

Pendleton himself made headlines about the same time by saying the President was amenable to the idea of holding a "black summit" at Camp David. Four days later, at the tail end of a *Washington Post* story (in which Reagan defended himself against the charges), "a senior presidential advisor" said the President had no plans to hold Pendleton's "summit." Much worse than that kind of anonymous insult was a series of articles carried by the Gannett News Service early in May in which Pendleton caught hell for his lavish expense account expenditures in Washington and San Diego. According to the stories, Pendleton was living high at a time when the two organizations he headed—the San Diego Urban League and the Civil Rights Commission—were having severe financial troubles. The most damaging revelation was that "Pendleton permitted the establishment of a business venture in which the San Diego Urban League was used to help create a front for two white businessmen, allowing them to pose as a minority firm and qualify for special preference when they bid for government contracts." It might be said in defense of Pendleton that since he doesn't believe in quotas, he cannot be faulted for helping whites get some of the business that the government was directing to minority firms.

Pendleton often undercuts the recommendations of the commission's reports by issuing statements disputing their findings. Consider the May 1983 report titled "Greater Baltimore Commitment: A Study of Urban Minority Economic Development." The thrust of the 117-page report is that the Small Business Administration and the Minority Business Development Agency should expand their efforts to help minorities in Baltimore. Pendleton argued that "a reduction in the federal role and the revision of its policies would do more to promote local business and employment opportunities for minorities." The report said that only 278 of Baltimore's 6,000 1981 high school graduates had found full-time jobs six months after their graduation. While Pendleton harped on getting the Federal government off the back of black Baltimore, the report said that a \$10 million cut in Federal funding had reduced the number of students employed in the city's work-study programs from 27,000 to 530 in two years. Whose side is Pendleton on?

Ostensibly, he is on Reagan's side, and that may become more obvious when the crunch comes on an affirmative action report scheduled for delivery in 1984. Probably the most significant unfinished project in the Civil Rights Commission's mill, the report is tentatively titled "Successful Affirmative Action Efforts." It remains to be seen how successful the commission will be in getting such a document out in 1984 if Reagan runs for re-election, especially in view of the fact that the stated aim of the report is to "document and publicize policies and practices which lead to employment progress for minorities and women, thus countering popular perceptions that affirmative action does not work." Of course, when it comes to perceptions of affirmative action, none are more important than those of Ronald Reagan himself. If the commission cannot succeed in altering Reagan's vision, then unemployment among minorities will continue to rise. How much worse must the situation

become before the President recognizes that trickle-down civil rights works no better than Reaganomics does?

The President's views on busing are as flawed as his views on quotas and affirmative action. He seems not to understand that setting quotas or goals is only a way to help members of minority groups move closer to the norms and ideals that he claims to believe in for all Americans. Simply, he seems not to recognize (or be willing to admit) that a school bus is a vehicle to move children to places where they can get a more equal education. It may be difficult to communicate such complexities to the President, but the Civil Rights Commission should continue to make the effort.

Presidents always take themselves too seriously, and Reagan needs to laugh more at the mistakes his advisers push on him. Here in Illinois, we do not think a Federal case will be made against the advisory committee if we cannot come up with a handicapped Oriental woman union leader for the panel. So we joke about it. But we do not for a moment forget that our goal is to get a wide range of people to work together to end the many forms of discrimination that make America an unfair place. Yes, Reagan ought to laugh about how funny Pendleton and his all-white teammates on the Civil Rights Commission will look. And then Dutch needs to be told that if he had only understood a little more about how quotas work, he could have avoided getting slapped upside the head. □

■ THE GREENSBORO BOYS

Klan and State In North Carolina

DAVID J. GARROW

Many North Carolinians have heard all they want to hear about the killings of five anti-Klan activists at a Communist Workers Party "Death to the Klan" rally in Greensboro on November 3, 1979. The killers—who were photographed with shocking clarity by cameramen from a local television station—remain unpunished. In a trial a year after the shootings, the six defendants, members of the Klan and the American Nazi Party, claimed self-defense and were acquitted of state murder charges. And the questions that have been raised about possible government complicity in the murders remain unanswered.

But in the past several months there have been important developments in this most notorious case of Southern racist violence since the mid-1960s. On April 21, a Federal grand jury that had been hearing testimony since March 1982 in-

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dicted nine Klansmen and Nazis who had been present at the rally, charging them with conspiracy to violate the civil rights of the victims. All the defendants face sentences of up to ten years if convicted; those among them who are also alleged to have fired the fatal shots could receive life imprisonment as well.

The best-known local figure of the nine is Edward Dawson, a former Klansman, a longtime informant for the Greensboro Police Department and a former F.B.I. informant. Dawson had renewed his Klan contacts at the urging of a city police detective several weeks before the rally, and he rode in the lead vehicle of the Klan-Nazi caravan, which barged into the C.W.P. demonstration. The indictment makes no mention of Dawson's police tie, which he readily acknowledges, nor does it say that any law enforcement agency was involved in, or had advance knowledge of, the events of November 3. Dawson was angry that his informant work had been rewarded with an indictment, but some people would be happy to make him a scapegoat. For the shootings may have been the result of police bungling or failure to act on his warnings about the Klansmen and Nazis' plans.

One week after the indictments were handed down, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit overturned the 1981 convictions of six North Carolinians—including one November 3 defendant—for conspiring to bomb several Greensboro locations in the event their associates were found guilty of murder in the 1980 state trial. The appellate court cited the Justice Department's failure to give the six impecunious defendants free transcripts of their earlier trial, which ended in a hung jury.

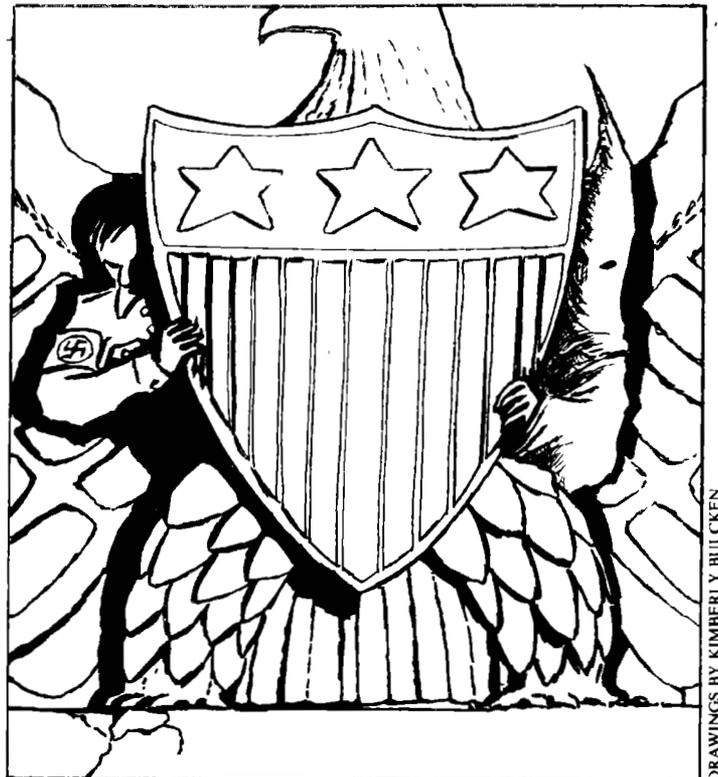
On May 13, a Federal District Court judge from Minnesota, Edward J. Devitt, was named to preside in the trial of those indicted by the grand jury. The trial, scheduled to begin in the early fall, should be a lengthy one. Immediately upon being named, Devitt issued a sweeping order barring the defendants, their court-appointed lawyers and prospective witnesses from making "any extrajudicial statement or interview relating to the trial, or the parties, or the witnesses involved, for dissemination by any means of public communication." Stunned North Carolina legal observers called the gag order unprecedented. William Lassiter, general counsel of the North Carolina Press Association, remarked, "I can't remember it ever happening in this state."

Fourteen days after Devitt's order, Judge Gerhard Gesell of the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia issued a long-awaited ruling in another matter stemming from the November 3 shootings: a civil suit filed by several C.W.P. members and supporters seeking appointment of a special prosecutor under the provisions of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, to determine if high-ranking F.B.I. and Justice Department officials knew or should have known of the Klan and Nazis' plans in advance. Gesell found that the C.W.P.'s conspiracy claims were "based merely on inferences unsupported by any concrete fact," but he ordered the Justice Department to conduct a preliminary investigation and report its findings within ninety days. He declined to name a special prosecutor, and it is

highly unlikely that the Reagan Justice Department will recommend one.

In addition to Dawson, the eight men named in the April 21 indictment were K.K.K. Grand Dragon Virgil L. Griffin; Klansmen David Wayne Matthews, Jerry Paul Smith, Roy C. Toney and Coleman Blair (Johnny) Pridmore; and Winston-Salem Nazis Roland Wayne Wood, Raeford Milano Caudle and Jack W. Fowler Jr. The role of the Klan in the 1979 shootings has been widely reported, and ballistics evidence introduced at the state murder trial established that the fatal shots in four of the five deaths were fired by Klansman Matthews's gun. But more needs to be known about the role of the Winston-Salem Nazis, who transported many firearms to the rally and whose ranks were infiltrated in July 1979 by an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Bernard Butkovich. Nazi Party member Caudle recently told *The North Carolina Independent* that at a planning meeting not long before the day of the shootings, Butkovich said, "Well, I wouldn't go unless I had my gun. It isn't against the law to have one locked in the car." Like another undercover B.A.T.F. agent, Michael Sweat, whose testimony was central in the bombing conspiracy prosecution, Butkovich had been introduced to the North Carolina Nazis by the group's state commander, Harold Covington, who has since disappeared.

A key government witness in the upcoming Federal conspiracy proceedings may be Mark J. Sherer, a 22-year-old former Klansman who, according to testimony at the state murder trial, fired the first shot on November 3. A close associate of Grand Dragon Griffin, Sherer has been convicted of armed robbery and cross burning. Several weeks before the grand jury handed down its indictments, he pleaded



DRAWINGS BY KIMBERLY BULCKEN

guilty to one count of conspiracy. A close reading of the subsequent charges suggests that Sherer provided crucial evidence to the grand jury.

In the wake of the November 3 shootings, most North Carolinians blamed the victims. Many thought the C.W.P. members were seeking martyrdom, and that they got what they deserved. Apparently some public officials still feel that way. "I hope we can go ahead and get this thing behind us," Greensboro Mayor John Forbis told the *Raleigh News and Observer* after the grand jury indictments were issued. "What must always be remembered is that there are too many who have too much to gain by keeping it on the front burner—the Communist Workers Party." There are also many who have much to gain by keeping it on the back burner, and by dismissing the five killings as the result of an obscure feud between rival groups of extremists. The Federal trial may establish that neither the C.W.P. nor Ed Dawson bears primary responsibility for the shootings in Greensboro, but there still will be questions that must be answered. □

■ BEYOND 'WASTE LAND'

Strategies for A New Economy

If the bad news is that the Democrats' alternative to Reaganomics is industrial policy, then the good news is that there is a democratic alternative to industrial policy. In the June 4 Nation, Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf offered a progressive strategy for revitalizing the U.S. economy. Because we found their ideas worthy of further exploration, we invited readers to respond to their article and the book on which it is based, Beyond the Waste Land. Below are the first two responses; others will appear in the magazine in the coming weeks. The series will conclude with a comment from Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf.

—The Editors

THOMAS FERGUSON

Beyond the Waste Land is a brilliant and often strikingly original book that covers a tremendous amount of ground. Because Samuel Bowles, David M. Gordon and Thomas E. Weisskopf's argument is so sweeping—and technically sophisticated—any brief comment is likely to do an injustice to the work as a whole. Nevertheless, I think it is valuable to examine *Beyond the Waste Land's* account of America's economic

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decline and its treatment of American politics.

The solutions one proposes to the current U.S. economic crisis are determined by how one assesses the relative importance of two factors in that crisis: the international economy and domestic class conflict. Those who believe that international influences—such as increasing production in the Third World, competition from Japan and other advanced states, an overvalued dollar, the fabulous cost of America's imperial adventures—are most critical will probably spend most of their time reflecting on how the United States can best cope with balance-of-payments constraints, capital market integration, international economic policy coordination problems and peripheral wars. They will focus extensively on the role of multinational corporations, the impact of imports, North-South relations and perhaps even Soviet-American relations. On the other hand, those who identify the erosion of corporate domination at home (manifested in rising worker militancy and increasing community organizing among the poor) as the more important factor will probably worry less about international complications. Like the authors of *Beyond the Waste Land*, they will focus primarily on domestic social reform and what might be termed a "wage-led growth in one country" strategy of social transformation.

Of course, Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf realize that the United States is part of the world economy. And, considering the complexity of the issues they raise and the fact that hardly anyone else has tried to quantify them, it is almost embarrassing to voice doubts about their analysis of declining corporate profitability and what they call the "postwar corporate system." Yet I do not think that their statistical models sufficiently distinguish the international economy from intensifying class conflict in the United States as factors in the country's current crisis.

The "terms of trade" measure, used frequently as a gauge of the international economy's influence on the United States, has many shortcomings. It fails to take into account the enormous growth of multinational production outside of "home" countries. It disregards international finance. And as a ratio of export prices to import prices, it can be a perverse indicator of the state of the U.S. economy (signaling improvement, for example, when cheaper imports massively supplant U.S. domestic production, or, as has been the case recently, when an overvalued dollar raises the price of U.S. goods in foreign markets while it depresses the economy as a whole).

As the authors note, their measure of the impact of the rising price of raw materials responds both to international economic influences and to domestic pressures for a cleaner environment and safer mines. There is, therefore, no way to disentangle those factors.

Nor is the book's analysis of postwar class conflict in the United States without ambiguity. Though Bowles, Gordon and Weisskopf discuss an intriguing "cost of losing your job" measure devised by Juliet Schor and Bowles, how militant American workers have really been in the last few decades is an open question. Although labor certainly took advantage of the tight job market of the late 1960s and early

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