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02	report	Re. Speaking Appearance of Floyd B. Mc Kissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, At Detroit, Michigan, December 11, 1966	G	2	12/13/66	A
		<i>Open per RAC</i>				
02a	report	Nation of Islam	G	3	9/8/66	A
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11/7/2007

AF
Initials

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3 Testimony of

4 FLOYD MC KISSICK,

5 Before Staff members of the

6 NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMISSION ON

7 CIVIL DISORDERS

8 -----

9 200 West 135th Street,
 10 New York City, New York.
 11 February 2, 1968
 12 Friday, 3:00 P.M.

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15 BEFORE: Merle McGurdy, General Counsel

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17 PRESENT: Larry A. Still

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NATION-WIDE REPORTING COVERAGE
 STENOTYPE REPORTING SPECIALISTS
 CERTIFIED STENOTYPE REPORTER AND STAFF

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

having first been duly sworn before Harry Ungarsohn,
a Notary Public of the State of New York, testified
as follows:

EXAMINATION

By Mr. Merle McCurdy:

MR. McCURDY: Mr. McKissick, this is
Mr. Morris, Roy Morris. First of all, let me say this:
I'm grateful to you, as is the Commission, for your
taking this time out of your schedule to talk to us.

The Commission, as a whole, wanted to
hear your testimony, but that became impossible, and
so they asked me if I'd come and record it, and it would
be reduced to a transcript, and we'll get copies for
each of the Commissioners, and send them the copies,
because they want to get the views of as many people
who are knowledgeable in this area as they can before
they finally write their final report.

So, with that brief introduction, for
the record, I am interviewing Mr. Floyd McKissick and
he is the National Director of the Congress of Racial
Equality.

How long have you been the director
of CORE?

MR. FLOYD McKISSICK: About three years
now.

MR. McCURDY: Tell us -- Oh, just a mo-
ment. We've got to swear you in, too. Will you please
stand and raise your right hand.

MR. McKISSICK: I don't mind being sworn.

MR. McCURDY: All right.

MR. UNGARSOHN: Do you solemnly swear the
testimony you're about to give -- the statement you're
about to give here shall be the truth and nothing but
the truth, so help you God?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes.

MR. McCURDY: Now you've been director
of CORE for about three years?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes, just short of three
years.

MR. McCURDY: And tell us, first of all,
what CORE is.

MR. McKISSICK: Well, CORE is an organiza-
tion dedicated to the acquiring of Black Power for Black

People. It's working to eliminate -- working to eliminate racial prejudice, bigotry, and to give and transfer the power in the black people's hands so that they can work to bring about the changes that they need in this society.

I think probably we need to give you some of our material, so that you can get a full scope of what we're all about, and I'll be happy to give you some.

MR. McCURDY: I wish you would, and I wish you'd give me several copies and we'll mark -- so that I can give some to each of the Commissioners, and a copy to be marked as an exhibit and made a part of the record. Thank you. Does this contain it?

MR. McKISSICK: That's the container. We had it already packed.

MR. McCURDY: Thank you very much. Now as Director of CORE, what specifically, Mr. McKissick, do you do?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I'm the general administrator of the organization. I'm a full-time employee, the Executive Director. And in such capacity

you oversee the operations of the entire organization.

MR. McCURDY: In how many states do you maintain offices of sub-directors?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, we maintain a substance of some activity in -- I would say in somewhere around 30-odd states. However, we, because of limited finances, we are not trying to maintain offices everywhere, but primarily in the major metropolitan areas, in the form of chapters, national projects and cooperating organizations, that work with us, who might not even have the name CORE involved.

MR. McCURDY: I see. Now you have often-times expressed your views as to what you think is wrong with this country in its handling of its race relations and the causes of the ghettos and the oppression that -- that's a word I think you've heard -- of Negroes. The President asked if we would try to discover what happened, why did it happen, and what we can do to keep it from happening again.

Now as the second question, why did it happen, I've read some of the things you have said and written, and I wish for the record you would state what

your views are as to what happened, what it was that brought about the disorders and the riots of the 1960's.

MR. McKISSICK: Well, first of all I'd like to get some definitions cleared up, or certainly the way I look at it. I don't think that we have the right to call these people "rioters". I don't like the use of the word "riot". It automatically attempts to define who is right and wrong, growing out of riots and violence.

I think that it represents the psychology of the white man's dominant thinking to automatically say that black people are rioters, black people are rioters, are looters, without ever really analyzing the problem and analyzing themselves as the power brokers in this country.

Those of the people who have the power and who exercise the power, and then turn around and call little people law-breakers who don't have any power and who really are not responsible for so many of the things that they do. They aren't responsible because they don't have the education, and they've never been taught the type of morality, the moral responsibility

that is expected of them, or that the dominant power structure demands.

So the word "morality" has to be used in order to describe the real picture that we have today.

There is no communications between the real power brokers in this society and those people who do not have power, and we tend to, because we have the power of the press, to define acts and regulate and control, and when these people fail to live in that framework, this is what we say that they are, and we've automatically labled them to free ourselves of our responsibility to these people. Clearly, people who have, the haves are responsible for the have-nots. It always has been that way, since Biblical times, and in other words, even Luke, who had the greatest amount of learning and wealth, was actually required to give them away to the poor, or to help out.

MR. McCURDY: Now the have-nots, in this case, of course, are the Negroes and primarily the ones that live in ghettos.

MR. McCISSICK: I'd say the black people

all over this country. I think that you've got to look at the black people themselves. There's hardly no difference between the North and the South. In fact I would say the South has made, in some instances, far more progress than the North has. The North has always given lip service. They've always looked down there and said: "Look at them bad Southern white folks," and so long as the problem was a regional problem they wanted to kick other white folks in the fanny, but when they saw that the black people right here at home, in New York City and every place else, in the Northern cities where you have open housing laws and every damn reason to do right by black people, you haven't done it. You have suppressed them.

You've mid-educated them. You've educated them to develop a state of dependency upon white people, white values, white attitudes, and white outlooks. And I think that herein lies the key problem in the failure to really understand the black man today. You don't understand him, you can't understand him because you haven't communicated with him, and you don't understand him because he hasn't lived up to the

level of expectations that we've placed on him, to an extent, and we've already determined what level we think that he ought to go by trying to impose on him a white culture value.

I think the problem is far more than the problem of who is rioting and why is he rioting. I think the problem requires the psychoanalysis of the white man in this society and his abuse of power and his value system, and the capitalistic system, because black people don't participate in capitalistic system except as the producers and the objects for which white people get the capital from and which black people don't get the capital.

In other words, we're the only people living in the capitalistic system without any capital. So how in the world can capitalism have any relevance to me, for example. It doesn't have any relevancy, it just means that I'm going to get my ass kicked, for example. It means that I'm going to be exploited every way I turn, and everybody is going to agree that white people have a right to exploit black people. All other white people agree to it. In fact, the exploitation

among people say we've got a poor people problem in the country. There ain't no poor people problem in the country. You can go right down here -- we've got a survey right down here now. Even when it comes to exploiting, you exploit black people more than you exploit white people.

You can compare the price of eggs on the Lower East Side where poor white people live and Harlem, compare the price of eggs in Harlem, and there's still the difference of 13¢ on the dozen. Even when the white people get ready to exploit.

You can look at drug addiction in this country, and you're talking about real crime, look at the price fixing of the drug companies in this country to fix the crime. The automobile manufacturers who make these cars that are accounting for half of the automobiles on the highway. You don't penalize them people and put them in jail or shoot them down like cats and dogs, you have to pay a fine, you see.

Right now you're killing people, and you talk about morality and violence, and non-violence. Hell, I ain't going to tell nobody to be non-violent.

I don't teach that. It's foolish for me to teach it, living the way I live, even though I may have to die violently, I'm not going to teach anybody that, because I know basically I'm wrong.

This is a society of violence, built on violence, predicated upon violence, and the program for this summer is the violent use of arms to suppress black people and not deal with their problems. The same way we're doing in Vietnam now, killing them little people because they don't think the way that we want them to think, and that's the reason we're killing them.

And you know we don't ever ask any of them. We call them "Viet Cong" but we never ask one of them what is your political affiliation before we pull a damn trigger.

And this sense of morality seeps in and the black people feel it. They don't feel like they're part of this great thing called the American scene in the first place. In fact they know, emphatically, that they aren't a part, and they aren't intended to be made a part of it.

And I think this is the realization that

we're having today, so I don't think the problem really is near as narrow. I don't think this Commission can really get at the roots of the problem. I don't think you need to study the problem that much.

I think we know what the problem is. What we're trying to do, and what we need to do is decide upon what we're going to do about it, and I don't think there's that much commitment on the part of anybody in the United States to do a damn thing about it so long as you keep the same values about money and you continue not to want to make the necessary changes in the capitalistic system.

MR. McCURDY: What kind of commitment would it take on the part of the white community to eliminate the causes of disorders?

MR. McKISSICK: I think it takes a whole lot of commitments coming in various forms. I know, for example, I saw how white people who didn't want independent thinking on my part -- I was in an organization with them and known them for years, all my life, demonstrated with them, and when I took over the organization they walked out and left. They didn't give a damn

about black people's rights, all they wanted was a position of authority, and once they lost the position of authority, they said I'm picking up my marbles and going home. I'm talking about liberal whites! They said I'm picking up my marbles and going home.

Well, that taught me right then and there that everything that we'd been talking about was very true. They made it true. They talk about separatism now. Well, hell, it's the white man who's already done the separation. He made Harlem. He moved out of it. And he's living in the suburbs. He don't want to be in with no black folks so he separated them.

Harlem is going through a series. You can go to Cleveland, the Huff area. The black folks didn't segregate themselves. It was the white folks who moved out to the suburbs. The whole last decade has been a movement to suburbia.

MR. McCURDY: What do you think in education ought to be done?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, that's a whole area. I've got many bugs about the whole educational system. It's committed -- it's geared for people who've got a

lot of money to get an education. It's not geared for poor people to get an education. I think we waste too much time in the educational system. We've already issued -- we believe that the President should have called -- and I'm really repeating everything we said at the White House Conference, and last year you remember that White House Conference, where we laid down a whole position.

We laid down the morality of the war in Vietnam was really going to come home here, like it was now, and we were the only ones out there at that time, in that position. And that was when I first came to CORE, but you couldn't see it. You couldn't see that that was going to destroy -- that their so-called leader, I mean white people's leader, Martin Luther King, was their leader, and they destroyed him. They got Martin down then. Because how could he maintain a position of non-violence in this country when the country was fighting the damn war, predicated upon violence. And you killed it then. And that's when I said you'd kill it, and that's when I took my position.

And it wasn't but one month later, in

Baltimore, Md. that I announced that we're going down that road. I ain't going to teach black people to be non-violent. You can't -- if you can't listen to black people, you didn't respect Martin Luther King, and he was pulling the marbles out of the fire for this country.

And that's the immorality that's involved and I see it. I don't like it.

MR. LARRY A. STILL: I just want to clear up one point about whites in CORE. Are you suggesting that they left CORE on their own or is there the implication that they were ousted, that you asked them to leave.

MR. MCKISSICK: No, let's get the record straight. Most of the white people who left CORE left when I came. There was no issue of black power. There was no issue of black power, but -- there was an issue of black power but it wasn't publicized.

When "Black Power" was concerned, that came about in 1965 at the Durham convention when I was National Chairman and we said that if we were going to study the problems of the ghetto, we had to get the whole ghetto and nobody wanted to get that problem and

I insisted that we have the Muslims at this convention to hear the problems of the ghetto because they were dealing with the problems of drug addiction and everything else and we went on there. And that was where the first real black power was started, in the Durham, N.C. convention in 1965 when we brought in all elements of the black community.

MR. STILL: Was this when the whites began, or was it before then?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I came into power in March when Farmer left in January, primarily, and we had an exit of the whites. They didn't like my philosophy. I was not a suave man like Jim Farmer. I was not that kind of a leader.

They wanted a kind of leader that didn't identify with the masses, but one who was educated above the masses. And I think that was the main objection. That came out when the other person was seeking the position in CORE, you remember George Wiley, and of course he resigned from the organization. That was the difference. So white people started leaving then.

There wasn't no cry of black power, they

just started leaving because they just didn't like the position that I took. They had already said I was a nationalist because of the convention that past summer.

I insisted that white people can't be community organizing the ghetto, organizing black people. That if we were going to have a black organization I felt that black people ought to make the policy. Too long had we continued to make mistakes in poverty programs, as well as anything else, getting an integrated middle-class decision to put into effect in the black community. And that's exactly what you don't need.

Black people have got to tell you what they want. If you want an integrated opinion, that ain't what you want to solve black people's problems. If you want to get the black thinking, you'd better get the black thinking if you're going to deal with black people's problems. And just to have something integrated because theoretically it's good, and still to have all hell to break out ain't solving nothing.

MR. McCURDY: Speaking of black power, has CORE formulated a definition of black power?

MR. McKISSICK: Oh, yes. We've formulated a definition.

MR. McCURDY: What is it?

MR. McKISSICK: We've already put it down. We believe black people ought to have self-determination on all things that they do, ownership and control of the neighborhoods where they are, control of political power, economic power, improved self-image, control of their educational system, as well.

We believe that they should develop consumer power, and they should use this consumer power wherever necessary to bring about change.

In other words, we believe that we've got to develop an effective instrument, capable of striking the necessary blow to bring about some changes.

MR. McCURDY: Would that be within the black community itself?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes.

MR. McCURDY: Would it extend to the police department?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes. We believe that if the post office is located in Harlem, damn it, black men

ought to control the post office. If Woolworths is in Harlem, black ought to control it. If the Chemical National Bank is in Harlem, First National Bank, or Dime Savings Bank, black people ought to own it, run it, operate it where they live.

You've already -- white people have already relegated this place called Harlem to us, and I say now we're going to take it over, take it over lock, stock, and barrel.

MR. STILL: What about areas where white people live?

MR. McKISSICK: Where white people live they've got a right to operate that whichever way they want.

I think what you really need, I think you really need to read what we've already put out called the "Black Manifesto" where we break down the falsity of notions in this country. We've already said that everybody thought that black people wanted integration and that was the furthest thing from the truth. And the basic five groups of thinking in the black community, at least four of them tend towards black people wanting

to associate with black people in their shipping. The really largest movement where there are black people in the country was headed by Marcus Garvey. It wasn't headed by King, Roy Wilkins, McKissick, Whitney Young, or Stokley, or anybody else.

The combined forces of them didn't equal no three million, which Marcus Garvey had. Marcus Garvey plead for us to go back to Africa, the country wasn't worth a damn, it didn't intend to treat you right or nothing else.

And my position, and CORE's position is that we've got to control the ghetto. We clearly outlined the problem in the "Black Manifesto", which you've been given, and we show you the position of the reparat-
 tionists, the nationalists, the Muslims, and the integrationists, and the other odd-mixture groups. And I say there's no reason -- after we define that problem, there's no reason why the country can't deal with it if it wants to. Because it's to the country's best interests.

II. McCURDY: Would you advocate a separate political subdivision?

III. McKISSICK: Yes, I would. I believe

that we've got to have it. I believe in moving toward the nation statehood pattern. Yes. I believe that. I've lived in the South and I've lived in the North, and I've had my experiences in living. I'm 45 years old. I've had to fight for every one of my kids -- I had to fight for myself to go to school, and I had to fight for every one of my kids to go in school.

Larry knows all about from the days of the N.A.A.C.P. I've been fighting all of my life. If I had just used about one-half of those productive years, or had the opportunity to use them towards making money, for example, like white people have, I could have had something.

I have spent all my life fighting for something that I didn't know, a phantom. A Phantom. Everything I wanted to do raised an issue in some white man's mind. If I wanted to cross the damn street some white man figured I couldn't cross in this section of town. If I wanted to buy a house, some white man said: "No, he's a nigger, he can't buy over here."

If I wanted to go to the bathroom, this is an issue. I mean I don't feel like living like that,

and I don't advocate that anybody live like that.

I say: "Hell, if this is your game, you keep the hell out of Harlem and I'll keep the hell off of your turf."

If we want to have some mutual integration, when I want to go downtown I go downtown, and when you want to come to Harlem I'll let you come up here, but I'm going to own Harlem and I'm going to make the laws, the Government in Harlem.

And I think that's the best way to try to solve the problem. I think that those 10 percent that see the problem, we're dealing with 90 percent of the black masses. We're not dealing with the 10 percent, that is the integrationists. But what this country doesn't realize is that they've got to deal with the 90 percent.

They've made some little progress with the integrationists. They can move out to New Rochelle Westchester County, and like that, but that really ain't the problem, because you see tomorrow if somebody starts throwing Molotov Cocktails, them people who are integrated out there, they ain't going to be throwing none.

So therefore your problem ain't concerned

with them. You've already said integration wasn't an answer for that. But your problem is to deal with boat-rockers. And CORE represents the boat-rockers now. I think that's the problem. How are you going to deal with the boat-rockers.

MR. McCURDY: Do you see any solution other than what you have just talked about, that is, the political subdivision?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I see a number of solutions, and we're constantly working on problems. We're constantly working on problems. We work from many approaches. We have some 25 programs that we are seeking to put into play, some of which are working.

As I just now got a note from Mrs. Hatcher here, and I'm writing them another note now, because we want to get a thing going out there that we think is needed to really make this an effective community.

We are going to do -- we'd love to get a program started in North Carolina to really train some youth and go into the community in North Carolina. We're talking about some commercial programs. I'm interested in economics, and have been for a long time.

and I believe that this is an area which we have sorely neglected. I'm been hollering about this for the last four years. I tried to sell an economic program to the N.A.A.C.P. without success, but I think that we have got to really look at the problem in a total sense of really relinquishing power.

I think the white man has got to say am I willing to relinquish some power.

MR. McCURDY: What do you think would be the most effective device that could come out of the Commission or its study?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I think that the first thing that could come out of it is that -- I don't know whether you're going to ever get -- I don't know whether your Commission is going to get the credibility in the first place that it needs. I think your Commission is not made up right. It's a political Commission.

I think there are two or three mistakes made at the outset. I don't think you put anybody in it who expressed -- nobody's permanently on the Commission who expresses black power positions. I think that that's really what you need. That's what you've got to under-

stand or you just do some in-breeding hearing from everybody who thinks just alike.

Anybody can go before the mirror and talk to himself, you know, and I think that's what you're going to get. I don't think a lot of people trust you. Your credibility -- you've got a credibility gap there. Also you're mainly political, so you've got two credibility gaps. It doesn't look like you really want any information, in the last analysis. I don't think you're really getting -- and I don't think a lot of people are going to ever tell you anything, because they don't trust you and they think that all you're gathering now is getting information to use against them.

And a lot of people I've heard say that. They wouldn't tell you a damn thing for the simple reason that all you're going to do is try to take what you get and use it against them. I don't fear that, because I don't figure that a lot of people are capable of knowing how to use what they've got, you know, on the basis of so many errors that they've made. So that doesn't fear me.

I'm going to tell you what I think, I'm going to always keep the door open, with the hope that something can be worked out. If the door ain't open then I know what role I'm going to play and I know you know what role you're going to play, or the Commission's going to play, you see.

MR. McCURDY: What recommendations do you think the Commission ought to make?

MR. McKISSICK: I think the Commission ought to really say let's change this Commission, in the first damn place and make it credible and to make it reliable, and get some people who know what they're doing. And I don't think that many people on the Commission know what they're doing. They don't want to even approach the problem right.

MR. McCURDY: Well, how should they approach it?

MR. McKISSICK: I think they ought to approach it by what has the white man done to black people to make the black man reach this state of thinking. What has the white man done! Plot the roles of white people, not the roles of black people! Redefine

crime. And I say that as a lawyer. Re-define crime. What is crime? Have white people committed crimes against black people? If you make an approach like that, maybe you can get some validity.

But when you're going to automatically throw the blame on black people to start off with, then I'm hell-bent against you, because I know that we aren't that damn criminal in the first place. We are a very friendly, docile people, and we've been on this continent, and we've made this God-damn continent what it is. It wasn't the white man who made it. He had the money.

But our attitude and our disposition is what made it possible for him to make it, and he ain't had enough gratitude to say: Thank you, man. Even when we helped him take the country from the Indians, he didn't even try to bring about no fair deal. He didn't even live up to his promise of 40 acres and a mule when the Union -- Sherman never could have got through Atlanta without the black cats who joined him and made it possible for him to go through Atlanta. They never could have gone through, and they ain't even never said thank you for that.

This is the country of ingratitude to black people, and I think you need to understand --
white people better understand why black people hate them, and then try to work from that point of position, rather than blaming black people, because black people don't even know why they're blaming them in the first place.

And if they don't know why they're blaming them, you can condemn them all you want, but they don't accept your condemnation, they don't accept your moral standards.

You've got two sets of values. Hell, if you ask me do I steal, I have stole because I had to steal. I wanted to go to college. I've bell-hopped and waited tables and I don't think there's a damn thing wrong with it. Because if I hadn't stole I never could have made it. And a whole lot of black people steal.

And if they have to work --- and I remember in 1939 when you had to work for 15 cents an hour, there were black men who worked for white men who were going to steal them a pork chop and a piece of bread or something to try to make it, to educate his kids. A d

they did, too.

And I think when you start talking about the values of the white society and the values of the Black society, boy! there's a gap! You've got to really recognize what we've done. And don't forget that monsters -- we created this damn problem that we've got, this monstrous problem. We created it. I think the white man's got to start looking at himself.

MR. McCURDY: If you were on the Commission, if you were going to make the recommendations to the President, what recommendations would you make?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I don't want to say what recommendations I would want to make right now. I think we've got a series of programs that I'm talking about. I don't mean just -- one of the biggest problems we've got, we just quit talking in CORE half the time, because we don't give a damn about the press, the press can't make you and the press can't break you, the way we look at it. And I'm not just trying to make no recommendations for the press. I'm interested in trying to do something and the press ain't going to give you no favorable light, because this is part of the system any-

way.

They never did attempt to give a rational definition of black power! They made black power associated totally with violence. This wasn't the intent. And this is the same thing I was talking about earlier. So the press is just as bad as the other part of it.

I made a statement before the American Newspaper Editors Association and said the only thing they were printing is when two black men were fighting each other, then you put that on the first page. You don't put a damn thing else in there. You put the people on the society page and then you say they're talking about a separatist society. You've already separated them. You see what I'm trying to say?

You've already separated them. So I think we've got to look at what white people do. I think that would be the first approach.

And then you're talking about law and order in the streets...

MR. McCURDY: Yes, I wanted to ask you about that. What is your opinion or attitude on the crime in the streets bill?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I think you're just begging for an issue. I think that's one way to bait a trap, because I think you're going to have to spring a trap and it ain't going to be a good trap to spring.

MR. McCURDY: What do you mean?

MR. McKISSICK: I think you're just baiting it for people. I think you're setting the stage. I think all you're doing this summer. I think indicting Dr. Spock, I think indicting William Coffin, at Yale, all you're doing is setting the stage to do the same thing to black people. I think black people realize it, too.

I mean this is the same way you did Dodd and Powell. You made a mistake when you went after Powell first, so you had to go get a white man to say that you ain't got no double standard. But then after you got a white man you didn't do nothing to him.

Now you're jumping on Spock and William Coffin at Yale on the grounds that they are assisting in violating the law in giving information to would-be draft dodgers. That's just opening the door, and you're

going to do it to white people first, so you can justify any more brutal things that you're going to do to black people. And black people know it.

They know it because they're losing faith, those that have not already lost faith, a tremendous number of them are losing faith in this country, and this country's ability to solve the problems. They make Saigon have a priority over Detroit or Newark! They spend 66 billions dollars a day fighting that war over there, and it costs them \$370,000 -- the figures up a little bit, probably \$385,000 now, for every so-called Viet Cong that we kill.

And man! we're paying with our lives between 22 and 25%, it depends upon which outfit's in action, the way black people are doing it, and it looks like a war just to exterminate black people. To exterminate black people and yellow people.

And we aren't over there fighting for any legitimate good and all that money that's wasted over there ought to be spent here, solving the problems.

We have a warped sense of morality and I think we're so obsessed with our superiority complex

of white people, racial supremacy idea, that we can't really see where this country's going, and I think the country is slowly moving toward Fascism. I think the country's slowly moving toward Fascism. I think when the mayor -- let's just look at the indices of this. You look down at Miami, Fla., the chief of police down there, he announced the hell with the Human Relations Board, he's going to get guns and shoot down spooks, and all this thing.

You turn right around and you've got in Philadelphia, Rizzoto -- what's his name -- Rizio, and you come right on up the country here, and you find that they're doing the same thing to LeRoi Jones over here. Suppression of free speech. A judge is sentencing a man on the basis of two reports that he wrote, which is entirely, out and out, even in the record, beyond the evidence.

And you tell black people to have respect for law and order? And if I jump up -- what do you want me to do, stand up and tell black people to have respect for law and order?

My people say: Man, you don't even know.

what's happening if I jumped up there and took a stupid position like that.

So you're defying law and order. And one thing I think the white people better understand is they're doing a very good job of unifying black people. A very good job. Every time they refuse to give them a job, they come back home and they're ready to take your business. Every time they try to make a success, and they say hell no, you don't promote them in the banks, you don't promote them in the post office, you don't promote them in Government, you don't promote them in Civil Service, you don't give them a job, and you keep them in the gutter and you keep them in the street, man, you're breeding all of the thing that you want to do.

You're moving on a track towards genocide, I think. And I think it's being done intentionally, because of a white supremacy attitude and the inability to communicate. And right now I can't -- now let me tell you this: I don't even communicate with anybody on your Commission. I don't communicate with them. So how can they understand me? And I do represent segment

of the people in this country, and by the records, it looks like that we represent five times more than I used to think we represented, three months ago.

And some how or another I'm not communicating with half of those "boards". But when you communicate with them, they really are not hearing what you are trying to say. They are trying to find a short-cut solution to keep from giving up some power. And if that's the idea that we're communicating on, that's not going to do any good. We' just might as well understand each other's position.

MR. McCURDY: What, then, do you see as the end result, what is all this going to lead to? You know, we're on the road to genocide and we're not -- it looks like we're on a collision course. We're really -- the white community is not attempting to understand the black community, or do anything about it in any meaningful way. What is going to be the end result?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I don't know. I could very easily say that Congress ought to appropriate the billions of dollars over a series of periods of years. I could point to the programs that we are trying to set

up and establish in CORE, I could point to a number of things like that, but the programs are not going to solve everything, the attitude that the white man has towards the black man, or the attitude that the black man has toward a white man.

MR. STILL: Do you think we can deal with this attitude, do you think it can be dealt with realistically?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes, if you want to listen to somebody and try to deal with it realistically. And you may make some errors, but you're going to have to trust some people, and you can't just trust those people because these people say what you want them to say. Now for instance, Urban Coalition made one hell of a mistake in Detroit, and they don't even understand why they made a mistake and why Kling couldn't take that \$100,000. They really don't understand it.

That's because they've never really heard nothing about what black power is. And they violate every principal of black power, expecting him to take it, and he would have been considered a sell-out, and he wouldn't even have been any good to the Urban Coalition.

he wouldn't have been any good to himself, and he wouldn't have been good to the city of Detroit if he had taken money. You see what I mean?

MR. McCURDY: Yes.

MR. McKESSICK: So the Urban Coalition defeated its own purpose by not saying this man has respect, this man has integrity, we're not going to stand over him and watch him, we're going to let the community set up its own mechanism for solving its problems, and that's where they goofed.

Right now Urban Coalition -- I don't know what they're going to do, but they sure goofed on their first appraisal of the matters I saw.

MR. McCURDY: You said a little while ago that Negroes are a pleasant, and a friendly and a docile person and this seems to be borne out. There was an attitude survey that was taken that seemed to say that there is more hatred, much more hatred on the part of the white people toward Negroes than they found on the part of Negroes toward white people. Now do you have any comments to make on that?

MR. McKESSICK: Yes. First of all, my

position is that the black man, if you treat him right, and you treat him fair, you can get along with him. You can get along with him. We've been docile for all these number of years. But why is it that the docility is wearing thin?

That's because we've found out that the man won't even treat you right! Even when you take a small slice of the pie, man, he don't even want to give you a part of the damn pie! You tell him you want the power of integration, he wants to choose your leaders for you, and set the philosophy for you to follow. He ain't made no effort to integrate Wall Street.

He'll let you sleep with a white women, but he says: "You ain't going to get my God-damned money!" you see. And that's a hell of a difference, because it's the economics in this society that's determining. The economic system as well as the political system.

MR. STILL: Floyd, there's been a suggestion that one of the stumbling blocks to control of the black community, particularly in the larger urban areas, has been the so-called "syndicate" operation and the fact that they resist and that in the final analysis

it definitely says that they would not allow this to come about. Is there any comment on that?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, I think that there is some truth to that. I think that there are so many patterns of control. You can go to each city, and vice is controlled by the underworld. You see, I think that if this Commission of Civil Disorders really wanted to do something, why don't you come out with a study on vice, who controls the underworld, prosecute all these people that make people dope addicts. That's another form of economic slavery which is controlled by the underworld:

In the State of the Union message, President Johnson offered no leadership. Drugs, one of the major problems in this area, we ought to legalize the drugs in order to take the profit out of the drugs. I think that we've got to do some imaginative thinking if we want to clear the problems of the ghetto.

You can't talk about clearing the problems of the ghetto unless you talk about the vice in the ghetto. And you've got to talk about the control of vice in that ghetto, and you've got to see who con-

trols it, and then you go back to the gangs in the syndicate.

MR. STILL: But do you know of any evidence that so-called operations of that type have definitely attempted to warn black power advocates in certain areas?

MR. McKISSICK: I have heard some rumors. When you say -- I'm under oath, and as a lawyer if you said do I have evidence, I have no first-hand evidence. I have some hear-say evidence, and I would be inclined to recognize the individuals that I have talked to, I would consider them credible witnesses. But I still would not say that this is conclusive evidence by any means.

MR. STILL: What do you think is going to happen this summer?

MR. McKISSICK: The answer is, what has been done to bring about changes for black people since last summer? You see. I think that right now it's a question of techniques and strategy. It's a question of techniques and strategy. You may very well find that a lot of black people see all of the tanks and police

guns and lace that's being built and bought in all of these cities around here -- black folks know it, they know what's shaking. They know they're getting ready to shoot them down. They just want to try out these weapons on black people.

I don't know. Black people might not decide to let you just shoot them down like cats and dogs. They might decide that if they've got to go, they ain't going to go like that.

There's one thing I teach them. If I got to go I ain't going to march to no -- always to no damn gas chamber. And I ain't telling them to march to no gas chamber that way. If they're going to go, then we've got to figure out ways and means.

MR. McCURDY: Do you think that rioting, or rebellion, or whatever word...

MR. McKISSICK: That's the right word, rebellion.

MR. McCURDY: Do you think that rebellions are going to take a different form, in light of what has been happening and what is likely to happen?

MR. McKISSICK: That depends on the man.

MR. McCURDY: I don't understand you. It depends on the man, you say? The person rebelling?

MR. McMISSICK: You see, first of all you've got to understand that every damn city in this state you've got black people who feel pretty near the same whether they live in Harlem, Watts, Newark, Washington, Durham, N.C., or Charlotte, N.C., Columbia, S.C., Miami, St. Petersburg, or Bessemer, Ala., they all have got a common thread that is among them

They all know that the white man is got his foot at the wrong place on them. They know that. All it takes is some stupid white cop -- the cop is already running over. They already resent it. All it takes is one stupid white cop to come in and exercise the wrong amount of power, and we've got a thing going. You see what I'm trying to say?

And that's generally what happens. From time to time. Some white person slapping down a black woman. I've see it just about happen out here. We stopped it one day. But that's all it takes to communities like that. White people have already made the communities like that, not black people. White people

made them like that. All that hate has piled up, and generated disillusionment and despair, frustration. They ain't got nothing, they don't own nothing, nothing means nothing, so what do they worry about

They don't own the land they live on. It's all a form of economic slavery. The stuff is already there in the ghetto. Now you ask what's going to happen. Hell, if you haven't cleaned it up in the last centuries and decades, it's still there, brother, and all it takes is an incident, and its going to hit.

And when it hits, then you've got your problem.

MR. McCURDY: Then do you think the problem -- do you think that the disorder or rebellion will take the same shape it has or do you think it's going to take a different shape?

MR. McKISSICK: I've got a lot of notions and ideas on that, but I would not want to one to say that right now. I've got some opinions about it, and I don't care to express those opinions right now.

MR. McCURDY: Let's go off the record for a moment.

(Discussion off the record.)

MR. McCURDY: Mr. McKissick, what is your opinion of the administration of our welfare system?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, first of all I think the welfare system, the poverty programs, and such programs are a farce. I think if we really are dealing with the problem we'd be trying to abolish welfare and really abolish poverty by letting everybody have a stake in what going on in this society.

So I think social work is something that's out of date, a bunch of social workers doing some do-gooder things who don't even know what they're doing or how to do it, and we just really aren't trying to solve the problems that we've got today.

We're not living in 1920 any more, and those 1920 methods ain't goint to help you solve 1958 problems.

So I don't believe in working primarily for a better welfare system. While I believe people need to live and have something, but I believe in helping people get off welfare.

MR. McCURDY: By filling the need to work.

MR. McKISSICK: Yes, self-help programs. That's what we advocate, and we're having some success with it. I don't think welfare is all that good.

MR. McCURDY: You have to leave here about 4:30?

MR. McKISSICK: Yes, I have to leave here in a minute. And I want you to leave now.

MR. McCURDY: Yes, O.K. I don't want to keep you. But one question I want to ask you. If you just had the power to change one thing in this country, what would you change?

MR. McKISSICK: I'd stop the war in Vietnam. We've first of all got to have some morality. We don't recognize the wisdom of God or the teachings. We've got to have a sense of morality, and you've got to let people know why you're stopping it. After you stop that, then your second move would be to see what funds could be allocated.

Call an extraordinary session of the Congress, and I'd bring in key people, and I'd make the Congress run. I'd bring in key people who could talk and relate and deal with the problems of this country.

An extraordinary session, of the Congress. Because one of the things, most of our Congressmen are politically inspired and ignorant, and they have ignorant constituents, and they can't move.

I'd cut all the programs off the TV and any damn thing and I'd have nothing but educational programs, or programs hearing this dialogue. There would be monitors all over. On every key person who was talking on Congress. Talking about how to deal with this problem.

We'd take some immediate -- we'd deal with some immediate problems. And then I'd deal with "Band-aid" proposals while I was trying to reach a long-range program. I'd find out who the people won't and who the people will trust to represent them, and I'd see what could be done in each of the key black communities throughout this country, and I would really emphasize the building of a black economic base, black economic base. Capitalism is either going to fall or fall on whether the black man becomes a capitalist.

MR. McCURDY: One more question and I'm going to let you go.

MR. McCURDY: If you could make any change in the educational system, what change or changes would you make?

MR. McKISSICK: Well, first of all I helped found a school here and I'll say my kids can meet any kids that you can find, after World War II. A business school. And we taught them kids. We had kids come there with I.Q.'s of 40 and 50 and when they left they were 110, 120. That school was founded right after World War II, in Durham, N.C.

And I know what can be done with kids, and you can give me the most stupid kids that you can find. And these kids can be reached, and they can be trained.

And I think I would change the whole system of education so that a black kid, the minute that kids gets out of school, he's going to have a marketable skill, when he's finished high school, not college.

MR. STILL: Some of those changes suggest -- present problems in the framework of our society. And they present...

MR. McKISSICK: Then we've got to change

those, we've got to change the framework of our society, and that's the reason I say we need an extraordinary session of Congress. So that you can deal with any problem that you've got.

I think you've got to listen to black people. All those Congressmen up there that are talking, they've got to realize that all they've been listening to is white talks, and they've got to listen to some black talk for a change. And they've got to really hear black talk and we ought to bring a series of people before them with really prepared documents and statements, to really give them some of the answers to the problems, because they don't know and they ain't going to get it the way they're going about it now. They don't have it.

MR. McCURDY: Is there any recommendation, as a final word, that you want to make to this Commission, or anything you want to say to them, in any manner?

MR. McKISSICK: No, I don't have any final word, as such. I don't have any final word. I think we've got an on-going problem and I don't think

that we can try to reach broad, general principles. I think we've got to meet and deal with the problem.

It's just like we had a problem with Baltimore that we were able to solve before the problem exploded into something big. The fact is that we were able to solve it and it didn't spread.

We've got problems that need action right away and you can't say things generally. I think one needs the mechanism to move and operate and do. And I think that I wouldn't want to give any general word, any last word. I think there has to be constant communication.

Communication is going to have to be on a respectable basis, in dignity, according dignity to the black man and recognizing that his difference -- because he doesn't think like a white man, the white man just discounts that idea. But he's got to deal with that idea. He's going to deal with it one way or the other.

MR. SPILL: Some of the groups are moving toward a united front -- black front concept and in several cities. Do you see such a pattern nationwide, a move

toward a united black front for all groups?

MR. McKESSICK: I just came back from Detroit and we've got a CORE chapter in Detroit, and we've got Brother King's group and we've always been real tight on communications. And we associate with groups all over the country whether they carry the name of CORE or not. And right now we've got every conceivable philosophy within CORE on the common basis of black philosophy and black thinking, and I know our spectacular growth over the past year would indicate that that type of thinking of a black united front is here, I would think, because we're not asking a person what is your religion, now. We don't ask that question.

We ask him to work for the good of the black community and work for black power, and I just wrote an editorial -- I think that's it. I don't know, I was out of town, but I think this is -- Yes, Black Unity and Political Reality was the column, and that's one of the articles I've written since I agreed to start writing on the first of January. And you can go back and get those articles and see what my philosophy is, in

depth.

MR. McCURDY: Well, Mr. McKissick, thank
you very much.

MR. McKISSICK: O.K.

MR. McCURDY: Let's cut it off now.

(End of interview.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Detroit, Michigan
December 13, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Speaking Appearance Of Floyd
B. Mc Kissick, National Director
Of The Congress Of Racial
Equality, At Detroit, Michigan,
December 11, 1966

On December 13, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that Floyd B. Mc Kissick, National Director of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), was the featured speaker at a fund raising affair held on December 11, 1966, at the Central United Church of Christ, 7625 Linwood, Detroit, Michigan. This affair was sponsored by CORE and the Inner City Organizing Committee (ICOC).

The source stated that there were approximately 532 people present at this affair and that it was announced that \$581.00 had been collected for CORE and the ICOC.

Mc Kissick spoke on the emergence of black power and said that 1966 is the year that the Negro gained his dignity. Mc Kissick stated that CORE was in serious financial difficulty and urged future support from the community. MC Kissick explained in detail the term "black power" and pointed out that the white man fears this slogan.

The source advised that another speaker during the evening was Alvin Harrison of the Adult Community Movement for Equality (ACME), who appeared to be quite militant, urging that Negroes in Rhodesia take up guns and drive the whites into the Cape of Good Hope.

Source further advised that a Dr. Ismeal (phonetic) from Africa, who stated he represented the United Arab

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By CTS NLJ 1522-109-1
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CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Speaking Appearance of Floyd
B. Mc Kissick, at Detroit

Republic, also spoke and stated that the Negroes in Africa are ready to aid in the fight of the American Negroes for freedom.

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In Reply, Please Refer to
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

McKissick

22

100-35635

Chicago, Illinois
Sept. 8, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL

NATION OF ISLAM
INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

A characterization of the Nation of Islam (NOI) is attached hereto.

On September 7, 1966, a confidential source advised that Floyd B. Mc Kissick of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) met with Elijah Muhammad, the national leader of the NOI, on September 6, 1966, at the latter's residence, 4847 South Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. The meeting, which lasted for some thirty minutes, was the result of several invitations extended to Mc Kissick by Muhammad.

Muhammad and Mc Kissick discussed black unity. Muhammad emphasized that Mc Kissick must follow his program and unite under the "crescent" of Islam. Muhammad told Mc Kissick that there was nothing for the black man under christianity and during the meeting he, Muhammad, went into an anti-white tirade. Mc Kissick's general reply to any proposals put forth by Muhammad was that he would have to take it up with his Board of Directors. Muhammad's tirade was

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By: CTS, NARA, Date: 10/1/19

NATION OF ISLAM

CONFIDENTIAL

extremely in poor taste and resulted in Mc Kissick becoming cool towards Muhammad and cutting the meeting short. No evidence of rapport between Muhammad and Mc Kissick was noted as a result of this meeting.

Floyd B. Mc Kissick is the Director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

1

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

On April 29, 1966, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

2.b

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

100-35635

Chicago, Illinois
Sept. 8, 1966

Title NATION OF ISLAM

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - NATION OF ISLAM

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By CTS, NARA, Date 10/1/19



In Reply, Please Refer to
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Newark, New Jersey

September 21, 1967

POSSIBLE RACIAL INCIDENT
HUBBARD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY
SEPTEMBER 9, 1967
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to the memorandum in this matter dated September 12, 1967.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 19, 1967, that the following is a verbatim transcript of a speech delivered by Floyd Mc Kissick, Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) at Hubbard Junior High School, Plainfield, New Jersey, on September 9, 1967:

"Thank you for your warm applause. I am glad to be in Plainfield tonight. I've been here a couple of times just looking around. And I think I owe you some congratulations. And I first want to congratulate you as a community who had a rebellion this summer. That's the first thing I want to congratulate you for. But secondly, I want to commend you for having damn good sense. Pardon me, Reverend. And that is not to turn in them guns. Now I say that for two or three reasons. Now, if I were a psychiatrist or psychologist, anytime something is stolen, it's always been the nigger who stole it, you see. They couldn't even think that maybe it might have been some white people who got something. They automatically condemn you because you happen to be a hapless child born of this color hue. And that's what the reason they start accusing you about. Nobody saw anybody get them guns in the first place. If they had seen them, they would have got them and they would have shot 'em down if they wanted to get 'em because that's the way they always do it. So I don't (inaudible) to turn in no guns if you knew they were. There's no need to turn them in.

POSSIBLE RACIAL INCIDENT
HUBBARD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY
SEPTEMBER 9, 1967

"I don't know - we come into your city at your invitation to establish a CORE chapter. I better tell you what we all about. Because in case some of you here, and I know some of you gonna go back and tell the man tomorrow, and I really don't care if you do. You can tell anybody what I say 'cause the day's coming we ain't goin' back on what we say and we gonna let the man knows there is some people who got the guts and courage and will say what they believe. So, white folks, just get ready to listen. I don't care. And they gonna always try and get one or two stooges around anyhow, see, but one of the first things I wanna let you know that I'm as nonviolent as any man can be if folks treat me right, don't steal from me, don't call me bad names, don't slap against my head, and for God's sakes don't hit my women folks. I am as non-violent as anybody can be, see, but if you start slapping me side my head, start hitting my women folks, start calling me names and want to take and steal what not only what they owe me, but what I'm supposed to get, brother, you got a fight.

"And I don't stand up and tell any black man anywhere the Constitution gives everybody a right to bear arms. And I get sick at these people thinking that black people are sub-human and I teach this in CORE and I'm telling you now, so if you don't like it, get up and walk out. And then we'll know what's left is ready, you see.

"What I'm telling you, I believe that if the Constitution gives white people the right to have guns, I believe that every black man got a right to have a gun. And I don't believe its necessary for us to accomplish anything by going down and letting people beat on you head and keep saying, 'I'm peaceful, I'm gonna love you if it kills me.' That's ain't the kind of love I'm hunting for. I want some living love, and if I live, God knows I can take care of my private love fast. So I don't ask black people to humiliate themselves. I don't think that anybody can really face themselves or

POSSIBLE RACIAL INCIDENT
HUBBARD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY
SEPTEMBER 9, 1967

"their children when the great day comes around and they say, 'Mama, or daddy, what did you do during the struggle?' You say, 'I knelt down and I said, 'I love you white man, just keep beatin' me.' That kind of philosophy is putrid. It's putrid. You know what its actually saying, its actually saying this: that black people don't have the same rights as white people. You got a right to be violent and conduct an, kind of war you want. Anywhere in the world. But I as a black person have got to be submissive and anything that I get from you, I'm gonna come begging to you for.

"You see, and I don't believe that black people should actually infect their minds into thinking that they are inferior people or that they should do less than any other people. They even got black people so psychologically warped right now a days that cat, you don't know everybody's suffering from or got a schizophrenic personality or something from neurosis or psychosis or something. I mean, right now black people haven't got a right to hate. And if you say man I hate spinach or I hate you, you know. I hear black men, 'Oh, don't you say that Mc Kissick, you know, don't you say you hate 'em.' I say I hate ever living gut got or he may go. The study of psychology shows that every man have got the capacity to love and that every man has got the capacity to hate and people just don't hate without a reason to hate. And those people who are hated, God knows that they are justified the hate that they get, because they put it out, and man only gets in return what he delivered first.

"There ain't no need of me standing up here telling you that I want you to be nonviolent. No, I ain't telling you that lie. That ain't 'cause position. We believe that you got a Constitutional right to do whatever other men ought to do and that people ain't telling you that's your right, they telling you a lie, 'cause the Constitution says so. So you got a right to be as free as anybody else living in this society. So, that's the first thing I want to tell you about CORE.

POSSIBLE RACIAL INCIDENT
HUBBARD JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY
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"Secondly, we ain't the organization that we used to be. No, we ain't the organization we used to be. 'Cause we don't believe anymore, and many of us didn't believe then, that integration - running down the street begging to integrate with somebody - I ain't never believed in no way. I mean, you know, I if, you know, first of all its gonna take all my life, my children's life, and the next children's life, for all this assimilation and intermarriage to take place. You see what it means. So if you accept integration as a goal, it ain't gonna be accomplished in your lifetime. That's one.

"Two. It's stupid for us to go around. Black people are wonderful people. They are the greatest thing that God ever created. You see, the only reason that you get kicked if you try to go eat a hotdog on the stands, you know in the South, and I'm a Southerner and I know what it is down there - things get rough. And this is the reason I'm taking the position that I've taken today. Because man, you don't live but one time no way, you don't know when you goin' no way, you don't know how you gonna get wasted. And so what's the need of living a useless life. Then if you don't know that, then you gotta live your life with some philosophical concept. And you beg this man to let me in your hotel, let me in your house, let me in your schools, let me in over here, let me in over there, let me pray with you. Now that's the silliest thing I ever heard. These prayin'-ins and kneel-ins. You know what I mean. That man got his church, that man got his church over there. Christ ain't never been in it and how the hell we think we gonna get in it.

"So, what do we want to be integrated with. Frankly speaking, I don't know what you want to be integrated with. There are some good white people that I can see. I don't say that all white people are bad. There are some good cats. But they is far and in between, and that's the safest deal when you know there's a whole lot of them around and they asked me tonight, say we got some white people out here, do you want 'em in the meeting. I say I don't

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"care, let 'em in here, I'm gonna say what I'm gonna say anyway. I mean I don't care. I mean I'm gonna say what I'm gonna say. But the safest bet is you can't trust 'em. So somebody's got to adopt a rule of thumb. They do that in law every day. And see, they gonna tell you that you are biggoted and you are prejudiced 'cause sometimes you say you don't want no white people around. That's a lie, they got a rule of evidence called the hearsay rule. You generally exclude everything, but you always have a method of letting in the exceptions. That's law. So you ain't doing nothing wrong, if you decide to have a meeting and exclude all white people. They been doin' it and they made the rule. And this is the thing that we always get confused about.

"We let these people take us around, dig in our heads and put some brains in it, some white talcum powder, put the top back on it, man, and we run off and think that we know what's happening in the world, man. That is the thing this man has really got a magnificent system to control black folks. And this is the same thing that happened in Plainfield here.

"And one of the things that we have talked about, I really want to see happen here. I want to see you get some strong unity here. I mean you got to get some unity here that when the leader says we gonna move at six o'clock, we move at six o'clock. You see, the greatest weapon this man's got is his ability to divide us. They divide the churches, they divide the teachers, they divide every group and segment in the community. I just listened to a statement you got a youth program here. A poverty program. You got this over here.

"Let me tell you something, they can't separate you because when they get ready to put a trick on you, all you got to do is be black and they don't care what organization you is or where you come from. They'll pull that trigger. It's just like they tell the lie in Detroit. I don't know whether ths is the truth or not, but they said that in Detroit, you know,

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"that the brothers were takin' care of business and the bright fires were burning and they got another business and said here come one of them Negroes out of there. You know what a Negro is. He ain't no black man. Like one of these reporters asked me the other day - 'Mr. Mc Kissick, as a Negro leader....' I said, 'Hell, you talkin' to the wrong man. I ain't no Negro leader. I'm a black leader. I ain't no Negro leader.' But one of these Negroes came out here boy, all the National Guard was on the streets, you know, and he says, and they had these guns pointed at him and he said, 'wait a minute, I'm a good Negro, I always supported the mayor.' And these guards didn't hear. They didn't hear. And they went up the side his head with a rifle.

"And all I'm trying to say is when the deal falls down, it don't make no difference if you a real light-skinned black person and don't make no difference if you two-toned, no it don't make no difference if you real black or three or four shades. Because when those National Guards go out, they got one thing in mind. One thing in mind, to deal with the niggers. That's the category you're in and it doesn't make any difference how much money you got downtown, that you've been eatin' dinner with the mayor, or that you know the members of the city council or anything else. That's the time that it doesn't matter.

"All I want to tell you my dear friends is you can't run away from the fact that you black. And there ain't no need of trying to run away with the fact that you black. Because its real beautiful to me. And I'm very proud that I'm what I am. They tell me that I got some Indian in me too. For I don't know how all these thing happen. I don't know whether these were voluntary associations or not, but when it ends up, well, if I have, now can I know where I'm mad. 'Cause this country killed out all the Indians and what they didn't kill out, they put on reservations. So on the other hand, I'm mad at them for two things. I got two reasons to be mad.

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"Now I wanna go back to this CORE program we talkin' about. When we talk about black power, you know, these two little words -- they scare the livin' daylight out of this country. You were talking integration, ain't nobody gettin' that scared. Everybody gave you money. 'Cause they had the power to integrate. So, since they had the power to integrate, that could control it. It also gave them t'is opportunity to do what else - to make black leaders. So they could choose the leaders that you wanted. If this one said integration was the thing, then they said he is a good nigger. They said he said, 'I'm for integration - I'm for being peaceful.' They said he is a good nigger. But what about them other niggers over on that side, you see. Those other folks over there are hollering black power, because he can't control black power, because black power says, we don't know what the circumstances are, but we know that we had better get unified and if we get unified among ourselves to be ready to help each other when this man is ready to crack down on us; help each other financially, help each other politically, throw Addonizio out in Newark if he ain't doing right.

"You see, a lot of philosophy and the whole psychology behind the other philosophy is that you develop how to do things with a little bit of nothing and you develop self respect with black power. But with integration, you always say, 'White man, you the leader.' He chooses black leaders and he can also just run integration up. Do you ever see the yoyo, he runs that thing up and down and will give you a little bit today and a little bit tomorrow.

"Now you see, President Johnson off on the wrong kick right now. Now he's dealing the way they used to handle us, way a long time ago. See now, Thurgood Marshall appointed to the Supreme Court. I liked Thurgood. Thurgood was loyal in my case going to the University of North Carolina. He's a good man. I probably would be a little more radical if I were on the court, but let's say Thurgood Marshall down there. So that's supposed to pacify all you folks. All right, that's one.

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"So the other day, they decided there gonna do a little bit better. So now, they went up to New York and they got Washington and they gonna bring him down here. And they gonna make him the mayor or equivalent to the mayor of D.C. Now he thinks that you satisfied. Are you satisfied? Now, I know the reason you ain't satisfied.

"One. The first reason is this - the time is past when they can pick one of a million, twenty-five million, black people. We been saying twenty-two million in this country for the last, after the last two censuses. There's twenty-five million black people in this country, even more. You see, even the white folks say so now. But they gonna take two people, two middle-class black people, and they gonna use these two people to pacify all of you. Now how many of you got any bread in your pocket when they took these two people and elevated them. Did you get any? I didn't either.

"Now, the next thing, why is it if they really wanted to do something - and they know we're talkin' about black power - we have already said that one of the black man has got to have. He's going to determine for himself what he wants from now on. Ain't no white man gonna tell me what I want. If my foot hurts, I say my foot hurts and he better not tell me its my neck.

"We already said we got to have - we're going to determine what we want. The first thing we wanted was political power; the second thing was economic power; the third thing was an improved self-image of ourselves, and the fourth thing was the development of leadership among ourselves; five, to work for the enforcement of Federal laws and the sixth, the development of consumer power - black consumer power - and that's black power.

"Now, he done violated the first cardinal sin. One: we ain't decided that we wanted Washington to head the District of Columbia; two: we already told them we were going to make our own decisions - we wanted the right to vote and black people in the

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"District of Columbia still don't have the right to vote and Washington ain't no substitute.

"So once again, this is the story goes. He's trying to pacify us with something that used to pacify us twenty years ago. These are the tricks that they pull. Now, they don't want you to have political power because they see and they know that in ten years there gonna be at least twelve cities in the United States that black people will be able to control politically. That's the (inaudible) of it. They know that. Now what it is, they simply don't want you to control.

"This is the true crux. The crux of it is that we no longer are interested in honorary positions: one nigger on the school board; one nigger on the welfare council; one over here; one over there. Then they'll stand up and say 'We are integrated.' We got one spook in each place and that's all, see.

"Now, they know that we are no longer going for honorary positions, so what is the logical step. We've already told them that their economic power is what we want. And as I heard one of them confess at a meeting, at a hotel, one of my waiter friends, who was waiting tables at one of the big white hotels here, and one of the city planners said, 'Oh, Lord, have mercy, said if that Mc Kissick and Carmichael - that's the way it was then - Rap weren't up there then - he said Lord, if that Mc Kissick and Carmichael were to get the budget of the City of Newark;' said, 'they'd hired every nigger in Newark on the city payroll.' And this is what he knows that if he gets, if we move for political power, we are going to control the purse strings of Newark; we are going to control the purse strings of Gary, Indiana, and we're going to control a whole lot of purse strings throughout here.

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"And then that comes the day when you don't have to worry about going down here talking about integrating the police force. Hell, 60 per cent of the black people and 60 per cent of the population in Newark is black. You ain't got no problem. All the police force ought to be 60 per cent black. You control the police force. You don't have to worry about picketing the welfare office - you control it, you own it. That's what he's afraid of and that's what we're talking about. Getting some economic power - we know that with politics there is money.

"You see, one other thing I want to mention to you: during all of these days of integration, which place is it that really needs to be integrated in this country. And it never was. You could eat at the hotdog stand, you could go to the Statler Hilton, the Holiday Inn, you can go integrate anyplace in this country, and then the Supreme Court came and you can even marry a white woman. That's right. You could integrate with anything, but one thing that man wasn't going to let you integrate with. You know what that was - Wall Street, where his money is. He ain't gonna let you integrate down there. So this is what I'm talking about, he's gonna keep that money at all costs. You can go to bed with anybody if you want to but don't bother his money. I mean that's that cat's, so let him go.

"So, what I'm trying to say, my friends, when we start talking about unity - and I commend this community a third time tonight - because I came by a co-op store that was out here and I went into that co-op store that was just gettin' started and I met everybody that was in the store and took time to shake hands and I met the manager - and you start building, even though its a small enterprise over here - when you start building that kind of store and when you stop that middle man from coming in here, operating these businesses by daytime and running to the suburbs by nighttime, then you on the way of gettin' some of the money and you can

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"stop that money that you have to work so hard for from going back out of the community and building his riches and a great big Cadillac to drive in here and exploit you some more.

"So what we got to do is start thinking in terms of building - I mean building co-ops. And once again I want to tell you I don't be wanting to build a whole lots of things where a whole lot of people goin' put money in the pocket at the sacrifice of little black people. And I ain't for building no great big black capitalist cats who gonna run all the bars and everything and drain and bleed these poor little people in this community for a psychological drink on Saturday night. You see, one thing we got to be frank among ourselves. Anytime one of these Negroes sets up these business and he starts exploiting black people the same way the white people start exploiting, we got to put him down, too. He gotta be put down. The main struggle that we got is the struggle against an oppressive system and that system is the capitalistic system. That system is what exploits us. It exploits us daily and no black man should become associated so much so with that system that he's goin' to exploit his own brothers. We got to teach him a code of ethics, that he is going to understand in dealing with his brothers.

"Now, I'm about to conclude and I wanna conclude on one other thing. I want to talk about two things and then I wanna stop because we'll be getting together again. But one of the things I wanna talk about is that we have got parallel value structures in this society. Now, we just came back from the New Conference on Politics out there and here we have this white group, white liberal group, wanting black folks to join them in creating a third political party. And I said, 'No, hell no, we ain't goin' that way because the day has come when we can't use all of our power and all of our strength and turn that over to a white man and say here, now you think for us and do everything for us. We have got to start thinking for our very selves.'

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"And the next thing is, why were we, in the first place, the main stream of American life and the political life and where all of the power is in this country is either in the Republican or the Democratic Party and if you really want to know what's happening in this country and if you really want to be in a position to deal with it, we got to get organized to swing in over here one day and out over here one day and our vote ain't gonna be in nobody's hip pocket.

"Now, we talk about black power and I wanna hit on point three of black power, an improved self-image of ourselves. Now, I remember the time - and I'm glad to see a minister appear on this platform, glad to see one 'cause too many of them are too scared to come out. Too many of 'em gonna whoop and holler on a Sunday morning, gonna take all your money on a Sunday morning, you know, and on Monday morning they put it in a bank, and on a Tuesday morning you say, 'Brother, can you help me?' and over the phone he says the best thing for you to do is get on your knees and pray. You say the man's out here at the door, I need some help, I've been relying on what you said.

"So, one of our problems is that we have got warped values. We've got a white value structure in this society and we got a black value structure in this society. But we look at it in one sense white people don't never look at it, the same way we look at it. We don't look at it. Now I was lookin' at a, I was hearing some kids talking about singing 'My Country Tis of Thee.' The black kids says, 'I ain't singing that song no more.' The white kids say, 'You aren't, why?' Then ten or fifteen black kids bust out laughing saying, 'ain't that funny?' They don't even understand why.' You know what I mean. I was walking down the street in Harlem the other day and I had a white fella with me and I says, 'Man, look at them two fine foxes.'

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"And that cat looked around (laughter). And he was lookin' around the trash cans for some foxes. And the foxes I was talkin' about, they was built like this.

"But this is just indicative of the really separate worlds we live in. I mean, I can go down the street and I can say, 'What's the latest dad, sock it to me.' And you know there's no problem, you know. And we got a dialogue. With this other cat over there, he's got to use about fifty words, none of which is conclusive. They ain't got nowhere. You can talk all day to 'em. And when you get through, you say I wonder if that fool understood me.

"The point I makin' is that we have lived that society that developed to that extent. I know right now that some white people could be standing right here beside us and I could pick anyone of you out of the audience - we ain't never met, a lot of us haven't - and we can start there and we can talk there and talk with our feet, ears, eyes and that way and we know exactly what each of us is thinkin' and what each of us is 'bout to say. And that poor white fella there ain't got the slightest idea of where he's goin' or where he tinks we's goin'.

"And that's because of two things: that's because of slavery and that's because of the need to develop defensive thinking and a thinking that adapted you for survival. While he was in school, you know, studying Hagel, you know, Aristotle, Plato, or what they call all of this dialectics, all of the hyphong of logic and reasoning and thinkin', you see, while he was studying all these why we were already practicing what he was talkin' about, in order to survive. And we developed these tactics in order to survive.

"Now my daddy was a bell captain in a hotel and he did everything - uncle tommed - and he'll confess to it that he was an uncle tom. And he told me one day I was around there working and shining shoes, you know, shinin' shoes and poppin' it, you

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"know, and I'm (inaudible). My daddy came around the corner and he said, 'Boy, come 'ere.' And he grabbed me by my ear and he took me around the corner. He says, 'let me tell you one thing. There ain't gonna be but one uncle tom in this family. That's me.' And I quit the job fifteen minutes later. Now, my daddy, some years later when his last daughter finished college, I had three sisters, when my youngest sister finished college, my daddy walked up to the counter that day and says, 'Well, man, here's your monkey suit and here's your hat, I never say yessir no more to a single white man and I'm gonna tell you where you can put your hat.'

"Now the simple point I'm making is that I know in my family we have had to lie, we had to lie, if you wanted to educate four children and the white folk never could understand. They talkin' about economics, why hell, I remember during the depression when my family wasn't gettin' in, with both of them workin', wasn't gettin' in but \$35 a week between all six of us workin' and we still sent my older sister to college. You talkin' about economics, don't you be wondering about black folks. How do you think these women, now, who supposed to be ignorant ain't got no trainin', little welfare check for about \$75 and feed four people, keep 'em healty, keep 'em clean, send them to school and then develop one of them to go to work in the UN one day. How do you think (drowned out by applause). The point is we developed parallel values in this society.

"The man doesn't understand us because he won't take time to understand us. And the next thing is we can't afford to wait 'til he takes time to understand us no mo'. Now that's the way the situation is now.

"It's sort of like this little joke about the little girl who came around on Halloween with a trick or treat bag and I thought I was doin' her a great favor. She had two or three other little girls with her. This was a beautiful little girl, big saucer eyes, and pretty little black hair, and she had three people with her

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"and I gave them all some candy, and she said, 'Trick or treat' and she opened her bag and I had a great big orange, as big as a grapefruit and I dropped this orange in her bag. And I knew she was gonna be happy because I gave her the biggest orange that we had. And she looked up at me and she looked down at that bag and she looked up again and she said, she said, 'You know what, you done busted every damn cookie I've got.'

"And so the answer, really to the white man's problems, you see, it used to be your problems, until black power came along, but the answer to the white man's problem is pretty near the same as this little gal has said, he done busted every damn cookie we had in our bag."

Since the above is a verbatim transcript of Mc Kissick's speech, it has been reproduced in this memorandum as it was delivered by Mc Kissick, with no corrections in spelling, grammar, or sentence structure.

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