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Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D.C. 20535

April 24, 2008

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A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "D. Hardy", is positioned below the "Sincerely yours," text.

David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
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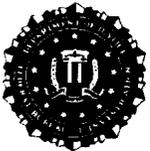
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"Anywhere we are, US is."



US



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US

April, 1968

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
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## SUMMARY

It has been said wisely and proved sadly that "organized minorities always defeat unaroused majorities." These words of warning are particularly pertinent today as extreme black nationalists in the United States, preaching hatred and anarchy, attempt to enlist the sympathy and support of all Negro Americans. It is with one numerically small segment of the organizing radical minorities that this paper is concerned.

There is on the west coast of the United States a small but dangerous black nationalist extremist group under the direction of a 26-year-old, highly educated American Negro, Ronald McKinley Everett, now known by the Swahili name Maulana Ron Karenga. "The Blackest panther," as he is called by his followers, formed his group in Los Angeles, California, in 1965, and named it US, representing the pronoun. He claimed to be working toward the establishment of an ethnological base in Africa to which the American Negro could adhere in his search for historical identity and dignity. Within one year, Karenga's increasingly violent statements belied his "cultural" intent.

As an organization, US is small and unstructured. Besides the "center" in Los Angeles, it has but one chapter, in San Diego. Although other individuals comprise a "staff," Karenga, an opportunist and aspiring dictator, is the undisputed guiding light. With the motto, "Anywhere we are, US is," Karenga is attempting both to spread his ideas and to expand his organization in black communities throughout this country. He holds meetings, at some of which only he and a few leaders, wearing mixed alien symbols, are allowed to speak. He holds "classes" where Swahili, karate, and African and Afro-American history are taught. Hoping to gain prestige and protection, he surrounds himself with armed, costumed guards. Karenga is anti-American, antiwhite, and anti-Christian.

What Karenga has brought to the 60-odd members who cluster around him and to the hundreds of listeners who give him their time and attention at public gatherings is a guidebook for a risky journey to a no man's land. With a Messianic complex, he parrots a Mau Mau type of racial extremism that is cropping up among radical Negro elements in the United States today and that portends a tragic delay in the democratic settlement of social difficulties.

Ron Karenga is a dangerous man; not because he has a large following. He does not. Nor are his borrowed ideas, nor his promises, nor the fanaticism he preaches so powerful that substantial numbers of intelligent American Negroes will be swept up by their force. Ron Karenga is dangerous because he is a vocal part of a larger conspiracy striving through the deception of a fraternity of blackness to divide this house against itself. He and the comparatively small number of Negroes who selfishly join him in the hope of a violent revolution to effect Negro autonomy are not interested in the alleviation of injustice or the correction of existing wrongs. They are interested only in a lawless blood feud to pacify their lust for vengeance and power.

"...US is."

In the midst of the racial tension that finally boiled over in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California, in the Summer of 1965, there arose a black nationalist organization called US. Founded by "Maulana Ron Karenga" in July, 1965, US was formed initially, according to Karenga, to seek a "frame of reference" from which American Negroes could derive pride in their race and confidence in their ability to assume a rightful, respectable place in 20th century United States society. The group purportedly held no penchant for violence and sought solely to spread its ideas in black communities throughout the country. Karenga's true militancy became increasingly evident, however, and the tenor of his remarks began to reflect his real position as a black racist calling for nothing less than Negro autonomy. "Power yields only to power," Karenga said during an interview for an article published in The Saturday Evening Post, July, 1966.

According to Karenga, known to his followers as "the Blackest panther," the name of his organization represents the personal pronoun "us" and is not an abbreviation of any words or theme.

The Articles of Incorporation, which were filed September 14, 1966, with the State of California, indicate that US\*is a nonprofit organization maintaining offices at 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

\*The actual name of the group is recorded as "US" Incorporated.

the women to the home; discard and disparage Christianity; and speak glibly of bloodshed and racial violence. Numerology, which was at one time a part of NOI "doctrine," is presently evident in the ideas expounded by Karenga.

The NOI is, of course, an older and larger organization and has a more structured foundation. At the present time, US is represented and propagandized mainly by Karenga.

### Lucky Seven

Having no ethnological reservoir for his particular "frame of reference," Karenga has set about to build one with used parts. He encourages his listeners to abandon the word Negro which, he claims, denies them an identity and a link with their heritage. He suggests instead that they call themselves blacks or Afro-Americans because their history began in Africa and ended in America. Through US, Karenga claims that he intends to acquaint the Negro with his African heritage and his contributions to American history; to make him conscious of his contributions to world civilization; to instill in him a pride and dignity in his blackness; and to give him a sense of purpose. Karenga's criteria for this culture number seven:

1. Mythology
2. History
3. Social Organization
4. Political Organization
5. Economic Organization
6. Creative Motif
7. Ethos

The "Seven-fold Path of the Blackness" is to "Think Black, Talk Black, Act Black, Create Black, Buy Black, Vote Black, and Live Black."

✓  
Prior to founding US, Karenga played active roles in various black nationalist organizations. In 1964, he was a top official of the Afro-American Association in Los Angeles.

Front for a Demagogue

At the present time, US is a vehicle through which this Negro demagogue, with a Messianic complex, can satisfy his dictatorial appetite; gain notoriety; knit together the reckless radical element in the black power movement; further polarize blacks and whites; and sell his plans for a Negro revolution by the early 1970's.

On several occasions, Karenga has mentioned the merging of militant black nationalist groups to effect this revolt. It is significant that US is active in an amalgamation of such groups on the west coast called the Black Congress and that members of US are found in other Negro groups in that area. From March 2 to 3, 1968, the first Black Youth Conference, sponsored by the San Diego Black Youth Committee, was held in San Diego, California. This committee is composed of representatives of Negro youth groups on area college and university campuses. "Youth in a Nation Becoming" was the theme of the conference, co by individuals using Swahili names and identified as undoubtedly members of US. A flyer distributed in the San Diego area advertised that the following individuals would appear in person at the conference:

"Maulana Ron Karenga, US organization"

"Jim Garret, Black Student Union, San Francisco State"

"Dr. Joseph White, Militant Sociology Professor, Long Beach State"

"Lew Alcindor, Basketball Great, U.C.L.A."

"Jahid Cooke, Los Angeles S.N.C.C."

"John Floyd, L.A. Black Panther Party"

Karenga's professed objective is to unify the Negroes; culturally, through a fabricated "frame of reference," which entails the complete rejection of the white man's society; and fraternally, through a simple oneness of color. The first goal is the creation of a black nation, cemented by its blackness, politically powerful, and strategically located in the heart of every city throughout the United States. "The purpose of a nationalist should be to build and make the black nation eternal," claims Karenga. The ultimate undeniable aim is a complete take-over of the United States by the black nation and the obtaining of "black power through a black society."

#### The "Ideal-Something"

Karenga tries to sell his organization as "an ideal-something" that has never been tried before. His ideal-something is but a reiteration of the current grievances and retaliatory threats being parroted by malcontented black nationalists in every section of this country. As one example, a close comparison of US and Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam (NOI), a black nationalist organization headquartered in Chicago, Illinois,

shows startling similarities. Although there is no evidence of any working alliance between the two groups, Karenga has indicated in the past that he is sympathetic toward and understanding of Muhammad and his organization. In 1962, while a columnist for the Herald-Dispatch in Los Angeles, Karenga, writing about Muhammad, stated: "I find no fault in him and to condemn him for the truth he teaches is like breaking a mirror which reminds you of your ugliness." Further defending the "Muslims," Karenga claimed in his book, The Quotable Karenga, that "it was necessary and revolutionary for the Muslims to come saying the white man is the devil because the 'Negro' thought he was 'God.'"

Both the NOI and US have self-established, reigning, costumed demigods in absolute control. As evidence of their contempt for white values--except money--these men preach mongrelized versions of alien beliefs. They and their followers discard their names as "slave" names and take names derived from their "adopted" cultures. Both of the groups appeal directly to the emotions of their members; use costumes and symbols; emphasize blackness; use cordons of trained armed guards to protect the guiding heads; set up their own educational systems for the membership; advocate reliance on cooperative enterprises for the closed Negro society which they anticipate; insist on male supremacy and consign

the women to the home; discard and disparage Christianity; and speak glibly of bloodshed and racial violence. Numerology, which was at one time a part of NOI "doctrine," is presently evident in the ideas expounded by Karenga.

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In keeping with this obvious numerology, US is founded on seven principles, listed by Karenga first in the Swahili tongue.

1. Umoja (Unity)
2. Kujichagulia (Self-determination)
3. Ujima (Collective Work and Responsibility)
4. Ujamaa (Cooperative Economics)
5. Nie (Purpose)
6. Kuumba (Creativity)
7. Imani (Faith)

#### Unorganized Organization

Although Karenga, in August, 1967, remarked that US has a total of 15 administrators, two of whom are classified as vice chairmen, it appears that the organization is unstructured. A statement Karenga made earlier in that month more nearly describes his group: "We have no organization. Just a staff."

#### Meetings, Activity, and Membership

The group, which is aggressively masculine and exclusively Negro, holds meetings in its "center" on South Broadway in Los Angeles. These gatherings attract from 30 to 150 or more individuals who listen to abusive denunciations of the white leadership of the United States and suggestions and plans for a revolution to be carried out by trained, black guerrilla "warriors" in 1971 or 1972.

US reportedly is divided into three levels. The first level is for new members who move to the second level

after studying Swahili, karate, and other "cultural" activities, such as arts and sewing for the girls. On the second level, members make speeches and act as "office guards." The third level is the leadership level.

The most vital activity of the organization, according to its leader, is teaching. Classes are conducted at the center for adults and children in African and Afro-American history and the Swahili language. At the completion of the study of Swahili, each individual is given a Swahili name. Both Karenga and his wife conduct some of these classes. In addition, children, reportedly as young as four years, are taught "custom and manners, physical development, and geography." Supplementary schools that deal with the Negro's background in Africa and the United States are part of planned economic enterprises for US.

Regarding membership, Karenga explained in the April, 1967, issue of Sepia that all black people are automatically members of his organization; that there is allegedly no paid membership; and that all who join are skilled "technicians" or qualified "teachers," referred to as "advocates." The membership of US is estimated at about 60 hard-core "true believers," and the group is estimated to have the support of an undetermined number of militant Negroes and organizations.

#### Finances

Collections are taken up during meetings, and \$1.00 per person reportedly is collected during classes. The Quotable

Karenga is also sold for \$1.00 a copy at most US gatherings and, many times, at places where Karenga speaks.

During an interview for an article which appeared in the February 1, 1968, issue of the Los Angeles Sentinel, a Los Angeles daily, Karenga stated that financing for US comes from funds he receives for public appearances and from the membership. He denied that his group was financed by far right or far left extremists.

#### Geared Toward Youth

US is interested primarily in recruiting young people and is reported to be having some success. There is a current drive to gain the attention of Negro college students and youths who have never been arrested and are unknown to law enforcement agencies. In line with this emphasis on the young, Karenga has set up what he calls "Simba" groups. These are militant groups of Negro youths ranging from 8 to 15 or 17 years who practice precision drilling and wear yellow sweaters, each emblazoned with an African lion's head. Karenga reportedly has urged Negro leaders of other nationalist organizations to form such groups in their cities.

#### Bamboo Shades

Whether or not Karenga has been stimulated by an ill wind blowing from the East, the fact remains that several of his innovations resemble those now in existence in Communist China.

Besides the similarity between The Quotable Karenga and the Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Simba groups make one wonder if Karenga was inspired by the news media pictures of the hordes of youth in China's Red Guard.

#### Plans for Expansion

Contrary to Karenga's claim that he intends to expand his ideas, not his organization, in other parts of the country, recruiting and fund-raising efforts are presently contemplated in San Diego and San Francisco, California; New York, New York; Atlanta, Georgia; Houston, Texas; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Chicago, Illinois.

There is an US chapter in San Diego which consists of 25 to 30 members and sympathizers. The chapter is under the leadership of Ron Karenga who either goes himself or sends one of his associates to each meeting. One of the local leaders of the chapter is Joseph Vinson, whose Swahili name is Mwanasunzi Cochize, and who reportedly has a college education. At the meetings, these individuals, most of whom allegedly carry firearms, discuss the robberies of gun shops, speak constantly of "moving on the honkie," and boast of having a machine gun. Among the leaders of this chapter are George Luther Stevens of the San Diego Urban League, and Ambrose Brodus, an independent black nationalist who has attempted unsuccessfully to form organizations of his own.

The rank-and-file members, who are not allowed to speak at meetings of this chapter, are reportedly apprehensive over their own survival in Karenga's planned revolution.

#### Security Measures

US is alleged to be extremely security conscious and supposedly puts potential members through numerous tests prior to accepting them into the organization. The group discourages people from walking in off the street, preferring members who are experienced in other black nationalist groups and thereby equipped with knowledge of organizational involvement. The current Security Chairman of US is Samuel Melvin Carr, known by his Swahili name, Sam Damu.

In an effort to counter any possible informant coverage, a speaker at an US meeting in December, 1967, asked for volunteers to help locate police informants. He stated that members of US had been placed in the Los Angeles Police Department and Sheriff's Office to "sniff out" informers.

#### A Curious Mixture

Going into the potpourri that is US is a very curious mixture of African, oriental, and Polynesian influences. Karenga and some of his close followers have completely shaved their heads. They have taken this action in keeping with an "old African tradition" of shaving the head as an act of mourning for a family member. "And my people are dead," says Karenga, "and I intend to keep my head shaven until they come alive."

Besides wearing dark glasses and open sandals, the male members of US wear an allegedly African "buba," a three-quarter length, loose smock with a modified Mandarin collar. Karenga envisions large financial gains in connection with the manufacture and sale of this garment by his organization. "If you can wear a French beret, a Russian hat, and Italian shoes and not feel funny, you should be able to wear an Afro-American buba," Karenga suggests.

Karenga also urges that members revert to a "natural " hairstyle where no hair straighteners are used. The man's hair should be longer and bush into what is described as ball-shaped. The woman's hair should be cropped very close to the head. Besides being asked to adopt this hair-do, women are also requested to wear very large, brass, loop earrings.

The oriental influence is manifested also through Karenga's mustache, which is long, narrow, and drooping and can best be likened to that worn by the fictional master villain Fu-Manchu.

Some of the leaders, besides occasionally wearing necklaces made of animal claws, wear tikis around their necks. A tiki is an ancestor image worn, sometimes as a small wooden pendant, by the Maori, a Polynesian people native to New Zealand.

The "Pursuit of Blackness"

In order to build his nonwhite culture, Karenga is attempting first to create a black psychology. This conditioning

process is directed with especial venom toward the white people of the United States, whom Karenga blames relentlessly for the aches and ills of the American Negroes. "The white people," Karenga claimed in a television interview in October, 1966, "have power over us and everything that they make us do then we are not responsible for." When questioned further on this program about the violence during the Watts riot, as shown in newsreel films, Karenga refused to admit such was true, stating: "And for years they told me I was a savage and inferior and for years they told me that Egyptians looked like Liz Taylor. That is a lie. Why am I to believe this other thing?"

At a black power conference in San Diego in August, 1967, Karenga told his audience to "stop killing black people. This doesn't mean you must not kill, but just don't kill black people." During a question-and-answer period at the end of this conference, concerning the type of society the Negroes were going to establish when they succeeded in taking over the United States, Karenga was asked, "What are you going to do with the white people?" "When the black man takes over," Karenga expounded, "some of you who like dogs will be allowed to keep a few white people around the house as pets."

#### Citizen "Cain"

Karenga asserts that the institutions of the United States are not responsive to the needs of the American Negroes

who, he states, "belong first to the black community, second to the American society." He urges his people not to call themselves Americans because, he claims, they are of African descent and are not classified as citizens. "What is good for America is negative to us," he warns, "and what is good for us may not be what is good for America."

Not only at US meetings but in campus appearances, Karenga urges young Negroes not to fight in the United States Armed Forces in Vietnam because it is not their war. Their war, he claims, lies ahead of them on the streets of the United States.

#### Secession Is Good for the Soul-Brother

At the time of the Watts riot in August, 1965, Karenga led a group that advocated the Watts section secede from the city of Los Angeles and form a separate city. Taking a more panoramic view, he now wants neither integration nor a land grant to be used for segregation purposes. He wants the entire black community to secede politically, economically, socially, and spiritually from the white community but to remain physically within its center until the "black nation" evolves and destroys the white community. "We do not want one state," he claims, "we want all 50 and want to be able to walk and work wherever we want to in those places, and if we cannot do that we don't feel that other people should."

### Fellowship of Blackness

On the premise that once the Negro people are bound inextricably together in a fellowship of blackness a process of calculating reason will produce concrete plans for action, Karenga first directs his appeals to emotion. "I am not going to try to reason with you," Karenga told a black power conference in San Diego in August, 1967, "I am going to appeal to your emotions. If you don't feel it, you don't have it."

### In the Name of Swahili

The adoption and teaching of Swahili by no means is exclusively Karenga's. Militant black nationalists in another area of the country are attempting to have Swahili placed on the curricula of schools where a high percentage of Negroes are enrolled.

Swahili (properly Kiswahili) is a part of the Bantu language group common to the lower half of Africa. Swahili is unique among the Bantu tongues in that it has its distinguished literature dating from at least the 13th century. To black militants, who feel that the Negro is deprived of his cultural roots in the United States, Swahili stands as evidence of the cultural accomplishments of their race, antedating the English language by two or three centuries.

It is ironic that the language these militants have selected as a cultural symbol for the black power movement in this country is the language in which the term "power" is the

most difficult to translate. The variety of meanings in Swahili for this word will force Afro-American extremists to state precisely what they mean by power before the term can be translated into Swahili.

Karenga has furthered this back-to-African maneuver by urging members of his organization to discard their American surnames. Only "slaves and dogs are named by their masters," he states as he doles out Swahili names to his followers.

#### Even God Is Wrong

Borrowing the idea, prevailing among some black nationalists, that even God must conform to the psychological needs of the Negro radicals, Karenga laments that "everyone but the Negro has a God that looks like him." Therefore, he concludes, it is essential that the Negro reject Christianity as a white man's religion, discard a belief in life after death, and start his own "mythology." "Jesus said, 'My blood will wash you white as snow.' Who wants to be white but sick 'Negroes,' or worse yet--washed that way by the blood of a dead Jew. You know if Nadinola bleaching cream couldn't do it, no dead Jew's blood is going to do it."

As a paper gesture to establish a doctrinal footing for US, Karenga included in his Articles of Incorporation the setting up of edifices for the practice, teaching, instruction, and promotion of African religion. Verbally, he has preached an atheistic doctrine based on the premise that each man is his

own god. "Your house is the house of the Lord and guess who you are?" Karenga asks.

In some of his public appearances, Karenga has lashed out viciously at Christianity. His remarks have been sacrilegious and obscene and, on occasion, have not been well received by his audiences.

Underlying these antireligious preachments may very well be an effort to channel church contributions into the coffers of US. In The Quotable Karenga, he suggests that "we must gear the money going from the church to the support of the revolution. Revolution cannot succeed without finance."

#### Black Holidays

As a continuation of his culture-building, Karenga urges Negroes to develop their own heroic images and recommends the creation of holidays which relate to the American Negro, claiming that Negroes do not want to hero worship such "immoral" men as George Washington and Thomas Jefferson who "raped" Negro women. "To the white boy," Karenga states, "Garvey was a failure--to us he was perfect for his time and context. To the white boy Malcolm X was a hate teacher--to us he was the highest form of black manhood in his generation."

US celebrates February 21--called Ahahibu--commemorating the "assassination" of "Brother Malcolm X," and May 19--called Kuzaliwa--the date Malcolm X was born. Malcolm X was a Negro militant named Malcolm K. Little who, as a member of the NOI,

assumed the name Malcolm X. He was murdered February 21, 1965, while making a speech in New York City.

US is contemplating establishing another holiday honoring Marcus Garvey, the black nationalist leader of the 1920's who engineered an unsuccessful back-to-Africa movement.

The Watts festival--called Uhuru--which was first held in Los Angeles, August, 1966, commemorates the riots that occurred there the year before and is also celebrated by members of US.

#### Revolution in the 70's

By 1971 or 1972, Karenga envisions having sufficient forces to effect a successful revolution against white authority in the United States. He considers the Negroes to have an advantage in carrying out these plans because the "white man doesn't take us seriously." Obviously, this revolution will not be a nonviolent one.

Part of the preliminary plans to instigate a national struggle involves the development of a political power base in the south-central area of Los Angeles, California, comprised of all militant Negroes and organizations desirous of cooperating with US. Karenga and his group are, of course, to be the policy makers and directors of this amalgamation. After the power base is created, trained advocates are to be sent to San Francisco, San Diego, New York City, Atlanta, Houston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and other cities where large groups of Negroes reside, provided

it is felt by US that there are sufficient militants in these cities to warrant such activity. The functions of these advocates will be to raise funds for the organization and to train potential revolutionaries who are sympathetic to US doctrines. "Blacks live right in the heart of America. That is why we are best able to cripple this man. And once you understand your role you won't talk revolution, but you'll make it."

When the minds of the Negro people in the United States have been won, US plans to take advantage of a small-scale riot that might be sparked by what Karenga describes as "average nonrevolutionary Negroes." At such time, US plans to enter the rebellion using guerrillas trained in the use of firearms and sophisticated fire bombs. Special "hit team assignments" are planned to liquidate various local and national governmental key figures.

There has been an allegation that Karenga is seeking allies and financial assistance for his revolution from Mexican, Latin-American, and Cuban leaders.

#### Never Pity the "Honkie"

Though small in membership, US is a dangerously violent, subversive group that would take advantage of any opportunity to create or profit from racial trouble. Leaders of this organization preach a bitter, compassionless hatred reminiscent of the bloody escapades of Kenya's Mau Mau.

The audience at a black action conference in Palo Alto, California, in September, 1967, were told to teach their children to hate "whitey" and never to pity the "honkie."

"Redneck," "pigs," "devils," "peck," "whitey," and "honkie" are over-used epithets for white people. "The only good honkie is a dead honkie," claimed Karenga at an US rally in August, 1967, comprised of 800 to 1,000 people.

The following directive appears in The Quotable Karenga:

"When the word is given we'll see how tough you are. When it's 'burn,' let's see how much you burn. When it's 'kill,' let's see how much you kill. When it's 'blow up,' let's see how much you blow up. And when it's 'take that white girl's head too,' we'll really see how tough you are."

On a television show in September, 1967, Karenga stated that the white man in America was going to have to be eliminated for the Negro to attain his goals.

The following remarks were made by Karenga at a black rally held December 2, 1967, directly across from the United States Naval Hospital in San Diego, to protest discrimination at the hospital:

"We're going to get to the point. We're going to take the white man's life. And don't turn to Jesus or the President. They can't help you."

"We've got to take the honkie's head. We must work at it every day, but mostly at night."

"We cannot be free until every white man is off this planet. They even train niggers to kill us."

"We're fighting the honkies, not the system. Take whatever you want and need now, even his (white) life."

"The white man is free because he is oppressing us. You have to move on the white even if it means violence and bloodshed."

"You shouldn't be afraid of death because you ain't living anyway."

"Your first job is to kill Jesus and the other honkies will fall into line. And the white man dies."

"We just have to make them die faster than anyone else."

### Guerrilla Warriors

It is rumored that US is conducting paramilitary training among its more trusted members. This training supposedly is conducted on weekends in the Newhall-Palmdale, California, area and involves rifle range practice and the simulating of urban revolution situations. Investigation by local law enforcement agencies has not substantiated this rumor.

At a semipublic meeting of US in Los Angeles on October 29, 1967, Karenga said that his organization planned to place men and women in manufacturing plants to gather technical information on missiles and electronics. He stated that US was stockpiling weapons and ammunition and he expected that by May, 1968, US would have an army of 1,000 men. He also discussed guerrilla warfare tactics, such as those used in Vietnam.

In the Summer of 1967, the Security Chairman of US, Sam Damu, told a black power meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he had gone to begin a chapter of US, that recently he had been

in Dayton, Ohio, waiting to obtain a plastic explosive formula. Damu also stated at that time that legitimate black power activity is of no value except as a front for the preparation of guerrilla warfare.

During the Fall of 1967, several investigations or arrests of US members were made by law enforcement officers in the Los Angeles area. When three male Negroes, believed to be members of US, were stopped for a traffic violation on September 12, the officers noticed a .30 caliber semiautomatic rifle and two loaded clips with 30 rounds each lying on the rear floorboard of the car. On October 12, three identified members of US, believed to be making Molotov cocktails, set fire to a building when some of the gasoline and soap solution they were using spilled on the floor. Five possible members of US were arrested October 19, while attempting to fire a building in Los Angeles with Molotov cocktails.

On December 8, 1967, two Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office deputies arrested two members of US. These Negroes were dressed in olive-drab one-piece coveralls and were wearing black Russian sheepskin hats. Besides wearing firearms and possessing at least one 12 gauge shotgun, all fully loaded, these individuals had in their possession several bottles of an amber liquid wrapped in cotton flannel cloth. Subsequent analysis revealed that these sophisticated fire bombs contained a petroleum compound mixed with an unknown acid. The flannel cloth wrapped on the

exterior of the bottles was impregnated with some chemical that would ignite spontaneously when it came into contact with the contents of the bottle.

#### Shields for the Potentate

As a gesture to increase his importance and, if possible, avoid the fate of Malcolm X, Karenga is almost always accompanied by four or more armed bodyguards who, usually dressed in garish outfits that match his own, menacingly encircle the audiences at conferences and meetings where Karenga is present. They make a concerted physical effort to prevent anyone from getting too close to him. That they are not merely a backdrop to his performances was evidenced during Karenga's attendance at the National Conference on Black Power, July 20-23, 1967, in Newark, New Jersey, when another delegate called Karenga an obscene name and threatened him with physical harm. Four of Karenga's bodyguards grabbed the delegate and simultaneously placed loaded revolvers to his head.

Another incident, which is typical of Karenga's storm-trooper tactics, occurred at a closed meeting of the higher echelon of a chapter of the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) in Los Angeles, California, in September, 1967. As the meeting was progressing, it was suddenly invaded by bald, sandaled, costumed Negroes wearing dark glasses who divided into two groups and took positions on both sides of the hall. When the

door burst open and the costumed Karenga stalked in, his advance guard snapped to attention. After the chairman called for the flag salute, Karenga and his adherents made a show of sitting down, many of them in the aisles. These black nationalists continued to disrupt the proceedings and to intimidate the staff and PTA members, Negro and white alike. Karenga and his agitators pushed chairs and other furniture up against the speakers and members who were trying to conduct the business of the meeting. At one point, their violent tactics caused the women present to scream and seek safety at the back of the room. Karenga claimed such tactics were used in a move to have the school principal ousted and that such exhibitions would continue until he was removed.

This was not the first time that Karenga had used such obnoxious tactics. On one occasion as the school board was trying to show Karenga where steps had been taken to improve the level of education of minority groups, Karenga stated: "I can see that what you say is entirely true, and I agree with you, but I'm not talking about facts--I'm talking about POWER! I'm not talking about what's right--I'm talking about what I want you to do, and what I have the power to make you do!"

#### Among the Black Power Elite

Karenga is recognized as one of the most articulate spokesmen for the black nationalist groups in the Los Angeles area. As one of the front men for the black power movement, he

has attended, participated in, and spoken before numerous black power conferences, meetings, and rallies throughout the country. Besides being one of the prominent participants in the National Conference on Black Power in Newark, New Jersey, in July, 1967, he has met with and shared the rostrums with such extremists as Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Dick Gregory, and Floyd McKissick. At a California Black Power Conference on May 28, 1967, at which Carmichael was a speaker, it was reported that Karenga received the longest and loudest standing ovation from the audience.

In connection with Carmichael, Karenga has stated publicly that he agrees "with everything Stokely Carmichael has said." "We don't have to belong to SNCC\* to accept Carmichael as our national leader. He is our national leader and he is a leader of all black militants because he says for us what we don't have the facility to say for ourselves in terms of getting access to the mass communication."

In October, 1966, Karenga defined black power as a "means of achieving self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense." "Self-determination," he stated, "is defining and speaking for ourselves instead of being defined and spoken for politically, economically, and socially. Self-respect is to create a country that we can be proud of and that can give us the necessary inspiration and motivation we need to achieve.

\*Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a militant black nationalist group.

Self-defense is that we have to defend ourselves against the people and problems that attack us daily and that we are not for nonviolence. That's black power." "Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King, Whitney Young, the rest of these people are all old men, they have outlived their usefulness, they need to retire."

Nor is Karenga particular how he and his organization obtain this power. "We must move on every level possible to get power," he urges. "If we have to get power talking to the man--let's get it. If we have to get power by making alliances with Africa and Asia--let's get it. We must have an organization that thinks, acts, breathes and sleeps the question of power."

On White Liberals and Hesitant Negroes

"All whites are white," claims Karenga in discussing white liberals. "White doesn't represent a color," continues Karenga, "it represents a color that is anti-black." He cautions his "brothers" to "watch out for whites who are rebelling against their own society and uses the wave of black revolution to push their cause."

Negroes who are repulsed by the aims of the black power movement and who prefer to approach racial difficulties in a different manner also come under Karenga's special wrath. "If some of our black brothers get in the way," he warns, "eliminate him too."

### A Reed in the Wind

Karenga is vacillating and unpredictable. He is an empire-building opportunist who will ride any wave that will take him where he wants to go.

In 1960, then known as Ron Everett, Karenga attended a meeting of the Albert Schweitzer Club of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles and meetings and functions of the Independent Student Union (ISU). This church has been used by Communist Party members and sympathizers for a period of years. The ISU, during its existence, was controlled by three cochairmen, one of whom was a member of the Southern California District of the Communist Party. On December 15, 1966, Karenga spoke before a meeting sponsored by Women for Legislative Action. Although this organization is not communist, it assumes a position paralleling that of the Communist Party, USA, and related groups in favoring or opposing legislation.

In 1967, Karenga spoke against communism, stating that Marxism was a mythology and that communists wanted to involve Negroes in international issues and had no real interest in the domestic and local problems of the Afro-American Negroes. When he appeared at Howard University in December, 1967, Karenga stated that he had been "tagged" a communist but was not one. He stated he believed in "communislum," a word he says he coined that means sharing willingly what you have with others.

Now that Stokely Carmichael on February 18, 1968, stated that communism and socialism speak to people who are exploited and called for all black people to internationalize, it is quite possible that Karenga may well reverse his stand.

In 1966, Karenga advised that he had dismissed his vice chairman because of this individual's strong beliefs in Malcolm X's philosophy. Karenga said he thought Malcolm X was an able leader but he was dead and Karenga did not believe in building an organization around a memory. On September 2, 1967, in Palo Alto, California, Karenga publicly counselled his audience to "worship" Malcolm X.

The article, which appeared in Sepia, April, 1967, reflected Karenga's ambition to have chapters of US extend to the east coast. In August, 1967, Karenga stated he was not interested in establishing other chapters but only in expanding the ideas of his organization throughout the country. As shown previously in this study, a national drive is presently planned to swell the membership of US and to increase Karenga's importance in the black power movement.

During a television show in October, 1966, Karenga complained of the dishonesty involved in poverty programs of the Federal Government and said "until we can control that...we cannot do anything." In August, 1967, Karenga's inclusion on the Office of Economic Opportunity payroll as a \$900-a-month director of a

summer program came to an abrupt halt because of Karenga's failure to fulfill his obligations.

In August, 1966, Karenga stated that he did not advocate or believe in violence except in self-defense. Karenga has counselled nothing but violence as a panacea for the racial difficulties besetting the United States today and actively advocates a revolution. At an appearance at Howard University in December, 1967, he admitted that he cannot really be classified as a nonviolent man, but that he has never advocated the taking over of the Government of the United States.

#### Karenga's Public

Karenga has made numerous public appearances in different areas of this country. He has been interviewed on national and local television programs. His academic achievements and university background lend unwarranted respectability to his organization and lead to invitations for him to speak before a number of campus groups. These appearances usually draw large crowds, sometimes numbering over 500 spectators. Most of his speeches are no more than racial diatribes and undoubtedly are jarring to minds trained to reason objectively.

#### Nothing of Value

On close examination, the teachings and preaching of Karenga and his ilk are baseless and destructive. The purposes of US, as set forth in the Articles of Incorporation,

fade in the cold light of reason and objective analysis. The formula to obtain these paper objectives, as revealed in The Quotable Karenga, is wildly destructive and is an assault upon the intelligence of all American Negroes.

There are set forth below selected "purposes," as stated in the Articles of Incorporation for US, followed by statements Karenga has made in The Quotable Karenga which reflect the true inflammatory, revolutionary racism of his organization:

"The specific and primary purposes are to advise and by every lawful means to assist the Afroamerican people in their efforts to unite as persons and groups."

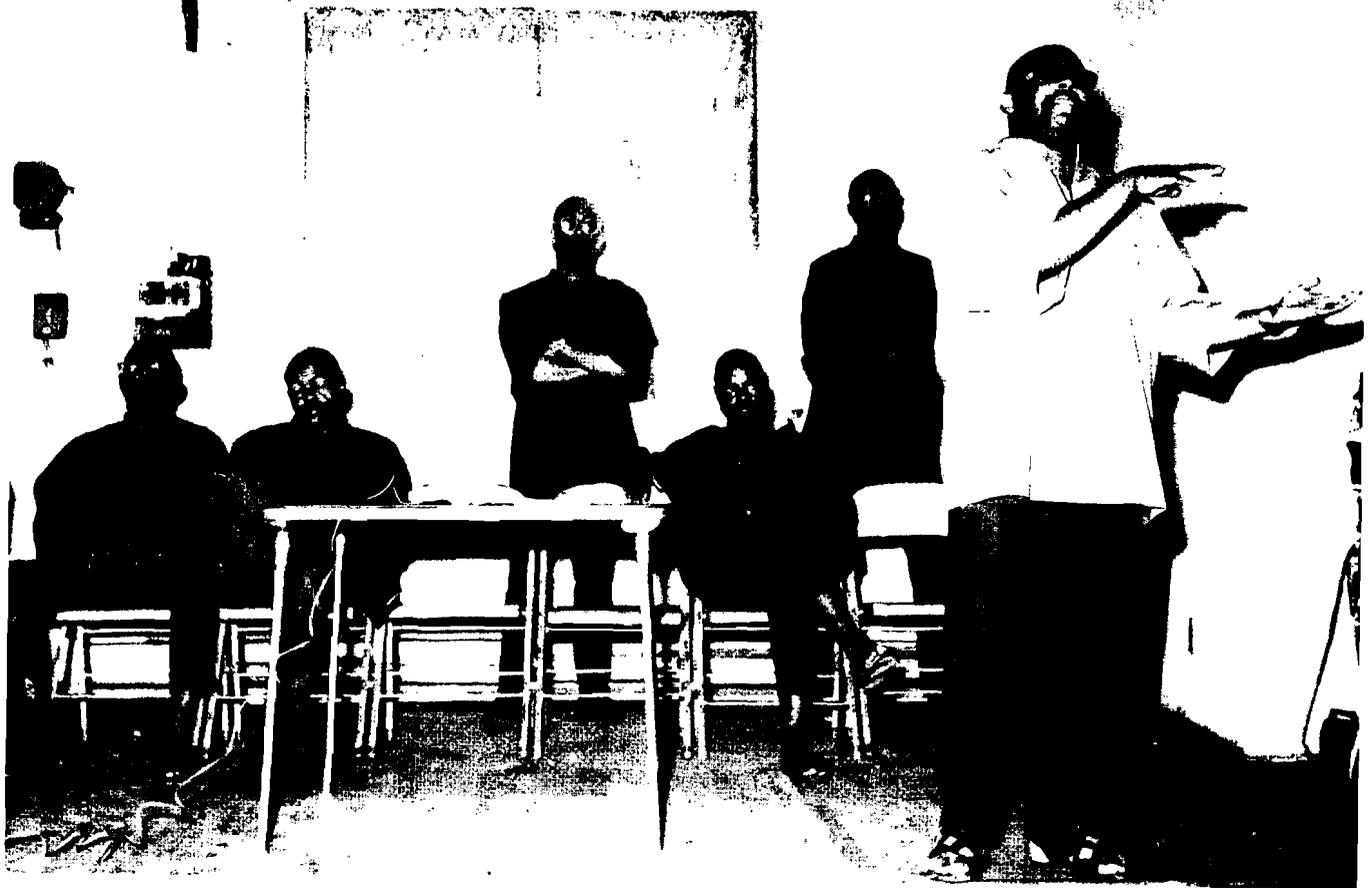
"If you don't band together you'll die alone. And as a monument to your ignorance perhaps the white boy will treat you as he did the Indian, kill you, and put your head on a nickel."

"To instill in the Afroamerican people the need and value of creativity by education and demonstration."

"Our creative motif must be revolution; all art that does not discuss or contribute to revolutionary change is invalid. That is why the 'blues' are invalid, they teach resignation, in a word, acceptance of reality--and we have come to change reality."

"To research, teach, instruct and re-educate the Afro-american people to African religion and to add new values to said religion..."

"Worship should be a worship to power and retaining that power."



Ron Karenga conducts a meeting



Participants in a press conference held by the Black Congress in Los Angeles, California, August 12, 1967. Left to right, Ron Karenga is the third seated figure.

APPENDIX

SELECTIONS FROM THE QUOTABLE KARENGA

"INTRODUCTION to MAULANA RON KARENGA

"-by one of his followers.

"Due to my age and the lateness of my awakening from the 'Negro' state of mind, I missed all the great Black men of the past. When Garvey was here I wasn't lucky enough to be born, and when Malcolm was here I was too sick to realize he was a great man.

"Since I missed these great Black prophets there is only one intelligent thing to do: find the man who will go down in history as the Black man of my time and give my allegiance to him. Anyone intelligent enough to realize that there is but one 'Great Leader' for a specific time in history should be humble enough and Black enough to follow him. The Brothers of 'US' organization know who the leader is of this era. We are not going to do with our leader what many so-called Black men have done in the past. That is, wait until he dies before we realize his greatness. We will not wait until the devil takes his life before we give him the reverence and respect due him. When Malcolm died everybody started quoting him, but he was saying the same thing when he was living. We are Black enough to quote Maulana Ron Karenga now, because we know he is saying what needs to be told.

"I can remember myself before Maulana showed me the 'Path of Blackness.' I was so sick no one but Maulana could have saved me. Running around with no identity, purpose or direction. Maulana gave me an alternative to this white system. Now I don't have to wear some shark skin suit I had to buy from a Jew, I can wear my 'Buba.' I no longer have to want those stringy haired, colorless, white women. Now I can look at them and say, 'get back devil.' Every time I see a beautiful Black sister with a natural, and can appreciate her beauty, I say, 'all praises due to Maulana.' When I read the Seven Principles instead of the Ten Commandments I say, 'all praises due to Maulana.' And whenever I celebrate Malcolm's birthday instead of some dead slaveholding devil named George Washington, I again thank Maulana.

"So at this time I would like to bring you the man with the alternative, the Blackest panther, the eye-opener, Maulana Ron Karenga."

"In education of our children you first tell them to struggle against those who struggle against us, and make peace with those who make peace with us. Don't tell them that white women look good because when they grow up they'll want to be like some patty. Why should they be like a patty? First of all they ain't going to be like one and you only frustrate them by saying that. That's why they grow up hating you."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Sometimes brothers get so hung up in the myth of revolution that they talk about bringing America to her knees and can't even wipe out one police station."

\* \* \* \* \*

"You must have a cultural revolution before the violent revolution. The cultural revolution gives identity, purpose and direction."

\* \* \* \* \*

"We want integration--integration of light and dark Black people."

\* \* \* \* \*

"'Negroes' have been trying to adapt to America since they got here. We say that now America will have to adapt to the Black man."

\* \* \* \* \*

"A nationalist believes in a Black nation, has a need to have a Black nation and a will to build that nation in the image of Black people."

\* \* \* \* \*

"We have come to set a series of precedents to do what the old men of the civil rights movement didn't have will or ability to do."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Like it or not, we don't live in a spiritual or moral world and the white boys got enough H-bombs, missiles, T.V.'s firehoses and dogs to prove it."

\* \* \* \* \*

"We need a new language to break the linguistic straight jacket of our masters, who taught us his language so he could understand us, although we could hardly understand ourselves."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Christianity is a white religion. It has a white God, and any 'Negro' who believes in it is a sick 'Negro.' How can you pray to a white man? If you believe in him, no wonder you catch so much hell."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The time we spent learning about Jesus, we should have spent learning about Blacks. The money we spend on church should have been spent on our community and the respect we gave the Lord should have been given to our parents."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Often a brother won't give up white women--not because he has one--but because he hopes he can get one."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The role of the woman is to inspire her man, educate their children and participate in social development."

\* \* \* \* \*

"The white boys' classical music is static. He values the form rather than the soul force behind the creation. That is why he still plays tunes written two or three hundred years ago."

\* \* \* \* \*

"Blacks have to stop talking about what is good or bad, but what is necessary. We live in a political society and what is important in this society is power, not morality."

"Maulana" of US

"Maulana" (Swahili for "master teacher") Ron "Karenga" (Swahili for "continuation of culture"), known more frequently as Ron Karenga, is the founder, chairman, and undisputed leader of US. The youngest in a family of 14 children, he was born July 14, 1941, at Parsonsburg, Maryland, to a family named Everett. His parents named him Ronie McKinley, but he later used the name Ronald McKinley. He graduated from William Penn High School in York, Pennsylvania, in 1958. From 1959 through the spring semester of 1961, he attended Los Angeles City College. In 1962, he entered the University of California at Los Angeles as a political science major. He was graduated with honors, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree in July, 1963. On September 11, 1964, the same university conferred upon him a Master's degree in political science. It is reported that he took many courses relating to African culture and languages, becoming fluent in Swahili, Zulu, and Egyptian Arabic, in addition to French and English. Karenga allegedly has strong ambitions to obtain a doctorate in African languages from Howard University in Washington, D. C.

Karenga was employed as a clerk for the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services from November, 1961, until October, 1965, when he assumed the duties of a social worker. He held this position until July, 1966, when he

resigned because of "opportunities elsewhere." From January to August, 1962, Karenga, using the name Ron Everett, wrote a regular column, captioned "Notes of a Nationalist," for the Herald-Dispatch, a weekly Los Angeles newspaper aimed primarily at the Negro community. He also served as a teacher in the Los Angeles school system from September, 1964, to July, 1967. During this period, he taught Swahili in adult night classes at a local high school.

During the Summer of 1967, Karenga was on the Office of Economic Opportunity payroll as the \$900-a-month training director for a summer crash program called the Social Action Training Program. This program, sponsored by the Southern California Council of Churches, was a ten-week project to introduce ten young adult trainees to community organization. Only two training classes were known to have been held, and, during one of these, Karenga lectured on The Quotable Karenga, a guidebook (similar in intent to the infamous Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung) put together "by one of his followers" so that he, Karenga, might be given the "reverence and respect due him" before "the devil takes his life." The program was suspended August 16, 1967, for failure to meet grant conditions.

Using the name Ron Everett, Karenga also served on the Board of Directors of the South Central Los Angeles Youth Training and Employment Projects.