



woven
teaching

Director, FBI

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence plans.

GOALS

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is often repeated by the militant black nationalist step toward a true black revolution.

2. Unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah; he is the martyr of the movement today. Elijah Muhammad and Elijah Muhammad is less of a contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.

NEUTRALIZING THE REVOLUTION

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-1-80 BY SP-6



WHO WE ARE

Woven Teaching is the human rights education practice of Woven Foundation. Through a combination of original programming and grantmaking, Woven Teaching advances the foundation's focus on long term change towards a widespread acceptance of basic human rights for all.

Our programmatic work is dedicated to supporting classroom teachers with practical help for ethical and effective instruction. We believe that by weaving human rights education into the curriculum, educators can create socially responsible global citizens.

Woven Teaching envisions a world in which every student's education includes:

- A sense of historical perspective;
- The development of critical thinking skills;
- A feeling of global citizenship;
- The ability to identify bigotry – understanding its negative effects on both individuals and society – and the analytical tools to combat it.

CONTACT



woventeaching.org



info@woventeaching.org



1600 Bush Street, Ste 300, San Francisco, CA 94109



Do you have feedback on this lesson or want to share how you implemented it in your classroom? We'd love to hear from you!

Please take our short evaluation at surveymonkey.com/r/wt-eval or scan the QR code to the left.

Note: Woven Teaching's Judas and the Black Messiah discussion guide was created for educational purposes only. It has not been endorsed by the film's production companies nor director Shaka King. All rights remain with the original copyright holders.

INTRODUCTION

The murders of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor in 2020 sparked an uprising that has brought increased attention to both the role of police violence in communities of color and state repression against activists—Black activists, in particular. Both of these issues have a long history in the United States. The 2021 film *Judas and the Black Messiah* details part of this history, giving viewers a glimpse into the FBI's infiltration of the Black Panther Party and the assassination of two Party leaders, Chairman Fred Hampton Sr. and Defense Captain Mark Clark.

Neutralizing the Revolution: The Black Panther Party and the FBI provides an opportunity for students to analyze primary sources from the Black Panther Party, Chairman Fred Hampton, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation's COINTEL-PRO operation (1956-1971), which sought to inhibit the effectiveness of Black liberation groups and other activist organizations. These activities provide students with historical context for *Judas and the Black Messiah*.

The lesson also includes a discussion guide for the film. While the film is historical fiction and dramatizes the events of 1968-1969, it offers a useful window into many important topics: What makes a leader? What is the role of the government in keeping its citizens safe? What do abuses of power in government look like? How does state repression of social movements serve to uphold white supremacy?

Note: Both the historical film clips and Judas and the Black Messiah contain language that some may find offensive. Viewer discretion advised.

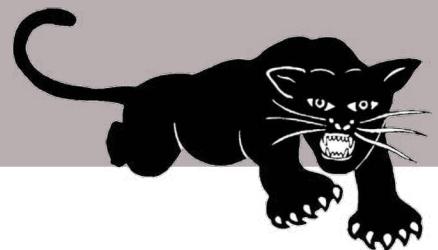
FOCUS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Woven Teaching believes that **human rights education** is essential for students to understand and assert their own rights and to protect the rights of others. As a result, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) lies at the core of Woven Teaching's materials. The document's 30 articles outline fundamental human rights: basic rights and freedoms which every human being is entitled to, regardless of the person's race, religion, birthplace, gender, sexual orientation, or other characteristic. Although its articles are not legally binding, the UDHR serves as the moral compass for the international community.

The activities in *Neutralizing the Revolution* connect directly to several UDHR articles, including:

- Article 2: Everyone is entitled to human rights, regardless of race, class, or other characteristic.
- Article 3: Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security of person.
- Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention, or exile.
- Article 12: Everyone has the right to privacy and freedom from attacks on their reputation.
- Article 19: Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression.

Please see [Appendix \(pg. 34\)](#) for a student version of the UDHR.



CONTENT LEVEL

Grades 9-12

TIME

Approx. 6 Hours
(including film)

GUIDING QUESTIONS

- What was the Black Panther Party and what were its goals?
- What were the mission and goals of COINTELPRO?
- How did COINTELPRO violate the human rights of the members of the Black Panther Party and other activists?
- What are the legacies of the Black Panther Party, Chairman Fred Hampton, and COINTELPRO today?

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- Provide a broad overview of the Black Panther Party and its Ten Point Program
- Evaluate the FBI's COINTELPRO operation and its role in inhibiting the growth of the Black Panther Party
- Make connections between the problems that the Black Panthers sought to solve and current human rights issues
- Draw parallels between the repression of Black activists during the civil rights movement and today

MATERIALS

- Computer with internet access
- Projector or screen share capability
- Poster paper
- Markers
- Films:
 - "The real story of the Black Panther Party"
 - Chairman Fred Hampton Speeches
 - *Judas and the Black Messiah* (check availability on streaming platforms)
- Google Slideshow (optional)
- Student Handouts
 - K-W-L-H Chart
 - Ten Point Program of the BPP [Handout A]
 - COINTELPRO Memos [Handout B]
 - COINTELPRO Memos Graphic Organizer [Handout C]
 - Church Committee Excerpts [Handouts D1-10]
 - *Judas and the Black Messiah* Discussion Questions [Handout E]

COMMON CORE STANDARDS

Anchor Standards

- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.4
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.7

History/Social Studies

- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.2
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RH.9-10.4

Reading Informational Text

- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.1
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.7
- CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.RI.9-10.9

CONSIDERATIONS FOR TEACHING ETHICALLY AND EFFECTIVELY

- Review practices of **trauma-informed education**, which recognizes the role that trauma plays for both teachers and students. By understanding and addressing the effects of trauma, teachers can create spaces where students can learn and thrive.
- The topics of racism, white supremacy, and state violence are difficult and will likely raise other sensitive issues.
- Students may have very different responses to the lesson and the class discussions. Acknowledge that each of us has biases that inform our beliefs and actions; these biases may be implicit or explicit. When differences arise, address them openly and respectfully with your students.
- Remind students of the ground rules for discussion, including:
 - » Using “I” statements and speaking from their own experience
 - » Listening actively and respectfully
- Discussions about race and racism can make students feel vulnerable and uncomfortable. Allow time to process the strong emotions that this subject may elicit from your students. Additionally, tell students that they can expect to feel some discomfort. Sitting with and working through discomfort is critical to dismantling racism and other systems of oppression.
- Caution students against making assumptions about anyone based on their race, gender, or any other characteristic. No community is a monolith and members of the same group may have wildly different opinions about the issues raised in this lesson.
- Approach sources with care; preview all materials before sharing with students.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Black Panther Party

In 1966, college students Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) in Oakland, California. The primary mission of the BPP was to defend the Black community, largely against police and other racist violence. Along with demands for jobs, housing, and other human rights, the Party called for the Black communities to arm and protect themselves. It created patrols to monitor police activity and ensure that police officers did not brutalize community members.

The Party gained national prominence when, in May 1967, armed members of the BPP entered the California state capitol in Sacramento in protest of a new bill that would limit their ability to openly carry weapons. By 1969, the Party had more than 40 chapters across the country and was one of the most prominent Black Power organizations in the United States.

While it is widely known for its stance on self-defense, much of the BPP's work focused on alleviating the struggles of Black and other oppressed communities. The Party had many survival programs, including Free Breakfast for Children programs, which fed thousands of children across the country, and free health clinics that provided medical services for those who may not have otherwise had access to doctors. The legacy of the Black Panther Party continues today through Black-led community organizing across the country.

Chairman Fred Hampton Sr.

Fred Hampton Sr. was born on August 30, 1948. His activism started as a young teen when he was a prominent youth leader with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). At the age of 20, he founded the Illinois and Chicago chapters of the Black Panther Party. He was a dedicated leader, a charismatic speaker, and a freedom fighter who had the ability to gain support from people of all backgrounds. These qualities caught the attention of J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI, who—in collaboration with the Chicago Police Department—assassinated Hampton and fellow Panther Mark Clark in a pre-dawn raid on December 4, 1969. Chairman Fred Hampton was 21 when he was killed; Mark Clark was 22.

COINTELPRO

Beginning in 1956, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) conducted a covert—and often illegal—operation to surveil, infiltrate, discredit, and disrupt political organizations in the United States. The Counter Intelligence Program, or COINTELPRO, targeted many groups deemed “subversive” by the U.S. government. Groups and movements targeted under COINTELPRO include:

- Black liberation leaders/organizations such as Martin Luther King Jr., the Black Panther Party, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- Communist Party USA and other communist organizations
- Anti-war movement
- New Left, including Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
- American Indian Movement
- White supremacist movements, such as the Ku Klux Klan

The FBI worked closely with local law enforcement agencies to “neutralize” organizations and individuals who posed a threat to the status quo. Black Power organizations, and the Black Panther Party specifically, were the primary focus of COINTELPRO.

In 1971, a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI broke into an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania. They stole over 1,000 classified documents, including hundreds of pages detailing the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. COINTELPRO was officially terminated in 1971, although the FBI continues to surveil and infiltrate groups it views as threats. In 1975, Congress convened the Church Committee to investigate the activities of U.S. intelligence organizations, including the FBI. Its 1976 report details the many of the abuses and illegal acts committed by the FBI and its collaborators under COINTELPRO.

ACTIVITY 1: WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY?

What do students know about the Black Panther Party (BPP)? What do they want to know? Using the K-W-L-H teaching strategy, students will draw upon their prior knowledge and chart the progress of their learning.

PROCEDURE (30 MINUTES):

1. Begin by telling students that they will learn about the Black Panther Party and the U.S. government's program to inhibit the organization's work. After learning the historical context, students will view and analyze *Judas and the Black Messiah*, a 2021 film dramatizing the assassination of Chairman Fred Hampton, leader of the Illinois Black Panther Party.
2. Distribute a K-W-L-H chart to each student. The K-W-L-H chart is available at www.woventeaching.org/teaching/kwlh-chart.
3. Ask students to complete the "Know" and "Want to Know" sections. After a few minutes, ask students to share what they wrote. *Do students have existing knowledge about the Black Panther Party? Do most students have a positive or negative impression of the Black Panthers? What do they hope to learn?*
4. As they work through the rest of the lesson's activities, students should complete the "Learned" section. At the conclusion of the lesson, instruct students to use the "How" section to connect their new knowledge on the Black Panthers, Fred Hampton, and COINTELPRO to their current understanding of human rights. *What can we learn from this history to help us create a more just and equitable world?*
5. Watch "The real story of the Black Panther Party" (13:27), a TEDx Talk with activist and historian Curtis Austin. Check for understanding by discussing some of the following questions:
 - What questions do you have?
 - Did anything surprise you?
 - Did Austin present information that contradicted what you know about the BPP?
 - Austin notes that women made up a majority of the BPP's membership. Why do you think that women have been excluded from or minimized in popular depictions of the Party?
 - If the FBI wrote the majority of the news articles about the BPP, how do we "find out the truth about this organization for ourselves"?
6. Do you agree with Austin's statement that the Black community (or any other community) cannot solve all of these important issues without the help of other communities?

Note: This video contains graphic images that may upset students (starts at 9:26).

Before you watch the video, you may wish to review terms that could be unfamiliar to some students:

- **anti-racist:** being not only opposed to racism but also working actively to dismantle racism and white supremacy
- **demonize:** to portray something as evil or threatening
- **homage:** an action to show honor or respect towards someone or something
- **vilify:** to speak or write about something in a very unfavorable way

ACTIVITY 2: WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY & HUMAN RIGHTS

One of the primary goals of the Black Panther Party was to secure human rights not only for Black people, but for all oppressed people. But what specifically were they fighting for? In this activity, students will examine the Black Panther Party's Ten Point Program and consider its connections to social movements today.

PROCEDURE (30 MINUTES):

1. Begin the activity with an all-class brainstorm. Ask students to brainstorm issues of social justice and human rights that people are fighting for today. Write their answers on the board and tell students you will revisit these ideas later. Examples include: freedom from police violence, racism and discrimination in education, fair wages, right to affordable housing, freedom from sexual violence, etc.
2. After a few minutes, distribute a copy of The Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party (Handout A) to each student. Ask students to read the handout, marking anything they find particularly interesting or have questions about.
3. When they have finished reading, ask students to discuss with a partner or write a short paragraph summarizing the Ten-Point Program and the rights demanded by the BPP. Their discussion and/or response should include reflections on the following questions:
 - What surprised you about the program?
 - What human rights were the Black Panthers fighting for?
 - What problems faced by Black and other historically marginalized communities still exist today?

As the groups work on this activity, move around the classroom, checking in with students and answering any questions they have.

4. After 20 minutes, debrief by asking students to share what rights they identified in the program. End the discussion by asking the following questions:
 - Did the BPP achieve its goals? Why or why not?
 - Think about social movements today. What are they fighting for (or against)? How are their demands similar or different to those of the Black Panther Party? What does this tell us?



"People need to come away from [*Judas and the Black Messiah*] knowing that the struggle is still going on, and I still believe to this day, what we were fighting for in the '60s has not been achieved. And that's the reality. So what other response can we get but to still fight for self-determination and control over our Black lives?"

– Akua Njeri (formerly known as Deborah Johnson)



OCTOBER 1966 BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM



WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.
4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
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.
6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MENTTO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.
8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.
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.
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.

WHAT WE BELIEVE

WE BELIEVE THAT BLACK PEOPLE WILL NOT BE FREE UNTIL WE ARE ABLE TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

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, 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.

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 6,000,000 JEWS. THE AMERICAN RACIST HAS TAKEN PART IN THE SLAUGHTER OF OVER 50,000,000 BLACK PEOPLE; THEREFORE, WE FEEL THAT THIS IS A MODEST DEMAND THAT WE MAKE.

WE BELIEVE THAT IF THE WHITE LANDLORDS WILL NOT GIVE DECENT HOUSING TO OUR BLACK COMMUNITY, 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.

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.

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.

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 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES GIVES US A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT ALL BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF DEFENSE.

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.

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.

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BONDS 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 SEPARATION. WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE 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 PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE 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 USURPATION, 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 A GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.



ACTIVITY 3: COINTELPRO & THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

In this activity, students will examine primary sources related to COINTELPRO and consider why the FBI focused its efforts on the Black Panther Party.

PROCEDURE (70 MINUTES):

Part 1:

1. Distribute a copy of the “COINTELPRO Memos” (Handout B) to each student.
2. Instruct students to read and annotate the handout, then answer the following questions on the graphic organizer (Handout C) or a separate sheet of paper:
 - a. What was the primary purpose of COINTELPRO’s operations against Black liberation organizations?
 - b. What were its goals?
 - c. COINTELPRO operations were designed to discredit Black liberation groups in three different communities. What were these communities? Why would the FBI need to use different tactics to discredit Black activists in different communities?
 - d. Why did the U.S. government want to portray the Black Panther Party as a violent organization?
 - e. Does this information align with the TedTalk by Curtis Austin?
 - f. What questions do you have?
3. After 15-20 minutes, debrief with the class. Check for understanding by asking students to share their answers and spend a few minutes ensuring that all students understand the vocabulary used in the memo. Refer to Appendix (pg. 35) for a list of terms.



Part 2:

1. Ask students to break into groups of 4-5. Distribute a copy of one Church Committee Excerpt (Handout D) to each student. Each member of a group should have the same handout. Provide poster paper and markers to each group.

Note: The lesson includes ten excerpts, but it is not necessary to use all of them. Divide your class into as many groups as is manageable and practical.

2. Instruct students to read the handout, then create a poster-sized infographic that contains answers to the following questions and any other details that the group thinks are relevant:
 - a. What tactics used by the FBI or local police departments are described in this excerpt?
 - b. Reflecting on what you learned from the COINTELPRO Memos, what is the purpose of this action? Is it meant to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or “neutralize” the Black Panther Party?
 - c. Which goal of COINTELPRO does this action meet?
 - d. Do you think this was an appropriate tactic for the FBI to use against the BPP? Explain.
4. After 25 minutes, ask groups to hang their posters at various places around the room. Instruct students to spend a few minutes moving around the room and reading the other groups’ posters. Encourage students to leave comments or questions at each poster.

Note: Depending on the time available, students may not have time to visit every poster.

5. After students have had the opportunity to visit at least three other posters, ask each group to retrieve their poster. Debrief by asking each group to give a brief summary of their excerpt, then respond to the comments and questions left by their classmates.



FURTHER LEARNING

These excerpts come from the 1976 report by the Church Committee, a U.S. Senate Committee that investigated abuses by the FBI, CIA, and other agencies of the U.S. government engaged in intelligence activity.

The section of the report detailing COINTELPRO can be reviewed at:

https://www.intelligence.senate.gov/sites/default/files/94755_III.pdf.



Black Panther Party Headquarters in Oakland, CA, 1971

ACTIVITY 4: I AM A REVOLUTIONARY!

Chairman Fred Hampton Sr. was an engaging speaker and a talented organizer. During his short time leading the Illinois Black Panther Party, he established a Free Breakfast for Children program, a free medical clinic, and organized the multiracial Rainbow Coalition to fight for human rights in Chicago.

In this activity, students will hear from Chairman Fred Hampton directly by watching and reflecting on a short collection of his speeches.

PROCEDURE (45 MINUTES):

1. Show the class the collection of speeches by Chairman Fred Hampton at youtu.be/tF7_2VckKNQ. Instruct students to take notes while watching. They may want to make notes about what they find interesting, ideas or statements they agree or disagree with, and any questions they have.
2. Ask students to respond to the clips in one of the following ways:
 - Write a short response reflecting on the following questions:
 - What does “all power to the people” mean?
 - What does Hampton mean when he talks about solidarity?
 - Why is it important to divide people in order to oppress and control them? Can you think of other examples (from history or the present) where this has happened?
 - Imagine that you were in the audience for one of Hampton’s speeches and were excited by what you heard. Design a flyer illustrating one of Hampton’s ideas to put up in your neighborhood.
 - Choose one of the lines from Hampton’s speeches (see following page). Write a short response reflecting on its meaning. Your response should include answers to the following questions:
 - Do you agree or disagree with Hampton, and why?
 - What makes this a powerful statement?
 - Why would this statement be considered dangerous by the FBI and the U.S. power structure?
 - Choose one of the lines from Hampton’s speeches (see following page). Write a poem reflecting on the line – What does it mean to you? What does it remind you of? Does it give you hope?
3. After 25 minutes, ask students to share and discuss their reflection with a partner.
4. After a few minutes, ask students to share with the class the takeaways from their discussions. Wrap up the activity by posing the following question: Why do you think the FBI targeted Fred Hampton?



TEACHING TIP

Turn on Closed Captioning so that students can follow Hampton’s words more closely.



Fred Hampton speaks outside of a Chicago courthouse, October 29, 1969

CHAIRMAN FRED HAMPTON QUOTES:

"All power to all people."

"In the spirit of liberation! We understand that they want everybody in the Party in jail. We know that if we try to figure out and separate and divide who should go and who shouldn't go, we'd spend more time doing that than working for the people. So the quick solution, the speedy one, nobody goes!"

"I am a revolutionary!"

"You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution."

"Nothing's more important than stopping fascism, because fascism will stop us all."

"We don't think to fight fire with fire best; we think you fight fire with water best. We gonna fight racism not with racism, but we gonna fight racism with solidarity."

"If you dare to struggle, you dare to win."

ACTIVITY 5: JUDAS AND THE BLACK MESSIAH

SCREENING & DISCUSSION

Judas and the Black Messiah (JATBM) is a film about Illinois Black Panther Party Chairman Fred Hampton Sr. The story focuses largely on the role that William O'Neal, an FBI informant, played in Hampton's assassination in December 1969. The film depicts the lengths to which the FBI and the Chicago Police Department were willing to go in pursuit of harming the Black Panther Party and Chairman Hampton.

Judas and the Black Messiah is the first major biographical work about Fred Hampton that was authorized by the late Chairman's family. His widow, Akua Njeri (formerly known as Deborah Johnson), and his son, Chairman Fred Hampton Jr., were crucial to ensuring the film was an accurate representation of Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party.

Note: While *Judas and the Black Messiah* is based on actual people and events, the filmmakers likely took artistic liberties. It may be helpful to remind students that historical fiction, like any other medium, may emphasize or leave out certain historical details based on the filmmakers' preferences and biases.

Release date:	February 12, 2021
Genre:	Biography, drama, history
Directed by:	Shaka King
Starring:	Daniel Kaluuya (Fred Hampton) LaKeith Stanfield (Bill O'Neal) Jesse Plemons (Roy Mitchell) Dominique Fishback (Deborah Johnson)
Length:	2 hours, 6 minutes
Rating:	R



DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What does the title of the film mean? Who is the messiah? Who is Judas? These are religious terms taken from Judaism and Christianity. Why do you think the filmmaker chose to use them? Whose point of view do we see the film through? Why is that important?
2. When William ("Bill") O'Neal is arrested, FBI agent Roy Mitchell asks him how he feels about the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Why do you think he asks O'Neal about this?
3. Bill O'Neal was just one of many informants in the Illinois Black Panther Party directed by Roy Mitchell. In the United States, law enforcement agencies are legally allowed to use informants to infiltrate groups and organizations. According to international law, this may constitute a violation of privacy and a violation of human rights.

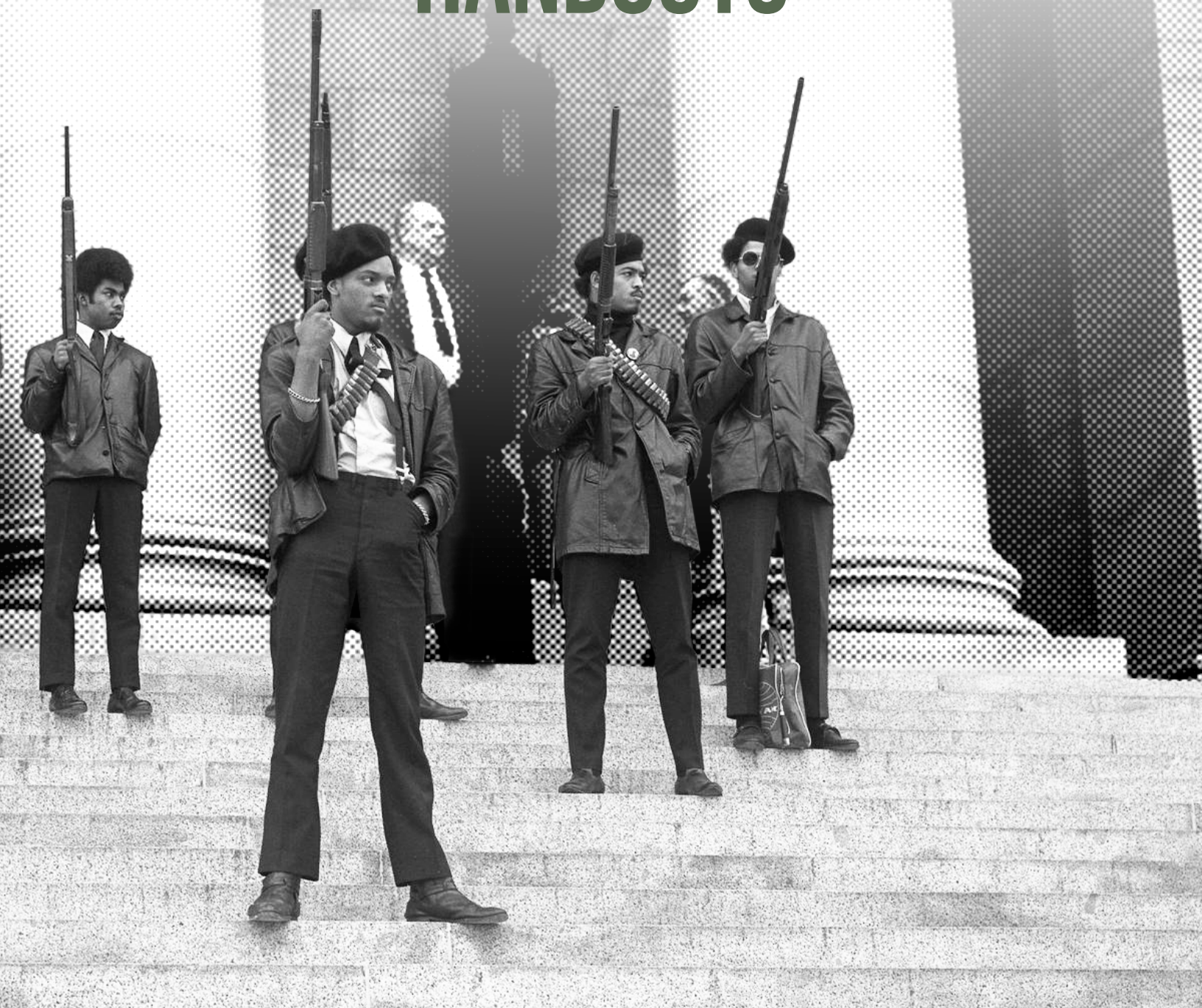
With this in mind, do you think that the FBI violated the human rights of members of the Black Panthers by using Bill O'Neal and other informants to infiltrate the Party? Why or why not? Do you believe there are ever circumstances where this is necessary?

4. During a political education session, O'Neal tries to flirt with one of his classmates. Hampton tells him that, "These aren't just your sisters. They're your sisters-in-arms. Act like it." What does this mean, and what does it tell us about the role of women in the Black Panther Party?
5. *JATBM* shows Chairman Fred Hampton's work in forming the Rainbow Coalition, a movement which brought together groups from different cultures and racial identities for common causes. Why do you think Chairman Fred Hampton thought it was important to bring these groups together? In your answer, consider what the groups may have had in common and who/what they were opposing. Do you agree that forming multiracial coalitions is essential to fighting social justice issues today? Why or why not?
6. After the Chicago Police Department burns the Party headquarters, people from throughout the community pitch in to rebuild it. After this, Chairman Fred Hampton remarks that "anywhere there's people, there's power." What does he mean by this? Where have you seen this in your own community?
7. *JATBM* details how determined the FBI was to "prevent the rise of a Black messiah" and "neutralize Fred Hampton by any means necessary." Why do you think the U.S. government viewed Chairman Fred Hampton and Black liberation organizations as a threat?
8. *Judas and the Black Messiah* focuses largely on the informant, Bill O'Neal, rather than Fred Hampton. Why do you think the filmmakers chose to focus on O'Neal? What message do you think they want the audience to take away from the film?
9. What lessons do we learn by studying the Black Panther Party, COINTELPRO, and Chairman Fred Hampton? How do those lessons apply to social movements in the 21st century?



BPP members protest outside of the California state capitol building, May 2, 1967 (Credit: Washington State Archives)

STUDENT HANDOUTS



WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

The Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party

Handout A

College students Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party (BPP) in 1966. The Party advocated for self-defense against police and an end to all forms of systemic violence and repression in Black communities. Additionally, the Black Panther Party advocated for many other human rights. Newton and Seale wrote the Party's Ten Point Program in October 1966.

- 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 WHITE MAN 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 were 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 6,000,000 Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over 50,000,000 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 of the Constitution of the United States gives us the 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 peers. 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 bonds 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 separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, and 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 abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its power in such a 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 shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accused. 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, and their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards of their future security.



Black Panther Party founders Bobby Seale (left) and Huey P. Newton (right)

COINTELPRO MEMOS — PRIMARY SOURCES

August 25, 1967

[...] The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. [...]

You are urged to take an enthusiastic and imaginative approach to this new counterintelligence endeavor and the Bureau will be pleased to entertain any suggestions or techniques you may recommend.

February 29, 1968

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

PURPOSE:

To expand the Counterintelligence Program designed to neutralize militant black nationalist groups from 23 to 41 field divisions so as to cover the great majority of black nationalist activity in this country. [...]

GOALS:

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward [...] the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit those groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community, both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist[s] simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.
5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed. [...]

COINTELPRO MEMOS — GRAPHIC ORGANIZER

What was the primary purpose of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation organizations?	
What were the FBI's goals for COINTELPRO related to so-called "black nationalist hate groups"?	
COINTELPRO operations were supposed to discredit Black liberation groups in three different communities. What were these communities? Why would the FBI need to use different tactics to discredit Black activists in different communities?	
Why did the U.S. government want to portray the Black Panther Party as a violent organization?	
Does this information align with the TedTalk by Curtis Austin?	What questions do you have?

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 1

A. The Effort to Promote Violence Between the Black Panther Party and Other Well-Armed, Potentially Violent Organizations

The Select Committee's staff investigation has disclosed a number of instances in which the FBI sought to turn violence-prone organizations against the Panthers in an effort to aggravate "gang warfare." Because of the milieu of violence in which members of the Panthers often moved we have been unable to establish a direct link between any of the FBI's specific efforts to promote violence and particular acts of violence that occurred. We have been able to establish beyond doubt, however, that high officials of the FBI desired to promote violent confrontations between BPP members and members of other groups, and that those officials condoned tactics calculated to achieve that end. It is deplorable that officials of the United States Government should engage in the activities described below, however dangerous a threat they might have considered the Panthers; equally disturbing is the pride which those officials took in claiming credit for the bloodshed that occurred. [...]

1. The Effort to Promote Violence Between the Black Panther Party and the United Slaves (US), Inc.

FBI memoranda indicate that the FBI leadership was aware of a violent power struggle between the Black Panther Party and the United Slaves (US) in late 1968. A memorandum to the head of the FBI's Domestic Intelligence Division, for example, stated:

On 11/2/68, BPP received information indicating US members intended to assassinate Leroy Eldridge Cleaver ... at a rally scheduled at Los Angeles on 11/3/68. A Los Angeles racial informant advised on 11/8/68 that [a BPP member] had been identified as a US infiltrator and that BPP headquarters had instructed that [name deleted] should be killed.

During BPP rally, US members including one [name deleted], were ordered to leave the rally site by LASS members (Los Angeles BPP Security Squad) and did so.

US capitulation on this occasion prompted BPP members to decide to kill [name deleted] and then take over US organization. Members of LASS ... were given orders to eliminate [name deleted] and [name deleted].

This memorandum also suggested that the two US members should be told of the BPP's plans to "eliminate" them in order to convince them to become Bureau informants.

In November 1968, the FBI took initial steps in its program to disrupt the Black Panther Party in San Diego, California by aggravating the existing hostility between the Panthers and US. A memorandum from FBI Director Hoover to 14 field offices noted a state of "gang warfare" existed, with "attendant threats of murder and reprisals," between the BPP and US in southern California and added:

In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP. [...]

As the tempo of violence quickened, the FBI's field office in San Diego developed tactics calculated to heighten tension between the hostile factions. On January 17, 1969, two members of the Black Panther Party—Alprentice "[Bunchy]" Carter and John Huggins—were killed by US members on the UCLA campus following a meeting involving the two organizations and university students. One month later, the San Diego field office requested permission from headquarters to mail derogatory cartoons to local BPP offices and to the homes of prominent BPP leaders around the country. The purpose was plainly stated: The purpose of the caricatures is to indicate to the BPP that the US organization feels that they are ineffectual, inadequate, and riddled with graft and corruption.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 2

A. The Effort to Promote Violence Between the Black Panther Party and Other Well-Armed, Potentially Violent Organizations [...]

2. The Effort to Promote Violence Between the Blackstone Rangers and the Black Panther Party

In late 1968 and early 1969, the FBI endeavored to pit the Blackstone Rangers, a heavily armed, violence-prone organization, against the Black Panthers. In December 1968, the FBI learned that the recognized leader of the Blackstone Rangers, Jeff Fort, was resisting Black Panther overtures to enlist "the support of the Blackstone Rangers." In order to increase the friction between these groups, the Bureau's Chicago office proposed sending an anonymous letter to Fort, informing him that two prominent leaders of the Chicago BPP had been making disparaging remarks about his "lack of commitment to black people generally." The field office observed:

Fort is reportedly aware that such remarks have been circulated, but is not aware of the identities of the individual responsible. He has stated that he would "take care of" individuals responsible for the verbal attacks directed against him.

Chicago, consequently, recommends that Fort be made aware that [name deleted] and [name deleted] together with other BPP members locally, are responsible for the circulation of these remarks concerning him. It is felt that if Fort were to be aware that the BPP was responsible, it would lend impetus to his refusal to accept any BPP overtures to the Rangers and *additionally might result in Fort having active steps taken to exact some form of retribution toward the leadership of the BPP.* [Emphasis added.]

On about December 18, 1968, Jeff Fort and other Blackstone Rangers were involved in a serious confrontation with members of the Black Panther Party.

During that day twelve members of the BPP and five known

members of the Blackstone Rangers were arrested on Chicago's South Side. A report indicates that the Panthers and Rangers were arrested following the shooting of one of the Panthers by a Ranger.

That evening, according to an FBI informant, around 10:30 p.m., approximately thirty Panthers went to the Blackstone Rangers' headquarters at 6400 South Kimbark in Chicago. Upon their arrival Jeff Fort invited Fred Hampton, Bobby Rush and the other BPP members to come upstairs and meet with him and the Ranger leadership. The Bureau goes on to describe what transpired at this meeting:

... everyone went upstairs into a room which appeared to be a gymnasium, where Fort told Hampton and Rush that he had heard about the Panthers being in Ranger territory during the day, attempting to show their "power" and he wanted the Panthers to recognize the Rangers "power." Source stated that Fort then gave orders, via walkie-talkie, whereupon two men marched through the door carrying pump shotguns. Another order and two men appeared carrying sawed off carbines then eight more, each carrying a .45 caliber machine gun, clip type, operated from the shoulder or hip, then others came with over and under type weapons. Source stated that after this procession Fort had all Rangers present, approximately 100, display their side arms and about one half had .45 caliber revolvers. Source advised that all the above weapons appeared to be new. [...]

Source advised that nothing was decided at the meeting about the two groups actually joining forces, however, a decision was made to meet again on Christmas Day. Source stated Fort did relate that the Rangers were behind the Panthers but were not to be considered members. [...]

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 3

B. The Effort To Disrupt the Black Panther Party by Promoting Internal Dissension

1. General Efforts to Disrupt the Black Panther Party Membership

[...] the FBI employed the full range of COINTELPRO techniques to create rifts and factions, within the Party itself which it was believed would "neutralize" the Party's effectiveness.

Anonymous letters were commonly used to sow mistrust. For example, in March 1969 the Chicago FBI Field Office learned that a local BPP member feared that a faction of the Party, allegedly led by Fred Hampton and Bobby Rush, was "out to get" him. Headquarters approved sending an anonymous letter to Hampton which was drafted to exploit dissension within the BPP as well as to play on mistrust between the Blackstone Rangers and the Chicago BPP leadership [...]

Bureau documents indicate that during this time an informant within the BPP was also involved in maintaining the division between the Panthers and the Blackstone Rangers. [...]

The FBI also resorted to anonymous phone calls. The San Diego Field Office placed anonymous calls to local BPP leaders naming other BPP members as "police agents." According to a report from the field office, these calls, reinforced by rumors spread by FBI informants within the BPP, induced a group of Panthers to accuse three Party members of working for the police. The field office boasted that one of the accused members fled San Diego in fear for his life.

The FBI conducted harassing interviews of Black Panther members to intimidate them and drive them from the Party. The Los Angeles Field Office conducted a stringent interview program

in the hope that a state of district [sic] might remain among the members and add to the turmoil presently going on within the BPP. [...]

FBI agents attempted to convince landlords to force Black Panther members and offices from their buildings. The Indianapolis Field Office reported that a local landlord had yielded to its urgings and promised to tell his Black Panther tenants to relocate their offices. The San Francisco office sent an article from the Black Panther newspaper to the landlord of a BPP member who had rented an apartment under an assumed name. The article, which had been written by that member and contained her picture and true name, was accompanied by an anonymous note stating, "(false name) is your tenant (true name)".

The San Francisco office secured the eviction of one Black Panther who lived in a public housing project by informing the Housing Authority officials that she was using his apartment for the BPP Free Breakfast Program. When it was learned that the BPP was conducting a Free Breakfast Program "in the notorious Haight-Ashbury District of San Francisco," the Bureau mailed a letter to the owners of the building:

Dear Mr. (excised) :

I would call and talk to you about this matter, but I am not sure how you feel, and I do not wish to become personally embroiled with neighbors. It seems that the property owners on (excised) Street have had enough trouble in the past without bringing in Black Panthers.

Maybe you are not aware, but the Black Panthers have taken over (address deleted). Perhaps if you drive up the street, you can see what they are going to do to the property values. They have already plastered a nearby garage with big Black Panther posters.

– A concerned property owner.

The Bureau also attempted to undermine the morale of Panther members by attempting to break up their marriages. In one case, an anonymous letter was sent to the wife of a prominent Panther leader stating that her husband had been having affairs with several teenage girls and had taken some of those girls with him on trips. [...]

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 4

C. Covert Efforts To Undermine Support of the Black Panther Party and to Destroy the Party's Public Image

1. Efforts To Discourage and To Discredit Supporters of the Black Panthers [...]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's program to "neutralize" the Black Panther Party included attempts to deter individuals and groups from supporting the Panthers and, when that could not be accomplished, often extended to covert action targeted against those supporters.

The Bureau made a series of progressively more severe efforts to destroy the confidence between the Panthers and one of their major California supporters, Donald Freed, a writer who headed an organization of white BPP sympathizers called "Friends of the Panthers." In July 1969, the Los Angeles Field Office sent the local BPP office a memorandum bearing Freed's name and address to "Friends of the Panthers." Written in a condescending tone and including a list of six precautions whites should keep in mind when dealing with Panthers, the memorandum was calculated to cause a "rift between the Black Panther Party and their assisting organizations." A few days later, the Bureau had leaflets placed in a park near a BPP sponsored national conference in Oakland, California, alleging that Freed was a police informant.

The FBI viewed with favor an intensive local investigation of Freed for "harboring" and "possession of illegal firearms."

It is felt that any prosecution or exposure of either Freed or [name deleted] will severely hurt the BPP. Any exposure will not only deny the Panthers money, but additionally, would cause other white supporters of the BPP to withdraw their support. It is felt that the Los Angeles chapter of the BPP could not operate without the financial support of white sympathizers.

The Bureau's Los Angeles Division also arranged for minutes of a BPP support group to be provided to the BPP when it was learned that statements of members of the support group were critical of Panther leaders. [...]

Famous entertainment personalities who spoke in favor of Panther goals or associated with BPP members became the targets of FBI programs. When the FBI learned that one well-known Hollywood actress had become pregnant during an affair with a BPP member, it reported this information to a famous Hollywood gossip columnist in the form of an anonymous letter. The story was used by the Hollywood columnist. In June 1970, FBI headquarters approved an anonymous letter informing Hollywood gossip columnist Army Archerd that actress Jane Fonda had appeared at a BPP fund-raising function, noting that "It can be expected that Fonda's involvement with the BPP cause could detract from her status with the general public if reported in a Hollywood 'gossip column.'" The wife of a famous Hollywood actor was targeted by the FBI when it discovered that she was a financial contributor and supporter of the BPP in Los Angeles. A caricature attacking her was prepared by the San Diego FBI office.

A famous entertainer was also targeted after the Bureau concluded that he supported the Panthers. Two COINTELPRO actions against this individual were approved because FBI headquarters "believed" they:

would be an effective means of combating BPP fund-raising activities among liberal and naive individuals.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT — EXCERPT 5

C. Covert Efforts To Undermine Support of the Black Panther Party and to Destroy the Party's Public Image

1. Efforts To Discourage and To Discredit Supporters of the Black Panthers [...]

One of the Bureau's prime targets was the BPP's free "Breakfast for Children" program, which FBI headquarters feared might be a potentially successful effort by the BPP to teach children to hate police and to spread "anti-white propaganda." In an admitted attempt "to impede their contributions to the BPP Breakfast Program," the FBI sent anonymous letters and copies of an inflammatory Black Panther Coloring Book for children to contributors, including Safeway Stores, Inc., Mayfair Markets, and the Jack-In-The-Box Corporation.

On April 8, 1976 in Executive Testimony a former member of the BPP Central Steering Committee stated that when the coloring book came to the attention of the Panther's national leadership, Bobby Seale ordered it destroyed because the book "did not correctly reflect the ideology of the Black Panther Party ..."

Churches that permitted the Panthers to use their facilities in the free breakfast program were also targeted. When the FBI's San Diego office discovered that a Catholic Priest, Father Frank Curran, was permitting his church in San Diego to be used as a serving place for the BPP Breakfast Program, it sent an anonymous letter to the Bishop of the San Diego Diocese informing him of the priest's activities. In August 1969, the San Diego Field Office requested permission from headquarters to place three telephone calls protesting Father Curran's support of the BPP program to the Auxiliary Bishop of the San Diego Diocese:

All of the above calls will be made from "parishioners" objecting to the use of their church to assist a black militant cause. Two of the callers will urge that Father Curran be removed as Pastor of the church, and one will threaten suspension of financial support of the church if the activities of the Pastor are allowed to continue.

Fictitious names will be utilized in the event a name is requested by the Bishop. It is felt that com-

plaints, if they do not effect the removal of Father Curran . . . will at least result in Father Curran becoming aware that his Bishop is cognizant of his activities and will thus result in a curtailment of these activities.

After receiving permission and placing the calls, the San Diego office reported: "the Bishop appeared to be... quite concerned over the fact that one of his Priests was deeply involved in utilization of church facilities for this purpose."

A month later, the San Diego office reported that Father Curran had been transferred from the San Diego Diocese to "somewhere in the State of New Mexico for permanent assignment." [...]

Anonymous FBI mailings were also sent to public officials and persons whose help might sway public opinion against the BPP. In December 1969, the FBI mailed Bureau reproduced copies of BPP "Seasons Greetings" cards to ten FBI field offices with the following instructions:

Enclosed for each office are 20 copies of reproductions of three types of Black Panther Party (BPP) "seasons greetings cards" which depict the violent propensities of this organization. You should anonymously mail these cards to those newspaper editors, public officials, responsible businessmen, and clergy in your territory who should be made aware of the vicious nature of the BPP.

The San Francisco office mailed its cards to several prominent local persons and organizations.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 6

C. Covert Efforts To Undermine Support of the Black Panther Party and to Destroy the Party's Public Image [...]

2. Efforts To Promote Criticism of the Black Panthers in the Mass Media and To Prevent the Black Panther Party and Its Sympathizers from Expressing Their Views

The FBI's program to destroy the Black Panther Party included a concerted effort to muzzle Black Panther publications to prevent Panther members and persons sympathetic to their aims from expressing their views, and to encourage the mass media to report stories unfavorable to the Panthers.

In May 1970, FBI headquarters ordered the Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, Newark, New Haven, New York, San Diego, and San Francisco field offices to advance proposals for crippling the BPP newspaper, *The Black Panther*. Immediate action was deemed necessary because:

The Black Panther Party newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the BPP.

Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along the black extremist lines.

Each recipient submit by 6/5/70 proposed counterintelligence measures which will hinder the vicious propaganda being spread by the BPP.

The BPP newspaper has a circulation in excess of 100,000 and has reached the height of 139,000. It is the voice of the BPP and if it could be effectively hindered it would result in helping to cripple the BPP. Deadline being set in view of the need to receive recommendations for the purpose of taking appropriate action expeditiously.

The San Francisco Field Office submitted an analysis of the local Black Panther printing schedules and circulation. It discouraged disruption of nationwide distribution because the airline company which had contracted with the Panthers might lose business or face a lawsuit and recommended instead:

a vigorous inquiry by the Internal Revenue Service to

have "The Black Panther" report their income from the sale of over 100,000 papers each week. Perhaps the Bureau through liaison at SOG [seat of government] could suggest such a course of action. It is noted that Internal Revenue Service at San Francisco is receiving copies of Black Panther Party funds and letterhead memoranda.

It is requested that the Bureau give consideration to discussion with Internal Revenue Service requesting financial records and income tax return for "The Black Panther."

The San Diego Field Office, while noting that the BPP newspaper had the same legal immunity from tax laws and other state legislation as other newspapers, suggested three California statutes which might be used against *The Black Panther*. One was a State tax on printing equipment; the second a "rarely used transportation tax law"; and the third, a law prohibiting business in a residential area.

The San Diego Field Office had a more imaginative suggestion however; spray the newspaper printing room with a foul-smelling chemical:

The Bureau may also wish to consider the utilization of "Skatol", which is a chemical agent in powdered form and when applied to a particular surface emits an extremely noxious odor rendering the premises surrounding the point of application uninhabitable. Utilization of such a chemical of course, would be dependent upon whether an entry could be achieved into the area which is utilized for the production of "The Black Panther."

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 7

C. Covert Efforts To Undermine Support of the Black Panther Party and to Destroy the Party's Public Image [...]

3. Efforts To Promote Criticism of the Black Panthers in the Mass Media and To Prevent the Black Panther Party and Its Sympathizers from Expressing Their Views [...]

Numerous attempts were made to prevent Black Panthers from airing their views in public. For example, in February 1969, the FBI joined with the Chicago police force to prevent the local BPP leader, Fred Hampton, from appearing on a television talk show. The FBI memorandum explaining this incident states:

the [informant] also enabled Chicago to further harass the local BPP when he provided information the afternoon of 1/24/69 reflecting that Fred Hampton was to appear that evening at local TV studio for video tape interview. The tape was to be aired the following day.

Chicago was aware a warrant for mob action was outstanding for Hampton in his home town and the above information was provided the Maywood Police Department with a suggestion that they request the Chicago Police Department to serve this arrest warrant. This was subsequently done with Hampton arrested at television studio in presence of 25 BPP members and studio personnel. This caused considerable embarrassment to the local BPP and disrupted the plans for Hampton's television appearance.

Headquarters congratulated the Chicago Field Office on the timing of the arrest "under circumstances which proved highly embarrassing to the BPP."

The Bureau's San Francisco office took credit for preventing Bobby Seale from keeping a number of speaking engagements in Oregon and Washington. In May 1969, while Seale was traveling from a speaking engagement at Yale University to begin his West Coast tour, a bombing took place in Eugene, Oregon which the FBI suspected involved the Black Panthers. The San Francisco Field Office subsequently reported:

As this was on the eve of Seale's speech, this seemed to be very poor advance publicity for Seale... It was determined to telephone Mrs. Seale [Bobby Seale's mother] claiming to be a friend from Oregon, bearing

the warning that it might be dangerous for Seale to come up. This was done. Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Seale reported this to BPP headquarters, claiming an unknown brother had sent a warning to Bobby from Oregon. Headquarters took this very seriously and when Bobby arrived shortly thereafter, he decided not to go north with "all the action going on up there." He subsequently cancelled a trip to Seattle. It is believed that the above mentioned telephone call was a pivotal point in persuading Seale to stay home.

The San Francisco office reported that not only had Seale been prevented from making his appearances, but that he had lost over \$1,700 in "badly needed" fees and that relations between Seale and "New Left" leaders who had been scheduled to appear with him had become strained.

In December 1969, FBI headquarters stressed to the San Francisco Field Office the need to prevent Black Panther speaking engagements:

Several recent communications received at the Bureau indicate the BPP is encouraging their branches to set up speaking engagements at schools and colleges and the showing of films in order to raise money... San Francisco should instruct [local FBI] office covering to immediately submit to the Bureau for approval a counterintelligence proposal aimed at preventing the activities scheduled...

The BPP in an effort to bolster its weak financial position is now soliciting speaking engagements and information has been developed indicating they are reducing their monetary requirements for such speeches. We have been successful in the past through contacts with established sources in preventing such speeches in colleges or other institutions.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 8

C. Covert Efforts To Undermine Support of the Black Panther Party and to Destroy the Party's Public Image [...]

3. Efforts To Promote Criticism of the Black Panthers in the Mass Media and To Prevent the Black Panther Party and Its Sympathizers from Expressing Their Views [...]

The FBI exhibited comparable fervor in disseminating information unfavorable to the Black Panthers to the press and television stations. A directive from FBI headquarters to nine field offices in January 1970 explained the program:

To counteract any favorable support in publicity to the Black Panther Party (BPP) recipient offices are requested to submit their observations and recommendations regarding contacts with established and reliable sources in the television and/or radio field who might be interested in drawing up a program for local consumption depicting the true facts regarding the BPP.

The suggested program would deal mainly with local BPP activities and data furnished would be of a public source nature. This data could be implemented by information on the BPP nationally if needed...

All offices should give this matter their prompt consideration and submit replies by letter.

Soon afterward, the Los Angeles office identified two local news reporters whom it believed might be willing to help in the effort to discredit the BPP and received permission to discreetly contact [name deleted] for the purpose of ascertaining his amenability to the preparation of a program which would present the true facts about the Black Panther Party as part of a counterintelligence effort.

Headquarters also suggested information and materials to give to a local newsman who expressed an interest in airing a series of programs against the Panthers. In July 1970, the FBI furnished information to a Los Angeles TV news commentator who agreed to air a series of shows against the BPP, "especially in the area of white liberals contributing to the BPP." In October, the Los Angeles Division sent headquarters a copy of an FBI-assisted television editorial and reported that another newsman was preparing yet

another editorial attack on the Panthers.

In November 1970, the San Francisco Field Office notified the Director that Huey Newton had "recently rented a luxurious lakeshore apartment in Oakland, California." The San Francisco office saw "potential counterintelligence value" in this information since this apartment was far more elegant than "the ghetto-like BPP 'pads' and community centers utilized by the Party." It was decided not to "presently" leak "this information to cooperative news sources," because of a "pending special investigative technique." The information was given to the *San Francisco Examiner*, however, in February 1971, and an article was published stating that Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander, had moved into a \$650-a-month apartment overlooking Lake Merritt in Oakland, California, under the assumed name of Don Penn. Headquarters approved anonymously mailing copies of the article to BPP branches and ordered copies of the article for "divisions with BPP activity for mailing to newspaper editors."

The San Francisco office informed FBI headquarters later in February that

BPP Headquarters was [besieged] with inquiries after the printing of the *San Francisco Examiner* article and the people at headquarters refuse to answer the news media or other callers on this question. This source has further reported that a representative of the Richmond, Virginia BPP contact headquarters on 2/18/71, stating they had received a xeroxed copy of... the article and believed it had been forwarded by the pigs but still wanted to know if it was true.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 9

D. Cooperation Between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Local Police Departments in Disrupting the Black Panther Party

The FBI enlisted the cooperation of local police departments in several of its covert action programs to disrupt and "neutralize" the Black Panther Party. The FBI frequently worked with the San Diego Police Department, supplying it with informant reports to encourage raids on the homes of BPP members, often with little or no apparent evidence of violations of State or Federal law.

Examples are numerous. In February 1969, the San Diego Field Office learned that members of the local BPP chapter were following each other to determine if police informants had infiltrated their organization. The field office passed this information to the San Diego police with the suggestion that BPP members engaged in these surveillances might be followed and arrested for violations of "local Motor Vehicle Code laws." When the San Diego Field Office received reports that five BPP members were living in the local BPP headquarters and "having sex orgies on almost a mghtly basis," it informed the local police with the hope that a legal basis for a raid could be found. Two days later, the San Diego office reported to headquarters:

As a result of the Bureau-approved information furnished to the San Diego Police Department regarding the "sex orgies" being held at BPP Headquarters in San Diego, which had not previously been known to the Police Department, a raid was conducted at BPP Headquarters on 11/20/69. [Name deleted], San Diego Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised that, due to this information, he assigned two officers to a research project to determine if any solid basis could be found to conduct a raid. His officers discovered two outstanding traffic warrants for [name deleted], a member of the BPP, and his officers used these warrants to obtain entry into BPP Headquarters.

As a result of this raid [6 persons] were all arrested. Seized at the time of the arrests were three shotguns, one of which was stolen, one rifle, four gas masks and one tear gas canister.

Also as a result of this raid, the six remaining members of the BPP in San Diego were summoned to Los Angeles on 11/28/69... Upon their arrival, they were informed that due to numerous problems with the BPP in San Diego, including the recent raid on BPP Headquarters, the BPP Branch in San Diego was being dissolved.

Also, as a direct result of the above raid [informants] have reported that [name deleted] has been severely beaten up by other members of the BPP due to the fact that she allowed the officers to enter BPP Headquarters the night of the raid.

A later memorandum states that confidential files belonging to the San Diego Panthers were also "obtained" during this raid.

In March 1969, the San Diego Field Office informed Bureau headquarters:

information was made available to the San Diego Police Department who have been arranging periodic raids in the hope of establishing a possession of marijuana and dangerous drug charge [against two BPP members]. . .

The BPP finally managed to rent the Rhodesian Club at 2907 Imperial Avenue, San Diego, which will be utilized for a meeting hall. A request will be forthcoming to have the San Diego Police Department and local health inspectors examine the club for health and safety defects which are [undoubtedly] present.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was not included on the list of COINTELPRO's original targets; however, by 1968, nearly all of COINTELPRO's operations against Black liberation groups were directed against the Panthers.

In September 1968, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country." As a result, the FBI used many tactics to try to destroy the Black Panther Party and other Black liberation groups. In doing so, it violated many human rights of Black Panther Party members, its allies, and the larger community.

COINTELPRO was exposed in 1971 when a group of activists known as the Citizens' Commission to Investigate the FBI, broke into an FBI office in Pennsylvania and stole over 1,000 classified documents. Hundreds of the documents detailed the operations of COINTELPRO. Soon after, they released them to the press. The U.S. Senate's "Church Committee" investigated COINTELPRO and released its findings in 1976. The following text is an excerpt from the Senate's report.

CHURCH COMMITTEE REPORT – EXCERPT 10

D. Cooperation Between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Local Police Departments in Disrupting the Black Panther Party [...]

The San Diego office also conducted "racial briefing sessions" for the San Diego police. Headquarters was informed:

It is also felt that the racial briefing sessions being given by the San Diego Division are affording tangible results for the Counterintelligence Program. Through these briefings, the command levels of virtually all of the police departments in the San Diego Division are being apprised of the identities of the leaders of the various militant groups. It is felt that, although specific instances cannot be attributed directly to the racial briefing program, police officers are much more alert for these black militant individuals and as such are contributing to the over-all Counterintelligence Program, directed against these groups.

The Committee staff has seen documents indicating extensive cooperation between local police and the FBI in several other cities. For example, the FBI in Oakland prevented a reconciliation meeting between Huey Newton's brother and former Panthers by having the Oakland police inform one of the former Panthers that the meeting was a "set up." The San Francisco office concluded:

It is believed that such quick dissemination of this type of information may have been instrumental in preventing the various dissidents from rejoining forces with the BPP.

Another Bureau memorandum reflected similar cooperation in Los Angeles:

The Los Angeles office is furnishing on a daily basis information to the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office Intelligence Division and the Los Angeles Police Department Intelligence and Criminal Conspiracy Divisions concerning the activities of the black nationalist groups in the anticipation that such information might lead to the arrest of these militants.

Information from Bureau files in Chicago on the Panthers was given to Chicago police upon request, and Chicago Police Department files were open to the Bureau. A Special Agent who handled liaison between the FBI's Racial Matters Squad (responsible for monitoring BPP activity in Chicago) and the Panther Squad of the Gang Intelligence Unit (GIU) of the Chicago Police Department from 1967 through July 1969, testified that he visited GIU between three and five times a week to exchange information. The Bureau and Chicago Police both maintained paid informants in the BPP, shared informant information, and the FBI provided information which was used by Chicago police in planning raids against the Chicago BPP. According to an FBI memorandum, this sharing of informant information was crucial to police during their raid on the apartment occupied by several Black Panther members which resulted in the death of the local Chairman, Fred Hampton, and another Panther [Mark Clark]:

[Prior to the raid], a detailed inventory of the weapons and also a detailed floor plan of the apartment were furnished to local authorities. In addition, the identities of BPP members utilizing the apartment at the above address were furnished. This information was not available from any other source and subsequently proved to be of tremendous value in that it subsequently saved injury and possible death to police officers participating in a raid... on the morning of 12/4/69. The raid was based on the information furnished by the informant...



JUDAS AND THE BLACK MESSIAH

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What does the title of the film mean? Who is the messiah? Who is Judas? These are religious terms taken from Judaism and Christianity. Why do you think the filmmaker chose to use them? Whose point of view do we see the film through? Why is that important?
2. When William ("Bill") O'Neal is arrested, FBI agent Roy Mitchell asks him how he feels about the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Why do you think he asks O'Neal about this?
3. Bill O'Neal was just one of many informants in the Illinois Black Panther Party directed by Roy Mitchell. In the United States, law enforcement agencies are legally allowed to use informants to infiltrate groups and organizations. According to international law, this may constitute a violation of privacy and therefore a violation of human rights.

With this in mind, do you think that the FBI violated the human rights of members of the Black Panthers by using Bill O'Neal and other informants to infiltrate the Party? Why or why not? Do you believe there are ever circumstances where this is necessary?

4. During a political education session, O'Neal tries to flirt with one of his classmates. Hampton tells him that, "These aren't just your sisters. They're your sisters-in-arms. Act like it." What does this mean, and what does it tell us about the role of women in the Black Panther Party?
5. *JATBM* shows Chairman Fred Hampton's work in forming the Rainbow Coalition, a movement which brought together groups from different cultures and racial identities for common causes. Why do you think Chairman Fred Hampton thought it was important to bring these groups together? In your answer, consider what the groups may have had in common and who/what they were opposing. Do you agree that forming multiracial coalitions is essential to fighting social justice issues today? Why or why not?
6. After the Chicago Police Department burns the Party headquarters, people from throughout the community pitch in to rebuild it. After this, Chairman Fred Hampton remarks that "anywhere there's people, there's power." What does he mean by this? Where have you seen this in your own community?
7. *JATBM* details how determined the FBI was to "prevent the rise of a Black messiah" and "neutralize Fred Hampton by any means necessary." Why do you think the U.S. government viewed Chairman Fred Hampton and Black liberation organizations as a threat?
8. *Judas and the Black Messiah* focuses largely on the informant, Bill O'Neal, rather than Fred Hampton. Why do you think the filmmaker chose to focus on O'Neal? What message do you think they want the audience to take away from the film?
9. What lessons do we learn by studying the Black Panther Party, COINTELPRO, and Chairman Fred Hampton? How do those lessons apply to social movements in the 21st century?

APPENDIX



Kathleen Cleaver and other members of the Black Panther Party, Oakland, CA, 1968 (Credit: Stephen Shames)

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

STUDENT VERSION

1 All human beings are born equal in dignity and in rights.	2 These rights belong to everyone . You should never be discriminated against.	3 You have the right to life, liberty, and safety .
4 No one can hold you in slavery .	5 No one can torture you or treat you in a cruel or degrading way.	6 Everyone has rights , no matter where they are.
7 Laws should be applied the same way for everyone.	8 You have the right to seek legal help if your rights are not respected.	9 You cannot be imprisoned or thrown out of a country without a good reason.
10 You have the right to a public trial .	11 You should be presumed innocent until proven guilty .	12 You have a right to privacy . No one can enter your home, read your mail, or bother you without good reason.
13 You have the right to move and travel within your country and internationally.	14 You have the right to seek protection from another country (asylum) if your country treats you poorly.	15 You have the right to be a citizen of a country (have a nationality).
16 Every adult has the right to get married and have a family .	17 You have the right to own property .	18 You have the right to practice any religion .
19 You have the right to express your opinion .	20 You have the right to gather with others and protest publicly .	21 You have the right to participate in the government of your country (e.g., vote).
22 You have the right to have your basic needs met (e.g., through social security programs).	23 You have the right to work, to receive equal pay for equal work, and to join a union .	24 You have the right to rest from work.
25 You have the right to an adequate standard of living , including housing, food, and medical care.	26 You have the right to an education .	27 No one can stop you from participating in your community's cultural life .
28 Everyone must respect the social order that allows these rights to exist.	29 Everyone must respect the rights of others .	30 No one can take any of the rights in this declaration away from you.

KEY TERMS

Black nationalism: a type of nationalism which promotes social, political, and economic empowerment for Black people. Black nationalism is closely associated with the Black Power movement of the 1960s and the 1970s in the United States.

coalition: a temporary alliance or working relationship between two or more groups with a common goal

discredit: to harm the reputation of or to make someone/something seem unreliable

disrupt: to interrupt by causing a disturbance or problem

expose: to cause someone to be vulnerable or at risk; to make something (damaging or embarrassing) public

Judas: a figure of the New Testament who betrays Jesus; a traitor (often posing as a friend)

liberation: freedom; the act of freeing something or someone

messiah: a leader or savior of a particular group or cause

misdirect: to send or aim something/someone in the wrong direction

militant: an adjective used to describe a person or group who is strongly devoted to a cause, often in a way that other people might find extreme

neutralize: to make something ineffective or harmless; to kill or destroy

Newton, Huey P. (1942-1989): co-founder and Minister of Defense for the Black Panther Party

proletariat: workers or working-class people. In Marxist philosophy, the proletariat are in conflict with the bourgeoisie, the owning class.

Seale, Bobby (1936-):: co-founder and Chairman of the Black Panther Party

self-determination: the process by which a person or group controls their own life

solidarity: unity or agreement; mutual support

socialism: a political and economic theory which advocates for public ownership of property and natural resources. This is different from the United States' current economic system, capitalism, in which most property and resources are controlled by private individuals and companies.

vanguard: a group of people leading the way; the forefront of an action, movement, or revolution

EXTENSION ACTIVITIES

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE: DEMANDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Black Panther Party and other social justice movements of the 1960s and 1970s have inspired many of today's movements. In this activity, students will create their own program for a current social movement, inspired by the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party.

1. As a class, brainstorm a list of contemporary social justice issues and movements.
2. Ask students to choose an issue/movement that they are interested in. In class or for homework, ask students to spend a few minutes researching the movement. What is it fighting for (or against)? What are its goals?
3. On their own or with a partner, instruct students to create a program (five to ten points) for their social movement modeled on the Ten Point Program of the Black Panther Party, then present it to the class. What points of unity exist between movements? Do they overlap? Do you think these movements are making progress towards their goals?

SURVEILLANCE & STATE REPRESSION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

In 2017, leaked documents indicated that the FBI had categorized so-called "Black Identity Extremists" (BIE) as one of its top counterterrorism priorities, despite the majority of terrorist acts in the United States being perpetrated by white nationalists. In this activity, students will examine media stories about the "BIE" category, comparing and contrasting modern surveillance efforts with COINTELPRO.

1. Ask students to analyze at least two sources about the "Black Identity Extremist" categorization from credible news sources (articles, videos, etc.).
2. Instruct students to write a short response to their research, answering any of the following questions:
 - What are the similarities and differences between the FBI's current targeting of Black activists and the targeting of the COINTELPRO era?
 - What people and groups did the FBI apply this category to? What evidence did the FBI provide to show that "Black Identity Extremists" should be considered a leading threat to national security?
 - How does targeting Black activists and other activists of color maintain the status quo?

RESOURCES

***Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016.**

Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin

ucpress.edu/book/9780520293281/black-against-empire

This book is considered by many to be the definitive history of the Black Panther Party. It has been endorsed by BPP co-founder Bobby Seale and former Black Panther Angela Davis.

The Black Panther (Official newspaper of the Black Panther Party)

Digital archive via Marxists.org

marxists.org/history/usa/pubs/black-panther/index.htm

This digital archive of nearly every issue of The Black Panther from 1967 to 1976 is a great primary source to use with students. *Note: Many of the issues contain strong language.*

The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution (2015)

Directed by Stanley Nelson

pbs.org/independentlens/films/the-black-panthers-vanguard-of-the-revolution/

A documentary film (115 minutes) detailing this history of the Black Panther Party. The film combines archival footage and interviews with surviving members of the Black Panthers.

COINTELPRO Records

Federal Bureau of Investigation

vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro

Digitized records of the FBI's COINTELPRO operations, including those against the BPP.

Educate to Liberate: a Black Panthers Syllabus

Oakland Public Library

bit.ly/OPL-BP-syllabus

Syllabus created by the Oakland Public Library for the 50th anniversary of the Black Panther Party. This document contains both books and other teaching resources for grades K-12.

Judas and the Black Messiah Podcast

Hosted by Chairman Fred Hampton, Jr. and Elvis Mitchell

radiotopia.fm/podcasts/judas-and-the-black-messiah-podcast

Companion podcast to *Judas and the Black Messiah*. Hosts Chairman Fred Hampton, Jr. and film critic Elvis Mitchell discuss the true stories behind events portrayed in the film.

The Murder of Fred Hampton (Film)

The Film Group, 1971

vimeo.com/434141029

A documentary film that was originally supposed to be about Chairman Fred Hampton Sr. and his rise in the Black Panther Party; however, Hampton was assassinated while the film was still in production.

