

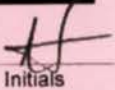
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02	report	Ronie Mc Kinley Everett - aka Ron Karenga [US]	C	37	12/27/67	A
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02a	report	Ronie Mc Kinley Everett	C	1	12/27/67	A

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PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPOSITION

OF

MAULANA RON KARENGA

Los Angeles, California

February 22, 1968

PACIFIC STENOTYPE REPORTING COMPANY

818 CHESTER WILLIAMS BUILDING

215 WEST FIFTH STREET

LOS ANGELES 13

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PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON CIVIL DISORDERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEPOSITION
OF
MAULANA RON KARENGA

Taken before M. Virginia Dalton, a Certified Shorthand Reporter and Notary Public in and for the State of California, commencing at 7:30 A.M., Thursday, February 22, 1968, at Temple US, 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

APPEARANCES

Merle M. Mc Curdy, General Counsel, President's
Commission on Civil Disorders
1016 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Nathaniel R. Jones, Deputy General Counsel, President's
Commission on Civil Disorders
1016 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

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I N D E X

WITNESS

Maulana Ron Karenga

EXAMINATION

By Mr. McCurdy - 1

By Mr. Jones - 23

1
2 LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA; THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1968; 7:30 A.M.

3
4 MAULANA RON KARENGA

5 having been first duly sworn, deposed and testified as
6 follows:

7 EXAMINATION

8 BY MR. McCURDY:

9 Q For the record, tell us your name.

10 A Maulana Ron Karenga, Founder-Chairman of US.

11 Q When was US founded?

12 A US was founded in September 1965, the year
13 of the riot.

14 Q What exactly is US?

15 A US is a Black Nationalist cultural organiza-
16 tion dedicated to the creation and re-creation and circula-
17 tion of culture. That is to say, the creation and re-crea-
18 tion and circulation of a value system that will give Black
19 People three things: identity, purpose and direction.

20 And in order to do that we take seven areas
21 which we consider sine qua non of culture;

- 22 1. Mythology
23 2. History
24 3. Social Organization
25 4. Economic Organization
26 5. Political Organization

1
2 6. Creative Motif

3 7. Ethos

4 These are the areas we work on to provide
5 Black People the framework in which they can gain identity,
6 purpose and direction, of which I spoke earlier.

7 Q What is ethos?

8 A Perhaps I should do the whole thing.

9 Mythology is the answer to the origin of things.
10 The prime function is to give you original self concept in
11 terms of being chosen people in relation to some Divine
12 Being or, as we say, The First Born.

13 The second, history is a continuation of
14 mythology, a record of images, events and issues that speak
15 to people's need of self concept and reinforces them.

16 Social Organization is the teaching role plan
17 for men, women and children.

18 Economic Organization is a system of how to
19 gain goods and services and distribute them.

20 Political Organization is how to gain, maintain
21 and use power.

22 The creative motif deals with the dominant
23 theme that runs through and supports any creative activity
24 that you might engage in.

25 Ethos is people's self concept in relationship
26 to their creative abilities and main interests. For example

1
2 the Jewish ethos is a dual one of economics and education.
3 They are experts in the field of economics and they are at
4 the top in every Western discipline.

5 Q What would be the Black ethos?

6 A The Black ethos is solely in revolution in
7 terms of emotional value which tells us we cannot sell our-
8 selves for money and machines; revolution in terms of we
9 need change, quick change and unless we change quickly we
10 cannot survive.

11 Q What would be the form of revolution?

12 A The form of revolution would be a cultural
13 revolution that would mean this: the destruction of old ideas
14 and institutions set down by native White Men and the re-
15 institution of positive Black ideas and institutions created
16 out of desires and needs of Black Men.

17 Q How do you and your organization plan to go
18 about the revolution?

19 A Oh, we have done it already. We have begun.
20 We do it in an educational fashion. That is to teach Black
21 People the things that we have gained through these things:
22 tradition and reason.

23 We say all the knowledge we have is based on
24 two things - - - tradition and reason. Tradition is the
25 foundation. Reason is gathered from the movement in which
26 we find ourselves in modern contact. We do not import

1
2 African values wholesale, we take them and adjust them to
3 the contact in which we find ourselves.

4 Q Do you see the school system playing a part
5 in this?

6 A We find the school system being necessary
7 but not sufficient. Therefore, we have, for ourselves, what
8 we call the School of Afro-American Culture which is, in
9 effect, a sumptuary school much like the Japanese Schools
10 and the Hebrew Schools for the Japanese and Jews respectively.

11 Q Now, have any schools of Afro-American cul-
12 ture been established as yet?

13 A Yes. Hekalu.

14 Q That is here in the City?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Now, do you plan to establish other schools
17 throughout the country?

18 A What we are trying to do, we have done work
19 like that in San Francisco and San Diego, and that is to
20 programatically influence other organizations. We do not
21 plan to reduplicate efforts nor start a mass movement but
22 programatically influence organizations that are already in
23 existence and strengthen those. Because we believe that the
24 main thing is not that everyone belongs to US but that
25 everyone be programatically influenced by US, and that every-
26 one belong to an organization. Once they belong they become

1
2 mobile. And once they become mobile, they become accessible.
3 And once they become accessible then we can programatically
4 influence them.

5 Q How do the Afro-American culture schools
6 operate? What are they designed specifically to do?

7 A To communicate values to Black People, both
8 children and grownups. Now, what happens is we have classes,
9 I suppose I should say that the curriculum that we teach
10 for the younger children is a basic course consisting of
11 seven subjects.

12 We teach them Swahili in order to communicate
13 collective ideas. It is more non-tribal and therefore Pan-
14 African. We are first Pan-African because we claim no tribe
15 or country.

16 Secondly, we teach Black history. That is, the
17 history of the Black People all over the world.

18 Next is Black literature. Black literature
19 deals with the literature of the Black People all over the
20 world.

21 Next, we teach Travelogue which deals with
22 Black Children visiting by family, pictures or books the
23 lands of other Black People.

24 Discussions of culture, which is, at best, a
25 branch from the original tree of African culture.

26 Then we teach customs and concepts which deal

1
2 with the seven principles upon which our organization is
3 based. Our organization is based on seven Nguso Saba. And
4 we say that the First Born laid down these seven principles
5 which, if we live by them we can get the maximum out of
6 life. I will give them to you in English to expedite it.

- 7 1. Unity
- 8 2. Self Determination
- 9 3. Collective Work and Responsibility
- 10 4. Cooperative Economics
- 11 5. Purpose, which is collective vocation and
12 nation building
- 13 6. Creativity
- 14 7. Faith

15 The next class is called Simba Wachanga. That
16 means the Young Lions and that has to do with boys learning
17 discipline and the girls learn Afro-American and African
18 dances and other things of artistic value.

19 Q Now, in your opinion, the civil disorders,
20 riots that we had the last two or three years, do you think
21 that they accomplished anything?

22 A Well, first of all, we consider them revolts
23 rather than riots and that is because the Black People are
24 really obsessed with the idea of self determination. That
25 is, to finally speak for us rather than defined and spoken
26 for us by others. It is psycholinguistic rather than in

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opposition.

Now, we say that revolts are different from riots in that riots are simple spontaneous outbursts with very little, if any at all, political scientific significance. But a revolt, having both political and scientific significance is an attempt of people to gain three things:

1. Self Determination
2. Self Respect
3. Self Defense

As I said, to define and speak for one's self rather than defined and be spoken for by others. That is, to build institutions to give self concepts. Institutions that build self concepts reinforce self concepts. That is, we are interested and we would like the creation of institutions that speak to our own desires and needs.

In terms of self respect, the creation of culture that will legitimize everything we say and think and do. In a word, ourselves. That is to say, we do not need a value system that is determined by anybody else because as Casaire says, culture is average people and people create themselves.

The third thing is self defense. That means to have the capacity to protect yourself against the problems and people that threaten you.

Now, this is basically what a revolt is, an

1
2 attempt to gain these three things. Therefore, the politi-
3 cal expressions of the summers and subsequent times begin-
4 ning to take historical shape, we say, with the August
5 revolt in 1965, were these attempts to gain this.

6 Q Do you think that this was accomplished to
7 any degree?

8 A I think it was significantly. I do not
9 expect a finished product. I expect people to gain experi-
10 ence as they move and new insight into what is to be done.

11 At first it seems perhaps to some people who
12 have neither the political awareness or interest to investi-
13 gate and understand the content and scope of these things,
14 to be merely simple spasmodic, sporadic outbursts. It has
15 the advantage of being simple and the disadvantage of being
16 incorrect.

17 Therefore, if one were to review American his-
18 tory, one could say the little demonstrations the Colonists
19 went through in terms of stealing a lot of British tea and
20 not having the manhood to dress as WhiteMen but to dress
21 as Indians, was quite an illegal act and one of banditry at
22 best. But that is why we stress as one of the seven criter-
23 ia for culture the need of development. We see a need for
24 the development of history and writing our own history of
25 images, events and issues that speak to you.

26 The riot that they had on the Boston Common,

1
2 unless they had written the history, it would simply have
3 been a little outburst of no significance. However, it is
4 now a part of a great history of White People.

5 So then, that is the problem we are faced with,
6 the front problem of three things in terms of our histori-
7 ography: change of frame of reference, definition, and
8 change of interpretation and we, in US organization, come to
9 do just that--to develop as we have a new historiography and
10 to then write by our own interpretation those things that
11 speak to our need for positive self concept.

12 So, when Black People in terms of their self
13 determination; let us get some examples of it. They did not
14 petition to have the revolt, they had it. This act of self
15 determination was very instrumental in their finding out
16 that they could gain a new self respect.

17 As Franz Fanon says, who is the foremost
18 authority on revolts and revolutions, violence is a clean-
19 sing force, it restores one's manhood. Black People in
20 time will gain a lot of self respect. And out in the street
21 they were singing, talking, feeling good that they had in
22 some way regained the lost manhood that had escaped them
23 for 450 years, in terms of self defense, an act of self
24 defense in terms of moving against the racists who were
25 destroying them either economically or physically in the
26 forms of merchants or police respectively.

1
2 Q If all of the concepts, your concepts and
3 the concepts of US, come about to their logical conclusion,
4 then what do you envision for Negroes and Whites in this
5 country? What is the ultimate?

6 A Well, that is a very theoretical question
7 and at the risk of being called a prophet I should not like
8 to talk about that. But to give some idea of what I would
9 assume it would be, given the circumstances we are now and
10 taken in a way a political theorem, I would say we cannot
11 develop anything that is so technical as to say a plan of
12 an aftermath. The fact is that question raises more ques-
13 tions than one can really answer unless one becomes so
14 technical that one becomes boring.

15 I think that our movement will develop a plan
16 and that a new generation will decide both the scope and
17 the content of the reconstruction period. We say the
18 revolution is destruction and reconstruction and what we
19 must deal with is reconstruction, not in a technical way but
20 in terms of a value system.

21 We say that we can provide the technical
22 scheme if we have the value system. The value system will
23 support our mythology, history, social organization, economic
24 organization, political organization, creative motif and
25 ethos.

26 That is what we should be concerned with as

1
2 the question of the value system, as I say, a system that
3 will be instituted not so much with the technicality of a
4 political organization in terms of, like state structure,
5 economic structure, this type of thing. The value system
6 is the most important thing.

7 Q You have used the term destruction several
8 times and I think we ought to define your concept for the
9 record.

10 A I just used it in this definition of revolu-
11 tion which involves destruction and reconstruction.

12 Destruction just has to do with, what would
13 one say, destroying those things which are negative to his
14 existence and development. I don't think it requires a
15 great conceptionalization or definition to understand de-
16 struction. One should take the etymological meaning.

17 Q I did not know whether you meant a tearing
18 down of physical objects or a tearing down of concepts.

19 A I was concerned with the value system, you
20 know. But one cannot remove psychological barriers without
21 then the people deciding to remove the physical barriers.
22 The masses will decide that. I can only programatically
23 state first and after that it is up to them to develop an
24 extension of the program.

25 Q Some people advocate separatism. What is
26 your opinion about that?

1
2 A Separatism? Well, we have to accept the
3 fact politically and economically and other ways that we
4 are already separated. It is a bit unnecessary to talk
5 about separatism when we are already separated. The ques-
6 tion is a question of power--who shall control our separate-
7 ness, whether White or Black People. We say Black People
8 should do that.

9 We want to be allowed, without interference,
10 the latitude of developing our own things and we, in the
11 same idea, subscribe to the idea or concept that self
12 determination will allow other people to develop their own
13 thing; we would not be forced to believe in or act on cer-
14 tain ideas and concepts that are imported from a strange
15 people.

16 So then, I am concerned with culture fluidism
17 which, of course, I understand has something to do with the
18 American idea that people of different faiths and beliefs
19 can get together or, as they say now, coexist.

20 I am only concerned with that not in a moral
21 sense because we don't live in a moral sense but a political
22 one; I am concerned, that is to say, with getting enough
23 power to realize this. And power, after all, is just that,
24 the ability to realize one's own will.

25 Q We have heard many definitions of Black
26 Power as we talk to people throughout the country. Has the

1
2 US Organization defined Black Power?

3 A We have done that in 1966 at the conference
4 that Representative Adam Clayton Powell called. We defined
5 it as a means to gain three things: self determination,
6 self respect and self defense, which I discussed earlier
7 more etymologically.

8 It has to do with powerful Black People. That
9 is, the ability of Black People to realize the will to have
10 self determination, self respect and self defense.

11 Q It seemed to be the consensus of opinion
12 a year ago that there were two cities in which there could
13 not possibly be a revolt or civil disorder, and that was
14 New Haven and Detroit, because so much money, federal money,
15 had been brought into the town to cure so many of the ills,
16 tensions in the ghettos. Both the cities had progressive
17 mayors, especially Detroit which was rather sensitive to
18 the Black Community, it needs and its desires, and the
19 median income there for Negroes was one of the highest in
20 the country. Home ownership was the highest in the country
21 in Black Communities. They did not have the typical slum
22 ghettos that many cities have.

23 So, it came as a great surprise and even shock
24 to many people throughout the country that those two cities,
25 New Haven and Detroit, erupted.

26 Do you have any ideas or opinions as to why

1
2 there were revolts in those cities? Or maybe the question
3 is basically, why do people revolt?

4 A Well, that is what I was going to ask. It
5 does not surprise me at all that there was a revolt in
6 either city. There are two explanations for that, one kind
7 of theoretical. That is to say, if things were as good as
8 you say and better than the average, you know, then the
9 theory of revolution that says--when things get better,
10 situations become worse--would hold.

11 The abject poor cannot revolt, as Hoffa points
12 out, it is the people who have received improvements that
13 revolt and whose standard gives them some leisure time be-
14 cause they are either unemployed or employed and have more
15 time to discuss and extend that concept of Afro-Asian
16 countries. People who are abjectly poor get up, go to
17 work, come home and are too tired to do anything, which com-
18 pletely rules out their thinking on their situation and ways
19 to improve it.

20 So, if things are that good, as you say, in
21 New Haven and Detroit then theoretically there is a basis
22 for the improvement of conditions and therefore demanding
23 an increasing rising level of expectation as they say in
24 other quarters. The fact is, the more one gets and the more
25 one realizes what one has not had, the more intense one is
26 to get one's needs and desires completely.

1
2 Secondly, if Black Power is an expression, you
3 know, of a revolt, or revolt expressing Black Power, we say
4 why the people revolted was because they did not have the
5 three things that I said before: self determination, self
6 respect and self defense.

7 They might have had jobs but they were deter-
8 mined by other people, wages, conditions.

9 They might have had better living conditions
10 but they did not respect themselves. They still felt ruled
11 from outside.

12 As far as self defense, they could not defend
13 themselves against police problems that always threaten us.
14 And you will notice it is no coincidence that revolts start
15 in terms of self defense against legalized murderers called
16 policemen.

17 Q To carry that theory a little further prob-
18 ably for clarification, why is it that people would revolt
19 in Detroit and there are no revolts in Appalachia, when
20 those in Detroit are probably more affluent?

21 A Perhaps you did not hear the first statement
22 I made.

23 Q I did but I just want it for the record.

24 A The fact is, in Appalachia they are abjectly
25 poor and they have no leisure class or leisure time that
26 would deal with the question of rights. They are dealing

1
2 with the question of just plain existence from day to day.
3 Therefore, you never have a revolt of people whose life is
4 so miserable that they cannot deal with anything except how
5 to survive immediately on the basic things like food, cloth-
6 ing, shelter. Then it requires some, you know, educational
7 development so that there is a thought process in terms of
8 theorizing about what one should have in relationship to
9 the outer or greater community or, as we should say, in this
10 contact of societies, making distinctions between societies
11 and contact, society being the contact in which one shares
12 goods and services and the community being a place where one
13 shares value.

14 So, in Appalachia those White People up there
15 are in bad shape. They don't have any world view and cer-
16 tainly no city or state or even town view. Therefore, the
17 question of civil rights becomes more abstract to them. The
18 question of revolution or revolt becomes an abstract one to
19 them.

20 However, it becomes a reality in Detroit when
21 people are mobilized, when people are politicized, when
22 people are informed by mass communication, when people's
23 rising expectations increase in terms of intensity and num-
24 ber. And therefore, they feel that in relationship to all
25 the things that America pretends to be that they do not even
26 participate in half of those.

1
2 Then, having the leisure time on their hands
3 and having the skills and knowledge to debate or raise such
4 questions, they do that and if they can get others to listen
5 then it becomes a movement. And if it becomes a movement,
6 you see it on television.

7 Q We were talking with Carmichael two or
8 three weeks ago and he made a statement that politics is
9 irrelevant to the Black Man. Do you have any comments on
10 that?

11 A I do not like to comment on what Carmichael
12 said. I think in terms of what we talk about operational
13 unity. I would only want to make a common comment. So, if
14 you would like to rephrase that in terms of what you would
15 like to ask me then I would feel more at liberty to answer.
16 So, what would you like to know?

17 I suppose you were asking me--let me try to
18 help you. You were asking really whether or not I believe
19 the American political system is of any value to us.

20 Q Well, that is partly what I was asking. I
21 would like your reaction.

22 A I don't want to put you at a loss. Let me
23 say this. Everyone realizes politics as a general science
24 is important to everyone, in terms of we define politics as
25 a system of how to gain, maintain and use power. Everyone
26 is concerned with power. I don't think Brother was talking

1
2 about the concern of getting power because he certainly is
3 concerned with power, it is a question of American politics
4 whether or not they are both necessary and sufficient in
5 terms of realizing the end that we want. And let me answer
6 that question because that is the one that I would be con-
7 cerned with.

8 It is given that everyone is concerned with
9 politics and how to gain, maintain and use power. American
10 politics as far as US, if we go by democracy, which is the
11 rule of the 51% against the 49%, then naturally it does not
12 make sense for us to say that we will get ahead here. Also,
13 if one would talk about legislation, it is only a framework
14 and a weak executive can always delay or circumvent the
15 execution of laws.

16 One can see the American political system has
17 not been kind to us and I speak quite euphemistically. One
18 has to realize that elections in America should be used
19 simply as a means of extending the struggle. Elections can
20 be used in that struggle in terms of organizing and mobiliz-
21 ing the maximum number of people because issues are so uni-
22 versal and mass communication is so spread that what one
23 does in using this medium called elections, one can build
24 up a better relationship, you know, and even use certain
25 techniques that politicians use to communicate to Black
26 People.

1
2 Election to us simply means a struggle and we
3 use it as a means of mobilizing, organizing Black People.
4 I don't think the candidates are important. I don't think
5 that public office is such a rewarding thing that it is an
6 end within itself. It is simply a means to give expression
7 to desires and needs of Black People. That is about it.
8 Because there is a necessity for a greater change as far as
9 office holding. Black People have been in office since they
10 have been in America, especially during the Reconstruction--
11 Deeds and Dawson and Powell. But I think Powell shows that
12 one's right to hold office in America is not inviolate.

13 I think what one has to realize is that since
14 America runs on American democracy much to its convenience,
15 that White People will always control our lives. If we
16 deal with a question like proportional representation, I
17 don't think 10% will ever be able to control 90%.

18 We say that we are from 50 to 70% but White
19 People will never tell us. And I know for myself in the
20 South they never took our family and we had fourteen in our
21 immediate family, and our brothers and sisters had children.
22 And so I know the population figures are not very impressive
23 they have more of a psychological value than actually sta-
24 tistical. So, that is about it.

25 Q In other words, the Negro population may
26 well exceed 10% of the total?

1
2 A Of course it does. But it is part of the
3 psychological warfare, one is always humiliated and told how
4 could you possibly plan something like this when you are so
5 small. But one can always make reference to the Viet Cong,
6 they are certainly outnumbered, if one would believe
7 America's claiming to kill so many. Maybe there is more
8 than they say. If there were only as many as they say and
9 they kill 2000 or 4000 every week, which they claim, there
10 should not be any left by election date.

11 Q To go back to what we were talking about
12 yesterday, we were talking about a massive confrontation.
13 I told you I talked with some people and they thought there
14 just wasn't going to be any future because a massive con-
15 frontation would wipe out any possibility of a future. Do
16 you see anything such as that happening?

17 A Well, I see I must rely again on political
18 theory in terms of both the political and rationality one.
19 Power concedes nothing without demand. Fred Douglass tells
20 us and history proves that it is impossible for people in
21 power to concede to a powerless people and to share anything
22 with them unless they, themselves, amass a certain amount
23 of power that either counters that power wall and seizes
24 that power or destroys that power. Now, confrontation
25 would come in terms of people not really willing to give
26 those things that they have denied other people.

1
2 As far as the future is concerned, I do not
3 believe that Black People will not survive. We shall sur-
4 vive. I think we shall survive in good spirits and in good
5 form. I think that Black People have the ability and will
6 to survive. They only have to be educated.

7 I don't know any place in history where people
8 have lost the war that we are fighting now, if one might
9 call it war without frightening people. So, I do not see
10 why we, ourselves, cannot win. It only takes the will and
11 ability to do it, and I think we shall. I wish we win
12 because we are right and we shall be organized.

13 Q You are speaking of a physical conflict?

14 A A physical conflict, Douglass says, may be
15 a moral or physical one but there will be a conflict and
16 there may be both. I see no reason to issue scare phrases
17 or time worn-out cliches that have become more monotonous
18 than meaningful and more trite than true. One should plan
19 for a movement rather than a speech for delivery.

20 I am not disheartened by that. I think what
21 happens to people is they view a political question in a
22 moral way when actually all political questions should be
23 raised and answered politically. That is what I am doing.
24 You raise them politically and I answer them politically.
25 I cannot deal with moral issues. I don't pretend to be
26 concerned with morals. It is in the Good Book and nowhere

1
2 else.

3 The sole purpose of those in power is to per-
4 petuate themselves. No one institutes a system to see it
5 destroyed. Therefore, there is no such rule that will make
6 them disband or destroy themselves for love of humanity.
7 The thing that they are concerned with is the maintenance
8 of the position they have. That is just a political fact
9 and I do not view that as right or wrong but as a preface,
10 if it is against me, and non-preface, if it is not against
11 me. If it is against me, it is up to me as a right and
12 duty to devise some means of dealing with it.

13 It's an old familiar concept that people have
14 the right and the duty to deal with oppression. One could
15 cite many examples, America is full of them. I think that
16 is part of American might that it will concern itself with
17 things like freedom and justice and equality and the De-
18 clarations of Independence which allows White People the
19 right to revolt but does not concern itself with Black
20 People.

21 The Constitution that, you know, deals with
22 giving everybody else a chance except Black People and
23 leaving them in the position of being as an addendum, in
24 the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments they
25 make some vague reference to people who are non-citizens who
26 need to be free and who need the right to vote.

1
2 So, confrontation is sort of like a political
3 inevitability and the course of it, as well as the intensity
4 of it, will be decided both by White People first, because
5 they are the ones who have the power to unleash violence.
6 They tell us every day we are weak and could not stand up
7 to them. If so, it should be a very quick and short thing
8 and one should not be bothered by it at all.

9 EXAMINATION

10 BY MR. JONES:

11 Q Now, who do you think society is going to
12 rely upon to perform this ritual of extinction, will it be
13 the police or the people themselves rising up?

14 A I don't think they will be extinguished.

15 Q No, I mean - -

16 A You mean begin with a conflict?

17 Q Yes.

18 A Oh, we see it as four major forces, the
19 fourth one is also in question.

20 First would come the police.

21 Second, the National Rifle Association and/or
22 the citizen groups.

23 Third, the National Guard due to a belated
24 political decision.

25 Fourth, if there is the need or if it becomes
26 politically important, the Federal Troops.

1
2 That is the pattern. I want to stress the
3 second one because that would be most likely the most in-
4 tense one. Police, of course, they are there but they
5 usually do not have the will to fight. Police have never
6 really been concerned with anything except offense and if
7 they are put on the defense, as was shown in the August
8 revolt of 1965, they are not very good at it.

9 I say this because I saw them running from
10 children with bottles and bricks and they were rifling cars
11 and had guns. they just were not used to it and psychologi-
12 cally it threw them off. That is something that is very
13 significant. No doubt they must begin or deal with that
14 question now.

15 I was reading some manuals that they prepared
16 and unlike most people we are not overly impressed with the
17 weaponry they have developed to put down riots. Because I
18 think people won't riot after awhile, I don't think they will
19 be so inclined, even if they are spasmodic shows of what
20 White People call riots, that is the crowd scene, I don't
21 think that is valid any more.

22 I think the White People have tipped their
23 hands. White People always say that we always talk too much
24 and show our hand to them. But they, themselves, do that
25 and because they are waging a psychological war, they really
26 hope to scare us by all these devices.

1
2 I was just reading a thing about the shield
3 and the gas and all of this stuff that they have. It only
4 works on crowds and I don't think the crowds are going to
5 amass for that type of thing. We have passed that struggle.
6 If the August revolt set a new course in Black People's
7 history in terms of raising the struggle from non-violence
8 to violence, then certainly Detroit raised it to a new
9 level where there was no concern for the crowd.

10 Now it is something much more vague and there-
11 fore much more difficult to deal with and the gas won't
12 work if there are no crowds. The little tank they have
13 won't work if there is no crowd. So the gun won't work if
14 there is no crowd. The little shields won't work if there
15 is no crowd. You can just deal with most of the things they
16 have and really, I think it is good for them, they need to
17 believe they can win. I have nothing against that. I think
18 the more they believe they can win, the less preparation
19 they make against us.

20 So, they should believe that. But I think it
21 is a bit silly of us to believe that all these things are
22 so menacing. I don't believe that weapons determine the
23 course of conflict. I really don't, and I think that
24 actually people determine the course of conflict. I am more
25 interested in the human investment than the technical one.
26 But so much for that, this is mainly philosophical.

1
2 Q Well, you mean that Detroit raised, I
3 assume you mean the tactical revolt to a new level?

4 A Exactly.

5 Q What level is that now, would you say?
6 You say it is not crowds and the authorities are really
7 misdirected in terms of their type of suppression that they
8 have concerned themselves with.

9 A I would not want to say misdirected, I
10 think that is a good direction to go in. I don't know how
11 effective but I would not say it was misdirected.

12 Q I will withdraw that.

13 A It is a question of phrasing, it has no
14 relevance outside the language of a political one.

15 Q Well, what form do you think revolts will
16 take?

17 A I would not like to say, it doesn't serve
18 any purpose. I don't know. The people will determine that.

19 Q You mentioned that when people are organized
20 they become mobile, and when mobile they become accessible.
21 Do you consider that the operation of various Poverty
22 Programs around the country have served the purpose of
23 organizing people, making them aware of themselves and
24 therefore much more active and determined to throw off the
25 physical and psychological restraints?

26 A Most of the time that Poverty Work does not

1
2 make people more active or even more mobile. If it mobilizes
3 them, it mobilizes them to the point where in the end they
4 immobilize because in the end it frustrates them.

5 When one first goes in the average Poverty
6 Program, one has the psychological notion of moving men to
7 success but when one is dismissed because funds have been
8 cut off, what it helps to do more than anything else is
9 frustrate people in their rising expectations. What happens
10 they are put in a program and given a taste of honey and
11 then they are left out in the cold again. It really does
12 not help them.

13 Q What type of organizations do you try to
14 influence?

15 A Let me say something about this first. You
16 know, what happens is this. No Government is going to sup-
17 port programs that wake people up, not the American Govern-
18 ment. I mean a government that is bent on oppressing and
19 bent on keeping things the way they are, keeping the basic
20 patterns of power as they are. Therefore, anything that
21 looks like politicizing the masses, that does not have to
22 do with American type politics, what they call parliamentary
23 politics. They are not going to deal with that. They will
24 crush it, stop it, remove money and you know the administra-
25 tors make more money than most of the Poverty workers put
26 together.

1
2 I am sorry to have cut you off. What did you
3 say?

4 Q You mentioned that what your organization
5 is interested in, is not in having everybody belong to US
6 but to have them involved in organizations and you attempt
7 to influence these organizations?

8 A Programatically.

9 Q What type of organizations?

10 A All organizations, everything from NAACP,
11 the Urban League, to those organizations whose names become
12 unmentionable. All organizations need values. All organi-
13 zations need a value system that will support them in terms
14 of deciding their identity, purpose and direction.

15 We have an organization approved by Congress
16 which is made up of all organizations of any stature in the
17 community, including the NAACP and the Urban League, and
18 what we have decided is that politically speaking, in terms
19 of our principles of political organization, that operation-
20 al unit is the most functional type of unit possible. That
21 is to say, we allow everyone with latitude to determine the
22 name of the organization and direction of the organization
23 as long as it claims to be helping Black People. But we
24 say we should sit down and collectively dialogue and from
25 integration we can become more like each other than before
26 and then if one has a strong programatic influence or capac-

1
2 ity to influence, then you know it is very easy to communi-
3 cate values to people.

4 Q Do you see any conflict or cross purposes
5 being served between the objects of US and the Unity Front
6 and such organizations as the NAACP and the Urban League?

7 A I don't think conflicts are as important
8 as similarities. We dismiss the concept of organic unity,
9 not only is it politically unsound with no precedent but
10 also it is unfunctional because it is impossible for people
11 to give up what they have built and what they have believed
12 in for years. So then we say, you keep that. This is
13 politically sound and we don't want you to merge with us or-
14 ganically. What we need is operational or functional unity
15 which says there are certain problems in the community of
16 a collective nature and need collective efforts verbally or
17 effectively get together and discuss means by the movement
18 collectively and then the problem can be better solved.
19 The same action taken in terms of school issues.

20 We have a school here called Manual Arts and
21 Sister Margaret Wright of the United Parents Council is one
22 who has worked on education for years and everyone is con-
23 cerned about that whether you are in NAACP, the Urban League
24 or US, you are still concerned about the quality of educa-
25 tion for young people. Because we believe children are life
26 after death and other people who might not believe they are

1
2 life after death, believe they will live after death in
3 someplace, somewhere, at some time. They nevertheless are
4 concerned with children getting a good education and we are
5 united on that, to move the principal out and we did do just
6 that.

7 On other issues that we are pushing all over
8 the country wherever we go to speak, Boston, New York,
9 Denver, etc., we talk of Black People getting together on
10 the basis of those things that are collectively important to
11 all of us.

12 Q BY MR. MC CURDY: Are you having that
13 dialogue now with other organizations?

14 A Yes.

15 Q How is it working out?

16 A Very well, we have no complaint. As for
17 myself, I am very impatient. I am always impatient, I like
18 to see it move stronger and faster but being politically
19 aware, one can easily see it has made tremendous progress.
20 We have set a precedent here with the organization called
21 the Black Congress which is the organization of organizations.

22 Q What is your view of White People as indivi-
23 duals?

24 A I don't have the time to deal in personali-
25 ties and deal with the question of White People. White
26 People are White People. And White People now are, and I

1
2 say this euphemistically, our opposition. Therefore, I
3 think of them as the opposition.

4 Q Is that regardless of their individual in-
5 clinations?

6 A Individualism is a luxury we cannot afford.
7 Everyone is a product of a contact to which he owes his
8 existence. Therefore, White People owe their existence to
9 White Contact. They are White and we say they are the
10 opposition either by omission or commission and I think they
11 made the distinction. So, too, religious dogma either by
12 omission or commission, and believe one can be opposition by
13 omission and commission.

14 So, that is what I am concerned with. And then
15 we are dealing with a political movement which will not
16 allow fine lines of demarcation between those White People
17 who do and those who don't, those who this and those who
18 that.

19 Strategically, one must talk of White People
20 as White but tactically realize the difference between Jews
21 and Gentiles, Labor and Management, etc., and we see the
22 difference between the Conservatives and the Liberals, the
23 Left Wing and the Right Wing, those are tactical considera-
24 tions one should make.

25 Q So, strategically then you don't from a
26 programatic point of view adhere to the old doctrine of

1
2 divide and conquer but keep White People divided by playing
3 Liberals off against the Conservatives?

4 A Well, that is what I was talking about,
5 recognizing tactically the differences. I say strategically
6 that all White People are White but tactically White People
7 are just Jews, Gentiles; old, young; Pacifists and Military.
8 Therefore, there becomes a political consideration of how
9 one can minimize opposition. We recognize that but you were
10 dealing with something else. You are dealing with White
11 People on a personal level which I find of no use at this
12 point.

13 Q BY MR. JONES: Do you consider Black People
14 on an individual basis?

15 A No.

16 Q In this context, if you feel an individual
17 Negro, Black Man, is impeding the program, the progress of
18 the movement, or the movement is being affected adversely
19 by the attitudes or practices of an individual Black Man,
20 do you consider the rights, so-called rights, of this
21 individual paramount or the goals of the movement to be
22 paramount?

23 A If I am a Revolutionary at all, Nationalist,
24 nothing is as great as the nation because it is in the
25 framework of the nation that all things are initiated and
26 realized. That is why we say we cannot afford the luxury of

1
2 individualism. We will allow personality but not individual
3 ism.

4 Personality, by definition, is me in relation
5 to others to whom I owe my existence. Individualism is me
6 in spite of everybody else because I am on my own. That is
7 the distinction we make and I see no reason of supporting
8 individuality. No one does, even America who talks about
9 the individual and the individual's right. It does not
10 mean anything really because the more one supports individ-
11 ual rights, and when I say individual rights I am not talk-
12 ing about personal rights but individual rights that super-
13 sede collective need, we are interested not in philosophical
14 pursuits but in satisfying concrete needs and concrete needs
15 for self determination, self respect and self defense, which
16 can only come from collective effort and not individual
17 terms, they are invalid.

18 Q Societies that had revolts and rebellions,
19 some Negroes of prominence and others not so prominent
20 attempted to calm the situation and dissuade people from
21 participating. Do you consider that people who engage in
22 this type of conduct in the midst of a revolt are doing a
23 disservice to the movement, or do you think these rebellions
24 should be able to unfold without Black People attempting to
25 stem the tide?

26 A Well, I don't know. I, myself, caution

1
2 people against unprepared and self destructive acts. But
3 in terms of someone getting out there and, you know, making
4 a case for the government, well the masses will have to be
5 the judge and if need be the executioner. I would not sit
6 in judgment on that, it is of no political importance to
7 rule on whether he is right or wrong because it is a poli-
8 tical question. So, I would say let the people decide what
9 to do with him.

10 Q BY MR. MC CURDY: As we discussed yesterday,
11 I told you that the President charged this Commission he
12 wanted the answer to three questions:

- 13 1. What happened?
14 2. Why did it happen?
15 3. What can we do to keep it from happening
16 again?

17 We all know what happened. Most of us at least
18 like to think we know why it happened. But if you were
19 writing a report, what would you include in the report as
20 being of primary importance?

21 A Again I go back to the things I mentioned
22 earlier--Power. Black People need power. If Black People
23 had power they would not need to revolt, they would be an
24 organization.

25 Revolt is one step to revolution and revolution
26 of course, is a successful revolt, and when you have revolu-

1
2 tion you have power and that power would be for three things.

3 If Black People had three things, they would
4 not revolt--the power of:

- 5 1. Self Determination
- 6 2. Self Respect
- 7 3. Self defense

8 If they had their own institutions in terms of
9 Self Determination that spoke to them and helped them to
10 realize their desires and needs--why revolt?

11 If they had Self Respect based on a culture,
12 not just singing and dancing but the seven things I men-
13 tioned earlier--a full and blossoming pattern for develop-
14 ment, if they had:

- 15 1. Mythology, or
- 16 2. History that they, themselves, wrote
- 17 3. Social Organization that taught their role
- 18 4. Economic Organization that gave them goods
19 and services they need
- 20 5. Political Organization that would gain,
21 maintain and use power
- 22 6. Creative Motif that would produce art,
23 music, literature, and an
- 24 7. Ethos that made them feel good and have
25 importance and creativity

26 Then they would have Self Respect and would not

1
2 revolt.

3 And, if they had the power of Self Defense, the
4 ability to defend themselves against people and problems that
5 threaten them, for example poverty and policemen, those are
6 problems and people that threaten them, other racists--then
7 why would they revolt? They would be too busy developing
8 themselves to be destroying others.

9 Q Would you advocate these seven concepts
10 be taught in the public school system throughout the land?

11 A After there was a general acceptance of
12 those things. See, we have developed all seven of those
13 things. We have written our own Mythology. We are rewrit-
14 ing our History. We are developing a new Social Organiza-
15 tion. We subscribe to the new Economic philosophy. We
16 have developed a new Political theory of organization in
17 terms of the movement. We have developed a Creative Motif
18 that teaches us how we should create and inspires us. And
19 we have, from that, developed a new understanding of our
20 Ethos, which is solely revolution.

21 If Black People en masse can be educated to
22 that and accept that, then we would subscribe to the teach-
23 ing of that, so we could then have that collective energy
24 we need.

25 At one time people used to say--and that is
26 why we chose the Value System--what we people need is jobs,

1
2 what we need is education and yet those who have gotten an
3 education and received degrees are working in the post
4 office and the like.

5 Some people say we need political power and
6 organization. Yet, at the same time, nothing can be real-
7 ized. Politicians, if not for sale they are certainly for
8 rent. We, in America, work in a system where the numerical
9 majority always rules.

10 Then some times people say what we need is
11 economic power. You know, this is really a silly statement
12 to me. We need power. Black Power means power for Black
13 People on every level. Face the facts. Run around and
14 find the alternatives that are really not alternatives.

15 They say what you need is money. But if you
16 have money, you don't have political power to spend it.
17 Witness the insurance company president-founder who was a
18 hunkie bus boy, that doesn't make sense to say that is why
19 we say there is no such thing as a bourgeoisie class. It
20 implies skills we do not have in political power. If they
21 have money, they have no political power to enforce their
22 decisions. So, therefore, it becomes meaningless.

23 So, if we say politics are not sufficient,
24 money is not sufficient, jobs are not sufficient, education
25 is not sufficient--then we have to find what is both neces-
26 sary and sufficient because certainly jobs, money, education,

1
2 politics, are necessary but they are not sufficient.

3 The only thing sufficient is the Value System--
4 what to do, how to do it, and why to do it. And it tells
5 you what attitudes you should have towards things and what
6 institutions should grow out of those attitudes you have
7 towards things. That is what we need. We need that very
8 badly.

9 Q To digress a moment, what is the origin of
10 the word hunkie?

11 A We used to sing that a long time ago. It
12 became prominent in 1964-65. We don't know the etymology
13 of it, we never made studies of things like that to come out
14 with what that really meant, even though if we thought about
15 it we could come out with it. We are no great linguists.
16 White People are more interested in systematizing things,
17 it is not our nature. We have a tendency to be affected by
18 what we call the complementary as opposed to compartmental-
19 ism. We merge with things, the White Man divides them up,
20 distinguishes because he has to deal with things in terms
21 of aggression.

22 MR. MC CURDY: Thank you. That is all.
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24
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26

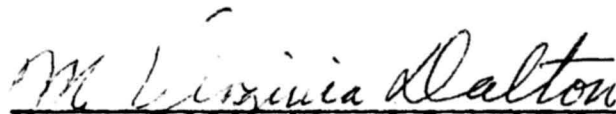
C E R T I F I C A T E

I, M. Virginia Dalton, a Certified Shorthand Reporter of the State of California, and a Notary Public in and for the County of Los Angeles, State of California, do hereby certify:

That at the time and place mentioned on the title page hereof, MAULANA RON KARENGA, the witness in the foregoing deposition, was by me duly sworn; that thereupon said deposition was by me taken down in Stenotypy, and it was thereafter typewritten. Signature was waived.

I further certify that I am neither of counsel for nor related to any party to this action, nor in any wise interested in the outcome thereof.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto subscribe my name and affix my official seal this 24th day of February, 1968.


Notary Public in and for the County
of Los Angeles, State of California

M. VIRGINIA DALTON
My Commission Expires May 2, 1969

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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1 - 115th MI, U.S. Army, Pasadena (RM)

Report of:

G. J. MOOREHEAD

Office: Los Angeles

Date:

12/27/67

Field Office File #:

157-1409

Bureau File #: 157-7244

Title:

RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT

AKA RON KARENGA
[US]

Character:

SECURITY MATTER - US

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 5229-10-1 (FBI) declass guide
By CTS NARA, Date 7/26/22

Synopsis:

RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT, who is more widely known as RON KARENGA, is the founder and chairman of Los Angeles based, black nationalist organization US. He resides at 6325 South 8th Avenue, Apartment 14, Los Angeles, California, and devotes the majority of his activities to his organization which was founded in 1965 as a culturally oriented organization whose purpose is to give the black people a frame of reference. KARENGA states he does not advocate or believe in violence except in self defense. In August, 1967, KARENGA told a San Diego audience of Negroes that black people did not have the equipment to start a riot at present. He explained, "You don't throw rocks at a tank. You wait until you get the right equipment to throw, so that the men in the tanks will have to come out of the tanks begging you for mercy. That time is coming. When they bring in tanks we will throw the right things on the tanks." He also told his audience in part, "Stop killing black people. This doesn't mean you must not kill but just don't kill black people." Activities and attendance at black power conferences and rallies in 1966 and 1967 set out. KARENGA has appeared recently on campuses of educational institutions and on television interview programs. KARENGA claims he is opposed to communism. States he is against the war in Vietnam and helps the draft resistance movement in Los Angeles whenever he can.

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- P -

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

LA 157-1409

DETAILS:

Investigation of EVERETT is predicated upon information received in early 1966 that he was the chairman of a black nationalist organization known as US (infra.).

BACKGROUND

BIRTH DATA

On October 20, 1967, KAY PASTERFIELD, Clerk, Wicomico County Health Department, Salisbury, Maryland, advised that her files reflect that RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT, a male, was born at 3:00 a.m., July 14, 1941 at Parsonsburg, Maryland. The record reflects the father as LEVI EVERETT, Negro, male, age 52, born Cofield, North Carolina, occupation - laborer, and his mother as ADDIE MEETON, Negro, female, age 47, born Cofield, North Carolina. The record reflects that RONIE was the 14th child born to ADDIE MEETON. The birth is recorded under Registration #333.

EDUCATION

CATHY FRANKLIN, Clerk, Registrar's Office, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, California, advised on November 10, 1967 that RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT applied for admission in November, 1961. He entered as a major in political science in February, 1962. He was graduated with honors, and a BA degree conferred on July 26, 1963. He received a Master's degree in political science September 11, 1964. Miss FRANKLIN advised that many of the courses taken by EVERETT were in relation to African culture and language. She added that his record contained transcripts reflecting the following additional record prior to enrollment at the University of California at Los Angeles:

Salisbury High School
Salisbury, Maryland
September, 1953 - June, 1957

William Penn High School
York, Pennsylvania
September, 1957 - May, 1958
Graduated

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Los Angeles City College
Los Angeles, California
September, 1959 - June, 1961

Pepperdine College
Los Angeles, California
September, 1961 - September, 1961
(Three weeks)

IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The files of the Los Angeles City Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office, both Los Angeles, California, as reviewed on December 19, 1967, reveal that there is no criminal record for EVERETT with these agencies. The files of the Los Angeles City Police Department show that he has a non-criminal California Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation number 2178966.

MARITAL STATUS

EVERETT was interviewed by SA's of the FBI on June 29, 1966. He stated that he was married, wife LINDA, and they had a small daughter and were expecting another child.

"Sepia" magazine dated April, 1967, contained an article captioned, "RON KARENGA AND US", which showed pictures of KARENGA and his family. This article named his wife as BRENDA. "Sepia" is a monthly magazine of national circulation.

EMPLOYMENT

LA T-1 (12/19/67)

Advised that RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT was employed by the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services, 2615 South Grand, Los Angeles, California as a clerk on November 14, 1961. He continued in this position until October, 1965 when he became a social worker. He submitted a letter of

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termination July 13, 1966 which became effective July 31, 1966, and gave as his reason for leaving, "opportunities elsewhere." Source stated that in early 1962, EVERETT was writing articles for the "Herald-Dispatch", a weekly Los Angeles newspaper aimed primarily at the Negro community. A review of EVERETT's articles shows that he wrote a regular column for this paper from January, 1962 to August, 1962. The August 2, 1962 copy of this publication carried a concluding column by EVERETT. His articles were captioned, "NOTES OF A NATIONALIST" and were written under the name RON EVERETT.

LA T-2 (11/6/67)

Advised that RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT was a teacher in the Los Angeles School System from September 28, 1964 to July 15, 1967. He submitted his resignation on August 30, 1967 prior to the start of the fall classes effective June 15, 1967. Source stated that EVERETT taught Swahili in the evening school at Fremont High Adult.

LA T-3 (12/8/67)

Advised that EVERETT is not gainfully employed at the present time and that most of his activities are taken up by his black nationalist organization US, 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles.

RESIDENCE

LA T-1 (12/12/67)
LA T-4 (12/12/67)

Advised that RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT resides at 6325 South 8th Avenue, Apartment 14, Los Angeles, California.

STATUS OF HEALTH

There is no reason to believe that EVERETT enjoys anything but good health.

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ACTIVITIES

POSITION IN US

RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT, aka Ron Karenga, has been publicly identified as the founder and chairman of US.

LA T-5 (7/31/67)

Source provided a leaflet which was obtained at a meeting of 75 Negroes in San Diego, California during the month of July, 1967. Representatives of US attended this meeting. A Xeroxed copy of the two-page leaflet furnished by the source follows:

KITABU

1. What is US?
US is a cultural organization based on seven (7) principles and dedicated to the creation, recreation and circulation of Afroamerican culture.
2. When was US formed?
US was founded. September 7, 1965 by Maulana Ron Karenga.
3. Who is head of US?
US is headed by Maulana Ron Karenga, Founder-Chairman.
4. What does Maulana mean?
Maulana is the title of respect and honor we use to refer to our leader; it means master teacher in Swahili.
5. Why are we Afroamericans, not negroes?
Negro is a term which denies us an identity or a link with our heritage. The name negro was also given to us by white-men. We say we are Afroamericans for five (5) reasons. We are Afroamericans (1) by Self-determination - We are Afroamericans because we say we are. (2) by Culture - We have done research on African cultures and found certain strands that run through them all. We base our culture on these things but yet geared them to fit our situation in America. (3) by Emotion - We have an emotional bond with Africa. That bond is the concept of Soul which unites blacks the world over, which causes us to feel for our brother and makes them feel for us. (4) by History - Because our history began in Africa, and ended in America. (5) by Race - Africa is the genetic point of origin for all blacks. Also, black is an obviously dominant gene --- no matter what we are mixed with we are still the prototype Africanoid or Black.
6. What are the Seven Principles (Nguzo Saba)?
These are the seven (7) principal things US organization is founded on. They are Pan-Africans in scope and content. They are: (1) Umoja - Unity. (2) Kujichagulia - Self-determination. (3) Ujima - Collective work and Responsibility. (4) Ujamaa - Cooperative Economics. (5) Nia - Purpose. (6) Kuumba - Creativity. (7) Imani - Faith.
7. What makes us black?
We are black for three (3) reasons. The first is Color. Black is a prototype based on genetic heritage. We all came from the black race. Secondly, Culture. We have noticeable elements of African culture that makes us black - e.g., our song and dance. Thirdly, Consciousness. That we are aware of these things, accept them and practice them by moving to rebuild our culture and perpetuate the building of our cultural nation.

4
NGUZO SABA

(The Seven Principles)

1. UMOJA (Unity)

To strive for and maintain unity in the family, community, nation and race.

2. KUJICHAGULIA (Self-Determination)

To define ourselves, create for ourselves, and speak for ourselves.

3. UJIMA (Collective Work and Responsibility)

To build and maintain our community together and to make our brothers' and sisters' problems our problems and to solve them together.

4. UJAMAA (Co-operative Economics)

To build and maintain our own stores, shops and other businesses and to profit together from them.

5. NIA (Purpose)

To make as our collective vocation the building and developing of our community in order to restore our people to their traditional greatness.

6. KUUMBA (Creativity)

To do always as much as we can, in the way we can in order to leave our community more beautiful and beneficial than when we inherited it.

7. IMANI (Faith)

To believe with all our heart in our parents, our teachers, our leaders, our people and the righteousness and victory of our struggle.

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RONALD MC KINLEY EVERETT advised Special Agents of the FBI on June 29, 1966 that his organization US, which stands only for the personal pronoun and is not an abbreviation of any two words or theme, was founded in July, 1965 but did not get underway or get any publicity until February, 1966. He said that US is primarily culturally oriented rather than politically and its purpose is to help Afro-Americans identify themselves by emphasizing their culture and history. EVERETT said that US is a non-violent group. He explained that he had recently dismissed the vice chairman of US because of this person's strong beliefs in the late MALCOLM X and his attempts to build US along the lines of MALCOLM X's philosophy. He stated that he did not intend to deify MALCOLM X and said that he thought that MALCOLM X was an able leader but he was dead and he did not believe in building an organization around the memory of an individual.

At the outset of this interview, EVERETT stated that he is opposed to communism and does not believe that Afro-American leaders can effectively work with the communists on problems of the Afro-Americans in the United States. He said the first thing the communists want to do is to get Negroes involved in international issues such as Vietnam and they have no real interest in domestic or local problems of the Negro. Several times during the interview EVERETT expressed himself as anti-communist.

On August 15, 1967, KARENGA advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he currently has a publication called "THE QUOTABLE KARENGA."

LA T-1 (11/20/67)

Source provided a copy of the above publication. On the flyleaf of this book, it is indicated this book was copyrighted in 1967 by the US organization, Los Angeles, California. It consists of 30 pages and contains chapters as set out below:

Black Cultural Nationalism
Revolution
Politics
House System
Art
Religion
Liberals

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Some of the quotes attributed to KARENGA in this book are set out below:

"There is no such thing as individualism, we're all Black. The only thing that saved us from being lynched like Emmett Till or shot down like Medger Evers was not our economics or social status, but our absence."

"We can live with whites interdependently once we have Black Power."

"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."

"We must believe in our cause and be willing to die for it and we should stop reading other peoples literature and write our own and stop pretending revolution and make it."

"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."

"The American revolution is sacred to whites, and Black revolts are sacred to us."

"If we fight we must be killed. But it is better to die as a man than live like a slave."

"Only thing non-violence proved was how savage whites were."

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

"We must concern ourselves with legitimacy and not legality. Legitimacy is what Black people feel they need. Legality is set up by the system and no system can condemn itself. Laws are made to perpetuate a system, not destroy it."

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"Jesus was psychotic. He said if you didn't believe what he did you would burn forever."

"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."

"America was born in violence and they tell us to be non-violent. If you condemn us for violence, let your own history condemn you."

ATTENDANCE AT BLACK POWER
RALLIES IN LOS ANGELES

LA T-3 (12/5/66)

Advised that a black power rally was held on November 26, 1966 at Will Rogers Park, 103rd and Central, Los Angeles. The featured speakers at this rally were RON KARENGA and STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former national head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who was introduced to the audience by KARENGA. Approximately 2500 persons attended this rally.

LA T-6 (2/23/67)

Advised that RONALD KARENGA was the featured speaker at a black power rally held on February 17, 1967 at 2157 Atlantic Avenue, Long Beach, California. In addition to KARENGA, STOKELY CARMICHAEL (supra) also spoke. KARENGA was accompanied by six bodyguards who made a concentrated physical effort to prevent anyone from getting too near to KARENGA. Source stated that CARMICHAEL encouraged the Negro people to work together for a black community and to turn their backs on America. Source added that KARENGA backed up the remarks that CARMICHAEL made. After this rally, a private party of some 100 persons was held at 3031 Kallin Avenue, Long Beach. KARENGA and CARMICHAEL were the featured guests and answered questions until approximately 12:45 a.m.

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LA T-7 (3/16/67)

Advised that RON KARENGA spoke at a black power meeting held at the Masonic Temple, 1050 East 50th Street, Los Angeles, California. A portion of KARENGA's remarks were to the effect that the Negroes could not use the Communist Party (CP) and that Marxism was indeed a mythology. Meeting held February 18, 1967.

LA T-3 (3/1/66)

Advised that an US meeting was held at 1785 East 85th Street, Los Angeles, California on February 20, 1966. RON KARENGA was the main speaker. Source stated that he made it quite clear that he approved of the riots that had occurred in Watts in 1965 and said that nothing has changed in the city and that there would be other riots. Source stated KARENGA remarked that his group will be prepared to take an active part in this riot and that this time "whitie" would really feel the wrath of the Negro community. KARENGA said that "no Negro man, no black man, no colored man, call him what you will, born in America or Africa or any other place, could talk about how much they loved the Negro race while he was married, living with or socializing with a white woman." Source stated the meeting hall was well guarded by members of KARENGA's group and the audience was closely watched.

LA T-8 (6/2/67)

Advised that a California Black Conference was held May 19 - 21, 1967 at Jefferson High School Auditorium, Los Angeles, California. Source stated that RON KARENGA attended at least a portion of this conference. Source stated that the halls, stairs and restrooms were policed during the time that KARENGA was present.

LA T-9 (6/1/67)

Advised that a California Black Conference was held at Jefferson High School, Los Angeles on May 28, 1967. RON KARENGA spoke and urged the organization of more college youths, adding that the Negroes should stop trying to speak

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the "honkie" language and take pride in their own black people's language. Source stated the entire conference was filled with anti-white talk and the white people were referred to as white, redneck, peck and honkie.

LA T-10 (6/20/67)

Advised concerning the above conference and stated that RON KARENGA spoke during one of the three days that this conference was in session, date unknown. Source stated that STOKELY CARMICHAEL (supra), FLOYD MC KISSICK, and DICK GREGORY, noted Negro comedian active in the civil rights movement, attended this function. Source stated that one of the featured speakers was STOKELY CARMICHAEL.

LA T-3 (6/5/67)

Advised that RON KARENGA spoke on May 28, 1967 at the above-mentioned Black Power Conference and said that he received the longest and loudest standing ovation from the audience. Source added that bodyguards were stationed throughout the area to protect KARENGA. In addition to KARENGA, H. RAP BROWN, whom the source described as the new chairman of SNCC, also spoke.

LA T-9 (8/15/67)

Advised that an US rally was held August 13, 1967 at West 82nd Street and South Broadway. RON KARENGA addressed an audience of approximately 800 to 1000 persons and stated in part that "the only good honkie is a dead honkie." The featured speaker at this rally was H. RAP BROWN (infra).

LA T-3 (6/5/67)

Source made the following observations concerning RON KARENGA:

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Source stated that KARENGA is the founder and chairman of US. After the Watts riot of August, 1965, KARENGA had led a group who wanted to secede from Los Angeles and become a separate city, that he had led demonstrations at the Los Angeles Federal Building protesting trials of black nationalists who were draft dodgers and had stated that the black man should not support the Vietnam war. Source stated that KARENGA has told the news media that Negroes have guns and know how to use them, adding that KARENGA has personally introduced Mrs. MALCOLM X, widow of the deceased MALCOLM X, to black nationalist groups and has on numerous occasions been a co-speaker with STOKELY CARMICHAEL on Black Power.

BLACK ACTION CONFERENCE
EAST PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

LA T-11 (9/3, 5/67)

Advised that RON KARENGA was the keynote speaker at a Black Action Conference held September 2, 1967 at Ravenswood High School, East Palo Alto, California. Source stated that KARENGA was accompanied by four bodyguards. KARENGA said that he did not feel that violence was now the way of Negro, however, source said his entire theme was that the white man is a "damn dirty dog."

LA T-12 (9/7/67)

Advised that KARENGA spoke on September 2, 1967 at the above-mentioned conference. Source stated that to him it was a rambling speech and was not very effective. He said KARENGA appeared to have no program.

LA T-13 (9/11/67)

Source advised concerning the above conference and said that KARENGA was one of the keynote speakers. He said that KARENGA and the other keynote speakers adhered to the same line; namely, "Black Power through a black society."

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This includes a political, social and economic boycott of anything white. The audience was admonished to teach their children to "hate white" and to never "pity the honkie"; read only black publications, because white newspapers distort the news; not worship Christ because he is a white man and a white God; not to read the Bible, and to worship MALCOLM X. The ministers in the audience tried to refute the condemnation of Christ but were ignored or booed.

ACTIVITY AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

LA T-14 (September, 1967)

Source advised that on September 27, 1967, RONALD KARENGA was in Chicago, Illinois with several of his followers and spoke at a meeting of the West Side Organization, a militant, black nationalist group located on Chicago's west side. No details were given concerning KARENGA's appearance.

LA T-15 (10/6/67)

Source advised that a meeting sponsored by a militant Negro group was held on October 4, 1967 at Wilson Junior College, 7047 South Stewart Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 75 Negro youths attended this meeting as well as several white youths. KARENGA spoke on black togetherness and stated that the "white man lost in Detroit, he lost in Newark, and you know what happened in Watts. The white man's book says love thy enemy; US says eliminate him, and if some of our black brothers get in the way eliminate him too. The white man has been emasculating your men, raping your women, and using his power to keep you down." KARENGA ended his speech by announcing that his book, "THE QUOTABLE KARENGA" (supra) was available for sale at \$1 a copy.

LA T-16 (October, 1967)

Source advised that RON KARENGA attended a black power rally on October 2, 1967 at 43rd and Langley Streets, Chicago, Illinois. Approximately 200 persons attended this rally.

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ATTENDANCE AT MEETINGS IN
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

LA T-5 (8/7/67)

RON KARENGA, representing US, appeared before a meeting of Negroes which was held at Teen Post Number 1, Ebony Hall, 3030 Imperial Avenue, San Diego, on August 6, 1967, at 1:00 PM. KARENGA told the approximately 225 people present that he had been recently returned from a Black Power Conference in Newark, New Jersey. He told this group, "We have no organization. Just a staff." He stated, "The principal function of US is to awaken the black people." He said, "We come to advise you black people here in San Diego. There is no use in starting riots right now because we black people don't have the equipment. You don't throw rocks at a tank. You wait until you get the right equipment to throw, so that the men in the tanks will have to come out of the tanks, begging you for mercy. That time is coming. When they bring the tanks, we will throw the right things on the tanks."

KARENGA then gave a brief history of the black man and of his contributions to the total knowledge of humanity. He stated in part, "(We) realize that you are intelligent and courageous; that you have pride and are ambitious, and don't let anyone tell you differently. Stop killing black people. This doesn't mean you must not kill, but just don't kill black people." KARENGA continued that when the white man was in the caves of Europe walking on all fours, that he came to love dogs and he explained the reason the white man loves dogs is because they are not only the white man's best friends, they are his only friends. He went on to state that black men should have their own religion, and "to hell with JESUS CHRIST." He explained that every racial group has had a God that looks like himself. During a question-and-answer period at this meeting, he was asked why he was opposed to JESUS CHRIST, and he stated that in his opinion CHRIST was just another Hippie with sandals and a beard. He stated, "I see him in San Francisco all the time", and explained that CHRIST was a creation of the Jews who do not recognize him. He stated he did not believe in the Virgin MARY. He

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said "that if any MARY comes home with a belly, don't let anybody tell you she had an immaculate conception." KARENGA said, "You know what happened, and I know what happened. JESUS CHRIST was a bastard."

KARENGA continued as follows:

"I am not going to try to reason with you. I am going to appeal to your emotions. If you don't feel it, you don't have it. JESUS CHRIST is for the white man. Where was JESUS CHRIST when white men enslaved black people? Where was JESUS CHRIST when police were shooting people down in Newark? Where is JESUS CHRIST when the whites are rich and the black are poor? Don't believe in any Heaven in outer space. Heaven is here and not in outer space. You don't need any more Hell underground, as you have enough of it right here on earth."

KARENGA was asked by one of the spectators, "What are you going to do with the white people" and KARENGA responded by stating, "When the black man takes over, whatever white people are left, you will be allowed to keep a few as pets. Some of you who like dogs will be allowed to keep a few white people around the house as pets."

LA T-36 (8/10/67)

Source, on August 10, 1967, advised KARENGA appeared at the Ebony Hall, 3030 Imperial Avenue, San Diego, California, on August 6, 1967, at which time he spoke to approximately 250 persons attending this meeting as reported by LA T-5 above. The source noted KARENGA was attended by 15 of his followers, all dressed in African clothing. The informant stated KARENGA, during the course of his talk, called for black unity and stated the black man must get his freedom any way he can and anyone or anything that tries to stop this should be destroyed. He told the people to get organized but urged them not to riot until the word was given. The source stated KARENGA's talk was inflammatory and incited black nationalism.

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LA T-5 (11/20/67)

Source advised that on November 16, 1967, RON KARENGA spoke at the Southcrest Recreation Center, 40th and Keeler Streets, San Diego, California, to a closed meeting of the US Group. Source stated that approximately 80 persons, all of whom were Negroes, attended. Source stated that KARENGA said in part:

"Black people who claim they don't want anyone to rock the boat are going to get their boat rocked. When you get up in the morning who do you see on the cereal box when you are eating breakfast. You see a picture of a white boy. Who do you see when you look at television but whitey. You go to work and the man down on the job is a white man. Everywhere you go you see red necked honkies. This white man has got to go."

LA T-17 (11/28/67)

Source advised that on November 16, 1967, KARENGA addressed the US Group at the above mentioned meeting in San Diego. Source stated that KARENGA was the main speaker and told about a "black revolt". KARENGA claimed that the US Group has connections with the "black world" other than in the United States. Source said that he did not elaborate on this comment. He urged black men not to go into the Armed Services. Whites were referred to as pigs, devils, honkies and whatever bad things came to his mind. Source said that KARENGA said "if it is necessary to be killed be prepared to die as you might just as well die here as in Vietnam". He told the women "if their men did not want to become part of this black movement then cut that man loose".

ATTENDANCE AT NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
IN NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

LA T-18 (7/26/67)

Source advised that RON KARENGA attended at least a portion of the National Conference on Black Power held July 20 - 23, 1967, in Newark, New Jersey.

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LA T-19 (7/23/67)

Source advised that at the National Conference on Black Power (supra), a conference was held on July 23, 1967, at the Roger Treat Hotel, Newark, New Jersey. Among the people attending this conference were H. RAP BROWN, National leader of SNCC (supra), DICK GREGORY (supra), and RON KARENGA. At this conference, certain resolutions were made by work shops. Source stated that the main problem at the conference was at first the Moderates versus the Militants. Source said that subsequently, the Militants won prestige over the Moderates and basically controlled the conference.

LA T-20 (7/27/67)

On July 20, 1967, RON KARENGA attended a rally held in the Grand Ball Room of the Military Park Hotel, Newark, New Jersey. This rally was held in connection with the above mentioned National Conference on Black Power. This source stated that a 45 minute special meeting was held in the Military Park Hotel on July 21, 1967. The purpose of this meeting was to instruct those present to go to their work shop and work on programs that are anti-white, anti-government, for riots and armed defense.

The same source advised that on July 22, 1967, KARENGA attended a press conference held in connection with this National Conference. Source stated that there was an overflow crowd of 50 or more spectators who were very hostile towards whites.

LA T-21 (7/25/67)

RON KARENGA was in charge of a work shop entitled "Black Power in World Perspective". This program was drawn up on July 20, 1967, in connection with the above National Conference.

On July 22, 1967, VINCENT DOHERTY, Manager, Military Park Hotel, 16 Park Place, Newark, New Jersey, made available registration cards for the period July 20 - 22, 1967, for individuals who indicated they were there to attend the National Conference on Black Power. One such card was for RON KARENGA, 8211 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.

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LA T-20 (7/22/67)

Advised that at one point during the National Conference on Black Power, Newark, New Jersey, as delegates were returning to their work shops, KARENGA became involved in a heated argument in an upper lobby of the Military Park Hotel with another delegate. This delegate called KARENGA an obscene name and threatened to do him physical harm. At this point, four of KARENGA's bodyguards snatched this person and each one simultaneously placed a revolver to his head. This put an end to the heated argument.

LA T-22 (7/26/67)

Source advised that he had heard of the above incident involving the use of guns by KARENGA's bodyguards.

The July 28, 1967 issue of "Life" magazine, on page 27 and page 28, contained a story captioned, "In a Grim City a Secret Meeting with the Snipers", by RUSSELL SACKETT. This story alleges the writer secretly met with members of an unidentified group who acted as snipers during the recent Newark, New Jersey riot. The story sets forth that this group allegedly has fraternal contacts with other black extremist organizations, one of whom was listed as US.

On August 15, 1967, KARENGA advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he was aware of the article by RUSSELL SACKETT that appeared in the July 28, 1967 issue of "Life" and said that as far as it referred to his organization, there was no truth in it. KARENGA denied that anyone from his organization or anyone affiliated with US had participated in the Newark riot.

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LA T-20 (6/15/67)

Source advised that the National Conference on Black Power to be held at Newark, New Jersey, July 20 - 23, 1967, was to be composed of 15 work shops with some 35 individuals in each shop. Source stated that RON KARENGA is scheduled to be the Coordinator of the "Black Power in World Perspective Work Shop".

ATTENDANCE AT 24th ANNUAL
NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

LA T-3 (7/12/67)

Source advised that the 24th Annual National Convention of the Congress of Racial Equality was held June 20, 1967, to July 4, 1967, in Oakland, California. Source stated that at this convention, FLOYD MC KISSICK, who is a national leader of CORE and JAMES FARMER, former national leader of CORE, were two of the speakers. Source stated that RON KARENGA attended at least a portion of this convention (specific dates not given).

ATTENDANCE AT BLACK POWER
CONFERENCE, SAN FRANCISCO,
CALIFORNIA

LA T-23 (1/30/67)

Source advised that RON KARENGA spoke on January 29, 1967, at a Black Power Conference held at Russian Center, 2450 Sutter Street, San Francisco, California, on January 27 - 29, 1967. Source stated that KARENGA was one of the strongest speakers at this meeting which included STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Source added that KARENGA said "we must revolt to bring about a revolution".

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LA T-24 (1/30/67)

RON KARENGA spoke on January 29, 1967, at the above mentioned Black Power Conference in San Francisco and was the strongest speaker and had urged creating a revolution and rioting.

ATTENDANCE AT A PLANNING
CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

On September 1, 1966, RON KARENGA advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he was going to attend a Planning Conference on Black Power to be held September 3 and 4, 1966, at Washington, D. C. He stated that this would be a forerunner for a National Conference to take place at a later date in Washington, D. C.

LA T-20 (9/9/66)

RON KARENGA attended a Black Power Planning Conference at the Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D. C., on September 3, 1966. This conference was scheduled to be held on September 3 and 4, 1966.

LA T-20 (9/15/66)

On September 15, 1966, after the meetings at the Rayburn House Office Building (supra), a private meeting of black militants was held at a residence at 1780 Redwood Terrace, N.W., Washington, D. C. At this meeting, the militants agreed to accept violence as their guide line. KARENGA urged those members present to start young black militant Simba groups in their cities.

APPEARANCES AT
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

LA T-25 (12/15/67)
LA T-26 (12/15/67)

On December 14, 1967, RON KARENGA addressed an audience of some 500 to 800 persons at Cramton Hall, Howard

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University, Washington, D. C. He spoke on the topic "The Black Man in North America". Sources stated that he was accompanied by five bodyguards.

KARENKA identified himself as Chairman of US and a Black Nationalist. He said US is a cultural Black Nationalist organization located in Los Angeles. KARENKA devoted most of his time talking about the relationship between the white man and the black man. He said the black people as a whole are trying to live like the white people and thereby denying themselves the knowledge of their true identity. The black people should not go around calling themselves Americans as they are of African descent, and cannot be classified as citizens because if they were they would be receiving the benefits and rights of citizens.

KARENKA stated that while he is a revolutionary, he has never advocated the taking over of the Government of this country. The purpose of US is to start a cultural revolution and this type of revolution is necessary before any social, economic or political revolution can take place.

Following his regular talk, KARENKA held a question and answer period. In response to a question about ignoring the draft, KARENKA stated that if a person wanted to do this all they had to do was to refuse to register. He said this person, however, in doing so, should be prepared to go to jail. He is against the war in Vietnam and helps the draft resistance movement in Los Angeles whenever he can.

KARENKA stated that he has been tagged a Communist but is not one. He does believe in "communism" (phonetic), a phrase which he said he has coined. This means the sharing of what you have with others and which thought existed in the world long before KARL MARX was ever born.

KARENKA was asked if he believed in violence and he stated that he was by birth, nature and rearing not a violent man. However, he lives in a violent world and his chief enemy, the white man, is a violent man. He believes in freedom through any method possible and so he cannot really be classified as a non-violent man.

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The December 12, 1967, edition of the "Los Angeles Collegian", the newspaper of Los Angeles City College, 855 North Vermont, Los Angeles, California, contained an article that stated that RON KARENGA had spoken to a turn away crowd at Los Angeles City College on December 11, 1967. KARENGA outlined a plan for black culture.

The October 27, 1967, issue of the "Daily Bruin", an organ of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), contained an article that stated that RON KARENGA spoke on October 26, 1967, as the invited guest of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs Seminar at UCLA. A portion of KARENGA's speech is set out in this article and states that "we will have to decide and determine our lives ourselves. In order to do this, we will have to set up our own institutions and make them responsive to the needs of our people."

"Existing society does not do this. We provided the labor that built America but what is good for America is negative to us -- what is good for us may not be what is good for America."

This article stated that this was the second time in two weeks that KARENGA had appeared on campus, the first occasion being an address to the Experimental College class, "Black Student/Alienation" on October 17, 1967.

LA T-27. (10/27/67)

RON KARENGA spoke to the assembled faculty of Locke High School, Los Angeles, California. During this talk, which lasted approximately 45 minutes, KARENGA outlined the philosophy of US (supra) as it pertains to the education of the Negroes in the Los Angeles community. Basically, KARENGA stated that in his opinion, the current courses taught in the schools in the Los Angeles area are outmoded and do not apply to Negroes. Source advised that the speech was not at all militant and was generally well received on members of the faculty. This speech was delivered October 18, 1967.

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LA T-28 (1/12/67)

RON KARENGA took part in a panel discussion held December 15, 1966, on the campus of the University of Southern California (USC), Los Angeles, California. The topic was "The McCone Report Revisited". RON KARENGA told the assembled group that the McCone Report tried to reduce the August 1965, Watts riot to a mere spasm instead of a black revolt. He compared the Watts riot to the American Revolution. He said that what the white man does is all right -- it is a heroic thing because they are fighting for their freedom but when the black man revolted in 1965, it was illegal and it was wrong. He added sarcastically "the white American looted in the Boston Tea Party and that was considered Okay, but when the black man looted in Los Angeles, that was wrong."

Source added that during his talk, KARENGA referred to the whites as "honkies". Source quoted KARENGA as saying that "the black man was going to write his own history with his own heroes". He said that the black man did not want to hero worship such immoral men such as GEORGE WASHINGTON and THOMAS JEFFERSON who raped Negro women.

The "Star Free Press", a newspaper published in Ventura, California, contains in its April 22, 1967, issue an article which states that Maulana RON KARENGA had addressed some 500 Ventura College Students at Ventura, California, on April 21, 1967. The article stated that the theme of KARENGA's speech was the "Negro Must Develop His Own Culture".

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APPEARANCES ON TELEVISION

LA T-29 (December, 1966)

Advised that RON KARENGA appeared on the "Contact" television show presented over station NBC-TV, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on October 7, 1966. During the course of this show, KARENGA spoke in favor of STOKELY CARMICHAEL and defended the rioting that had taken place in the Watts area of Los Angeles, California in 1965. He stated that this was not a riot but was a revolt. One of his remarks was that he was not in favor of integration. In addition, he added that ROY WILKINS, MARTIN LUTHER KING and WHITNEY YOUNG were "all dead men--they have outlived their usefulness--they need to retire." Source stated that this program is an interview show where the audience calls in questions to the station.

LA T-30 (10/28/66)

Advised that RON KARENGA appeared on the television program "Sightline", a local program of television station KERO-TV, Bakersfield, California on October 27, 1966. KARENGA explained that the goals of the black nationalists are to better the lot of the Negro, and insurrections and disturbances are necessary to accomplish these ends.

LA T-31 (9/28/67)

Advised that RON KARENGA was one of three black nationalists who appeared on September 25, 1967 on the Les Crane Television Show, Channel 11, KTTV, Los Angeles, California. In response to a question put to him by CRANE asking in effect can't we be brothers and friends, KARENGA answered in effect, we have no common values; how can I associate with you?

LA T-32 (12/20/67)

Source advised that RON KARENGA again appeared on the Les Crane Television Show (supra) on September 19, 1967. During this show, KARENGA made remarks to the effect that the white man in America was going to have to be eliminated for the Negro to attain his goals. Source stated that the tenor of his remarks were anti-white and inflammatory to the Negro listening audience.

LA 157-1409

MISCELLANEOUS

LA T-2 (9/7/67)

Source advised that on September 6, 1967, a closed meeting of the administrative staff and the chairman and directors of the Parent Teacher's Association (PTA) was scheduled to be held at Manual Arts High School, 4131 South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles.

Just as the meeting was getting underway it was interrupted "by an invasion" of followers of RON KARENGA and members of his organization US. These adult male Negroes, all with shaved heads, wearing dark glasses (even though it was early evening), sandals, and uniforms, burst into the meeting hall and divided into two groups. One group spaced themselves on the right side of the meeting hall, and the other group took the left side of the hall. After they were all arranged, the doors opened and in stalked RON KARENGA, as his followers smartly snapped to attention, military style.

KARENGA was accompanied by an adult Negroid female with "natural hair," sandals, huge brass ear rings, wearing a chain around her waist. This woman was MARGARET WRIGHT, who has given the School Board trouble in the past.

When the chairman of the meeting called for the flag salute (required prior to all public meetings on school property), the members of the PTA and the school administrative staff stood up; whereupon KARENGA and all his followers made a big-to-do about sitting down, many of them in the aisles.

Throughout the meeting this group of black nationalist-oriented Negroes attempted to disrupt the proceedings, and to intimidate the staff and PTA members, both Negro and Caucasian alike. They made all kinds of unfounded charges and threats. They used physical intimidation, as well as verbal threats. On several occasions they pushed chairs and other furniture up against the speakers and members of the staff trying to conduct this necessary pre-school business meeting.

LA 157-1409

KARENGA indicated that it is his intention to continue such activities until the present principal of Manual Arts High School is removed. Source stated KARENGA points with pride to the obvious capitulation on the part of the School Board, in the case of ANGELA BATES and her graduation from Manual Arts High School in June, 1967. Source stated that ANGELA BATES was a young Negro girl who failed to attain graduation from Manual Arts High School, Los Angeles, California in 1967 due to academic deficiencies. The School Board, however, allowed her to participate in the graduation and receive a Certificate of Graduation (as opposed to a diploma) after much pressure from outside sources. KARENGA made the threat that he would have enough of his black nationalists "to ring the school grounds on Monday" and thus prevent the principal from coming on the school property. KARENGA has made it plain that he feels that he has enough "black power" to cause the eventual removal of the principal, and that he will not be satisfied until this end is brought about.

Source said it was necessary for the school officials to call up some of their extra security guards to maintain some semblance of peace and order during the September 6, 1967 school meeting. They also alerted the Los Angeles Police Department.

Source stated that in addition, KARENGA has appeared before several official sessions of the School Board, and in all cases has created untold trouble. On one particular occasion, when an executive session of the Board was held just to attempt to show KARENGA where the board had taken steps to improve the level of education of ethnic minority groups, he fully agreed with the board's position. He reportedly said that on that occasion, "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!!"

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA 157-1409

LA T-33 (6/29/60)

Advised that RON EVERETT attended a meeting of the Albert Schweitzer Club of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street on June 19, 1960.

INDEPENDENT STUDENT UNION (ISU)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-34 (8/22/60)

Advised that RON EVERETT attended a meeting of the ISU at 4276 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California on July 6, 1960.

LA T-33 (7/27/60)

Advised that RON EVERETT was at the office of the ISU, 4276 Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, California on July 20, 1960.

LA T-33 (9/12/60)

Advised RON EVERETT attended a fund raising function sponsored by the ISU at 1012 Heliotrope, Los Angeles, California on September 10, 1960.

LA T-33 (1/5/61)

Advised that RON EVERETT attended a party sponsored by the ISU on December 23, 1960 at 932 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California.

NATION OF ISLAM (NOI)
(SEE APPENDIX)

RON EVERETT wrote an article for the January 25, 1962 "Herald-Dispatch" (supra) reporting a trip that he had taken to Phoenix, Arizona on January 21, 1962 to hear ELIJAH MUHAMMAD, the leader of the NOI. The article concluded with this remark from EVERETT:

LA 157-1409

"I find no fault in him (ELIJAH MUHAMMAD), and to condemn him for the truth he teaches is like breaking a mirror which reminds you of your ugliness. For in all this hysteria, you will not eliminate that which makes you ugly."

AFRO-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

WILLIAM TUT HAYES, JR., 1782 Rimpau Boulevard, Los Angeles, California, advised Special Agents of the FBI on December 30, 1964 that he was the vice chairman of the Afro-American Association in Los Angeles and that RON KARENGA was the chairman. Source stated meetings are held each Sunday afternoon at 1302 West Santa Barbara Avenue, Los Angeles, California. In literature distributed at California State College at Los Angeles in 1964, the Afro-American Association described itself as having been formed in 1961 in the San Francisco Bay area by a number of persons who became deeply disturbed over the plight of black persons throughout the world, especially the plight of twenty million in the United States. It was decided that the sense of brotherhood and solidarity should be increased among black people and that we should concern ourselves locally, nationally and internationally in all instances where their rights are involved. A Los Angeles chapter was formed to help extend and accelerate this work.

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL (PAC)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-1 (9/1/66)

Source advised that on August 29, 1966, RON KARENGA attended a PAC sponsored meeting at the University Methodist Church, 817 West 34th Street, Los Angeles, California.

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

LA T-10 (7/18/66)
LA T-35 (7/21/66)

LA 157-1409

Source advised that on June 25, 1966, RON KARENGA attended a meeting sponsored by Friends of SNCC at 1830 Hi-Point Street, Los Angeles, California. At this meeting, there was a discussion of plans to make a portion of South Los Angeles a separate city.

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE (WSP)
(SEE APPENDIX)

LA T-3 (5/19/67)

Advised that on May 17, 1967, RON KARENGA attended a protest meeting sponsored by WSP in one of the meeting rooms of the Los Angeles City Board of Education, 450 North Grand, Los Angeles, California. The purpose of this meeting was to protest the presence of military recruiters on campuses of Los Angeles schools.

LA T-1 (5/18/67)

Source advised that on February 28, 1967, RON KARENGA led a demonstration at the Federal Court Building, Temple and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California. The purpose of this demonstration was to protest the trial of two Negroes who had refused to be drafted, stating that they were descendants of slaves and do not have full citizenship.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The following description of KARENGA was obtained from personal observation by Special Agents of the FBI and from newspaper photographs recently printed in the Los Angeles area:

Sex	Male
Race	Negro
Born	July 14, 1941 Parsonsburg, Maryland
Height	5'7"
Weight	190 - 200 pounds
Build	Rotund
Hair	Shaved head
Eyes	Brown

LA 157-1409

Peculiarities

Wears a drooping Fumanchu mustache; short velvet robe or smock; Tiki-type idol worn around the neck; wears dark glasses even when indoors.

APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF LOS ANGELES

A source advised on May 22, 1967, that the premises of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California, have been utilized for meetings by Communist Party members and sympathizers over a period of years. Speakers and lecturers at the church frequently espouse Communist causes or follow the Communist Party line. Communist front group literature is distributed at the church. The church is used by some Communist Party members for "mass concentration" work.

This same infiltration extends to adjuncts of the church such as the Unitarian Public Forum and the Fellowship for Social Justice, formerly known as the Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship for Social Justice.

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN has been minister of the church since 1948.

Reverend STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN is described in the Fourth Report, Un-American Activities Committee in California, 1948, Page 115, as a very active "Communist fronter" and connected with numerous "Communist front organizations and activities."

Membership in the First Unitarian Church does not, of itself, connote membership in or sympathy with the Communist Party.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

INDEPENDENT STUDENT UNION

On May 17, 1962, a source advised that the Independent Student Union (ISU) was formed by a group of Los Angeles City College students in March, 1960.

The preamble to the ISU constitution states in part:

"We, the members of the ISU, are dedicated to giving our energies to building a world of peace, wherein the peoples of all lands will not have to live in constant fear of nuclear, biological and chemical warfare.

"We pledge our efforts to ending of all social inequality based upon race, creed or national origin and to further the eradication of discrimination in all walks of American life.

"We affirm the right and value of both students and instructors to take an active role in the political life of the nation, and believe that no restriction should be placed upon the free expression of ideas and opinions within and outside the classroom."

The source stated that the ISU was originally controlled by three co-chairmen, one of whom was FRANKLIN ALEXANDER, a member of the Southern California District, Communist Party (CP). In September, 1960, ALEXANDER was elected to be president of the ISU and served until April, 1961. In September, 1961, he was again elected president of ISU and served until May, 1962, at which time the ISU was dissolved because it had outlived its purpose and usefulness and absorbed into a new Communist Party youth front group known as the Youth for Peace and Socialism.

The source stated the ISU during its existence claimed to have a membership of 200; however, average attendance at meetings did not exceed 30-40 at the most. The ISU did have members on most of the major college campuses in the Los Angeles area; however, membership in the ISU did not necessarily indicate sympathy toward the CP.

APPENDIXNATION 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 May 5, 1967, 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; the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils", in the United States; and 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.

APPENDIX CONTINUED

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised Muhammad had, in early 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.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

PEACE ACTION COUNCIL

The "People's World", a weekly west coast communist newspaper, in its issue of November 5, 1966, in an article on Page 3, describes the Peace Action Council (PAC) as, "a coordinating agency for peace activists" which conducts emergency mobilizations and demonstrative actions against the war in Vietnam.

On July 22, 1966, a source reported that the PAC, which has also been known as the Greater Los Angeles Peace Action Council (GLAPAC), was formed during the early summer of 1966, for the express purpose of protesting the war in Vietnam during the National Governors' Conference held in Los Angeles, California, from July 4, to July 8, 1966. Following the conclusion of that conference, the PAC members decided to continue as a coordinating group to sponsor similar protest demonstrations at later dates.

This source was recontacted on May 10, 1967, and reported that the PAC continues to operate under the same basic concept.

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION OF THE
WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE,
Also Known As
Women's International Strike for Peace

A source advised on May 14, 1967, that the Women Strike for Peace (WSP) in the Southern California area began its operations in the late fall of 1961, as an affiliate of the national organization formed in Washington, D.C. It is a peace oriented women's organization which is opposed to the present American foreign policy in Vietnam. It has also sought legislation which would bring about the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA). In recent months the organization has sponsored demonstrations protesting the United States involvement in Vietnam and calling for the complete withdrawal of all United States troops from Vietnam. In the spring of 1966, it was instrumental in originating and putting into effect a campaign advocating support for "peace candidates" in the upcoming 1966 Congressional elections.

The same source stated that WSP is a non-membership organization and has no officers. The organization is open to women of all political opinions who are interested in world peace. It makes no effort to exclude from its activities members of, or persons sympathetic to, the Communist Party and related groups.

The guiding force behind the Southern California WSP groups is MARY CLARKE. A second source advised in July, 1955, that CLARKE was dropped from the Western Division, Los Angeles County Communist Party (LACCP) in the Spring of 1955, for personal reasons and not because of any political differences with the LACCP.

The first source advised that Southern California WSP maintains its office at 5899 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles. It receives mail through Post Office Box 19739, Los Angeles 19, California.

APPENDIX

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California
December 27, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title RONIE MC KINLEY EVERETT

Character SECURITY MATTER - US

Reference Los Angeles report of
SA G. J. MOOREHEAD,
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

LA T-13; LA T-19, who were in a position to know.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 13526, Sec. 3.5
NLJ 15229-10-2
By OTS NARA, Date 7/26/22

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