

GENOCIDE U.S.A.

A BLUEPRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

SPEECH Presented by

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CONGRESS OF



RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

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Floyd Bixler McKissick was born March 9, 1922 in Asheville, North Carolina. Attended public schools of Asheville; graduated from Stephens-lee High School in 1939. At the age of 12 in a boy scout uniform, he received a vicious beating from a white policeman in Durham, North Carolina. At that time, he vowed to become a lawyer and fight the kind of oppression to which he was subjected. Attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Joined army shortly after Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. Served in European theatre. Married, four children. Graduated Morehouse College; graduated University of North Carolina Law School. Among first Black People to sue for admittance to the University of North Carolina Law School.

Admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1952, the United States Supreme Court in 1955. Licensed to practice law in the District of Columbia and North Carolina, as well as before the Federal Communications Commission, Federal District Court of Appeals, United States Court of Appeals and United States Customs Courts, as well as the United States Supreme Court. Also experienced with bankruptcy and receiverships.

Beginning 1960, he led the sit-in movement in North Carolina—his law office, at one time, handled more than 5,000 demonstration cases.

1963—elected National Chairman of CORE by acclamation.

1966—March—appointed National Director of CORE.

Mr. McKissick is the principle spokesman for the Black Power concept in America today. On these pages, he discusses the nature of oppression in America and points the way toward the creation of a society in which Total Equality through Black Power can become reality.

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A BLUE PRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

Two eyes stare out of a Black Face. Kinky hair grows on a Black Head. Inside of that Black Head is a mind that is Black, forced to think Black in order to survive. To think white, to reason with the logic of a white man is only to speed the time for the Total Destruction of Black People. A Black Man cannot afford to think white: He must think Black if he is to survive.

Every day, Black People around the world see hunger, suffering, despair, disease and hatred. They see a world of oppression, presided over by a few white people dominating the masses of powerless colored people—on every continent.

Black Men have gained a special insight, an almost "privileged" perception. It is an insight acquired over years of oppression, years without freedom.

White men live in a totally different reality from Black Men. Their thought processes are molded by experiences foreign to Black Men.

Because white men cannot understand Black People or the way they feel and think—they are afraid. The white man knows that he has been the oppressor and, for that, he is guilty. His guilt makes him fear.

White people without fear of Blacks are white people without guilt.

White supremacy reigns in such distant and exotic places as Europe and South Africa. But the true bastion of white supremacy, that country which makes it all possible, is the United States of America.

The democratic principles taught in the United States hardly apply on a world-wide basis, for clearly the white minority controls the masses of colored and Black Peoples in the world today.

They make the rules. And the rules say that world domination is not based on democratic principles but on power. There is no willingness to share that power with the colored people of the world. There is no commitment to share that power any time in the future. Yet, Black People are lost without power to bring about change.

We are given rhetoric about power sharing: "the Land of the Free, Home of the Brave." "With liberty and justice for all." I could name dozens of others that sound beautiful, but mean absolutely nothing for Black People, here or on any other continent.

They were never intended to

mean anything for Black People. They were written when we were still slaves.

There are Black People starving in Mississippi, millions of colored people starving in India while white Americans bask in luxury, spending millions to go to the moon, billions on a war in Vietnam which pits yellow people against yellow people.

There are rebellions throughout the United States—Black People demanding that they no longer be exploited, that they be free—free to live in dignity.

Farmers put acres of non-producing land into the federal land bank—which could feed the nation, and the world. In Mississippi, Black People starve.

The Black and colored masses are regarded merely as chattel—with a difference. We are mere consumers. And by our consumption of the goods and services of this nation—this economic, political system, we furnish the margin of profit on which the system survives.

The system of white supremacy and its manipulators are dedicated to the proposition that the system must be maintained at all cost—even at the expense of Total Destruction of Black and colored peoples in the United States and around the world—that system which exploits, denies debases and destroys—destroys humanity, values, morality and non-white cultures.

The cry of the racist white man is: "Threaten not our system, or you will be annihilated by our Na-

tional Rifle Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils—which we fund; by the Minute Men, Birchers and vigilantes, who we condone; and by our National Guard, which is integrated, our State Militia, our State, City and County Police Forces, which are also integrated. The system of exploitation is far more important—far more precious—than human lives."

You ask: Would America intentionally starve Black People in Mississippi, feed Indians only if they agreed to domination by white people? Would America allow thousands of Blacks to be wasted on the streets of Newark or Buffalo, Watts or Atlanta, because they simply said: "Take your foot off our necks?"

Would America destroy the lives of millions of Blacks whose forebearers, as slaves, made and developed this economic—political system, by their blood, sweat and free labor. Is there not a word called Respect—another world called Mercy—another, Justice?

Many Jews in Germany thought so. During Hitler's regime, they discovered differently.

Would America systematically destroy 22 million Blacks? My answer is: Look at the record! More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will.

White supremacy stems from an inferiority complex, so does fear. The kind of fear experienced by the racist white man. The Man has no

logic when dealing with Blacks. For he insists that he is superior.

He is neurotic when threatened, psychotic when confronted with truth. He cannot comprehend your needs or just demands—he cannot recognize his responsibility. He will not acknowledge his guilt or the guilt of his brothers.

Has he punished his white brothers for the civil rights murders of Blacks (or even the whites who were with us), on the highways of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and throughout the south?

I regretfully advise that The Man has not, moreover, he has not even found the criminals, in many instances. But he can find, shoot and kill a sixteen year old Black Kid who loots because he doesn't have money to buy a transistor radio.

Yes—The Man has the capacity to neglect, to destroy, to shoot, to kill—if his victim is not white. He has the capacity for genocide.

Until recently, genocide was a relatively unknown word. After World War II, however, it came into pretty common usage. It means: "The use or user of deliberate, systematic measures for the extermination of a racial, political or cultural group of people." It means mass murder.

In America, we are inclined to reserve this distasteful word for the planned extermination of Jews by Hitler in Nazi Germany. This is naive. Hitler's program of genocide, to be sure, is the only one we know of that was blatant enough to herd

millions of people into ovens all at one time—uncouth enough to pile thousands of bodies together in one place and impolitic enough to be implicit in the statement of its goals—the goal being the "Final Solution," the elimination of the Jewish People.

But one must be reminded that genocide exists in many forms and has existed throughout history. To understand the sinister nature of genocide, one must understand not only European history, but American history as well.

No, genocide is not a simple matter. It cannot just happen. One group of people cannot just go ahead and wipe out another group of people. They must first pass through several stages—they must live out a peculiar and deadly pattern.

The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated theses, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously, the Black People.

Until recently, in America, there were many respected scientists and anthropologists who advanced the theory that caucasians were genetically superior to colored peoples.

Although in some parts of the United States, particularly in the south, the belief in genetic superiority still prevails, in the more "enlightened" areas of the North, the popular theory is that colored people, particularly Black People are not genetically inferior. They are just inferior.

If they were not inferior, they would be better educated, live in better homes and on cleaner streets. If they were really equal, they would improve their own conditions.

In America, as we have seen, the belief in white superiority runs deep. It was a dominant factor in the slave trade. The Black African wasn't recognized as a human being.

A belief ferocious enough to allow human slavery cannot be dissipated by a mere century and, in America, it has been quietly reinforced.

Although slavery as a recognized legal institution has been abolished, economic slavery, economic exploitation, has not. Black People in this country have never been allowed to share in the economic riches of America. A few get in—here and there—a few get rich, but their success has no effect on the masses of Black People.

White landlords, white storekeepers, white corporate managers and a white, Anglo-Saxon Wall Street, conspire to keep the Black Man in his place.

As whites quietly exit to the comfortable suburbs, they do not re-

linquish the economic control of the ghetto: they maintain control of the city agencies and the political scene. They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only—and, occasionally, one or two good "Negros."

With the climate existing in the United States, we would be foolish, as leaders, to think that Black People are not being politically oppressed. If Black People got political power, they might be able to merge their values with the values of the dominant culture. And the white man wants to protest his values—particularly his economic values: the materialism which has distorted his dealings with the entire world.

Their laws are used as the tools of racism. Ethics are adopted and discarded at the whim of a racist Congress. Adam Clayton Powell loses his seat in the House of Representatives for alleged offenses far less serious than those of Senator Dodd, who was merely censured for his crimes.

The offenses of which Powell was accused were less than Dodd's—but his punishment was far greater. Congress was not satisfied merely to punish Adam; they punished all the Black People of Harlem. They stripped Harlem of representation.

They made the decision to throw Adam out in less than a day of debate. It took the Senate weeks to even vote to censure Dodd.

One thing they couldn't do—they

couldn't get Adam to beg. They couldn't get Our Man to come whimpering—the way they did with Thomas Dodd.

But they will keep on trying. They will organize special investigations to determine if Adam is guilty of civil offenses—while Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, is immune to even the inconvenience of defending himself against the civil charge of "conspiracy to violate civil rights in Louisiana."

These attacks upon Black Men are not restricted to economic and political means. In Newark, of 26 dead, in the recent rebellion, 24 were Black People. The ratio was similar in Watts. Not one white man died in Harlem's rebellion.

And who is to blame for the rebellions? This point we need not argue. The white man is the judge, jury and the executioner in his system and he first made the law so as to control us. We are called the violators of his "Law and Order"—"Criminals."

Yet he knows that the white racist society is to blame for all of the conditions which force a man to rebel. His concept of "Law and Order" means the legal methods of exploiting Blacks. We object and we resist.

Some so-called Negro leaders even have the audacity to join The Man—by calling a Liberation Struggle a riot—his brothers hoodlums and criminals—and damning his brothers who seek to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

And when these rebellions temporarily subside—what happens? Black People are stranded without food, medical supplies and other essentials. Old People, babies, pregnant women must stand in line for hours to get one quart of ransid milk and a box of cereal.

No National Agencies come to their aid: They are left to their own devices.

We sent an urgent telegram to the President of the United States—requesting that sections of Newark be declared a National Disaster Area—so that the Red Cross and government agencies could move in with food and supplies. In response, from the Office of Emergency Planning, we received a terse message.

I quote: "Your request for the designation of the area of Newark, New Jersey as National Disaster Area has been referred to this office for response. Disasters are defined by this office to include only natural disasters. Therefore do not cover the circumstances of the disaster of riots in Newark."

As history unfolds, it becomes more and more apparent that questions must be raised—the same questions which were raised by the events in Nazi Germany. This time, answers must be found.

Why didn't the Jews organize to oppose Hitler? Why weren't they a solid enough political force to prevent his ascent to power? Why did so many people march so slowly to their deaths? Why didn't they

resist? What techniques did the Germans apply? What methods did they use? Were not the Jews psychologically prepared for genocide?

Before the mass extermination began, Jews were degraded systematically. They were confined to ghettos. They were kept apart. They were forced to wear a special badge of dishonor—the Star of David.

In America, the special badge does not need to be sewn on a man's jacket. He is always Black.

In this country, the ghetto is not defined by barbed wire: The ghetto follows the Black Man wherever he goes.

Hitler was faced with the task of destroying Jewish economic power. In America, the task is easier. The Black Man has no economic power. At this late date, there is little need to escalate economic oppression. The Black Man is at the bottom of the ladder.

Black People have always lived under fear of torture and death by this racist system—fear of being beaten by whips or chains in slavery, fear of expressing themselves at the cost of death, fear of life itself. Fear of exercising the basic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

But we paid our dues for being a man—a slave—for seeking to express ourselves, for telling the truth about this wretched system. In slavery, they cut our heel strings to stop us from running and joining the underground railroad. Yes, we've

paid our dues. It is estimated that sixty million of us died as a direct result of the slave trade. They lynched us by the hundreds and thousands for simply saying what we saw.

We pay our dues today—the death penalty is primarily reserved for Blacks when a crime is committed—or alleged. "Equal Justice Under Law" is a farce when an all-white jury convicts Muhammad Ali in less than twenty minutes, when Black Men are shot in religious worship in Los Angeles because they are Muslims—when Black Leaders are afraid to speak out because, if they do, it means economic isolation.

Yes, Black People know fear and live with it each and every day of their lives—in deadly fear of the white man's potential. We know he can kill, we know he will—because of his hurt pride—we know that his personality demands that he control whatever he sees, we know that normal dissent is treason in his blue eyes.

In fact, we know The Man better than he knows himself. We know him for what he is. We know he will kill us if he can—one by one or all at once.

Yet, in spite of all this, there are those of us who have been defeated by his tactics, misled by his propaganda machine.

It is evident that too many American Black People are psychologically prepared for genocide. Too many Black People believe that they are

really inferior. Too many Black People want to look like the white man and be like the white man.

Hitler's propaganda techniques have been refined and expanded.

The propaganda of white supremacy is advanced through advertising, entertainment and through education and folklore that ignores the contributions of Black People to World Civilization; through the acceptance of the European standard of beauty and culture, while disparaging and disregarding the values of three quarters of the world—while ignoring the beauty that is Black.

How else could you explain the failure of some Black People to understand and accept Black Power? Any rational person or group of people understand the need for self-preservation.

Could it be that some Black People have been so misled, so confused by white America that they don't understand they need power of their own to protect themselves? Could it be that some middle-class Negroes have become so enamored with the death-wish of integration—the dream of absorption and disappearance into the white man's culture—that he fears his Blackness?

Maybe it's that too few Black People are aware of the machinery already set up for their possible destruction. Maybe they don't know about the McCarran Act.

Title II of the McCarran Act provides the Attorney General with the power in the event of an "Internal Security Emergency," to apprehend

and detain ". . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in espionage or sabotage."

Maybe Black People don't think that the American government, that an American Attorney General, would ever utilize such a power. But, remember during World War II, those concentration camps were used for the interment of Japanese-Americans. The property of many innocent yellow people was confiscated. To this day, fair reparations have never been paid.

Maybe Black People feel that it is more important to be American than to be Black. Many Jews in Nazi Germany mistakenly felt it was more important to be a German than to be a Jew. Those who survived know better now.

The government could, and would, use almost any excuse to declare an Internal Security Emergency.

Opposition to the War in Vietnam, the constitutional exercise of the right to dissent has already been equated with disloyalty and treason. General Westmoreland was brought all the way back from the battlefields of Vietnam to merge dissent with disloyalty in the minds of the American people. Such pronouncements by the Commander of the American Armed Forces can only feed an atmosphere of hysteria about the war which could be used to justify the use of Title II.

We are experiencing another Long, Hot Summer. We are faced with violence in our cities and on our campuses. These rebellions against an oppressive system, these outbursts of frustration and hopelessness, could also be used to justify the use of Title II.

The white man has never pulled any stops in his drive for advancement. When he decided that he wanted land—rich American land—not one thought was given to the systematic slaughter of American Indians. In 1600, there were about 589,000 Indians on this continent. Over 200,000 of those people belonged to tribal groups which are now extinct.

Extinct. That means that whole tribes, whole groups of people, were wiped out. More than 60% of the entire Indian population was exterminated. Those who lived, were herded onto reservations.

Those Indians were victims of the white man's drive for the control of land. Land has always been the tap root of the capitalist system: Land is wealth and the use of land controls the people—both physically and mentally.

An example of this, in 1967, is the Urban Renewal Act. This act, which was supposed to be designed to provide low cost housing has never been used for that purpose. Urban Renewal has helped eliminate Black Ownership of property. It has been used to destroy the potential for the development of Black Political Power by the scattering of

Black Citizens. In fact, it has been "Negro Removal."

When the Black People are removed, the land is transferred over to businessmen for redevelopment purposes, re-zoned and given an increased value. It is almost always used for middle income housing. In any event, the Black People are not able to return.

Genocide is a political decision. It can be made by a town, city, state, nation or group of nations. It was a political decision, for example, to exterminate the Communists in Indonesia. It was a political decision for the CIA to engineer the coup.

The London Times estimated the dead at nearly one million in the period of four months—five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years.

The techniques and tactics of genocide vary. The prevalent pattern has been, in recent years—to engineer coups where it is rumored that the Communists might take over.

In these cases, they have been successful in getting right wing Indonesians to fight left wing Indonesians, South Vietnamese to fight North Vietnamese, South Koreans to fight North Koreans and, in the Congo, Ghana, and other parts of Africa—to deliberately raise issues which result in tribal warfare.

In this way, the white man keeps his hands clean and he is able to obtain the spoils of bloody civil wars. For he is, in fact, the only beneficiary.

It will be interesting to watch what will happen in the near future in such places as Thailand, Cambodia and Laos.

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country—be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion. These patterns must be halted now.

And we must be the ones to do it. We cannot expect help from anyone but ourselves.

Even our friends in the peace movement find it too easy to look thousands of miles away from home and, with much indignation, see the extermination of the Vietnamese.

On the other hand, they cannot see ten blocks away, where many Black People are the Walking Dead—dead in mind and spirit, because of lack of hope and lack of chance.

We cannot look elsewhere for help. We cannot lean on the crutch of religion. We cannot depend on phony "coalitions." We must work out our own methods. We must draw our own conclusions.

To those queasy individuals who are afraid of the resolutions presented here, let me state my unequivocal opinion: The right of revolution is a constitutional right, condoned by the creation of the American Constitution itself. When we assert the right of revolution, we are asserting a constitutional right. Revolution in America is justified by all standards of morality—

religious and ethical: It is required to fulfill the basic, natural rights of man.

Even white men recognized the need for revolution when, in 1776, they revolted because they were oppressed. And today—1967—Black People are more oppressed than any white man has ever been—in the history of the world.

This is the time when we must unite—Brothers and Sisters. We must join in making plans.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has some ideas for programs in this regard—some short range and some long range. We are a common front into which all Black People can unite.

There is a need for a Black Brain Trust. Black People with the best minds in the country must come together to help organize and plan strategy for our future, to plan for every aspect of our existence—political, economic, cultural—international.

This is not a problem of Civil Rights—it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake.

A Black Fund-Raising Base must be established. As long as the white man controls the purse strings, he will hold them tightly around our necks.

We must develop second line leadership in all-Black organizations. We must develop training programs throughout this country. We must develop effective, so-

phiticated security systems—a national system of communication.

We must oppose the War in Vietnam but, more important, we must educate Black Youth not to participate in that war—now.

We must develop ways and means of dealing with those "Negroes" who sell us out—who betray their people.

We see the need to develop a Black Political Base. When an incompetent like Hugh Addonizio runs a city like Newark—where over 60% of the population is Black—we need our own political base.

Addonizio had advance warning of what would happen in his community. But Hughie insisted that race relations in Newark were good. According to the U.S. News and World Report of May 23, 1966, Addonizio said; "We haven't had any racial difficulties in Newark so far, and we don't anticipate any in the future. I think it's wrong for people to go around making statements like that. They could stir up the trouble we're trying so hard to avoid."

Those don't sound like the words of a man who understands the Black Community.

Then, to further illustrate his contempt for the Black Community, Hughie goes to appoint a white political hack with a High School education for the important and responsible job of Secretary of the Board of Education.

The Black Community demanded

that Wilbur Parker, City Budget Director, a Certified Public Accountant with a Master's degree, be appointed. And to avoid doing that—to avoid his responsibility to Black People—Hughie convinced the present Secretary to remain.

But that is only one incident, only a tiny phase of a career of contempt, of disrespect.

In Newark, and in all cities where Black People are in the majority, the administration must be responsive to the needs of the people—must respect the demands of the Black Community. In any community where more than 60% of the people are Black—we need a Black Mayor.

In fact, the question of a white man's competency becomes irrelevant when a city is more than 60% Black. If he's white, he shouldn't be Mayor.

There comes a time in the relations between a people and an elected official that the people must say: "Enough!"

That time has arrived in Newark. The people must exercise their undeniable right to clean house. Too long, white elected officials have in these United States . . . been immune from the wrath of the Black Population. They have translated this immunity into an utter disregard for the rights and prerogatives of Black People.

Black People must eliminate these evils: There is no better place to start than Newark.

We have consulted with the pro-

gressive Black Leaders of this community. It is agreed that there must be a Recall Election to get rid of Hugh Addonizio and replace him with a Black Mayor.

This conference should go on record at this time in support of the citizens of Newark in a recall election.

(ORR) is appointing Bob Curvin and James Hooper of the Congress of Racial Equality in Newark to spearhead and join in with other groups and individuals, to organize and coordinate this effort. Your assistance will be desperately needed.

People will be needed—volunteers who are willing to work—willing to get thousands of signa-

tures on petitions to recall Addonizio.

The recall effort must be followed up with a Black Conference for the purpose of selecting one Black Candidate, who will be Newark's next mayor; for the purpose of organizing a Black Voter Registration Campaign Committee; for the purpose of organizing a Newark Black Candidates Fund Committee—for the purpose of making Black Political Power in Newark a reality.

As men, we must now stand up. If we are truly men and believe what we say, and live by our convictions—we must be steadfast. Men are known not by words, but by deeds—and men we must be.

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