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WORKSHOP REPORTS

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NATIONAL MINORITIES:

1. We feel that a People's Constitution should have guaranteed self-determination for all oppressed national minorities, with the provision that no group may oppress another group or individual oppress another individual.
2. It is the right of all oppressed national minorities to integrate, segregate, amalgamate, confederate, separate, repatriate, form a republic, or do whatever they want to do.
3. Self-determination includes the right to self-defense, repatriations, local control of community institutions; and all ethnic groups will be guaranteed a place in proportion to their numbers in the country at the administrative level and at the workers level.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR WOMEN:

1. We recognize women's rights to be free. As women, our struggle is against a racist, fascist, capitalist society. Chauvinism and passivity are symptoms of a decaying society. We demand equal status in a socialist system.
2. We call for the end to the sexism which forces women into unrewarding jobs and the racism that insures that third world women will get the worst work of all.
3. We call for the guaranteed full non-exploitative employment and guaranteed annual income; sharing of all necessary work, non-creative tasks, and the maximum utilization of technology to eliminate these tasks.
4. Guaranteed paid maternity leave for all women.
5. Whereas women have been mis-educated, under-educated; equal education for all men and women, with an end to the tracking system for women, teaching knowledge of our history and our bodies, which has been denied us.
6. All women guaranteed technological and professional training, with compensatory programs in the beginning.
7. The family has been used as an economic tool or instrument...we will not relate to the private ownership of people under capitalism.
8. We encourage and support the growth of communal households and communal relationships, socialization of housework and child care, with the sharing of all work by men and women.
9. Women must have the right to decide if and when to have children. There is no such thing as an illegitimate child.
10. Free and safe birth control; abortion on demand; no forced sterilization, which is now used as genocide against third world sisters and against poor people.
11. It is our duty to defend all oppressed peoples. Women have the right to bear arms and women should be fully trained and educated in the art of self-defense of the people of the nation. We are dedicated to the salvation of all humanity.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR STREET PEOPLE:

1. Police Brutality: Organized self-defense groups; community control of police and military; orientation of gangs against reactionary violence; free legal aid for the people.
2. Education: All people are to be provided with the education they need--non-competitive, community controlled education that serves the people.
3. Dope: Hard drugs are counter-revolutionary, sapping the strength of the people in their struggle. The seller must be educated or eradicated from the community by any means necessary. Users must be helped by the people to rid themselves of addiction through community rehabilitation centers. Halucogenic drugs are instrumental in developing revolutionary consciousness of the people; however, after this revolutionary consciousness is achieved, these drugs may become a burden. No revolutionary action should be attempted while under the influence of any drugs. We urge that these drugs shall not be illegal; no law against their use.



4. Crime: Immediate end of all crimes of dope pushing, prostitution, theft, etc. committed against the people by organized crime and those who have been pushed out of the power structure and those lackeys who work hand in hand with the power structure who refuse to deal with these problems. Investigative people's councils; confiscation of all property owned by organized crime.
5. Law: Private property is theft. Streets, parks, etc. must be liberated; we will seize the land we need by any means necessary. No curfew or permit laws.

#### THE FAMILY AND THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN:

Children are not possessions and are not to be treated as such. They are entitled to the broadest possible education and should be brought up to have the greatest trust. The responsibility for allowing children to develop to be full human beings rests with all of us. Children can be our greatest teachers because they naturally resist oppression. Children are people--all power to the people!

#### SEXUAL SELF-DETERMINATION:

Statement of the Male Homosexual Workshop: The revolution will not be complete until all men are free to express their love for one another sexually. We affirm the sexuality of our love. The social institution which prevents us all from expressing our total revolutionary love, we define as sexism. Sexism is a belief or practice that the sex or sexual orientation of human beings gives to some the right to certain privileges, powers or roles, while denying to others their full potential. Within the context of our society, sexism is primarily manifested through male supremacy and heterosexual chauvinism. Since in the short run sexism benefits certain persons or groups, in the long run it cannot serve all the people, and prevents the forming of complete social consciousness among straight men. Sexism is irrational, unjust and counter-revolutionary. Sexism prevents the revolutionary solidarity of the people. We demand that the struggle against sexism be acknowledged as an essential part of the revolutionary struggle. We demand that all revolutionaries deal individually and collectively with their own sexism. We recognize as a vanguard revolutionary action the Huey P. Newton statement on Gay Liberation. We recognize the Black Panther Party as being the vanguard of the people's revolution in Amerikkka. No revolution without us; an army of lovers cannot lose!

#### Demands:

1. The right to be gay anytime, anyplace.
2. The right to free physiological change and modification of sex upon demand.
3. The right of free dress and adornment.
4. That all modes of human sexual self-expression deserve protection of the law and social sanction.
5. Every child's right to develop in a non-sexist, non-possessive atmosphere, which is the responsibility of all people to create.
6. That a free educational system present the entire range of human sexuality, without advocating any one form or style; that sex roles and sex-determined skills not be fostered by the schools.
7. That language be modified so that no gender take priority.
8. The judicial system be run by the people through people's courts; that all people be tried by members of their peer group.
9. That gays be represented in all governmental and community institutions.
10. That organized religions be condemned for aiding in the genocide of gay people, and enjoined from teaching hatred and superstition.
11. That psychiatry and psychology be enjoined from advocating a preference for any form of sexuality and the enforcement of that preference by shock treatment, brainwashing, imprisonment, etc.
12. The abolition of the nuclear family, because it perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality.



13. The immediate release of and reparations for gay and other political prisoners from prisons and mental institutions; the support by gay political prisoners of all other political prisoners.
  14. That gays determine the destiny of their own communities.
  15. That all people share equally the labor and products of society, regardless of sex or sexual orientation.
  16. That technology be used to liberate all peoples of the world from drudgery.
  17. The full participation of gays in the people's revolutionary army.
  18. Finally, the end of domination of one person by another.
- Gay power to gay people! All power to the people! Seize the time!

CONTROL AND USE OF THE MILITARY:

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of people's militia on a voluntary basis of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since it has been used to oppress people in the U.S. and abroad.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. The government cannot send troops, etc. to any nation for military or defense purposes; no people's militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
5. No more than 10% of the national budget shall be used for military or defense purposes.
6. No person shall serve full time in the military.
7. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve.
8. No draft.
9. Government and military defined as one in the same and not as separate entities in the power structure.
10. The people shall have the right to bear arms; no person shall be denied this right except through due process of law.
11. The police force shall be a rotating voluntary body from a list of community members, administered by a control board.
12. There shall not be set up or permitted to exist a secret body of police; no un-uniformed police.
13. Any citizen can bring charges against police before the community control board.
14. Community police councils may exchange information with each other.
15. The purpose of the community police force shall be to serve and protect the community.
16. Any member of the control board can be removed by direct vote of the people.

CONTROL AND USE OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION:

1. We envision a time when we control the means of production through local and national workers councils.
2. Equal representation and control to meet the needs of the people, because we recognize that we must serve the needs of the people and not the few.
3. It is not for us to decide the needs of the people; the people are capable of defining their own needs.
4. Inventory of all production to determine what is socially useful and that which is useless.
5. Survival is a human right: free health care, day care, food, housing, clothing, and education.
6. We cannot assume that all workers are able now to function socialistically; workers' councils must stress education so that we have a true workers' power in our country.
7. Workers will not be fired, but educated to become useful members of society.
8. National minorities must be guaranteed the rights of proportional representation.
9. Full employment; it is the right and duty of everyone to work for the collective good.



10. Leaders must engage in factory or other similar work.
11. Special compensation for "shit work."
12. Workers have the right to shut down or change any operation they feel is unsafe.
13. Workers must be armed and organized to protect their social gains.

#### CONTROL AND USE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM:

1. Education should serve the people and should expose the true nature of the society; with the power of education in the hands of the people.
2. Liberation schools for pre-school children.
3. Community elected school officials, with the power to hire and fire officials belonging to the community control board.
4. Student government controlled by the students, who will decide the curriculum and establish a new grading system.
5. No guards in school.

#### THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST:

Artists must be able to pick up the gun as well as the brush. All people are born with a creative potential and the society must guarantee that every person must be able to develop and express that potential. Art is the creative expression of the people's culture; we recognize the people's rights to their forms of expression. Art should be related to the interests, needs and experiences of the people.

#### CONTROL AND USE OF THE LEGAL SYSTEM:

1. The present judicial system in the U.S. is nothing more than an instrument and tool of the ruling class. The laws themselves and the procedural aspects cater to the values and morals of the ruling class.
2. We call for the Revolutionary People's Tribunal, but now people must use existing system to have trials to illustrate the true nature of this corrupt legal system before the people.
3. The courts should serve the people and in this racist society that can only be done by a jury of one's peers; understanding of the law is a matter of interpretation reflecting one's background...
4. We must talk of transforming the whole society; we must define what is criminal.
5. When we state the principles of the foundations by which the will of the people is insured, we must talk first of the crime of exploitation of man by man and the legal system which endorses and upholds it.
6. All natural resources of the earth belong to man, and any exploitation of man's labor and resources is an attack upon man's survival and is a crime. Any act that denies human beings the right to exist are crimes against the people.
7. We must have a legal system that insures the abolishment of all forms of exploitation.
8. All humanity has a right to live, a right to share in the wealth. As human beings, they are entitled to work; to deny work is to deny life.
9. We recognize the armed body of the state--the fascist police force--is the perpetrator of crime and criminal acts. The function of the police and armed force of the police is criminal by nature.
10. The police should come from the community in which they live and there should be no distinction between people and police because of their function. No judge, no policeman, should serve more than one year without full review by the people.
11. All courts shall be people's courts, and all decisions made by them should be implemented in a collective manner by the people.

#### RIGHTS OF OPPRESSED AND POLITICAL PRISONERS:

1. Because of the genocidal acts of this fascist government, oppressed people have the right to defend themselves by any means necessary.



2. All prisoners must be returned to their communities for retrial by revolutionary people's courts. Pending that return, all prisoners have the right to reasonable bail.
3. All charges shall be dropped against the people's leaders.
4. All political prisoners are prisoners of war...

#### CONTROL AND USE OF THE LAND:

1. Control of the land and all natural resources shall be vested in the people.
2. Preservation and restoration of the essential resources.
3. Land use for man's physical and social needs.
4. Eliminate avaricious exploitation, private ownership and control of the land.
5. Organically grown foods with minimum use of chemicals and insecticides.
6. New sources of energy (solar, etc.)
7. Revolution is the only solution to pollution.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER :

1. All political boundaries (states, counties, etc.) will be abolished and replaced by an indeterminate number of self-governing communities from which power will flow upward.
2. All offices shall be elective and the people's rights of recall shall be sacred.
3. All special privileges are forbidden; leaders will receive no special prerogatives.
4. No exploitation or domination of one group by another.
5. People will have unrestricted access to the media.
6. People will police and defend themselves: community control of police and the military.
7. These forms are seen as intermediate arrangements leading towards a stateless society.

#### INTERNATIONALISM/RELATIONS WITH LIBERATION STRUGGLES AROUND THE WORLD:

(Began with statement of solidarity with specific liberation struggles)

1. The U.S. is an international federation of bandits, and we denounce its rights to nationhood.
2. We support the liberation struggles throughout the world and oppose all reactionary struggles.
3. Guaranteed free travel and communication.
4. Coordination of use of the world's resources by world's people. The wealth of this country shall be available as reparations. We will not allow this country going into other countries and utilizing their wealth.
5. Express solidarity with the self-determination of women; do away with all remnants of male chauvinism once and for all.
6. We declare a just people's war against capitalism and will remain in that state until capitalism is abolished from the face of the earth.
7. We declare NATO, SEATO and all lackeys of U.S. imperialism null and void.
8. All foreign aid administered by international revolutionary people's council.
9. End to genocide nationally and internationally.

#### RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION/NEW HUMANISM:

1. Whereas in America the organized church has been used by the civil government and capitalist forces as an instrument of oppression and exploitation, we call for ...the re-education of ministers and preachers to act as revolutionaries and make their services and sermons applicable to the social atmosphere.
2. People to become the instruments of their own expression, dreams, hopes and energies; to recognize each individual's energy potential.
3. Teachings of true revolutionaries such as Jesus Christ, Malcolm X, etc. to be used for the struggle for revolutionary change in the churches.



4. People must bring their spiritual forces to bear in the struggle; people are a spiritual army.
5. We cannot talk about the redistribution of Rockefeller's wealth if we are hoarding our own.
6. Everybody's not a brother or a sister; only those people who have committed themselves to these principles in practice.
7. We see these principles as our ultimate goal and must see brute force as a means to attain and defend these principles, not a means to itself.

#### DRUGS:

1. The drug problem will never be eradicated until after the socialist revolution.
2. Rehabilitation with the goal of transforming the junky from a death creature to a revolutionary.
3. Programs must be lead by people in the communities.
4. Revolutionary justice will be used to deal with heroin profiteers.
5. Mind-expanding drugs must be judged on social practice. Effect will have to be determined through the course of the struggle.

#### HEALTH:

Health care is a right, not a privilege. We say that comprehensive medical care should not be sold as a commodity by a class of exploiters interested in profit only. We recognize this profit motive is the outgrowth of a capitalist system which thrives on exploitation of people and divides them along racist, sexist and class lines. Our solution is to make all aspects of health care meet the needs of all people through prevention, education and community control of health services.

1. Prevention (health check-ups); Nutrition education; maternal and child care to put an end to: genocide, experimentation in the hospitals of oppressed people and in the public school system as a so-called mental health program, exploitation of children's behavior (children are given tranquillizers and put in a category as threats to the capitalist system; senior citizens services; regular examinations; better detection facilities; community investigative medical teams.
2. Education: health education of the masses; training and retraining of present health workers; ending professionalism; opening admissions to all who want medical training.
3. Community Control: Right of self-determination to have children; right to adequate economic means; community boards should run all medical institutions.
4. Mental Health: We consider health to include both physical and mental well-being. We recognize that much of the mental illness in our society is due to the oppression from the capitalist system, where psychiatry is used as a tool of fascism. It has also been used against homosexuals.
5. We are opposed to the medical industrial complex of medicine. We believe in socialized medicine. Inherent in this concept is the prevention and free comprehensive community-controlled medicine. The only way to socialize medicine is through revolution.

\* These notes from the workshops held at the Plenary Session of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention are not guaranteed to be 100% accurate, having been transcribed from shorthand notes taken at the plenary session. You will also note that many of the demands contradict each other or are duplicated by several workshops. These contradictions and questions will be struggled over on November 4 at the Convention itself. You will also note that some of the demands refer to the new society we envision, while others refer to tactics and strategies to make the revolution. Refer to current issues of the Black Panther Party newspaper for more complete information.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! DEATH TO THE FASCIST PIGS! SEIZE THE TIME!