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FRED HAMPTON:  6 YEARS LATER

(The following article is reprinted from the December, 1975 issue of Keep Strong, published by the Intercommunal Survival Committee in Chicago.)

December 4, 1975. It is six years since Illinois Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and Panther Party member Mark Clark were murdered in a massive volley of gunfire by a special Police Department unit assigned to the office of State's Attorney Edward G. Hanrahan.

January 5, 1976. On the 25th floor of Chicago's sleek federal building, in Judge Samuel Perry's courtroom, it is the opening day of a federal court case brought by the mothers of the slain men and the survivors of the pre-dawn raid.

Their civil suit for $47 million damages charges public officials and police of the city, county and federal government who were responsible for the attack with conspiracy to deprive Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of their civil rights— that is, conspiracy to deprive them of life. Mrs. Iberia Hampton, Mrs. Fannie Mae Clark, and the survivors (two of whom were wounded in the attack) contend that the killings were political assassination and that the highest level governmental conspiracy to cover up the planning and execution of the raid continues to this very day.

Fred Hampton was only 21 years old when he was shot in the head lying in his bed, helpless­ly drugged according to a special autopsy report. He began to turn his powerful mind and seemingly boundless energy to solving problems in the Black community as a teen-age activist in the Maywood NAACP youth organization. By the time he founded the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1968, he had practical experience and a disciplined hunger for knowledge well beyond his years. He knew a lot about the city of Chicago and was known as a hard working emerging youth leader with unusual integrity.

As Deputy chairman of the Illinois chapter, both Hampton's political analysis and his deepest instincts led him to establish the organization's base in the heart of Chicago's poorest Black community on the west side. That this was also the heart of the Daley machine's power, the area that allowed the mayor an almost certain margin of victory in local elections and in carrying the entire state in presidential elections, was perfectly well known to Hampton. 'Black people can and must organize for liberation' amidst these brutal conditions, he explained again and again. (continued on page 6)

PANAMA & THE U.S.

D.B. SCHIRMER

(The following article is a slightly revised version of a talk given at a rally held by the National Committee for Panamanian Sovereignty on 11 January 1976 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The footnotes will be found at the end of the article.)

Around 1900 the large banks and the monopo­lies came to dominate the government of the US and they succeeded in pressuring President William McKinley in to helping them find new foreign markets for their surplus manufactured goods and investment capital. Consequently, the US government fought a war against Spain to gain control over the Spanish colonies in the Carib­bean— Cuba and Puerto Rico - and the Spanish colony in the Pacific - the Philippines - so that US business would be better able to pene­trate the markets of South America and Asia.

Having grabbed these colonies from decre­pit imperial Spain, the US empire-builders next turned their attention to the question of ac­quiring an isthmian canal so that their colonies in the Pacific and in the Atlantic could be joined together. That ardent imperialist, Theodore Roosevelt, set about securing the Panama Canal. He offered Colombia (of which Panama was a province at the time) $10 million for the rights to what later became the Canal Zone in Panama. When Colombia turned the offer down Roosevelt watched closely as certain wealthy Panamanians who stood to profit from a canal came forward. Conveniently enough these gentle­men organized a bloodless revolution against Colombia and proclaimed Panama's independence, When Colombia sent troops to put down the revolt, the US Navy (on orders from Roosevelt) stood in the way.

The US government quickly recognized the new government of Panama and the banking house of J. P. Morgan became its financial agent, lend­ing it funds (much of which, it was rumored, went to pay off bribes to former Colombian of­ficials in Panama, bribes that had eased the path of the Panamanian revolution). A treaty was rush­ed through the new government by which the new state granted the US control of the Panama Canal Zone in perpetuity.

As Secretary of State John Hay wrote a friend at the time:

As soon as the Senate votes, we shall have a treaty in the main very satisfac­tory to the United States; and we must confess . . . not so advantageous to Panama. You and I know too well how many points there are in the treaty to which a Panamanian patriot could object, 1 (continued on page 2)
It must not be thought that this treaty was voted through the Senate without any opposition from the American people, for this was not the case. An organization called the Anti-Imperialist League, with headquarters in Boston, organized meetings, held a petition campaign, and its leaders spoke out - all against the Panama treaty. George McNeill, the most respected labor leader in Massachusetts with a nation-wide reputation, opposed the treaty. So did Massachusetts Republican Senator George Frisbie Hoar, who rose to the floor of the Senate to condemn Roosevelt's use of the US Navy to thwart the Colombian government. 2

But Roosevelt had his way. He later bragged: "I took the Canal Zone and let the Congress debate, and while the debate goes on, the Canal does also" - an early and clear example of what is now called imperial presidency.

This all happened in 1903. Since that time the US has run the Canal Zone as a colonial enclave in Panama and by keeping tolls cheap, has given a huge annual subsidy to US shipping and exporting interests. This has been at the expense, of course, of the Panamanian people, who have thus been robbed of the economic advantages that go with their foremost natural resource: their geographical position as an isthmus between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

In addition the US government has used the Canal Zone to establish an important military base, the US Southern Command. This base has been used as a headquarters for training counter-insurgency forces for South American dictators and it was used to train US troops for Vietnam. Here was organized the assassination of Che Guevara. 4 It is today a center of reactionary military influence in South and Central America.

But times have changed. All over the world insurgent peoples are doing away with colonialism, and the Panamanians want to do away with the US colonial enclave at the Zone. The present Panamanian government of General Omar Torrijos is responsive to the popular sentiment in this regard. In their demand for control of the Canal, the Panamanian people have the support of the people of Latin America - indeed of progressive people throughout the world. For both the 1973 UN Security Council - except for the US and Great Britain - and the 1975 Conference of Non-Aligned Nations have voted their support.

This helps explain why the US government last year entered into negotiations with Panama for a revision of the treaty. Ellsworth Bunker leads these negotiations for the US and Henry Kissinger has said of them that the US is prepared to concede control of the Canal "in several decades" while retaining the US defense position "for many decades." 5

It should be noted, however, that there is a split in the ruling class over the question of revising the treaty. Opposition to any revision has arisen from powerful reactionaries. A bulwark of this opposition is the Pentagon, which does not want to lose control over the Zone as a center for its important military bases in the area. As one representative of the Pentagon said in discussing the question of US defense of the Canal: "Perpetuity is not long enough." 6 Also very vocal in opposition to treaty revision are the US residents of the Canal Zone (called Zonians), who have the privileged status there of US colonialists and live in a style that is known as "Southern Comfort."

On the other side of the fence, as has been noted, the State Department has declared for treaty revision. The State Department's position may be explained by the fact that Panama has recently become important to US banks as a financial center in South America. As visitors leave the airport for Panama City they are greeted by a sign advertising the First National Bank of Boston. The skyline of the city is dominated by buildings put up by the Chase Manhattan Bank, the First National, etc. These banking institutions prefer doing business in a climate of social and political stability, for it is difficult to carry on banking if front windows are continually being smashed by street demonstrators. A concession on the issue of the Canal seems the only way to achieve such stability. Other US multi-nationals with investments in Latin America are sensitive on the Canal issue for the same reason: fear of the popular reaction throughout Latin America that US obduracy might provoke.

Representatives of such corporate interests (including the Chase, Gulf, and Shell, etc.) met last fall at the State Department and established what is called the Business and Professional Committee for a New Panama Canal Treaty. It is clear that when the State Department speaks of treaty revision it has these business interests in mind - as well as the growing international pressures.

The Pentagon and the Zonians have been lobbying effectively in Congress (where their support comes mainly from Southern conservatives) through an organization that has been set up for the purpose. Senator Thurmond has claimed that there are enough votes in the Senate to block any treaty revision - such revision requires a two-thirds majority. 7 Moreover the Zonians' lobby and die-hards in the Pentagon are taking advantage of the fact that 1976 is an election year to use their ties with the most reactionary candidates to build further pressure against any treaty revision. 8

Ronald Reagan, for example, is actively using the platform of the primary campaign for this purpose. Early in January this year he spoke over nation-wide TV telling his audience that the US should control the Canal forever.
And before this – last November – Reagan visited Boca Raton, Florida, where he conferred with Dr. Arnulfo Arias, a former president of Panama, in exile because he doesn't agree with the Torrijos government and its demands for treaty revision. Representing those wealthy Panamanians who since 1903 have grown fat off crumbs from the table of US imperialism, Arias wants no change in US control. At the same time Reagan also met with Manola Reyes, a Cuban anti-Castro activist and exile. Reagan had what was called "a meeting of the minds" with Arias and Reyes and expressed "the hope that Panama and Cuba would have their freedom again before too many moons pass."9

There is no partisanship on this issue in the present campaign. The same reactionary pressures are developing in the Democratic Party, stimulated by Wallace. The Governor is for holding on to control of the Canal. And in September he publicly challenged the State Department on Panama, asking Kissinger how, after the Indo-China defeat, the US could "afford to give up control of the Panama Canal."10 Under this attack from Wallace, Kissinger retreated from the position advanced by the US in the treaty negotiations up to that point, namely that there should be a time limit on US defense of the Canal. Now Kissinger backed away and said that the US should control defense of the Canal indefinitely.11

It is interesting to note that the two Latin American leaders displeasing to Reagan met early in January when General Torrijos visited Castro. Castro pledged Cuban support for the revision of the Canal treaty and urged patience in the negotiations.12

Even more significant, however, were the repercussions in Panama itself of candidate Reagan's intervention in the treaty situation. On January 22 the Washington Post reported that the Torrijos government had exiled fourteen conservative opponents (businessmen, lawyers, radio commentators) to Ecuador, accusing them of plotting to undermine the Panamanian economy and the current Canal negotiations with the US. Most of the men concerned had been identified with a protest against the Torrijos government's control of rice production, and a government statement, apparently referring to last fall's meeting between Reagan and Arias, said that those exiled had "roots which link them to disgraced politicians who have received stimuli from a presidential candidate in the US at the cost of anti-patriotic concessions in the new treaty negotiations."13

The matter did not rest at this point. While Panamanian labor unions came forward in defense of the Torrijos government and the exiling of its fourteen conservative opponents, certain business elements in Panama showed their displeasure by a 24 hour strike. Some of the US firms (like the Chase - one of whose vice presidents, a minister in several previous Panamanian governments, was among the exiles) that had previously indicated sympathy for treaty revision closed their doors to business.14

This, then, is the situation with respect to Panama as the election campaign opens up in the US: the ultra-right in both parties is putting pressure on the Ford Administration in order to thwart the negotiations to revise the Canal treaty, and the Administration is retreating under this pressure. This retreat is indicated not only in Kissinger's remarks in response to Wallace, but also in the report that the Administration is stalling on further negotiations until the election campaign is over, hoping in effect to lay low on this issue in 1976.

It is altogether possible, however, that US democratic opinion will rise itself in 1976 in order to counter the effect of the reactionary offensive against treaty revision. This past fall the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches in the US (a leading Protestant body) adopted a resolution calling on all member churches to initiate an educational program in favor of Panama Canal treaty revision. And in the fall as well, a delegation of forty US anti-imperialists (church and community leaders, students, teachers, women, blacks, and Third World people) visited Panama at the invitation of the Torrijos government and made a declaration in favor of treaty revision to the meeting of the Panamanian National Assembly. In the process of formation at the moment is a National Committee for Panamanian Sovereignty designed to carry the issue to the people of the US.

US control of the Canal Zone involves not only the issue of imperialism (in its most flagrant colonial form), but also the issue of white supremacy, for the majority of Panamanians are people of color. It is likely, therefore, that the growing support for treaty revision in the US is motivated in part at least by sentiments like those expressed by Lincoln, who said, 'When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs others that is no longer self-government; it is despotism.'15 Certainly this slogan inspired those US anti-imperialists who protested Roosevelt's Panama coup some seventy years ago, for they often quoted it.
A couple of years ago, back in the days of the big Gas Crisis, a few people who worked together on another community newspaper in Suffolk County (New York) came up with the idea of starting a newspaper that would be distributed for free on gas lines. With people having to sit for long periods waiting their turn at the pumps, we reasoned that this would be the ideal time to get them to read the kind of paper that they would not ordinarily pick up: a paper that would give them perspectives on capitalism, imperialism, and working class struggles that they couldn’t get in the regular media. By the time we were ready with the first issue (March 1976) the gas lines had disappeared, but Suffolk Street Papers was launched.

To understand the paper and our struggles with it, it is necessary to get a feel for what it means to publish a publication such as the Middle Eastern situation, the Puerto Rican independence movement, South Africa, or the banks’ responsibility in New York City’s financial crisis.

In all of our writing, we make a determined effort to avoid rhetorical language. The people we are trying to reach are not only not leftists; but they have been conditioned all their lives to hate and fear socialism. They are, however, intelligent people. We hope that by writing in a clear, non-mystifying way about issues that affect their lives, we will be able to make an impact on them. As to our long-term goals, we see these broadly as developing class-consciousness, and helping to involve people in struggles that will lead to socialism.

It is difficult to evaluate our program insofar as these goals are concerned. For one thing, it is nearly impossible for us to assess reader reaction to our paper. We don’t see the people who pick up the papers we leave scattered all over the county (although we do know the papers get picked up), and unfortunately we have not gotten the kind of verbal encouragement from people we happen to get in the course of putting out the paper. Yet for the people who do get verbal encouragement from people we happen to get in the course of putting out the paper, this is the fulfillment of our goals.

Another Street Papers goal is to try to integrate the personal and the political—to show how racism, sexism, and imperialism are integral parts of people’s lives, programmed into every aspect of putting out the paper—writing, editing, proofreading, distribution, transportation (except to the major shopping centers and the Long Island Expressway, on which commuters wend their way back and forth to the city in nightmarish traffic.)

Despite this, there is still a great deal of the people in the county are white, but there are communities with heavy concentrations of Blacks and Hispanics. What industry does exist tends to be small and scattered. The far eastern end of the county is still largely rural, with potato and other farming. Most (more than 95%) of the people in the county are employed in the service industry (food co-ops, free schools, day nurseries, etc.)

We give space and support to local alternative newspapers, people’s organizations, day care centers, women’s centers, ecology groups, etc.) The staff includes people who are all the same and appear on one page.

We feel that the Street Papers collectively--five of us, all of whom hold down full-time jobs. By and large, each of us participates in every aspect of the paper: sales, typesetting, layout, distribution, and fund-raising. This is one of the most exciting and rewarding experiences we have had. We hope that many more people will join us.

Although all of us in the collective define ourselves as socialists, as a group we have as yet no concrete political analysis. We therefore feel that it is important for us individually to grow together. As a step in this direction, we have expanded our weekly meetings to include a study group. As a group, we hope, will help us arrive at an analysis and will enable us to evaluate the work we are doing on the basis of the theoretical issues.

Although we are still wrestling with some of the larger issues, we are committed to a number of shorter goals. One of these goals is to encourage as many people as possible to re-evaluate their lives, to appraise the supposedly gilded suburban existence that they are leading, the over-mortgaged, over-taxed house; the gawky shopping centers and the Long Island expressway, on which commuters wend their way back and forth to the city in nightmarish traffic. Because it is so difficult for people to get together physically, it becomes even harder to get together politically. People living in the county tend to be isolated from each other and from each other’s problems.

Politically, Suffolk is an extremely conservative county. Even the most moderate newspaper is written in such a way as to depress the local working-class, and to act as a counterweight to the grossly parasitic influence of the Western religions. The anti-Semitism of many of the people is so great that we have not been able to get the local paper to pick up a single one of our papers. Yet we have experienced the collective challenge of those who work with us.

Another important function is to bring to people’s attention issues and perspectives that do not ordinarily receive publicity in this country. Since such issues are so significant in the middle Eastern situation, the Puerto Rican independence movement, South Africa, or the banks’ responsibility in New York City’s financial crisis.

Although we were unwilling to let us leave the paper for people to pick up. To raise money we have fundraisers, ask for donations, and are willing to take in any small amount of advertising. Our original policy was to take no advertising, but we eventually decided it would be acceptable—and pragmatic—to run ads for small businesses, crafts, and other cooperative efforts. Some ads are all the same and appear on one page.

We feel that the Street Papers collectively--five of us, all of whom hold down full-time jobs. By and large, each of us participates in every aspect of the paper: sales, typesetting, layout, distribution, and fund-raising. This is one of the most exciting and rewarding experiences we have had. We hope that many more people will join us.
(FRED HAMPTON, continued)

Under Hampton's guidance, the Illinois Black Panther Party initiated many "community survival programs." Five free breakfast for school children centers served hundreds of nourishing hot meals every morning. A year long struggle was begun to establish a free medical center in Lawndale, a west side area which had the least medical resources in the city and an infant death rate more than twice that of white Chicago's.

They began with a door-to-door community survey to find out what health services people needed most and to recruit community volunteers. The medical center survived an armed invasion of the office when police destroyed all of the thousands of dollars of medical equipment and funds that had been gathered in months of work. The free health clinic was opened in a completely remodeled shiny clean center shortly after Fred's death.

The medical center was a model of quality health service. In addition to providing free care at the center, its program included door-to-door health screening and follow-up by teams of trained community workers and medical personnel. A sickle cell anemia screening and follow-up program was developed that organized parents throughout the city to bring the screening teams into their schools. Over 20,000 people were tested and counseled in this one program alone. The medical center helped organize community blood drives to aid Cook County Hospital, which a large part of Chicago's Black community depends on for medical care. Community health workers--patient advocates, laboratory technicians, etc.--were trained.

Other grass roots programs begun under Fred's direction included community political education classes and a tutorial program for youth at the office. In the winter time, an emergency heat program had teams who responded to a flood of calls from families without heat. They saw that landlords obeyed the law and turned the heat on; they repaired furnaces and provided electric heaters and blankets.

The survival programs were growing, drawing large numbers of community volunteers, serving basic human needs, and providing an example of unity, self-reliance, and the power of people organized to make change. "People learn through observation and participation," Hampton repeated almost daily.

The phones in the office were ringing off the hook, and a constant stream of people of all ages were in and out, "I need to talk to Fred." And they usually did. Some people used to say he never slept. He did, but usually not until he fell out after days of concentrated work.

Speaking at campuses, in high schools, at community meetings and educational rallies of 300 to 500 people twice a month, talking intensely one to one, constantly teaching Party members—to read better, to speak, to run a program—Hampton was obsessed with education. He read and studied an enormous amount—history, philosophy, political science. Then he'd frown and focus on finding a way to explain to people world events, the history of struggles for freedom, the current national situation, or the situation on the corner. He was eloquent, and he held audiences literally for hours speaking, taking questions, leading discussions.

The organization was growing stronger--city wide and around the state. They were active in and often leading a host of community actions, Important coalitions were formed. And they were just beginning.

At the age of 21 everyone in Chicago and many around the country knew that Fred Hampton was a powerful leader in the Black liberation movement, a man of unquestioned honesty with enormous potential.

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From the hour that Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered, there has been strong and widespread grass roots belief that the official versions of the killings were not true. In addition to the thousands of pages of documents from the 3 year pre-trial proceedings of the case which is now beginning trial here in federal court, there are now tens of thousands of pages of documents from investigations into the murders by agencies and grand juries of the city of Chicago, the state of Illinois, the federal government, a distinguished Citizens Commission of Inquiry headed by Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark, and from journalists and researchers.

Hampton and Clark were murdered just before dawn. The survivors were arrested, hospitalized under guard, and jailed. By the time the early editions of the morning paper hit the streets an hour later, State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan had announced the line that all major local officials presented to the public: "The immediate, violent criminal reaction of the occupants in shooting at announced police officers emphasized the extreme viciousness of the Black Panther Party." The police acting under Hanrahan's authority "exercised good judgement, considerable restraint, and professional discipline" in presenting a search warrant at 4 am with machine guns and tear gas at an apartment whose occupants they supposedly did not know.

Before 8 am, the Illinois Black Panther Party, in a political decision that has been key to uncovering the facts, allowed thousands of people who spontaneously assembled at the Panther apartment to tour it and observe for themselves which doors had been broken down, and to see for themselves Fred Hampton's freshly bloodstained bed. In the following few days too many people saw with their own eyes, and the first official version crumbled.
The highlights go like this: December, 1969. Hanrahan's story of an attack on the police by the occupants of the apartment (including a special TV re-enactment by the police) folded. Hundreds of community leaders and national figures demanded special investigations of the police action. In the following two years, amidst complex struggles and against the unswerving opposition of Mayor Daley and his machine, a special state grand jury indicted Hanrahan and others involved in the raid.

A federal grand jury issued a tough report condemning Hanrahan, other officials, and the police for their actions and for a conspiracy to cover up the facts. Ninety-nine to a hundred shots were fired into the apartment by invading police; possibly one was fired by an occupant, they concluded. However, they returned no federal indictments. At about the same time, all charges against the survivors were dropped by Hanrahan. The Special Commission of Inquiry concluded in a full-length book: "There can be no possible legal or factual justification for this police use of firearms. There was no 'shoot-out'...Systems of justice - federal, state and local - failed to do their duty to protect the lives and rights of citizens."

Still many throughout the country, including the families of the dead men, did not believe that the full story had come out, did not believe that this was a case of local officials and police gone mad alone. Meanwhile, "Watergate" disclosed a federal government policy and apparatus - FBI, CIA, White House, Military Intelligence, IRS, etc. - designed to destroy political opposition in the country, and most importantly Black resistance. Mrs. Hampton and Mrs. Clark believed that the COINTELPRO program and other plans to smash political dissent had a direct bearing on the Hampton case. They filed a major civil damage suit in federal court against all those directly responsible for the raid. As new evidence has emerged more and more federal officials all the way to Washington have been added as defendants in the action.

Although much of the evidence is hidden behind a court-ordered "secrecy" ruling, and much more has yet to be produced, there are a few key facts which have now become part of the written public record connecting the federal government directly with the Hampton case.

1. William O'Neal, Jr., joined the Illinois Black Panther Party as a paid FBI informer. There were many others. He reported to a special unit of the FBI in Chicago, and may have been involved more or less directly in setting up the attack.
2. O'Neal was paid by and reported directly to Roy N. Mitchell, an FBI agent assigned to the special Racial Matters (RM) squad. Mitchell passed on detailed information to Hanrahan including a floor plan of the apartment and the position of Fred Hampton's bed two weeks before the attack.
3. Mitchell's superior was Robert T. Piper, head of the Racial Matters squad. Piper supervised the counterintelligence squad called the "Black Panther Task Force." They communicated directly with Washington and with local police. Presumably they followed national FBI policy to "disrupt" Black organizations by any means necessary.
4. Marlin Johnson was head of the FBI's Chicago office at the time. He played a key role in gathering evidence for the special federal grand jury on the Hampton case. He never testified nor disclosed any FBI connections with the case. (Johnson is now head of the Chicago Police Board.)
5. Federal documents show an agreement between the Justice Department and Hanrahan: If Hanrahan dropped the charges against the survivors of the raid so that the case would not come to trial, the federal government would not indict Hanrahan. That is what happened.
6. Jerrie Leonard, former head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department under John Mitchell, was also head of the special Justice Department unit (the Civil Disturbance Group) that supervised federal policy and spying on the Black Panther Party and others. Documents from the Chicago FBI office about the Illinois chapter and Fred Hampton were received by this unit in Washington before the attack.
7. Other special federal connections have been made with officials in Washington, and the Justice Department has without exception fought the disclosure of any evidence and attempted to avoid producing witnesses.
8. Former Superintendent of Police, John Conklin, met with Richard Helms, former head of the CIA, about "intelligence" matters in Chicago before the attack.
9. Cooperation and joint spying by Military Intelligence, local police and the FBI on the Panthers and their attorneys before the attack and since the suit was filed has come to light.

Statements from these and other federal officials have been taken by Mrs. Hampton's attorneys. However, Judge Perry has ruled:

(continued on page 8)
1. The attorneys may not discuss with their own clients the contents of these statements or of the hundreds of government documents that have been turned over to them.

2. These statements may not be made part of the public court record (an extremely unusual ruling in a civil case).

3. The attorneys have been severely limited before questioning these witnesses about what they may ask them.

4. The Chicago Police Department does not have to turn over most of its intelligence files on the Illinois Black Panther Party and Fred Hampton.

5. The names of informers on whose statements the original warrants for the raid were obtained cannot be turned over to the plaintiffs.

This is a partial list of the restrictions on the plaintiffs who argue they desperately need to piece together the details of the massive conspiracy.

In the last pre-trial ruling Mrs. Hampton moved that Judge Perry be removed from the case because of his bias toward Black people and especially those Black people with connections to the Black Panther Party. Federal Judge Lynch, formerly Mayor Daley's law partner, denied the motion.

The Hampton case is no Watergate, although many believe it reflects the true meaning of Watergate. It is not about a burglary; it is about murder and conspiracy. It is not about spying on nationally prominent respectable white political figures; it is about spying on outspoken bold Black leaders and organizations. This is not Judge Sirica's courtroom; it is Judge Perry's courtroom, a man with ties for many years to the Daley machine.

This case has its "local connections" too. Although too complex to detail here, the Hampton case is interwoven directly with the Mayor not only through Hanrahan, but through Jack Clark, the Mayor's personal political spy recently released from jail, through Chicago's unfolding scandal of police spying, burglary, and provocation against political and community groups that has resulted in yet more grand juries and more special investigations. Through the heart of all this are the threads of the Hampton case. A prominent Chicago researcher and journalist following the case commented recently, "The same names, the same names are involved in all of it."

Mrs. Hampton's position was stated in her motion to removed Judge Perry: "Although we seek $47 million in damages, there is not enough money in the world to pay for my son's life. The incident responsible for this lawsuit was a violent attack on members of the Black Panther Party. We look to the courtroom as the place where the true facts surrounding the deaths of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark can be discovered. This cannot happen unless the Court allows it to happen. I brought this lawsuit to learn once and for all what happened on December 4, 1969, and who was responsible. I have a right to know this; the public also has a right to know it. The City of Chicago would benefit from the truth being told."

For more information or to offer your support, contact the December 4th Committee, 53 W. Jackson Blvd., Room 1362, Chicago, Ill. 60604. Tel. (312) 341-9766.

GRANTS

The Susan Saxe Defense Committee
P.O. Box 39, Somerville, Massachusetts 02144

As part of the educational work that the Defense Committee is doing on the issues raised by the trial a sub-group of the committee is producing a video-tape documentary about Susan that talks about the Vietnam war and the anti-war movement, about women's and gay oppression, about the nature of prisons, etc.

Community Media Foundation, Inc.
110 East 23rd Street, New York, New York 10010

The Foundation is working to establish a training program for members of minority groups now generally denied access to the major media, to train them in every aspect of journalism and public relations so that they can get their stories told in the existing media or in newspapers, etc., of their own construction.

Project More
611 Congress Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut 06519

Project Model Offender Re-Integration Experience, one part of the Hill Neighborhood Corp., in addition to providing services for ex-prisoners, works to affect change in the penal system.

July Fourth Coalition
P.O. Box 205, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10003

The Coalition is holding a February conference organizing toward a major counter-bicentennial demonstration in Philadelphia.

Center for Servicemen's Rights
P.O. Box 2016, San Diego, California 92112

The Center publishes Up from the Bottom, a GI newspaper widely distributed around military bases in California. It has long been a useful tool in GI organizing.

Intercommunal Survival Committee
1056 W. Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60640

The main effort of ISC has been to create a community apparatus through the development of survival programs that can mobilize the community in its own defense and defense of progressive struggles everywhere. It publishes a magazine, Keep Strong, which reports on its many community activities among mostly Appalachian white working class folk in Chicago's Uptown area.