Peace Bro.

All Power to the People.

I am writting this letter because I feel the need to reply to your General Report On Sectarian Opportunism Within the Black Underground And the Struggle For Consolidation".

Let me say from the out set that if you want consolidation you have a strange way of going about it. I have talked to you on a number of occasions and expressed the need for unification and my willingness to do whatever I can to help bring that about. But after reading this last so called report I really question if you want unity or if you want to destroy everything that exist that you can't control. I say this because the informatio that you wrote on page five paragraph one, is information that can only help the pigs in their effort to destroy any revolutionary group that would carry out such a high level of revolutionary action. For you to belittle that action by claiming that you know that the people who did it did it only to "soothe their conscience" and to "supply their above ground colleages with a focus for their opportunism around BLA-FOW's and secure underground political power," shows that your arrogance and your desire to lead is destroying your political acuteness.

Do you really know who did that action and what their long and short term programs and goals are? Did one of them come and report to you and tell you why they did this? Or did you get it from your own mind or someone else who had nothing to do with it?

But no matter whatever you think the action was a good political revolutionary act and the target was a good political, revolutionary target even if it wasn't you. Ask any revolutionary in the world, if there's any you respect, and I think they would tell you the same.

I think it is time you redefine your priorities. *\bar{x} kkkk In the last year or so you have consentrated on exposing what you call opportunism so much that you've become blinded to the Black masses real priorities. I think whatever immediate problems and struggle we have, we must not loose sight of what our overall struggle is about. We must not divorce ourselves from the needs of the masses.

Every thing I've heard from you in the last year or so about organizing people, was programs to organize around Pow's and P.P. Being that you are a P.P. of domestic war it appears that you are comming from a personal point of view. But whether you're comming from a personal point of view. or not I think it's wrong. I think, it is a proven fact that the best way to organize people is around their own problems.

On page three of your so called report you speak of the push for consolidation by certain forces that had been captured. I think that consolidation was then and is now very much needed. But that consolidation was then and still has to be now voluntary. At the same time that you and whatever forces in the camps you was dealing with was trying to donsolidate, there was forces underground doing the same thing independent of you. Judging by the history of the different forces it appears that those forces underground had a little more sucess in their efforts. These forces was not consulted by anyone in the camps on their opinion of what kind of structure was needed at that time or no other time. When a dialogue was finally opened with your people it was called for by underground forces that had been building for years. The first meeting went nowhere because of the arrogant insistence of the so called C.C. Coordinating Committee demanding that all forces come under their leadership because they had been given a mandate from your united forces in the camps. These underground forces was not willing to take leadership from c.c., first because they didn't see them out in front of the military action where military leaders belong and secondly they disagreed with the organizational structure that c.c. presented them. After talking to a few people in the camps that they were in touch with the u.g. forces held another meeting. There was four independent formationa involved in these meetings. All agreed to work together were they could but none wanted to, or did come under c.c. leadership. In fact it became obvious that all was doing more real work than c.c.. In the next couple of years these formations aided each other in a number of different ways.

I relate this information to you to point out that it wasn't the u.g. forces or as you choose to call them-sss, that wanted and tryed to take control of existing forces but you through c.c. who wanted and tryed to take control. And since those forces would not except your leadership it now seems that they must except your slanderous wrath. It is time that you realize that the troops do and will choose their leadership and not vise versa, and you and no one else can do anything to prevent that. It is revolutionary action that sets the criteria for leadership and not revolutionary retoric. It is very hard to put forth that rev. action on a consistent level from behind bars. I think what we should try to do is suggest the proper kind of organizational structure that is needed to do the kind of work that is needed today. That structure will have to be based on todays political, social, military conditions. We should put forward the reasons why we think our particular structure is needed today and let the different formations that exist choose if they want to use that or those structures for themselves. If they ask for more leadership we should try to the best of our ability to give it. But if they don't want texpersure to organize themselves like some of us might think they should and decide to organize into another type of structure we should respect that and help them anyway we can. Those of us that are working in existing formations must show through our social practice the method of resistence our people must take today. The criteria of truth is in practice. We must be willinng to criticize ourselves as quickly as we criticize our comrades, and except criticism as well as we expect others to except it from us.

In the last pragraph of page three you say that in 1976 "brothers who had been recruited in prison began infiltration into the street."

You go on to say that "having little concrete support from the established movement, they quickly found themselves back in prison or effectively played out of position." Going on to page four you state "key to this entire process of alienation and isolation was the sss clique." (What do you mean by clique?) Are you here suggesting that the so called sss was down with recruiting these comrades in the prisons? Or are you perhaps trying to say that those who recruited them in the prisons had also recruited sss and given sss the responsibility of dealing with these new recruits? The truth of the matter is that the responsibility for dealing with these new recruits belongs to who recruited them.

Instead of slandering other comrades for not dealing with your responsibility you should be criticizing yourself for the lack of organizational predictability.

In the mid. 1970's the u.g. forces I know of was in a constant state of trying to build organizational predictability. None that I know of had the ability to take, maintain and direct very many recruits. But there was a couple of formations that did take a few recruits from different camps and worked them into their formations. Amon those formations was some of the same people you are probabley talking about when you say sss.

In the third paragraph of page four you state that the white radicals who supported the sss "jumped back and forth between the sss and those comrades committed to consolidation." I think what you call jumping back and forth was a sincere attempt to try to support all the Black and Third world revolutionary g roups that their limited resources would allow them. They did this from their own committment and because of the encouragement for them to support third world revolutionary struggle by those comrades these whites took their direction and discipline from. Again probabley some of the same people you call sss. I think these so called white radicals have proven themselves to be among some of the most principle, hard working, revolutionary white people in this country. Like all of us they have definately made some mistakes, but their history shows that they are among the vanguard of the white left in this country. Especially when it comes to active support of third world revolutionary groups in general and Black revolutionary groups in particular.

Moving on to page five again, you state that ass carried out numerous expropriations endeavors accumulating hundreds of thousands of dollars. And that despite their substantial funds the ass still could not legitimately claim BLA leadership. Again I would ask, how do you know how much money these comrades made and how this money was spent. Did you receive a report? When did you ever hear of a call by these u.g. forces to anyone, for them to come up under the u.g. forces leadership? Never! They worked with many other formations and never demanded, asked or suggested in anyway that other formations come under their leadership. Again I say the only

group I know that was demanding, asking, and suggesting that anyone or everyone take leadership from them was c.c. You say or suggest that someone wants someone else to come under their leadership so many times in your so called report that its clear that it is a big part of whats on your mind.

Personally I don't care who leads what formation as long as it benefits the Black masses. Black people must have land and independence and political self-determination. To bring this about we must have united formation and cooperation on the above political level and the underground military level. This do not mean that all political formations must come under one structure and leadership. It means that formations that can and want to, should consolidate their forces and resources. And that all revolutionary Black formations should agree to support and work for certain goals and programs such as 'self-determination for Black people, land and independence, support for pow's & p.p./etc.. Our biggest need today is the same as it was 100 years ago and that is UNITY. It is my sincere desire that this letter help bring about unity among the people in general and our armed forces in particular.

On page six paragraph two you state that sss was still arrogant and sectarian in their approach for putting out the Nov. 5, 1981 communique in the name of BLA. I think that some of the people in that formation must have thought they had a right to fight under the BLA banner given their history and the people and actions they had a nakkakengikatemengikatepangkapangkakenakengikankakenakenakenakenaken beenkaupartkefrakkeningektherknermengkferknetngkrenekergsetisek **Kambunnümi**ken kanakanakan kanakan ka been a part of. Perhaps they were wrong for using the name BLA. If BLA is a private organization lead and controled by you and whoever is down with you then I agree that they was wrong for using your organization name. But everyone don't look a the Black Liberation Army as being your private organization. Different people obviously have different concepts of what BLA is. I also agree that there can't be two BLA's. So if there is questions about who and what BLA is, we should move on ansering them, and get on with the armed struggle.

You state in the last paragraph of page six that "the failure to date of the sss to turn bad events around (or at least attempt to) is unpardonable. Tactical failure to attack the enemy at a vulnerable point after events in Nyack, is incorrect." I think the main reason for this failure has been the inability to organize a broad sector of people to counter the pigs attacks. They have been able to use the news media and the Grand Jury with very little opposition because of our lack of unity. And the biggest disunifing factor among us I think has been you. You have consistantly attacked everyone who has tried to organize support around the Nyack case. As for the Nov.5, communique, I too had some problems with it. But the method you used to try to deal with the problems has caused more disunity rather than unity. I think if comrades would try to communicate more privately with one another and stop all these open letter attacks we could get our heads together and put forth a unified front.

So again, I want to add my voice to the call for principle unity.

And I call upon you and all revolutionarys to come together and build
a united revolutionary front to combat the fascism of this governments existing state apparatus.

With principal Struggle
We will Win.
All Power to the People
Seise the Land......

BPP Archival Collection of Frankye Adams Johnson