



Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission Final Report

**Consequences and the relevance
of Nov. 3, 1979, to today**

Chapter 12

The most direct consequences of the tragedy of Nov. 3, 1979, are the deaths of five people (all anti-Klan demonstrators): César Vicente Cauce; Michael Ronald Nathan, M.D.; William Evan Sampson; Sandra Neely Smith; and James Michael Waller, and the wounding of demonstrators Paul Bermanzohn, who remains seriously disabled from his injuries, Claire Butler, Thomas Clark, Nelson Johnson, Rand Manzella, Don Pelles, Frankie Powell, James Wrenn, Klansman Harold Flowers, and news cameraman David Dalton.

Because the events of Nov. 3, 1979, took place within an already broken, unjust society, it is impossible to distinguish the direct consequences of the event from the issues that led up to it and still linger today. However, as the GTRC gathered its statements in private settings and public hearings, several common threads emerged with regard to how statement givers understood the consequences of these events. The themes included:

- o Individual trauma
- o Economic and social retaliation against CWP members and their associates
- o Surveillance of CWP members and their associates
- o General distrust in the police, justice system and media
- o Increased awareness of race, class and power dynamics
- o Effects on labor and political organizing
- o Distrust of outsiders and denial of responsibility for community problems
- o Tacit approval of violence against political dissenters
- o Positive effects

We have chosen to share direct quotes from our statements so that readers can understand these consequences in the words of the speakers.

Individual trauma

The trauma experienced by individuals from such an event varies greatly. Effects can include personal difficulties with work or sleep, anxiety, distrust and general fear. In Greensboro, those traumatized included a mass of the community not even present at the scene on Nov. 3, 1979, as well as those who witnessed and/or lost loved ones in the horror of the 88 seconds of violence. The following quotations reflect the wide range of trauma experienced as a result of Nov. 3, 1979, much of which continues and even affects those who hadn't yet been born.

Broadly felt trauma

Nettie Coad, organizer with the Partnership Project who has been a community activist for 30 years in Greensboro, focusing on housing and education inequity:

November 3rd left a paralyzing fear on lots of people. I was coming home from work one evening shortly after the November 3rd – not an incident, the November 3rd killings – and I was driving down Murrow Boulevard, and I heard a shot, it could have been a car backfiring, I will never know. But I knew that I was shot, from about the time I came under the bridge at Murrow Boulevard until I got to Market Street, I was still alive but I couldn't believe it. That's how fearful I was that something could happen. It just gripped me, and then I started shaking, my foot was shaking, you know. But I knew I

was dead, because I had been shot. That was the kind of fear that existed in this community. People didn't talk about the incident; I don't know how we could ever have gotten to any truth because people were afraid to talk about it. People that I knew didn't talk about it. The only accounts we got of the incident came out of the newspaper. It wasn't like we could talk to the people who this happened to and get some information. It was such a gripping fear that if you read it in the paper, then that's the information you got. And I guess that's what people had to go on, what they read. Truth or not, that was what existed at that time. And I will tell you it was many years before I had an opportunity to hear that much about the November 3rd shooting at all, until two years ago, there were beliefs I held, because I had no way of knowing anything different than what I read in the paper.¹

Rev. Mazie Ferguson, president of the Pulpit Forum of Greensboro and Vicinity ministerial alliance:

And people say there is no need for us to be going back and pull up all this old stuff and reopen all of these old wounds and I am saddened by that sentiment. The wounds are not old, the wounds are still here. The wounds are quite present. The wounds walk up and down our streets. The wounds go by the names of homelessness. The wounds go by the name of the unemployed. The wounds are still with us. The wounds are still known by the name of racism, and it is still rearing its ugly head.²

Trauma at the scene

Floris Weston, widow of César Cauce:

I was there and I saw what happened. I saw all of the people who were killed as they were lying in the streets. I saw my husband, dead. I saw the police come in and attack the demonstrators. I saw the children running for their lives. I saw everyone trying to take cover, getting under cars and it traumatized me. It's understandably traumatic. It has a lifelong impact. ...

I think I functioned. Some people would probably say I functioned well. As far as I was concerned, I was not functioning well. I couldn't bear the thought that I was not functioning well, that I was not doing my part, and that I wasn't doing a good job. ...

The impact it has had on me it has to have also had on all the children who were present, all the people living in the neighborhood, all the people watching the TV. ...

I resolved after November 3rd, to take more care about the situations that I became involved in. I'm very methodical about anything that I commit to. I'm a very, very independent thinker, all of my friends will tell you that. I am very less likely to join groups. I've discovered that I'm a tremendous introvert and I don't like being in the public eye. I have become baptized and I'm a Christian. I believe very much in God. I work within my church and within my community and that's my way of trying to stay true to helping people and trying to play a meaningful role in the rest of my life.³

Doris Little, a former Morningside Homes resident who was a teenager and a witness on Nov. 3, 1979:

During that time there were a lot of kids at the laundromat across the street, at the dry cleaners ... I felt like our whole community was jeopardized ... That was the first time I ever seen anybody dead. You know, it jeopardized the whole community, it jeopardized me. I was real scared. They put our families, they put the whole community on curfew. I felt like justice wasn't done pertaining to this. A lot of us was hurt by this. A lot of people got away with it.⁴

Joyce Johnson, wife of Nelson Johnson and former CWP member who talked about her daughters'

suffering:

It had an impact on family. It's just a strain...And I think I'm blessed with the way my girls have grown up and moved on or whatever. But I do know it still impacts them. And that's painful to me. I wish that they would feel free to come and talk in this setting. I think they do now talk more to friends about it. That's good it's creating that space. You know everybody won't talk to the commission to open up dialogue or what have you. But they carry that weight of the lies and the misspeaking that occurred in this city. And these were little kids going to school, public school. So on one hand folks were sympathetic because there's this view particularly in the black community about the Klan and what have you. But at the same time the line was that "your daddy caused this problem". And "your daddy brought this up in here". And "he threatened the lives of folks in Morningside." You know because "he brought them he invited them. And then he wasn't even ready. You know he was out there he didn't even have a gun himself" ... They had to deal with that. My oldest daughter who never probably had a fight. And one of the fights she almost had was around some guy who came up and said that...

So to the degree a 7 or 8 yr old could understand... we talked about it. But they didn't want to talk much about it. You see, people withdrew, it was a real period of isolation where folks were literally scared to be around you... So that's a point of pain ... They are supportive; they are really very happy now. They are trying to get out this truth. They have more political understanding...But still when you don't discharge the pain...I know it's there. No mother wants that for her child.⁵

Elijah Andrews, resident of Morningside Homes on Nov. 3, 1979, who experienced depression afterwards:

It put me into a state of mind, like I just don't want to be bothered with anybody, because it made me feel like I was just useless there, due to the fact I'd seen what went on. I was already going through a lot, through the projects, and when I seen that, I just lost all hope. ... It just hurt me a whole lot, seeing this happen.⁶

Jim Wrenn, former CWP member wounded on Nov. 3, 1979:

I saw Mike Nathan laying in the street, wounded, a few feet from where I was. My only thought was, I need to go to him and do something, pull him out of the street. I was aware they were shooting and I was aware that I might get shot. If I had not gone to Mike Nathan, I think I would have regretted it the rest of my life, that I would feel entirely different about November 3rd than I do. But I went to him and I got shot as I went to him. I got shot in nine places ... I am missing these teeth and I don't want to have a permanent partial (bridge) put in because I want to be able to take it out every day so I don't forget.⁷

Evelyn Taylor, former community leader in Morningside Homes:

We wished someone in the leadership of that group (the CWP) would have come back and ask forgiveness or tell us they were sorry, 'cause I almost lost two kids in there ... The bullets hit my house ... Some of the kids had to be taken out into other neighborhoods 'cause they were scared to stay in there that night. ...

Everybody was calling me, "I heard 25 children got killed," and I told them, "I'm gonna walk down there and see." They pulled the sheet off of that man's face and it was blowed up. I took off back to the house and took three Valiums and it did not even calm me.

After the shooting it was not about the Klan. We were only scared to death. I was scared to go

*out and get in my car and go to the store and get a loaf of bread. I didn't know who was out there. I guessed it was fear had fell over the community. It wasn't about the Klans, it wasn't about the Communist workers. It was about what had happened that day ... I was just afraid, everybody was afraid. You could've heard a pin fall on the sidewalk, it was just that quiet. There was no noise period in Morningside. Nobody stirred. Fear shouldn't take over a community like that.*⁸

Tom Clark, former CWP member who was wounded on Nov. 3, 1979:

*My pain was emotional and social ... There was not a lot of physical pain but I was thinking of my friends that I had just seen get killed. That was what was painful. ... I named my son Cesar in (Cesar Cauce's) honor.*⁹

Gary Cepnick, news director at WFMY, Greensboro's CBS affiliate, on Nov. 3, 1979, who recalled the reactions of fellow WFMY employee Jim Waters and colleague Laura Blumenthal, who was at the scene covering the rally for competing WXII:

We sprung into action ... tried to get other people into the field and over to the location to find out what's going on. I immediately went to the TV station and I remember, Jim Waters when he would get excited or upset or whatever, he would stutter. It was a bad stutter. I say that only because here he is caught in the crossfire of this event, absolutely he had the good sense to just turn on the camera and keep shooting but it was absolutely horrific of course. People were falling around and people were being shot to death. He was absolutely freaked. I called him on a two-way radio, we had a handheld radio like the police would use, and I called him on the two-way radio. I said to him, trying to raise him, Jim are you there? Are you there? Nothing! I said, "Oh my god, they killed the guy." One point, kept calling and calling, finally I said Jim if you can hear me just hit the key on the radio and he did. Later on of course he, we got him, he was going crazy. We all know him. Sometimes you needed an interpreter cause he talked fast and when he was excited he would stutter. It was a side to everything that was going on. It was deathly serious that one of our own people had been hurt or shot.

*(Laura Blumenthal) had been assigned that day to cover the rally. My executive producer friend knew that his girlfriend, that later became his wife, was out there for the other station and he was trying to get a hold of her. She also literally got caught in the crossfire and literally had the good sense to get out of the car that they were in, the vehicle had the call letters of the station on the news car, and crawled under the car. One of the victims, I don't remember which one, fell down right by the car, right beside the car.*¹⁰

Trauma in the immediate aftermath

Winston Cavin, a journalist who was at the scene as a 26-year-old reporter for the Greensboro Daily News:

The shootings and their aftermath have affected me for all these years. My father insisted that I keep a shotgun in my house – I hated guns before November the 3rd, 1979 – because he, my father, thought that some bad people would come after me. I was, after all, a witness. Nothing like this happened, but I was afraid at night and despised having a gun in my house.

I knew it was a story that I could never get away from. I helped cover, along with the News & Record staff, the aftermath of the Funeral March through the criminal trial and the outrage that followed the verdict. I testified at the 1980 criminal trial and at the 1984 federal civil rights trial. I was never called to testify in a civil trial. I felt fortunate I wasn't killed. On that day I was a long-haired,

dressed down – I was long-haired, dressed down, and looked a lot more like a member of the CWP than anything else. During the shooting I noticed that Nelson Johnson had ducked behind the same car with me. I began to freak out. I thought they would come and kill him. I couldn't escape. I just had to hang on. Apparently they didn't see us.

I've suffered survivor guilt along with other psychological affects including anger and profound sadness. At times I blamed the Communists for bringing it on themselves: "They started it. They were spoiling for a fight. What were they thinking?" At the same time, I felt such resentment towards the shooters. The CWP may have been – the CWP people may have been a little off-center but they were human beings who were murdered in cold blood. There was no resolution to it. Over the years I've realized that assigning blame is too simple to be true. I hoped to find some reconciliation within myself as part of this process.¹¹

Signe Waller, widow of Dr. Jim Waller, killed on Nov. 3, 1979:

One consequence of the enabling and complicit role played by the police, the FBI and the BATF was my sudden widowhood. That was just one consequence. I was severed forever from the man I truly loved, the man with whom I had enjoyed two years of married life, the man who had married me taking on the responsibility of being a father to a 9-year-old and a 12-year-old. Immediately after November 3rd, the media lies and vilification of Jim and of the other four who were my friends dug into my heart. It is indescribable how wounding this was on top of the devastating loss itself.

My life energy was completely consumed in practical matters of survival, in the struggle to obtain justice for the killings, and in daily efforts to publicly expose what had happened and why it had happened. I was part of a larger effort in the early 1980s to build a united people's movement to fight back against the increasing repression of civil and human rights for which November 3rd was a defining moment.

Something amazing happened: the victims of the attack of November 3rd became the villains. The message drummed into people was that the victims, not the killers, were responsible for the killings. We were branded as unpatriotic, communist deviants. The mainstream media and culture warned people to stay away from us. Severe attempts were made to isolate us from anyone who would support our quest for justice. They were likely to be stigmatized along with us. When the late John Kernodle wanted to help raise funds for the Greensboro Justice Fund, which was doing education around the incident and the trials, he was hounded about having a wine and cheese party.

In this atmosphere came the second cruelest blow to me personally after losing Jim. The circumstances of my life after November 3rd, living under siege, resulted in first my older child, Tonie, then my younger, Alex, leaving my home. They had always lived with me. Upon my marrying Jim they lived with me and with Jim. After the murders I painfully, but perhaps prudently, released them to their father, my first husband. The guns of November 3rd took not only my beloved husband and friends, but my family life and the sharing of my children's adolescent years, although my daughter tells me that many parents would welcome not sharing their children's adolescent years. They were not to live with me again in my household although I did see them frequently. And I am very proud of them and of my two grandchildren, Benny and Cassie from my daughter and son-in-law. But even so, my children, my daughter and son bear the scars of November 3rd.

My son was at the November 3rd rally when the bullets started flying. He continues to suffer from post-traumatic stress syndrome. My daughter did not go to the rally. Only when I returned to Greensboro in 2003, after living in the Midwest for 15 years, were we able to have the conversation that helped me understand that what I had misinterpreted as callous indifference was her own

suffering and attempt to deal with the painful loss of her stepfather.¹²

Alex Goldstein, stepson of Jim Waller who was a 12-year-old at the scene on Nov. 3, 1979, and suffered from post-traumatic stress:

Right afterwards I was like, 'I want to be exactly like Jim. I wanted to grow a thick black beard, all the way through, you know, call me black beard junior ... I wanted to change my name legally ... Then I realized, that he had his own talents and skills and that I had to find mine.

There was a feeling of waste and death that came over me...

My grades, they reflect. For the first six and a half years, I made top grades. And then after that, in seventh grade, I was barely passing. ... There was this kind of thing with waste, people dying young.¹³

Lea Adams, former Durham TV producer who interviewed Marty Nathan after the tragedy and was fired after refusing the news director's request to ask about Nathan's decision to discontinue her husband's life support:

My story is, what happened to me was my career took a u-turn. My sense of where I fit into activism and social justice movements took a turn, not a u-turn, but changed. My social life changed. It was a big deal for me but it was a big deal that I put under the covers and said that's it. Nobody has to look at this but me.

In a sense, this process for me is partly letting go of not just things that I haven't talked about except to Marty, I did talk to Marty earlier, but also letting go my feeling about not having talked about it because I don't feel good about that. I feel there's a little bit shame but there's a whole lot of, 'Gee whiz, I wish that I had gotten all of this out while it was fresh in my mind,' 'cause now, you know, it's years later and my mind definitely isn't what it was in terms of keeping those kinds of memories. ...

I came under a lot of scrutiny at work after that. (Her boss said,) "Why don't you tell truth ... you are a Communist right?"¹⁴

Marty Nathan, widow of Michael Nathan:

I went to bed every night unable to sleep, fearing that my small family's house would be fire-bombed or the windows would be shot into. We had chosen this house with these huge picture windows because we loved light; boy did I regret that. I lived off of Mike's social security as I worked with Dale, Signe, Floris, Nelson, Joyce and many others in the newly formed Greensboro Justice Fund to defend the indicted demonstrators and get justice for Mike, César, Bill, Jim and Sandi.¹⁵

Virgil Griffin, Grand Dragon of the Cleveland Knights Ku Klux Klan (CKKKK) in 1979; Imperial Wizard since 1985; in Klan/Nazi caravan on Nov. 3, 1979:

I was released on \$100,000 bond, and I was put on federal probation for one year before the trial even started. They wanted to put me under house arrest, but they didn't. I couldn't leave Gaston County except to go to Camden, South Carolina. My mother was up in age and she had heart trouble and didn't drive, I could go to her house. But I had to go a certain road, I couldn't get off that road, go into no town, if the car broke down somebody else had to go. Go to her house only, I couldn't go to none of my sisters or my brothers or no house, just her house, had to come back that way. I could work, and stay in the county. I couldn't speak to no one in the Klan for a year. They told me if I seen a Klansman walking down the street, better cross over the street and go to the other side. Except for

What happened after November 3, 1979?

my wife, she was the only one in the Klan I could speak to, couldn't make me leave my wife. No other Klansmen, my best friends couldn't come to my house, I couldn't go to their house for a year, and things. And when I was tried, I's found not guilty.¹⁶

Jean Chapman, close friend and colleague of CWP members who recalled the funeral march and political organizing in North Carolina after Nov. 3, 1979:

(At the funeral march) the National Guard was out, the helicopters were out ...tanks – it was so scary. Along the way, the National Guard would fall into formation, on their knees, pointing guns at us. And I thought, who is being protected here? I was so astounded. They were pointing guns at us! ...

Locally, I became a local instant, notorious character. I was consistently accused of trying to get my name in the paper, of just wanting publicity. The only thing I wanted to do at that time was to crawl in a hole in a cave and never come out. ...

(Afterward) people were just reeling, and also doing their jobs, and also out almost every night doing organizing work, and being isolated, still wondering if you were going to be attacked, getting no support from other progressive folks, and people's families were freaked out.

By 1982, I was really depressed. There was a time when I knew I couldn't do political work anymore.

I've come to realize that November 3rd was the seminal event of my adult life. The work I did with the CWP was among some of the most intense, vibrant times of my life. This event has also shaped the rest of my life. I have two daughters. One of them was named for Sandi Smith and the other was named after Joyce Johnson.¹⁷

Judge James Long, who presided over the state murder trial:

People often ask me how tough it was to provide over so controversial a case and how I came to be chosen as the presiding judge. The day I received the call from Raleigh informing me I would be assigned to try this case would have been a terrible day except for the honor of the thing. Chief Justice Exum of our state Supreme Court could have assigned any superior court judge in the state to preside over this trial. The fact he thought I was up to the task was a source of pride on the one hand, but the assignment would be a daunting challenge on the other.¹⁸

Labor organizer who recalled impact of shootings:

After November 3rd things really began to fall apart. We all needed a little bit of breathing space and it took us a couple of years. I went to Winston-Salem for three years. I had to kind of process all of this. I needed time to step back and take a look ...Tension was too high. I had young children. I wanted to step away from it a little bit ...We had to figure out where we were going to put our energies.¹⁹

Willena Cannon, former CWP member, longtime community activist and current employee of the Greensboro Housing Coalition who was arrested on Nov. 3, 1979, and recalled her son Kwame's reaction upon her release later that day after the shooting:

[Kwame] was terrified. He was scared. He grabbed me like he had seen heaven. He didn't know if I was dead or alive when he saw me...People I'd been knowing since the late 60s, early 70s...were scared not of me, but of being associated with me... People would say to my kids, 'your mama helped get people killed' ...so it did affect the children at school...they wanted me to get away from that, from the pain. It wasn't like they didn't believe me, but they didn't want to deal with it and didn't want me

to deal with it...I started to leave Greensboro, NC, but I guess to me that would be letting them get away with [what they've done to me].²⁰

Continuing trauma

Richard Bowling, Greensboro businessman friend of Nelson Johnson and former owner of the Cosmos Restaurant, where the Nov. 3, 1979, march was to finish:

I didn't talk with Nelson for many years after that. As a matter of fact, I didn't talk with him until just recently about any of my feelings or thoughts (surrounding Nov. 3, 1979), or the fact that I spent two hours with him prior to all of that happening. I have talked about this incident many times. I am a presenter for the Urban League in Winston-Salem talking about the issues of race, and issues in our community, and I've used November 3rd as an example of further injustice to a community of people.²¹

Nelson Johnson, former CWP leader:

It got to a point, in my work, where the police literally followed me around, everywhere I went. That's the kind of scrutiny I was under...(they) said that I was the most militant person in Greensboro ... I was viewed this way by the white community, and in a different capacity as clergy by the black community ... I felt the pressure of that statement, is one of many examples. My identity jumped from that of '69 to '79. ... there was no mention of the other work I was doing.

Within months of the assassinations in 1979, the sitting mayor said publicly that I was the most dangerous person in Greensboro.²²

Gorrell Pierce, former Nazi who in 1979 was the Grand Dragon of the Federated Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:

I've had to live with it, I've thought about it every day of my life since then. And you can bet every day I was in the federal penitentiary I thought about it two or three times that day ... But it wasn't the city's fault, it wasn't my fault, it wasn't no one person's fault ... They must have had a heck of a time picking a jury because there was a lot of people coming there saying, "I don't give a damn about neither side, I wish they'd all killed each other."²³

Leah Nathan, daughter of Michael and Marty Nathan who was an infant on Nov. 3, 1979, yet finds her decisions affected by the tragedy:

I've sort of found myself seeking really "normal" people, not as complicated people, people that aren't carrying the weight of the world. ...

At the same time, having this be so much a part of my identity (I feel) like I have to live up to something. I couldn't go through my life being trivial – I at least need to talk about important things. If not, then I've wasted a father, and I've wasted his dreams and aspirations for me. ...

It makes me feel conflicted. I think I tend to seek out people who I don't feel that pressure with, but at the same time, I find myself being angry at myself, angry at the people I'm spending time with for not getting it. At the same time, when I am around people who are so dedicated, I also get uncomfortable. But it's part of my DNA, activism, it's second nature to me, at the same time it stresses me out. I think it's because I know the potential for letdown, disappointed, heartbroken. Because you're so passionate about it ... fighting the fight is so hard.

I worry that people will disappear, or also that I'll disappoint them ... It's like a death complex.²⁴

Tammy Tutt, a community activist who was a child living in Morningside Homes on Nov. 3, 1979:

Even as a child I felt so much anger and frustration... People knew about it and they were so disempowered that they could not join together to bring about a change. ...

Although since that time I have seen some shifts in the community. Economically we've grown. Socially we've grown. We look like we're coming out of our shells. We're better educated today. And businesses are definitely growing. There is a lot of new construction going on in our city. I can see that as a whole community not many things have changed. We're still somewhere in hiding and despite some shifts in our community, we're not better as a whole in my opinion. In fact, I think we're worse today than we were all those years ago because now we've gone into a hiding that is covered up by things. We've not been able to pull away from things to see what the truth is today. We're so suspicious of each other that there is little or no trust in our community. In my opinion, I feel that this has everything to do with how the surviving members of the CWP have been treated since the massacre.²⁵

Alison Duncan, daughter of former CWP members Robert and Alaine Duncan, who believes her life has been colored by Nov. 3, 1979, although she hadn't yet been born:

Anyone who knows me knows that I play rugby. There are few people who know me that know one of the reasons why I joined the team, after watching demonstrations from the civil rights movement and from knowledge of this event, I thought that in order to prepare myself for the inevitable fight for equality that I would need to physically prepare myself for a beating. I've played for five or six years now, and I'm very physically able to take whatever comes so that's one preparation that I have to fill in the place of those five.²⁶

Cesar Weston, son of Larry Weston and Floris Weston, who on Nov. 3, 1979, was newly wed to César Cauce:

I came into the world wearing the name of a martyr; into the physical and emotional wreckage the state sanctioned murder put down to resistance. ... I am continually moved by an unquiet past.

I hated talking about what moved me in front of others because I did not want to trivialize the past and wanted to keep something of mine for myself. I suspected that folk would be interested in me as a person only for that past. I hoped and prayed that I would not gain notoriety, good or bad, because of the work my parents and predecessors had done before me.

It's a challenging place to live in, this world ... especially as a black male. It's kind of an honor, in the way that this has affected me. It's almost like I was marked to do some special work, whether I wanted it or not. I feel like I can rise to the occasion.

When I realized this is not something to play with, this was American history, this was the reason my mom cries at night sometimes even if she didn't think I heard her. ... It's an honor and a pain, how the past can still affect the present.²⁷

Social and economic reprisals for CWP members and their associates

The environment of fear that pervaded the city contributed as much as their own mistakes to losses CWP members suffered after Nov. 3, 1979, including friends, reputations and jobs. Greensboro's elected leaders and government managers focused blame for the violence on them and the Klan-Nazis, and many in the progressive community did the same. The daily Greensboro newspapers exhibited little sympathy for grieving CWP members who were wounded and/or lost loved ones, creating what Spoma Jovanovic described as caricatures of them in news pages (see Media portrayals chapter). The following quotations reflect varied personal experiences and observations of what transpired.

Social isolation

Jean Chapman, recalling the CWP's strained relationships with other progressive activists after Nov. 3, 1979:

It was very complicated by the fact that all the other progressives were sorting out, I think, in this time, what their outlook toward us was going to be. ... We tried to do work with a lot of ministers and groups. Some of the progressive groups, some of the more left, but not communist groups didn't trust us and thought that we were just full of BS. ... The bottom line was that we were very isolated, and that was very sad, because ideally, it could have been a time for the progressive community to pull together. But it didn't. ...

There were a handful of rare people that stuck with us, but mostly people isolated us. I remember being so isolated ... I felt like I was absolutely alone ... It was a terrible, terrible feeling – just that people wouldn't talk to you, wouldn't even walk near you. We were so pushed to the edge by the progressives in North Carolina ... A very common line was, "that we asked for it and we got it."²⁸

Tim Tyson, author of "Blood Done Sign My Name" and other award-winning books, senior research scholar at Duke University's Center for Documentary Studies and visiting professor in the Duke Divinity School:

There was a sense in which people blamed the shootings on the CWP. There was not very much sympathy for the CWP's politics. They were unreasonable. One of them threw an egg and hit Governor Hunt. ... It may have been after the shootings. But I remember thinking, if you hit Governor Hunt with an egg is that going to win anybody's support? No. It's stupid. They talked this militant Marxist line with a sprinkling of left-wing political jargon and took positions that seemed ill-considered whose general thrust I would tend to agree with, but whose specific language I would think was inflammatory and not likely to recruit anyone.

Richard Parks, a former mill worker who recalled the environment around the factory after the killings:

There was a lot of hatred. It had made the working conditions even worse. Right after that I had got laid off and about a year later they closed that plant down. Still in that community it was deeply divided. Most of the white people in that area said they got what they deserved. And in some ways, the way I look at it, they brought that on to themselves because they left random flyers out, not to show up, that anything could and would happen.

I've become a victim of hatred acts. My house has been vandalized, my vehicle has been vandalized because I've spoken openly about this...because I would help a black individual out.²⁹

Employment woes

Willena Cannon:

Nobody would hire me. People who wanted to.... I had, and I'll call his name, Lefty Williams was a black male who had an educational supply business. And he was looking for somebody to deliver. He said, "we can't hire you. I'd lose all my contracts. I'll tell you what I'll do. If you tell me somebody else to hire, I'll hire him." It was like he was trying to do me a favor. He was trying to say I'm with you, but I would lose my business. I couldn't get mad with him. That was true. If I was driving here anywhere, he would lose business.

And I remember I got a job... Roy's Hamburger. I worked there two days. The second day I worked there a policeman came in. I didn't pay much attention. The manager told me an hour later to punch out, that he didn't need me the rest of the day. So I came in the next day, and he said, "Well, I don't need you today either. Just call in before you come in, and find out what the schedule is." I did that for four or five weeks, and he never scheduled me. I just figured that the police might have told him who I was ... what had happened. I had no more job.

I couldn't get a job. I was on welfare, for the first time in my life. And I really understand people on welfare, and the whole system saying that you LIKE this ... people are dehumanizing.³⁰

Joyce Johnson:

My manager was pressured to fire me, but he said, until you personally do something that deserves firing, I won't fire you.³¹

Marty Nathan:

We had nothing. I didn't have a job. I couldn't get a job. I didn't even talk about that. The two jobs that were available for doctors with as limited training and experience as I had at that point ... they had been existing at Dorothea Dix for two years. Nobody had applied for these jobs. And I applied, and they suddenly disappeared. You know ... we were all ... None of us could get jobs. We were scared.³²

Signe Waller:

A week after November 3rd, when I went back to work, I was fired from my job as a spinner at Collins and Aikman. When I tried to find another job I discovered that I was blacklisted. I was told by a friend with an inside track at a school that rejected me for a teaching position that my credentials were excellent and they would have hired me except for who I was – meaning my association with the CWP and November 3rd. ... At one point, I was virtually hired by a small advertising company in Greensboro to write copy when I thought that I should tell the man hiring me, who was new in town, something about my background. He appreciated my honesty but un-hired me on the spot.

Ultimately I got a job as a welder at a small metal fabrication plant in the city by dropping my unusual first name and presenting myself with my middle name, Barbara. And then I got another job – also obtained by hiding my real identity with my middle name – as a waitress in a hotel near the airport. I didn't want to lose this job as low-paying as it was and fall into worse poverty. Once I nearly spilled a pot of hot coffee all over a customer when I noticed that he was reading a newspaper that had my picture on the front page and I abruptly turned my face away from him so he wouldn't

recognize me.

Routinely, our attempts to exercise our rights to freedom of speech and of assembly were compromised or abrogated. It was difficult to find or to keep a venue for a public meeting. Those offering such a venue were discouraged by law enforcement efforts aimed at shutting down our opportunities to reach out to people and for people to hear directly from us, unmediated by newspapers or government officials. All of our attempts at public outreach ran a gamut of obstacles. More than once our best efforts were disorganized when a venue that we thought we had for a public meeting was pulled at the last minute. At all of our press conferences at Governmental Plaza we were surrounded by sharpshooters on rooftops.³³

Distorted media portrayals

Nelson Johnson:

We have been projected by establishment culture as evil, manipulative, liars and ideologically driven people with little regard for the life and the welfare of others. And the reason I took a moment to sketch out my own journey is because all of the history stands in opposition to that distorted point of view.

Nevertheless, under such a cloud of distortions, we have found very few empathetic ears that would listen to the difficult and painful events related to the killings of our relatives and our loved ones. In addition to the loss of life, injuries, disruption of careers and families, we've had to endure ongoing perversion of the context, a constant stream of distortions of the facts as well as demeaning assaults on our motives and characters.³⁴

Claude Barnes, member of the N.C. A&T State University political science faculty and Greensboro native whose embattled candidacy for Dudley High School's student government president sparked the Dudley/A&T Revolt, speaking on the role of the press:

Given the history of the Greensboro police and officialdom here, which is denial and slander ... the press is part of the powers that be. They really did a job on (CWP) people after November 3rd.³⁵

Willena Cannon:

Sometime after this happened, we was out in the community, talking to people. Nelson was there too. And he was talking to this lady for a while, and then somebody called him ... and she made a remark to me that he was a nice young man; he was very articulate and so intelligent, that he was going places. He was not like that Nelson Johnson! So I said to her, "have you ever met Nelson Johnson?" and she said no, and she didn't want to. And I told her that she had just finished talking to him. I told her that this was just what the newspaper said about him. And then she got mad and said that the people downtown and the newspapers hurt people and tell lies about people, and about him, that they're spreading that. So then I reminded her that she had bought into that, and was kind of spreading it, and to try to learn from that, not to believe things she read in the paper. Actually, I told her not to believe most of the stuff she read in the paper...

Willena Cannon, Statement to the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Public Hearing 30 September 2005.

Surveillance of CWP members and their associates

In addition to social and economic isolation, CWP members in Greensboro and Durham felt a loss of privacy as a result of surveillance over many years, both before and after Nov. 3, 1979. The following quotations recount some of their memories of surveillance.

Signe Waller:

I spent years living under siege, physically and mentally. My house at the corner of Cypress Street and Yanceyville was a place where my comrades typically gathered and where some press conferences took place. It was under police surveillance. My next-door neighbor was interrogated by the FBI. Another neighbor reported to me that she actually saw a surveillance post and the man setting it up in her attic. The equipment was arranged to spy on my house across the street.

Shortly after November 3rd a car drove by my house with its occupants firing guns. When my son Alex ... When my son Alex Goldstein, who was present at the anti-Klan rally on November 3rd, was having some problems in elementary school, I set up a parent-teacher conference and when I went there I was greeted by a phalanx of armed policemen.³⁶

Marty Nathan:

The sense of physical threat was combined with the constant surveillance. Twice I got out of my car – once in Charlotte, I was going to a NAACP convention, and once at Duke’s campus – to hear walkie-talkies report “She is arriving at blankety-blank place,” where I was, right at that moment. Several times when doing the Greensboro Justice Fund work, showing the videotape and speaking, I would find that the folks with whom I worked had had a visit, usually by the State Bureau of Investigation – although most of the time people didn’t know one thing or another, which is why I can’t give you specifics about this. It’s just ... they were obvious police people. ... It happened so often that I never wrote it down; I wish now that I had. ...

One day I spoke to my next door neighbor, whose name I will give you later in confidence, about what was going on in my life, and he told me that he was acting as an informant on me for the Durham police, and he also, separately, but sort of the same, attended KKK meetings. He said that he had been asked to put an electric device on my car as a locator, which explained the police’s knowledge about where I was.³⁷

Willena Cannon:

We felt watched all the time. ... We felt information was coming from someone listening or spying on us. Walter Johnson was a black lawyer appointed to defend the Klan but he had to let that go. He would deny that now. He heard the Sheriff asking the Klan why didn’t they finish Nelson off. So we were afraid they were going to come and finish us all off.

I know that there was times that a phone would be tapped, because a certain way/sound on the phone, that you knew you were being listened to. I know that there was occasions that, whatever the conversation was. ... One in particular: I think Signe called Nelson to pick her up from the airport. That conversation was on the phone. When he picked her up at the airport and, coming back, a large truck ran them off the road, actually ran them in a ditch. They got out of the car and ran, and then it got back on the road and left.

So those kinds of things happened. And some other things that I'm not – that people would talk about but ask you not to say.³⁸

Alex Goldstein:

There was a period where there were safety and other concerns focused on legal stuff. The way people were attacked in the media and misunderstood. Right after November 3rd our house became sort of a headquarters for things. For a while, as I understand it, the FBI had the house bugged. It was very chaotic, but the community spirit was just incredible.

Right afterwards, my maternal grandparents came down to visit. ... My grandparents, my mother, my sister and I were in a hotel, I don't know for how long, because there was this kind of, safety issue. There was, kind of, raw emotions.³⁹

General distrust in the police, justice system and media

In much of the Greensboro community, especially among its poor black members, the events and aftermath of Nov. 3, 1979, either created (especially in the large number of children living in Morningside Homes at the time) or affirmed a view that neither the police nor the courts could be trusted to protect them, their families or their interests. Some were shocked by the events and then again by the acquittals; others – conscious of history and cognizant of institutional racism – were surprised by neither. The following quotations represent a range of reactions.

Distrust of police

Elijah Andrews, speaking of his attitude and that of other Morningside youth:

It just put no faith into the justice at all, period. Because the police is not going to do anything, so what's the use? ...

I was young at the time, and that's all I knew how to do was to try to survive. Because I didn't have no kind of protection around here, and I had to try to protect myself. That's all what we knew how to do was to figure out how to try to protect ourselves.⁴⁰

Rev. Mazie Ferguson:

Our police officers are not properly scrutinized by government. And we have got to do better than that because we need them. I need to know, and I need my 8-year-old grandson to respect police officers. But I can't deny that it's frightening to me. That I know that that child in eight years will have his life in danger as a practical matter because of racism that exists in our society. And what's happening now is that the police of the country reflect the powers that they bow to. And those powers are not the powers of the people. So I'm saying that what we need to do as a community and as a people, we must organize, and let our city council members and our government officials know and understand that we understand enough and know enough about the law that subpoena power and not having a police review board is simply a temporary situation and we must struggle and fight, and when we struggle and fight we get resistance because we still live in a culture where there is a tremendous amount of racism.⁴¹

Rev. Cardes Brown, pastor of New Light Baptist Church who was president of the Pulpit Forum in 1979 and linked the shootings with the later police killing of Darryl Howerton and the current investigation into alleged police department corruption:

I remember the Darryl Howerton incident that many of us came together to work to see if there could be a means of bringing light to what was so troubling and certainly some real issues. There has been concern about the excessive use of force by those that are placed in authority. Without question it appears to me that excessive force was used, which resulted in the death of a young man. There are many other incidents and even like today we are faced with an issue in the police department with black officers it appears are being targeted for intimidation, and there is still the sense of doubt as respect to trust. It is my opinion that if we can come together to seek the truth of November 3rd, then it will also bring us to the truth of 2005, where we are challenged to meet the truth that will set us free.

That verdict, which was almost predictable with the way the jury selected and the way the process was going on, the fact that those who were in position to really get the truth had basically demonized (the CWP) – I was always criticized, and this was from other ministers, because of my association with Nelson and different things of this sort. So in terms of what had happened people were angry and they didn't know how to vent so I took a lot of times in counseling and dealing with people in trying to get them through that particular issue. ... I think that people were angry and I felt in a real sense hopeless so I tried to tell them there's still hope.⁴²

John Shaw, executive director of the City's Human Relations department, who recalled the reaction in the black community after the civil trial:

When you don't have much faith (in the police) anyway, it confirms why you don't have faith in the police.⁴³

Cesar Weston, speaking about his distrust of police:

They have shown that there is a potential for an abuse of power, especially with us. I've always carried that around ... I have grown never to rely on the police ... I always show them respect, and am willing to be cooperative, but I always know it's two or three seconds from them pulling a gun on me, and telling me to get on the floor, or worse. With that, I think there's a little more self-reliance that you take upon your own shoulders and willingness to act ... because you know you can't rely on them all the time. I don't see that really as a good thing, given the situation that a lot of black folks are in.⁴⁴

Candy Clapp: a former Morningside Homes resident who was 15 on Nov. 3, 1979.

There should've been more police protection ... they knew it was going to take place. They should have protected them and us more ... They didn't care about them, they didn't care about us, they didn't care about no one. They cared about that money and that power that they had at the time.⁴⁵

T. Diane Bellamy-Small, city councilwoman and police officer prior to Nov. 3, 1979:

I had just left the police department the year before. I had been a police officer for two years. I had a very difficult time when I was with the police department; I was harassed constantly as a woman, a female, and African American. I eventually left the department. I used to feel that if I had been still in the department at the time they probably would have set me up to be in the middle of that thing (because that was the way I had been treated when I was a police officer).⁴⁶

Distrust in the justice system

Dewey Harris, who was a teenager growing up in Smith Homes and who remembered his reaction to the trial:

You know they (the Klan) was going to get off. Because that's the way the system was set up, it was always set up that way for white people – you could go around with a white sheet on your head and kill people but it'll be alright, you'll end up gettin' off. ... Even in '79, how many black people you know was sittin' on those juries up there when the Klan was up in court? Not a one.⁴⁷

Ed Boyd, who was at the scene on Nov. 3, 1979, as a cameraman for Durham TV station WTVD and who spoke about the verdict:

I expected it. I was surprised they even went to trial. It was a sham trial ... Something to try to just appease people's feelings ... (the Klan members) were the peons, they didn't help plan it. That trial was nothing but a sham, it wasn't going to get to the root. That was not the plan.⁴⁸

Virginia Turner, Greensboro native who worked in the White Oak mill from 1979-1990:

I don't want to feel prejudice, but I do feel like the Klan has always wiggled their way out of everything. So when they were not found guilty it did not surprise me.⁴⁹

Tammy Tutt:

I remember the outcome of the first trial and hearing a lot of people say, "They should've known that. They should've known nothing was going to happen." What I got from that, what I brought to me in my adult life from the events of November 3rd is that when things happen, people really would have rather everybody sat down and just allow things to happen and not even disturb the KKK or anybody else rather than stand up and say anything against them because they didn't want to have to deal with whatever repercussions they thought they would have to deal with.⁵⁰

Alison Duncan:

I always went to as many (political activist events) as I could and, but at the same time it never felt like I was doing enough. I don't know if there's anyone that feels like they are doing enough but I never did. And one of the reasons I give myself for never doing as much as I feel as I could, is the inevitable feeling that if I do this that I could die ...that working and challenging the system is a blood task. And there are endless numbers of people who led the movement, worked for the movement and were not killed. But you know, growing up, with this as my frame of reference, my basis, I never had the privilege of knowing anything else ... There were many people's lives that changed that day, changed to not trusting the system that's supposed to protect you, changed to fear of many things, but my life never changed, it started that way. As a child I was afraid to go to the south of Greensboro, not that I ever acted it out but in the back of my mind I thought, you know, people were gunned down in the streets, the events as it was described to me as a small child, you know it had to be simplified beyond what was actually going on. I, you know, I didn't understand that the Nazis and KKK weren't running around all the time.⁵¹

Changes in awareness of race, class and power dynamics

For many, Nov. 3, 1979, and its aftermath removed a veil that had obscured local realities about issues of race, class and power. Many were surprised to discover that the revered U.S. democracy could renege on its promises. The following quotations reveal the myriad thoughts and emotions that arose for people in the wake of that discovery.

Richard Bowling:

When you don't want to solve a problem then how you gonna get at the truth? You can't get at the truth when the people at the top with the power control everything that's being done, don't want the truth to come up.

Look at the real, underlying motive as to why they didn't want these workers bringing attention to the working conditions of the poor people ... The powers that be don't want that coming out ... And they will do everything they can do within their power to keep you from getting at the truth...

The key is to camouflage the truth.⁵²

Gary Cepnick, speaking about WFMY staff experiences and national media coverage after Nov. 3, 1979:

The mayor (Melvin), the police chief (Swing), and a public safety director (Lovelace) wanted to talk to us... did we really think it was necessary to put this on the air? That we were just going to do more harm than good ... It was a very intimidating group. Having the mayor, the police chief and the public safety director show up. But it came down to First Amendment rights.⁵³ ...

Everyone was incredulous that it happened. You don't think it's going to happen, not in 1979, not under the circumstances that existed at the time. You just don't drive into a neighborhood and calmly get out of a pickup truck and blow somebody away. It doesn't happen. Well, it did. This was a real keg of dynamite that could really blow up, as far as the community goes. The community was already divided, this would only continue that and make it more divisive.

In the aftermath of November 3rd, we were not real popular with the (Greensboro) police department. ...

Greensboro was under the microscope at that point. For the mayor and for the politicians in town it was an unfortunate time. They were asked to respond and didn't really want to respond. "If we ignore it, it will go away." That attitude existed prior to November 3rd and certainly after the fact.⁵⁴

Ray Eurquhart, Durham labor and community organizer:

We learned...It could have been the Progressive Labor Party, could have been the Socialist Worker Party. It just happened to be the CWP. It was us, when they shot all those folks. It was us. That target included everybody out there trying to change ... The Klan and the "powers that be" had to make some examples. They had to beat back this political groundswell that was transforming the workers movement. Any target would have been OK for them.⁵⁵

Tim Tyson, contextualizing the political climate at the time:

There was a huge backlash all across the South amongst whites against the Civil Rights Movement. It was consolidating in the candidacy of Reagan in early 1980... making speeches that served into people's fear and racial resentment, and distaste for the Civil Rights Movement and what it had done to shake the South ... Reagan was playing the race card very, very hard in late 1979 and 1980. In a sense, the shootings in Greensboro, though I'm not trying to suggest that the Presidential campaign caused them, they sort of fit. They are way at one extreme of what was happening.⁵⁶

Gloria Rankin, president of the Smith Homes Community Association:

I wasn't actively engaged in the community at that time. That time, it made me become involved, after November the 3rd. That event made me become more active in the community ... It really bothered me, I knew where I come from the Klan was really active, but I didn't think they were that active in Greensboro.⁵⁷

Rev. Cardes Brown:

People were angry because they saw no way that this could happen and no one be held accountable. But in our community there is this, this opinion that you hope for the best, but you look for the worse. In other words, because of dealing with the judicial system and dealing with what we'd say in my church at the time that when you go to court that you find justice because that's who you see, just us. We've come to a point where we don't expect – we're happy to see a verdict, I guess it's easy to remember the O.J. Simpson, if you noticed that along racial lines people were happy? I guess, many were happy especially who were shades of ebony because it just don't happen. I mean, we look for us to be found guilty and I think that in the sense, two things happened. One is because we've seen it happen so much, even thought it was painful and there was anger, but we've come to know that this is the way the judicial process occurs for those who either align themselves with us, and for those viewed as being supportive of us. And anytime you're talking about the poor, we know that the majority of the poor are white, they just always assume that when you're talking about poor, you're talking about black. So in a real sense, although those who gave their lives for them were white, they were seen as us in a very real sense, so the trial outcome, while it disturbed and angered many, it was sort of expected.⁵⁸

Tammy Tutt:

Watching the news that night, seeing them drag (Nelson Johnson) down the street. For me it was the fact that I didn't see white people who shot people in cold blood. Some people who got shot were white, some people were black. But the people I knew who did this were never drug down the street. I remember seeing Nelson Johnson with his irises stretched wide. It's a memory that always stays with me. Until when I got older ... I didn't even recognize him. I only had this vision of this man with these stretched irises. It just always made me want to be honest and truthful about where and what actually happened. There are still people who don't say anything about what the Klan has done. Black people, white people. The blame has always shifted back to one person (Nelson).⁵⁹

Candy Clapp:

After November 3rd the police treated us like we had committed a crime, like we had killed the Communist workers on November the 3rd. We were put on curfew. There were helicopters. There were tons of police. We were in a war zone. We were treated like prisoners in our own community. The police threatened to put us in jail if we broke curfew and everybody knew that the police were always in the community because of the fights, the drugs and the illegal activity that went on in the community. So the community constantly questions why there were no police when those Communist workers were shot. We questioned why the Communist workers chose to march in our community, a community that was already going through its own private hell. How did they decide to march in front of the office. We had no idea that they were even there. If we had known something like this shooting would have taken place we would have left.⁶⁰

Floris Weston:

I struggled with the racial implications of the murders. Five people dead, one black. I came to the conclusion that there was less of a racial implication to the murders themselves, but the racial

*implication I feel that lingers was in the city of Greensboro. I don't know for sure, but I don't think that most white communities are as afraid and affected as black communities were affected and I think we just heard from Candy Clapp; she said the police were on them like they had done something and they hadn't done anything.*⁶¹

Jim Turner, state senator and attorney who represented the Greensboro Housing Authority in 1979:

*My major feeling was one of total helplessness. I remember walking by the municipal building, and being pretty sure that the mayor and others were inside talking about what to do about this matter, and thinking that I wish I were included. I guess I feel regretful that I never made any attempt to get a meeting together of public officials.*⁶²

Effects on labor and political organizing

If the CWP members had been experiencing success in attracting black or white workers to unions and/or their Party, it abruptly ended on Nov. 3, 1979. Organizers throughout the state report what amounted to a mini “red scare” that plagued their efforts. The shootings had a chilling effect that was profound and long-lasting.

Claude Barnes:

I think Sandi was a leader, she was a “dangerous” person, because she could articulate and get support ... I think that's probably why they were killed. As a team, they were very effective at organizing. ...

“We live in a democracy, but it ends at the mill door.” ... In terms of workers organizing ... I think something major was about to happen in Greensboro. ...

*November 3rd, at least on a local level, had something to do with ... the way that social movement was basically destroyed. With the excessive use of force, a massacre in broad daylight – that's got to have a chilling effect. It has traumatized people. It helps the demobilization – that this is what happens when you get involved in politics. You may get gunned down, you may get burnt, and your killers may get away ... Tragic too, it also had a morally chilling effect on the white progressive community, especially among white business persons, who in the past had at least tried to make an effort to be socially responsible. Now I don't see very many people who are aware and concerned about the problems in our community.*⁶³

Virginia Turner, on relations between mill owners and the labor union before and after Nov. 3, 1979:

There was definitely some tension there. I think the union was very strong at that particular time, it was gaining power. And mill owners and supervisors would do anything to get rid of it. ...

*Working in the mill after that everybody was walking on pins and needles ... It was a lot of fear with the employees, from not knowing what happened. I think the power (of the union) began to decline at that particular time, the mill itself gained power; I think our jobs became more threatened.*⁶⁴

Nettie Coad:

The incident of November the 3rd had a lot to do politically in this town. I told you we were working with ACORN. This, in 1980 I went to the Democratic National Convention as an alternate delegate. And this was due to the, our ability as organized neighborhoods to bargain and to bring attention

*to our efforts and to the power that we had at the polls. November 3rd just brought a diffusion into this community in the efforts of our organizing, in the, even in the Teamsters union, in the union organizing, and a lot of the organizing that was going on across this city, and in other cities, sort of got, I don't know what word to use to tell you what was happening, but I do know that these efforts were getting politically invaded, and it left neighborhoods to begin to have to start fending for themselves. I can't tell you all that was going on with the CWP at that time or with ACORN or with the union, but I know that was a collaborative effort going on in many ways, and it's just seemed to be some political pressure was being brought to bear. I know that Wilbur Harvey was the president of the AFL-CIO at that time, and I know some charges were brought against him and he had to go make time. I know that a lot of the people that I knew who were part of my family, who were with ACORN who were friends, I don't know, there were some things happening in this community that were circumventing some of our organizing efforts. And to put my finger on it, to tell you exactly what it was, I don't know, but I know that it happened. I know that our power was diluted through some political intervention in this, in this city. And it happened after November 3rd. So I, you know, a lot of things were happening to dissuade people, to silence people, and to stop efforts.*⁶⁵

Richard Koritz, representative of the Letter Carriers Union to the AFL-CIO and managing partner of a small multicultural publishing company:

*Working class people in this community, union and non-union, as well as black people in general were really pushed back by the events of November 3rd and subsequently, the negative verdicts from the point of view of justice. Most working people and most black people in this community, that I observed, were afraid to get involved because of what had happened to these very dedicated folks in November of '79. And the subsequent lack of punishment for the murders of these people.*⁶⁶

Ed Whitfield, longtime Greensboro activist, intellectual and columnist who came to Greensboro in 1970:

It made it (labor organizing) very difficult. People who had seen me on the television talking about the strike at Hilton Inn, translated that in their minds that this was something the CWP had been doing during the summer. At work, word got out that I had been a CWP member. At the point when I ran for union president, they said, "We don't support that communist." The amount of right-wing reaction after that time just made the climate for talking about unions and talking about progressive causes among working people ... more difficult.

*North Carolina would regularly brag about having the lowest percentage of organized workers in the country as a means of attracting business and industry.*⁶⁷

Leah Wise, Durham-based activist who was a lead organizer of the National Anti-Klan Network, a coalition of civil rights and church organizations, that organized the national February 2nd (1980) mass mobilization in response to Nov. 3, 1979.

People were not only hesitant to talk about the Klan, but when we started asking questions about what kind of plants closed here, the immediate reaction was a kneejerk, "what are you, a bunch of Communists or what?"

Leah Wise, interview with the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 24 June 2005.^[1]

Si Kahn, executive director of Grassroots Leadership who has spent 40 years as a civil rights, labor and community organizer and musician in the South:

The contract at Roanoke Rapids comes a year after Greensboro. It did not, in my view, significantly undercut the ability of the union to continue. I found that there was a – the mix of responses among my friends and co-workers that I find always when there’s tragedy and trauma; there’s some people who are disabled by the emotions. That’s a legitimate way to respond. There were people who felt like they couldn’t go on. There were other people who felt strengthened for many different reasons. There were people who felt like we cannot allow something like this to slow us down and stop us, that to do so gives in to the Klan. And so every reaction that was possible was there. There’s also a level at which you have to say this is the work that I’ve been asked to do and I have to do that work. And that’s sometimes hard to do. And sometimes you can’t do it. I’m not saying that I myself could always do it. But you have a responsibility and accountability if you are an organizer for a union, you can only mourn for so long. At a personal level, at a heart level, at an emotional level, at a friendship level, you can mourn forever. At a work level, the day comes when you have to go back to work.⁶⁸

Mab Segrest, Fuller-Matthai professor and department chair of Gender and Women’s Studies at Connecticut College, and former executive director of North Carolinians Against Religious and Racist Violence, a group that monitored hate crimes in North Carolina during the 1980s:

Now at NCARRV we talked, saw two causal factors in this sharp increase in hate activity which had made North Carolina the worst state in the country for far right activity and hate violence by 1983. One was the result of (the failure of the) criminal justice system to bring anyone to account for these events that had left five people dead. And this sent a pretty powerful message that other organizing of this type would probably be permitted. And then the second factor, the November 3rdrd attacks were part of a shift towards the right in national politics and a global restructuring in our economy that was sending North Carolina jobs over boarders and overseas where newly emerging multi-national corporations were in search of cheaper labor forces and fewer labor and environmental restrictions.⁶⁹

Distrust of outsiders, denial of responsibility for community problems

While the events of Nov. 3, 1979, certainly didn’t create it, they reinforced a feeling in Greensboro’s power structure that all would be well with the city’s human relations if only “outside agitators” would stay out and leave the city alone. Similarly, many residents of Morningside Homes felt “used” after the shootings and joined willingly in efforts to concentrate blame on the CWP members in general, and Nelson Johnson in particular. A consequence, as the following quotations show, has been a perception that the city’s leadership avoids self-reflection and the growth and enhancement that results from it.

Richard Koritz:

They (the WVO/CWP) did not, apparently, do enough education work in the black community where this tragedy (this political-economic-social crime) took place on the part of Klan/Nazis and the rulers of GSO, to actually have the community have ownership. They had not done sufficient work for that community to take ownership for such a serious thing as “Death to the Klan.” I think those folks have a lot to answer for to that black community, the black workers, the white workers, and the working class in general in this community because that defeat, they had some responsibility for the setting up, even though they certainly were not the criminals. They were the most blatant victims, but they also helped set the stage for it.⁷⁰

George “Mac” McGuire, labor historian:

The (local) government disturbed me more. There was an immediate denial of wrongdoing, a denial of mishandling. That is a typical political response ... A lot of finger-pointing occurred. The thing

*that got me most was the federal government's involvement, in the sense that they had an occasional informant, a member of the Klan, involved in this.*⁷¹

Larry Morse, an economics professor at N.C. A&T State University and former member of the Greensboro Human Relations Commission who helped organize an anti-Klan community response to Nov. 3, 1979:

*I think their (the city government's) response has been, around '79 and the years close to, but following that, one of denial. Almost a concern that this makes our city look bad and that we're not going to be able to recruit certain employers in to the city – we don't like looking bad. As opposed to a concern for five people were killed in our streets ... The city never apologizing ... hides behind language, such as "let's leave it alone," "let's move beyond it," never want to deal with the truth.*⁷²

Candy Clapp:

*To me Greensboro is still a mess because nobody ever paid the penalty for those workers and the unborn child⁷³ that was killed. Greensboro leaders have never done anything that was necessary to think about justice for those people who were killed and the people that were affected in the community. After November the 3rd my family wanted out of the hell on earth (Morningside Homes), and we got out. Some stayed until it was being torn down. You all can put new buildings on old soil, but the dirt will never change. The soil is still the same – bloody. Until some justice is done about all this there will always be a dark cloud over Greensboro and every year on my birthday and I remember what happened in my community to those Communist workers.*⁷⁴

Dennis Cox, former shop steward in the White Oak plant who criticized the existence and work of the GTRC:

*I don't see no need to rehash it. They'd be better to just forget it. They just rehash old memories. Lot of the people that worked there (in the mills) was not involved. Just outsiders.*⁷⁵

Millicent Brown, associate professor in history at N.C. A&T State University who experienced being an "outsider" while doing voter registration work in Mississippi:

The events of '79 are a part of an absence of advocacy for certain issues by people right in their own communities. These "outsiders," with all the best intentions, came into a community trying to advance some of their own aims and objectives, but in some ways were hampered by the fact that they had not been embraced by folks who were actually involved in the situation, in the textile factories or living in Morningside Homes. ...

*(Working in Mississippi) I understood that change was going to come from the demand by people the most affected. Some of '79 went down the way it did, because you did have a difference between who was most affected by the injustice and those who wanted to advocate on their behalf. From what I understand, it seems that part of what happened in '79, not enough time had been spent to make sure the voices were in fact the local voices.*⁷⁶

Gary Cepnick, on his experience hiring at WFMY:

*We operated in the Triad area that at the time was quite provincial (from a marketing perspective). We brought in a lot of new people, most of whom were from outside of the immediate area. We were criticized for bringing in outsiders – they didn't go to a local high school, they were not raised in the area.*⁷⁷

Yonni Chapman, Chapel Hill activist, Ph.D. candidate and former CWP member:

November 3rd is remembered as an event outside of history that seems to have no deep connection to the past or our present lives. The storyline that has been projected by the mainstream media is that November 3rd was a shootout between two extremist fringe groups, the Klan and the Communists, outsiders who brought trouble to Greensboro. Although the historical facts contradict this interpretation, the story has gained power because most public opinion makers in Greensboro have projected a progressive mystique to hide the reality of continuing injustice. They have portrayed the city as a progressive community without the potential for significant race or class conflict. They project the events of November 3rd, 1979 as an anomaly. To accomplish this deceit, they have played on long established negative stereotypes of African Americans, labor organizers and Communists to deny the truth of systemic injustice, effective grassroots organizing and the role of higher powers in the suppression of dissent.⁷⁸

Michael Roberto, former Greensboro journalist and assistant professor of history at N.C. A&T State University who commented on the daily newspaper's coverage of Nov. 3, 1979, and its aftermath:

I think many times the paper failed to be objective. For one thing it called these murders a shootout, for years. That's old news... How is this ignorance perpetuated? Where does it start and who is responsible for starting it? ...

People in the community who are trying to be objective find it difficult because their sources are not objective and it breeds confusion. Confusion breeds a kind of learned ignorance of the matter. ...

There is no progress without the struggle. No antagonism, no progress. We have to be able to struggle over these issues, and the struggle has to take place in the community. And political leaders must recognize this. They can't turn their back on history.⁷⁹

Jim Wrenn:

The tendency of the media has been to isolate the events of November 3rd, to isolate the people who were there, and disconnect that from the larger picture that was going on. I think it's very important for the Commission to see the larger picture, of what was going on in the late 1970s in North Carolina. There were a lot of big forces at play, in terms of workers fighting for their rights, and big corporations trying to stop unions in North Carolina.⁸⁰

Floris Weston:

I don't hold the individual police officers responsible. I feel like they were pawns, like they were used, like so many other people in this scenario.

I believe that you have to work for justice, and even though I'm not the one that's going to be on the front lines doing it, I very much support the efforts of anyone that will do it. I don't feel that justice was done for me. I don't feel that justice was done for Cesar. The verdict of the criminal trial said that he got what he deserved and that no one was responsible or guilty for his murder or his death. ...The justice system chose to marginalize him and his death.⁸¹

Tacit approval of violence against political dissenters

While the killings themselves and the hatred and divisions that prompted them illustrate how one

group of people can dehumanize other groups, attitudes in Greensboro and elsewhere demonstrate how less obvious dehumanization allows people to rationalize injustice, then accept and ignore it. This process is a barrier to reconciliation that the GTRC hopes this report, including the following quotations, can help illuminate and destroy.

Virgil Griffin:

I think every time a senator or a congressman walks by the Vietnam Wall, they ought to hang their damn heads in shame for allowing the Communist Party to be in this country. Our boys went over there fighting communism, came back here and got off the planes, and them ... that they call the CWP was out there spitting on them, calling them babykillers, cursing them. If the city and Congress had been worth a damn, they would've told them soldiers turn your guns on them, we whooped Communists over there, we'll whoop it in the United States and clean it up here. And that's the way I feel about the Communist Party.⁸²

Paul Bermanzohn:

I am not sure but I think that the word "Communist" has always been a despised term. Literally it was a despised term even before the insane anti-Communist crusade that constituted U.S. foreign policy during the Cold War. Even before that it was a despised term. And what I learned is that Marx and Engels picked it precisely because it was despised and feared by the upper classes. So it was the whole idea of a really revolutionary movement was and is, to work with the people who were the most oppressed, the poorest people the folks who have no friends downtown to take care of their case for them. They have no more money to pay off some person to arrange their situation for them but to work with people who are really the wretched of the earth. And the very fact that the term Communism so offends so many people in the middle classes was actually an advertisement for it in many of our eyes. But I think there is a very large population in the United States that doesn't identify itself as middle class, so I am not sure the term was a wise thing to use. I do not consider myself a Communist today even though I still think that what we need is socialism. We need a fundamental, total change, in the way the system operates. I still believe that.

So in a basic way I would say that my beliefs haven't changed although my name may have been changed. And you are right because of the atmosphere, created by the Cold War hysteria, McCarthyism and mad wars in Korea and Vietnam. And Virgil Griffin said something that was not stupid; he is not a stupid man by any means. He said, "We killed Communist in Vietnam – that is why we are killing them here." Well I will take the opposite view. I don't think it is right to kill them here or to kill them there. So I disagree with him on that but his plea for consistency is sensible in the sense that the U.S. was really going after murdering Communist and is still trying to murder progressive people all over the world.⁸³

Rev. Cardes Brown:

There are those who really believe that things are better today and in some ways they are. When it comes to racial relationships, I recognize that there are those who have made some tremendous effort to bring harmony and peace within people of different races. And even on that day there were those who, of course, took up the issue, regardless to race, and joined hands together in the interest of others. But far too many are encumbered with the hatred and bigotry that keeps our races divided. The differences that exist even today are directly a reflection of troubled times. While I do believe that things are somewhat better, in many ways they are worse because of the covertness that so often hides the real truth concerning our feelings toward one another. It's one thing to sit in a room and share in conversation, but when it comes to really being able to open one's heart to the real truth that all of

us are created with certain rights and privileges, not granted just by the Constitution, but by virtue of the fact that God has seen fit to place us here. Wouldn't it be wonderful to recognize that all of us who live upon planet Earth have been uniquely situated that none of us are (alike). That is, not how much we may look alike, that He who created us thought enough of us to make us so unique that there is not another of us.

I pray for the day that true brotherhood and love might exist among all of God's people. I pray that this effort today to seek truth might not be hampered or hindered by our failure to recognize that the forces that would speak against knowing the truth are only the forces that intend to keep us bound and enslaved, for only the truth will set us free. I could remind you even today of painful moments that seem to point to the fact that we who feel at times that the way to live without being disturbed is not to get involved, to deny the importance of standing for what is right. It was a wise man who said that he who did not stand for something would fall for anything.⁸⁴

William Jones, longtime Greensboro resident, poet and blogger:

They (CWP) wanted to be seen as "the liberators." They wanted to be viewed in the same light as Martin Luther King. To do that would require a lot of media exposure. I think they picked a Death to the Klan march in order to get a lot of media exposure. But their actions a few months prior in China Grove, well, came back to bite them. Basically we had two groups of people, who had become thugs. The CWP might not have been thugs in the beginning, but when they crossed the line and attacked the Klan in China Grove, they became thugs ... I see the CWP as conspiring to riot, trying to start trouble.⁸⁵

Tim Lane, a physician conducting rounds at Moses Cone Hospital on Nov. 3, 1979:

Here were these two great poles in American politics ... clashing.

As a society we just paved it over. I don't think justice was served. Because of the radicalism, at least in thought, of the group of CWP, so radical to the rank and file in the U.S. and Guilford County, that that actually turned the tide. Communism was so reviled; the jury represented that revulsion, and found the Klansmen not guilty. Almost as kind of justifiable homicide, which of course is a total miscarriage of justice. I can understand a little bit of that, but that was certainly a miscarriage of justice. That is why the Commission is so important to dig up those potholes and examine them ... taking testimony from all sides. It is a very complicated story of American life, politics and culture. It is very difficult to state it in a simple kind of way.⁸⁶

John Shaw, speaking of reports written after Nov. 3, 1979:

I read the three reports and all of them seemed to be saying pretty much the same kind of thing. After I read that, I guess I passed it off – not that I was not sorry that five people had died, but the way all parties acted at that time. I said it was obvious that something like that was going to happen.⁸⁷

Lane Tritt, Greensboro resident:

Nelson Johnson had everybody's attention. The press gave him free reign, that the CWP didn't need the police department. I thought, if you have a Death to the Klan march you better show up with a German tank ... But they just showed up with sticks and one measly little pistol that someone tossed aside. They seemed to have total disregard for any kind of help. Like, we can do it for ourselves no matter what ... It's hard to have sympathy for people like that. But I would have had sympathy for them if they had testified. ...

(After the trials) I don't think anybody missed a beat. The only people hurt by it were the CWP people. It's obvious – the film speaks for itself. The newspaper speaks for itself when it declined to testify against the Klan the first time. As for what happened afterwards ... I remember the CWP trying to sue everybody they could think of, and thinking how silly that was. They brought it on themselves. It's not like they had the support of the community. They didn't invite the Democratic Party to come join them, they didn't invite the Republicans to come join them ... Nelson Johnson was too angry to deal with. I don't know whether they would have or not.

Lane Tritt, interview with the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 30 May 2005.

Brown lung activist:

The CWP was supposed to be friends of brown lung but they could not be trusted because they were too zealous about their own cause. They always had their own agenda. The CWP was bent on convincing working class white people that they were racist. The CWP was naïve and opportunistic. They were rich kids going to med school who didn't understand what the real dynamics were like. They were so far removed from the victims of brown lung that they really couldn't understand what was happening. By the time of November 3rd, the CWP was isolated and not an effective group. Anyone at the time should know that holding a "Death to the Klan" rally was asking for trouble. I was horrified by November 3rd. The CWP didn't deserve it but they were so stupid because they didn't understand what they were up against.⁸⁸

Jean Chapman:

We misread the world situation. We misread the ability of the United States system to stabilize itself despite major instability, despite economic crisis. We underestimated the ability of that system to right itself and continue to consolidate itself.

With globalization, third world revolutionary movements, things got bought out, sold out, co-opted, COINTELPRO – there was a much more highly organized way of silencing dissent. We had underestimated what would be done to stop movements and overestimated the power of the worldwide kinds of liberation movement.⁸⁹

Positive effects

In addition to the range of negative consequences, some who participated in our process by giving statement both privately and at our public hearings reported consequences that were positive. The following quotations affirm that some good did come out of the tragedy.

China Grove resident who participated in July 1979 anti-Klan demonstration:

I think it (the China Grove confrontation) gave the people a little more self respect as human beings in that you got rights, you got a voice that you can get a permit and march and protest something that you are against. And had that not happened a lot of people would still be in the dark...thinking that it is okay for Ku Klux Klan to use this community building but black folk can't use it...

...It just made me pretty much know that I don't have to accept things from any race; that we are all equal. We bleed the same blood. Our money is the same color...the color of the skin don't make the person. I stand for what I believe in, even if I got to stand by myself...Fight for a cause that I believe in, not just being a follower because somebody else believes in this cause. It makes me do the

*homework in any event.*⁹⁰

Carolyn McAllaster, part of the team of plaintiff's attorneys in the civil trial:

*It's very moving. I think it's important to remember what happened ... I wouldn't be here if I hadn't had that work. When I started teaching, I started teaching trial practice. That was my biggest trial experience. It gave me skills that allowed me to then teach ...*⁹¹

Marty Nathan:

*We have converted one room of our house into the office of the Greensboro Justice Fund, a small foundation that, as you said, Pat, was born from the struggle for justice in the Greensboro Massacre. In my spare time I serve as its executive director. The Greensboro Justice Fund was an initiator of this process; it also has over the last nineteen years given away over \$500,000 to groups throughout the South working for racial and economic justice, civil liberties, peace, and protection from homophobic violence. Vis a vis the theme for this hearing, the Greensboro Justice Fund is a consequence of the Greensboro Massacre. We have provided funding for the organizing of the Kmart workers, the families of Gil Barber and Daryl Howerton, who were killed by local enforcement officials, and for Kwame Cannon, who was sent to prison for two life terms for non-violent burglary. A good friend of mine, Robbie Meeropol of the Rosenberg Fund for Children, has labeled the Greensboro Justice Fund, and he should know -- a work of (and I will quote him) "constructive revenge." It is also our form of reconciliation, to be combined with yours, creating meaning out of the horror.*⁹²

Mab Segrest:

*... what connects me most to November 3rd is its aftermath – a sharp upsurge in far right activity and hate violence and my own decision when I was 34 to take an active role in opposing it, which had a profound affect on the course of my life.*⁹³

Like ripples in a pond, the consequences of Nov. 3, 1979, extend far beyond that day and the people directly involved in the tragedy. Understanding the range of people impacted and empathizing with some of the different ways the events touched them is an important step toward community reconciliation and healing.

■ Notes

¹ Nettie Coad, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.

² Rev. Mazie Ferguson, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.

³ Floris Weston, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 26 August 2005.

⁴ Doris Little, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 6 May 2005.

⁵ Joyce Johnson, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 4 May 2005.

⁶ Elijah Andrews, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 13 July 2005.

⁷ Jim Wrenn, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 6 July 2005.

⁸ Evelyn Taylor, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 16 August 2005.

⁹ Tom Clark, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 27 May 2005.

¹⁰ Gary Cepnick, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 7 April 2005.

¹¹ Winston Cavin, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.

¹² Signe Waller, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.

- ¹³ Alex Goldstein, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2 April 2005.
- ¹⁴ Lea Adams, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 22 December 2005.
- ¹⁵ Marty Nathan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 1 October 2005.
- ¹⁶ Virgil Griffin, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 16 July 2005.
- ¹⁷ Jean Chapman, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 14 May 2005.
- ¹⁸ Judge James Long, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ¹⁹ Anonymous, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 September 2005.
- ²⁰ Willena Cannon, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 13 March 2005.
- ²¹ Richard Bowling, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 17 August 2005.
- ²² Nelson Johnson, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 12 August 2005.
- ²³ Gorrell Pierce, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 16 July 2005.
- ²⁴ Leah Nathan, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 1 October 2005.
- ²⁵ Tammy Tutt, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ²⁶ Alison Duncan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ²⁷ Cesar Weston, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ²⁸ Jean Chapman, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 14 May 2005.
- ²⁹ Richard Parks, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2 August 2005.
- ³⁰ Willena Cannon, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 30 September 2005.
- ³¹ Joyce Johnson, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 4 May 2005.
- ³² Marty Nathan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ³³ Signe Waller, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.
- ³⁴ Nelson Johnson, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ³⁵ Claude Barnes, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 6 July 2005.
- ³⁶ Signe Waller, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.
- ³⁷ Marty Nathan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ³⁸ Willena Cannon, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 13 March 2005.
- ³⁹ Alex Goldstein, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2 April 2005.
- ⁴⁰ Elijah Andrews, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 13 July 2005.
- ⁴¹ Rev. Mazie Ferguson, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ⁴² Rev. Cardes Brown, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ⁴³ John Shaw, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 15 September 2005.
- ⁴⁴ Cesar Weston, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2 September 2005.
- ⁴⁵ Candy Clapp, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 20 June 2005.
- ⁴⁶ T. Dianne Bellamy-Small, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 September 2005.
- ⁴⁷ Dewey Harris, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 28 March 2005.
- ⁴⁸ Ed Boyd, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, date?
- ⁴⁹ Virginia Turner, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 August 2005.
- ⁵⁰ Tammy Tutt, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ⁵¹ Alison Duncan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ⁵² Richard Bowling, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 17 August 2005.
- ⁵³ Gary Cepnick, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 7 April 2005.
- ⁵⁴ Gary Cepnick, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 7 April 2005.
- ⁵⁵ Ray Eurquhart, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 30 June 2005.
- ⁵⁶ Tim Tyson, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 8 November 2005.
- ⁵⁷ Gloria Rankin, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 June 2005.
- ⁵⁸ Rev. Cardes Brown, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 27 August 2005.
- ⁵⁹ Tammy Tutt, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 12 July 2005.
- ⁶⁰ Candy Clapp, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ⁶¹ Floris Weston, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ⁶² Jim Turner, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 18 May 2005.
- ⁶³ Claude Barnes, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 6 July 2005.
- ⁶⁴ Virginia Turner, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 August 2005.
- ⁶⁵ Nettie Coad, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.
- ⁶⁶ Richard Koritz, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 30 April 2005.
- ⁶⁷ Ed Whitfield, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 17 May 2005.
- ⁶⁸ Si Kahn, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.

- ⁶⁹ Mab Segrest, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.
- ⁷⁰ Richard Koritz, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 30 April 2005.
- ⁷¹ George “Mac” McGuire, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 24 May 2005.
- ⁷² Larry Morse, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 26 August 2005.
- ⁷³ Although many people in the community remember that a pregnant woman and her unborn child were killed that day, this represents one of many myths that have lived on in the community. There was a pregnant woman (Frankie Powell) who was shot that day, but neither she nor her unborn child were killed.
- ⁷⁴ Candy Clapp, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 26 August 2005.
- ⁷⁵ Dennis Cox, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 19 May 2005.
- ⁷⁶ Millicent Brown, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 21 September 2005.
- ⁷⁷ Gary Cepnick, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 7 April 2005.
- ⁷⁸ Yonni Chapman, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 16 July 2005.
- ⁷⁹ Michael Roberto, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 28 September 2005.
- ⁸⁰ Jim Wrenn, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 6 July 2005.
- ⁸¹ Floris Weston, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 26 August 2005.
- ⁸² Virgil Griffin, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 16 July 2005.
- ⁸³ Paul Bermanzohn, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.
- ⁸⁴ Rev. Cardes Brown, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 27 August 2005.
- ⁸⁵ William Jones, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 1 June 2005.
- ⁸⁶ Tim Lane, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 23 August 2005.
- ⁸⁷ John Shaw, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 15 September 2005.
- ⁸⁸ Anonymous interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*.
- ⁸⁹ Jean Chapman, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 14 May 2005.
- ⁹⁰ Pam Jordan, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 9 March 2006.
- ⁹¹ Carolyn McAllaster, interview with the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*.
- ⁹² Marty Nathan, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 1 October 2005.
- ⁹³ Mab Segrest, Statement to the *Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, Public Hearing, 15 July 2005.