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ANGELA DAVIS



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AITUC PUBLICATION

ABOUT ANGELA

I. THE SAN RAFAEL INCIDENTS

On October 13, 1970, Angela Davis—a 26-year-old Black American woman, Professor of Philosophy in a college and a communist—was arrested on a framed-up charge of 'kidnapping and murder' by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.).

This frame-up related to the incident that took place on August 7, 1970, at the San Rafael Court House, California, where Jonathan Jackson, a 17-year-old high school boy attempted to free three Black prisoners on trial, including his brother George Jackson.

George Jackson was a relentless fighter for the cause of Black liberation. He was a member of the Black Panther Party. He was put in Soledad prison under trial on a charge of a theft of 70 dollars alleged to have been committed by him more than a decade earlier in 1960, when he was just 18 years old.

On January 13, 1970, there was a shooting incident at the Soledad prison in which a white jail warden shot and killed three Black liberation fighters Noran, Miller and Edwards. Two days later a judge declared the wanton murder as "justifiable homicide". When the other prisoners came to know of this the same day, they protested. A clash took place between them and the guards. One white guard was killed.

George Jackson, John W. Cluchette and Fleeta Drumgo were implicated in this case. They were subjected to all sorts of harassment and torture. They became known as the famed 'Soledad Brothers'.

It was these Soledad Brothers whom Jonathan Jackson was trying to rescue, by taking several hostages including

the trial judge at the San Rafael Court House. When Jonathan tried to get away in a car, four persons were killed among whom were Jonathan and the judge.

It is in this case that Angela has been framed, as an accomplice, along with another Black militant Ruchell Magee. The police alleged that the gun used by Jackson was registered in Angela Davis's name. This was the ground for the frame-up despite the fact that Angela was nowhere near the courtroom when the incident took place.

The F.B.I. organised a manhunt and its posters described Angela as a "blood-thirsty criminal". Angela was arrested on October 13, 1970 in New York. The fight then went on to prevent her extradition from New York to California. Under Californian Law "the owner of murder weapon even if not involved in the murder is equally guilty with the direct participants" and that means a death penalty or life imprisonment.

The F.B.I. succeeded in getting a verdict for extradition. Angela's appeal was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court on December 21, 1970 and she has been taken away to California.

U.S. Communist Party Chairman, Henry Winston, and General Secretary, Gus Hall, in a joint statement said: "The Supreme Court through Justice Harlan has now joined the Nixon-Rockefeller-Reagan racist, anti-communist conspiracy to steam-roller, in rocket speed, Angela Davis to a heinous frame-up trial with a possible death sentence. . . . Not one judge has had the courage or desire to examine the frame-up evidence. Every judge has blindly and shamelessly joined the legal lynch mob."

Angela's applications for bail have been rejected and she continues to be in prison.

On August 21, 1971 the prison guards opened fire on the prisoners inside San Quentin jail to which the Soledad Brothers had been brought to face trial. Six, including George Jackson, brother of Jonathan, were shot dead.

The prison authorities said that Jackson was trying to break jail and that he had been provided with a pistol by his lawyer who had come to see him. This again is a fantastic and cooked-up story. San Quentin is a "maximum

security prison". Before being allowed to meet, the lawyer had to pass through a metal detector test and the prisoner through a skin search, shedding-off all clothes.

The two surviving Soledad Brothers, who were beaten up mercilessly, declared that it was deliberate murder. "They shot him in the back. Then they shot him in the head." Gus Hall said in a statement: "All evidence from San Quentin clearly points to the ugly fact that the prison authorities are guilty of pre-meditated, racist, frame-up, entrapment and murder."

He further declared: "Angela Davis is a victim of the same system of frame-ups. If we do not act now, there is the daily danger she may become another victim of murder." Before he was shot dead, George Jackson had written to Angela: "I worry. If something happened to you I just would not understand."

Angela's life is in danger. As long as she continues in jail, as long as the frame-up is not withdrawn.

Henry Winston^o writes "There is a revealing continuity in motive and timing behind the frame-up of Angela Davis and the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

"Malcolm X was murdered by the racist establishment—using a police agent to penetrate his personal bodyguard—at the very moment he was turning away from separatism, against capitalism, and toward united mass struggle.

"Dr. King was gunned down when he began to identify imperialism as the source of racism, poverty and war, and was translating this deeper understanding into an opposition of new dimensions to poverty and racist oppression at home, and the related imperialist aggression in Vietnam. He was linking these movements with the Black workers' struggle to organise, and was pressing for the unity of workers of all colours as the essential force for meaningful change and liberation.

"When Angela Davis affirmed her membership in the Communist Party, her UCLA^{oo} teaching post was taken

^o Henry Winston: The Meaning of San Rafael. (Editor)

^{oo} University of California, Los Angeles. (Editor)

away from her. When the brilliant young Black professor continued to intensify her social and political activity outside the classroom, the plot to murder her in the gas chamber was initiated. The racist ruling class could not tolerate the meaning, the inspiration, to the nation's exploited and oppressed, of Angela's membership in the Party based on the liberating principles of Marxism-Leninism. Angela Davis was right when she said, 'They have taken my job. Now they want to take my life.' By dedicating herself not only to explaining the world but to changing it, Angela Davis won the love of millions—and the hatred of the ruling class."

II. A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF ANGELA DAVIS

In these times, when the fight to uphold one's humanity is a revolutionary act, the false difference between "personality" and "politics" can no longer be maintained. It is in this light that we must understand the life of Angela Davis, for, as she said, the struggle of a true revolutionary is

"to merge the personal with the political where they are no longer separate".

In the profoundest of ways, it is only when

"you don't see your life, your individual life, as being so important".

that it begins to become important, politically, for others in the common fight for freedom.

"I have given my life for the struggle,"

Angela declared,

"My life belongs to the struggle."

In order, then, to understand this life, we must understand that struggle.

It is a struggle that Angela Davis, raised in the deep South of Birmingham, Alabama, was born into 27 years ago. She grew up among a whole generation of Black people who had seen their men risk their lives overseas in a fight

against foreign fascism only to return home and find the same mentality still directed against themselves. They returned to a South where racism was "God's own truth" and segregation "the American way of life." It was in this South that Angela, like so many other Blacks, grew into awareness. She saw the symbols of law and order represented by the likes of George Wallace and Bull Connor, the burning cross of the old South, the electric cattle prods of the new. Yet she also saw, among her generation, the first glimmerings of a renewed resistance, and she joined that resistance, picketing segregated facilities, canvassing in voter registration, participating in integrated study groups. These early years were years of young hopes, old, abiding fears. She lived on "Dynamite Hill," where Black families lived in constant fear of racist reprisals.

"Every night now,"

she wrote,

"I'll hear white crackers planting bombs around the house. We are supposed to be next anyway."

It was this same Birmingham of her youth that brutally returned to her in those nightmare days of 1963 when four Black children were killed in the bombing of a Birmingham church.

Angela knew these four girls and their families and, like others in Birmingham, she knew who their killers were. But of course no arrests were made. No wonder she could write to a friend up North several years later,

"Policemen are watching our house all the time. Perhaps I won't leave Birmingham alive."

When she was 15, Angela did leave Birmingham. She received a Quaker scholarship to a New York City high school. There, despite her obvious intelligence, she had to study harder than most of the students to compensate for the inferior, segregated education she had received in the South. By the end of her senior year, she had progressed so well that she received a scholarship to Brandeis University. There Angela entered fully, for the first time, into a white world in which, as a Black person, she existed in peculiar transparency. There her "blackness" "did not matter" to her

liberal white friends; but of course the negative of that truth was all the more painfully real to her; while her blackness might not "matter" to them, it "mattered" to her very much indeed. At Brandeis, she devoted herself to her studies, *graduating* by the end of her career with *magna cum laude*, honors in French literature.

In her junior year, she studied at the Sorbonne in Paris, where she met Algerian students who told of their country's struggle for liberation from French colonialism. And she watched the French police constantly stop, search, and harass the Algerian students or any "dark-complexioned person" suspected of being Algerian, because their nation wanted independence. She began philosophical studies with Professor Herbert Marcuse, a refugee from Nazi oppression, and through his teachings discovered Marxist philosophy as a guide to understanding the oppression of Black people.

She changed to philosophy for her graduate work, continuing her studies on a German State Scholarship at Goethe University in Frankfurt, West Germany. There, Angela became active in German SDS, a socialist student group which organized demonstrations against the Vietnam War. She also began to formulate the topic for her doctoral thesis—Kant's philosophical concept of freedom, as it related to the Black liberation struggle. After two years of study, however, she decided to leave Germany. What had begun as an escape from racist America now seemed to her an exile from the struggle of her Black brothers and sisters in America. She returned home to join the struggle.

She enrolled at the University of California at San Diego to complete her doctoral program. While at University of California San Diego (UCSD) Angela became intensely involved in the Southern California Black community, organizing around community issues, unemployment, police brutality, and, on her own campus, fighting for a Third World people's college.

Angela Joins the Communist Party

At this time, she also saw that such activities do not go

long unpunished in an oppressive, racist society. The murder of 18 year old Gregory Clark by the Los Angeles police signalled to her the fascist, police state tactics that would become commonplace in countering any genuine social advance in the struggle for equality and freedom. Later that year, she was to see three more of her friends gunned down on the UCLA campus. These were days of personal peril as well as commitment. Joining the struggle was no mere "intellectual" commitment, for it meant putting one's life on the line. Soon thereafter, Angela joined the Communist Party and became an active member in the Che-Lumumba Club, an all-Black collective of the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

Some professors maintain the luxury of merely "entertaining," playing with ideas; others, who take their task more seriously, refuse to *profess* what they do not believe. Angela was one of the latter group; she stood by and was committed to her professed ideals. Therefore, after being appointed as a UCLA philosophy professor in the Fall of 1969, when she was fingered by an F.B.I. undercover agent as a Communist, she replied to the University of California Board of Regents,

"Yes, I am a Communist. And I will not take the fifth amendment against self-incrimination, because my political beliefs do not incriminate me; they incriminate the Nixons, Agnews, and Reagans."

These men, she insisted, are the real criminal of this society, capitalist yesmen who have stolen the wealth of the world from the people by exploitation and oppression.

Angela was aware of the fact that, as masses of people here and abroad are radically challenging this state of affairs so the oppressors would respond with every higher levels of repression and go to any lengths to silence and, if necessary, murder any individual who spoke out and organised against their system. And yet she dared to speak out. This example of a Black woman proudly admitting to being a revolutionary, a Communist, and openly challenging capitalism gave inspiration and pride to those who had been too long silent. She was becoming a symbol of free speech and open resistance that Governor Reagan and his co-conspira-

tors could no longer tolerate. And so began the conspiracy to silence her, the legal schemes, the lynch mob atmosphere, the open use of force. First, they attempted to fire her from UCLA because she was a Communist, but when the Courts ruled this move unconstitutional, they were forced to look for other ways.

Meanwhile, Angela continued to teach at UCLA. Her classes in recurring philosophical themes in Black literature were the most widely attended in the history of the school. She prepared her lectures scrupulously, gave freely of her time and knowledge, and at the class evaluation, was given "excellent" ratings by all but one of her several hundred students. She was invited to address the philosophy departments of Princeton, Yale, Swarthmore during this time, and also turned down several offers to teach at prestigious Eastern schools because of the deep commitment she felt to her struggle in California.

In early 1970, Angela became active in the defence of the Soledad Brothers, three Black prisoners unjustly accused of killing a prison guard. In her speeches, she constantly pointed out the fact that 30% of the national prison population was Black, while Blacks were only 15% of the population at large. This, she said, was indicative of the inherent racism of the American judiciary system. She protested against the growing number of political activists, especially Black Panther Party members, killed and jailed under the guise of law and order. Wherever she appeared, she emphasized the rise of police terror and repression and she continually explained that the loss of her job was small compared to the growing loss of Black and Brown lives.

In the course of the struggle around the Soledad Brothers' case, Angela became good friends with Jonathan Jackson, the younger brother of one of the Soledad defendants. Her own life was placed in constant jeopardy from a barrage of vigilante threats. Jonathan Jackson, as well as members of the Che-Lumumba Club, acted as security for Angela in order to prevent those threats from becoming reality.

Because of Angela's refusal to be silenced, because she continued to speak out against the growing repression of the state, because she organised people against the coming

reign of police terror, Reagan once more tried to take away her job. In June, Angela was again fired by Reagan's Board of Regents. This time, the reason given was her speeches and active opposition to the genocidal policies of his government. Those people who had earlier accepted her being fired for Communist Party membership now began to have second thoughts. Could a person lose her livelihood only because she exercised her constitutional right to free speech? If this were the case, who might be next?

Angela Davis—A Symbol of Resistance

Reagan's firing of Angela came too late to stop the mass upsurge in her defence. Angela Davis had become a symbol of open and courageous resistance. She articulated a broad sentiment of defiance against oppression and the abridgement of civil and human rights. Her expulsion from the university only served to make those issues all the more clear. The Constitution, it seemed, was an expendable document to be bent to the wishes of those who rule us. Since taking Angela's job had not proven sufficient, Reagan now sought a new way to destroy her. He seized upon the August event at San Rafael Court House as the perfect excuse. Using the most vague and unsubstantiated of charges; not of direct involvement but of "conspiracy", he is attempting to take Angela's life.

Thus ensued what was perhaps the most vicious and intensive manhunts in the history of this country. A young Black woman without any prior record of arrest, not directly accused of the commission of a crime, became the third woman in history to be placed on the F.B.I. "Ten Most Wanted" list. Placing Angela on this list, where she was described as being "armed and dangerous", was equivalent to giving any crazed racist the right to shoot her on sight. The manhunt was also used as a pretext to raid private homes and movement offices across the country in an attempt to intimidate and harass all those who shared Angela's political views.

While held in the Women's House of Detention in New

York City, fighting extradition to California where she had been charged with kidnap for ransom, murder, and conspiracy, Angela was placed in solitary confinement. She had been isolated in a "psychological ward", isolated from her fellow prisoners, placed under 24 hour surveillance and harassment. In the tradition of all political prisoners, her captors had separated her from contact with others, for they fear, even here, her right of free speech, the power of her ideas. And while she was bound in solitary, outside, her accusers have continually attempted to try and convict her in the mass media. Richard Nixon congratulated J. Edgar Hoover over nationwide television upon her "capture," saying that her arrest would serve as an example to "all other terrorists". A law suit by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, mass demonstrations,

thousands of letters and telegrams, achieved a victory by Judge Lasker's ruling to have Angela Davis released from solitary confinement.

What is Angela's Crime?

And so we stand, once more, in Angela's words, "at the crossroads on the path of liberation". Some would have us believe that Angela's political activities stem from a misguided or purely intellectual curiosity. But Angela's involvement in the struggle, as we have seen, grew out of the deep roots cast in the bloodstained earth of her Southern childhood, her experience of alienation as a token Black in an all-white university, the small, everyday indignities of being a Black woman in racist America; they are the result of her constant and continual resistance to injustice and inequality; her search for solutions to our problems of racism, exploitation, repression; her refusal to be silenced in that search by force or intimidation.

Of what, then, is Angela Davis guilty? Of being the natural product of a society based upon racism, exploitation, and dehumanization? Of her struggle for a socialist society? Her accusers have locked her into their cells of silence for they fear what she professes, what she freely and coura-

geously declares. But when they cannot silence her even here, when her words echo far beyond these closed and soundproofed walls, then they seek to take her life. The final solution—Death.

So, for her, the life, the struggle, are one. Not merely in conjecture, in abstract theory, but in brutal fact. For her beliefs, for her life, Angela Davis stands accused. Her life is at stake. And yet she is innocent. Innocent of the charges of murder and kidnap. She stands guilty only of loving humanity and fighting with her life for the freedom of all of us.

III. ALONE IN A CELL

No contemporary political case that is running the painful gauntlet of the United States courts has the significance of Angela Davis' frame-up. Wrapped in it are the fateful issues of Black liberation, the negation of the democratic process and the plot of the Nixon Administration to stamper the country into a latter-day McCarthyism.

One thinks of that listening to Angela Davis' younger sister, Mrs. Fania Jordan, a slim, handsome woman of 23, who flew in from the West Coast to be of whatever assistance possible. And as a member of Angela Davis' family, to have access to that notorious prison house, the Woman's House of Detention, a vast, greyish-yellow pile of bricks and bars that glowers down on the Avenue of the Americas in lower New York, where Angela is jailed and is on hunger strike.

Mrs. Jordan has been to see Miss Davis every day since her arrest on October 13.

I interviewed Mrs. Jordan on the fourth day of her sister's hunger strike. Hearing her story, her description of the detention house and the built-in system of humiliation there, and also learning some details of her life from childhood on, one knows what every white American should know—that genocide looms over the Black population of some 25 million in the United States.

In a way, the story begins with that awful day in 1964 when four of Mrs. Jordan's young neighbours ("They lived down the block") were murdered by a bomb as they prayed to Jesus in their Sunday School class.

"My closest friend was Cynthia Wesley, who'd be about my own age now," she said evenly.

Four children died in the chaos of explosion and fire that day, "all of them my friends. We were growing up together". Perhaps the President who cries "law and order" from the White House roof-top can explain why nobody has been apprehended for that heinous crime to this very day!

I do not know how many whites in America have got the full impact of this crime and the continual procession of others like it. How many hundreds and thousands of such cases, many known, more kept secret!

Genocide

Who had kept the score? William L. Patterson, an indefatigable freedom fighter, worked to get at the bottom of the vast daily tragedy throughout the United States and set it in his book "We Charge Genocide," which he and his associates presented to the United Nations. Now again there is the annotation of death, brought forward in a genocide petition to the UN.

To understand the Angela Davis case we must not forget Cynthia Wesley and her three companions. Every American must learn why the term "genocide" is just and apt, must know that every Black American is born and brought up in its grim climate.

Angela and Fania, though they were reared in a family whose economic circumstances were somewhat more than that of the average Black Southern family, knew the Dixie horror all too well, and found it also north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Both Angela and Fania received scholarships awarded by the Society of Quakers to young Black students of the South to come North to certain schools of academic attainment where they were supposed to become better acquainted with whites—and vice versa.

So Fania went to Swarfmore College in Pennsylvania, originally set up by the Quakers, and Angela, three years older, attended Brandeis University, in Massachusetts, and later, the Goethe Institute in Frankfurt, West Germany, where she studied philosophy and sociology.

Fania majored in French literature as her sister did in her undergraduate period.

Fania explained why her sister was on a hunger strike. "It's against the barbaric conditions in the prison which all the people there suffer," she said, "and it is against the solitary confinement she suffers."

Angela was denied normal association with other prisoners shortly after her detention. Mrs. Jordan said that the authorities had recoiled from the fact that all the inmates expressed friendship with her sister and that many had even indicated solidarity when they heard that Angela Davis was among them. And so they confined Angela to quarters by herself, deprived of the company of the other prisoners during the exercise hour.

Spying

Furthermore, a guard stands spying on her at the door 24 hours around the clock, a spy who whips out pen and paper whenever anybody—any prison authority—speaks to Angela on any detail of prison life.

The guard keeps a log of every detail of Angela's life, peering into her quarters every half-hour, making notes in her log-book and searching the room three times a day.

At first Angela was denied the right to read anything but current periodicals. Books, with which she had lived all her school years, were deprived her.

After her remonstrations, the authorities permitted her to have a total of five books at a time. But they denied her a book of the prison letters of George Jackson, one of the Soledad Brothers, which has just been published by Coward-McCann.

There is a familiar cowardice which creeps into the psyche of the authorities, one that must grow out of their consciousness of guilt. Here is the prisoner, in their hands,

there are myriads of iron bars and formidable gates between the prisoner and the Avenue of the Americas down below, but they shrink from giving her a book—a book!—that she requests. That fear is characteristic of the jailers' psychology.

But their fear is not confined to prisoners, it envelops the families and loved ones of those behind bars.

Fania explains the process of visiting her sister: "First a guard gives you a number as you enter. You are one of about 50 in the anteroom. The woman at the information window calls the numbers out while you wait.

"When she comes to your number you are told to advance to her booth and she asks for identification, your passport, etc. Then she writes something down, and you continue waiting while Angela is being brought down from the eighth floor.

Search

"A guard calls out my name. I come forward. Another guard is there waiting to search my pocketbook. I am given a ticket that tells me which window Angela will be at. There are ten windows.

"There is a telephone on a little shelf besides each barred window. There is a pane of glass between me and Angela. We pick up the telephone and start talking to each other, looking into each other's eyes through the glass. Angela smiles at me, she always has a smile for me no matter what the circumstance. We begin to talk but it is hard to hear each other for the people on each side of me are also talking through their phones. We shout through the babel of voices to hear each other.

"We are given a half-hour. Then the warning lights begin to flicker. The time is up. We are ushered out the way we came in. I look around at the women: almost all are Black or Puerto Rican. Many have been standing in line for hours waiting their turn."

Angela told Fania she is taking fruit juices on her hunger strike. She lost eight pounds in four days.

Tragedy

Fania speaks to me of all this in a voice of deep quiet, minus fanfare or dramatics, a young voice that seems beyond surprises. The tone belongs to a human who has witnessed much tragedy since the day her friend Cynthia went to death praying at her Sunday School.

Fania tells me of the committees to free Angela springing up in various parts of the country; in Pittsburgh, Boston, Berkeley, New York and elsewhere. The co-ordinating committee on which she is functioning will seek to put these all together in a programme of maximum achievement.

She speaks of the national and world interest in the case and expresses confidence that millions in all lands will press forward to act on behalf of her sister's freedom and vindication.

IV. POLICE INFORMER'S CONFESSION

For the last six years, Louis Tackwood, 28, has been working for the Los Angeles police department as an informer in radical groups, he admitted at a press conference held at Los Angeles in October 1971.

Tackwood lifted the curtain on a police system of provocation, directed murders, frameups and concealed evidence to reporters at the studios of Pacifica radio station in Los Angeles.

His allegations go far beyond those yet made by any of the informers who have come forward to tell of their past police work.

Tackwood stated that he was involved with other police operatives in suppression of evidence which would prove that Angela Davis was not guilty of the charges against her. He also said that he was sent into the Davis Defence Committee by police to steal files, plant electronic devices and attempt to create a conspiracy between Miss Davis, George Jackson and white radical organisations before Jackson was killed at San Quentin prison in August of this year.

The police, Tackwood further charges, had knowledge of the Marin County Court House plans before the events took place in August, 1970, but did nothing to stop their occurrence.

The Los Angeles Times, the Washington Post and Newsweek magazine, which were called in to investigate Tackwood's charges by the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee (CRIC), subjected Tackwood to a polygraph test before printing his story.

Chris Gugas, a former L.A. police officer, administered the polygraph test and concluded after two days of testing that Tackwood "did answer all of the critical questions truthfully on his examination".

Following a three week investigation, the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post of Sunday Oct. 17 broke the story on their front page.

Los Angeles Police Chief Edward M. Davis refused to comment on any of Tackwood's charges, and permitted none of police named by Tackwood, to talk to reporters.

Davis denounced Tackwood as a "Bolshevik" and said "I think such a story would appear in Pravda, but I am surprised that Los Angeles reporters are listening to the story."

Tackwood exposed the existence of a Criminal Conspiracy section of the Los Angeles Police department as well as a Special Investigations section and department, which has a white radical and Black radical desks.

Working with these and other agencies, said Tackwood, is a network of about 300 informers who keep them up to date on activities in the militant movements.

Tackwood, who was recruited as a police agent when he was arrested for car thievery, became involved in political cases in 1965 at the direction of the police.

Melvin (Cotton) Smith, Tackwood said, has been known to him as a fellow police informer. Smith has been the prosecution's chief witness in the current trial of the Los Angeles 13 arrested after the police attack on the Black Panther Party Headquarters here on Dec. 8, 1969. At the trial, Smith testified he was a disillusioned member of the Panthers who decided to turn state's evidence.

Tackwood told how he had also helped set up the police attack on the Black Muslim Temple here in 1965 and how he carried money and instructions from the police to US, a Black nationalist organisation.

He added that the police had given him "licence to steal" because of his informer activities. He said he brought instructions from the police to Ron Karenga, leader of US, to kill leaders of the Black Panthers Party in Los Angeles. Later, two members of US were convicted of killing three Panther leaders on the campus of UCLA.

Tackwood added that Karenga was a paid informer for the F.B.I. and other government agencies.

* * *

Even While Facing Death

Even while facing death, George Jackson wrote his famous book "Soledad Brother".

Prisoners around him helped him with bits of paper to write. They arranged to smuggle it out and reach it to friends outside. When it was published, it angered the imperialists and inspired the revolutionaries.

Then the tragedy took place. Jackson was shot by the prison guards.

Now Angela Davis is following the same revolutionary footsteps. She too wrote a book. It went out the same way as Jackson's. It will soon be published.

Even while facing death, they serve the Revolution from inside the prison.

BY ANGELA

GEORGE JACKSON—A MAN OF A SPECIAL BREED

[When she heard of the killing of George Jackson, US Black Panther leader, in San Quentin jail last week end Angela Davis, herself a prisoner, wrote this tribute to him and issued it from her cell in Marin County Jail.

She has been held there for months on a framed-up charge of buying the gun alleged to have been used by George Jackson's brother Jonathan in a courtroom shooting last August, in which Jonathan, two other prisoners and a judge were killed.

There are now fears for the safety of Angela, her fellow-prisoner Ruchell Magee and other US political prisoners, and the movement demanding their freedom is being stepped up.]

An enemy bullet has once more brought grief and sadness to Black people and to all who oppose racism and injustice and who love and fight for freedom.

On Saturday, August 21, a San Quentin guard's sniper bullet executed George Jackson and wiped out that last modicum of freedom with which he had persevered and resisted so fiercely for 11 years.

Though deprived so long of the freedom of movement enjoyed by his oppressors, even as he died George was far more free than they. Like he lived, he died resisting. A Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, George belongs to a very special breed of fallen Black leaders, for his struggle was the most perilous.

He was recognised as a leader of the movement which sought to deepen the political consciousness of Black and

Brown prisoners who constitute 30 to 40 per cent of California's prison population.

His impact on the community outside was and continues to be boundless. George's example of courage in the face of the spectre of summary execution; his insights honed in the torment of seven years of solitary confinement; his perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds, will continue to be a source of inspiration to all our sisters and brothers inside prison walls and outside.

His book, "Scledad Brother", a stirring chronicle of the development of the highest form of revolutionary fortitude and resistance, serves as a primer to capture brothers and sisters across the world.

Equally important, this volume, perhaps more than any other, has given impetus and shaped the direction of the growing support movement outside the prisons.

George, from behind seemingly impenetrable walls, has placed the issue of the prison struggle squarely on the agenda of the people's movement for revolutionary change.

His book reveals the indivisible nature of the struggle on the outside of the prison system with the one inside. Whether in prison or not, Black and Third World people are the victims and targets of a common system of oppression and exploitation. Only the methods used are different.

The prevailing conditions of race and class exploitation invariably result in the captivity of a disproportionate number of Black and Third World people.

Our brothers and sisters are usually locked up for crimes they did not commit, or for crimes against property, crimes for which white youths receive prosecutorial, judicial and penal leniency.

George himself was an 18-year-old man-child when he was sentenced to serve from one to life for a robbery involving 70 dollars. One to life, or 11 years enslavement and sudden death.

Through George's life and the lives of thousands of other brothers and sisters, the absolute necessity for extending the struggle of Black and Third World people into the prison system itself becomes unmistakably clear.

The legacy left us by George and his dead brother John

means that we must strengthen the mass movement which alone is capable of freeing all of our brothers and sisters in prisons.

We know that the road to freedom has always been stalked by death. George knew that the price of his intense revolutionary commitment was having to live each day fighting off potential death-blows.

He had repeatedly seen death used as a standard reprisal for Blacks who "stepped out of line." In January of 1970, he had seen his brother prisoners, Nolan, Miller and Edwards, warrantlessly and viciously murdered in the Soledad Prison yard.

Terrorism

In "Soledad Brother," George graphically told of the manner in which he had learned to thwart the many past attempts to murder him.

The dimensions of the task which lie ahead of us are clearer now, but the price of our new vision has been the death of two brilliant and brave revolutionaries, brothers in blood.

Associate-Warden Park promises us that the new wave of repression which has been unleashed within San Quentin will not halt with George's death. Rather, he has ushered in new terrorism by openly inviting guards to make a show of force and fully exhaust their vengeance on the prisoners themselves.

Efforts to squelch revolutionary prison activity will not stop with one murder Park tells us, but will continue until San Quentin is purged of all revolutionaries and every revolutionary thought.

The newspaper of George's party, the Black Panther Party, is hereafter forbidden within San Quentin's walls. "Old-fashioned prison methods", namely raw brutality, without its cosmetic dressings, is officially the new regime.

Brothers Ruchell Magee, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette are identified targets; others in the so-called Adjustment Centre who have taken sides are equally in danger. Our responsibility extends to all these brothers upon whom war

has been declared. The people must secure their safety, and ultimately their freedom.

Prison authorities seek only to cover up their own murderous crimes by attempting to initiate new frame-ups. These efforts must be swiftly and forcefully countered.

Deep Grief

The Jackson family must be saluted. Their grief is deep. In little more than a year two of their sons, George and Jonathan, were felled by fascist bullets. I express my love to Georgia and Robert Jackson, Penny, Frances and Delora.

For me, George's death has meant the loss of a comrade and revolutionary leader, but also the loss of an irretrievable love. This love is so agonisingly personal as to be indescribable. I can only say that in continuing to love him, I will try my best to express that love in the way he would have wanted by reaffirming my determination to fight for the cause George died defending.

With his example before me, my tears and grief are rage at the system responsible for his murder. He wrote his epitaph when he said:

"Hurl me into the next existence, the descent into hell won't turn me. I'll crawl back to dog his trail for ever. They won't defeat my revenge, never, I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undammed. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble."

TO ANGELA

—LETTER FROM GEORGE JACKSON

Here is what George Jackson wrote in one of his letters to Angela Davis:

“Do you know (of course you do) the secret police (CIA, etc.) go to great lengths to murder and consequently silence every effective Black person the moment he attempts to explain to the ghetto that our problems are historically and strategically tied to the problems of all colonial people.

“This means that they are watching you closely. I worry. If something happened to you I just wouldn’t understand.

“It’s no coincidence that Malcolm X and (Martin Luther) King died when they did. Malcolm X had just put it together (two and three). I seriously believe they know all along but were holding out and presenting the truth in such a way that it would affect the most people situationally—without getting them damaged by gunfire.

“You remember what was on his lips when he died. Vietnam and economics, political economy. The professional killers could have murdered him long before they did. They let Malcolm rage on Muslim nationalism for a number of years because they knew it was an empty ideal, but the second he got his feet on the ground, they murdered him.

“We die too easily. We forgive and forget too easily. Gentle and refined people, aren’t we? We’ll make good communists if someone deals with the fascists for us. That was a little bitter. Pay no attention to stuff like that. I have more faith in our resilience than is healthy for me.”

(From “Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson.”)

AITUC'S APPEAL TO INDIAN WORKERS

UNITE TO FREE ANGELA PRISONER OF U.S. RACISTS AND IMPERIALISTS

Angela Davis, Black Communist, brilliant Professor, dauntless fighter against racism and imperialism is in jail. She is charged with conspiracy to murder. But even those who have put her in jail know that this is a frame-up. The real charge is that Angela is fighting those whose hands are dyed with the blood of the valiant people of Vietnam, those who have murdered Malcolm X and other Black-leaders, those who seek to perpetuate the rule of tyranny over the U.S. Blacks, those who exploit and oppress the American working class and thwart all social progress.

Angela has been refused bail. Another young valiant Black leader Jackson has been brutally murdered while in jail. Every day that Angela continues to be behind bars endangers the life of this young woman.

Frame-ups and hangings have been the tradition of US imperialist rulers. They have used these methods to kill those who have fought against their brutal policies of class and race oppression. The road to the electric chair has been traversed by Sacco and Vanzetti; by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. That all of them were innocent of the charges framed against them, has been proved beyond any shadow of doubt. But only after they were executed.

This must not happen to Angela.

The star witness against Angela, ex-CIA informer, Tackwood, has already told the press and the public that Angela is innocent.

What is at stake is Angela's life. What is at stake is the fight of the Black people against racism. What is at stake is the U.S. people's fight against imperialism.

Every country that wishes to defend its freedom against neo-colonialism of U.S. imperialists must fight for the defence of Angela Davis—the defence of everyone's freedom.

Let the powerful voice of Indian workers unitedly demand from the U.S. Government: **F R E E A N G E L A !**

ANGELA WILL NOT HANG!

END RACIAL OPPRESSION!

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM!