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Greensboro Justice Fund Records

1966-2009 (*Bulk:* 1979-2002)
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Read collection overview

Five organizers affiliated with the Communist Workers Party were murdered by Klansmen and Nazis in Greensboro, N.C., on Nov. 3, 1979. Although an all-white jury acquitted the defendants of murder and a second jury acquitted them of civil rights violations, a civil suit filed by survivors of the assault held eight Klansmen liable for wrongful death in 1985. First conceived in 1980 as an organization to support the survivors of the assault, the Greensboro Justice Fund grew to support grassroots organizations and activists working for civil rights, social change, and radical democracy in the South.

The records of the Greensboro Justice Fund offer dramatic testimony to the impact of the Greensboro Massacre of 1979, and the manner in which a community of survivors and supporters cooperated to establish an organization that supplied grants to support grassroots social justice initiatives throughout the South.

Background on Greensboro Justice Fund

As part of a broad unionization drive in the south, the Communist Workers Party organized an anti-Klan protest in Greensboro, N.C., to be held on November 3rd, 1979. Receiving a permit from the local police that specified that the protesters not be armed, coupled with the promise of police protection, the protesters gathered that morning only to discover that the police were nowhere to be found. Instead, shortly after the march began, a heavily armed caravan of Neo Nazis and Ku Klux Klansmen drove up and began shooting into the crowd of demonstrators. Widely documented by eye witnesses and on film by a television crew, the attack resulted in four deaths on the scene -- Sandi Smith, Cesar Cauce, Bill Sampson, and Jim Waller -- with a fifth, Michael Nathan, dying in hospital two days later.

The lead car of the caravan that day included Ed Dawson, a Klan informer for the Greensboro police, who had been supplied by the police with a copy of the CWP's permit. Dawson distributed the information to the

local Klan and Nazis. Bernard Butkovich, a federal agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms who had infiltrated the local Nazi party, helped plan the attack. Despite the fact that informants provided local and federal law enforcement with information on the plans for an attack, the CWP was never warned, and the massacre was carried out without interference from the police.

Two trials followed in an effort to hold the assailants accountable for the murders and, from the perspective of the victims, to expose the alleged complicity of local police and the FBI in targeting the CWP and union leaders. The first trial, held before an all-white jury in 1980, resulted in the acquittal of six defendants on murder charges. Notably, a year after the first trial, six Nazis were arrested and ultimately convicted for a plot to detonate homemade napalm bombs in Greensboro in the event that the defendants had been found guilty of murder.

In 1983, nine of the Greensboro Klansmen and Nazis were indicted for civil rights violations and tried before a grand jury. The ensuing trial became the longest and most expensive grand jury investigation in the history of the United States, but again, failed to convict. Undeterred, the Greensboro survivors resorted two years later to a civil case in which they finally prevailed: five Klansmen and Nazis, two Greensboro police officers, and a police informant were found liable for the wrongful death of Dr. Michael Nathan, the only victim who was not a member of the Communist Workers Party. His wife, Marty Nathan, received a verdict of \$351,500 in damages.

The Greensboro Justice Fund began as a means of providing support for the survivors of the Massacre during their long effort to reach justice, but after the success of the civil trial and the receipt of a substantial judgment, they transformed into an organization that provided small grants in the southern states to grassroots social justice organizations. On the thirtieth anniversary of the massacre in 2009, the Fund closed its doors, with the remaining funds divided up to support two programs, the Highlander Center and the Greensboro Justice Fund Fellows Program.

Scope of collection

The records of the Greensboro Justice Fund offer dramatic testimony to the impact of the Greensboro Massacre of 1979, and the manner in which a community of survivors and supporters cooperated to establish an organization that supplied grants to support grassroots social justice initiatives throughout the South.

Organized into four series, the collection includes a broad range of records documenting the history of the Greensboro Justice Fund from its origins in unspeakable violence at the hands of American Nazis and Klansmen through its transformation into a support for social justice initiatives. The first series includes an array of administrative materials from the GJF, correspondence, subject files, fundraising plans, extensive information on hate groups, and photographs from 1978 onward, along with important background material on the Greensboro Massacre, its victims and survivors. The collection also includes important materials generated by the Greensboro Justice Fund's legal team during the trials, including police reports on the Greensboro Massacre, legal motions, media coverage, and several folders of photographs.

The latter series in the collection include financial records (annual reports, fundraising information, taxes, and applications to granting agencies) and a record of grants awarded by the Greensboro Justice Fund from 1981 to 2007 with supporting information on other granting agencies.

Series descriptions

[Series 1. Administrative](#)

1970-2009

The Administrative series is a diverse and important assemblage containing correspondence, documents, and photographs from 1978 onward. The series also contains extensive documentation of hate groups, particularly the KKK's presence in United States, using Klanwatch Intelligence Reports alongside news clippings, lists of hate crimes, and actual publications by the Klan. Documents concerning the Greensboro Massacre Truth and Reconciliation Commission, modeled after the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, follow the organization's goals of acknowledging and understanding of the truth behind the massacre, as well as demanding reparations and institutional reform going forward. The bulk of the Greensboro Justice Fund's work following the trials was fundraising and providing grants, and the series includes the planning and advertisements that went into each event and memorial.

[Series 2. Trial](#)

1978-1989

A dense record of the legal proceedings and public response, both to the failed criminal trial and the successful civil trial. The series includes memoranda from the Greensboro Civil Rights legal team, transcripts from the trials and copies of the judgments, along with newspaper clippings, police reports, correspondence, and press releases documenting the public reaction. Of some note are several folders of photographs taken of the incident, mostly stills captured from the videotape of the attack.

[Series 3. Financial](#)

1980-2001

Includes annual financial reports for the Greensboro Justice Fund, information of fund raising, bequests, taxes, and applications to other granting agencies for support.

[Series 4. Grants Awarded](#)

1981-2007

Records of grants awarded by the Greensboro Justice Fund to social justice organizations, along with supporting information and materials on other granting agencies.

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1970-2009

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1980

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L'Amérique en cagoule (press packet)

1985

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American Friends Service Committee

1984-1985

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Andrews, Eleanor C.: A true story: the 1979 Greensboro shootings (paper for History 300)

1988

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Anti-Klan Speakers Bureau

1980

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Anti-Racist Action

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Anti-Racist Action: ARA News

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Anti-Racist Action: Turning the Tide

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Arthur, Marian J. (Greensboro Civil Rights Fund)

1985 Jan

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Arthur, Marian J. (Greensboro Civil Rights Fund)

1985 June-Dec

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Articles: "Important legal actions in Greensboro on the face of Klan threat"

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Atkins, Henry Lee

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Awards (John Brown Citation; Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Award)
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Aylesworth, Howard: A Manual on Fighting Government Repression. Washington, D.C.: Center on
Government Repression
ca.1983
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Baez, Joan
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Bermanzohn, Sally Avery: Survivors of the 1979 Greensboro murders (Dissertation abstract, CUNY)
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Berrigan, Daniel
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Broder Associates (direct mail)
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Brown lung
1981
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Bullard, Sarah, ed.: The Ku Klux Klan: A History of Racism and Violence, 4th ed. Montgomery, Ala.: Klanwatch
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Center for Democratic Renewal: "Ballot-box bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party" (CDR Background Report 7)
1989 Mar.

Box 1: 46
Center for Democratic Renewal: "The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and Blakely, Georgia" (CDR Background Report 8)
ca.1990

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Center for Democratic Renewal: The Monitor
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Center for Democratic Renewal: "Near the cross: when does free speech become hate speech?"
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Center for Democratic Renewal: "Racist and far-right organizing in the Pacific Northwest" (CDR Background Report)
1988 Sept.

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Center for Democratic Renewal: "The right unmasked"
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Center for Democratic Renewal: "Solidarity or division: the true story of the Ku Klux Klan vs. organized labor,"
by Paul and Trisha McLennan
1985

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Center for Democratic Renewal: "When hate groups come to town," 2d ed.
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Committee for Medical Aid to Southern Africa: Publicity and correspondence (Jean Sharpe, Neil S. Prose)
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Committee for Medical Aid to Southern Africa: Africa resources and other medical support
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Communist Workers Party, part 1
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Communist Workers Party, part 2. Includes "The Greensboro Massacre: the inside story of the five people killed on Nov 3, 1979," draft by Paul and Sally Bermanzohn
1980
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Communist Workers Party. Committee to Avenge the Murders of the Communist Workers Party (WV)5. "Turn the country upside down to beat back the renewed wave of attacks from the Capitalists' tools -- KKK, Nazis, Pigs, and FBI"
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Communist Workers Party USA: Draft Program and Commentary
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Administrative information

Access

The collection is open for research.

Provenance

Gift of Marty Nathan and the Greensboro Justice Fund, 2011.

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Related Material

The [records of the Greensboro Civil Rights Fund](#) are available at the Southern Historical Collection of the University of North Carolina (Collection number 04630).

[Exhibit](#)

[Statements](#) from the Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Language:

English

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Search terms

Subjects

- Communists--United States
- Greensboro (N.C.)--History
- Ku Klux Klan
- Neo-Nazis
- Racism
- Skinheads

Contributors

- Greensboro Justice Fund [main entry]
- Nathan, Marty
- Nathan, Michael
- Christic Institute South
- Greensboro Civil Rights Fund

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