

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Books and Compilations

December 4th Committee, The. *Fred Hampton: 20th Commemoration*. Chicago: Salsedo Press, 1989.

Compiled for the occasion of the 20th anniversary commemoration of Hampton's death, this book provides remembrances of Hampton by those who knew him. There is also an historical account of Hampton's life and death, focusing primarily on the events which culminated in the raid. Appendix A, the flyer containing the Panthers' Ten-Point Program, was found in this book.

Hampton, William E., et al., eds. *The Essence of Fred Hampton*. Chicago: Salsedo Press, 1994.

This was compiled for the 25th anniversary of Hampton's death by his brother Bill and others, and contains a dozen or so remembrances of Hampton from people who knew him personally. From these remembrances, I got a good idea of what kind of person he was. I was able to contact several of the people who had written about Hampton for this book.

Hilliard, David. *This Side of Glory*. Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1993.

David Hilliard was the national leader of the BPP at the time Hampton was a member. Hampton met with Hilliard shortly before Hampton's death to discuss Hampton taking on a greater national role in the Panthers. This book contained firsthand accounts of what the Panthers were like after the Hampton raid, as well as other key events leading to the organization's decline.

Newton, Huey P. *Revolutionary Suicide*. New York: Writers and Readers Publishing, 1973.

This book gives an idea of what the BPP is really about, from the point of view of its cofounder. Though it is very biased, it gives an idea of what the BPP did right from the start.

NLG Task Force on Counterintelligence and the Secret Police, Ed. *Counter-Intelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Secret Police*, vol. 1. Chicago: NLG Counterintelligence Documentation Center, 1990.

This is primarily a compilation of FBI memoranda, which gives a frank and detailed account of numerous COINTELPRO operations across the nation, including the Hampton raid and surrounding events. It was very useful for supporting and augmenting

many of my statements about the FBI's concerted effort to undermine the Panthers and similar organizations. Appendices B, C, and D were taken from this compilation.

Seale, Bobby. *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1970.

This is a very biased but informative account of the early days of the BPP, similar to Huey Newton's *Revolutionary Suicide* but giving a different view of the party, from Seale's own perspective.

Wilkins, Roy, and Ramsey Clark. *Search and Destroy: A Report by the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and the Police*. New York: Metropolitan Applied Research, 1973.

This report—undertaken by a blue-ribbon panel of investigators—presented likely conclusions as to what actually happened before, during, and after the raid. The commission, originally headed by former United State Supreme Court Judge Arthur Goldberg, was one of several investigations which painstakingly sifted through great volumes of evidence and forensic reports.

Articles

Boyer, Barbara A. "Contradictions in police accounts of the raid." *Chicago Journalism Review* December 1969: 4.

An informative chart is the bulk of this article. It showed contradictions between official and unofficial reports of what happened during the raid.

Brennan, Ray, and James Campbell. "Hints US Probe in Hampton Case." *Chicago Sun-Times* 9 December 1969: 5.

This article stated facts about the results of the raid, including that the Justice Department was having an investigator look into the raid, showing that there was already distrust of Hanrahan's version of events.

Campbell, James. "Indict policemen, Maywood urges." *Chicago Sun-Times* 8 December 1969: 2.

Maywood officials and Illinois Attorney General William J. Scott met four days after the raid to talk about possibly bringing murder charges against 14 policemen and this meeting is described in this article.

Chandler, Christopher. "Adding up the evidence." *Chicago Journalism Review* December 1969: 5-6.

This article, written for a special edition of the *Chicago Journalism Review*, describes the author's own conclusions based on what he saw at the apartment before it

was closed down by the FBI. It described the bullet holes and apparent one-sidedness of the “shootout.”

O’Brien, John. “Panther is Sought After Raid by Police.” *Chicago Tribune* 6 December 1969: 4.

O’Brien described in this piece how and why Bobby Rush was sought by police for having illegal weapons in his home, suggesting that Hampton was not the only one targeted.

_____. “Black Panther Quandary etc.” *Chicago Tribune* 7 December 1969: 4.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is quoted in this article, and he connects the Panthers with Communism several times. He also presents statistics to back up the FBI’s actions, including the number of active BPP members in cities across the country.

Rottenberg, Dan. “Who’s to blame for Trib’s scoop?” *Chicago Journalism Review* December 1969: 7.

On December 10, 1969, State’s Attorney Hanrahan, on short notice, offered an exclusive interview to the *Chicago Tribune* to discuss the raid and to present some of the government’s evidence. This article analyzed the fallout from this “scoop” in light of what turned out to be false evidence—preexisting nail holes passed off as bullet holes. It also questions Hanrahan’s sudden about-face in his willingness to relate events to *Tribune* reporters.

People

Bliss, George. Letter to the author. 10 December 2002.

Mr. Bliss was a student at Proviso East High School when Hampton attended, and served on the Cross-Section Committee with Hampton. He provided me with information about the conditions at Proviso East and in the greater Maywood community at the time, as well as his understanding of what Hampton wanted in the way of civil rights at the school.

Deuchler, Doug. Personal interview by author, 15 February 2003, Maywood, Illinois.

Mr. Deuchler was a teacher at Proviso East High School after Hampton left, but he and other young teachers stayed in contact with Hampton. He told me what his impressions of Hampton were at the time—that he was well-read, intelligent, and fun-loving—and what the conditions of integrated schools were back then.

Elbert, Joan. Telephone interview by author, 18 May 2003, Chicago.

Ms. Elbert gave me a lot of information regarding Hampton’s post-high school, pre-BPP activities, which included supervising panel discussions on Maywood race

issues, mediating dialogues between white and black students, and speaking at churches. She also gave some possible reasons for why he was targeted for “neutralization,” including that he was incorporating previously violent gangs into the Chicago Panthers.

Hanrahan, Edward V. Telephone interviews by author, 29 January and 9 April 2003, River Forest, Illinois.

Mr. Hanrahan, the former Cook County State’s Attorney, whose office took part in the raid, gave a good idea of the perspective of the local law enforcement towards Hampton and the BPP. He viewed a draft of my paper and made some helpful comments about the validity of some of my statements. This made the government’s side in my paper more accurate.

Stein, Rev. David. Telephone interview by author, 4 March 2003, River Forest, Illinois.

Rev. Stein was Dean of Students at Concordia Teachers’ College (now Concordia University), and was present when Hampton spoke there on two occasions. He shared with me his impressions of Hampton. He gave me a good idea about the difference between Hampton’s rhetoric and his actions.

Strieter, Rev. Tom. Telephone interview by author, 16 May 2003, Chicago.

Rev. Strieter informed me about what Hampton read and who his main influences were. He also told me about Hampton’s political philosophy and how it related to his work with the BPP.

Taylor, G. Flint. Personal interview by author, 10 February 2003, Chicago.

One of the People’s Law Office attorneys who represented the Hampton family and the survivors of the raid, as well as Hampton himself (during the Good Humor case), Mr. Taylor was very helpful, and supplied some of the other materials I used. As one of the attorneys who arrived at the scene within hours after the raid, he was able to give me a first-hand account of what he saw there. He also gave me information about the investigation of the raid and the role of the FBI informant, William O’Neal.

Film

Gray, Michael, prod. *The Murder of Fred Hampton*. Chicago: The Film Group, 1971.

Footage in this documentary included the following: Hampton speaking before the raid; the mock trial held before Hampton’s conviction for the ice cream theft; a long monologue by Hampton about the need for education for the People; many examples of Hampton and the Panthers’ often vulgar and confrontational rhetoric; Hanrahan standing firm beside his officers’ version of events; and the reenactment of the raid put on by CBS in which the officers acted out what they claimed was their part in the raid. This was *very* useful in that I could actually see for myself what I had only heard described before, and I got a much clearer understanding of the confusion following the raid on both sides.

Yearbook

Proviso East High School. *Provi.* Chicago: Proviso East High School, 1966.

From this I found out what high school activities Hampton was a part of, in particular the Cross-Section Committee.

Court Documents

Brief for Plaintiff-Appellants, Hampton v. Hanrahan, 600 F.2d 600 (7th Cir. 1979).

This brief was written by the People's Law Office for the case below, which resulted in a settlement finally being awarded the surviving Panthers. The brief contains all of the evidence uncovered at the site of the raid by Andrews, Taylor, and Haas, and also has a list of all of the people involved on the both sides.

Hampton v. Hanrahan, 600 F.2d 600 (7th Cir. 1979).

This appellate opinion overturned the trial court's dismissal of the civil case (following 18 months of trial), and remanded the case for trial before a different federal judge. There are many official statements in this document, including a list of the attorneys and the surviving Panthers, and a chronology of events gleaned from court testimony and documents.

United States District Court, Northern District of Illinois. *Report of the January 1970 Grand Jury.* United States Government Printing Office, 1970.

For reasons yet unknown, the surviving Panthers refused to testify in this case, which was brought up very soon after the raid. Unfortunately, this prevented the Grand Jury from being able to give a solid conclusion, and the best they could do was make public all the facts of the case so that anybody could see them and make their own conclusions. Included are many interviews of police officers involved in the raid as well as other public officials.

Unpublished Material

Hampton, William E. Address to 33rd Anniversary Commemorative of the Death of Fred Hampton. 14 December 2002, Maywood, Illinois.

I attended the 33rd anniversary gathering, where many of the people who knew Hampton spoke in his memory. His brother Bill was the keynote speaker, and presented the annual Fred Hampton Scholarships to students planning on studying law, as his brother Fred had planned to do before joining the BPP.

Secondary Sources

Books

Black, Charles L., Jr. *Perspectives in Constitutional Law*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1993.

A section of this book called “The Erosion of Rights” influenced my conclusions. It said that people’s rights are gradually coming under the power of the government, as though the government gave them to us in the first place, when in reality they are basic and inalienable.

Bodenhamer, David J., and James W. Ely, eds. *The Bill of Rights in Modern America: After 200 Years*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993.

The authors of this book analyze the Bill of Rights and the Constitution and gave me some ideas about when a person’s rights can become dangerous to the stability of the government.

Carson, Clayborne et al., eds. *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*. New York: Blackside, Inc., 1987.

This book gave excerpts from some of Hampton’s speeches, and an interview with Akua Njere (formerly Deborah Johnson), Hampton’s fiancée. This primary material provided a firsthand look at Hampton’s personality, as well as a firsthand account of what it was like to be a Panther.

Daniels, Roger. *Prisoners Without Trials: Japanese Americans in World War II*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

The author of this book provides an analysis of the freedoms denied Japanese-Americans during World War II, and said in his conclusion that it is not impossible that it could happen again in different forms. This helped me formulate my conclusions regarding the government’s fear of *potentially* dangerous people instead of *clearly* dangerous people.

Fairclough, Adam. *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000*. New York: Penguin Books, 2001.

This book also examined the time period, giving me a good idea of the rise of the Black Power and Black Nationalist movements.

Foner, Eric. *The Story of American Freedom*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1998.

The DeWitt Clinton Professor of History at Columbia University wrote this book, which, in its chapter on the Sixties, described how the government feared and took drastic action against its more radical, yet still legal, opponents.

Foner, Philip S., ed. *The Black Panthers Speak*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.

This book contains a lot of the Panthers' literature and other primary material, including the What We Want/What We Believe Ten-Point Program. It also contains excerpts from speeches made by major Panther figures, Hampton included. The shocking rhetoric of the Panthers is apparent from reading these speeches.

Jones, Charles E., ed. *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998.

This book contains essays by both BPP members and outsiders, who examine the rise, activities, and fall of the BPP. It gave me a good idea of the ideology of the party, and some of the underlying reasons for FBI retaliation.

Low, W. Augustus, and Virgil A. Clift, eds. *Encyclopedia of Black America*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1981.

A short article in this biographical encyclopedia gave me an initial introduction to Hampton and the context of his death.

Marable, Manning, and Leith Mullings. *Freedom*. London: Phaidon Press, 2002.

From this book I got information about the number of Panthers killed or apprehended by the police in the year 1969.

Nash, Jay Robert. *Terrorism in the 20th Century: A Narrative Encyclopedia from the Anarchists through the Weathermen to the Unabomber*. New York: M. Evans and Company Inc., 1998.

This book looked primarily at the more dangerous aspects of the counter-culture movement, like the Chicago riots and other youth dissension.

Pearson, Hugh. *The Shadow of the Panther*. New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1994.

The subject of this book was the early activities of the Panthers. It also was helpful regarding their early influence on the black community.

Rice, Jon F. *Up on Madison, Down on 75th*, vol.1. Evanston, Illinois: The Committee, 1983.

This book provided in-depth information about the civil rights scene in Chicago, culminating in the Hampton raid. It gave me a good sense of the developments in the city that made things so tense for the BPP and the police. It also recounted the 1965 suicide of a white Maywood woman who had been harassed by village officials after selling her home to a black family, an event which precipitated interracial dialogue in Hampton's hometown. Hampton was often called upon—at a young age—to mediate these discussions.

Robinson, Cedric J. *Black Movements in America*. New York: Routledge, 1997.

A short essay in this volume gave me a good introduction to the Black Panther Party.

Schanche, Don A. *The Panther Paradox: A Liberal's Dilemma*. New York: David McKay Company, 1970.

A mainly subjective book, this gives a good idea of what it was like to be a white Panther supporter grappling with the cause and the ideology of the group.

Schultz, Bud, and Ruth Schultz. *The Price of Dissent: Testimonies to Political Repression in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Two survivors of the raid, Ron Satchel and Akua Njere (Deborah Johnson), were interviewed for this book. Satchel gave a helpful and straightforward background of what the Panthers were doing in Chicago at the time Hampton was killed. Njere spoke of the programs for food, education, and health care, that she perceived as being at the center of Panther ideology.

Stewart, Jeffrey C. *1001 Things Everyone Should Know About African-American History*. New York: Broadway Books, 1996.

I got from this an idea of what the historical context of the raid was, and how it fit in to the whole civil rights movement.

Travis, Dempsey J. *An Autobiography of Black Politics*. Chicago: Urban Research Press, Inc., 1987.

From this book I got information on events concerning Fred Hampton and the Chicago BPP which led up to the raid. There was also an in-depth examination of the various legal proceedings which resulted. Subsequent chapters showed the relationship of the events surrounding the raid and its effect on the black voters, leading to the election of Harold Washington.

Articles

Churchill, Ward. "To Disrupt, Discredit and Destroy": *The FBI's Secret War against the Black Panther Party* [article on-line] (date unknown; accessed 12 May 2003); available from <http://www.thestee.com/Churchill.pdf>; Internet.

This is a short scholarly work by the coauthor of *The COINTELPRO Papers* setting out in great detail the workings of the FBI to stop the Panthers. In particular, this document enhanced my understanding of the FBI's efforts to undermine the Panthers by media infiltration, i.e., the use of FBI-favored journalists to plant negative stories about the Panthers to promote distrust of the group and discourage more people from joining.

Johnson, Don, et al. "Chairman Fred died a natural death." *Chicago Journalism Review* December 1969: 10-11.

This is a retrospective article which describes Hampton's rise and abrupt fall. It contained the statement Hampton made about his 25 criminal charges. The term "natural death" as used in this article referred to the fact that Hampton died in the way he expected to die.

Waxman, Sheldon. *The Rise, Fall and Death of an FBI Informant*. [article on-line] (date unknown; accessed 11 February 2003); available from <http://www.ummah.net/albayan/informant.html>; Internet.

Waxman, a former U.S. Attorney in the Chicago office, participated on behalf of the government in the early stages of the civil action brought by Hampton's family against the FBI. This irreverent article chronicles his experiences in that office, and provides an account of the demise of FBI informant William O'Neal.

World Book Encyclopedia, 1990 ed., s.v. "Black Panther Party," by Charles V. Hamilton.

From this I got my first information about the BPP, concise and clearly outlined.

Film

Hampton, Henry, prod. *Eyes on the Prize II*. Blackside, Inc. 1990.

A half-hour segment of this program was devoted to Hampton and the events surrounding his death. It also contained interviews with many of the people involved, including Bobby Rush, Flint Taylor, Akua Njere (Deborah Johnson), and William O'Neal. It was a very useful introduction to the life and demeanor of Hampton and to the raid, and also gave me ideas for people to contact.