



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

HISTORY REFERENCES

US Truth Commission

Abstract

Notes on discussions of history, as well as a list of coding themes and references to history in the US Truth Commission.

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Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published 25 May 2006
- pdf has 563 pages
- no specific section on history
- according to NVivo's text search, the word history (using stems) is referenced 166 times, representing 0.33% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **93 broad references** to history in the content of the report
- history usually mentioned in terms of historical context

History is referenced in the report in the following ways:

- legacy and lasting impact of racism and discrimination in Greensboro
- discussions of the KKK (e.g., history, crimes, etc.)
- participants fear of speaking out about past events
- historical systems of oppression
- historical double standards that hurt Black communities
- need for reconciliation
- need to remember the past
- need to educate people about the past
- history of the civil rights movement (e.g., action, movement, crimes, etc.)
- invoking other countries (e.g., Canada TRC, Franco dictatorship, South Africa, etc.) to make historical comparisons
- idea that TRC allow for true history to emerge
- people have the right to the truth and information of what really happened
- history of human rights violations and abuses
- individual and collective responsibility for past wrongs
- labour history, specifically workers and unions and the violence against them
- discussions of communism (e.g., context in US, party involvement, etc.)
- past civil rights and labour demonstrations
- historically the police, courts, and press have been used as tools of oppression and discrimination against minority populations

History and truth are discussed in the following ways:

- commission argues that people have a right to the truth of what happened
- only by facing the true past can the community work to repair relations
- commission had a commitment to the truth
- idea that we need to learn from the past to not repeat same mistakes
- idea that Truth and Reconciliation Commissions reveal the true history of events

*References of history and truth appear under the highlighted coding theme/section **True or Accurate** starting on page 80

Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the US report.

Word Frequency Cloud

- [word frequency cloud](#)
- [excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings](#)

Word Trees

- [history](#)
- [women](#)
- [children](#)
- [youth](#)
- [forgive](#)
- [victim](#)
- [truth](#)
- [reconciliation](#)
- [land](#)

*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

History Coding Hierarchy

- [history hierarchy coding chart](#)
- [excel sheet of history hierarchy coding chart results](#)

History Coding for the US Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding history references based on themes and discussions surrounding history in the US report.

History	All references or discussions of history in the US report
Civil rights	References or discussions of civil rights or the civil rights movement
Colonialism	References or discussions of colonialism, including slavery, white supremacy etc.
Commemorate	References or discussions of commemoration, memory, heritage, etc.
Double standard	References or discussions of double standards for white and black populations in the US
Education	References or discussions of education, curriculum, or the teaching of history
Human rights	References or discussions of human rights or human rights violations
Invoking others	References or discussions of other countries and their histories
Legacy	References or discussions of legacy, effects and lasting impacts of historical violence and systems of oppression
Nation(al)	References or discussions of the nation, nations or national history
Racism	References or discussions of racism or discrimination
KKK	References or discussions of the KKK
Nazis	References or discussions of Nazis
Reclaiming	References or discussions of reclaiming the past or including missing voices
Recommendations	References or discussions of history in the report's final recommendations
Reconciliation	References or discussions of reconciliation, healing, coming together, etc.
Responsibility	References or discussions of individual and collective responsibility
True or Accurate	References or discussions of true, accurate, genuine or missing histories
Violence	References or discussions of violence

History References

This section contains all references to history from the US report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 93 references coded [1.64% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

the heated and armed confrontation in China Grove, in which the protestors had burned the Confederate flag and the Klan and Nazis had been forced to retreat inside the building; the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence; intense political opposition between the two groups; aggressive verbal challenges made by the CWP; discussions among the Klan and Nazis about bringing guns.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Finally, the fear produced by the history of the Klan and this event and its aftermath in particular means that many in black working-class communities, and especially former residents of Morningside, are still afraid to talk about this issue. For this reason there may well be other viewpoints in support of the WVO held by people who have not felt at liberty to speak.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Resurgence of the Klan in the mid 1970s, in keeping with its long history of sowing 21

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 7 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step toward repair. This section also includes measures to incorporate the information about Nov. 3, 1979, into the city's official history and collective memory, attend to the second generation of survivors, promote dialogue and commemorate what happened.

a. The City should formally recognize that the events of Nov. 3, 1979, provided a tragic, but important occasion in our city's history; it should make a proclamation that lifts up the importance of that date in the history of the city.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

and secondary schools about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 9 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process — and our own struggle to hear and understand each other — had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or

what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

chose not to look back as it emerged from civil war and the Franco dictatorship that followed – grandchildren of victims are now pressing to fill the gaps in the nation’s official history, which skips over massive abuses and systematic crimes. In addition, Canada’s government recently acknowledged the need to document the truth and make reparations to survivors of the Indian Residential School system that forcibly removed aboriginal children from their homes, family and culture and subjected them to physical and sexual abuse during a hundred-year period spanning the 19th

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

From 1974, when what is believed to be the first truth commission was empaneled in Uganda, through 2005, about 40 such commissions have gathered testimonies from victims and witnesses, perpetrators and bystanders, and have reviewed written accounts and other evidence. Through their reports, these truth commissions have – with greater and lesser degrees of success – rendered insightful and more honest narratives about violent events in their nations’ histories.¹ From these experiences, we can make some general statements about truth commissions.²

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

All of these truth commissions — whether official or unofficial, whether they emerge in new democracies or well-established ones — tell a version of history that includes the victims’ experiences and voices, recognizes their humanity and rights, and seeks to come to terms with abuse in all of its many dimensions. Truth commissions can help overcome false assumptions and myths about the past and identify policies and systematic practices at the heart of abuses. Often, governments claim that torture, for example, was the work of “a few bad apples” in the security forces. This was former President F.W. De Klerk’s contention in South Africa, but his version of history was untenable in the face of thousands of cases heard by the TRC that demonstrated otherwise.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

In this way, truth commissions can help societies come to terms with how such a thing could happen and what must change in order to avoid similar abuses in the future. In Guatemala, the Commission of Historical Clarification explored a long history of marginalization of the indigenous population as part of the context that explained its finding that the Guatemalan state forces had committed genocide against the Mayan population in specific parts of the country.¹² The political elites in Guatemala have, for the most part, not yet acknowledged this conclusion, but genocide is now an accepted part of the debate about the past.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

we could accomplish. Along the way, we came to a deeper understanding of what a truth commission in Greensboro could add to our history.

Reference 15 - 0.03% Coverage

We believe it is important to reflect a moment on the important truth-seeking precedents that exist in the United States. We did not have the opportunity or the time to meet with people from all the various experiences in this country, but we have been inspired by many of them and pay tribute here to the spirit of truth-seeking wherever it lives in this country. These valuable precedents are reminders to us that we must learn from the violent history that has been so often ignored, denied or distorted in the United States.

One of the examples that investigated an important part of North Carolina's history is the Wilmington Race Riot Commission. This state-sponsored commission examined the events of 1898 in which white racist groups ousted a "fusionist" government that included African Americans, and brought a fury of violent hatred down on the city of Wilmington, burning out a newspaper run by an African-American man who had to flee the city for his life, killing a number of black citizens and changing the political scenery in the state for decades to come. This commission's report was published in draft form in December 2005.¹⁷

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

devastation were examined by historical commissions studying the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921¹⁸ and the events in Rosewood, Fla., in 1923. Each of these was an official body charged with examining events and creating a historical record that would break through the one-sided history that previously had been considered "the official story." All of these commissions were asked to formulate recommendations, including some measure of reparations for those affected. They differ from the GTRC and from most other truth commissions because of the length of time that has passed since the events at the heart of their investigations, but they share our concern with revealing the ways in which racism and violence, economic privilege and social class, have converged to tear apart African-American communities in particular.

Reference 17 - 0.04% Coverage

We believe that there is a right to information – a right to the truth about Nov. 3, 1979, and its causes and aftermath – that we as citizens of a community and a nation should continue to protect and honor. We find that there is an accompanying duty to remember not only the good in our history, but our moments of shame, so that we might learn from them and seek to do better by our community in the future.²⁴ The United States often sees itself as being free from the kinds of human rights abuses that are usually brought to light when nations emerge from conflict or repressive rule. But we believe that it is important to recognize that impunity and injustice also exist at home.

We hope that our modest examination of a difficult chapter of Greensboro's history and how those events shape the community today may serve as a profound and timely reminder of the importance of facing shameful events honestly and acknowledging the brutal consequences of political spin, calculated blindness and passive ignorance. While the GTRC recognizes the

differences between Greensboro's history and the abuses addressed by other truth commissions, we share a common aspiration: that the truth about the past will help us build a better, more just and more inclusive future.

Reference 18 - 0.04% Coverage

This process's ability to examine both individual and institutional or collective accountability creates another difficult tension. In all cases where we established responsibility for what happened, we struggled with understanding what role individuals played versus what role an institutional culture and history might have played. This was the case as we examined the actions of individuals in all organizations involved with the events of Nov. 3, 1979, among them: the Klan; the Nazis; the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party; Greensboro Police Department; the City government of Greensboro; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the FBI; the Morningside Homes community; the justice system; the Greensboro Daily News, the Greensboro Record, the Carolina Peacemaker and other media outlets.

Each of the individuals in these different organizations or communities who bear some accountability for what happened on Nov. 3, 1979, were operating within a community or organization that had its own history and culture that made these events and their aftermath possible. The role that history and culture played in these events must be seen as a context within which these individuals made decisions and acted. But even when such an explanatory context exists, a history of institutional racism, classism and fear can never completely excuse the individual actions taken (or not taken) by various players in these events.

Reference 19 - 0.08% Coverage

Our Mandate reads: "In addition to exploring questions of institutional and individual responsibility for what happened, as a necessary part of the truth-seeking process we urge the Commission to look deeply into the root causes and historical context of the events of November 3, 1979." We affirm this instruction. To look at the events of Nov. 3, 1979, without an understanding of its context and causes would not contribute to the "truth" of the event. Although this report will clarify many rumors and misinformation that have been perpetuated for the last 26 years, for the most part, Greensboro residents who have any interest already know many of the facts of the sequence of events of Nov. 3, 1979. Three court trials and hundreds of newspaper articles, films and other media portrayals have contributed to a large body of knowledge about the actual events. The greatest value in our report, we believe, is placing this information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the "truth."

That said, the mandate to examine the context, causes and consequence of the events is a broad one and we have been challenged to decide how to limit these otherwise boundless terms. Which context is the relevant one to highlight? What time periods and what events in history most usefully illustrate how and why Nov.3 unfolded as it did? This definition of the lenses through which to view the tragedy is by nature subjective, and different authors may have chosen different contexts to reveal. Ours is but one among a multitude of interpretations. In order to focus our task, we asked ourselves, "Who played the biggest roles on Nov. 3, 1979?" and "What influenced these people to act as they did?" Different players had different roles at different points in the story, but we investigated the roles of the WVO/CWP, the Klan and Nazis,

local and federal law enforcement, the city government of Greensboro, the residents of the Morningside community and local media. We attempted to look at how these groups operated in relation to each other both as groups of institutions, as well as the interacting roles of key individuals. In choosing our timeframe, we have chosen largely to limit our examination to local events occurring within the lifetime of most of those involved in the confrontation on Nov. 3, 1979. But because historical events at larger scales often figure prominently in community consciousness, we have also examined key events that loom large in collective memory such as the importance of the United States' history of Constitutional rights, slavery, white supremacy, key labor or civil rights organizing efforts and geopolitical conflicts.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Ubuntu, from the South African lexicon, refers to “humaneness, or an inclusive sense of community valuing everyone.” Minow, Martha, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass*

Reference 21 - 0.03% Coverage

Entire disciplines of philosophy, history, science and cultural studies are devoted to the debate on whether humans are capable of knowing “the Truth” and the examination of the politics and power relations embedded in any endeavor claiming to reveal it. Engaging these epistemological debates is beyond the scope of this report. We note that it would not only be arrogant but factually incorrect for any commission (or historian or scientist) to claim to have discovered the complete and perfect Truth about any event. The nature of scientific or historical investigation is that one can draw a sound conclusion from available evidence, but that it is always possible that new evidence might come to light that could support a different conclusion. Nevertheless, as a general matter, with substantial weight and increasing abundance of evidence already available, the likelihood that new evidence will refute the existing conclusion becomes increasingly small.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Often the truth of what happened in an ugly chapter of history may be in large part already known, and it is the acknowledgement of the truth that is lacking. We believe that the unacknowledged “elephant in the room” that continues to haunt social relations in Greensboro is the role of race. In the experience of the black community, survival in a dominant white culture means that race and racism are always present and therefore always in question.

Reference 23 - 0.02% Coverage

This is a city writing its own history and practicing a new kind of journalism ... Part of the challenge of this project has always been the complexity of its subject matter, of the events and economics and social dynamics of 1979 and their echoes in the present day. The Web gives us a way to distribute the problem, to break it up among any number of writers and thinkers, to let individuals speak, listen and learn for themselves. There will be some central places on this network, including news articles and the commission report itself. But the Truth and

Reconciliation process should be larger and more inclusive than the traditional media and a formal document can make it, and that may be the key to its success.

Reference 24 - 0.02% Coverage

Given the high level of tension related to Nov. 3, 1979, security was a concern for our hearings. Several Commissioners felt uncomfortable with having the Greensboro Police Department – as a group being researched – provide our primary security in these events. But given the GPD’s responsibility to protect residents, and given the history of the events we were researching, we chose to have the GPD work in concert with our primary security teams in each of these locations. With the exception of one minor scuffle outside our first public hearing, there were no security problems.

Reference 25 - 0.02% Coverage

I also learned—have come to understand Greensboro’s place in history—if you want to make a statement in race relations, you don’t go to Atlanta, you don’t go to Baltimore, you don’t go to Richmond—you go to Selma [Alabama], you go to Birmingham, you go to Greensboro, and you go to Memphis. You’ll find towns who have been historically represented in civil rights progress and history, that’s where you go to make your demonstration or make your statement. And Greensboro will always be a place, in my opinion, where the Klan comes to march, and where the black students at A&T (North Carolina A&T State University), and the other civil rights organizations decide to make their stand and make their pitch. That, from the historical presence, is where Greensboro pretty much has been since the 60s.²³

Reference 26 - 0.03% Coverage

From the momentum of the very active, largely unified activism of the ’60s, a major change had occurred by as early as 1970, with ideologies competing against one another. Where Marxists aimed to break down the extreme class divisions that left great economic inequities, they were criticized for being overly theoretical and introspective. Cultural Nationalists, on the other hand, believed in a common cultural base derived from a shared history despite economic divisions, but were criticized for being idealistic in their hope of unifying Africans and African Americans. The progression from Black Power to Pan-Africanism was a broadening in scope from the regional view to the global African experience, connecting and identifying with liberation movements on the African continent, including those driven by socialist and Marxist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou Toure in Guinea and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Reference 27 - 0.02% Coverage

In Greensboro, activists working in the 1970s through groups including GAPP, SOBU and YOBU had behind them a history of grassroots action and organizational connections that stretched back to the pivotal moment in 1960 when four freshmen at N.C. A&T State University began a movement that changed the nation. There also was a history of government surveillance

and deliberate interference in these efforts, both locally and through federal programs such as COINTELPRO, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (See Federal law enforcement chapter).

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

- African awareness sessions focusing on African history and culture;
- Communication programs including a newsletter and the radio show "Black Forum;"
- Basic services including clothing distribution, job referral, low-income housing, food stamps, fundraising and action against police brutality;

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

While the Sit-ins represented one socially significant uprising of black resistance, another more painful such watershed moment in Greensboro history was the so-called Dudley Revolt in May 1969, which occurred when school administrators refused to allow then-Dudley High School student Claude Barnes to take office as student government president.⁵⁸

Reference 30 - 0.02% Coverage

Looking back I can understand why people were threatened (by my platform). I looked at how Dudley was treated in comparison to Grimsley, (Ben L.) Smith, and Page. These were white schools. They had privileges that we didn't have ... tennis courts, stadiums, to leave campus for lunch, didn't have any 'enlightened dress code' like we had. You'd get kicked out of school for wearing Afros and dashikis, which was the popular way to express yourself at the time. I challenged all those things. At that time, we were raising issues about the curriculum and the content of the education. At that time, you know, students weren't supposed to raise questions about curriculum. We wanted to have some input in to the kinds of reading materials, especially in English class and History class. I presented problems.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

On the one hand, I think it was a good move to talk about bridging the gap and building these coalitions between workers, but I think people became too ideological and too wrapped up into other peoples' social revolutions and really did not appreciate their own grassroots history and struggle, their own unique struggle.

Reference 32 - 0.02% Coverage

The workplace is and has long been a central battlefield of economic, political and social conflict, woven through with tensions of class, race and power. The conditions, relationships and cultures established in the workplace influence all of our lives. The actions and aims of the Workers Viewpoint Organization leading up to Nov. 3, 1979, cannot be understood outside the broader history of labor in North Carolina and throughout the southeastern United States. This chapter looks at that history – at what issues propelled and influenced work and labor and union activism, what reactions organizers encountered from managers and workers, and, more

specifically, the actions and history of the WVO's union campaigns and how workers, the mills, other institutions and the broader community reacted to these campaigns.

Reference 33 - 0.02% Coverage

At the same time, some of America's most devastating anti-union violence has taken place in the South. As labor historian Bryant Simon points out, while proportionately fewer southerners than northerners joined unions, there is a clear history of Southern craft and industrial unionism, albeit with a dramatically different track record on strikes. "In the South (as opposed to the north), strike after strike in the biggest industries failed, and workers in these areas had trouble setting up permanent, strong unions."³

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

Communist-inspired trade unionism has a long genealogy in Southern labor history. Perhaps the most well-known organizing effort by a Communist-led union was in 1929 at Gastonia's Loray Mill. As Elizabeth Wheaton noted in "Codename Greenkil," this strike "pitted the same forces that collided fifty years later in Greensboro: militant labor organizers, the police, and anti-Communist vigilantes."¹⁷

Reference 35 - 0.03% Coverage

Older mill hands who could not keep up with the "stretch-out" were fired; even hands with jobs could not afford to feed their families. On July 14, 1934, a wildcat strike began in Guntersville, Ala., that eventually drew 20,000 workers out of the state's mills. When mill hands in North Carolina threatened to do the same, the United Textile Workers (UTW) called a convention and delegates there presented resolutions calling for a general strike. On Sept. 1, the AFL's United Textile Workers called a strike. Within two weeks, an estimated 400,000 textile workers had walked off their jobs, making the General Strike the largest single labor conflict in American history.²⁵ Roosevelt depended on the votes of Southern Democrats to pass his New Deal, and couldn't afford to alienate them by confronting the mill owners. After three weeks, workers began returning to their spinners. Within two months of the first walkout in Guntersville, the UTW formally cancelled the protest. Many strikers were fired and evicted from their mill homes. Others were blacklisted – barred from getting jobs anywhere in the South.²⁶

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

There were machine guns on the roofs of mills all over the south. The National Guard was mobilized in every single southern state and government and established power came down hard on the side of the mill owners and operators. And although that history and that memory was driven underground it was never forgotten and when you scratched the surface in conversations about the union with people who would say, "I don't need none of that union stuff," it came down to what happened in 1934.²⁷

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Levison, a lawyer who was one of King's trusted friends and advisers, had been a member of the CPUSA in the 1950s. However, as Taylor Branch writes in "Pillar of Fire," the second volume of his comprehensive history of the civil rights movement, Levison never acted as anything other than a counselor hoping for the success of the civil rights movement as its own exclusive agenda.³⁷

Reference 38 - 0.02% Coverage

As the largest private educational institution in the region, Duke University had a central role in these events. Northerners drawn to the university as students either brought their politics with them to North Carolina or became radicalized by the conditions they experienced in and outside academia. Southerners found new inspirations in innovative scholarship on the past, reshaping the way we see events, including the history of trade unionism. With the Vietnam war and opposition to it high, activism drew together students from different backgrounds and convinced many that their work could ignite real change.

Reference 39 - 0.02% Coverage

The 1972 union victory at Duke was short-lived. A well-known union-busting firm, Modern Management Methods, from Chicago hired by Duke conducted interviews, seminars and focus groups among supervisors that were meant to reverse the victory. As Karen Brodtkin Sacks has written in her history of the drive, Duke set out to "impede and if possible, defeat union efforts to obtain a showing of interest (signed authorization cards from 30 percent of the employees in an appropriate unit)," while also preparing for a union election.⁷⁷

Reference 40 - 0.02% Coverage

The history of communism in the United States is long, tangled, sometimes comical, often uplifting and ultimately frustrated. As early as 1921, there were already enough groups operating within the country to prompt Lenin and the Third (Communist) International, or Comintern, to order them to unite into a single organization, called the Communist Party of America. The Comintern also forced a change away from revolutionary militancy to working through established labor organizations and developing a mass following.⁸²

Reference 41 - 0.02% Coverage

Max Elbaum, a journalist and former Student for a Democratic Society (SDS) member, wrote in his history of the New Communist movement that the emergence of these groups was due to at least three major influences: an appetite for a disciplined, Leninist-style revolutionary vanguard party that would lead what was by then a mish-mash of student groups and personalities; the strong influence of the Black Panther Party, a centralized and highly disciplined group; and the irrelevance of the CPUSA, which failed to attract a new generation of young activists disillusioned with its rote defense of the Soviet Union.⁹¹

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the most effective spokespeople was Lacy Wright, a former Cone Mills worker who suffered from the disease. Like many other textile workers, Wright was not initially diagnosed with brown lung, but with emphysema and bronchitis. In 1975, Wright told interviewers with the Southern Oral History Program that he started work at twelve after quitting school. For 44 years, he did virtually every manual job available. But by the end of his career, he could hardly breathe or even see.¹¹⁰

Reference 43 - 0.02% Coverage

As Botsch writes in his history of the association, “a few of the doctors who volunteered their help at screening clinics were not so careful. One of them castigated those who attended a clinic for not being Communists, saying that he was speaking for the association. The organizers responded as quickly as they could: ‘We pulled him aside quickly and told him if he ever did that again we’d ... break his knees.’” Though Botsch did not name the doctors involved, the Charlotte Observer identified the doctor as Paul Bermanzohn.¹¹⁶

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

social development of capitalism. “I hadn’t even gotten to the history of the trade unions,” Jim told us, “when I looked up and the guy was halfway out of the room.”¹²¹

Reference 45 - 0.03% Coverage

At the same time, a parallel history of unhealthy working conditions, racial and gender discrimination and the resistance to organizers who worked to address these problems cannot be denied. The history of the labor movement nationally and, more specifically in North Carolina, to counter these problems provides an important backdrop for the events that led to Nov. 3, 1979.

The Workers Viewpoint Organization was but one group working in the state’s textile plants as part of a larger effort to change society in a way they believed would bring equality and justice to working class Americans, black and white. The WVO’s history and key personalities are critical layers to the story of what brought demonstrators to the march in Greensboro on Nov. 3, 1979. With the data available to us, we are unable to make a firm assessment on its size, or on its effectiveness in raising union membership or making changes in the workplace. However, it is clear that Cone management was concerned about the WVO’s activities and communicated with other Cone Mills and with the police about these concerns.

Reference 46 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson’s *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film

succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

The FBI was aware of Eddie Dawson's history of involvement in criminal racist violence yet they nevertheless used him as a paid "Probationary Racial Extremist" informant in the Klan from 1969 until 1976. He was, in fact, on parole for one such violent incident when he was first engaged as a paid informant. Dawson had been convicted of shooting into the home of people he suspected of "serving liquor to both black and white and [having] orgies."96

Reference 48 - 0.03% Coverage

The Commission is troubled, especially in these times, by the seeming wide berth given to investigating an activist based on his outspoken critique of government rather than criminal behavior. As Supreme Court Justice Lewis Franklin Powell Jr. wrote in 1972, "History abundantly documents the tendency of Government--however benevolent and benign its motives--to view with suspicion those who most fervently dispute its policies. [Constitutional] protections become the more necessary when the targets of official surveillance may be those suspected of unorthodoxy in their political beliefs. The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect 'domestic security.' Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent."98

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

The WVO recalls that they armed themselves for self-defense, with a keen awareness of the violent history of the Klan and the risk that the demonstrators faced by confronting them. Signe Waller recalls being nervous as they prepared:

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

[The Klan has] a history of cowardly violence. You've heard about Klan marches during the daytime, but you rarely heard about them doing things to people during the daytime. So I just didn't think China Grove was going to be what it turned out to be... A lot of people raise questions about that later, about how serious it was. And the whole question about the Klan. The role of the Klan and how they would respond... it became a small debate. 29

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Fliers were created that outline the bloody history of the Klan and declare, "Turn the other cheek? No Way! ... We are against non-violence and pacifism and for armed self- defense. We should beat the hell out of the Klan wherever we find them. These dogs have no right to exist!"55

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn't think anything against saying "Death to the Klan." That's an organization that I didn't want. 71

Reference 53 - 0.04% Coverage

It became part of the political offensive. You know, the second wave of attacks on us if you will. And it was quite effective I think—cause we were . . . Think of it, 25 years later we are still trying to let folks know that it is not right that people should be shot down in the street in broad daylight simply for what they believe. But they were able to get away with that—broad daylight, 4 TV stations, people get shot down and they get away with it. Full acquittals, two trials and they're still walking the streets – in part because they were able to marginalize the victims because of this name, because of this word that has been so toxified by the long process of attacks from the U.S. government on this word and this concept and what it really means. So it was a very significant thing whatever view you might have of it. It was really an important part of the whole story. But by no means the whole story for the reason it happened. The reason that this happened was because we had gotten good at pulling together the workers' movement. That's the reason that this happened. That's my view. And I think that's consistent with past incidents in North Carolina history and the history of the United States.79

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

From the GTRC's own experience, we know that the fear produced by the history of the Klan, and this event in particular, means that many in black working class communities, and especially former residents of Morningside, are still afraid to talk about this issue. For this reason, we acknowledge that there may well be others with viewpoints in support of the WVO/CWP who have not felt at liberty to come forward.

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to concerns that more violence could follow the shootings, city officials exhibited a great deal of concern over Greensboro's image in the national and international media. U.S. Rep. Richardson Preyer told members of the House just days following, that the violence of Nov. 3, 1979, "was entirely out of character for the Greensboro community. The city has had a proud history of nonviolent demonstrations during the civil rights era."12

Reference 56 - 0.03% Coverage

That behavior, as well as other factors including national CWP leader Jerry Tung's eulogy in which he referred to the five people who died as martyrs and urged a CWP 5 Enrollment Drive to honor their deaths, would foreshadow further difficulties the CWP would have in its attempts to work with other groups, both locally and nationally. We must make the deaths of the CWP 5 the

costliest deaths the U.S. bourgeoisie ever inflicted. We have learned to fight, and we will continue to fight, to deal more punishing and more deadly blows to the bourgeoisie. The proletarian revolution is the greatest struggle in human history. There is no other way for us to uplift our class to be the masters of our own society except to learn warfare through actual warfare. A bloodbath in the class struggle for the seizure of state power is inevitable. Active preparation in all forms of struggle, including military defensive armed struggle now is the only way to minimize our casualties in the upcoming bloodbath. Yes, in the final analysis, the practice of our party's correct and militant line, and indeed the party itself, can only be forged by blood – by sacrificing the most sacred of all things – our lives.⁵⁶

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

Wise also remembers the mobilization for the Feb. 2, 1980, rally as an important point in history.⁶² Making it happen was an organizing effort rife with challenges, including the opposition of City leaders, who Wise said were trying to paint a different view of race relations and so wanted to keep people from protesting this violence.⁶³

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

In not taking seriously the Citizens Review Committee's findings that city officials were viewed as "defensive," "out of touch," "repressive" and "insensitive" to many in the community, the city leadership has been doomed to repeat that history, which was evident at the start of the truth and reconciliation process.

Reference 59 - 0.02% Coverage

(T)his particular transaction in my part of the country has created a deep sense of grief and a considerable sense of perplexity. There is unquestionably profound local dissatisfaction among some on the outcome of the State criminal prosecution. There is beyond that, in my opinion, an honorable sense of quandary as to what appears to be at least a current inadequacy of federal response. Now I measure my words. It appears to be. We have ultimately to trust those in federal office. But the circumstance, the history, the germaneness of these statutes, the irony of their caption as the Ku Klux Klan Act, all suggest to me as an attorney and citizen that this is one of those instances where the Government should be at its greatest aggressive, its most concern to do justice and to appear to do justice.

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

The evidence supporting the claims of FBI prior knowledge of violence and the attempted concealment of this fact is substantial, and we make findings to this effect elsewhere in this report. Certainly a strong case has also been made for the animosity toward Nelson Johnson in particular and could be made for animosity toward Communist groups in general, given the history of FBI actions to undermine and

Reference 61 - 0.03% Coverage

The Carolina Peacemaker's negative perspective toward the KKK built upon a history of violence against blacks, which might lead us to believe that terms like massacre and murder used in early headlines would dominate their continued coverage. We found that not to be the case. Instead, the weekly newspaper adopted an approach that questioned police and government action in contributing yet another chapter to the history of tension between the African American and law enforcement communities. In doing so, the newsweekly used primarily neutral labels to describe Nov. 3, 1979. In the 146 stories examined, 55 percent of the time the words selected to describe the event were shootings, incident, violence, shooting deaths, tragedy, or rally/demonstration. To a lesser degree, amounting to 36 percent of the time, the newspaper did indeed use words such as murder, killings, slayings, and massacre.¹⁷

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

4. The march and its aftermath were part of Greensboro's civil rights history

Reference 63 - 0.02% Coverage

As civil rights historian Timothy Tyson told the GTRC, refusing to acknowledge painful chapters in our histories "is like hiding the empty pie plate and wondering why you got fat." Greensboro proceeded without pause, without self reflection, laying blame for the tragedy outside itself. The media did not make this so, but to the extent that it did not press the issues by using its resources to highlight the underlying currents and struggles, it too, missed the opportunity to prompt the kind of substantive changes that could bring about a stronger, healthier city.

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 67 - 0.02% Coverage

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.

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

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:

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

is remembered as an event outside of history that seems to have no deep connection to was a shootout between two extremist fringe groups, the Klan and the Communists,

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 71 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps taken to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step toward repair. This section also includes measures to incorporate the information about Nov. 3, 1979, into the city's official history and collective memory, attend to the second generation of survivors, promote dialogue and commemorate what happened.

a. The City should formally recognize that the events of Nov. 3, 1979, provided a tragic, but important occasion in our city's history; it should make a proclamation that lifts up the importance of that date in the history of the city.

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance

of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 73 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process –and our own struggle to hear and understand each other– had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

- the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence;

Reference 75 - 0.03% Coverage

Further the Klan and Nazis who were in the caravan backed up violent language with violent actions. For example, there were criminal convictions for shooting into a home reportedly serving liquor to both blacks and whites in Alamance County, conspiring to blow up a union hall in Cherryville, organizing paramilitary training camps for inciting a race war, and planning to blow up a gas storage facility in Greensboro. There also were admissions of breaking the legs of a black man who was living with a white woman and talking about blowing up “race mixing” clubs and bookstores, and burning crosses on the lawns of blacks who had moved into white neighborhoods. In contrast, the most violent documented acts of the WVO/CWP were to engage in target shooting and karate training. Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 76 - 0.03% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis’ propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, even after intelligence briefings that the Klan and

Nazis intended to come to Greensboro to have revenge for a nearly physical confrontation with the CWP, police planners were more concerned about Nelson Johnson's "history of inciting riots." As Capt Gibson put it, "There was nothing in those (intelligence) briefings (about the Klan and Nazis plans) that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 77 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

continue the analysis and discussions. The real test of a healthy community is the ability to take a hard look at its history, practices and policies with an eye to change those things that are flawed. I hope that the Commission has helped to facilitate this and that the city as whole will look at the recommendations offered and come up with additional recommendations.

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

20s, this two-year journey of truth and reconciliation in my 40s chose me. I knew little about the history and the politics of Nov. 3, 1979, at the time, but was motivated by a belief that true service ought to happen in immediate and real communities.

Reference 80 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 81 - 0.02% Coverage

Part of this double consciousness also includes the sorrow from knowing that most people and communities, especially people in power, would have a blind spot when it came to these truths. It has taken me two years of work in this TRC process to see that the blind spot is caused by a lack of awareness and understanding of the history of people of color. What in the past was

celebration, conquest, entrepreneurship and adventure for white communities now translates to indescribable loss of property, culture, language, lifestyle, values and self-respect for people of color.

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

After such an exercise, both white and black teachers agree that the race can never be equal because of the history of the race. After such an understanding, troubling current realities like the achievement gap, the disproportionate suspensions of black males, the disproportionate labeling of minorities, the school to prison pipeline, etc. all seem like natural consequences to a system built on unfairness and injustice.

Reference 83 - 0.02% Coverage

No reasonable person will deny that shortcomings permeate the law. We have too many examples from our history to list them all, from the Jim Crow laws of the past, the lack of equal protection of the law for African Americans in schooling to the more recent laws that made it permissible for trial counsel to exclude African Americans from a jury because of their race, as was the case in the first trial for capital murder. In that trial the prosecution had accepted 31 African Americans for jury duty. But the defense dismissed them probably because of their race by using its 84 peremptory challenges leaving an all white jury. This was entirely legal at the time. This shortcoming was not corrected until the U.S. Supreme court handed down the Batson case in 1986.

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

Educate about the history of slavery because we all live with the consequences of slavery.

Reference 85 - 0.02% Coverage

I first came to Greensboro in the early 1960's in order to attend Greensboro College. It was a time of great upheaval as the city, and indeed the entire nation, was struggling to come to terms with a long history of racial oppression. For a young idealist, it was an exciting time to be in Greensboro. I not only received a first rate education here, but I also formed many of my most cherished ideals in the halls of academia, in the streets of the city, and in the various churches of the city where I worked in one as choir director, another as youth minister, and yet a third as janitor.

Reference 86 - 0.03% Coverage

The report to the community from the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the product of two years of hard work. The seven commissioners took our Mandate seriously, and if we seemed to wander a bit at times, Bob Peters, one of our co-chairs, would remind us of the Mandate. We took our charge to be: to review all facts we could obtain from all sources, to ask the public for their recollections of Nov. 3, 1979, to try to reach all people directly and indirectly involved with the slayings, and, finally, to examine the aftermath. In the process we were to look

for the history behind it. This led us to examine what was happening in the nation and its reflection in Greensboro. Then we examined the actual causes. What were the conditions in Greensboro for many of its citizens? At the same time we were looking for the sequence of events and the consequences of that fateful day.

Reference 87 - 0.02% Coverage

in our effort to arrive at as fair and balanced a statement as we could, one that would express our conclusions based on what we had learned. Sometimes this took hours. It was grueling but with much thought and focus we made it. Every section taught me something about the people of Greensboro and their characters, about Greensboro history, and about the history of the many efforts made to achieve better lives for our neighbors. Most of all I have been thinking about the nature of humanity. I have seen once again our propensity to accept a popular stance (for example, that all black leaders are communist and all Communists are bad) without giving it our own critical thinking.

Reference 88 - 0.02% Coverage

1968 April 9th, 1000 people gather at Trinity A.M.E Zion Church, and found the Citizens Emergency Committee (CEC) which demands the appointment of Blacks to important policymaking posts, especially the Board of Health, the Alcoholic Beverages Commission, the Draft Board, the Airport Authority, and the Housing Authority. It also requests enactment of an open-housing ordinance, stronger building-code enforcements, enlightened police practices, enactment of a ward system, the development of Negro history curriculum in public schools, and more frequent appointment of blacks to municipal and school administrations.

Reference 89 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.

Reference 90 - 0.02% Coverage

We envision the commission engaging the questions of: What happened? How did it happen? Why did it happen? And, how can we learn from this episode of our history so as not only to prevent such occurrences in the future, but also to transform this tragedy into triumph for truth and good will? The findings of the commission will serve as the basis for a six to twelve month community discussion that will constructively engage the confusion, division, and bitter feelings related to that event and hopefully lead to greater reconciliation and to proposals for restorative justice.

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

All Greensboro College Institutions should create a mandatory “Greensboro History” class for all freshmen to take. That way they are informed from the get-go about all that’s happened.

Reference 92 - 0.02% Coverage

The events of November 3, 1979, have been denied, distorted, and/or confused for 26 years. This reflects a cultural phenomenon of evasion, denial, and unwillingness to face the flaws within ourselves, our community story and national history. The confusion, denial and distortion so deeply ingrained in our thinking prevents us from envisioning a true alternative, vibrant, just and inclusive community. We believe, therefore, we must seek creative ways to promote the broadest possible discussion of the events of November 3 and the related thinking associated with this history.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Diversity and history education for police and other elected officials (e.g. racism prevention, etc.)

History Child Node References

The following section contains history references from the US report organized by the child nodes outlined in History Coding for the US Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

Civil Rights

References or discussions of civil rights or the civil rights movement

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

and secondary schools about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

I also learned—have come to understand Greensboro’s place in history—if you want to make a statement in race relations, you don’t go to Atlanta, you don’t go to Baltimore, you don’t go to Richmond—you go to Selma [Alabama], you go to Birmingham, you go to Greensboro, and you go to Memphis. You’ll find towns who have been historically represented in civil rights progress and history, that’s where you go to make your demonstration or make your statement. And Greensboro will always be a place, in my opinion, where the Klan comes to march, and where the black students at A&T (North Carolina A&T State University), and the other civil rights organizations decide to make their stand and make their pitch. That, from the historical presence, is where Greensboro pretty much has been since the 60s.²³

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

From the momentum of the very active, largely unified activism of the ’60s, a major change had occurred by as early as 1970, with ideologies competing against one another. Where Marxists aimed to break down the extreme class divisions that left great economic inequities, they were criticized for being overly theoretical and introspective. Cultural Nationalists, on the other hand, believed in a common cultural base derived from a shared history despite economic divisions, but were criticized for being idealistic in their hope of unifying Africans and African Americans. The progression from Black Power to Pan-Africanism was a broadening in scope from the regional view to the global African experience, connecting and identifying with liberation movements on the African continent, including those driven by socialist and Marxist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou Toure in Guinea and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

In Greensboro, activists working in the 1970s through groups including GAPP, SOBU and YOBU had behind them a history of grassroots action and organizational connections that stretched back to the pivotal moment in 1960 when four freshmen at N.C. A&T State University began a movement that changed the nation. There also was a history of government surveillance and deliberate interference in these efforts, both locally and through federal programs such as COINTELPRO, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (See Federal law enforcement chapter). Sit-Ins: "I made a

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

While the Sit-ins represented one socially significant uprising of black resistance, another more painful such watershed moment in Greensboro history was the so-called Dudley Revolt in May 1969, which occurred when school administrators refused to allow then-Dudley High School student Claude Barnes to take office as student government president.⁵⁸

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

The workplace is and has long been a central battlefield of economic, political and social conflict, woven through with tensions of class, race and power. The conditions, relationships and cultures established in the workplace influence all of our lives. The actions and aims of the Workers Viewpoint Organization leading up to Nov. 3, 1979, cannot be understood outside the broader history of labor in North Carolina and throughout the southeastern United States. This chapter looks at that history – at what issues propelled and influenced work and labor and union activism, what reactions organizers encountered from managers and workers, and, more specifically, the actions and history of the WVO's union campaigns and how workers, the mills, other institutions and the broader community reacted to these campaigns.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

At the same time, some of America's most devastating anti-union violence has taken place in the South. As labor historian Bryant Simon points out, while proportionately fewer southerners than northerners joined unions, there is a clear history of Southern craft and industrial unionism, albeit with a dramatically different track record on strikes. "In the South (as opposed to the north), strike after strike in the biggest industries failed, and workers in these areas had trouble setting up permanent, strong unions."³

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Communist-inspired trade unionism has a long genealogy in Southern labor history. Perhaps the most well-known organizing effort by a Communist-led union was in 1929 at Gastonia's Loray Mill. As Elizabeth Wheaton noted in "Codename Greenkil," this strike "pitted the same forces that collided fifty years later in Greensboro: militant labor organizers, the police, and anti-Communist vigilantes."¹⁷

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

Older mill hands who could not keep up with the “stretch-out” were fired; even hands with jobs could not afford to feed their families. On July 14, 1934, a wildcat strike began in Guntersville, Ala., that eventually drew 20,000 workers out of the state’s mills. When mill hands in North Carolina threatened to do the same, the United Textile Workers (UTW) called a convention and delegates there presented resolutions calling for a general strike. On Sept. 1, the AFL’s United Textile Workers called a strike. Within two weeks, an estimated 400,000 textile workers had walked off their jobs, making the General Strike the largest single labor conflict in American history.²⁵ Roosevelt depended on the votes of Southern Democrats to pass his New Deal, and couldn’t afford to alienate them by confronting the mill owners. After three weeks, workers began returning to their spinners. Within two months of the first walkout in Guntersville, the UTW formally cancelled the protest. Many strikers were fired and evicted from their mill homes. Others were blacklisted – barred from getting jobs anywhere in the South.²⁶

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

There were machine guns on the roofs of mills all over the south. The National Guard was mobilized in every single southern state and government and established power came down hard on the side of the mill owners and operators. And although that history and that memory was driven underground it was never forgotten and when you scratched the surface in conversations about the union with people who would say, “I don’t need none of that union stuff,” it came down to what happened in 1934.²⁷

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Levison, a lawyer who was one of King’s trusted friends and advisers, had been a member of the CPUSA in the 1950s. However, as Taylor Branch writes in “Pillar of Fire,” the second volume of his comprehensive history of the civil rights movement, Levison never acted as anything other than a counselor hoping for the success of the civil rights movement as its own exclusive agenda.³⁷

Reference 12 - 0.02% Coverage

As the largest private educational institution in the region, Duke University had a central role in these events. Northerners drawn to the university as students either brought their politics with them to North Carolina or became radicalized by the conditions they experienced in and outside academia. Southerners found new inspirations in innovative scholarship on the past, reshaping the way we see events, including the history of trade unionism. With the Vietnam war and opposition to it high, activism drew together students from different backgrounds and convinced many that their work could ignite real change.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

The 1972 union victory at Duke was short-lived. A well-known union-busting firm, Modern Management Methods, from Chicago hired by Duke conducted interviews, seminars and focus groups among supervisors that were meant to reverse the victory. As Karen Brodtkin Sacks has written in her history of the drive, Duke set out to “impede and if possible, defeat union efforts to obtain a showing of interest (signed authorization cards from 30 percent of the employees in an appropriate unit),” while also preparing for a union election.⁷⁷

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

The history of communism in the United States is long, tangled, sometimes comical, often uplifting and ultimately frustrated. As early as 1921, there were already enough groups operating within the country to prompt Lenin and the Third (Communist) International, or Comintern, to order them to unite into a single organization, called the Communist Party of America. The Comintern also forced a change away from revolutionary militancy to working through established labor organizations and developing a mass following.⁸²

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

Max Elbaum, a journalist and former Student for a Democratic Society (SDS) member, wrote in his history of the New Communist movement that the emergence of these groups was due to at least three major influences: an appetite for a disciplined, Leninist-style revolutionary vanguard party that would lead what was by then a mish-mash of student groups and personalities; the strong influence of the Black Panther Party, a centralized and highly disciplined group; and the irrelevance of the CPUSA, which failed to attract a new generation of young activists disillusioned with its rote defense of the Soviet Union.⁹¹

Reference 16 - 0.03% Coverage

At the same time, a parallel history of unhealthy working conditions, racial and gender discrimination and the resistance to organizers who worked to address these problems cannot be denied. The history of the labor movement nationally and, more specifically in North Carolina, to counter these problems provides an important backdrop for the events that led to Nov. 3, 1979.

The Workers Viewpoint Organization was but one group working in the state’s textile plants as part of a larger effort to change society in a way they believed would bring equality and justice to working class Americans, black and white. The WVO’s history and key personalities are critical layers to the story of what brought demonstrators to the march in Greensboro on Nov. 3, 1979. With the data available to us, we are unable to make a firm assessment on its size, or on its effectiveness in raising union membership or making changes in the workplace. However, it is clear that Cone management was concerned about the WVO’s activities and communicated with other Cone Mills and with the police about these concerns.

The key players in the S

Reference 17 - 0.03% Coverage

The Commission is troubled, especially in these times, by the seeming wide berth given to investigating an activist based on his outspoken critique of government rather than criminal behavior. As Supreme Court Justice Lewis Franklin Powell Jr. wrote in 1972, “History abundantly documents the tendency of Government--however benevolent and benign its motives--to view with suspicion those who most fervently dispute its policies. [Constitutional] protections become the more necessary when the targets of official surveillance may be those suspected of unorthodoxy in their political beliefs. The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect ‘domestic security.’ Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent.”⁹⁸

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to concerns that more violence could follow the shootings, city officials exhibited a great deal of concern over Greensboro’s image in the national and international media. U.S. Rep. Richardson Preyer told members of the House just days following, that the violence of Nov. 3, 1979, “was entirely out of character for the Greensboro community. The city has had a proud history of nonviolent demonstrations during the civil rights era.”¹²

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Wise also remembers the mobilization for the Feb. 2, 1980, rally as an important point in history.⁶² Making it happen was an organizing effort rife with challenges, including the opposition of City leaders, who Wise said were trying to paint a different view of race relations and so wanted to keep people from protesting this violence.⁶³

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

4. The march and its aftermath were part of Greensboro’s civil rights history

Reference 21 - 0.02% Coverage

As civil rights historian Timothy Tyson told the GTRC, refusing to acknowledge painful chapters in our histories “is like hiding the empty pie plate and wondering why you got fat.” Greensboro proceeded without pause, without self reflection, laying blame for the tragedy outside itself. The media did not make this so, but to the extent that it did not press the issues by using its resources to highlight the underlying currents and struggles, it too, missed the opportunity to prompt the kind of substantive changes that could bring about a stronger, healthier city.

Colonialism

References or discussions of colonialism, including slavery, white supremacy etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 9 references coded [0.21% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.08% Coverage

Our Mandate reads: “In addition to exploring questions of institutional and individual responsibility for what happened, as a necessary part of the truth-seeking process we urge the Commission to look deeply into the root causes and historical context of the events of November 3, 1979.” We affirm this instruction. To look at the events of Nov. 3, 1979, without an understanding of its context and causes would not contribute to the “truth” of the event. Although this report will clarify many rumors and misinformation that have been perpetuated for the last 26 years, for the most part, Greensboro residents who have any interest already know many of the facts of the sequence of events of Nov. 3, 1979. Three court trials and hundreds of newspaper articles, films and other media portrayals have contributed to a large body of knowledge about the actual events. The greatest value in our report, we believe, is placing this information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the “truth.”

That said, the mandate to examine the context, causes and consequence of the events is a broad one and we have been challenged to decide how to limit these otherwise boundless terms. Which context is the relevant one to highlight? What time periods and what events in history most usefully illustrate how and why Nov.3 unfolded as it did? This definition of the lenses through which to view the tragedy is by nature subjective, and different authors may have chosen different contexts to reveal. Ours is but one among a multitude of interpretations.

In order to focus our task, we asked ourselves, “Who played the biggest roles on Nov. 3, 1979?” and “What influenced these people to act as they did?” Different players had different roles at different points in the story, but we investigated the roles of the WVO/CWP, the Klan and Nazis, local and federal law enforcement, the city government of Greensboro, the residents of the Morningside community and local media. We attempted to look at how these groups operated in relation to each other both as groups of institutions, as well as the interacting roles of key individuals. In choosing our timeframe, we have chosen largely to limit our examination to local events occurring within the lifetime of most of those involved in the confrontation on Nov. 3, 1979. But because historical events at larger scales often figure prominently in community consciousness, we have also examined key events that loom large in collective memory such as the importance of the United States’ history of Constitutional rights, slavery, white supremacy, key labor or civil rights organizing efforts and geopolitical conflicts.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Often the truth of what happened in an ugly chapter of history may be in large part already known, and it is the acknowledgement of the truth that is lacking. We believe that the unacknowledged “elephant in the room” that continues to haunt social relations in Greensboro is the role of race. In the experience of the black community, survival in a dominant white culture means that race and racism are always present and therefore always in question.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

The workplace is and has long been a central battlefield of economic, political and social conflict, woven through with tensions of class, race and power. The conditions, relationships and cultures established in the workplace influence all of our lives. The actions and aims of the Workers Viewpoint Organization leading up to Nov. 3, 1979, cannot be understood outside the broader history of labor in North Carolina and throughout the southeastern United States. This chapter looks at that history – at what issues propelled and influenced work and labor and union activism, what reactions organizers encountered from managers and workers, and, more specifically, the actions and history of the WVO’s union campaigns and how workers, the mills, other institutions and the broader community reacted to these campaigns.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson’s *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

The Carolina Peacemaker’s negative perspective toward the KKK built upon a history of violence against blacks, which might lead us to believe that terms like massacre and murder used in early headlines would dominate their continued coverage. We found that not to be the case. Instead, the weekly newspaper adopted an approach that questioned police and government action in contributing yet another chapter to the history of tension between the African American and law enforcement communities. In doing so, the newsweekly used primarily neutral labels to describe Nov. 3, 1979. In the 146 stories examined, 55 percent of the time the words selected to describe the event were shootings, incident, violence, shooting deaths, tragedy, or rally/demonstration. To a lesser degree, amounting to 36 percent of the time, the newspaper did indeed use words such as murder, killings, slayings, and massacre.¹⁷

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

No reasonable person will deny that shortcomings permeate the law. We have too many examples from our history to list them all, from the Jim Crow laws of the past, the lack of equal protection of the law for African Americans in schooling to the more recent laws that made it permissible for trial counsel to exclude African Americans from a jury because of their race, as was the case in the first trial for capital murder. In that trial the prosecution had accepted 31 African Americans for jury duty. But the defense dismissed them probably because of their race by using its 84 peremptory challenges leaving an all white jury. This was entirely legal at the time. This shortcoming was not corrected until the U.S. Supreme court handed down the Batson case in 1986.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Educate about the history of slavery because we all live with the consequences of slavery.

Commemorate

References or discussions of commemoration, memory, heritage, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 8 references coded [0.13% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step toward repair. This section also includes measures to incorporate the information about Nov. 3, 1979, into the city's official history and collective memory, attend to the second generation of survivors, promote dialogue and commemorate what happened.

a. The City should formally recognize that the events of Nov. 3, 1979, provided a tragic, but important occasion in our city's history; it should make a proclamation that lifts up the importance of that date in the history of the city.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

and secondary schools about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps taken to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step

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Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

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Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

healed to improve their community.

Educate about the history of slavery because we all live with the consequences of slavery.

As part of this educational

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

All Greensboro College Institutions should create a mandatory "Greensboro History" class for all freshmen to take. That way they are informed from the get-go about all that's happened.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

The events of November 3, 1979, have been denied, distorted, and/or confused for 26 years. This reflects a cultural phenomenon of evasion, denial, and unwillingness to face the flaws within ourselves, our community story and national history. The confusion, denial and distortion so deeply ingrained in our thinking prevents us from envisioning a true alternative, vibrant, just and inclusive community. We believe, therefore, we must seek creative ways to promote the broadest possible discussion of the events of November 3 and the related thinking associated with this history.

Double Standard

References or discussions of double standards for white and black populations in the US

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 5 references coded [0.10% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

Looking back I can understand why people were threatened (by my platform). I looked at how Dudley was treated in comparison to Grimsley, (Ben L.) Smith, and Page. These were white schools. They had privileges that we didn't have ... tennis courts, stadiums, to leave campus for lunch, didn't have any 'enlightened dress code' like we had. You'd get kicked out of school for wearing Afros and dashikis, which was the popular way to express yourself at the time. I challenged all those things. At that time, we were raising issues about the curriculum and the content of the education. At that time, you know, students weren't supposed to raise questions about curriculum. We wanted to have some input in to the kinds of reading materials, especially in English class and History class. I presented problems.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn't think anything against saying "Death to the Klan." That's an organization that I didn't want. 71

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

In not taking seriously the Citizens Review Committee's findings that city officials were viewed as "defensive," "out of touch," "repressive" and "insensitive" to many in the community, the city leadership has been doomed to repeat that history, which was evident at the start of the truth and reconciliation process.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, even after intelligence briefings that the Klan and Nazis intended to come to Greensboro to have revenge for a nearly physical confrontation with the CWP, police planners were more concerned about Nelson Johnson's "history of inciting riots." As Capt Gibson put it, "There was nothing in those (intelligence) briefings (about the Klan and Nazis plans) that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

One positive legacy of Nov

Education

References or discussions of education, curriculum, or the teaching of history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 13 references coded [0.19% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

and secondary schools about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 2 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process — and our own struggle to hear and understand each other — had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

- African awareness sessions focusing on African history and culture;
- Communication programs including a newsletter and the radio show “Black Forum;”
- Basic services including clothing distribution, job referral, low-income housing, food stamps, fundraising and action against police brutality;

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

Looking back I can understand why people were threatened (by my platform). I looked at how Dudley was treated in comparison to Grimsley, (Ben L.) Smith, and Page. These were white schools. They had privileges that we didn’t have ... tennis courts, stadiums, to leave campus for lunch, didn’t have any ‘enlightened dress code’ like we had. You’d get kicked out of school for wearing Afros and dashikis, which was the popular way to express yourself at the time. I

challenged all those things. At that time, we were raising issues about the curriculum and the content of the education. At that time, you know, students weren't supposed to raise questions about curriculum. We wanted to have some input in to the kinds of reading materials, especially in English class and History class. I presented problems.

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

As the largest private educational institution in the region, Duke University had a central role in these events. Northerners drawn to the university as students either brought their politics with them to North Carolina or became radicalized by the conditions they experienced in and outside academia. Southerners found new inspirations in innovative scholarship on the past, reshaping the way we see events, including the history of trade unionism. With the Vietnam war and opposition to it high, activism drew together students from different backgrounds and convinced many that their work could ignite real change.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

After such an exercise, both white and black teachers agree that the race can never be equal because of the history of the race. After such an understanding, troubling current realities like the achievement gap, the disproportionate suspensions of black males, the disproportionate labeling of minorities, the school to prison pipeline, etc. all seem like natural consequences to a system built on unfairness and injustice.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Educate about the history of slavery because we all live with the consequences of slavery.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

I first came to Greensboro in the early 1960's in order to attend Greensboro College. It was a time of great upheaval as the city, and indeed the entire nation, was struggling to come to terms with a long history of racial oppression. For a young idealist, it was an exciting time to be in Greensboro. I not only received a first rate education here, but I also formed many of my most cherished ideals in the halls of academia, in the streets of the city, and in the various churches of the city where I worked in one as choir director, another as youth minister, and yet a third as janitor.

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

1968 April 9th, 1000 people gather at Trinity A.M.E Zion Church, and found the Citizens Emergency Committee (CEC) which demands the appointment of Blacks to important policymaking posts, especially the Board of Health, the Alcoholic Beverages Commission, the Draft Board, the Airport Authority, and the Housing Authority. It also requests enactment of an open-housing ordinance, stronger building-code enforcements, enlightened police practices, enactment of a ward system, the development of Negro history curriculum in public schools, and more frequent appointment of blacks to municipal and school administrations.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

All Greensboro College Institutions should create a mandatory "Greensboro History" class for all freshmen to take. That way they are informed from the get-go about all that's happened.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Diversity and history education for police and other elected officials (e.g. racism prevention, etc.)

Human Rights

References or discussions of human rights or human rights violations

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded [0.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

assessment of the measures needed.

We believe that there is a right to information – a right to the truth about Nov. 3, 1979, and its causes and aftermath – that we as citizens of a community and a nation should continue to protect and honor. We find that there is an accompanying duty to remember not only the good in our history, but our moments of shame, so that we might learn from them and seek to do better by our community in the future.²⁴ The United States often sees itself as being free from the kinds of human rights abuses that are usually brought to light when nations emerge from conflict or repressive rule. But we believe that it is important to recognize that impunity and injustice also exist at home.

We hope that our modest examination of a difficult chapter of Greensboro's history and how those events shape the community today may serve as a profound and timely reminder of the importance of facing shameful events honestly and acknowledging the brutal consequences of political spin, calculated blindness and passive ignorance. While the GTRC recognizes the differences between Greensboro's history and the abuses addressed by other truth commissions, we share a common aspiration: that the truth about the past will help us build a better, more just and more inclusive future.

Invoking Others

References or discussions of other countries and their histories

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 8 references coded [0.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

chose not to look back as it emerged from civil war and the Franco dictatorship that followed – grandchildren of victims are now pressing to fill the gaps in the nation’s official history, which skips over massive abuses and systematic crimes. In addition, Canada’s government recently acknowledged the need to document the truth and make reparations to survivors of the Indian Residential School system that forcibly removed aboriginal children from their homes, family and culture and subjected them to physical and sexual abuse during a hundred-year period spanning the 19th

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

From 1974, when what is believed to be the first truth commission was empaneled in Uganda, through 2005, about 40 such commissions have gathered testimonies from victims and witnesses, perpetrators and bystanders, and have reviewed written accounts and other evidence. Through their reports, these truth commissions have – with greater and lesser degrees of success – rendered insightful and more honest narratives about violent events in their nations’ histories.¹ From these experiences, we can make some general statements about truth commissions.²

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

All of these truth commissions — whether official or unofficial, whether they emerge in new democracies or well-established ones — tell a version of history that includes the victims’ experiences and voices, recognizes their humanity and rights, and seeks to come to terms with abuse in all of its many dimensions. Truth commissions can help overcome false assumptions and myths about the past and identify policies and systematic practices at the heart of abuses. Often, governments claim that torture, for example, was the work of “a few bad apples” in the security forces. This was former President F.W. De Klerk’s contention in South Africa, but his version of history was untenable in the face of thousands of cases heard by the TRC that demonstrated otherwise.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

In this way, truth commissions can help societies come to terms with how such a thing could happen and what must change in order to avoid similar abuses in the future. In Guatemala, the Commission of Historical Clarification explored a long history of marginalization of the indigenous population as part of the context that explained its finding that the Guatemalan state forces had committed genocide against the Mayan population in specific parts of the country.¹² The political elites in Guatemala have, for the most part, not yet acknowledged this conclusion, but genocide is now an accepted part of the debate about the past.

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

We believe it is important to reflect a moment on the important truth-seeking precedents that exist in the United States. We did not have the opportunity or the time to meet with people from all the various experiences in this country, but we have been inspired by many of them and pay tribute here to the spirit of truth-seeking wherever it lives in this country. These valuable precedents are reminders to us that we must learn from the violent history that has been so often ignored, denied or distorted in the United States.

One of the examples that investigated an important part of North Carolina's history is the Wilmington Race Riot Commission. This state-sponsored commission examined the events of 1898 in which white racist groups ousted a "fusionist" government that included African Americans, and brought a fury of violent hatred down on the city of Wilmington, burning out a newspaper run by an African-American man who had to flee the city for his life, killing a number of black citizens and changing the political scenery in the state for decades to come. This commission's report was published in draft form in December 2005.¹⁷

Reference 6 - 0.02% Coverage

devastation were examined by historical commissions studying the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921¹⁸ and the events in Rosewood, Fla., in 1923. Each of these was an official body charged with examining events and creating a historical record that would break through the one-sided history that previously had been considered "the official story." All of these commissions were asked to formulate recommendations, including some measure of reparations for those affected. They differ from the GTRC and from most other truth commissions because of the length of time that has passed since the events at the heart of their investigations, but they share our concern with revealing the ways in which racism and violence, economic privilege and social class, have converged to tear apart African-American communities in particular.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Ubuntu, from the South African lexicon, refers to "humaneness, or an inclusive sense of community valuing everyone." Minow, Martha, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History After Genocide and Mass*

Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

From the momentum of the very active, largely unified activism of the '60s, a major change had occurred by as early as 1970, with ideologies competing against one another. Where Marxists aimed to break down the extreme class divisions that left great economic inequities, they were criticized for being overly theoretical and introspective. Cultural Nationalists, on the other hand, believed in a common cultural base derived from a shared history despite economic divisions, but were criticized for being idealistic in their hope of unifying Africans and African Americans. The progression from Black Power to Pan-Africanism was a broadening in scope from the regional view to the global African experience, connecting and identifying with liberation movements on the African continent, including those driven by socialist and Marxist leaders

such as Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou Toure in Guinea and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Legacy

References or discussions of legacy, effects and lasting impacts of historical violence and systems of oppression

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 17 references coded [0.33% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Finally, the fear produced by the history of the Klan and this event and its aftermath in particular means that many in black working-class communities, and especially former residents of Morningside, are still afraid to talk about this issue. For this reason there may well be other viewpoints in support of the WVO held by people who have not felt at liberty to speak.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process — and our own struggle to hear and understand each other — had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

In this way, truth commissions can help societies come to terms with how such a thing could happen and what must change in order to avoid similar abuses in the future. In Guatemala, the Commission of Historical Clarification explored a long history of marginalization of the

indigenous population as part of the context that explained its finding that the Guatemalan state forces had committed genocide against the Mayan population in specific parts of the country.¹² The political elites in Guatemala have, for the most part, not yet acknowledged this conclusion, but genocide is now an accepted part of the debate about the past.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

- African awareness sessions focusing on African history and culture;
- Communication programs including a newsletter and the radio show “Black Forum;”
- Basic services including clothing distribution, job referral, low-income housing, food stamps, fundraising and action against police brutality;

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

Older mill hands who could not keep up with the “stretch-out” were fired; even hands with jobs could not afford to feed their families. On July 14, 1934, a wildcat strike began in Guntersville, Ala., that eventually drew 20,000 workers out of the state’s mills. When mill hands in North Carolina threatened to do the same, the United Textile Workers (UTW) called a convention and delegates there presented resolutions calling for a general strike. On Sept. 1, the AFL’s United Textile Workers called a strike. Within two weeks, an estimated 400,000 textile workers had walked off their jobs, making the General Strike the largest single labor conflict in American history.²⁵ Roosevelt depended on the votes of Southern Democrats to pass his New Deal, and couldn’t afford to alienate them by confronting the mill owners. After three weeks, workers began returning to their spinners. Within two months of the first walkout in Guntersville, the UTW formally cancelled the protest. Many strikers were fired and evicted from their mill homes. Others were blacklisted – barred from getting jobs anywhere in the South.²⁶

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

One of the most effective spokespeople was Lacy Wright, a former Cone Mills worker who suffered from the disease. Like many other textile workers, Wright was not initially diagnosed with brown lung, but with emphysema and bronchitis. In 1975, Wright told interviewers with the Southern Oral History Program that he started work at twelve after quitting school. For 44 years, he did virtually every manual job available. But by the end of his career, he could hardly breathe or even see.¹¹⁰

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson’s *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film

succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 9 - 0.03% Coverage

The Commission is troubled, especially in these times, by the seeming wide berth given to investigating an activist based on his outspoken critique of government rather than criminal behavior. As Supreme Court Justice Lewis Franklin Powell Jr. wrote in 1972, “History abundantly documents the tendency of Government--however benevolent and benign its motives--to view with suspicion those who most fervently dispute its policies. [Constitutional] protections become the more necessary when the targets of official surveillance may be those suspected of unorthodoxy in their political beliefs. The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect ‘domestic security.’ Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent.”⁹⁸

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn’t think anything against saying “Death to the Klan.” That’s an organization that I didn’t want. ⁷¹

Reference 11 - 0.03% Coverage

The Carolina Peacemaker’s negative perspective toward the KKK built upon a history of violence against blacks, which might lead us to believe that terms like massacre and murder used in early headlines would dominate their continued coverage. We found that not to be the case. Instead, the weekly newspaper adopted an approach that questioned police and government action in contributing yet another chapter to the history of tension between the African American and law enforcement communities. In doing so, the newsweekly used primarily neutral labels to describe Nov. 3, 1979. In the 146 stories examined, 55 percent of the time the words selected to describe the event were shootings, incident, violence, shooting deaths, tragedy, or rally/demonstration. To a lesser degree, amounting to 36 percent of the time, the newspaper did indeed use words such as murder, killings, slayings, and massacre.¹⁷

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 13 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

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Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

After such an exercise, both white and black teachers agree that the race can never be equal because of the history of the race. After such an understanding, troubling current realities like the achievement gap, the disproportionate suspensions of black males, the disproportionate labeling of minorities, the school to prison pipeline, etc. all seem like natural consequences to a system built on unfairness and injustice.

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

No reasonable person will deny that shortcomings permeate the law. We have too many examples from our history to list them all, from the Jim Crow laws of the past, the lack of equal protection of the law for African Americans in schooling to the more recent laws that made it permissible for trial counsel to exclude African Americans from a jury because of their race, as was the case in the first trial for capital murder. In that trial the prosecution had accepted 31 African Americans for jury duty. But the defense dismissed them probably because of their race by using its 84 peremptory challenges leaving an all white jury. This was entirely legal at the time. This shortcoming was not corrected until the U.S. Supreme court handed down the Batson case in 1986.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

healed to improve their community.

Educate about the history of slavery because we all live with the consequences of slavery.

As part of this educational

Nation

References or discussions of the nation, nations or national history

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 12 references coded [0.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

From the momentum of the very active, largely unified activism of the '60s, a major change had occurred by as early as 1970, with ideologies competing against one another. Where Marxists aimed to break down the extreme class divisions that left great economic inequities, they were criticized for being overly theoretical and introspective. Cultural Nationalists, on the other hand, believed in a common cultural base derived from a shared history despite economic divisions, but were criticized for being idealistic in their hope of unifying Africans and African Americans. The progression from Black Power to Pan-Africanism was a broadening in scope from the regional view to the global African experience, connecting and identifying with liberation movements on the African continent, including those driven by socialist and Marxist leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Julius Nyerere in Tanzania, Sekou Toure in Guinea and Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

In Greensboro, activists working in the 1970s through groups including GAPP, SOBU and YOBU had behind them a history of grassroots action and organizational connections that stretched back to the pivotal moment in 1960 when four freshmen at N.C. A&T State University began a movement that changed the nation. There also was a history of government surveillance and deliberate interference in these efforts, both locally and through federal programs such as COINTELPRO, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (See Federal law enforcement chapter). Sit-Ins: "I made a

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

At the same time, a parallel history of unhealthy working

conditions, racial and gender discrimination and the resistance to organizers who worked to address these problems cannot be denied. The history of the labor movement nationally and, more specifically in North Carolina, to counter these problems provides an important backdrop for the events that led to Nov. 3, 1979.

The Workers Viewpoint Organization was but one group working in the state's textile plants as part of a larger effort to change society in a way they believed would bring equality and justice to working class Americans, black and white. The WVO's history and key personalities are critical layers to the story of what brought demonstrators to the march in Greensboro on Nov. 3, 1979.

With the data available to us, we are unable to make a firm assessment on its size, or on its effectiveness in raising union membership or making changes in the workplace. However, it is clear that Cone management was concerned about the WVO's activities and communicated with other Cone Mills and with the police about these concerns.

The key players in the S

Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

It became part of the political offensive. You know, the second wave of attacks on us if you will. And it was quite effective I think—cause we were . . . Think of it, 25 years later we are still trying to let folks know that it is not right that people should be shot down in the street in broad daylight simply for what they believe. But they were able to get away with that—broad daylight, 4 TV stations, people get shot down and they get away with it. Full acquittals, two trials and they're still walking the streets – in part because they were able to marginalize the victims because of this name, because of this word that has been so toxified by the long process of attacks from the U.S. government on this word and this concept and what it really means. So it was a very significant thing whatever view you might have of it. It was really an important part of the whole story. But by no means the whole story for the reason it happened. The reason that this happened was because we had gotten good at pulling together the workers' movement. That's the reason that this happened. That's my view. And I think that's consistent with past incidents in North Carolina history and the history of the United States.⁷⁹

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to concerns that more violence could follow the shootings, city officials exhibited a great deal of concern over Greensboro's image in the national and international media. U.S. Rep. Richardson Preyer told members of the House just days following, that the violence of Nov. 3, 1979, "was entirely out of character for the Greensboro community. The city has had a proud history of nonviolent demonstrations during the civil rights era."¹²

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

Part of this double consciousness also includes the sorrow from knowing that most people and communities, especially people in power, would have a blind spot when it came to these truths. It has taken me two years of work in this TRC process to see that the blind spot is caused by a lack of awareness and understanding of the history of people of color. What in the past was celebration, conquest, entrepreneurship and adventure for white communities now translates to indescribable loss of property, culture, language, lifestyle, values and self-respect for people of color.

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

I first came to Greensboro in the early 1960's in order to attend Greensboro College. It was a time of great upheaval as the city, and indeed the entire nation, was struggling to come to terms with a long history of racial oppression. For a young idealist, it was an exciting time to be in Greensboro. I not only received a first rate education here, but I also formed many of my most cherished ideals in the halls of academia, in the streets of the city, and in the various churches of the city where I worked in one as choir director, another as youth minister, and yet a third as janitor.

Reference 12 - 0.03% Coverage

The report to the community from the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the product of two years of hard work. The seven commissioners took our Mandate seriously, and if we seemed to wander a bit at times, Bob Peters, one of our co-chairs, would remind us of the Mandate. We took our charge to be: to review all facts we could obtain from all sources, to ask the public for their recollections of Nov. 3, 1979, to try to reach all people directly and indirectly involved with the slayings, and, finally, to examine the aftermath. In the process we were to look for the history behind it. This led us to examine what was happening in the nation and its reflection in Greensboro. Then we examined the actual causes. What were the conditions in Greensboro for many of its citizens? At the same time we were looking for the sequence of events and the consequences of that fateful day.

Racism

References or discussions of racism or discrimination

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 46 references coded [0.72% Coverage]

References 1-2 - 0.01% Coverage

the heated and armed confrontation in China Grove, in which the protestors had burned the Confederate flag and the Klan and Nazis had been forced to retreat inside the building; the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence; intense political opposition between the two groups; aggressive verbal challenges made by the CWP; discussions among the Klan and Nazis about bringing guns.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Finally, the fear produced by the history of the Klan and this event and its aftermath in particular means that many in black working-class communities, and especially former residents of Morningside, are still afraid to talk about this issue. For this reason there may well be other viewpoints in support of the WVO held by people who have not felt at liberty to speak.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Resurgence of the Klan in the mid 1970s, in keeping with its long history of sowing 21

References 6-7 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

and secondary schools about the context, causes, sequence and consequences of the events of Nov. 3, 1979. This curriculum could include the following topics: the actual events of Nov. 3, 1979, the history of many civil rights organizations, labor movements and white supremacist organizations; and related legal issues (definitions, roles of prosecutors and defense, jury selection, the importance of jury duty, retributive vs. transformative justice, etc.). The GTRC report itself could be made part of this curriculum.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

devastation were examined by historical commissions studying the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 and the events in Rosewood, Fla., in 1923. Each of these was an official body charged with examining events and creating a historical record that would break through the one-sided history that previously had been considered “the official story.” All of these commissions were asked to formulate recommendations, including some measure of reparations for those affected. They differ from the GTRC and from most other truth commissions because of the length of time that has passed since the events at the heart of their investigations, but they share our concern with revealing the ways in which racism and violence, economic privilege and social class, have converged to tear apart African-American communities in particular.

References 11-13 - 0.04% Coverage

This process’s ability to examine both individual and institutional or collective accountability creates another difficult tension. In all cases where we established responsibility for what happened, we struggled with understanding what role individuals played versus what role an institutional culture and history might have played. This was the case as we examined the actions of individuals in all organizations involved with the events of Nov. 3, 1979, among them: the Klan; the Nazis; the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party; Greensboro Police Department; the City government of Greensboro; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the FBI; the Morningside Homes community; the justice system; the Greensboro Daily News, the Greensboro Record, the Carolina Peacemaker and other media outlets. Each of the individuals in these different organizations or communities who bear some accountability for what happened on Nov. 3, 1979, were operating within a community or organization that had its own history and culture that made these events and their aftermath possible. The role that history and culture played in these events must be seen as a context within which these individuals made decisions and acted. But even when such an explanatory context

exists, a history of institutional racism, classism and fear can never completely excuse the individual actions taken (or not taken) by various players in these events.

References 14-15 - 0.08% Coverage

Our Mandate reads: “In addition to exploring questions of institutional and individual responsibility for what happened, as a necessary part of the truth-seeking process we urge the Commission to look deeply into the root causes and historical context of the events of November 3, 1979.” We affirm this instruction. To look at the events of Nov. 3, 1979, without an understanding of its context and causes would not contribute to the “truth” of the event. Although this report will clarify many rumors and misinformation that have been perpetuated for the last 26 years, for the most part, Greensboro residents who have any interest already know many of the facts of the sequence of events of Nov. 3, 1979. Three court trials and hundreds of newspaper articles, films and other media portrayals have contributed to a large body of knowledge about the actual events. The greatest value in our report, we believe, is placing this information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the “truth.”

That said, the mandate to examine the context, causes and consequence of the events is a broad one and we have been challenged to decide how to limit these otherwise boundless terms. Which context is the relevant one to highlight? What time periods and what events in history most usefully illustrate how and why Nov.3 unfolded as it did? This definition of the lenses through which to view the tragedy is by nature subjective, and different authors may have chosen different contexts to reveal. Ours is but one among a multitude of interpretations.

In order to focus our task, we asked ourselves, “Who played the biggest roles on Nov. 3, 1979?” and “What influenced these people to act as they did?” Different players had different roles at different points in the story, but we investigated the roles of the WVO/CWP, the Klan and Nazis, local and federal law enforcement, the city government of Greensboro, the residents of the Morningside community and local media. We attempted to look at how these groups operated in relation to each other both as groups of institutions, as well as the interacting roles of key individuals. In choosing our timeframe, we have chosen largely to limit our examination to local events occurring within the lifetime of most of those involved in the confrontation on Nov. 3, 1979. But because historical events at larger scales often figure prominently in community consciousness, we have also examined key events that loom large in collective memory such as the importance of the United States’ history of Constitutional rights, slavery, white supremacy, key labor or civil rights organizing efforts and geopolitical conflicts.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Often the truth of what happened in an ugly chapter of history may be in large part already known, and it is the acknowledgement of the truth that is lacking. We believe that the unacknowledged “elephant in the room” that continues to haunt social relations in Greensboro is the role of race. In the experience of the black community, survival in a dominant white culture means that race and racism are always present and therefore always in question.

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

Given the high level of tension related to Nov. 3, 1979, security was a concern for our hearings. Several Commissioners felt uncomfortable with having the Greensboro Police Department – as a group being researched – provide our primary security in these events. But given the GPD’s responsibility to protect residents, and given the history of the events we were researching, we chose to have the GPD work in concert with our primary security teams in each of these locations. With the exception of one minor scuffle outside our first public hearing, there were no security problems.

Reference 18 - 0.02% Coverage

I also learned—have come to understand Greensboro’s place in history—if you want to make a statement in race relations, you don’t go to Atlanta, you don’t go to Baltimore, you don’t go to Richmond—you go to Selma [Alabama], you go to Birmingham, you go to Greensboro, and you go to Memphis. You’ll find towns who have been historically represented in civil rights progress and history, that’s where you go to make your demonstration or make your statement. And Greensboro will always be a place, in my opinion, where the Klan comes to march, and where the black students at A&T (North Carolina A&T State University), and the other civil rights organizations decide to make their stand and make their pitch. That, from the historical presence, is where Greensboro pretty much has been since the 60s.²³

Reference 19 - 0.02% Coverage

Looking back I can understand why people were threatened (by my platform). I looked at how Dudley was treated in comparison to Grimsley, (Ben L.) Smith, and Page. These were white schools. They had privileges that we didn’t have ... tennis courts, stadiums, to leave campus for lunch, didn’t have any ‘enlightened dress code’ like we had. You’d get kicked out of school for wearing Afros and dashikis, which was the popular way to express yourself at the time. I challenged all those things. At that time, we were raising issues about the curriculum and the content of the education. At that time, you know, students weren’t supposed to raise questions about curriculum. We wanted to have some input in to the kinds of reading materials, especially in English class and History class. I presented problems.

Reference 20 - 0.02% Coverage

The workplace is and has long been a central battlefield of economic, political and social conflict, woven through with tensions of class, race and power. The conditions, relationships and cultures established in the workplace influence all of our lives. The actions and aims of the Workers Viewpoint Organization leading up to Nov. 3, 1979, cannot be understood outside the broader history of labor in North Carolina and throughout the southeastern United States. This chapter looks at that history – at what issues propelled and influenced work and labor and union activism, what reactions organizers encountered from managers and workers, and, more specifically, the actions and history of the WVO’s union campaigns and how workers, the mills, other institutions and the broader community reacted to these campaigns.

Reference 21 - 0.03% Coverage

At the same time, a parallel history of unhealthy working conditions, racial and gender discrimination and the resistance to organizers who worked to address these problems cannot be denied. The history of the labor movement nationally and, more specifically in North Carolina, to counter these problems provides an important backdrop for the events that led to Nov. 3, 1979.

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The key players in the S

Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

The FBI was aware of Eddie Dawson's history of involvement in criminal racist violence yet they nevertheless used him as a paid "Probationary Racial Extremist" informant in the Klan from 1969 until 1976. He was, in fact, on parole for one such violent incident when he was first engaged as a paid informant. Dawson had been convicted of shooting into the home of people he suspected of "serving liquor to both black and white and [having] orgies."⁹⁶

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The WVO recalls that they armed themselves for self-defense, with a keen awareness of the violent history of the Klan and the risk that the demonstrators faced by confronting them. Signe Waller recalls being nervous as they prepared:

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

[The Klan has] a history of cowardly violence. You've heard about Klan marches during the daytime, but you rarely heard about them doing things to people during the daytime. So I just didn't think China Grove was going to be what it turned out to be... A lot of people raise

questions about that later, about how serious it was. And the whole question about the Klan. The role of the Klan and how they would respond... it became a small debate. 29

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Fliers were created that outline the bloody history of the Klan and declare, "Turn the other cheek? No Way! ...We are against non-violence and pacifism and for armed self- defense. We should beat the hell out of the Klan wherever we find them. These dogs have no right to exist!"⁵⁵

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn't think anything against saying "Death to the Klan." That's an organization that I didn't want. 71

Reference 28 - 0.03% Coverage

It became part of the political offensive. You know, the second wave of attacks on us if you will. And it was quite effective I think—cause we were . . . Think of it, 25 years later we are still trying to let folks know that it is not right that people should be shot down in the street in broad daylight simply for what they believe. But they were able to get away with that—broad daylight, 4 TV stations, people get shot down and they get away with it. Full acquittals, two trials and they're still walking the streets – in part because they were able to marginalize the victims because of this name, because of this word that has been so toxified by the long process of attacks from the U.S. government on this word and this concept and what it really means. So it was a very significant thing whatever view you might have of it. It was really an important part of the whole story. But by no means the whole story for the reason it happened. The reason that this happened was because we had gotten good at pulling together the workers' movement. That's the reason that this happened. That's my view. And I think that's consistent with past incidents in North Carolina history and the history of the United States.⁷⁹

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Wise also remembers the mobilization for the Feb. 2, 1980, rally as an important point in history.⁶² Making it happen was an organizing effort rife with challenges, including the opposition of City leaders, who Wise said were trying to paint a different view of race relations and so wanted to keep people from protesting this violence.⁶³

Reference 30 - 0.02% Coverage

(T)his particular transaction in my part of the country has created a deep sense of grief and a considerable sense of perplexity. There is unquestionably profound local dissatisfaction among

some on the outcome of the State criminal prosecution. There is beyond that, in my opinion, an honorable sense of quandary as to what appears to be at least a current inadequacy of federal response. Now I measure my words. It appears to be. We have ultimately to trust those in federal office. But the circumstance, the history, the germaneness of these statutes, the irony of their caption as the Ku Klux Klan Act, all suggest to me as an attorney and citizen that this is one of those instances where the Government should be at its greatest aggressive, its most concern to do justice and to appear to do justice.

Reference 31 - 0.03% Coverage

The Carolina Peacemaker's negative perspective toward the KKK built upon a history of violence against blacks, which might lead us to believe that terms like massacre and murder used in early headlines would dominate their continued coverage. We found that not to be the case. Instead, the weekly newspaper adopted an approach that questioned police and government action in contributing yet another chapter to the history of tension between the African American and law enforcement communities. In doing so, the newsweekly used primarily neutral labels to describe Nov. 3, 1979. In the 146 stories examined, 55 percent of the time the words selected to describe the event were shootings, incident, violence, shooting deaths, tragedy, or rally/demonstration. To a lesser degree, amounting to 36 percent of the time, the newspaper did indeed use words such as murder, killings, slayings, and massacre.¹⁷

Reference 32 - 0.02% Coverage

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.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

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:

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

is remembered as an event outside of history that seems to have no deep connection to was a shootout between two extremist fringe groups, the Klan and the Communists,

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

- the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence;

References 36-37 - 0.03% Coverage

Further the Klan and Nazis who were in the caravan backed up violent language with violent actions. For example, there were criminal convictions for shooting into a home reportedly serving liquor to both blacks and whites in Alamance County, conspiring to blow up a union hall in Cherryville, organizing paramilitary training camps for inciting a race war, and planning to blow up a gas storage facility in Greensboro. There also were admissions of breaking the legs of a black man who was living with a white woman and talking about blowing up “race mixing” clubs and bookstores, and burning crosses on the lawns of blacks who had moved into white neighborhoods. In contrast, the most violent documented acts of the WVO/CWP were to engage in target shooting and karate training. Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

References 38-39 - 0.03% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis’ propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, even after intelligence briefings that the Klan and Nazis intended to come to Greensboro to have revenge for a nearly physical confrontation with the CWP, police planners were more concerned about Nelson Johnson’s “history of inciting riots.” As Capt Gibson put it, “There was nothing in those (intelligence) briefings (about the Klan and Nazis plans) that concerned me a whole lot.” Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as “calming” shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

One positive legacy of Nov

Reference 40 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 41 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and

class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

After such an exercise, both white and black teachers agree that the race can never be equal because of the history of the race. After such an understanding, troubling current realities like the achievement gap, the disproportionate suspensions of black males, the disproportionate labeling of minorities, the school to prison pipeline, etc. all seem like natural consequences to a system built on unfairness and injustice.

Reference 43 - 0.02% Coverage

No reasonable person will deny that shortcomings permeate the law. We have too many examples from our history to list them all, from the Jim Crow laws of the past, the lack of equal protection of the law for African Americans in schooling to the more recent laws that made it permissible for trial counsel to exclude African Americans from a jury because of their race, as was the case in the first trial for capital murder. In that trial the prosecution had accepted 31 African Americans for jury duty. But the defense dismissed them probably because of their race by using its 84 peremptory challenges leaving an all white jury. This was entirely legal at the time. This shortcoming was not corrected until the U.S. Supreme court handed down the Batson case in 1986.

References 44-45 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Diversity and history education for police and other elected officials (e.g. racism prevention, etc.)

KKK

References or discussions of the KKK

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 22 references coded [0.43% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

the heated and armed confrontation in China Grove, in which the protestors had burned the Confederate flag and the Klan and Nazis had been forced to retreat inside the building; the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence; intense political opposition between the two groups; aggressive verbal challenges made by the CWP; discussions among the Klan and Nazis about bringing guns.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Finally, the fear produced by the history of the Klan and this event and its aftermath in particular means that many in black working-class communities, and especially former residents of Morningside, are still afraid to talk about this issue. For this reason there may well be other viewpoints in support of the WVO held by people who have not felt at liberty to speak.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Resurgence of the Klan in the mid 1970s, in keeping with its long history of sowing

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 6 - 0.04% Coverage

This process's ability to examine both individual and institutional or collective accountability creates another difficult tension. In all cases where we established responsibility for what happened, we struggled with understanding what role individuals played versus what role an institutional culture and history might have played. This was the case as we examined the actions of individuals in all organizations involved with the events of Nov. 3, 1979, among them: the Klan; the Nazis; the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party; Greensboro Police Department; the City government of Greensboro; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the FBI; the Morningside Homes community; the justice system; the Greensboro Daily News, the Greensboro Record, the Carolina Peacemaker and other media outlets.

Each of the individuals in these different organizations or communities who bear some accountability for what happened on Nov. 3, 1979, were operating within a community or organization that had its own history and culture that made these events and their aftermath possible. The role that history and culture played in these events must be seen as a context within which these individuals made decisions and acted. But even when such an explanatory context exists, a history of institutional racism, classism and fear can never completely excuse the individual actions taken (or not taken) by various players in these events.

Reference 7 - 0.08% Coverage

Our Mandate reads: “In addition to exploring questions of institutional and individual responsibility for what happened, as a necessary part of the truth-seeking process we urge the Commission to look deeply into the root causes and historical context of the events of November 3, 1979.” We affirm this instruction. To look at the events of Nov. 3, 1979, without an understanding of its context and causes would not contribute to the “truth” of the event. Although this report will clarify many rumors and misinformation that have been perpetuated for the last 26 years, for the most part, Greensboro residents who have any interest already know many of the facts of the sequence of events of Nov. 3, 1979. Three court trials and hundreds of newspaper articles, films and other media portrayals have contributed to a large body of knowledge about the actual events. The greatest value in our report, we believe, is placing this information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the “truth.”

That said, the mandate to examine the context, causes and consequence of the events is a broad one and we have been challenged to decide how to limit these otherwise boundless terms. Which context is the relevant one to highlight? What time periods and what events in history most usefully illustrate how and why Nov.3 unfolded as it did? This definition of the lenses through which to view the tragedy is by nature subjective, and different authors may have chosen different contexts to reveal. Ours is but one among a multitude of interpretations.

In order to focus our task, we asked ourselves, “Who played the biggest roles on Nov. 3, 1979?” and “What influenced these people to act as they did?” Different players had different roles at different points in the story, but we investigated the roles of the WVO/CWP, the Klan and Nazis, local and federal law enforcement, the city government of Greensboro, the residents of the Morningside community and local media. We attempted to look at how these groups operated in relation to each other both as groups of institutions, as well as the interacting roles of key individuals. In choosing our timeframe, we have chosen largely to limit our examination to local events occurring within the lifetime of most of those involved in the confrontation on Nov. 3, 1979. But because historical events at larger scales often figure prominently in community consciousness, we have also examined key events that loom large in collective memory such as the importance of the United States’ history of Constitutional rights, slavery, white supremacy, key labor or civil rights organizing efforts and geopolitical conflicts.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

I also learned—have come to understand Greensboro’s place in history—if you want to make a statement in race relations, you don’t go to Atlanta, you don’t go to Baltimore, you don’t go to Richmond—you go to Selma [Alabama], you go to Birmingham, you go to Greensboro, and you

go to Memphis. You'll find towns who have been historically represented in civil rights progress and history, that's where you go to make your demonstration or make your statement. And Greensboro will always be a place, in my opinion, where the Klan comes to march, and where the black students at A&T (North Carolina A&T State University), and the other civil rights organizations decide to make their stand and make their pitch. That, from the historical presence, is where Greensboro pretty much has been since the 60s.²³

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson's *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The FBI was aware of Eddie Dawson's history of involvement in criminal racist violence yet they nevertheless used him as a paid "Probationary Racial Extremist" informant in the Klan from 1969 until 1976. He was, in fact, on parole for one such violent incident when he was first engaged as a paid informant. Dawson had been convicted of shooting into the home of people he suspected of "serving liquor to both black and white and [having] orgies."⁹⁶

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

The WVO recalls that they armed themselves for self-defense, with a keen awareness of the violent history of the Klan and the risk that the demonstrators faced by confronting them. Signe Waller recalls being nervous as they prepared:

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

[The Klan has] a history of cowardly violence. You've heard about Klan marches during the daytime, but you rarely heard about them doing things to people during the daytime. So I just didn't think China Grove was going to be what it turned out to be... A lot of people raise questions about that later, about how serious it was. And the whole question about the Klan. The role of the Klan and how they would respond... it became a small debate. ²⁹

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Fliers were created that outline the bloody history of the Klan and declare, "Turn the other cheek? No Way! ... We are against non-violence and pacifism and for armed self- defense. We

should beat the hell out of the Klan wherever we find them. These dogs have no right to exist!”⁵⁵

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn't think anything against saying "Death to the Klan." That's an organization that I didn't want. ⁷¹

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

(T)his particular transaction in my part of the country has created a deep sense of grief and a considerable sense of perplexity. There is unquestionably profound local dissatisfaction among some on the outcome of the State criminal prosecution. There is beyond that, in my opinion, an honorable sense of quandary as to what appears to be at least a current inadequacy of federal response. Now I measure my words. It appears to be. We have ultimately to trust those in federal office. But the circumstance, the history, the germaneness of these statutes, the irony of their caption as the Ku Klux Klan Act, all suggest to me as an attorney and citizen that this is one of those instances where the Government should be at its greatest aggressive, its most concern to do justice and to appear to do justice.

Reference 16 - 0.03% Coverage

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Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

is remembered as an event outside of history that seems to have no deep connection to was a shootout between two extremist fringe groups, the Klan and the Communists,

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

- the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence;

Reference 19 - 0.03% Coverage

Further the Klan and Nazis who were in the caravan backed up violent language with violent actions. For example, there were criminal convictions for shooting into a home reportedly serving liquor to both blacks and whites in Alamance County, conspiring to blow up a union hall in Cherryville, organizing paramilitary training camps for inciting a race war, and planning to blow up a gas storage facility in Greensboro. There also were admissions of breaking the legs of a black man who was living with a white woman and talking about blowing up “race mixing” clubs and bookstores, and burning crosses on the lawns of blacks who had moved into white neighborhoods. In contrast, the most violent documented acts of the WVO/CWP were to engage in target shooting and karate training. Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 20 - 0.03% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis’ propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, even after intelligence briefings that the Klan and Nazis intended to come to Greensboro to have revenge for a nearly physical confrontation with the CWP, police planners were more concerned about Nelson Johnson’s “history of inciting riots.” As Capt Gibson put it, “There was nothing in those (intelligence) briefings (about the Klan and Nazis plans) that concerned me a whole lot.” Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as “calming” shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

One positive legacy of Nov

Reference 21 - 0.02% Coverage

others. As a native of a country with two states that had viable communist and leftist governments, I hold a somewhat neutral and less fearful perspective of communism. As a graduate student in the Midwest who engaged fully in a campus-wide protest against Klan presence on campus, I bring a partial understanding of Klan ideology and terrorist history. As an education professor in a historically black university, I constantly struggle with the stark race and class inequities in education, both in public school classrooms as well as in higher education, and the constitutional and legal roots of such inequities.

Reference 22 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American

neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.

Nazis

References or discussions of Nazis

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 7 references coded [0.23% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

the heated and armed confrontation in China Grove, in which the protestors had burned the Confederate flag and the Klan and Nazis had been forced to retreat inside the building; the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence; intense political opposition between the two groups; aggressive verbal challenges made by the CWP; discussions among the Klan and Nazis about bringing guns.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

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which these individuals made decisions and acted. But even when such an explanatory context exists, a history of institutional racism, classism and fear can never completely excuse the individual actions taken (or not taken) by various players in these events.

Reference 4 - 0.08% Coverage

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Reference 5 - 0.03% Coverage

Further the Klan and Nazis who were in the caravan backed up violent language with violent actions. For example, there were criminal convictions for shooting into a home reportedly serving liquor to both blacks and whites in Alamance County, conspiring to blow up a union hall in Cherryville, organizing paramilitary training camps for inciting a race war, and planning to blow up a gas storage facility in Greensboro. There also were admissions of breaking the legs of a black man who was living with a white woman and talking about blowing up “race mixing” clubs and bookstores, and burning crosses on the lawns of blacks who had moved into white

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Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

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One positive legacy of Nov

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.

Reclaiming

References or discussions of reclaiming the past or including missing voices

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 10 references coded [0.15% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

This is a city writing its own history and practicing a new kind of journalism ... Part of the challenge of this project has always been the complexity of its subject matter, of the events and economics and social dynamics of 1979 and their echoes in the present day. The Web gives us a way to distribute the problem, to break it up among any number of writers and thinkers, to let individuals speak, listen and learn for themselves. There will be some central places on this network, including news articles and the commission report itself. But the Truth and Reconciliation process should be larger and more inclusive than the traditional media and a formal document can make it, and that may be the key to its success.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

Given the high level of tension related to Nov. 3, 1979, security was a concern for our hearings. Several Commissioners felt uncomfortable with having the Greensboro Police Department – as a group being researched – provide our primary security in these events. But given the GPD’s responsibility to protect residents, and given the history of the events we were researching, we chose to have the GPD work in concert with our primary security teams in each of these locations. With the exception of one minor scuffle outside our first public hearing, there were no security problems.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

- African awareness sessions focusing on African history and culture;
- Communication programs including a newsletter and the radio show “Black Forum;”
- Basic services including clothing distribution, job referral, low-income housing, food stamps, fundraising and action against police brutality;

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

While the Sit-ins represented one socially significant uprising of black resistance, another more painful such watershed moment in Greensboro history was the so-called Dudley Revolt in May 1969, which occurred when school administrators refused to allow then-Dudley High School student Claude Barnes to take office as student government president.⁵⁸

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

continue the analysis and discussions. The real test of a healthy community is the ability to take a hard look at its history, practices and policies with an eye to change those things that are flawed. I hope that the Commission has helped to facilitate this and that the city as whole will look at the recommendations offered and come up with additional recommendations.

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

Part of this double consciousness also includes the sorrow from knowing that most people and communities, especially people in power, would have a blind spot when it came to these truths. It has taken me two years of work in this TRC process to see that the blind spot is caused by a lack of awareness and understanding of the history of people of color. What in the past was celebration, conquest, entrepreneurship and adventure for white communities now translates to indescribable loss of property, culture, language, lifestyle, values and self-respect for people of color.

Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

The report to the community from the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the product of two years of hard work. The seven commissioners took our Mandate seriously, and if we seemed to wander a bit at times, Bob Peters, one of our co-chairs, would remind us of the Mandate. We took our charge to be: to review all facts we could obtain from all sources, to ask the public for their recollections of Nov. 3, 1979, to try to reach all people directly and indirectly involved with the slayings, and, finally, to examine the aftermath. In the process we were to look for the history behind it. This led us to examine what was happening in the nation and its reflection in Greensboro. Then we examined the actual causes. What were the conditions in Greensboro for many of its citizens? At the same time we were looking for the sequence of events and the consequences of that fateful day.

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.

Reference 10 - 0.02% Coverage

The events of November 3, 1979, have been denied, distorted, and/or confused for 26 years. This reflects a cultural phenomenon of evasion, denial, and unwillingness to face the flaws within ourselves, our community story and national history. The confusion, denial and distortion so deeply ingrained in our thinking prevents us from envisioning a true alternative, vibrant, just and inclusive community. We believe, therefore, we must seek creative ways to promote the broadest possible discussion of the events of November 3 and the related thinking associated with this history.

Recommendations

References or discussions of history in the report's final recommendations

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 5 references coded [0.09% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step toward repair. This section also includes measures to incorporate the information about Nov. 3, 1979, into the city's official history and collective memory, attend to the second generation of survivors, promote dialogue and commemorate what happened.

a. The City should formally recognize that the events of Nov. 3, 1979, provided a tragic, but important occasion in our city's history; it should make a proclamation that lifts up the importance of that date in the history of the city.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

- African awareness sessions focusing on African history and culture;
- Communication programs including a newsletter and the radio show "Black Forum;"
- Basic services including clothing distribution, job referral, low-income housing, food stamps, fundraising and action against police brutality;

Reference 3 - 0.03% Coverage

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Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

continue the analysis and discussions. The real test of a healthy community is the ability to take a hard look at its history, practices and policies with an eye to change those things that are flawed. I hope that the Commission has helped to facilitate this and that the city as whole will look at the recommendations offered and come up with additional recommendations.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Diversity and history education for police and other elected officials (e.g. racism prevention, etc.)

Reconciliation

References or discussions of reconciliation, healing, coming together, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 11 references coded [0.22% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

Racism, it goes without saying, divides our community and suppresses dialogue. It also routinely acts through institutions to disadvantage entire groups of people. This is often so in the justice system, which was created by white leaders to protect the interests of the majority power structure. The GTRC applauds the efforts of those in our community working to bring down these divides. It is our sincere hope that we, by analyzing our history and identifying the impediments to reconciliation, have provided guidance for our community to evolve into one where people of all races are equally respected and protected.

Reference 2 - 0.03% Coverage

This section includes steps to recognize rights and responsibilities and acknowledge that wrongs were committed and harms occurred. Usually such steps are called reparations and aim to make restitution, compensate for harms, rehabilitate, provide satisfaction to victims and take measures to prevent future abuses. Nothing can restore a loved one's life that has been taken, or fully restore the health and well-being of those battered by the events, but we believe that some meaningful gestures toward acknowledgment and redress can help those most harmed see a better future ahead. We believe that facing the truth about the past is an important first step toward repair. This section also includes measures to incorporate the information about Nov. 3, 1979, into the city's official history and collective memory, attend to the second generation of survivors, promote dialogue and commemorate what happened.

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Reference 3 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process — and our own struggle to hear and understand each other — had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves

as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

chose not to look back as it emerged from civil war and the Franco dictatorship that followed – grandchildren of victims are now pressing to fill the gaps in the nation’s official history, which skips over massive abuses and systematic crimes. In addition, Canada’s government recently acknowledged the need to document the truth and make reparations to survivors of the Indian Residential School system that forcibly removed aboriginal children from their homes, family and culture and subjected them to physical and sexual abuse during a hundred-year period spanning the 19th

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

Given the high level of tension related to Nov. 3, 1979, security was a concern for our hearings. Several Commissioners felt uncomfortable with having the Greensboro Police Department – as a group being researched – provide our primary security in these events. But given the GPD’s responsibility to protect residents, and given the history of the events we were researching, we chose to have the GPD work in concert with our primary security teams in each of these locations. With the exception of one minor scuffle outside our first public hearing, there were no security problems.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

On the one hand, I think it was a good move to talk about bridging the gap and building these coalitions between workers, but I think people became too ideological and too wrapped up into other peoples’ social revolutions and really did not appreciate their own grassroots history and struggle, their own unique struggle.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

In not taking seriously the Citizens Review Committee’s findings that city officials were viewed as “defensive,” “out of touch,” “repressive” and “insensitive” to many in the community, the city leadership has been doomed to repeat that history, which was evident at the start of the truth and reconciliation process.

Reference 8 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

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Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

20s, this two-year journey of truth and reconciliation in my 40s chose me. I knew little about the history and the politics of Nov. 3, 1979, at the time, but was motivated by a belief that true service ought to happen in immediate and real communities.

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

We envision the commission engaging the questions of: What happened? How did it happen? Why did it happen? And, how can we learn from this episode of our history so as not only to prevent such occurrences in the future, but also to transform this tragedy into triumph for truth and good will? The findings of the commission will serve as the basis for a six to twelve month community discussion that will constructively engage the confusion, division, and bitter feelings related to that event and hopefully lead to greater reconciliation and to proposals for restorative justice.

Responsibility

References or discussions of individual and collective responsibility

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 4 references coded [0.16% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.04% Coverage

This process's ability to examine both individual and institutional or collective accountability creates another difficult tension. In all cases where we established responsibility for what happened, we struggled with understanding what role individuals played versus what role an institutional culture and history might have played. This was the case as we examined the actions of individuals in all organizations involved with the events of Nov. 3, 1979, among them: the Klan; the Nazis; the Workers Viewpoint Organization/Communist Workers Party; Greensboro Police Department; the City government of Greensboro; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms; the FBI; the Morningside Homes community; the justice system; the Greensboro Daily News, the Greensboro Record, the Carolina Peacemaker and other media outlets.

Each of the individuals in these different organizations or communities who bear some accountability for what happened on Nov. 3, 1979, were operating within a community or organization that had its own history and culture that made these events and their aftermath possible. The role that history and culture played in these events must be seen as a context within which these individuals made decisions and acted. But even when such an explanatory context exists, a history of institutional racism, classism and fear can never completely excuse the individual actions taken (or not taken) by various players in these events.

Reference 2 - 0.08% Coverage

Our Mandate reads: "In addition to exploring questions of institutional and individual responsibility for what happened, as a necessary part of the truth-seeking process we urge the Commission to look deeply into the root causes and historical context of the events of November 3, 1979." We affirm this instruction. To look at the events of Nov. 3, 1979, without an understanding of its context and causes would not contribute to the "truth" of the event.

Although this report will clarify many rumors and misinformation that have been perpetuated for the last 26 years, for the most part, Greensboro residents who have any interest already know many of the facts of the sequence of events of Nov. 3, 1979. Three court trials and hundreds of newspaper articles, films and other media portrayals have contributed to a large body of knowledge about the actual events. The greatest value in our report, we believe, is placing this information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the "truth."

That said, the mandate to examine the context, causes and consequence of the events is a broad one and we have been challenged to decide how to limit these otherwise boundless terms. Which context is the relevant one to highlight? What time periods and what events in history most usefully illustrate how and why Nov.3 unfolded as it did? This definition of the lenses through which to view the tragedy is by nature subjective, and different authors may have chosen different contexts to reveal. Ours is but one among a multitude of interpretations.

In order to focus our task, we asked ourselves, “Who played the biggest roles on Nov. 3, 1979?” and “What influenced these people to act as they did?” Different players had different roles at different points in the story, but we investigated the roles of the WVO/CWP, the Klan and Nazis, local and federal law enforcement, the city government of Greensboro, the residents of the Morningside community and local media. We attempted to look at how these groups operated in relation to each other both as groups of institutions, as well as the interacting roles of key individuals. In choosing our timeframe, we have chosen largely to limit our examination to local events occurring within the lifetime of most of those involved in the confrontation on Nov. 3, 1979. But because historical events at larger scales often figure prominently in community consciousness, we have also examined key events that loom large in collective memory such as the importance of the United States’ history of Constitutional rights, slavery, white supremacy, key labor or civil rights organizing efforts and geopolitical conflicts.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

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

Reference 4 - 0.04% Coverage

To other communities considering processes to seek the truth and work for reconciliation around tragic, unjust events in their own histories, we heartily recommend the truth and reconciliation model as such a tool.

We believe the truth and reconciliation process in Greensboro opened up the debate around Nov. 3, 1979, in a positive way and has successfully engaged a broad spectrum of the community in an effort that offers hope for reconciliation. As a Commission that looks a bit like Greensboro in microcosm, we found that this process –and our own struggle to hear and understand each other– had a profound impact on our perceptions of the issues we explored. Our individual and collective commitment to the truth helped us persevere. And the human stories and emotions we encountered along the way moved us to do our best to leave behind a legacy we hope will serve Greensboro for years to come. We cannot say what the future will hold for this community or what the long-term impact of this process will look like, but we hope that this process also serves as a learning tool for others in this country who, like Greensboro, are burdened by a legacy of hurt and inspired by the possibility of honestly coming to terms with their own history.

True or Accurate

References or discussions of true, accurate, genuine or missing histories

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 17 references coded [0.36% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.02% Coverage

From 1974, when what is believed to be the first truth commission was empaneled in Uganda, through 2005, about 40 such commissions have gathered testimonies from victims and witnesses, perpetrators and bystanders, and have reviewed written accounts and other evidence. Through their reports, these truth commissions have – with greater and lesser degrees of success – rendered insightful and more honest narratives about violent events in their nations’ histories.¹ From these experiences, we can make some general statements about truth commissions.²

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

All of these truth commissions — whether official or unofficial, whether they emerge in new democracies or well-established ones — tell a version of history that includes the victims’ experiences and voices, recognizes their humanity and rights, and seeks to come to terms with abuse in all of its many dimensions. Truth commissions can help overcome false assumptions and myths about the past and identify policies and systematic practices at the heart of abuses. Often, governments claim that torture, for example, was the work of “a few bad apples” in the security forces. This was former President F.W. De Klerk’s contention in South Africa, but his version of history was untenable in the face of thousands of cases heard by the TRC that demonstrated otherwise.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

we could accomplish. Along the way, we came to a deeper understanding of what a truth commission in Greensboro could add to our history.

Reference 4 - 0.03% Coverage

We believe it is important to reflect a moment on the important truth-seeking precedents that exist in the United States. We did not have the opportunity or the time to meet with people from all the various experiences in this country, but we have been inspired by many of them and pay tribute here to the spirit of truth-seeking wherever it lives in this country. These valuable precedents are reminders to us that we must learn from the violent history that has been so often ignored, denied or distorted in the United States.

One of the examples that investigated an important part of North Carolina’s history is the Wilmington Race Riot Commission. This state-sponsored commission examined the events of 1898 in which white racist groups ousted a “fusionist” government that included African Americans, and brought a fury of violent hatred down on the city of Wilmington, burning out a newspaper run by an African-American man who had to flee the city for his life, killing a number

of black citizens and changing the political scenery in the state for decades to come. This commission's report was published in draft form in December 2005.¹⁷

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

devastation were examined by historical commissions studying the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921¹⁸ and the events in Rosewood, Fla., in 1923. Each of these was an official body charged with examining events and creating a historical record that would break through the one-sided history that previously had been considered "the official story." All of these commissions were asked to formulate recommendations, including some measure of reparations for those affected. They differ from the GTRC and from most other truth commissions because of the length of time that has passed since the events at the heart of their investigations, but they share our concern with revealing the ways in which racism and violence, economic privilege and social class, have converged to tear apart African-American communities in particular.

Reference 6 - 0.04% Coverage

assessment of the measures needed.

We believe that there is a right to information – a right to the truth about Nov. 3, 1979, and its causes and aftermath – that we as citizens of a community and a nation should continue to protect and honor. We find that there is an accompanying duty to remember not only the good in our history, but our moments of shame, so that we might learn from them and seek to do better by our community in the future.²⁴ The United States often sees itself as being free from the kinds of human rights abuses that are usually brought to light when nations emerge from conflict or repressive rule. But we believe that it is important to recognize that impunity and injustice also exist at home.

We hope that our modest examination of a difficult chapter of Greensboro's history and how those events shape the community today may serve as a profound and timely reminder of the importance of facing shameful events honestly and acknowledging the brutal consequences of political spin, calculated blindness and passive ignorance. While the GTRC recognizes the differences between Greensboro's history and the abuses addressed by other truth commissions, we share a common aspiration: that the truth about the past will help us build a better, more just and more inclusive future.

Reference 7 - 0.08% Coverage

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information within a historical context and examining these events with a broader view of history to inform the “truth.”

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Reference 8 - 0.03% Coverage

Entire disciplines of philosophy, history, science and cultural studies are devoted to the debate on whether humans are capable of knowing “the Truth” and the examination of the politics and power relations embedded in any endeavor claiming to reveal it. Engaging these epistemological debates is beyond the scope of this report. We note that it would not only be arrogant but factually incorrect for any commission (or historian or scientist) to claim to have discovered the complete and perfect Truth about any event. The nature of scientific or historical investigation is that one can draw a sound conclusion from available evidence, but that it is always possible that new evidence might come to light that could support a different conclusion. Nevertheless, as a general matter, with substantial weight and increasing abundance of evidence already available, the likelihood that new evidence will refute the existing conclusion becomes increasingly small.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Often the truth of what happened in an ugly chapter of history may be in large part already known, and it is the acknowledgement of the truth that is lacking. We believe that the unacknowledged “elephant in the room” that continues to haunt social relations in Greensboro is the role of race. In the experience of the black community, survival in a dominant white culture means that race and racism are always present and therefore always in question.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

There were machine guns on the roofs of mills all over the south. The National Guard was mobilized in every single southern state and government and established power came down hard

on the side of the mill owners and operators. And although that history and that memory was driven underground it was never forgotten and when you scratched the surface in conversations about the union with people who would say, “I don’t need none of that union stuff,” it came down to what happened in 1934.²⁷

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

20s, this two-year journey of truth and reconciliation in my 40s chose me. I knew little about the history and the politics of Nov. 3, 1979, at the time, but was motivated by a belief that true service ought to happen in immediate and real communities.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

Part of this double consciousness also includes the sorrow from knowing that most people and communities, especially people in power, would have a blind spot when it came to these truths. It has taken me two years of work in this TRC process to see that the blind spot is caused by a lack of awareness and understanding of the history of people of color. What in the past was celebration, conquest, entrepreneurship and adventure for white communities now translates to indescribable loss of property, culture, language, lifestyle, values and self-respect for people of color.

Reference 14 - 0.02% Coverage

in our effort to arrive at as fair and balanced a statement as we could, one that would express our conclusions based on what we had learned. Sometimes this took hours. It was grueling but with much thought and focus we made it. Every section taught me something about the people of Greensboro and their characters, about Greensboro history, and about the history of the many efforts made to achieve better lives for our neighbors. Most of all I have been thinking about the nature of humanity. I have seen once again our propensity to accept a popular stance (for example, that all black leaders are communist and all Communists are bad) without giving it our own critical thinking.

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

We envision the commission engaging the questions of: What happened? How did it happen? Why did it happen? And, how can we learn from this episode of our history so as not only to prevent such occurrences in the future, but also to transform this tragedy into triumph for truth and good will? The findings of the commission will serve as the basis for a six to twelve month community discussion that will constructively engage the confusion, division, and bitter feelings

related to that event and hopefully lead to greater reconciliation and to proposals for restorative justice.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

All Greensboro College Institutions should create a mandatory “Greensboro History” class for all freshmen to take. That way they are informed from the get-go about all that’s happened.

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

The events of November 3, 1979, have been denied, distorted, and/or confused for 26 years. This reflects a cultural phenomenon of evasion, denial, and unwillingness to face the flaws within ourselves, our community story and national history. The confusion, denial and distortion so deeply ingrained in our thinking prevents us from envisioning a true alternative, vibrant, just and inclusive community. We believe, therefore, we must seek creative ways to promote the broadest possible discussion of the events of November 3 and the related thinking associated with this history.

Violence

References or discussions of violence

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\The Americas\\UnitedStates.Greensboro.TRC_.Report-FULL> - § 33 references coded [0.61% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

the heated and armed confrontation in China Grove, in which the protestors had burned the Confederate flag and the Klan and Nazis had been forced to retreat inside the building; the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence; intense political opposition between the two groups; aggressive verbal challenges made by the CWP; discussions among the Klan and Nazis about bringing guns.

Reference 2 - 0.02% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, Capt. Gibson remarked that "My concern was with Nelson Johnson's history of inciting riots. And when we had those intelligence briefings (on the Klan and Nazis plans), that remained my concern. There was nothing in those briefings that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

Reference 3 - 0.02% Coverage

chose not to look back as it emerged from civil war and the Franco dictatorship that followed – grandchildren of victims are now pressing to fill the gaps in the nation's official history, which skips over massive abuses and systematic crimes. In addition, Canada's government recently acknowledged the need to document the truth and make reparations to survivors of the Indian Residential School system that forcibly removed aboriginal children from their homes, family and culture and subjected them to physical and sexual abuse during a hundred-year period spanning the 19th

Reference 4 - 0.02% Coverage

From 1974, when what is believed to be the first truth commission was empaneled in Uganda, through 2005, about 40 such commissions have gathered testimonies from victims and witnesses, perpetrators and bystanders, and have reviewed written accounts and other evidence. Through their reports, these truth commissions have – with greater and lesser degrees of success – rendered insightful and more honest narratives about violent events in their nations' histories.¹ From these experiences, we can make some general statements about truth commissions.²

Reference 5 - 0.02% Coverage

In this way, truth commissions can help societies come to terms with how such a thing could happen and what must change in order to avoid similar abuses in the future. In Guatemala, the Commission of Historical Clarification explored a long history of marginalization of the indigenous population as part of the context that explained its finding that the Guatemalan state forces had committed genocide against the Mayan population in specific parts of the country.¹² The political elites in Guatemala have, for the most part, not yet acknowledged this conclusion, but genocide is now an accepted part of the debate about the past.

Reference 6 - 0.03% Coverage

We believe it is important to reflect a moment on the important truth-seeking precedents that exist in the United States. We did not have the opportunity or the time to meet with people from all the various experiences in this country, but we have been inspired by many of them and pay tribute here to the spirit of truth-seeking wherever it lives in this country. These valuable precedents are reminders to us that we must learn from the violent history that has been so often ignored, denied or distorted in the United States.

One of the examples that investigated an important part of North Carolina's history is the Wilmington Race Riot Commission. This state-sponsored commission examined the events of 1898 in which white racist groups ousted a "fusionist" government that included African Americans, and brought a fury of violent hatred down on the city of Wilmington, burning out a newspaper run by an African-American man who had to flee the city for his life, killing a number of black citizens and changing the political scenery in the state for decades to come. This commission's report was published in draft form in December 2005.¹⁷

Reference 7 - 0.02% Coverage

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Reference 8 - 0.04% Coverage

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or repressive rule. But we believe that it is important to recognize that impunity and injustice also exist at home.

We hope that our modest examination of a difficult chapter of Greensboro's history and how those events shape the community today may serve as a profound and timely reminder of the importance of facing shameful events honestly and acknowledging the brutal consequences of political spin, calculated blindness and passive ignorance. While the GTRC recognizes the differences between Greensboro's history and the abuses addressed by other truth commissions, we share a common aspiration: that the truth about the past will help us build a better, more just and more inclusive future.

Reference 9 - 0.02% Coverage

In Greensboro, activists working in the 1970s through groups including GAPP, SOBU and YOBUE had behind them a history of grassroots action and organizational connections that stretched back to the pivotal moment in 1960 when four freshmen at N.C. A&T State University began a movement that changed the nation. There also was a history of government surveillance and deliberate interference in these efforts, both locally and through federal programs such as COINTELPRO, the FBI's Counterintelligence Program (See Federal law enforcement chapter). Sit-Ins: "I made a

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

While the Sit-ins represented one socially significant uprising of black resistance, another more painful such watershed moment in Greensboro history was the so-called Dudley Revolt in May 1969, which occurred when school administrators refused to allow then-Dudley High School student Claude Barnes to take office as student government president.⁵⁸

Reference 11 - 0.02% Coverage

Looking back I can understand why people were threatened (by my platform). I looked at how Dudley was treated in comparison to Grimsley, (Ben L.) Smith, and Page. These were white schools. They had privileges that we didn't have ... tennis courts, stadiums, to leave campus for lunch, didn't have any 'enlightened dress code' like we had. You'd get kicked out of school for wearing Afros and dashikis, which was the popular way to express yourself at the time. I challenged all those things. At that time, we were raising issues about the curriculum and the content of the education. At that time, you know, students weren't supposed to raise questions about curriculum. We wanted to have some input in to the kinds of reading materials, especially in English class and History class. I presented problems.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

At the same time, some of America's most devastating anti-union violence has taken place in the South. As labor historian Bryant Simon points out, while proportionately fewer southerners than northerners joined unions, there is a clear history of Southern craft and industrial unionism, albeit with a dramatically different track record on strikes. "In the South (as opposed to the north),

strike after strike in the biggest industries failed, and workers in these areas had trouble setting up permanent, strong unions.”³

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Communist-inspired trade unionism has a long genealogy in Southern labor history. Perhaps the most well-known organizing effort by a Communist-led union was in 1929 at Gastonia’s Loray Mill. As Elizabeth Wheaton noted in “Codename Greenkil,” this strike “pitted the same forces that collided fifty years later in Greensboro: militant labor organizers, the police, and anti-Communist vigilantes.”¹⁷

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

There were machine guns on the roofs of mills all over the south. The National Guard was mobilized in every single southern state and government and established power came down hard on the side of the mill owners and operators. And although that history and that memory was driven underground it was never forgotten and when you scratched the surface in conversations about the union with people who would say, “I don’t need none of that union stuff,” it came down to what happened in 1934.²⁷

Reference 15 - 0.02% Coverage

The 1972 union victory at Duke was short-lived. A well-known union-busting firm, Modern Management Methods, from Chicago hired by Duke conducted interviews, seminars and focus groups among supervisors that were meant to reverse the victory. As Karen Brodtkin Sacks has written in her history of the drive, Duke set out to “impede and if possible, defeat union efforts to obtain a showing of interest (signed authorization cards from 30 percent of the employees in an appropriate unit),” while also preparing for a union election.⁷⁷

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

As Botsch writes in his history of the association, “a few of the doctors who volunteered their help at screening clinics were not so careful. One of them castigated those who attended a clinic for not being Communists, saying that he was speaking for the association. The organizers responded as quickly as they could: ‘We pulled him aside quickly and told him if he ever did that again we’d ... break his knees.’” Though Botsch did not name the doctors involved, the Charlotte Observer identified the doctor as Paul Bermanzohn.¹¹⁶

Reference 17 - 0.02% Coverage

The story that Griffith tells, building on a novel and play by Thomas Dixon (*The Clansman*) and including material from Woodrow Wilson’s *History of the American People*, seeks to explain the events leading up to and resulting from the Civil War. The idea of birthing, of creating family, runs throughout the film as a central theme, whether that birthing refers to the national family of the United States or a couple of fictional families from the North and the South. Indeed, Griffith argues strongly against miscegenation, doing everything in his power as a filmmaker to set up the

black male as a potential rapist—potential since neither of the two would-be rapists in the film succeed. Both potential rapists find themselves confronted with violence from the terrorist group, the Ku Klux Klan; in fact, the film glorifies lynching.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

The FBI was aware of Eddie Dawson's history of involvement in criminal racist violence yet they nevertheless used him as a paid "Probationary Racial Extremist" informant in the Klan from 1969 until 1976. He was, in fact, on parole for one such violent incident when he was first engaged as a paid informant. Dawson had been convicted of shooting into the home of people he suspected of "serving liquor to both black and white and [having] orgies."⁹⁶

Reference 19 - 0.03% Coverage

The Commission is troubled, especially in these times, by the seeming wide berth given to investigating an activist based on his outspoken critique of government rather than criminal behavior. As Supreme Court Justice Lewis Franklin Powell Jr. wrote in 1972, "History abundantly documents the tendency of Government--however benevolent and benign its motives--to view with suspicion those who most fervently dispute its policies. [Constitutional] protections become the more necessary when the targets of official surveillance may be those suspected of unorthodoxy in their political beliefs. The danger to political dissent is acute where the Government attempts to act under so vague a concept as the power to protect 'domestic security.' Given the difficulty of defining the domestic security interest, the danger of abuse in acting to protect that interest becomes apparent."⁹⁸

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The WVO recalls that they armed themselves for self-defense, with a keen awareness of the violent history of the Klan and the risk that the demonstrators faced by confronting them. Signe Waller recalls being nervous as they prepared:

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Fliers were created that outline the bloody history of the Klan and declare, "Turn the other cheek? No Way! ... We are against non-violence and pacifism and for armed self- defense. We should beat the hell out of the Klan wherever we find them. These dogs have no right to exist!"⁵⁵

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Who had ever done that? Who had ever openly opposed the Klan? Hardly anyone. Some people may fight them in the courts from time to time but no one really takes a stand against them in the street and their history is one of a terrorist organization and terrorism is important and real to all of us right now, but the Klan has been killing and terrorizing for years, hundreds of years. So, I didn't think anything against saying "Death to the Klan." That's an organization that I didn't want. 71

Reference 23 - 0.03% Coverage

It became part of the political offensive. You know, the second wave of attacks on us if you will. And it was quite effective I think—cause we were . . . Think of it, 25 years later we are still trying to let folks know that it is not right that people should be shot down in the street in broad daylight simply for what they believe. But they were able to get away with that—broad daylight, 4 TV stations, people get shot down and they get away with it. Full acquittals, two trials and they're still walking the streets – in part because they were able to marginalize the victims because of this name, because of this word that has been so toxified by the long process of attacks from the U.S. government on this word and this concept and what it really means. So it was a very significant thing whatever view you might have of it. It was really an important part of the whole story. But by no means the whole story for the reason it happened. The reason that this happened was because we had gotten good at pulling together the workers' movement. That's the reason that this happened. That's my view. And I think that's consistent with past incidents in North Carolina history and the history of the United States.⁷⁹

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to concerns that more violence could follow the shootings, city officials exhibited a great deal of concern over Greensboro's image in the national and international media. U.S. Rep. Richardson Preyer told members of the House just days following, that the violence of Nov. 3, 1979, "was entirely out of character for the Greensboro community. The city has had a proud history of nonviolent demonstrations during the civil rights era."¹²

Reference 25 - 0.03% Coverage

That behavior, as well as other factors including national CWP leader Jerry Tung's eulogy in which he referred to the five people who died as martyrs and urged a CWP 5 Enrollment Drive to honor their deaths, would foreshadow further difficulties the CWP would have in its attempts to work with other groups, both locally and nationally. We must make the deaths of the CWP 5 the costliest deaths the U.S. bourgeoisie ever inflicted. We have learned to fight, and we will continue to fight, to deal more punishing and more deadly blows to the bourgeoisie. The proletarian revolution is the greatest struggle in human history. There is no other way for us to uplift our class to be the masters of our own society except to learn warfare through actual warfare. A bloodbath in the class struggle for the seizure of state power is inevitable. Active preparation in all forms of struggle, including military defensive armed struggle now is the only way to minimize our casualties in the upcoming bloodbath. Yes, in the final analysis, the practice of our party's correct and militant line, and indeed the party itself, can only be forged by blood – by sacrificing the most sacred of all things – our lives.⁵⁶

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Wise also remembers the mobilization for the Feb. 2, 1980, rally as an important point in history.⁶² Making it happen was an organizing effort rife with challenges, including the

opposition of City leaders, who Wise said were trying to paint a different view of race relations and so wanted to keep people from protesting this violence.⁶³

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

In not taking seriously the Citizens Review Committee's findings that city officials were viewed as "defensive," "out of touch," "repressive" and "insensitive" to many in the community, the city leadership has been doomed to repeat that history, which was evident at the start of the truth and reconciliation process.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

The evidence supporting the claims of FBI prior knowledge of violence and the attempted concealment of this fact is substantial, and we make findings to this effect elsewhere in this report. Certainly a strong case has also been made for the animosity toward Nelson Johnson in particular and could be made for animosity toward Communist groups in general, given the history of FBI actions to undermine and

Reference 29 - 0.03% Coverage

The Carolina Peacemaker's negative perspective toward the KKK built upon a history of violence against blacks, which might lead us to believe that terms like massacre and murder used in early headlines would dominate their continued coverage. We found that not to be the case. Instead, the weekly newspaper adopted an approach that questioned police and government action in contributing yet another chapter to the history of tension between the African American and law enforcement communities. In doing so, the newsweekly used primarily neutral labels to describe Nov. 3, 1979. In the 146 stories examined, 55 percent of the time the words selected to describe the event were shootings, incident, violence, shooting deaths, tragedy, or rally/demonstration. To a lesser degree, amounting to 36 percent of the time, the newspaper did indeed use words such as murder, killings, slayings, and massacre.¹⁷

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

- the long history of the Klan as a terrorist organization that stirs fear and passion in communities targeted by this violence;

Reference 31 - 0.03% Coverage

Further the Klan and Nazis who were in the caravan backed up violent language with violent actions. For example, there were criminal convictions for shooting into a home reportedly serving liquor to both blacks and whites in Alamance County, conspiring to blow up a union hall in Cherryville, organizing paramilitary training camps for inciting a race war, and planning to blow up a gas storage facility in Greensboro. There also were admissions of breaking the legs of a black man who was living with a white woman and talking about blowing up "race mixing" clubs and bookstores, and burning crosses on the lawns of blacks who had moved into white neighborhoods. In contrast, the most violent documented acts of the WVO/CWP were to engage

in target shooting and karate training. Since its founding, the Klan has been a terrorist group that carried out its threats. With two such divergent histories, the majority of Commissioners conclude that it is not reasonable to give the threats made by the two groups equal weight as they are not equivalent in intent or effect.

Reference 32 - 0.03% Coverage

However, while the idea of armed self-defense is accepted and deeply imbedded in our national identity and tradition, there is a double standard by which armed black people are seen as an unacceptable threat. Klan and Nazis' propensity for carrying heavy firearms was not discussed in intelligence meetings. On the other hand, even after intelligence briefings that the Klan and Nazis intended to come to Greensboro to have revenge for a nearly physical confrontation with the CWP, police planners were more concerned about Nelson Johnson's "history of inciting riots." As Capt Gibson put it, "There was nothing in those (intelligence) briefings (about the Klan and Nazis plans) that concerned me a whole lot." Further, the fact that jurors accepted the dismissal of the first two shots on Nov. 3, 1979, fired by the Klan, as "calming" shots in their consideration of the self-defense argument is astonishing.

One positive legacy of Nov

Reference 33 - 0.02% Coverage

One of the worst breakdowns in human relations in the history of Greensboro, and maybe in the State of North Carolina, occurred on November 3, 1979. On that day, Klan and Nazi members interrupted preparations for a legally scheduled parade through neighborhoods in Southeast Greensboro. These gunmen killed five people and wounded ten others. The African American neighborhood in which this event occurred was terrified and our city thrown into shock. Although there have been three directly related trials, a full accounting of the relevant factors connected to this tragedy has yet to be entered into the public record and the public consciousness.