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Arthur J. Goldberg and Roy Wilkins

# The Police Vs. The Black Panthers

THE killing of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two young Black Panther party leaders in Chicago during an early morning raid, December 4, triggered widespread skepticism about the authenticity of the police version of that shooting. The police, armed with a search warrant, demanded admittance into the West Side apartment where the two victims lived with others of their self-proclaimed revolutionary party. They were seeking, they said, a cache of firearms. As they broke into the apartment, the police claim, they were fired upon by a woman with a shotgun, setting off a ten-minute gun battle during which Hampton and Clark were killed, and four other Black Panthers, including two women, and two police officers were wounded.

The surviving Panthers promptly branded this police version a lie and charged that Mr. Hampton, the party's state leader, was "murdered" while he slept in bed by the police on a "search and destroy mission." Independent investigations of the premises have failed to vindicate the police version. The conditions of the premises where the alleged "shoot-out" took place revealed no evidence of rossfire. The bullet-pocked walls appeared to indicate that the gunfire came from one side—the police side firing into the apartment inhabited by the Black Panthers.

The Chicago units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People promptly called upon U.S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell "to convene a special Federal grand jury to determine the truth in the matter of how Fred Hampton and Mark Clark met their deaths . . . Many unusual circumstances exist in this case that would lead a cautious and prudent individual to believe that, perhaps, a conspiracy existed or exists" to deprive the victims of their constitutional rights.

The Chicago raid and slayings followed a "discernible pattern in widely-separated communities" where Panthers have been killed in raids upon their homes and headquarters, NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins pointed out in a telegram, December 10, to the Attorney General. He asked for a Department of Justice probe of the raids and killings which the Panthers claimed had cost the lives of 28 of their officials and members within a two-year period. Later, Charles R. Garry, a San Francisco attorney, who has represented many accused Panthers, listed 12 party members killed by police and seven by civilians.

These attacks and killings, Mr. Wilkins told the Attorney General, are "spreading fear and resent-

propriate lines, into the incidents in Chicago, Los Angeles, Detroit, New York and elsewhere in which Black Panthers have become the object of attention by law enforcement agencies. We seek a balanced inquiry and invite Black Panthers as well as police to cooperate with us.

2. To present an objective report of these findings to the general public and to the appropriate local, state and Federal agencies and officials so that appropriate remedial action can be taken with respect to all aspects of the situation.

3. To call upon the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence to undertake immediately a thorough and searching examination of all of the incidents involving the local police forces and the Black Panther Party which have occurred across the country in the last few years, with a view toward obtaining a full and complete picture of the situation and presenting it to the country.

4. To request that the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice undertake at once an urgent investigation of all of these incidents in order to determine whether prosecutable violations of the civil rights of American citizens have occurred in any of them; and, if such violations have occurred, that it institute criminal prosecutions forthwith.

The role of government is particularly significant because, as Justice Brandeis has said, government is the great teacher for good or evil.

In addition to the NAACP leader and the former Supreme Court Justice, the list of convenors of the commission include: Clifford Alexander, former chairman, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Julian Bond, member, Georgia House of Representatives; Sam Brown, coordinator, Vietnam Moratorium Committee; W. Haywood Burns, executive director, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Dr. Kenneth Clark, president, Metropolitan Applied Research Center; Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General; William T. Coleman, Jr., partner, Dilworth, Paxson, Kohn & Levy; John Conyers, Congressman from Michigan; John Douglas and George Lindsay, co-chairmen, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Melvyn Dymally, National Conference of Black Elected fficials; Mrs. Marian Wright Edelman, director,

Washington Research Project; Miss Jean Fairfax, president, Black Women's Community Development Foundation.

Also Jack Greenberg, director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Richard G. Hatcher, Mayor, Gary, Indiana; Phillip Hoffman, president, American Jewish Committee; Jesse Jackson, director, Operation Breadbasket; Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, president, American Jewish Congress; John DeJ. Pemberton, executive director, American Civil Liberties Union; Louis Pollak, Dean, Yale University Law School; Joseph Porter, western regional director, Black American Law Students' Association; A. Philip Randolph, vicepresident, AFL-CIO; Mrs. Cynthia Wedel, president, National Council of Churches; George Wiley, executive director, National Welfare Rights Organization; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League.

#### COLLOQUY

#### (Continued from page 15)

tioned, although many other organizations included Protestants, Catholics and Jews. A self-selected group, meeting as a colloquy, serviced by several human relations organizations, is unique. An interracial colloquy in each city could prove, as did the interreligious dialogues, that in its locality there are highly compatible members of the majority and minority groups who speak to each other with complete candor and cooperate in speech and deed with mutual trust. A colloquy generates the empathy obtainable only through face-to-face interaction between blacks and whites. It is the herald of interracial brotherhood and friendship. The feeling of fraternity that animates the New York Interracial Colloquy is both the cause and the result of its growing influence.

One of its members, The Right Rev. Msgr. Gregory L. Mooney, Chairman of the Roman Catholic Archdiocesan Human Relations Apostolate, said about the Colloquy: "I see the Interracial Colloquy as a symbol and act of hope at the point of no return in American history. The fellowship of men of different racial, religious, cultural and economic backgrounds gives personal assurance that unity will prevail over divisiveness in our nation." egory went to Mrs. Lucy Harper. Other awards went to Judge Edward F. Bell, who was the 1969 Freedom Fund Chairman; Dan Carpen-ter, who was the 1969 Freedom Fund Co-Chairman; Thomas Turner, president of the Detroit Branch, who sold the third highest number of Freedom Fund tickets, a total of 105; an award to Mrs. Roberta Hughes, who was Chairman of the 1969 Freedom Fund Dinner Women's Committee; and a special award presented to the Michigan Chronicle newspaper for its outstanding work in the field of journalism in 1969; and finally the award for the most outstanding committee during the 1969 year of the NAACP went to the Education Committee. Dr. Jesse Goodwin is chairman of this committee.



Mrs. Edie Hollis, left, secretary of the Detroit Branch, presents 1st place women's division Freedom Fund Dinner Award to Mrs. Barbara Turner, executive board member.

## In the Nation's Press THE BLACK PANTHERS

Nothing the "law and order" Nixon Administration has been called upon to do in the crime field so far will have the impact on the nonwhite community as will the Justice Department's investigation into the slaving by Chicago police of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

This newspaper expresses the view of millions of black people when it states it has neither seen or heard anything to justify the killing of Hampton and Clark in the manner they were slain. It begs the issue to say that two Chicago policemen were killed previously by two Black Panthers. . . Our experience has been that cop killers get their due.

What is at stake here is whether police have been using unjustified tactics against the Panthers because they are unpopular and, possibly to policemen, a feared group.

> -Baltimore Afro American, Jan. 3, 1970

It is a measure of the depth of feeling in the black community over what many see as a deliberate campaign of violence and intimidation against the Black Panthers, that not only the NAACP's [Roy] Wilkins, but the Urban League's Whitney M. Young, Jr., have protested the killings, and have joined in demanding a thorough investigation by Attorney General John Mitchell.

Neither Wilkins nor Young can be called black militants. Each has gained respect as a moderate, working within the existing framework to gain the freedom for which the black community yearns. Yet both men, responding to the horrified reaction in the black community, and to the equally dismayed friends of Negro freedom in the white community, have stood up to be counted in the Panthers' corner.

> ---Twin City Observer (Minneapolis, Minn.) Dec. 18, 1969

The police raid on the Black Panther headquarters in Chicago, during which two leaders of the Negro group were killed, has raised anew the question whether the authorities there and elsewhere are engaged in a search-and-destroy campaign rather than in legitimate law enforcement. There are many unanswered questions to be probed both by the Justice Department's promised investigation and by the high-level inquiry planned by a group of prominent civic leaders and organizations. The doctrine and tactics of the Panthers are offensive, provocative and neofascist; their members have on occasion engaged in acts of violence and intimidation, particularly within the black community; but none of this would excuse lawless, punitive measures on the part of the police.

> -New York Times, December 17, 1969

#### THE NAACP

Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has sent out an urgent appeal for more financial support for the NAACP. This is the oldest civil rights organization in America and should get far more funds for its work. Mr. Wilkins has stated succinctly and convincingly why the NAACP should have more money.

The appeal contains a warning which all loyal and intelligent Americans should heed. The cost of everything is steadily climbing. *P* price of freedom has always b high, and it is more costly today than ever. The value of the American dollar is hardly more than a third what it was when the NAACP was organized Feb. 12, 1909. ...

This newspaper believes in the aim and methods of the NAACP. The organization has made history, and the strength of Mr. Wilkins' appeal is the fact that the NAACP has always made its appeal on the strength of the old landmark of the American Republic. Its revolutionary outlook is genuinely American, and the leaders of the NAACP have only insisted that that revolutionary outlook apply to the destiny of all Americans, white and black alike.

The figure on the Statue of Justice is blindfolded. Everybody under its jurisdiction is the same. This is what the NAACP is striving for, but it takes money and plenty of it to pay for the program. And Mr. Wilkins' appeal for money is made to every American, white and black, rich and poor, Jew and Gentile, Protestant and Catholic. We hope that Mr. Wilkins will get a good responto his urgent call for more funfor the NAACP.

---Norfolk (Va.) Journal & Guide November 29, 1969