of its ability and consistent with its policy to do the job as ordered with the least force necessary.

The North Carolina National Guard, when called to State duty as has been demonstrated on innumerable occasions, does its job with no regard to race, creed or color. It is to the Guard's credit that there have been no injuries or deaths of those involved in the

Dr. King V. Cheek, Jr.

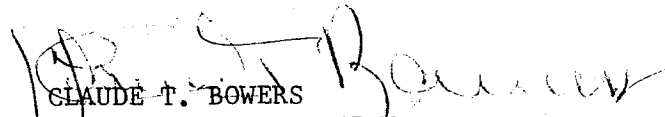
-2-

30 September 1969

confrontation with the Guard during the eleven times it has been called out for civil disturbance missions since World War II.

Thanking you again for your invitation to appear, I remain

Sincerely,


CLAUDE T. BOWERS
Major General, NC ARNG
The Adjutant General

CTB:m

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPIL ASSIGNMENTS FOR 1969-70

On the basis of the statistics presented to the Advisory Committee for the 1969-70 school year, by the Greensboro Public Schools Department, it appears that:

1. There are 31,998 students enrolled in the public schools. Of these, 9,916 or 31.0 percent are Black and 104 or .32 percent are classified as "other."
2. Of the 9,916 black students enrolled, 5,801 or 58.5 percent are in schools that have all Black student bodies.
3. Of the 21,978 white students enrolled, 2,916 or 13.0 percent attend all white schools.
4. 17,732 or 81 percent of all white students attend schools where 958 or 9.7 percent of black students are enrolled.

There are nine schools with 100 percent Black student bodies. They are:

<u>School</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>	<u>Special Education</u>
Caldwell	647	32
Dudley	1336	
Gillespie	775	35
Hampton	463	18
Jonesboro	329	
Lincoln	1146	43
Moore	145	15
Mount Zion	242	14
Price	<u>529</u>	<u>32</u>
Total	5612	189

Three schools have more than 99 percent Black enrollment:

<u>School</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Percentage Black and other</u>
Bluford	1	660		.15
Jones	2	462		.43
Washington	1	629		.15

Six schools have 100 percent white student bodies:

<u>School</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>	<u>Special Education</u>
Claxton	844	
Craven	321	
Greene	658	

<u>School</u>	<u>Total Enrollment</u>	<u>Special Education</u>
Peck	508	
Peeler	257	33
Vandalia*	328	
Total	2916	33

Five schools have more than 99 percent white enrollment:

<u>School</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Percentage Black and other</u>
Alderman	319	2		
Cone	639	3		.64
Foust	731	1		.46
Irving Park	710	4		.13
Kiser	1543	3		.56
				.19

Eighteen schools have more than 1 percent but less than 18 percent Black and "other" enrollment:

Allen	522	29		
Archer	683	43	3	5.8
Brooks	539	11		6.2
Curry	146	11	5	2.0
Erwin	437	10		9.9
Grimsley	2083	43		2.2
Hunter**	447	56		2.0
Jackson**	1126	49	13	11.0
Joyner	679	23		5.2
Lindley Ele- mentary **	439	53	11	3.3
Lindley Jr.**	505	56	12	12.7
Mendenhall	1005	67		11.9
Morehead	282	5		6.2
Murphy	707	18	4	1.7
Page	1743	361		3.0
Proximity**	674	88		17.1
Smith	1303	220	4	11.5
Sternberger	470	2		14.7
				4.2

*One other enrolled

**Special Education not included

Five schools have a Black and "other" enrollment between 34 percent and 51 percent:

<u>School</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Percentage Black and other</u>
Aycock	746	539		42.6
Bessemer	406	211		34.1
McIver*	72	51	3	41.4
Porter	143	103	12	40.0
Wiley	224	216	18	51.0

*All Special Education