

FRED HAMPTON



20TH COMMEMORATION

The December 4th Committee

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Produced by the December 4th Committee with special thanks to Tim Culver, Linda Turner, Peter Kuttner, Mariel Nanasi, Stacey Beckman, Jeffrey Haas, Janine, Loren, C & D printers, Salsado Press, and Katie.

TWENTY YEAR COMMEMORATION

Thursday
November 30

8 pm "The Assassination of Fred Hampton" a play at the Organic Theatre, 3319 North Clark.
Info: 327-5588. \$

Friday
December 1

10 am-4 pm "Educate to Liberate," workshops at Malcolm X College, 1900 West Van Buren. (Workshop agenda subject to change.)

10 am "The Murder of Fred Hampton," film and discussion of the life and legacy of Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party—a historical perspective.

12:30 pm Viewing of exhibit of photographs by Paul Secura of Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party, which will run 4-8 weeks. Sales by vendors.

1 pm "What We Want—What We Believe." Political analysis of the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Program and Platform.

2 pm "All Power to the People." Videotape by Kartemquin Films People's Law Office, and the December 4th Committee interviews with Harold Charles, Deborah Johnson, Howard Saffold, Jorja Palmer, and others: 1969-1989, where do we go from here?

3 pm "The Murder of Fred Hampton," film.

10 am-4 pm Selected short films on Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and others will be shown in a separate viewing room.

* * *

8 pm "Amen Corner, James Baldwin play performed by Kuumba Theatre at Malcolm X College, 1900 West Van Buren. Info: 461-9000. \$

Saturday
December 2

Noon-5 pm "Chairman Fred, We Love You", a cultural arts extravaganza at Malcolm X College Auditorium, 1900 West Van Buren.

Noon "The Murder of Fred Hampton," selected scenes.

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TWENTY YEAR COMMEMORATION

2:30-5 pm A celebration of music, dance, theatre and poetry readings in tribute to the life and legacy of Fred Hampton.

8 pm "Amen Corner" James Baldwin play by Kumba Theatre. Malcolm X College. 1900 W. Van Buren. Info: 461-9000

Saturday
December 2

12 noon "Chairman Fred - We Love You " A cultural arts extravaganza. Malcolm X College. 1900 W. Van Buren. Auditorium

"The assassination of Fred Hampton" Selected scenes.

1:30 pm "All Power To The People" Videotape by Kartemquin Films.

2:30-5 pm A celebration of music, dance, theatre and poetry readings in tribute to the life and legacy of Fred Hampton.

8 pm "Amen Corner," James Baldwin play performed by Kuumba Theatre at Malcolm X College, 1900 West Van Buren. Info: 461-9000. \$

10 am-4 pm Boulevard Arts Center 6th Annual Children's Arts Festival. Free art classes, exhibits. School field trips welcome. Monday-Saturday through December. 1825 W. Garfield. Info: 476-4900 This year's exhibit dedicated to the life of Fred Hampton and the School Breakfast Program.

Sunday
December 3

10 am "The Murder of Fred Hampton." Film and Forum at 3rd Unitarian Church, 301 North Mayfield. Info: 626-9385

6-8 pm Rally at The People's Church (Church of the Epiphany), 201 South Ashland. Candlelight vigil to apartment where Fred Hampton was killed immediately following rally.

Monday
December 4

1 pm Showing of "The Murder of Fred Hampton" and Black Panther

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TWENTY YEAR COMMEMORATION

Party Artifacts at the Dusable Musuem of Black History.

12:30 am
9:00 am

Radio documentary on Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and survivors of the 12/4/69 police raid. Carol Gray, producer
WVON AM, WBEZ FM.

* * *

7 pm

"War At Home," 20 years after the Murder of Fred Hampton. Brian Glick, activist lawyer and author. Book signing and discussion.

* * *

8 pm

"The Assassination of Fred Hampton," a play at the Organic Theatre, 3319 North Clark. Info: 327-5588. \$

Saturday
December 9

12:15-4:30pm

"The Murder of Fred Hampton," Film and panel discussion. Chicago Public Library Cultural Center, Michigan & Randolph

Sunday
December 10

5:30 & 7:30 pm

"American Injustice: The FBI's War Against Black Self-Determination." Film at Chicago Filmmakers, 1229 Belmont. Info: 318-8788. \$

Thursday
December 14

"The Murder of Fred Hampton." Film at Chicago Public Library Cultural Center.

Monday
February 19, 1990

8 pm

"Eyes on the Prize," on WTTW, Channel 11. A continuation of the history of the civil rights movement. 30 minute segment on Fred Hampton and FBI's COINTELPRO. Broadcast nationally on public television.

Contact the December 4th Committee c/o United Church of Rogers Park, 1545 W. Morse, Chicago 60626, 761-2500. (Donors, note "Religion & Race/Fred Hampton" on check.)

\$ = Charge for event. Unless otherwise noted, events are free.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

FRED HAMPTON

Fred Hampton was born on August 30, 1948 in Blue Island, Illinois. He grew up in Maywood, and emerged as a student leader there in the mid-sixties. He attended Proviso East High School and was considered a leader by Blacks and whites, students and administrators alike. At the age of 14, he organized a student chapter of the NAACP in Maywood, and the chapter soon grew to 700 members. He led a march on the Maywood Town Hall and organized to build a municipal swimming pool there. After he graduated from Proviso, the administration asked him to come back to mediate a confrontation between Black and white students, then had him arrested when he did so. He spoke out strongly against police brutality.

Even during his Maywood days, Fred displayed unique leadership qualities. Influenced by Malcolm X, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the realities which he observed and experienced in the movement, Fred was radicalized and his politics became increasingly more militant.

The growing strength of the civil rights and Black liberation movements had not escaped the attention of federal and local law enforcement agencies, especially J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI. In August 1967, the FBI issued a directive to its field offices across the country, calling on them to “expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize” Black leaders and organizations. The organizations named were the Southern Christian Leadership Con-

ference (SCLC), SNCC, the Nation of Islam, and the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). This nationwide effort was coordinated under the Bureau’s super-secret and highly illegal—“counter-intelligence” program, COINTELPRO.

The FBI began to actively monitor Fred’s activities in Maywood in late 1967. Early the next year, Hoover issued another COINTELPRO directive to FBI field offices. This directive more completely defined the “disruption” and “neutralization” plan, while again targeting Black organizations and leaders. FBI headquarters directed its local offices to “prevent the rise of a messiah who could unify and electrify the militant Black nationalist movement. As examples, Hoover named Malcolm X, who had been assassinated three years before, Dr. King, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and Elijah Muhammed.



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FBI headquarters further instructed that special efforts should be made to prevent coalitions, unity and growth of Black organizations. They were to be discredited in the public eye, and local police, prosecutors and judges were to be utilized in the plan's implementation. A month later, Dr. King was assassinated, and Blacks on the West Side of Chicago and across the country rebelled and rioted.



The civil rights movement had moved North and became urbanized and further radicalized in the second half of the 1960's. Bobby Seale and Huey Newton founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland in 1966, and electrified the country by entering the California State Legislature carrying guns, and by organizing citizens patrols to follow the police in the community in an attempt to prevent brutality and harassment.

In the fall of 1967, Fred enrolled in Crane Junior College, later renamed Malcolm X College, which was a center of radical Black activity in Chicago. He continued his dynamic organizing there, and injected a new militancy which challenged the older student leaders. During 1968, Fred, Bobby Rush, Bob Brown and several

others organized the Chicago Chapter of the Black Panther Party, and they opened their offices at 2350 West Madison Street on the West Side of Chicago.

By this time, Fred had been expressly targeted by the Chicago FBI office under the command of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) Marlin Johnson. The Chicago office was already quite experienced in "disruption" tactics and techniques, having taken several sophisticated actions in the mid-60's which were designed to exploit and exacerbate the political division between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammed. Within days of the opening of the Panther office, Johnson's Racial Matters Squad directed one of its operatives, William O'Neal, to join the Party. O'Neal soon maneuvered himself into a leadership position as Chief of Security, and served as Fred's bodyguard during the early days of the Illinois Chapter.

Under the leadership of Fred and Minister of Defense Bobby Rush, the BPP grew into a strong organization in Chicago. They began to negotiate with Chicago street gangs, such as the Blackstone Rangers, Disciples, and Vice Lords, attempting to convince them to give up their violent "gangbanging," and to focus instead on the true enemy—the government and the police. They built the original Rainbow Coalition which united the Panthers, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization, the Young Patriots, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and, for a time, certain Black street gangs.

They opened a Breakfast for Children Program, first at the Better Boys Foundation, then later at several other locations in the city, and

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fed hundreds of hungry young children before they went to school. Fred was spreading the message throughout the city, constantly speaking at colleges and high schools and meeting with a wide range of leaders and organizations. He led by example, starting his day at six in the morning at the Breakfast Program, and would never ask someone to do something he would not do, from selling the Panther newspaper to defending the Panther office from police attack.

At the same time, the FBI, both nationally and locally, was increasing its efforts to, in its words, "neutralize the Panther Party and destroy what it stands for." Not only had they targeted the leadership, including Fred, but they specifically set out to destroy the BPP newspaper and the Breakfast Program, and to "eradicate" other BPP "serve the people" programs. They sought to exploit ideological differences and resultant tensions between the Panthers, street gangs, and Black nationalist organizations.

On the west coast, the FBI claimed a large role in provoking the murder of four Panthers by the U.S. (United Slaves) Organization, while in Chicago they attempted to provoke the Blackstone Rangers to attack Fred and the Panthers by sending a forged letter to Ranger leader Jeff Fort which purported to warn him of a "hit" the Panthers had ordered against him. Continuing his work as a COINTELPRO operative, O'Neal blossomed as a provocateur. He constructed an "electric chair" supposedly to be used to elicit confessions from suspected informants, proposed rocket attacks on City Hall, and encouraged and sometimes dared other Panther members to commit criminal acts.



The local police and prosecutors also sought to destroy the BPP with a vengeance. Panthers were constantly harassed and arrested, often for the "offense" of selling the Panther paper. Fred had been arrested in Maywood for allegedly liberating an ice cream vender's inventory of ice cream and distributing it to neighborhood children. The politically aggressive State's Attorney, Edward V. Hanrahan, who had recently been elected on a racist "war on gangs" platform, put Fred on trial for robbery, and he was convicted. After promising Fred probation, the trial judge, under extreme public pressure from Hanrahan, reneged, and instead gave Fred a 2 to 5 year sentence in the penitentiary. He denied Fred appeal bond because Fred stated in open court that he was a revolutionary, so in May 1969 he was sent to the state prison in far downstate Menard.

On July 16th, the police shot Panther member Larry Roberson, and he died later in Cook County Hospital. On July 31st, the police attacked the Panther office on West Madison Street, and a shootout ensued. In the aftermath,

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the police arrested several Panthers and ransacked the office, destroying BPP newspapers and food for the Breakfast Program.

The Illinois Supreme Court granted Fred appeal bond in August, and he returned to Chicago to a joyous welcome at People's Church on South Ashland Avenue. In an inspiring and memorable speech, he told of how he heard the "beat of the people," and was "high off the people" while he was locked up in Menard. Upon his release, Fred immediately resumed his speaking and organizing at a breakneck pace during the fall.

The conspiracy trial of eight alleged leaders of protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention also started in the fall before Judge Julius J. Hoffman, and Fred led demonstrations at the Federal Building to protest the binding and gagging of BPP National Chairman Bobby Seale, one of the eight on trial. On October 3rd, the police again attacked the Panther offices, made six arrests, and ransacked the office. Fred and the Panthers continued to actively organize against police brutality and for community control of the police during this period, and called upon the community to arm and defend itself against police violence. The urgency of this message was underscored when the police killed the Soto brothers in the Henry Horner Homes on the West Side. First they killed Michael, then they killed John only days later while he was home on leave from Vietnam to attend his brother's funeral. Fred was particularly outspoken concerning police brutality, and he publicly condemned Hanrahan for his overtly racist and politically motivated prosecutorial policies. During the fall, Fred was also working closely with Ronald "Doc" Satchel

and others in organizing a free people's health clinic.



Under the watchful eye of the FBI, Fred travelled to the West Coast and consulted with BPP Chief David Hilliard about the possibility of assuming a national leadership position. On November 13, 1969, a former BPP member, Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, and two Chicago police officers were killed in a shootout on the South Side. Fred and the Panthers eulogized Winters as a fallen comrade, further enraging the police. Realizing that this was a perfect time to implement a deadly COINTELPRO action, FBI "Racial Matters" agent Roy Mitchell met with William O'Neal and instructed him to get a detailed floorplan of the apartment located at 2337 West Monroe Street where Fred and other

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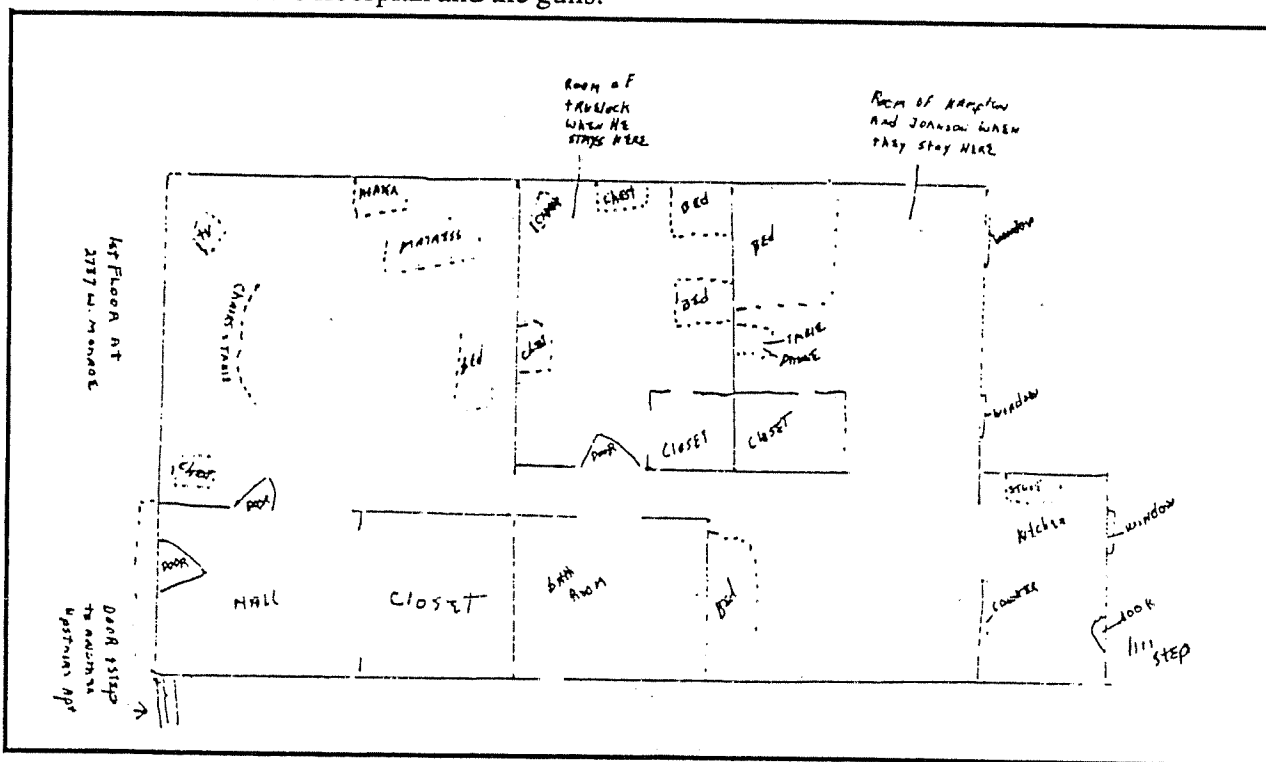
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Panther leaders stayed.

On November 19, 1969, O'Neal reported back with the requested floorplan, which showed the complete layout of the apartment, including the exact location of Fred's bed. At that time, O'Neal also reported that the guns in the apartment were legally purchased. With the approval of his superiors, Mitchell then turned to the local police to do its COINTELPRO dirty work. He contacted the police Gang Intelligence Unit and Hanrahan's assistant Richard Jalovec, chief of a Special Prosecutions Unit which included a semi-secret group of police offers and prosecutors assigned to Hanrahan's "War on Gangs, and told them about the floorplan and the guns.

on a speaking engagement. Hanrahan, Jalovec and his men then planned a raid, with the FBI's active assistance, to be executed after Fred returned. Mitchell had supplied Hanrahan's men with O'Neal's floorplan, a list of the persons who would be at the apartment, and the times when they would be there. The raiders then changed the time of the raid from 8 PM on December 3rd, when Fred and the Panthers would have been away from the apartment at political education class, to 4:30 AM, to assure that Fred and the Panthers would be present and asleep in their beds.

The fourteen-man raiding party was armed



The Gang Intelligence Unit planned a raid for late November, but cancelled it at the last minute at the request of FBI SAC Johnson, who called the Commander of the Intelligence Unit, apparently to tell him that Fred was in Canada

with a submachine gun, semi-automatic rifles, shotguns, and handguns. They chose not to bring teargas, floodlights or loudspeakers. The occupants of the apartment included Fred, his fiancée Deborah Johnson, Minister of Health

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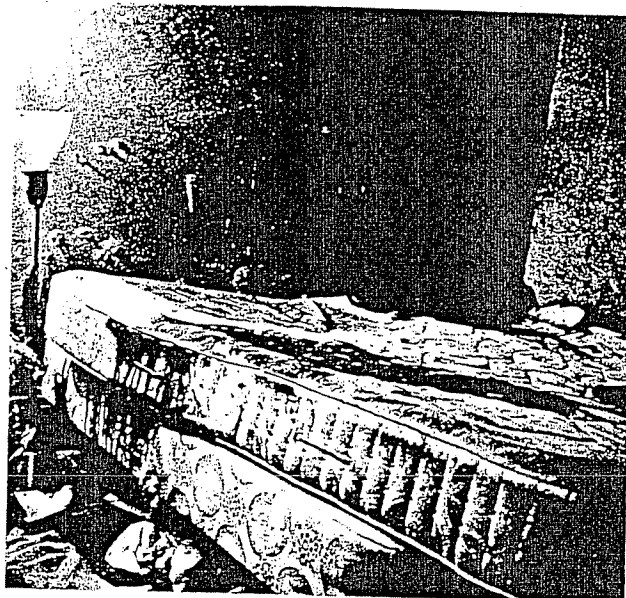
Doc Satchel, Rockford Defense Captain Harold Bell, Peoria Defense Captain Mark Clark, Brenda Harris, Verlina Brewer, Blair Anderson, and Louis Trueluck. Bobby Rush had left only hours earlier, as had William O'Neal, who had served a late dinner of Kool-Aid and hot dogs to the occupants, including Fred.

The raiders were led by Sgt. Daniel Groth, a shadowy figure with suspected connections to the CIA, and included James "Gloves" Davis, a Black officer who was so nicknamed because he supposedly put on gloves before he beat people up, and Edward Carmody, who had been a childhood friend of one of the officers killed in the Jake Winters shootout. They burst in the front and back doors of the tiny apartment on Monroe Street, and Davis killed Mark Clark, who was just inside the front door, with a shot through the heart. They then charged into the front room, shooting Brenda Harris, who was laying on a bed next to the wall, and "stitched" that wall with machine gun and semi-automatic fire. These bullets tore through the wall and into the middle bedroom, where three Panthers were huddling on the floor, and many of them continued through another wall into the bedroom where Fred and his fiancée, Deborah Johnson, who was 8-1/2 months pregnant, were asleep. The trajectories of many of these bullets were towards the head of Fred's bed, as marked on O'Neal's floorplan.

In the back bedroom, the mattress was vibrating from the gun fire as Louis Trueluck and Harold Bell were unsuccessfully trying to wake Fred. The raiders, led by Carmody, burst through the back door, firing at the bedrooms. They then took Bell, Trueluck and Deborah Johnson out of the back bedroom into the kitchen, leaving Fred alive but unconscious on

the bed. In the front, the officer with the machine gun had moved to the doorway of the middle bedroom and fired several machine gun blasts at the defenseless occupants. Doc Satchel was hit five times, while Verlina Brewer and Blair Anderson were also shot.

In the kitchen, Deborah and Harold Bell heard two shots ring out from Fred's bedroom, and a raider said, "He's good and dead now." The physical evidence and Carmody's later statements establish a strong case that Carmody twice shot Fred with a .45 caliber pistol at close range in the head while he lay unconscious in his bed. The physical evidence also strongly suggests that O'Neal had put secobarbital in Fred's Kool-Aid so that he could not wake up.



Fred's body was dragged from the bloodstained bed to the hallway floor, to be displayed as the raiders trophy, while the seven survivors were physically abused, subjected to threats and racial epithets, and then jailed on charges of attempted murder. The raiders then rushed from

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the apartment to the State's Attorney's office where they appeared with Hanrahan at a press conference at which Hanrahan described a fierce gun battle, initiated by the "vicious" and "criminal" Black Panthers, and during which his raiders acted "reasonably" and with "restraint."

The survivors, and the evidence left by the raiders, told a much different story. Harold Bell, a Vietnam combat veteran, described the military precision and swiftness of the raiders' attack, while the apartment's walls revealed a pattern of over 90 bullet holes—all headed into the rooms where the Panthers were sleeping. That morning, Bobby Rush stood at the door of the apartment and prophetically declared that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and the federal government were behind the raid. Later that day, Rush received word that the raiders had boasted that he "was next." Before dawn the next morning the police raided his apartment, but Rush had gone into hiding in order to avoid the same fate as Fred.

People from the community began to go through the apartment on tours led by Panther

members. After touring the apartment, the president of the Afro-American Patrolman's League, Howard Saffold, declared that the killing was a "political assassination." An elderly Black woman summed up the sentiment of the thousands of people who toured the apartment during the next ten days by saying "it was nothing but a northern lynching."

Outrage at the murders intensified both locally and nationally as more and more people viewed the apartment and saw how transparent Hanrahan's and his raiders' lies were. Thousands of people attended Fred's funeral, with many of the overflow crowd standing outside for hours in frigid temperatures, listening to the eulogies over loudspeakers. In a desperate attempt to win back public opinion, Hanrahan presented a "re-enactment" on WBBM-TV and gave a front page "exclusive" to the Chicago Tribune, with accompanying pictures described as showing bullet holes made by Panther shots. This effort backfired, however, when the alleged bullet holes were exposed in the Chicago Sun-Times as nail heads.

EXCLUSIVE

Hanrahan, Police Tell Panther Story



Circle 10 on Reader Service Card



Circle 11 on Reader Service Card

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The outcry was so intense that Attorney General John Mitchell and the Justice Department were compelled to begin an "investigation." The man Mitchell placed in charge of this investigation, Jerris Leonard, was also the head of a supersecret inter-agency spy network, and had been publicly quoted as saying that the government must "get" the Panthers because they were "hoodlums." Leonard's real task was to keep secret the FBI's central role in the raid, while at the same time conducting an inquiry which would serve to quiet public outrage.

Internally, the FBI congratulated itself for its central role in making the raid a "success." On December 3rd, the Chicago office had notified Bureau Headquarters that the Chicago police were planning the raid, which the FBI boldly claimed as a COINTELPRO accomplishment. Within hours of the raid O'Neal's control agent, Roy Mitchell, met with Hanrahan and the raiders, was briefed on the raid, and discussed post-raid strategy with them. Days later, the local office wrote Hoover and extolled O'Neal and his floorplan as "invaluable" to the "successful" execution of the raid. In this same letter, the FBI requested a \$300 bonus for O'Neal for this work. This request was approved by Headquarters, who in turn applauded the results of Chicago's counterintelligence efforts. While he awaited his reward, O'Neal served as a pall-bearer at Fred's funeral.

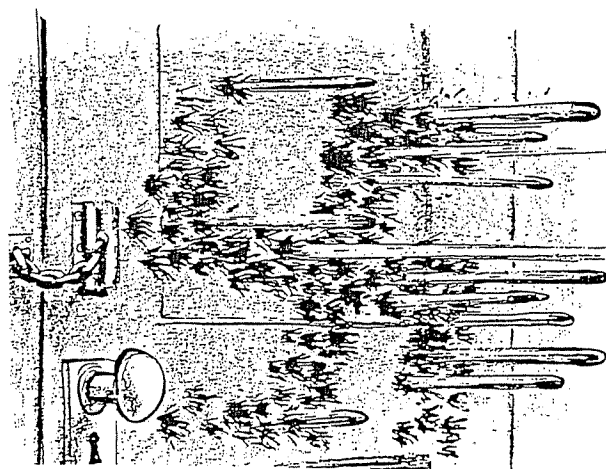
Meanwhile, a Chicago Police firearms examiner issued a report asserting that two shotgun shells recovered in the apartment came from a Panther shotgun, and this "evidence" became the basis of Hanrahan's charges of attempted murder against the seven raid survivors. An

FBI firearms examiner later established without doubt that those shells in fact came from a raider's, rather than a Panther's, shotgun. The police department's Internal Affairs Division (IAD) also initiated an "investigation" of the raiders' conduct, and two days later officially exonerated them. The investigation was such a sham that the head of the IAD later admitted that it was a complete "whitewash".

Chicago Journalism Review

The death of
Fred Hampton:
A special report

CE 50c



The Justice Department investigation had developed ballistics evidence that definitively established that the raiders fired over 90 bullets at the Panthers, while the Panthers fired one shot at most. They had also developed evidence that Hanrahan, the raiders, and the police department had lied, manufactured evidence, and done a cover up investigation. However, since an indictment of Hanrahan and his men would have threatened to expose the secret FBI role in the the raid, a deal was struck. The Justice De-

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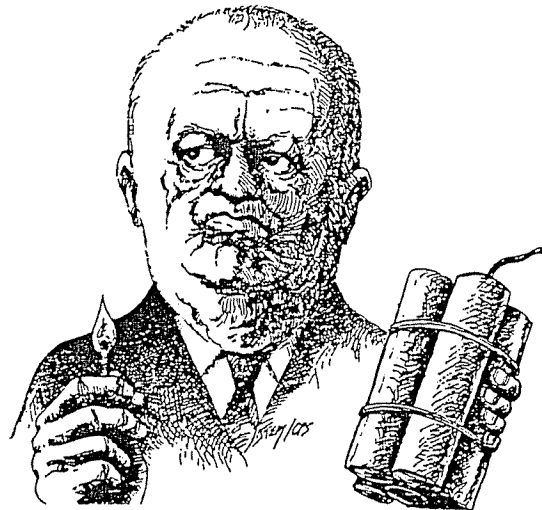
partment issued no indictments, but rather issued a report which was critical of both the Panthers and the police. In exchange, Hanrahan dropped the indictments against the Panther survivors and remained silent about the FBI involvement in the raid.

The public outcry in response to this brazen act of cover up was again swift and strong, and it ultimately forced the Chief Judge of the Criminal Courts of Cook County to appoint a special prosecutor to present evidence to a Cook County Grand Jury. This grand jury had as members several “plants” who answered directly to the Democratic machine, and a spy from Mayor Daley’s Office of Investigation wiretapped the supposedly secret Grand Jury proceedings and reported back to Hanrahan. This investigation ignored the federal involvement in the raid and refused to return murder indictments, but did bring obstruction of justice indictments against Hanrahan, his raiders, and several other police and assistant states attorneys.

The Chief Judge refused to file these indictments, and the Special Prosecutor was compelled to appeal to the Illinois Supreme Court to get the indictments filed. The Chief Judge then assigned the case to a machine judge, Philip Romiti, whereupon Hanrahan waived his right to a jury trial. Just before the 1972 elections, Judge Romiti, without so much as requiring Hanrahan and his men to present a defense, directed a verdict in their favor. A week later, the Black community returned a much different verdict—splitting their ballots en masse to vote Hanrahan out of office as State’s Attorney of Cook County.

In May 1973, the *Commission of Inquiry Into the Black Panthers and Police*, chaired by Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark, issued a 272-page report, which characterized the raid as a “search and destroy” mission and said there was “probable cause to believe that Hampton was murdered” while he lay “prostrate” on the bed. The report also concluded that it was “more probable than not” that Fred was drugged; that the investigations of the raid by “various local law enforcement agencies were singularly inadequate,” and “designed not to determine the facts but solely to establish the innocence of the police;” that there was “probable cause” to believe that the raid violated the Criminal Federal Civil Rights Statutes and the Constitution; and that the Federal Grand Jury “failed in its duty to proceed against violations of civil liberties.”

Around the same time, it was also first publicly revealed that BPP leader William O’Neal was an FBI operative, and that the FBI had a program called COINTELPRO, which was designed to “neutralize and disrupt” Black leaders and their organizations.



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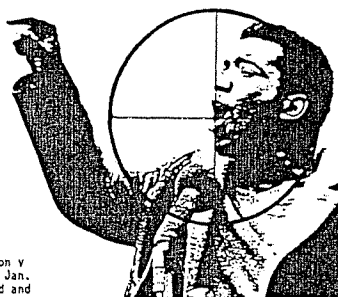
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The families of Fred and Mark Clark and the survivors of the raid had previously filed a civil rights suit for damages, and upon learning this information, their lawyers sought to discover O'Neal's and COINTELPRO's role in the raid.

They obtained the FBI floorplan document when it was produced by an Assistant U.S. Attorney who did not want to be implicated in the cover up, then questioned O'Neal at a secret location. This honest U.S. Attorney was quickly removed, and his successor, together with the Justice Department, the FBI and U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry, collaborated to suppress the evidence which further established that the FBI and COINTELPRO were deeply implicated in staging the raid.

The civil rights trial began in January 1976 and lasted for 18 months. During its early stages, the Senate Select Committee investigating FBI counterintelligence "abuses" released documents which established that Fred and the Chicago Panthers had been targets of COINTELPRO. The release of these documents, together with an admission made by FBI defendant Roy Mitchell on the witness stand, revealed that the FBI, with Judge Perry's active assistance, had hidden 25,000 pages of documents which they were required to produce at trial. Among these documents was the FBI request for O'Neal's \$300 bonus, as well as FBI admissions that they had set up the raid; that the raid was part of COINTELPRO; and that O'Neal's floorplan was "invaluable" to the "success" of the raid. Nonetheless, Judge Perry, a 79-year-old racist from Alabama, refused to stop the trial or punish the FBI and Justice Department for their suppression of evidence.

**Don't Let
Them
Get Away
With Murder**



The civil rights trial of Fred Hampton v Edward Hanrahan and the FBI began on Jan. 5, 1976. Jury Selection is completed and opening arguments are set to begin on Tuesday, February 3. Come to the trial.

Don't Let Fred's Mother Sit Alone

Mrs. Hampton and Mrs. Clark are not alone in losing their sons. Mrs. Palmer, the mother of Michael Gilmore, shot by a still-unidentified police officer, knows about police murders... And the Baylark family on Chicago's westside also know about police brutality after having their house assaulted by 20 squadrons of Chicago police, who beat them, stole \$400., and then charged the family members with battery and resisting arrest. Police repression, particularly in Black and Latin communities is a fact of life. Rallying around the Hampton-Clark law suit is one way to fight police brutality and murder. The people kicked Hanrahan out of the State's Attorney job because of the Hampton case. Come out again to protest his role, and the role of the FBI and the Chicago Police in the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Come to the Trial

Dirksen Federal Building 219 South Dearborn 25th Floor
court room hours: Tuesdays, Wednesdays, & Thursdays 10:00-12:30 & 2:00-4:00
Friday 10:00-12:30 only No courts on Monday's: Subject to change

For further information:
December 4th Committee Room 1362 53 West Jackson Chicago 341-9766

put out by: December 4th Committee and Chicago Women's Defense Committee

Just after these revelations, the Senate Committee issued its findings—concluding that, under COINTELPRO, the FBI had a "Covert Action Program to Destroy the Black Panther Party", and that the raid was an integral part of this program. Nevertheless, when the trial concluded, and the jury was unable to reach a unanimous verdict, Judge Perry, like Judge Romiti before him, directed a verdict for all the Defendants.

The case was appealed to the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, which overruled Judge Perry, ordered a new trial, and found that the FBI and their government lawyers "obstructed justice" by suppressing documents. Most significantly, the Appeals Court also concluded that there was "serious evidence" to support

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the conclusion that the FBI, Hanrahan, and his men, in planning and executing the raid, had participated in a "conspiracy designed to subvert and eliminate the Black Panther Party and its members," thereby suppressing a "vital radical Black political organization," as well as in a post-raid conspiracy to "cover up evidence" regarding the raid, "to conceal the true character of their pre-raid and raid activities," to "harass the survivors of the raid," and to "frustrate any legal redress the survivors might seek." The U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn this decision, and in February of 1983, the federal government, Cook County and the City of Chicago, in a clear admission of guilt, finally agreed to settle the lawsuit for 1.85 million dollars. Two months later Harold Washington was elected as Mayor and Bobby Rush

as 2nd Ward Alderman.

Now another Daley is Mayor, and his police continue their uninterrupted practice of violence and brutality. In Oakland, former Panther members are publishing a commemorative issue of the Panther newspaper, and hope to launch a mass organization based on the principles of the Black Panther Party.

....AND THE BEAT GOES ON....

[Written by Flint Taylor and Dennis Cunningham. Flint and Dennis were lawyers for the families and survivors in the Hampton civil rights lawsuit, and Flint is a member of the December 4th Committee.]



A HISTORY

Fred Speaks



"We don't want you coming here and leaving not doing nothing
- - - you've got to make a commitment!"

Fred Speaks

[The following are excerpts from some of Fred's speeches]

A lot of people get the word revolution mixed up and they think revolution's a bad word. Revolution is nothing but like having a sore on your body and then you put something on that sore to cure that infection. I'm telling you that we're living in a sick society. We're involved in a society that produces ADC victims. We're involved in a society that produces criminals, thieves and robbers and rapers. Whenever you are in a society like that, that is a sick society.

... We're gonna organize and dedicate ourselves to revolutionary political power and teach ourselves the specific needs of resisting the power structure, arm ourselves, and we're gonna fight reactionary pigs with international proletarian revolution. That's what it has to be. The people have to have the power—it belongs to the people.

... Unless people show us through their social practice that they relate to the struggle in Babylon, that means that they're not internationalists, that means that they're not revolutionaries. And when you're marchin' on this cruel war in Washington, all you radicals...we need to have some moratoriums on Babylon. We need to have some moratoriums on the Black community in Babylon and all oppressed communities in Babylon.

... We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's Black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out

of our community because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off of people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist.

* * *

Any program that's brought into our community should be analyzed by the people of that community. It should be analyzed to see that it meets the relevant needs of that community.

... That's what the Breakfast for Children Program is. A lot of people think it's charity. But what does it do? It takes people from a stage to a stage to another stage. Any program that's revolutionary is an advancing program. Revolution is change.

... We say that the Breakfast for Children Program is a socialistic program. It teaches the people basically that—by practice. We thought up and let them practice that theory and inspect that theory. What's more important?

... And a woman said, "I don't know if I like communism, and I don't know if I like socialism. But I know that the Breakfast for Children Program feeds my kids. And if you put your hands on that Breakfast for Children Program..."

... You know, a lot of people have hang-ups with the Party because the Party talks about a class struggle... We say primarily that the priority of this struggle is class. That Marx and Lenin and Che Guevara and Mao Tse-

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Fred Speaks

Tung and anybody else that has ever said or knew or practiced anything about revolution always said that a revolution is a class struggle. It was one class—the oppressed, and that other class—the oppressor. And it's got to be a universal fact. Those that don't admit to that are those that don't want to get involved in a revolution, because they know as long as they're dealing with a race thing, they'll never be involved in a revolution.

... We never negated the fact that there was racism in America, but we said that the by-product, what comes off of capitalism, that happens to be racism...that capitalism comes first and next is racism. That when they brought slaves over here, it was to make money. So first the idea came that we want to make money, then the slaves came in order to make that money. That means, through historical fact, that racism had to come from capitalism. It had to be capitalism first and racism was a by-product of that.

... We may be in the minority, but this minority is gonna keep on shouting loud and clear: We're not gonna fight fire with fire, we're gonna fight fire with water. We're not gonna fight racism with racism, we're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We're not gonna fight capitalism with Black capitalism...we're gonna fight capitalism with socialism.

... We know that Black people are most oppressed. And if we didn't know that, then why in the hell would we be running around talking about the Black liberation struggle has to be the vanguard for all liberation struggles?

* * *

Any theory you got, practice it. And when you practice it, you make some mistakes. When you make a mistake, you correct that theory, and then it will be corrected theory that will be able to be applied and used in any situation. That's what we've got to be able to do.

... A lot of us read and read and read, but we don't get any practice. We have a lot of knowledge in our heads, but we've never practiced it; and made any mistakes and corrected those mistakes so that we will be able to do something properly. So we come up with, like we say, more degrees than a thermometer but we are not able to walk across the street and chew gum at the same time. Because we have all that knowledge but it's never been exercised, it's never been practiced. We never tested it with what's really happening. We call it testing it with objective reality. You might have any kind of thought in your mind, but you've got to test it with what's out there. You see what I mean?

... The only way that anybody can tell you the taste of a pear is if he himself has tasted it. That's the only way. That's objective reality. That's what the Black Panther Party deals with. We're not into metaphysics, we're not idealists, we're dialectical materialists. And we deal with what reality is, whether we like it or not. A lot of people can't relate to that because everything they do is gauged by the way they like things to be. We say that's incorrect. You look and see how things are, and

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then you deal with that.

... We some Marxist-Leninist cussin' niggers. And we gonna continue to cuss, godamn it. 'Cause that's what we relate to. That's what's happening in Babylon. That's objective reality.

... You're dealing in subjectivity, because you re not testing it with objective reality. And what's wrong is that you don't go test it. Because if you test it, you'll get objective. Because as soon as you walk out there, a whole lot of objective reality will vamp down upon your ass...

* * *

The community had a problem out there in California. there was an intersection where a lot of people were getting killed... Let me tell you what Huey P. Newton did. Huey Newton went and got Bobby Seale, the Chairman of the Black Panther Party on a national level. Bobby Seale got his 9mm, that's a pistol. Huey P. Newton got his shotgun and got some stop signs and got a hammer. Went down to the intersection, gave his shotgun to Bobby, and Bobby had his 9mm. He said, "You hold this shotgun; anybody mess with us, blow their brains out. He put those stop signs up. There were no more accidents, no more problem.

... And I say that anybody that comes into our community and sets up any type of situation that does not meet the needs of the masses, then I, Chairman Fred of the Black Panther Party, say that I'll take that nigger by his tur-

tleneck and beat him to death with a Black Panther Newspaper! And you could kill him with the paper, because that paper has an ideology and if you don't read it you oughta read it.

... You don't want to get that Africanized, because as soon as you have to dress like somebody from Angola or Mozambique, then after you put on whatever you put on, and it can be anything from rags to something from Saks Fifth Avenue, you got to put on some bandoliers and some AR-15's and some 38's; you've got to put on some Smith and Wessons and some Colt 45's, because that's what they're wearin' in Angola and that's what they're wearin' in Mozambique.

... Anybody ever hear about Gloves on the South Side of Chicago? He's not white. Did you think [Gang Intelligence Unit Chief] Buckney's white? Buckney, who's taking all of your little brothers and all of your little sisters, and all of your little nephews, and he's gonna continue to take 'em. And if you don't do anything, he's gonna to take your sons and your daughters... We don't hear nobody running around talking about "I'm Benedict Arnold, III. Because Benedict Arnold's children don't want to talk about that they are his children. You hear people talking about they might be Patrick Henry's children, people that stood up and said, "Give me liberty or give me death." Or Paul Revere's cousin. Paul Revere said, "Get your guns, the British are coming." The British were the police.

... We say that we need some guns. There's

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nothing wrong with the guns in our community, there's just been a misdirection of guns in our community. For some reason or another, the pigs have all the guns, so all we have to do is equally distribute them. So if you see one that has a gun and you don't have one, then when you leave you should have one. That way we'll be able to deal with things right. I remember looking at TV and found that not only did the pigs not brutalize the people in western days, they had to hire bounty hunters to go arrest them because they had guns. Now they brutalize without even arresting them. they shoot somebody with no intention of arresting them. We need some guns. We need some guns. We need some guns. We need some force.

* * *

You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can lock up a freedom fighter like Huey P. Newton, but you can't lock up freedom fighting... Because if you do, you come up with answers that don't answer, explanations that don't explain, conclusions that don't conclude.

* * *

If you think about me and you think about me niggers and you ain't gonna do no revolutionary act then forget about me. I don't want myself on your mind if you're not going to work for the people.

Like I always said, if you're asked to make a commitment at the age of 20, and you say I don't want to make no commitment only because of the simple reason that I'm too

young to die, I want to live a little bit longer. What you did is... you're dead already.

You have to understand that people have to pay the price for peace. You dare to struggle, you dare to win. If you dare not struggle, then god dammit you don't deserve to win. Let me say to you peace if you're willing to fight for it.

Let me say in the spirit of liberation- I been gone for a little while, at least my body's been gone for a little while. But I'm back now, and I believe I'm back to stay.

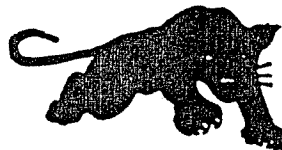
I believe I'm going to do my job. I believe I was born not to die in a car wreck. I don't believe I'm going to die in a car wreck. I don't believe I going to die slipping on a piece of ice. I don't believe I going to die because I have a bad heart. I don't believe I'm going to die because I have lung cancer.

I believe I'm going to be able to die doing the things I was born for. I believe I'm going to die high off the people. I believe I'm going to die a revolutionary in the international revolutionary proletarian struggle. I hope each one of you will be able to die the international revolutionary proletarian struggle, or you'll be able to live in it. And I think that struggle's going to come.

Why don't you live for the people.

Why don't you struggle for the people

Why don't you die for the people.



You've got to make a commitment

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[Most of the following statements are excerpted from interviews conducted in the fall of 1989 for the videotape entitled "All Power to the People," or from **Keep Strong Magazine's** 1979 issue commemorating the 10th anniversary of Fred Hampton's death. All the people interviewed knew Fred Hampton in life, and almost all of them are still active in the struggle for social change.]

Harold Charles, educator and community activist:

I'm very excited about the 20th remembrance of the deeds and accomplishments and the lessons of the Illinois Black Panther Party and brother Fred Hampton, and the courageous sisters and brothers. We were involved in three or four years of very active support for the Party. We didn't always agree in terms of methodology, but we agreed on objectives. We considered ourselves to be operating in our arena to sharpen the awareness of young people, to bring them to a level of educational achievement that they could begin to have the confidence within themselves to do.

But we also wanted them to be rooted in a community philosophy of service—service to the people. And to that extent, the examples that we saw exhibited by the Party and the programs that they had were actually training vehicles to let young people see through positive action. For example, the free breakfast program that was operated out of the Better Boys Foundation. We used to have our meeting headquarters at the Better Boys Foundation, and we were familiar with the staff and some of their programs. And the fact that there were young

children, hungry children, that others would ignore, that the Party would be willing to use their resources to feed these young people was a testimony to one's commitment, to one's conviction. The Spurgeon Jake Winters Medical Clinic on 16th Street, when that opened, was a marvelous opportunity to provide medical service to the community.

It was out of these concrete programs, these concrete examples, that gave our young students at Farragut and the young people that we tried to interact with in the community specific examples of service. And in my judgment, it is difficult to teach the past unless we can once again display those examples. And I think all of us have to share in what has happened in the 20 years—and I think this is one reason why I'm so energetic about this remembrance—because it points out our lack of sustained community-based programs.

* * *

I'm involved with the school reform movement. I'm an advocate of community control of schools. That was the position we took back in 1968, when Ocean Hill-Brownsville in New York started the national movement that escalated here in Chicago. We took up that banner along with the Party. That was one of the tenets of the Black Panther Party. So we were working in close proximity in terms of control of the schools. If you're going to control the destiny of the people, you have to control the institutions in the community. So that was a logical extension of our political education—that we must control our schools.

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One of my students was in the apartment with Fred Hampton the night of the raid. Another of my students was Minister of Communications for the Party. We had met Fred and many of the leadership. We visited the headquarters on several occasions. We had a relationship of mutuality and support. We didn't have a paper of our own so we would sell the Panther Paper to get our young people used to going out into the community and be able to deal on a political basis.

So on December 5 our students at Farragut took over the assembly hall and had a memorial assembly. It was a very emotional issue, as you can imagine. I was there talking to students, and it seemed like it was not going to be a situation that our young people were just going to take lightly and forget. The students wanted to take up a collection, and they did in the assembly hall. And they said they wanted to give the money to the Party... I had a sense of kinship for these young people. And so I told them to wait for me so I could go with them.

We went over to the headquarters on Madison Street. Up the steps and talked with some of the brothers and gave them the money. There was a lot of heavy emotion, you know, in the headquarters. So we decided to go see the apartment, and walked from Madison over to Monroe. There was a crowd there... they were allowing people to go in single file and take a look. For those who weren't in Chicago in '69—'68, '69, '70—words cannot describe it. I mean, even the film, "The Murder of Fred Hampton," still does not adequately... It was in black and white; if it was done in color, maybe... It was unbelievable.

I think for our young people, they were entranced, enthralled and mesmerized. We stood in the cold—it was a cold day. And nobody said a word. You came, you stood outside. The tension in the air was significant of the fact that it was obvious... They knew something was about to happen. I mean, the tension and the apprehension that something was about to happen. You don't know the consequences, but you know something... That's how just standing outside the apartment and knowing that something tragic had happened, and you don't know what's going to happen thereafter. So the tension, the silence, the serenity; people were just looking at each other and walking in silence.

...There was a challenge to one's sensibility that this could happen in Chicago, that this could happen in America. I mean, cold-blooded murder. The evidence was there. Cold-blooded murder. And to think that anybody got out of there alive was a miracle. So we just stood there in the cold, just trying to hold back the tears, because it was emotional. Those brothers and sisters didn't want to let those tears flow. We just stood there about an hour and a half and just decided... If you vented your emotions prematurely, you're doing a disservice to what Chairman Fred and the rest of them... You had to wait for instructions and find out how are we going to properly respond to this.

That was such a pivotal point in the political education of our young people. That's why I put a lot of emphasis on that experience, because that did more to give young people—particularly the young people I worked with... a visual image that can never be erased. See, you can read history; you can discuss history; but when you see history being

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made and you're there, it imprints it for a lifetime. So when we start talking about the murder of Fred Hampton and the role of Hanrahan and the rest of that assassination squad... You see, when we watched it on television it became a lesson.



And everything that I do, whether it's Black studies, science, African history, political education, I can translate all of that from a people's perspective. Because as one of the slogans our young people did when they put up banners in my room was "The Young Make Revolution"... Youth do make the revolution. And the revolution is within us, it's within our hearts. You've gotta feel it within; you've gotta believe that the community is the base and the youth are the vanguard to bring about change.

And so I just feel that it's a lesson from the past, and it is an instrument that will allow us to further educate ourselves as individuals and those who come behind us. And so we do say "All Power to the People." And it is a situation where ultimately we're gonna see it. We're going to vindicate the aspirations, the dreams and the sacrifices of those

courageous brothers and sisters who held the torch aloft.

* * *

When you talk about leadership, you see there's a fatalism syndrome that you have to be prepared to deal with. Young people would idolize Chairman Fred and other leaders of the Party and other young leaders who maybe didn't have titles or didn't have the charisma that Fred had. We lost a lot of those leaders, primarily through violent means. That can have a negative effect on young people to the extent that "I don't want to get involved because see what happened to Chairman Fred, and I don't want that to happen to me. So you have to use it as a lesson to make young people realize that yes, that happened to Fred. But as he said, "You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution." And so in their faces, and this is what inspired the young people I worked with... Because even though there was a tragedy in what happened in that apartment and the lives of those young people, the offspring are still down here today... So there are more little Fred Hamptons and Mark Clarks and Black Panther Party advocates out there who became inspired by the fact that there were those among us who dared to stand up; who did not flinch; who did not acquiesce. And yes, in the name of Chairman Fred, in the name of all those unsung heroes who have gone on before us, it is our responsibility, those who are here, those of us who remain, it is our responsibility to carry on.

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Jorja English Palmer, community activist:

Fred was born in 1948, the same year the United Nations tried to become established officially. And the same period that this country was trying to overcome the trauma of the worst war and conflict that had ever been held in humankind. And as these children watched the political situation as they were growing up, they became very disillusioned with America's entire thrust that on the one hand said, "We are now members of the United Nations, there shall be war no more; there shall be peace and prosperity for everybody."

And then they saw a military hero elected as the president. They saw racial strife beginning to proliferate in the country on a scale that had never occurred before in humanity. They saw federal guards at the door of Ole Miss, Old Mississippi University. They saw Governor Wallace at the University of Alabama. They saw the Montgomery bus boycott. They saw Black and white conflict in the South and later in the North. They saw police attack Black marchers. They saw horses running them down. They saw dogs sicced on them as they marched. They saw thousands jailed all throughout that period. They saw workers killed in places like Mississippi. They saw children bombed and killed in Alabama in a church. They saw a white priest brutally slaughtered.



And in Chicago, where Fred Hampton lived, they saw the era of a Mayor Daley, where Blacks—and we now call ourselves African-Americans—where Blacks marched against Daley over the Board of Education, over getting Willis out. They saw white youth who were just as disillusioned, who came into Chicago at the Democratic National Convention. And they saw Blacks who were rioting, and they heard Mayor Richard Daley Senior say "Shoot to Kill." They saw that the educational process got no better. They saw that Blacks lived in Chicago on ten percent of the land and yet were 25-35% of the population. Housing was miserable.

And in this climate, under the banner of civil rights and the struggle for human justice, the children born, like Fred Hampton in 1948, began to despair. They were forced to the level of utter despair. What do we say, how do we articulate, how do we respond, how do we awaken the masses of Black and white people to the fact that we are inheriting a very

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miserable, unkind, unfair and inhumane situation in our lives? And so it should be no mystery that groups like the Weathermen formed; groups like the Black Panther Party formed. And from out of this atmosphere and against this background, the Black Panther Party began to emerge and start walking across the land.

* * *

I became very impressed with young Fred Hampton. I became impressed with him because here was a boy who felt within his spirit and his mind that he could make a difference. That he could make Black men particularly rise up and act like men, and not permit the institutions of this country, to continue to paralyze Black people.

* * *

Fred had firey slogans: "All the power to the people." "You can kill the revolutionary, but you cannot kill the revolution." He had statements like, "You know where power comes from in this country—it comes from the end of a gun."

* * *

He was a powerful speaker; he was a charismatic leader. And wherever he went, the crowds gathered and people assembled. I said to Fred on many occasions, "Fred, they will kill you. They will kill you because in a country with racism so rife, they will become afraid of young Black boys who have assumed a mantle of leadership. You put black tams on, black jackets on, and stand in front of young children as a

symbol of a new type of empowerment. I said, "they will kill you because if you feed the child, then you can proselytize the child. You can make that child have the same type of perspective that you have, that he will no longer allow systems to confine and constrain him." And I said, "The Black Panther Party cannot last. You cannot endure against this country, with its mass military-industrial complex. They will just not permit that to happen."

* * *

And I knew that the trauma in the Black community would be such that the men who knocked on the door that morning without a warning to young children who could have been arrested or put in jail or anything, but did not have to be brutally slaughtered while they slept... The Black community just didn't know how to deal with that, even though countless numbers of Black people in the Black community were frightened themselves by the firey rhetoric and the flaming slogans of the Black Panther Party, without recognizing the fact that these were their children. And they were not dope addicts, they were not thieves, they were not gangbangers. They were young men who had come to a conclusion that they could do something and make a difference in the American experience, and particularly in the life of African-American people.

* * *

Because the Black Panther slogan was, "When a man gives all of his life and all of his energy to bringing about a fair and uplifting situation for his people, that man, that woman, never dies. They live right

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on." And "right on" was the slogan of the Black Panther Party. But that's the source of it. When he gives his whole life to a spiritual, emotional, economic, political upliftment and enlightenment of his people, that man never dies. He lives right on. Fred Hampton lives right on.

Bobby Rush, Alderman and former Minister of Defense, Illinois Black Panther Party:

The thing that was so remarkable about Fred was his total candor, his pure courage, and his total confidence in himself as a fighter and as an advocate for poor people. And his eagerness, I mean absolute extreme eagerness to accept leadership for his community, for his people, for the Party, for those who had no voice, and who needed leadership. I mean, Fred was probably the most selfless leader that I have ever encountered in the years that I have been interacting with so-called leaders. There's not one leader, possibly with the exception of Dr. King, and I didn't know him very well, but there's not one leader that acted in a more selfless manner than Fred Hampton.

And I think that having that type of relationship with a man of Fred Hampton's age inspires one on a daily basis in terms of how you deal with the problems and the issues that you're confronted with on a day-to-day basis. Fred Hampton was to me the greatest human being that I've known, that I have ever come in contact with.



There was a dilemma, there was a conflict. One of the immediate dilemmas that I was faced with was whether or not we wanted to get immediate revenge on the police department. That is, to go out and rip off some police officers. Then that was at the same time that we were going through that, you have to understand that immediately after Fred was killed I was running for my life. So it was three or four days and I was just not present at all. And during that interim there began to be this outpouring of people going through that apartment and the unraveling of the State's Attorney's story in terms of what had happened. The question was basically answered by itself, because there was just so much political momentum being generated that it would have been counter-productive to go out and do something in terms of

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trying to avenge the murder of Fred in a militaristic kind of way.

* * *

I think that there certainly has been and continues to be a void because Fred is no longer present among us. And the void hasn't been filled in the last 20 years. Harold Washington came the closest to filling that void, but the void hasn't been filled in the last 20 years.

* * *

I don't advocate that the progressive forces within this society all of a sudden look at the electoral arena as being an arena to engage in ultimately solving the problems that this society is afflicted with. I'm limited probably more so, and sometimes I question whether I am as effective being an alderman in the City Council as I was being a member of the Black Panther Party.

Sigisfredo Aviles, Ruiz Belvis Cultural Center

We pay homage to those people, but it's not just putting somebody on an altar and that's it. It's a question of paying real homage, which is to carry on the work that these people have begun.

Standish Willis, civil rights lawyer:

Fred represented that same thing that

Malcolm represented, that indignation that we have. And he had gotten struck down, at a very young age. So it struck all of us. . .

The youth, I think, provide the soldiers in a sense. But they also move our movement very often. And I think that Fred and the Black Panther Party took us in a whole different direction. Maybe we didn't even want to go that fast—that is, confronting the man directly.



Lamond Currie, teacher and community activist:

J. Edgar Hoover had no problem understanding Fred's power and his magnetism and the truth he was bringing to our people. Hoover said he was considered like the Messiah. Messiah don't mean one who comes from the sky; Messiah

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means one that raised up, has the ability to tap into the spiritual inside that person's mind, and bring that truth to that person and make him wake up.

* * *

I know what's going on on 39th Street, on 43rd Street, and I go talk to those brothers. That's one thing that the Panther Party exposed us to back then. We got to do the same thing now. But you can't be scared, you can't be a coward.

Prexy Nesbitt, consultant, Mozambique Support Network:

Same struggle, same fight. Those young brothers and sisters in the Panther Party knew internationalism, and they knew it in a way that was a living way. And that's, of course, part of the reason that COINTELPRO had to try to eliminate and did eliminate physically so many of them. It wasn't just the strength of their organizing in the Black community in this country. It was the strength they had as an international force.

Mary Wosniak Driscoll, public health worker:

Fred really did articulate the needs and concerns of people. And that's why I think that it was not difficult to talk to people about the Black Panthers. People at the [Fritzi Englestein Free Peoples Health] Clinic, the white people I worked with,

They thought they were doing something very good. And they in fact wanted to take those models and use them in their own communities.

Don Rose, political consultant:

When, in its massive uprising seeking retribution for Fred's murder, the Black community rejected Hanrahan for state's Attorney Bernard Carey, it did more than simply knock out an obnoxious public official. It learned a lesson in collective power and independent use of the ballot that it never forgot. Together it voted against Richard J. Daley, then to save the late Congressman Ralph H. Metcalfe, and finally—massively again—to throw out the regime of Mayor Michael Bilandic. Things will never be the same again. The machine can never put itself together again, no matter how hard politicians try, because the people learned to initiate an act of liberation. Once learned, it can never be unlearned. That's Fred's legacy. Few of us have so much to bequeath, in life or in death.

Thomas Todd, attorney and political activist:

So if you really look at the political progression in Chicago from December 4, 1969, if you look at dumping Hanrahan in 1972, if you look at Ralph Metcalfe's election in 1976, if you look at Harold

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Washington's election to Congress in 1980, and again in 1982, and then you look at Harold Washington's election in 1983, you will find that election had its genesis on December 4, 1969.

* * *

We continue to survive when the police are occupying our community as opposed to protecting us. So we're working now to make it a political issue and a litmus test for Black and white politicians.

Linda Turner & Ethan Young, progressive "propagandists":

A rally featuring Fred was always an event and a political lesson. His style was part street rap, part soapbox, and part Baptist sermon. In his speeches, he often tried to demystify such seeming contradictions as theory and practice, class and race, and internationalism and community action. Fred would say, "We don't want you coming here clapping and leaving here not doing nothing—you've got to make a commitment!" The proof of the commitment was in the doing. Fred was an activist, and he really put down people who theorized but had no practice... But he respected theory—the theory of changing the world—making revolution. And he wasn't shy about naming it: socialism, communism, Marxism-Leninism. Fred read the classics and translated them into terms everyone could

understand, and worked to apply complex concepts to the concrete conditions of people's lives. He made the process of change real.

Within the local movement, Fred brought together supporters from two politicized gangs—the Young Lords Organization (Puerto Ricans) and the Young Patriots (Appalachian whites)—and from SDS and other groups, and declared the constellation to be the "Rainbow Coalition." Fred fought against the narrow notions that pitted Black unity against broader coalitions of the oppressed. It wasn't just a moral question of an integrated movement. Fred understood how race and class intersected; he could explain the real basis for unity.

Leon Despres, former Alderman of the 5th Ward:

A few months before he died, I heard Fred Hampton talk at a public question and answer session. It was the only time I ever saw him. The questioners were newspaper people, neither friendly nor hostile, but probing. The questions were about political and economic problems. What struck me was his extraordinary intellect. I had been prepared to see a militant, left-oriented person but I was deeply impressed by the quickness of his intellect, his command of language and ideas, the versatility and directness of his expression, and his extraordinary maturity. Here was a person, I felt, who had exceptional equipment and enormous promise for future development...

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What he would do, and which social paths he would ultimately take I could not know, but I recognized his enormous potential. His death was a terrible loss.

Huey P. Newton, former Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party:

Fred was only 19 when he became head of the Illinois Chapter of the Panthers. He was an extraordinary leader—a brilliant and charismatic speaker—with an exceptional ability to deal with people and inspire confidence. His energy led the Chicago chapter of the Panthers to be one of the most effective. Five different breakfast programs were begun on Chicago's West Side, and a free medical center was begun in a neighborhood which had an infant mortality rate more than twice that of White Chicago. Under his direction the Party also began a door-to-door program of health care which included testing for sickle cell anemia and a blood drive for Cook County Hospital, which served much of the Black community. During the winter, the Party organized an emergency heat program which kept pressure on the landlords to repair furnaces and boilers. The community was beginning to deal with its problems and an atmosphere of optimism and commitment was growing.

He was relentless; he could be found bustling around the Panther headquarters, out in the streets talking to and organizing people, or at one of an increasing number of speaking engagements throughout the Midwest. By the summer of 1969, he was talking to thousands of people in the course of a month.

He was becoming a national figure both inside and outside the Party, and it was being suggested that he brought into the national BPP leadership.



Mike Gray, co-producer of "The Murder of Fred Hampton":

A few months after he died, I began to understand exactly what it was about him that separated him from the rest of us. Watching that footage hour after hour in the editing room with Howard Alk, I finally saw that Fred Hampton was fearless. Literally, without fear.

And as we listened to the speeches again and again, it became apparent that he had accommodated death. He knew he was going to die. It was O.K. And so he had set aside the ultimate fear, the one that stopped all of us in our tracks, no matter how courageous, the root fear upon which we base all our other fears, the one that keeps all of us in line. Hampton had simply set that fear to rest. He was free.

FRED REMEMBERED

Thus he was able to speak clean simple truths that hit you like a thunderbolt. And the power and fury of his words echoed in that subterranean cesspool of fascism that Nixon and Hoover operated on Constitution Avenue. How he must have terrified them. In their grasping paranoia, what must they have made of this free Black man in their midst? Certainly not one of them had the courage to deal with him face-to-face with witnesses present.

So they plotted in the darkness things they never imagined we would discover. And he died in a shower of lead before he even had a chance to get his head off the pillow. And that, they must have thought, was that. But like a casual band of Roman soldiers, they underestimated the staying power of his memory and the memory of his words.

The Beat Goes On, if you know what I mean, and I'm sure Chairman Fred never had the slightest doubt. All Power to the People.

Deborah Johnson, chairperson of the December 4th Committee, fiancée of Fred Hampton, and survivor of the December 4th raid:

Fred Hampton in 1969 stood up and said we don't have to take this. We are strong Black men and women, and we have the power to determine our own destiny. We can unite with poor and oppressed whites; we can unite with the Hispanic

community; we can unite to fight for the power to determine our own destiny.

* * *

One thing that was really supportive, uplifting; I thought it was the most beautiful thing... People came from everywhere to the office to say "What can I do? I need to do something." People who I hadn't seen since grammar school, they came and they were really angered by what had happened with Fred and Mark's deaths. People were lined up around the block to come through the apartment to see what actually happened, because they didn't believe the newspaper or TV accounts. There were too many unanswered questions. And people came in the wintertime, in the snow to see for themselves. And that was very supportive. The community—Black, white, rich, poor—they just opened their arms and there was a unity there. It was such a high, I'm telling you. It was so beautiful, I can't really describe it. The other side of that, the sad end of that, was that the leadership was not there to unite all of these people, to unite the spirit that generated throughout the city and different parts of this country and different parts of this world...I'll never forget the feeling, the energy that was generated from Fred's death.

* * *

Here was a young man at 21 years old that had done more in his lifetime than many of us will ever do...in terms of being a charismatic leader, speaker; a dynamic organizer in the community; being able to draw attention to problems that need to be

FRED REMEMBERED

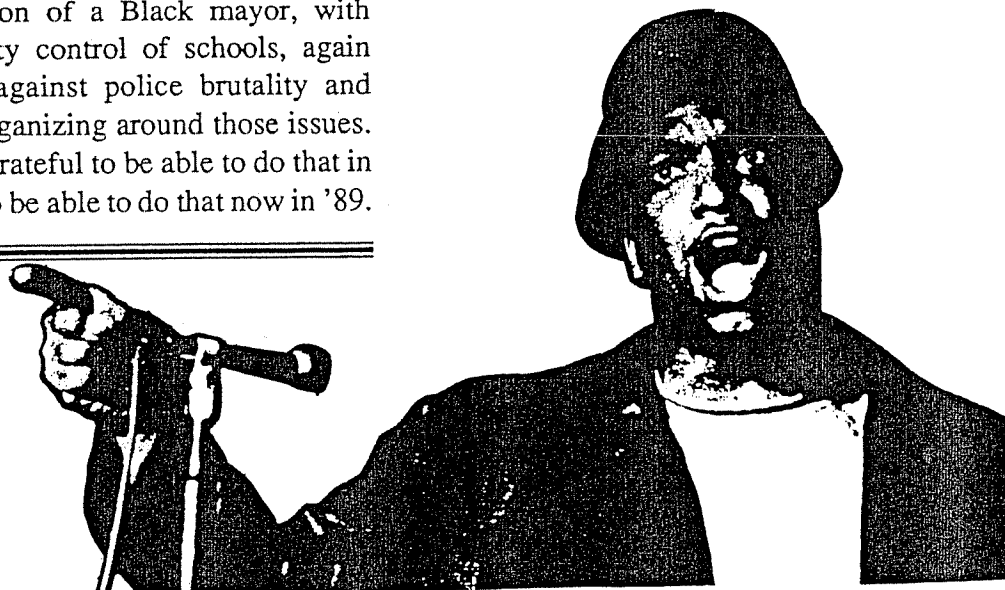
addressed in the community—police brutality, children not being fed, people not having housing. To draw attention to those issues, to make people responsible for their community, to put fire under organizations, to make them do certain things and being critical, and saying, "Well, you have to do this, because these are the problems we have in this community." It put something on their mind. Made them think about what needed to be done in the community.

* * *

Fred Hampton knew that he was going to be killed or run out of the country. He felt very strong, because Fred was uniting so many elements of the community.

* * *

I feel now that Fred's life, the Black Panther Party, that whole era, that whole movement, was a part of history that allowed us to continue on some levels some of the things that we do today, with the election of a Black mayor, with community control of schools, again fighting against police brutality and people organizing around those issues. I'm just grateful to be able to do that in '69 and to be able to do that now in '89.



Twenty Years Later

If things have changed at all for Black people on the Westside, and throughout the inner-city of Chicago, they have gotten worse. Or at the very least, to borrow a line from an old Bobby "Blue" Bland tune, "...baby, we're rockin' in the same old boat."

A walk or ride down Roosevelt Road or Madison Street on the Westside, and 47th and 63rd streets on the Southside, is the best testament that African-Americans have not fared well in the 20 years since the murder of Illinois Black Panther Party Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton.

By even the most conservative analysis, situations in housing, education, economics, health, police "protection," and certainly in politics, have run amok.

A recently released study by the Chicago Community Trust Human Relations Task Force details "...heightened ethnic, religious and racial tensions," in the city, and concludes that "Chicago is a racially segregated city in housing, education, and a myriad of other areas, and that segregation is bred and promoted by racism, which is devastatingly costly to the city and its citizens."

Funded by the Chicago Community Trust, a 74-year old community foundation, and managed by a potpourri of major mainstream corporate executives, fiscal and educational experts, and staunch community and civic organizational directors and leaders, the task force in its report also concludes that:

1. Racial and ethnic tensions are pervasive in Chicago;
2. Chicago is no less a city of segregated

neighborhoods than it was 20 years ago, and the city maybe worse off today than it was 20 years ago in terms of racial and ethnic residential segregation;

3. Racism obscures significant community problems as it permeates every aspect of life in Chicago;

4. Poverty and race are seen as interchangeable issues by most people when, in fact, they are not;

5. An integrated society is essential to Chicago's future;

6. The biggest fear of whites in Chicago is that an integrated city life cannot be achieved safely; and

7. The young represent our best hope, and our best reason for integrating Chicago.

It also acknowledges that the unemployment rate for African-American men is over three times that for white men in the city.

While some of its conclusions should be challenged, because no assimilation or integration comes without serious cultural repercussions, and as Chairman Fred so aptly said, "ain't nothing a foregone conclusion with me,"—when a known middle-of-the-road agency like the Trust acknowledges such stark realities as these it's evident that "...we're rockin' in the same old boat."

And, 20 years later, the city of Chicago finds itself with another mayor with the last name of Daley who is beginning to show his true color as he rears his venomous head in the

Rockin' in the same old boat . . .

Twenty Years Later

same family tradition as his father, while waging a covert war on the economy of the Black community by the blanket firing of hundreds of competent professionals (many who will not be welcomed into the corporate or business sectors because of high salaries they command and the opinions they bring); allowing its police department to randomly harass and brutalize inner city residents with total reckless abandon assisted by the superintendent himself.

...Rockin' in the same old boat.

In the meantime, local media ignores this all-out assault by the new Daley regime, as its honeymoon with his administration blossoms into a full-fledged love affair. At the same time, Black leadership is and always has been under siege by print and electronic media, which uses its own brand of hypocritically subjective reporting, and aids and abets a bogus judicial system, by condemning and convicting Black and other leaders of color throughout the world with distorted news stories (or by trying to ignore the fact that they exist).

Other politicians and the community still scatter to regroup two years after the death of Mayor Harold Washington and the divisiveness that followed. Or, play dead while awaiting the 1991 election. As enforcement officials seek to build new jails to accommodate the new emerging majority (not minority), and 20 years later we're ... "rockin' in the same old boat."

In a failed attempt to win the coveted Pulitzer Prize in 1985, The Chicago Tribune focused on a study of the North Lawndale community. In an series of front-page articles called, "The American Millstone: An Examination of the

Nation's Permanent Underclass", the Tribune, in the title of the series alone, made a damning indictment of the very same community where the Illinois Black Panther Party set up its first breakfast program.

Webster's Dictionary defines millstone as "something that grinds or crushes...a heavy burden." And when did the Black lower class become a permanent underclass? This type of psychological warfare is crucial to the state of mental health of inner city residents. It helps perpetuate a self hate that leads to self destruction, while the victims of this hurt self esteem are continually excluded from mainstream America.

In his early 1970's book, "Home is a Dirty Street," Eugene Useni Perkins, former executive director of the Better Boys Foundation (BBF), which housed the Panther Party breakfast program in 1969, writes: "Growing up in North Lawndale is more than a challenge. It is a feat that defies the manner in which children are supposed to live in this society."

Perkins, who served as executive director of BBF for years before leaving the center after battling a Euro-centric board, which didn't appreciate the Afro-centric programs he sought to implement, further states, "The very fact that they (the children) manage to endure this oppressed community is an achievement which contradicts the great odds that are stacked against them."

According to 1980 Census Bureau statistics, almost half of that area's more than 60,000 residents received some type of public assistance; enrollment in public schools steadily is declining, with only 36 percent finishing high school; and, in 1986, almost 43 percent had an

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estimated annual total household income of under \$7,500.

Calling the social, economic, and political exploitation of North Lawndale a “deeply rooted hypocrisy,” Perkins further describes what ails North Lawndale, and other communities like it across the country, as “social rigor mortis.” In the meantime, alcohol and drugs take their toll on the minds, souls, spirits, and bodies of its residents. And for his efforts to bring about some positive change, Chairman Fred was murdered in his sleep.

Now, some 20 years later America and Chicago continue to devour its young and its old, and “...we’re rockin’ in the same old boat.”

[Written by Rae Jones, a member of the December 4th Committee, who previously served as Director of Communications for Mayor Washington, and Assistant Press Secretary for Mayor Sawyer.]

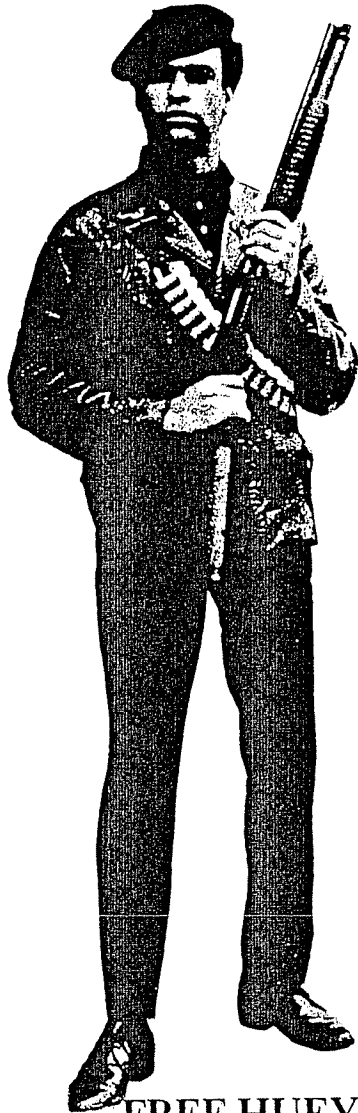


Rockin' in the same old boat . . .

October 1966

**Black Panther Party
Platform and Program**

**What We Want
What We Believe**



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.