

Protectors of Privilege

*Red Squads and Police Repression in
Urban America*

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To
Carey McWilliams,
editor, *The Nation*,
1955-1975,
who lived out his father's precept
to be "honorable in all things."

a group calling itself the "Black Guard," an alleged offshoot of the Philadelphia RAM, which had long been a prime CD target. The raid followed the arrest of six officers and members of the group and was timed with inspired precision: On the very next day, July 28, 1967, Mayor Tate proclaimed a "limited emergency" (discussed below) that banned public meetings of twelve or more. Later Tate made a television announcement that the police were searching for "several large caches of dynamite, rifles and other contraband" hidden by the arrested conspirators, a development that conveniently served as an answer to the widespread demands for an end to the "emergency."

The black militants were initially charged with disorderly conduct and breach of the peace and, later, on the basis of the seized documents, with a conspiracy to incite to riot and other seditious plots, including a weird superplot, described in this way by Lieutenant Fencl:

Men were solicited to create a riot in the city of Philadelphia; to commit murder, to cause public chaos by destruction of private and public property, literally to destroy the city by violence. It was their intention that once riots started in the city that poison would be distributed through their agents throughout the city for the purpose of placing it in the food and drink that would be distributed gratuitously to policemen assigned to the riot area.¹²

In October the *Totentanz* took a wilder turn when more alleged RAM members were seized and charged with plotting to dynamite public buildings and assassinate public officials, including Rizzo. All of the incitement charges were quickly dropped and the other charges (of dynamiting and assassination) were also abandoned. In exchange the defendants pled guilty to breach of the peace and were placed on six months' probation on that charge.¹³

The police had still another go at RAM in November 1968, when a detail from the CD Squad descended on a house that Fencl said had been placed under surveillance for "a period of time" as the suspected headquarters of the Black Guard. In the basement the police found an assortment of weapons—two rifles, two shotguns, two pistols, more than three hundred rounds of ammunition, and several knives—as well as tape recorders, a mimeograph machine, and three cartons of Maoist literature. The police said they also found a bullet-ridden Philadelphia telephone directory, which indicated that the basement had been used for target practice. An alleged member of the group, Odell Rogers, was arrested and held on the usual high bail—\$20,000. Again, the prosecution was dropped; and RAM itself disappeared from the scene.¹⁴

The SDS Bomb Conspiracy

By 1969 many American cities had already experienced the impact of SDS militance. On Philadelphia campuses, however, SDS had never been very strong, and Rizzo found himself behind the times. Rizzo's problem was admirably summed up by Bernard Segal, a Philadelphia attorney, in a 1969 interview: "Rizzo is a 1969 guy. He's very modern, like the guy who wants to be the first on his block to have a [late model] car. And it bothered him that other cities were having trouble with SDS but Philadelphia wasn't. So he decided to have trouble with the SDS."

The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) was a miniscule offshoot of the SDS, quite removed from and scornful of the mainstream of dissent, proud of its militance, but unable to attract substantial support. When the NCLC became involved in a campaign directed against the city's public school system, Rizzo moved against it.¹⁵ In February 1969 eight members of the group were arrested by the CD (over the vigorous protests of the Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union) for distributing leaflets in front of two Philadelphia high schools.* In the same month, six visitors to the city were arrested for taking pictures of a ceremony outside a high school. The police justified the arrests on the grounds "that they were suspicious people in an auto with New York tags taking photos."[†]

In March Rizzo charged that the NCLC organizers were subverting the high schools and plotting to blow them up. He "documented" his charge with *Your Manual*, a pamphlet on how to make bombs and Molotov cocktails, which he reproduced in quantity for the local media and

* The leaflets were captioned, "Help the Fight against the University City Science Center at Penn." The eight were taken to the Police Administration Building, interrogated, photographed, required to provide information for use on an "intelligence summary" (discussed later), detained for three hours, and then released.

† Young people in cars with out-of-state license plates with long-haired drivers or passengers were frequently stopped "on suspicion." For example, in 1970 the son of Governor Cahill of New Jersey was stopped because he was driving an out-of-state car with a peace sticker on the side, which was parked in a black neighborhood. Young Cahill was arrested and charged with a marijuana law violation. The same year, the daughter of a prominent Quaker drove into town with a long-haired passenger and out-of-state license plates. She was stopped as soon as she crossed the line into Philadelphia, and when she asked the reason for stopping her, the police replied, "We just want to check on your identity. We want to know who the people are who come to Philadelphia." This "outside agitation" concern may well have been a cover. The evidence is strong that such targets were pinpointed by the FBI pursuant to the collaborative arrangement described earlier.

circulated with a memorandum stating: "The Students for a Democratic Society is the moving force behind the circulation of this booklet in Philadelphia." In fact, the pamphlet was published in San Francisco and referred to the local San Francisco scene only and was obviously not intended for use outside of that city. It had been seized and destroyed by the police there, except for single copies distributed by the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) to urban police chiefs; the real "moving force behind the circulation of this booklet in Philadelphia" was Rizzo himself. In a letter to the Philadelphia ACLU dated April 11, 1969, he justified his action by saying that he knew the pamphlet had been distributed at an NCLC meeting in Philadelphia as recommended reading and he believed that "it is in the interest of the people of this city for them to be aware of the actions advocated by groups within our society." Rizzo refused to disclose the source of his knowledge of SDS's use of the pamphlet.

The attempt to attribute this how-to-do-it manual to the NCLC was marked by a particularly offensive irony. Rizzo had in the past confined himself to targets whose style and rhetoric might create an expectation of violence. But the NCLC had fought factions in the student movement and the SDS that were committed to anarchist-terrorist methods: it favored coalition politics, mass pressure, and ameliorating legislative programs. In short, the political police of Philadelphia attributed a revolutionary bomb plot to a group that had come into being and defined itself by rejection of bomb plots as a political instrument.

When the initial harassment, bogus arrests, and smear press releases failed to stop the NCLC, Rizzo once again resorted to the familiar bomb-plot scenario. On the night of April 9, 1969, after two weeks of around-the-clock surveillance, ten members of the CD Squad led by Lieutenant Fencel entered the apartment of Steven Fraser and Richard Borgmann, young activist members of the NCLC. Armed with a search warrant (applied for on the basis of a "tip from an unnamed informant") the detail found a can of explosive powder, three casings for pipe bombs, six metal pipe caps, a container of plastic explosive known as C-4, and a length of dynamite fuse. The incriminating explosives were "discovered" in or underneath a refrigerator in a corner of the kitchen, a location that enabled the policemen to "find" the contraband without being seen simply by walling the corner off with their massed backs.

Rizzo held a press conference on the day after the raid and recited his now predictable lines: those arrested "could have caused great grief in the community and great damage. People like this should be not permitted to roam the streets." The commissioner displayed sixteen photographs of the messy apartment and two separate close-up pictures

showing four paperback novels with titles like *My Body Is Waiting*. "Just look at the filthy conditions in those pictures," he said. "They're self-explanatory." Given such degeneracy, who needed further proof of guilt?

At the preliminary hearing on the case, a set of seized bomb parts mysteriously made an appearance in police photographs as an assembled bomb. But even stranger was the police failure to take fingerprints. The following colloquy between defense counsel and Lieutenant Fencel tells its own story:

- Q. Did you or any of the other officers who handled these items pick up either with tongs, tweezers or with handkerchiefs in order to preserve whatever fingerprints there might be on those cans to help identify the individuals who had been handling or having possession of the particular item?
- A. No, we did not.
- Q. Why not?
- A. We just did not do it.¹⁶

At a hearing Fencel asked for \$25,000 bail for each of the defendants and asserted that the NCLC was part of an "East Coast Bomb Conspiracy" centered in Boston whose first priority was the demolition of national monuments in Boston and Philadelphia. He added that Fraser had been present at a Boston meeting of the "conspiracy" the preceding March. The court granted Fencel's bail request, but on appeal, when Fencel admitted that he really didn't know that such a gathering had ever taken place, let alone that either Fraser or Borgmann had attended, the bail was reduced to \$10,000 each. All this happened in the summer of 1969. Almost four years later, in 1973, the case was dropped on the grounds that the prosecution was unwilling to reveal its informer's identity.*

The Panther Police Assassination Plot

Commissioner Rizzo had been singularly unsuccessful in making any of his bomb-plot charges stick, and by 1969 he was beginning to have the same trouble as the boy who cried wolf. He was helped out of his di-

* Not long after this the NCLC turned sharply rightward. Its leader, Lyn Marcus, revealed himself to be Lyndon LaRouche, an ex-Trotskyist, and renamed the NCLC the U.S. Labor Party. The organization specialized in political and economic intelligence and sought to supply information to federal, state, and local police on left-wing activities. LaRouche and his lieutenants were eventually convicted on criminal charges of fraud.

In December 1983 Floridians learned that an Orange County, Florida, sheriff's investigator, using an assumed identity, spent seven months undercover in the Central Florida Nuclear Freeze Campaign on an infiltration assignment. The sheriff's office claimed that the freeze campaign posed a danger to the county's security because several of its members had been previously arrested in Tampa for civil disobedience.³⁴ In Orange County, California, Sheriff Bradley Gates has been sued for an assortment of surveillance practices including wiretapping, bugging, and harassment of three political opponents and critics—a judge, a private investigator, and a college professor—who claim they were targeted in order to silence them.³⁵

Data exchanges are also recorded between the Chicago Police Department and twenty-six state law-enforcement agencies.* The record further demonstrates that state units in California, Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, and Ohio, among others, staked out their own countersubversive turf and continued their surveillance activities in the late sixties and thereafter when urban operations were attacked or suspended.

In 1980 the New Hampshire State Police, working with a private pro-nuclear group headed by the extremist Lyndon LaRouche, infiltrated the Clamshell Alliance, a coalition of nuclear power opponents. When a number of demonstrators were arrested for criminal trespass, one of them turned out to be a state police undercover agent.³⁶ During 1983 and 1984 evidence emerged of surveillance and infiltration of a group demonstrating against the death penalty by the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) under a newly enacted Georgia statute, the Anti-Terrorism Task Force Act. The demonstration was also videotaped by an agent, who disguised himself by wearing a green ribbon, which was used for identification by opponents of the death penalty. In addition, identifying data were collected by uniformed troopers. The GBI also targeted a number of claimed "terrorist" groups for surveillance with no record of violent activities.³⁷ The cloak-and-dagger obsession of the GBI's director, J. R. Hamrick, led in 1986 to the targeting of the Campaign for a Prosperous Georgia, a consumer group with an antinuclear agenda, despite the fact that a GBI investigator had cleared the group of charges of

* A variety of other state cadres also operated in secret collusion with local red squad units. This was especially true in the South. State agencies in Alabama, Louisiana (Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities), and Mississippi (Sovereignty Commission) supplied red squads with funds and operational manpower in a joint crusade against black activism. In these efforts, white citizens' councils also played a collaborative role.

illegal activities. But Hamrick was unpersuaded: he feared that the "international situation," particularly the "conflict between the United States and Libya" created "the potential for a terrorist attack."

In October 1983 it was disclosed that, under an Arizona statute passed in 1975 to investigate drug trafficking, the Arizona Criminal Intelligence Systems Agency had deployed infiltrators in two towns where copper miners were on strike; these mingled with the strikers and attended union meetings, tactics claimed to be justified by a "potential threat of violence." Subsequently it was discovered that the same agency had infiltrated the ranks of anti-cruise missile demonstrators at an Air Force base as part of an investigation into "radical terrorist groups."³⁸

In areas where national defense facilities are targets of protests and demonstrations, state police units are increasingly deployed both on their own and in collaboration with other agencies. In Connecticut political surveillance for purposes unrelated to law enforcement has routinely been conducted by the Connecticut State Police in the New London area, the site of a Navy laboratory, a submarine base, and a General Dynamics submarine yard. Moreover, in the recent past, state police officers have routinely photographed demonstrators at other sites, assertedly for "future intelligence purposes"; documents establish that in 1982 undercover troopers infiltrated a student gathering at Wesleyan University, where students were planning an anti-Klan rally. Documents also record surveillance of other demonstrations where certain participants were labeled "pacifists" and "Marxists." In 1984 it was revealed that included in the Connecticut State Police collection of 24,000 "raw intelligence reports" was a file on a respected former state supreme court justice, initiated by an anonymous telephone call.³⁹

Nothing demonstrates the persistence of the latter-day surveillance drive as the disclosure that despite the dismantling of the Michigan State Police (MSP) intelligence unit in 1976 (see p. 297), state troopers, operating under the cover of another branch of the MSP, infiltrated peace groups protesting the construction of nuclear weapons at a plant in a Detroit suburb.⁴⁰

The revival of political surveillance may also be spurred by the private sector. Surveillance and file maintenance of alleged or suspected subversives has for a long time been a priority of ultra-right groups in this country, working on their own or, more commonly, with police agencies. In the sixties, and even earlier, a substantial majority of the police forces in large American cities—including New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, and Birmingham—had close operational or file-sharing ties with right-wing groups. In some cases, local

matters, and with a Philadelphia councilman, David Cohen; and supplementary research by Robert Koulsh.

2. Jim Riggio, "The Year of the Bull," *Philadelphia Magazine*, March 1973, hereafter cited as Riggio; Lenora E. Berson, "'The Toughest Cop in America' Campaigns for Mayor of Philadelphia," *New York Times Magazine*, May 16, 1971, hereafter cited as Berson, "Toughest Cop"; Mike Mallowe, "Watch Out! Here Comes Frank the Tank," *Philadelphia Magazine*, October 1975, hereafter cited as Mallowe.

3. Accounts of the early Rizzo include Greg Walter, "Rizzo," *Philadelphia Magazine*, June 1967; Bernard McCormick, "God Bless Frank Rizzo . . . or God Save Us?" *ibid.*, August 1969; Fred J. Hamilton, *Rizzo* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), pp. 83ff., hereafter cited as Hamilton; Berson, "Toughest Cop"; Riggio; Mallowe; Daughen and Binzen, pp. 59-91.

4. "Police 'Spies' Watch School Conference on Racial Problems," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, December 12, 1967.

5. The best account of Rizzo's relationship with the press appears in Hamilton, ch. 6. See also Joe McGinnis, "He'll Always Be Car One" [MORE], December 1971, and Berson, "Toughest Cop."

6. "How to Handle Demonstrations," *Time*, December 9, 1966.

7. SISS Hearings, June 24, 1966: *Gap in Internal Security Laws*, pt. 2, pp. 25-29.

8. *United States v. Eqbal Ahmad et al.*, Crim. No. 14950 (E.D. Pa. February 22, 1972), pp. 109-10; testimony in text quoted from pp. 98-102.

9. "Ex SNCC Aide Pleads Guilty in Dynamite Case," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, October 17, 1968.

10. Between August 13 and 23, 1966, Rizzo gave the press no fewer than twenty-five statements elaborating on the claim that the raid had rescued the city from disaster.

11. "Dynamite Charge against 2 Dismissed," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 10, 1968; "Classic Frame-Up: SNCC Unit Dies," *National Guardian*, May 27, 1967.

12. "4 Racists Accused of Cyanide Plot to Kill Hundreds Here," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, September 27, 1967. For an account of the hearing at which prohibitively high bail (\$10,000) was set, see "'Black Guard' Assaulted in Court by DA," *ibid.*, August 9, 1967.

13. *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 1967: "Guerilla War Planned, RAM Informer Says," October 16; "Pride at Stake in RAM Hearing," December 16.

14. "Bail Cut Is Refused Activist," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 13, 1968; "DA Drops Case in RAM Hearing," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, May 10, 1969.

15. The SDS "bomb plot" account in the text is based on interviews by the author; files of the Philadelphia ACLU and the American Friends Service Committee; lawyers for the defendants in court cases; and the Philadelphia ACLU's publication, *Civil Liberties Record*, April 1969.

16. Quoted in *Bomb Plot Conspiracy*, a pamphlet published by the Fraser-Borgmann Defense Committee (n.d.).

17. The description of the raids on the Panthers in the text is documented by the following sources in addition to those specifically cited: interviews by the author with Panther leaders and their lawyers; the files of the American Friends Service Committee and the Philadelphia ACLU; Bernard McCormick, "The War of the Cops," *New York Times Magazine*, October 8, 1970; a feature article by a team of investigative reporters, "Controversy Still Rages over Raids on Panthers," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, September 30, 1970; and another by an *Inquirer* staffer, "A Week of Violence: The Facts and the Meaning," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 6, 1970.

18. "Bugs in the Office," *Philadelphia Free Press*, September 1969.

19. "7 Seized in North Philadelphia Raid," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, March 11, 1970; "N. Philadelphia Fortress Raided; 7 Arrested, Arms Seized," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 12, 1970. An ACLU press release of March 13, 1970, protested as "irresponsible and malicious" the attempt to link the Panthers with criminal activity.

20. Quoted in Berson, "Toughest Cop." In an interview Rizzo stated: "We let idiots like this survive under our form of government. Maybe we'll have to change it." "Writer Protests Police Action in Raids on 3 Black Panthers," *Philadelphia Bulletin*, September 3, 1970.

21. Rizzo insisted even after the disclosure of police excesses that it was "clearly evident . . . that the police acted with remarkable restraint" ("Report of Panther Weapons Led to Raids," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 4, 1970).

22. "Panther Conference Opens after Court Victories," *New York Times*, September 6, 1970.

23. That Rizzo hated the *Free Press* and especially Biggin because of his stand on police issues is made clear by the testimony of Philadelphia Police Inspector Robert Wolfinger in SISS Hearings, October 8, 1970: *Assaults on Law Enforcement Officers*, pt. 3, p. 213.

24. The account of the harassments of the *Free Press* in the text is based on undisputed allegation of a legal complaint, discussed on p. 221, and a series of interviews by the author with Biggin. The police case against Biggin and the *Free Press* is reflected in two *Philadelphia Bulletin* articles from July 28, 1970: "Head of Rebel Paper Is Central Figure in New Left Here" and "100 Here Called Hardcore Revolutionaries." See also a series of stories by Albert Gaudiosi from the *Philadelphia*

on Opponents," *Los Angeles Times*, November 28, 1984; "Group Suing Sheriff Can Have Lumber Records, Court Rules," *Orange County Register*, December 4, 1984; "Sheriff's File on Judge, Private Investigator, Is Big, Could Get Bigger," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1984; "Court Discloses Civil Rights Probe of OC Sheriff's Office," *Orange County Register*, December 18, 1984; "'Sting' Claim Is Made in Youngblood Hearing," *ibid.*, February 13, 1985; "Youngblood's Ex-Wife Says Sheriff's Unit Gave Her Drugs to 'Set Up' Judge," *ibid.*, April 10, 1985; "Judge Will Ask Probe of Sheriff Unit," *Los Angeles Times*, April 10, 1985; "Santa Ana Private Investigator Files Suit against Anaheim, OC Officials," *Orange County Register*, April 30, 1985; "Youngblood Warns Colleagues on 1986 Sheriff, Judicial Races," *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, August 2, 1985; "Youngblood to Run against Sheriff Gates," *Los Angeles Times*, August 16, 1985; "Youngblood Decides to Leave Bench Early to Run for Sheriff," *Orange County Register*, October 22, 1985; "Court Says Youngblood Can View Gates' Files," *Los Angeles Times*, December 24, 1985; "Youngblood's Investigator Cleared of Misdemeanor Charges," *Orange County Register*, December 28, 1985; "Judge Won't Release Imprisoned OC Financier," *ibid.*, December 28, 1985; "Detective, a Foe of Gates, Cleared of Misdemeanors," *Los Angeles Times*, December 28, 1985; "Youngblood's Lawsuit against Gates Delayed," *ibid.*, January 17, 1986; "Judge Refuses to Order Turnover of Documents in Youngblood Case," *Santa Ana [Calif.] Register*, January 22, 1986; "Suit against Gates Partly Dismissed," *Orange County Register*, March 7, 1986.

36. Donner, *Age*, ch. 12, "Countersubversive Intelligence in the Private Sector," p. 433 and p. 520 n. 28.; Steve Burkholder, "Red Squads on the Prowl," *Progressive*, October 1988.

37. Text of speech by Phil Peters to Atlanta Metropolitan Crime Commission, May 17, 1983.

38. "State Agents Photographed Protests" and "Nuclear Protesters Get Sympathy in Court, Community Work to Do," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, December 29, 1983; "Crime Agency Tried to Infiltrate Missile Protestors," "A Tinge of 1984," and "DPS, Sheriff Say They Didn't Invite Agency to Spy on Demonstrators," (Arizona) *Daily Star*, December 30, 1983; "D-M Campers Photographed, Agency Says," *ibid.*, December 31, 1983; "The Spies among Us: When Will They Ever Learn?" (editorial), *ibid.*, January 4, 1984; "Mawhinney Says Agency Doing Its Job in Probe of Peace March," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, January 4, 1984.

39. "Big Brother Is Watching—State Police Secretly Spy and Collect Information on Activists" and "State Police Spying Indefensible," (Connecticut) *Fairpress*, December 19, 1984; "What It Means When Police Spy," *ibid.*, December 26, 1984; "ACLU Director Says Police May Have Broken Law," *Waterbury [Conn.] Republican*, December 27, 1984; Opening Statement of Lester Forst before Judiciary Committee, Decem-

ber 28, 1984; and coverage in the *Hartford Courant*: "Excerpts from Grand Jury Testimony in Torrington Probe," December 28, 1984; "Prosecutor's Retirement Fuels Police-McGuigan Dispute," January 1, 1985; "Governor Steps into Feud between Police, McGuigan," January 3; "McGuigan Names Buckley to Probe Possible Wiretap Leaks," January 5; "Turf Wars: How Gossip Ignited Forst-McGuigan Feud," January 13; "A Vicious Smear That Won't Go Away" (editorial), January 20.

40. George Corsetti, "Patterson Throws the Book," (Detroit) *Metro Times*, April 4-10, 1984.

41. Donner, *Age*, ch. 12, "Countersubversive Intelligence in the Private Sector," pp. 414-15; O'Toole, *Private Sector*, *passim*; Barbara Durr, "The Challenge to Privacy and Constitutional Rights from Private Corporate Security," *Council on Economic Priorities* 5 (1980).

42. The account of the Greensboro trial is based on the trial record in the case. See also Greensboro Civil Rights Front, press release (n.d.); "Federal Jury Finds 8 Liable in Communist's Death," *Winston-Salem Journal*, June 8, 1985; "Plaintiffs Consider Verdict of Klan-Nazi Trial a 'Victory,'" *Greensboro News & Record*, June 11, 1985. For a more comprehensive exploration of the Greensboro civil action and the confrontation that gave rise to it, see Paul Bermanzohn, "The Greensboro Massacre: Police-Vigilante Nexus," in Bud Schultz and Ruth Schultz, *It Did Happen Here: Recollections of Political Repression in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 335-46, and the following stories and articles: "Ex-Officer Says Dispatcher Told Her to Leave before CWP Members Shot," *Greensboro News & Record*, November 28, 1984; "'Greensboro Massacre' Retrial Set to Start Today in North Carolina," *Los Angeles Daily Journal*, March 11, 1985; "Klan-Nazi Shooting Cops' Fault, Suit Says," *Chicago Tribune*, March 7, 1985; "3d Trial in Fatal Klan Clash with Leftists Starting Today," *New York Times*, March 11, 1985; "Another Trial Begins in Greensboro Deaths," *USA Today*, March 11, 1985; "Greensboro: Explosive Case Comes to Trial—Again," (Pine Ridge County, N.C.) *Journal*, March 11, 1985; "Judge Wants Black Jurors in Klan Trial," *USA Today*, March 12, 1985; "Civil Trial Opens on Greensboro Clash," *Washington Post*, March 16, 1985; "Countersuits Anger Black Leaders," *Greensboro News & Record*, March 17, 1985; Jack D. Novik, "Greensboro Triggers," *New York Times*, March 23, 1985; "1979 Shootings Haunt N.C. City," *USA Today*, March 21, 1985; "Lawsuit on Deaths of Communists Goes to Trial in North Carolina," *New York Times*, March 26, 1985; Isaiah Singletary and Lewis Cohen, "Five Years Later, the Widows Get Their Day in Court," *Guardian*, March 27, 1985; "N.C. Suit against Klan-Gov't Goes to Court," *Militant*, March 29, 1985; Guy Seay, ed., "The Greensboro Massacre," *Carillon: The Chronicle Magazine* 1, no. 10 (March 27, 1985): 1-8; "Klan Trial a Sharp Contrast with 2 Earlier Ones," *New*