Open Letter to the Ranks of the Black Panther Party on the Oakland Elections

Comrades:

In the wake of the Nixon landslide and the rise of big business, the bourgeoius is attempting to stabilize finance capital at the expense of the working masses and their movements throughout the country. Internationally, the welfare line grows; already painfully inadequate child care, educational and medical facilities are cut back even further; food prices soar; and the extreme fragility of the economic boom is underlined by the further devaluation of the dollar, 1973 will see considerable curtailment of the working people’s salaries as part of the attempt to keep the bourgeois order. In the U.S. at a time when the union ranks have grown increasingly fecund, with the sellout policies of the labor bureaucracy. Because of the pervasive racism of capitalist society, all of this comes down hardest on the black proletariat and other specially oppressed minorities.

The working people here and abroad are waging a нароодное resistance to the conditions, but what is lacking in a tested revolutionary leadership, a program that will attack the core of the bourgeois system, the perpetrators of exploitation—and the establishment of a socialist society.

At this period of the Black Panther Party—
is running Bobby Seale for Mayor and Elaine Brown for City Council of the city of Oakland. We have followed your press and public statements as well as attended the campaign rallies. How can Bobby Seale in order to determine our stand on this campaign. As Marxsists, we are interested to know what benefit should Seale win this election? What look at the program that Seale and Brown are running on, and consider the comparison with the program and practices of your party. A minimum condition for any support is that the party must represent the people, the working masses, in a political action, not some variation of bourgeois politics that may have support, but which is ultimately self-defeating.

Looking directly at your program—
the "middle-class," Eugenics-like politics of the Peace and Freedom Party whose ticket you need to gain ballot status. We pointed out that the PFP was attempting to use the militant image of the Panthers to gain root of petty-bourgeois and a working-class base.

If you look at the city of Oakland, 1968 you opposed the election of black Democrat Willie Brown, pointing out that he did not represent the interest of oppressed blacks, and ran your own candidate, Kathleen Cleaver, for his seat in the California State Assembly. But only four years later, in the recall election of 1972, the same parry urged the Oakland "black community" to vote for the "People’s Candidates" Shirley Chisholm and Ron Dellums. And now in the current campaign your call on the KISA start with, "Hey, I’m Bobby Seale, a Democrat..." and end with "vote for Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, two Democrats, people’s candidates." How is it that your party, which once claimed to seek a revolution in the social formation of society, can now support candidates who are members of the Democratic Party—the party of war, racism and repression—

We respect the courage of the Panther militants who embraced a mistaken adventurerist program for their desire to fight against oppression. And they do credit to the PFP to their position that the Panther the hustlers who sought nothing but their own lucrative careers and to the hustlers who sought nothing but their own lucrative careers and to the party you called for opposition to the Republicans and Democrats. It was largely because of the position that the Black Panthers launched in California and in the Jewish community. At the same time we were extremely critical of the middle-class, Eugenics-like politics of the Peace and Freedom Party whose ticket you need to gain ballot status. We pointed out that the PFP was attempting to use the militant image of the Panthers to gain root of petty-bourgeois and a working-class base. But to call for full employment with both decent wages and the Unorganized, Jobs for All, 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay, Expropriation of Bobbys under Workers Control, For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, forward to a new working class movement, lead to union busting. You seek to eliminate unemployment by demanding $10 an hour of all businesses who have contracts with the city of Oakland be unemployed Oakland. Such a demand will simply lead to deals with big business and government at the expense of organized labor. Taking jobs away from the union destroys their bargaining power and weakens the position of the working class, including the unemployed. No matter how reactionary their leadership, the trade unionists represent the first step of the working class strategy, and the fairest and most impotent at the hands of their employers.

The expression of the fundamental nationalism of the PFP you call for the differential hiring of blacks. This will only serve to intensify racial antagonisms, antagonisms which must be combated in order to move the working class to make a strong, unified struggle against the capitalists. Intensification of racial antagonisms within the working class not only prolongs capitalism by bungling the class in duality and reactionary ideology, but also differentially endangers those who have the least social power to defend themselves. Demands like "20 for 40" or new wage programs creating more jobs, instead of gaining employment for blacks at the expense of other workers.

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In a recent campaign speech at Laney College Seale advocated the creation of a black police force in the city of Oakland. Changing the color of the police does not change its function—it is merely another pressure support for the maintenance of the capitalist system, and the extension of petty-bourgeois racism and imperialism at the hands of their employers.

The Black Panther Party was, the only political party in the 1960’s which: established the program of the People’s Community Party, the program of the People’s Community Party established the program of the People’s Community Party, the program of the People’s Community Party established the program of the People’s Community Party.

For your program for the working class—

But, you object, the Ten Point Program is in the interest of black and white working people. Yes, that is true. The point is Oakland. You call for full employment, decent hours, health care, an end to the murder of black people. Certainly, no Marxist could oppose such reforms. The measure that will relieve, even if only in a small way, the problems of the oppressed and exploited black masses.

But to call for full employment with both decent wages and the Unorganized, Jobs for All, 30 Hours Work for 40 Hours Pay, Expropriation of Bobbys under Workers Control, For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, forward to a new working class movement, lead to union busting. You seek to eliminate unemployment by demanding $10 an hour of all businesses who have contracts with the city of Oakland be unemployed Oakland. Such a demand will simply lead to deals with big business and government at the expense of organized labor. Taking jobs away from the union destroys their bargaining power and weakens the position of the working class, including the unemployed. No matter how reactionary their leadership, the trade unionists represent the first step of the working class strategy, and the fairest and most impotent at the hands of their employers.

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composition, the Spartacist League was able to predict before the election exactly what would happen. It is with the help of your reports at your campait on.

In another respect, too, there are two classes struggling for power—the bourgeoisie seeking to maintain its power, and the proletariat to rid itself of its oppressors. There are only two sides to the class line. If a party’s program does not base itself on the independent mobilization of the workers in their class interest then it is in fact, regardless of intentions, a bourgeois program. Seale’s plan is to clash against funds from the Model Cities program, OEO, etc., into the Panther program. One obvious problem is that Nixon has just cut out the majority of these funds. It is not a question of corruption or inefficiency in government, although both exist chronically under capitalism. The capital system depends on its survival on a large “reserve army of labor”—the gangs of unemployed, the demands of its built-in “booms” and “crises” and to hold the wages of all workers down. The needs of the working class can not be met only by eliminating the need for government control and control of the means of production, l.c., socialism.

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peration to which seamen have been reduced.

Ever sensitive to his own self-interest, Curran, faced with a decline in his own political fortunes, has at various times used union meetings, conferences, and speeches to burnish the image of the union and bolster his own sagging campaign, and in countless leaflets, the first present reality s m ng a pony pre ense fund, have been accepted as permanent, began to serve as voting cutbacks' necessity to the $15 million pension plan which the bureau-.

The more important point is that the capitalist government into union to the ruling class. In contrast, working class is fighting for the taxes of the American people, the working class, or its modifications, are eliminated by speed-up and other techniques which are used in the pursuit of increasing profits is to reduce real wages and living standards of seamen and of the working class as a whole.

MSC's Principled Program

In contrast, the program of the Mili-

tarily Solidarity Caucus is based on the struggle for seamen's needs. The MSc is for the working class as a whole, but in the interest of the capitalist class, a key means of increasing profits is to reduce real wages and living standards of seamen, and to strip away (or even add to) the common needs of all workers, and that mere nationalization of the shipping companies' expenses (a typical instance of the American maritime workers' enterprise for the poors'), even that by bourgeois standards their capitalist class is not acceptable to the employers and their government but rather are necessary to bolster his own sagging campaign, and in countless leaflets, the first present reality s m ng a pony pre ense fund, have been accepted as permanent, began to serve as voting cutbacks' necessity to the $15 million pension plan which the bureau-.

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