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# CONSTITUTION

## ELDRIDGE CLEAVER MINISTER OF INFORMATION BLACK PANTHER PARTY U.S.A.

At this time the struggle of our people has reached classic proportions and we are going to have to deal with this in classic terms. Our struggle has deepened until the issues that control the society are the everyday issues of Black people. We've finally launched the spearhead of our attack into the very system of oppression itself. We challenge the entire system of oppression in Babylon and we've got it on a level now where it can be dealt with. There is no more hide-an-go-seek. The Black Panther Party has put the struggle of our people on a far-reel level where there ain't no place for the oppressor to hide, because we confront the oppressor with Revolution. We confront the oppressor with the negation of everything about him, his entire system. Our freedom can only be based upon the negation of the system of oppression. And since our struggle is now on that level, we must deal with it in those terms.

What we need, at this time, is an over-all framework and structure to our struggle so that everybody can see how we can move.

The Black Panther Party has totally and unequivocally indicated the system of oppression in Babylon, and we've proposed a method for dealing with the system; and we must also begin to articulate a rational and positive alternative to the system. It is not enough just to say that we're going to have Socialism, or that we're going to change this decadent Capitalist system. We must also point out that we want Socialism and how we go about getting it. And we must be able to deal with the structure of society and the instruments that hold that structure together. And at the bottom of the structure of oppression in Babylon is the American Constitution.

The U.S. Constitution is the battlefield on which the struggle of our people for their liberation is taking place. The Supreme Court interprets the law of the land according to the Constitution. The Constitution is the ultimate source of authority, the ultimate repository of the collective sovereignty of the people. It is the place where the collective sovereignty of the people has been gathered together. And the Constitution is supposed to represent a just and equitable organization of our collective sovereignty in a form that will guarantee us a good life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And we have not received this. So our challenge is a constitutional challenge. We challenge the Constitution of the United States of America. And we're saying that there's something wrong in Babylon, and the form of its organization is based upon the U.S. Constitution, and we must change this form of the system, and we must change the Constitution.

I anticipate the same type of reaction from a lot of napes that we got from our call for a United Front Against Fascism. But by the backsliding that these people do, they only guarantee and they only prove the Black Panther

Party fight once again—they guarantee that the United Front Against Fascism will be erected in the streets, by the people, with arms in their hands. Because they made it impossible for any other form of United Front Against Fascism to come about. And they will always do this, and they will do this with our call for a REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, to be convened by the people, and pigs have no say.

I think that we can do a little research on American history and check out the Constitutional Conventions that have been held in the past, after the liberation of the colony from British Imperialism. And the way that power has been apportioned in Babylon, I've been thinking. We can attack the Great Compromise, which structured the American Congress and created the Senate and the House. This was supposed to balance off those states with large populations against those states that had small populations so that each state was given two senators and all the other power was apportioned out on a numerical basis, according to the population. So many people meriting one representative in Congress. This is one of those so-called checks and balances that they talk so much about that keep Black people in check while White people balance off their power against us, and exploit us, murder us, and deny us our life and our humanity. This is one of those checks and balances. And this is really the trick bag in American history. They like to call it the genius of the American System because it provides them with an instrument of rule. This is why they say that democracy in America has been perfected under the American form of electoral system.

And if you notice, the historic nature of the U.S. Senate, this is the instrument through which the ruling class guarantees its power and guarantees its control of the American government. Our oppressors have been Senators. Senator Johnson, Senator Kennedy, Senator Eastland, Senator Strom Thurmond, Senator Talmage, Senator Stennis, Senator Humphrey, Senator Knowland, Senator Goldwater, Senator Brooks. These are the higher echelon of the Democratic Politicians. These are the Watchdogs of Babylon, the Guardians of Babylon. These pigs. And they're different form of target than the more numerous populated House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives is more representative than the Senate, and it doesn't represent us.

I say that we challenge the structure of the U.S. Government and we propose to change the structure of this government by holding another Constitutional Convention so that we can all be represented. Black people can pick their own representatives. Where young people, who are the majority in Babylon, can have some form of representation guaranteed, instead of all these old decrepit

witches deciding our destiny. And we know that these pigs will not give us a Constitutional Convention. So that the struggle for the Constitutional Convention becomes part and parcel of our struggle for liberation. In fact, it becomes synonymous with our struggle for liberation because you can't have one without the other. We have a right to a Constitutional Convention when the people call for one. The people of Babylon have become alienated from the atrocious, oppressive government that's in the hands of a vicious, exploitative ruling class.

The ruling class will not allow it, but we have a right to a Constitutional Convention and we will fight for our rights.

So we call for a REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION. This is actually the implementation of Point No. 10 of the Black Panther Party's Platform and Program. In Point No. 10 we state that we call for a U.N. Supervised Plebiscite to be held amongst Black People so that we can go on record determining our own destiny. And we stated that this is our major political goal.

Now it's very clear that we have a position on the \*CC, on a \*RPPC, and what we're saying is that we are either going to have our full freedom and liberation within the structure that succeeds Babylon, or we want out of it. We're not going to accept less than our full freedom and liberation and remain inside of it peacefully. So either we're going to change Babylon, restructure it along humanistic lines, or we implement that portion of Point No. 10 that relates to moving on the international level—the Black Plebiscite.

We're speaking about the form that our struggle must take and the direction that we move in, like a target to aim at. Because we have to liberate ourselves from this offensive power structure. We have to wage a People's War against the oppressive system and its mercenaries, and we will do this, and we will be victorious, and we will have a \*CC, a \*RPPC. But we don't wait until after the victory takes place before we start thinking and talking about how we move, what we will do. Because it is all part of the process of getting there—knowing where you're going.

We're opening up the hidden history, opening up Babylon to a full examination. We've already diagnosed it as a fatal cancer called Capitalism, Fascism, and Imperialism. It will all become much clearer when we start talking about changing the documents and the structure of the mechanism and the documents that control.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

\*CC equals Constitutional Convention  
\*RPPC equals Revolutionary People's Constitutional

# MESSAGE TO

Delivered On The  
Of The Emancip  
At Washington, D.C.  
World Racism, And In  
BY THE BLACK

As oppressed people held captive within the confines of the Fascist-Imperialist United States of America, we Black Americans take a dim view of the position that we, as a people, find ourselves in at the beginning of the 7th decade of the Twentieth Century.

We find ourselves in a very dangerous world-situation. White America has always adhered to a very racist attitude in its policy towards people who have color. This has been true in the past and it is true today. We see very clearly that whereas White America has escalated its policy of repression and containment of Black people inside the United States itself, on a world scale, the United States is playing the leading role in organizing the White race against the people of the world who have a color. Resolving contradictions between White Protestants and White Catholics, between White Christians and White Jews, between White Capitalists and White Communists, between White Eastern Europeans and White Western Europeans, between White Archo-Colonialists and White Neo-Colonialists, wherever we look, the picture is one and the same. White racist America, which domestically has adopted the policy of open fascism in order to put down the uprisings of oppressed people of color and those few Whites who take a stand against the grizzly reality of the

by President Abraham Lincoln of THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION during the Civil War, officially dated January 1, 1863. The end result of the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION was supposed to be the freedom and liberation of Black people from the cruel shackles of chattel slavery. And yet, 100 and 7 years later, today, Black people still are not free. Where is that freedom supposedly granted to our people by THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION and guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the United States?

Is it in the many "Civil Rights Bills" that have been passed to try to hide the irrelevance of the Constitution for Black People?

Is it in the blood-shed and lives lost by Black People when America brings "Law and Order" to the ghetto in the same fashion and by those same forces that export "Freedom and Democracy" to Korea, to Vietnam, to Africa, Asia, and Latin America?

Is it the right to "political activity" when the U.S.A. attempts to legally murder Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, for his political beliefs?

Where was that right when brother Malcolm was murdered, when Martin Luther King was gamed down?

Where is Freedom when a peoples right to "Freedom of Speech" is denied to the Black community with

White Neo-Colonialists, wherever we look, the picture is one and the same. White racist America, which domestically has adopted the policy of open fascism in order to put down the uprisings of oppressed people of color and those few Whites who take a stand against the grizzly reality of the Babylonian scene, this same White racist America has projected its domestic racist perspective onto the international scene and has organized world imperialism along racist lines. Within the domestic confines of the United States of America, we see clearly that a well-planned, calculated Fascist Genocidal Conspiracy is being implemented against our people.

Black people within the domestic confines of the U.S.A. have reached another cross road. This is a time for the most serious decisions that we, as a people, have ever been called upon to make. The decisions that we make in our time, the actions that we take or fail to take, will determine whether we, as a people, will survive or fall victims to genocidal extermination at the hands of the FASCIST MAJORITY which the Nixon clique are rapidly mobilizing into a beastly vigilancy weapon to be unleashed against us.

### THE U.S.A. MONSTER

The United States of America is a barbaric organization controlled and operated by avaricious, sadistic, blood-thirsty thieves. The United States of America is the Number One exploiter and oppressor of the peoples of the whole world. The inhuman capitalistic system which defines the core of reality of the U.S.A., is the root of the evil that has polluted the very fabric of existence within the U.S.A.

Is it the right to "political activity" when the U.S. attempts to legally murder Bobby Seale, Chairman of the Black Panther Party, for his political beliefs?

Where was that right when brother Malcolm was murdered, when Martin Luther King was gunned down?

Where is Freedom when a peoples right to "Freedom of Speech" is denied to the point of murder? When attempts at "Freedom of the Press" brings bombings and lynchings

Where is Freedom when the right to "peaceful assembly" brings on massacres? Where is our right to "keep and bear arms" when Black People are attacked by the Racist Gestapo of America? Where is "religious freedom" when places of worship become the scene of shoot-ins and bombings? Where is the right to vote "regardless of race or color" when murder takes place the voting polls? Are we free when we are not even secure from being savagely murdered in our sleep by policemen who stand blatantly before the world but yet go unpunished? Is that "...equal protection of the laws"? The empty promise of the Constitution to "establish justice" is exposed to the world by the reality of Black People existence. For 400 years now, Black people have suffered an unbroken chain of abuse at the hands of White America. For 400 years we have been treated as America's fool stool. This fact is so clear that it requires no argument.

### THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the U.S.A. does not and never has protected our people or guaranteed to us those lofty ideas enshrined within it. When the Constitution was first adopted we were held as slaves. We were held in slavery under the Constitution. We have suffered every form of indignity and imposition under the Constitution, from economic

racists lines. Within the domestic confines of the United States of America, we see clearly that a well-planned, calculated Fascist Genocidal Conspiracy is being implemented against our people.

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We did not ask for this situation. We did not create it. And we do not prefer it but we must deal with it.

### THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Today, June 19th, is the anniversary of the issuance

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We need no further evidence that there is something wrong with the Constitution of the United States of America. We have had our Human Rights denied and violated perpetually under this Constitution--for hundreds of years. As a people, we have received neither the Equal Protection of the Laws nor Due Process of Law. Where Human Rights are being daily violated there is denial of Due Process of Law and there is no Equal Protection of the Law. We protect our Economic Rights, or our Political Rights, or

# AMERICA

107th Anniversary

Proclamation

Capitol of Babylon,

Imperialism June 19, 1970

PANTHER PARTY

our Social Rights. It does not even guarantee and protect our most basic Human Right, the right to LIVE!

IMPLEMENTING POINT NO. 10 OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PLATFORM AND PROGRAM

Point No. 10 of the Black Panther Party's Platform and Program addresses itself to the question of the National Destiny of Black people. We feel that, in practical terms, it is time for Black people as a whole to address their attention to the question of our National Destiny. Black people can no longer either respect the U.S. Constitution, look to it with hope, or live under it. The Constitution is the social contract that binds the American people together into a sovereign nation and defines authority and the distribution of power, rights, and privileges. By showing the Constitution aside, rendering it null and void, in order to carry out fascist oppression and repression of Black people, the fascists have, by that very fact, destroyed even the false foundations of authority in this society. We live in a lawless society where racist pigs have usurped the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive branches of government and perverted them towards the prosperity of their private interests. We repudiate, most emphatically, all documents I name

nation, America is now in the middle of the greatest crisis in its history. The Black Panther Party believes that the American people are capable of rising to the task which history has laid before the nation. We believe that the American people are capable of rejecting the fascist solution to the national crisis which the fascist Nixon clique, the George Wallaces', Lester Maddoxes', Ronald Reagans', Spiro Agnews', etc. hold out to the people.

WE THEREFORE, CALL FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, TO BE CONVENED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, TO WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION THAT WILL GUARANTEE AND DELIVER TO EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN THE INVOLABLE HUMAN RIGHT TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS!

We call upon the American people to rise up, repudiate, and restrain the forces of fascism that are now rampant in the land and which are the only real obstacles standing between us and a rational resolution of the national crisis.

We believe that Black people are not the only group within America that stands in need of a new Constitution. Other

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For us, the case is absolutely clear: Black people have no future within the present structure of power and authority in the United States under the present Constitution. For us, also, the alternatives are absolutely clear: the present structure of power and authority in the United States must be radically changed or we, as a people, must extricate ourselves from entanglement with the United States.

If we are to remain a part of the United States, then we must have a new Constitution that will strictly guarantee

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We believe that Black people are not the only group within America that stands in need of a new Constitution. Other oppressed ethnic groups, the youth of America, Women, young men who are slaughtered as cannon fodder in mad, avaricious wars of aggression, our neglected elderly people all have an interest in a new Constitution that will guarantee us a society in which Human Rights are supreme and Justice is assured to every man, woman, and child within its jurisdiction. For it is only through this means that America, as a nation, can live together in peace with our brothers and sisters the world over. Only through this means can the present character of America, the purveyor of exploitation, misery, death, and wanton destruction all over the planet earth, be changed.

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If we are to remain a part of the United States, then we must have a new Constitution that will strictly guarantee our Human Rights to Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness, which is promised but not delivered by the present Constitution. We shall not accept one iota less than this, our full, unblemished Human Rights. If this is not to be, if we cannot make a new arrangement within the United States, then we have no alternative but to declare ourselves free and independent of the United States. If this is our national destiny to follow the latter course, then we must declare ourselves into self-governing machinery, and seek the recognition of the freedom-loving nations of the world.

The Black Panther Party fully realizes that the two roads open to us as set forth above involve monumental undertakings. But we are trapped in a monstrous situation that requires a monumental solution. And no task, however great, is too much to deal with when the very welfare, survival, and national destiny of our people are at stake. Having already struggled up from the dismal depths of chattel slavery, no obstacles can be too high for us to surmount in order to liberate our people and take back the freedom and security that was taken away from us and denied us for so long.

CALL FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The hour is late and the situation is desperate. As a

we must all understand in a new consciousness that we are all in a society in which Human Rights are supreme and justice is assured to every man, woman, and child within its jurisdiction. For it is only through this means that America, as a nation, can live together in peace with our brothers and sisters the world over. Only through this means can the present character of America, the purveyor of exploitation, misery, death, and wanton destruction all over the planet earth, be changed.

#### WARNING TO AMERICA

We are from 25 to 30 million strong, and we are armed. And we are conscious of our situation. And we are determined to change it. And we are unafraid. Because we have our guarantee. If the American people, as a whole, do not rise up, reverse the present course of this nation, which, if unchecked, holds out only fascist repression and genocide for Black people, then we, Black people, will be forced to respond with a form of War of Salvation that in the chaos of carrying it out and the attempt to repress it, will gut this country and utterly destroy it. Before we accept Genocide, we will inflict Total Destruction upon Babylon.

It had best be understood, now, that the power we rely upon ultimately, as our only guarantee against Genocide at the hands of the Fascist Majority, is our strategic ability to lay this country in ruins, from the bottom to the top. If forced to resort to this guarantee, we will not hesitate to do so.

FOR THE SALVATION, LIBERATION, AND FREEDOM OF OUR PEOPLE, WE WILL NOT HESITATE TO EITHER KILL OR DIE!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



# TOWARDS A NEW CONSTITUTION

HUEY P. NEWTON  
MINISTER OF DEFENSE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY U.S.A.

A Constitutional Convention is extremely important at this time because we must redefine and clarify our actions and our future plans as well as make known to the people and to the world the justification of our struggle against bureaucratic capitalism and American Imperialism.

The Civil Rights Struggle is no more than an extension of the American Revolution of 1776. Everyone should realize this, and with that realization we will come to the conclusion that those things that were gained by the White population of 1776 by separating itself and forming a nation - in other words of de-colonizing from England - gained them autonomy and also the Human Rights that they were seeking at that time.

I emphasize that this was 1776 when White people of America gained Human Rights. This was truly a revolutionary struggle. Unfortunately, Blacks, because of racism in the country and the fact of Slavery were not included in these rights. So, after this, we had the Civil Rights Movement, in order to gain those rights that Whites gained in 1776. Some two hundred years have passed and we haven't gained those basic rights.

Of course, the country wasn't revolutionized even though there was a revolutionary movement. It was not revolutionized simply because production wasn't at the stage where a socialist development was encouraged by the other forces. In other words, after the separation from England, democratic capitalism came into being. There was much land to be had and farmed. It was basically an agricultural country and very little industry. So people could compete with each other in somewhat of a democratic fashion. A man could have the wealth that he earned through planting the soil. And there was much available soil. Of course, I emphasize again that Blacks were not included in this.



one assortment of people, will receive the benefits and the wealth of the country.

Black people in this country, after such a long period of suffering because of capitalism and racism, have a right to exclusively control the institutions of the Black community. All other ethnic groups will also control their community in a co-operative fashion. And the national enterprises - what I call national enterprises are those big monopolies - will be nationalized so that each ethnic groups will have a representative on the various boards. But those other ethnic groups, members of ethnic groups, who live in our communities, will be able to participate in a democratic fashion, because racism will be dead. But also we will maintain the right to have this Proportional Representation because the trust has been lost because of racism. Black people have lost faith--faith in this country. And for a safeguard, at least we'll have to have exclusive control over our local communities.

If we can't bring these things about, then, of course, we will be accepting Reactionary Suicide, or suicide caused by the reactionary conditions. I stand against it, if I have a choice, which I do, and if it comes to the point where there's only one choice, - either to accept Reactionary Suicide or Revolutionary Suicide, then I would accept Revolutionary Suicide.

I think it goes without saying that Blacks are perfectly justified in declaring a Republic or a Liberated Territory, if we find that we cannot, through some mutual coalition,

bring about this type of Pluralistic Society that is desired. The only other alternative is to declare a Republic, and, as I said, face the cowardly imperialistic army, and thereby either defeat them or suffer Revolutionary Suicide, which

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As the years passed and as the country's industry became mature, the agricultural lands became centralized in the hands of a few. This presented new problems, especially when Blacks were not included in the first stage of development - the democratic capitalistic era. In our time - around 1970 - the country is not only fully developed, but it is overdeveloped. The economy is overdeveloped, the industry is overdeveloped. The ruling class of the country no longer invests its surplus capital in the country. This brings us to the imperialistic era, where the capitalist is now investing his surplus in the developing countries of the Third World, in order to gain a profit, because there is no room for expansion inside of this mature economy.

While all of this is happening, Blacks are still struggling for basic human rights: the right to vote, the right for economic well-being etc. We cannot gain our political liberties without the economic freedom. We cannot be integrated into the capitalistic system, because even if we had the wealth or the surplus capital to invest, there would be no market. There is no fertile market in which to invest. Not inside of this country.



question the established order, but we question the very system.

We feel that the only way that we can get freedom at this time, after observing and experiencing the conditions of the country, is to have a Proportional Representation in a socialist framework.

This means that the industries that now are held by a small ruling circle should be nationalized, and all ethnic groups, including all minority groups, will be guaranteed a place in proportion to their number in the country, at the administrative level and at the worker's level. Anything short of this would be compromising our freedom again, and we will not stand for it.

Matter of fact, any compromise would be suicidal. It would be what I call Reactionary Suicide. To accept a compromise, Reactionary Suicide means that the conditions, the reactionary conditions, would be the cause of our suicide. If we stand and do nothing, it would be self-murder. I would rather choose the reverse, if it becomes necessary, and that is Revolutionary Suicide. That's suicide motivated by the desire to change the system, or else die trying. To

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Black people in this country, after such a long period of suffering because of capitalism and racism, have a right to exclusively control the institutions of the Black community. All other ethnic groups will also control their community in a co-operative fashion. And the national enterprises - what I call national enterprises are those big monopolies - will be nationalized so that each ethnic groups will have a representative on the various boards. But those other ethnic groups, members of ethnic groups, who live in our communities, will be able to participate in a democratic fashion, because racism will be dead. But also we will maintain the right to have this Proportional Representation because the trust has been lost because of racism. Black people have lost faith--faith in this country. And for a safeguard, at least we'll have to have exclusive control over our local communities.

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bring about this type of Pluralistic Society that is desired. The only other alternative is to declare a Republic, and, as I said, face the cowardly imperialistic army, and thereby either defeat them or suffer Revolutionary Suicide, which is glorious simply because it would be our choice, and we won't stand by and let us be killed one by one. Killed in so many ways, killed spiritually, killed through lack of basic needs - medicine, food for the kids, all these things that are so basic we don't even have to argue whether we're due them.

As revolutionaries, I would like to point out, to clarify our catechism, that we have been completely crushed as members of this so-called civilization. And when I say completely crushed, as revolutionaries, we have not only rejected a seat by the oppressor - those seats that he offers are merely crumbs - we also reject the ordinary - I say ordinary for lack of a better word - kind of family arrangements that are offered us, because that too is a compromise. What I'm saying is that we have to compromise even to have a wife and kids and a house and any kind of job or work. It's a compromise for Southern Blacks. It's a compromise for them to just live as every man has a right to live with a family and his loved ones, because the bourgeois state lays down the conditions under which you can have a family. In other words; if I were to

of undevelopment - the undeveloped capitalist class in our time - around 1970 - the country is not only fully developed, but it is overdeveloped. The economy is overdeveloped, the industry is overdeveloped. The ruling class of the country no longer invests its surplus capital in the country. This brings us to the imperialistic era, where the capitalist is now investing his surplus in the developing countries of the Third World, in order to gain a profit, because there is no room for expansion inside of this mature economy.

While all of this is happening, Blacks are still struggling for basic human rights; the right to vote, the right for economic well-being etc. We cannot gain our political liberties without the economic freedom. We cannot be integrated into the capitalistic system, because even if we had the wealth or the surplus capital to invest, there would be no market. There is no fertile market in which to invest. Not inside of this country.

I would like to backtrack a little to the period of 1863, 1865, after the Emancipation Proclamation and then the so-called Reconstruction. The Freedman's Bureau was established during the Reconstruction in order to allot one of the chief points argued in Congress by Thaddeus Stevens, that Blacks be allotted forty acres and a mule. Because without the land it was realized that there would be no freedom. But this did not occur. I would like to emphasize this to show that America has compromised our freedom again and again. The Hayes Compromise of 1877 devastated the whole Reconstruction period and the few crumbs that we'd gained during that period.

So I refer to a time when we've been forced out of the society, we've been forced out of equal protection of the law, and human respect. And it leaves us with nothing to lose, really, and everything to gain, because we've lost everything. And, of course, when one has lost everything, nothing is open to him but Total Rebellion. Rebellion against that force and those conditions which have stripped him of his very dignity as a human being.

What are the alternatives? We've concluded that there's no room for us in the capitalistic system, because of the overdeveloped nature of the country. We see that as far as autonomy of our community in any respect, as far as self-governing our institutions, this cannot exist under capitalism either because capitalism, the capitalistic system, is dictated by the small ruling class, approximately 76 companies that control the whole industry and the whole wealth of this country. That's General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, General Dynamics, Lockheed, Standard Oil, DuPont, Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America, and so on down the line.

The only way that we can now get freedom is to change that system that led us into slavery. We were brought into slavery because of profit for the slave driver and the capitalist. So we question the very system. We don't only

of the country, is to have a Proportional Representation in a socialist framework.

This means that the industries that now are held by a small ruling circle should be nationalized, and all ethnic groups, including all minority groups, will be guaranteed a place in proportion to their number in the country, at the administrative level and at the worker's level. Anything short of this would be compromising our freedom again, and we will not stand for it.

Matter of fact, any compromise would be suicidal. It would be what I call Reactionary Suicide. To accept a compromise. Reactionary Suicide means that the conditions, the reactionary conditions, would be the cause of our suicide. If we stand and do nothing, it would be self-murder. I would rather choose the reverse, if it becomes necessary, and that is Revolutionary Suicide. That's suicide motivated by the desire to change the system, or else die trying. To change the reactionary conditions. But this is a freedom of choice. And I would choose this for the generation to come and I would choose it for my own integrity, for the simple reason that I refuse, our generation refuses, to live as slaves.

So, we are demanding a Constitution that reflects the ethnic and the pluralistic nature of the society. We demand a Constitution that would guarantee us the right to live. We demand a Constitution that has respect for the people, and a Constitution that serves the people instead of a Constitution that serves the ruling class.

We know that in this country there are certain public institutions, that are supposedly set up by the people, but in reality are set up by the ruling circle, to pretend to serve the people's basic needs. This is the Social Security, Employment Insurance, Welfare Subsidies etc. The ruling class sets up these public agencies to buy off the people with a small example of socialism. But we see that the ruling class even uses the public facilities to their own advantage. The ruling class really uses public funds on a gigantic scale to further its own interests.

An example of this is the big railway barons who receive subsidies. In other words, they receive welfare aid. The big farmers, such as Senator Eastland, receive subsidies from the public institutions in the country, while the people, when they need subsidies, when they need welfare aid, are harassed, hounded, even to the extent that in order to get the aid they must reveal who they sleep with at night, while Eastland and all of the others receive millions of dollars each year, yet they don't have to reveal the last woman or man they slept with, I think that this is a good example of a dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. What we advocate is a dictatorship by the people. What I mean by that is not that the people will abuse what used to be bourgeois, but it is simply that the people's needs will be taken under consideration and they will be the prime focus at all times in consideration given. And no one class, no

that are so basic we don't even have to argue whether we're due them.

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I would have to accept the conditions of poverty, if I live in the South of worms in my kids stomachs, a lack of food, a lack of clothing. If I have to live in the urban areas of Harlem, I have to accept, in order to have a family, a compromise and have the kind of family that they have prescribed, the kind of family that is bitten by rats, that sleeps in housing that is unfit for human beings.

So as revolutionaries we not only reject these seats by the oppressor, we've also rejected the normal - when I say 'normal' it's again for lack of a better word - we can't accept even the primary relationship of that nucleus family. And we're very angry because we can't accept these things. Because every man is due it. We're very angry, so therefore we're left out in the twilight zone with hatred for those conditions and those people who cause the conditions. Matter of fact, we have such strong feelings until we won't rest and we won't feel that we have done our job until we've lashed out and crushed those people and those conditions that won't allow us to have even the basic things that every man on the face of the earth has a right to have. That is a home, a family, and kids. To have a family we have to accept kids that are infected with racism, the conditions of racism, from the very moment he becomes conscious. So this is why we're strictly, as the Minister of Information has said, we're outlaws, we're outside even the law of humanity because we think that we've been dehumanized. But because we've been dehumanized we've become very dangerous people, dangerous to those who won't let us be human.

I would add that it must always be remembered, understood, and realized, that our one goal is to crush American Capitalism and American Imperialism. Because without this, we can do nothing.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE