

MARCUS GARVEY HAD A TREMENDOUS IMPACT NOT ONLY ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES AND ON SOCIO-POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT IN THE CARIBBEAN BUT ALSO ON NATIONALIST STRUGGLES IN AFRICA. LEADERS SUCH AS JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA AND KWAME NKRUMAH OF GHANA ACKNOWLEDGED THEIR DEBT TO HIM FOR THE INSPIRATION OF HIS LECTURES AND WRITINGS. GARVEY ALSO HELPED TO ORGANIZE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, ONE OF WHICH -----THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) --IS STILL TODAY IN THE FOREFRONT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND JUSTICE IN THAT TROUBLED COUNTRY.

AS I INTIMATED EARLIER, IT WAS CHIEFLY IN THE UNITED STATES THAT GARVEY WAS ABLE TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE TENETS OF HIS PHILOSOPHY AND EXPERIENCE THE GRATIFICATION OF THE SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE BY BLACK PEOPLE TO HIS EXHORTATIONS. HIS ARRIVAL ON THE U.S. SCENE IN 1916 WAS PROPITIOUS. HE DREW ON AND ADVANCED THE WORK OF DISTINGUISHED BLACK LEADERS BEFORE HIM. AS SUCH, HE WAS MERELY A LINK, ALBEIT A VERY IMPORTANT ONE, IN THE CONTINUOUS CHAIN OF BLACK ACTIVISM, REACHING THROUGH TIME TO ANOTHER GREAT LEADER, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THIS HONOURABLE COMMITTEE, WE IN JAMAICA HONOUR AND TREASURE THE MEMORY OF MARCUS GARVEY. BLACK PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ARE INDEBTED TO HIM AND THANK GOD FOR HIS LIFE AND HIS TALENTS. AS WE CELEBRATE THE CENTENNIAL OF HIS BIRTH THIS YEAR, IT WOULD BE A MOST FITTING TRIBUTE IF THE STAIN ON HIS INVALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THIS HEMISPHERE WERE TO BE REMOVED. IT IS NOW SIXTY YEARS SINCE HIS FIVE-YEAR SENTENCE WAS COMMUTED BY PRESIDENT COOLIDGE. WITH THE HINDSIGHT AND CLEARER VISION OF THE ENSUING YEARS, A FRESH LOOK AT THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GARVEY'S PROSECUTION IS WARRANTED.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND HONOURABLE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE, HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION No. 89 AS INTRODUCED BY CONGRESSMAN CHARLES RANGEL IS IN HARMONY WITH REPRESENTATIONS MADE BY MY PRIME MINISTER THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EDWARD SEAGA TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MR. RONALD REAGAN.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT HISTORY HAS VINDICATED THE WORDS AND ACTIONS OF MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY; IN CONSEQUENCE OF THIS HE STANDS NOT ONLY AS JAMAICA'S FIRST NATIONAL HERO, BUT HIS BUST NOW STANDS IN THE HALL OF HEROES AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES HERE IN WASHINGTON, D.C. HIS POSITIVE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE NOW RECOGNIZED THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD. THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS RESOLUTION BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA WOULD ASSIST GREATLY IN CONVINCING THE SUPPORTERS AND ADMIRERS OF MARCUS GARVEY THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THAT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, WHOSE 200TH ANNIVERSARY IS BEING CELEBRATED, DOES INDEED GUARANTEE JUSTICE, (EVEN IF DELAYED,) FOR ALL, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE OR RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN

Mr. CONYERS. Well, we appreciate your eloquence, Ambassador Johnson. It is a very important and fitting way to begin these hearings. We now have the sons—the two sons—of Marcus Garvey. First we have Dr. Julius Garvey, a heart specialist. I have looked over your vitae, which shows your affiliation over the years with Columbia, Einstein College of Medicine; Stonybrook; State University of New York; and Long Island Jewish Hillsdale. We welcome you here and invite you to make any comments you would like to at this time.

Dr. GARVEY. Thank you very much, Congressman Conyers. Mr. Chairman, distinguished other members of the subcommittee, Congressman Rangel, supporters. It is indeed a pleasure for me to be here in many respects. What I learned of my father I learned largely from my mother, who was his life-long helpmate and supporter and buttressed the organization when he was forced, by circumstances, to be away from the helm of leadership. I think she taught me well, because everything that I have since read, since experienced, and since come to understand has confirmed my conviction that I was indeed very fortunate to have chosen well as a father.

My father created a revolution among black people, a revolution of the mind. He traveled widely throughout the Caribbean, Central American, South America, England, Europe, here in the United States. He read extensively. He met with many, many people from Africa, so that he learned of the world situation. What he observed was that black people everywhere were being used. Their resources were being taken by alien peoples in Africa, and utilized to their own betterment. Black people, who had been enslaved, were continuing to be denied their rights, even in their own homeland of Africa, as well as in the countries to which they had been brought by slavery.

He looked at the situation and, because he was a man of destiny, he felt it was up to him to do something to correct the situation that he saw. What he felt that he had to do was to unite the black peoples of the world, to lift them up in one mighty alliance and to regain control of our African homeland. He therefore created, in 1914, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League and within this framework, he created a new black culture, a black culture that was based solidly on the history of blacks.

Going back to homo erectus, homo habilis, homo sapiens, the first man on earth, black man in eastern Africa. He linked the black man of his day with the black man of Egypt, that gave the world the first civilizations; that gave the world medicine; gave the world art; gave the world agriculture; its first geometry; the first algebra; the first mathematics. All of this created by black men. But all of this was obscured by the powers of the world of that day, who denigrated the history of the black man, who enslaved him, who raped his wealth, and continued to abuse him physically, as well as mentally.

Marcus Garvey created then several entities within the UNIA to rectify these situations and it spanned the whole breadth of black culture. In doing this, and in spreading this to the black peoples of the world, he essentially created a new Negro, a new black man

that would no longer tolerate the status quo, that was no longer content to bow his head, was no longer content to walk on his knees in the presence of any man. Of course, in promulgating this philosophy and in basing it in self-reliance, self-respect, self-dependence, and a strong economic base, he challenged the status quo.

He knew this was inevitable. He did not shrink from it. He knew this was his destiny. He knew that he would be abused. He knew he would be betrayed, but this was his destiny, to lift up the black race from perdition and from abuse, and bring it back once again, into the light of civilization.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much. We now turn to Marcus Garvey, Jr., who was born in St. Andrew, Jamaica; educated in London, England; the West Indies; and New York as an engineer, physics expert, mathematics expert. He is a Registered Professional Engineer in the State of Massachusetts. He has done a great deal of study and work on the life of his father and I had the privilege of witnessing recently a television production, I think, from Holland, in which you made some very important comments about him. I am very delighted that you are before the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice and we welcome you for your own remarks.

Mr. GARVEY. Mr. Chairman, members of the Congressional Committee in the Congress, I welcome this opportunity to speak briefly on the matter in hand. As the older son of Marcus Garvey, I have consistently articulated my father's viewpoint because his viewpoint is also my viewpoint. I come here today to state that Marcus Garvey, who was hounded by the imperialist powers of the world, acting in conjunction with the FBI, pressuring the American justice system to get at Marcus Garvey, I have come here to say that that man, my father, is a hero, irrespective of any conviction or any legal action that was taken against, here in the United States or in the Caribbean.

It is indicative of the development of the system here that I can be here and these other gentlemen can be here speaking to you on this matter at this time, and it is in the progress of the social order, it is in the progress of the democratic ethic, that a society, a people and a country shows their greatness. Marcus Garvey was a man with a mission. Quite simply, to raise up the degraded African race. We must remember the times in which he started his work, 1919, the terror of lynching; 1888, when slavery was abolished in Brazil; and a few years before, it had been abolished in the Spanish-speaking countries. So he came at a time when the black man was the most degraded in the world.

The King of the Belgians ruled the Belgian Congo with an iron fist, mutilating black people, African people in their own homelands, in order to extract rubber. Those were the times; that was the age that spawned Marcus Garvey. He came with a clear message for African people. Simply, to seek empowerment; to seek power over your social conditions; to seek economic power; to seek political power; to seek, to change the status quo, and that set the world against him.

He preached a message of African identity that black men have a common heritage and a motherland of Africa. African pride that we, as a people, in our great civilizations in Northeast Africa, had

created wonders for the world to see, that what we had done in the past, we could do again. And he emphasized, more than any other black leader, African self-reliance. If Marcus Garvey had lived today, he would be physically sickened at the sight of succeeding generations of black people, living on the welfare state.

Marcus Garvey said rise up black man, you can achieve what you will and he proceeded to do something about it. He established industries and factories and he established a Black Star Line which, eventually, was the cause of his downfall. But it is noteworthy that Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, when he took power in Ghana, named the shipping line of Ghana the Black Star Line, so that the Black Star Line would live again.

Marcus Garvey was persecuted by the strangest conglomeration of people that the world has ever witnessed. At the same time that the imperialists were attacking him, he was under relentless attack by the Communists and the Socialists. And I want to emphasize that, for very rarely, in the history of the world, has one man or group or institution or organization been attacked simultaneously by the left and the right. And the Marxists were attacking him because they wanted to use the black masses of America as shock troops for the revolution that they had in mind.

Marcus Garvey faced persecution all over the world. The Negro World, his great newspaper that was written in English, Spanish and French, the only black organ that has ever been produced in three languages, and was intended to communicate with black people all over the world, was banned in all of the imperial countries. The death penalty, in the Belgian Congo, existed for reading the Negro World. Marcus Garvey was banned from entering Africa. He was banned in many of the Caribbean Islands and the courts were relentlessly used to attack him here in the United States and in his own land of Jamaica.

He was subject to attacks by the FBI, relentless persecution by the FBI and acts of bribery and corruption of the members, key members, of his movement, and in many parts of the South, intimidation against Garvey members. And this was a common practice in the imperialist colonies in West Africa and the Caribbean. If you were a member of the Garvey movement, you could lose your job immediately. Despite all of these things, Marcus Garvey created a great movement, a movement which many say has failed totally. The fact is that today he is recognized in many ways all over the world.

He has been recognized by the Republic of Senegal on its postage. He has been recognized by the Republic of the Cameroon on its postage. He is, of course, the National Hero of Jamaica, the First National Hero of Jamaica, and he is honored in the United States and in England by many institutions and public highways that bear his name. He was acknowledged by both Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, as a prime influence on their African nationalist outlook and my mother was honored by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the former President of Nigeria, when she visited there. He purposely asked her to come over to Nigeria in honor of Marcus Garvey.

I want to close with some of the words of Marcus Garvey. To judge a man, it is better to judge him from his own mouth and

with your permission, learned and distinguished members of Congress, I will read from the words of Marcus Garvey. He said, "The world does not count races and nations that have nothing. Point me to a weak nation, and I will show you a people oppressed, abuse, taken advantage of by others. Show me a weak race, and I will show you a people reduced to serfdom, peonage, and slavery. Show me a well-organized nation, and I will show you a people and a nation respected by the world."

"Radical is a label that has always applied to people who are endeavoring to get freedom. Jesus Christ was the greatest radical the world ever saw. He came and saw a world of sin and his program was to inspire it with spiritual feeling. He was, therefore, a radical. George Washington was dubbed a radical when he took up his sword to fight his way to liberty in America, 140 years ago. All men who call themselves reformers are, perforce, radicals. The cannot be anything else because they are revolting against the conditions that exist. Conditions as they exist, reveal a conservative state and if you desire to change these conditions, you must be a radical. I am therefore satisfied to be the same kind of radical, if through radicalism I can free Africa."

Mr. CONYERS. We would like to invite you, sir, to include any further comments that you would like to make, in your prepared statement.

Mr. GARVEY. That is all right. I am going to close now with this last comment. "No Negro, let him be American, European, West Indian or African, shall be truly respected until the race, as a whole, has emancipated itself, through self-achievement and progress, from universal prejudice. The Negro will have to build his own government, industry, art, science, literature and culture, before the world will stop to consider him. Until then, we are but wards of a superior race and civilization, and the outcasts of a standard social system."

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much.

Mr. GARVEY. Thank you.

Mr. CONYERS. Congressman Rangel, Ambassador Johnson, Dr. Garvey, Marcus Garvey, Jr., we thank you very much for giving us this testimony.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Chairman, at this time, I would like to submit, for the record, the testimony of the Honorable Alfred Rattray, on behalf of the People's National Party.

[The statement of Honorable Alfred A. Rattray follows:]



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STATEMENT BY THE HON. ALFRED A. RATTRAY, O.J.; LL.B.; F.C.A.; A.C.I.S.,
PRESENTED TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE
ON THE JUDICIARY, JULY 29, 1987.

Mr. Chairman, Honorable Members of the Committee, I am Alfred A. Rattray. I thank you for the opportunity to present this statement to you on this very important matter. I am a former Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States and a former Ambassador/Permanent Representative of Jamaica to the Organization of American States. I am a Member of the Executive and a Shadow Minister for Investment and Foreign Trade of the People's National Party, which last formed the Government of Jamaica from 1972 to 1980. I am also Chairman of the North America Committee of the People's National Party of Jamaica.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey is one of a select few who have had a profound effect upon world history and human affairs during the 20th century.

Most of the territories of the Americas and the West Indies suffered conquest by external powers, and over time there arose liberators who freed individual territories or groups of territories from colonialism, or from foreign occupation. Marcus Garvey came along and ushered in a new concept of liberation. He viewed a world demeaned by the scourge of colonialism - that system whose very purpose is the enforced exploitation of whole races and classes of people by others more powerful than themselves. He saw everywhere in the Americas and in Africa, the denial of reasonable economic, social and educational opportunities for the vast majority of people. He observed the entrenched systems which deliberately and systematically debased and at times even sought to exterminate or enslave whole races, minority groups and disadvantaged

/disadvantaged....

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page 2

aged persons.

There seemed no end to this global oppression of one race by another, of the weak and powerless by the strong and the powerful. The victims seemed powerless to throw off the shackles which so effectively impeded their economic, cultural, social and political mobility. The plight of the Negro race and of other oppressed peoples everywhere seemed hopeless.

And then, the 20th century produced Marcus Garvey. He led and helped to spawn a new breed of liberators who developed new strategies and employed new techniques to wage war against the seemingly impregnable fortresses of human selfishness, abuse, exploitation, callousness, and cynicism.

Tracing through the pages of history the methods and techniques used along the way to secure and perpetuate the bondage of oppressed peoples, Garvey noted that the Negro race, and by extension all oppressed people, were the victims of man's inhumanity to man. They were victims of that brutal inhuman urge which produced the twin systems of slavery and of colonialism, and which even today is dominant wherever one nation or class of people for whatever motive seek to dominate another.

Observing his people in Jamaica, in the Americas and in Africa, and learning from the lessons of history, Garvey noted that the conquest and subjugation of the human spirit was at least as important and as effective a strategy of enslavement, as the conquest and subjugation of the human body.

The establishment and perpetuation of the political, social, economic and psychological bondage of the Negro race, and indeed of all oppressed peoples, were facilitated and indeed secured by the false notion of their inherent inferiority. This notion was invariably implanted into their minds by their oppressors - be they slave masters, colonial masters, or other breeds of exploiters.

So carefully and relentlessly cultivated throughout the ages has been this notion of the inherent and inescapable inferiority of the oppressed, that it emerged as perhaps the greatest stumbling block to his liberation.

The abiding greatness of Marcus Garvey, and that which assures for him his place in the history of mankind, is not only that he clearly perceived all this, but also that he embarked upon a process which showed the way for the liberation of the enslaved spirit of oppressed people everywhere - in Jamaica and the Caribbean; in the Americas; in Africa - everywhere. It was

/this liberation ...

page 3

this liberation of the tormented spirit of the Negro race and of other oppressed peoples throughout the world that was the focus of Garvey's strategies and endeavors. He knew that once the human spirit is liberated the human being can reach out and firmly grasp and guide his own destiny. By the power of his vision and his philosophies and by example, Garvey aroused in the mighty Negro race an appreciation of their true value, of their inherent worth, of their inherent equality, and their potential to achieve. A profound believer and practitioner of democracy he summoned the Negro race to unity of purpose and clarity of vision and set them on the road in pursuit of their political, economic, and social emancipation. Thus Garvey and the organizations he created and promoted waged war on ignorance and on inferiority syndromes, and in their place, sowed and nourished to maturity human dignity, self respect and self esteem.

His teachings, which had a profound impact upon Black and other oppressed people everywhere, helped to spawn that new breed of 20th century liberators and set in motion in Africa, in the Caribbean and in North America that irresistible tidal wave which swept away colonial empires and produced the massive gains of civil rights for so long denied to our people.

Such giants of history as Mahatma Ghandi, Nandi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., some of the 20th century heroes of Asia, of Africa, of America, and of the Caribbean with numerous others from these areas, were deeply influenced and inspired by Garvey in the pursuit and fulfillment of their own great deeds.

Garvey's main gift to humanity was spiritual and his influence upon humanity will continue to increase with time.

Marcus Garvey is National Hero of Jamaica and his life and work are a unifying influence in that great young nation. He has been acclaimed Hero of the Americas and his bust adorns the Hall of Heroes of the Americas at the O.A.S. in this great city. His great and untiring efforts which reached out to the world were wrought mainly in the small proud great nation of Jamaica and in our mighty proud great neighbour and friend the United States of America. Thousands of your people share with us and others throughout the Americas, the Caribbean, and Africa a common pride in this great man.

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page 4

for his life and work, his struggles, his sacrifices and his triumphs and the realization of what he meant to millions in our two countries and throughout the world, become and continue forever as a source of mutual respect, mutual understanding and friendship.

The people of Jamaica and I believe the vast majority of the people of the United States share the view that the charges brought by the Federal Government against Marcus Garvey were unsubstantiated and the conviction was unjustified and unwarranted. The People's National Party of Jamaica, on whose behalf I testify today, unequivocally supports H. Con. Res. 84 as introduced by Representative Charles Rangel and sincerely hopes that in this the Centennial Year of Marcus Garvey's birth the Congress of the United States will adopt this resolution.

Charles Rangel

Mr. RANGEL. And point out to the subcommittee that we have with us, in the audience, the Deputy Prime Minister of the Government of Jamaica, as well as Queen Mother Moore, one of the disciples of Marcus Garvey and is celebrating her birthday here with us today, and so many others of the organizations.

Mr. CONYERS. Happy Birthday.

Mr. RANGEL. And the Marcus Garvey Centennial Committee are here. Let me thank the entire committee for the courtesy that you have extended to us today.

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. CONYERS. Yes. Let me recognize the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GEKAS. It dawned on me that with the Ambassador's appearance here today, I believe as far as I can remember, that he is, according to protocol, the highest ranking public official ever to testify before this subcommittee.

Ambassador JOHNSON. Profoundly honored.

Mr. GEKAS. We accept that honor.

Mr. RANGEL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and if the committee would permit, I would like to join you for the rest of the hearing.

Mr. CONYERS. Yes, definitely. Please join us up here, Mr. Rangel.

Mr. RANGEL. Thank you.

Mr. CONYERS. I would like now to call our second panel, Dr. John Henrik Clarke, Professor Emeritus, Hunter College, New York City; Professor Judith Stein, City College of New York; Professor Robert Hill, University of California at Los Angeles; Dr. Tony Martin, Department of Black Studies, Wellesley College in Massachusetts. Ladies and gentlemen, will you all join us here. It is a very distinguished panel. All of the statements here that you have brought forward will, without objection, be made a part of our record, as well as the additional documents submitted by Congressman Rangel.

This is a very distinguished panel of historians. There are a lot of questions I could ask you on a lot of subjects now that I have all of you before me, but we are here on a very limited purpose. Let us begin with Dr. John Henrik Clarke. We welcome you very emphatically to this subcommittee, sir.

TESTIMONY OF DR. JOHN HENRIK CLARKE, PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK, NY; PROFESSOR JUDITH STEIN, CITY COLLEGE OF NEW YORK, NEW YORK, NY; PROFESSOR ROBERT HILL, AFRICAN STUDIES CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES, CA; AND DR. TONY MARTIN, PROFESSOR, DEPARTMENT OF BLACK STUDIES, WELLESLEY COLLEGE, WELLESLEY, MA

Dr. CLARKE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the invitation to address the committee. I will be brief and to the point. The one thing that the Nation had most against Marcus Garvey was not what they put him on trial for. They put him on trial for a nebulous, vague charge to cover up the fact that there was no law against what they really had against him. What he had done is to awaken in the African-American an awareness of what slavery and

oppression had taken away—had taken away from the Afro-American, more than they had taken it away from any other immigrant group in America, the concept of "Nation."

We were then and we are now, a nation within a nation, searching for a nationality. Every immigrant group in this country claims a nationality and once we claim a nationality, we will stop answering to the silly word "minority." We will understand that between the Caribbean Islands, the United States, and Brazil, it has the largest black population outside of Africa. There are nearly 200 million African people, with the population of Africa counted as 500 million, not to count the millions of Africans in Asia, including 10 million Dravidians who are now proclaiming their African-ness. We are a major part of the population of the earth.

Now, what Marcus Garvey did was to start black Americans to dreaming again, hoping again, feeling whole again, as a people, and to feel whole again as a people, you must feel that you belong to the nation concept, that you must understand the nation concept. He began to understand his uniqueness, through Garveyism, as an immigrant group. We were the only immigrant group that was invited here and the nature of the invitation will not be discussed here, but we were the only immigrant group that were invited here.

In that invitation, they robbed us of the concept that we came from someplace that was big and we performed bigger things, built nations, and that for most of our existence on this earth, we were a free, self-governing people and many times we did those jobs exceptionally well, long before the first European wore a shoe or lived in a house that had a window. When you want to oppress a people, you have to destroy their self-confidence and historical memory, the memory of what they had then, so that they can be confused about what they are, and more confused about what they still must be.

Garvey's crime, declared by this Nation, that he had awakened in us old fires, old memories, that we had been more than servants, we had been kings, ruled nations, and we had ruled them exceptionally well and we might do it again. And he began to create the semblance of nationhood, so that we could see ourselves within the framework of "nation." He came into an atmosphere, after the first world war, when we had been told, almost officially, that our lot would not be changed by virtue of having participated in the war. And then he got across to us, well, they brought you here to do labor. The labor they brought you here to do is somewhat obsolete now. They have got machines.

Let us pack up. Let us get ready to go home psychologically, if not physically. Let us get our own ship. Let us get our own concept of nation and get it together. That frightened America. It would not have frightened them in any other immigrant group, except the black Americans, because the black American was not brought to the country to be given citizenship. When the dream was dreamed, he was not a part of the dream and when the promise was made, he was not a part of that promise.

The concept of Garvey is that "I will lead you to a new dream, a new promise, and a new land." America did not want its slaves awakened and that was the real crime they charged him for. A

nebulous case of using the mail for fraud was something they did not care anything about, because they do not care too much about what happened between blacks and blacks until they decided to use it to conquer both of them. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much. Professor Judith Stein, welcome to our hearing.

Professor STEIN. Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of the Committee, it is with great pleasure that I am here this afternoon. Marcus Garvey was indicted and convicted of the crime of mail fraud, in connection with the building of the Black Star Line, a shipping company. Because the Line failed, some people may think that there is a basis to the Government's case. What I would like to do this afternoon is show how and why the Black Star Line was intrinsic to Garvey's conception of black progress, not a "scheme" as the Government charged. Other members of the panel will discuss the politics behind the indictment and the trial itself.

Today, our conception of a black leader is either a Martin Luther King, who self-consciously mobilized people to change laws, or elected representatives, who use formal mechanisms of government. It is easy to forget that this kind of politics depends upon a mobilized and voting black community, a sympathetic Supreme Court, Congress, academic community, labor movement, and public opinion. I recount these ingredients because, in order to understand Marcus Garvey's place in history, it is necessary to recreate the world as it looked to him and many blacks during the period of World War I and the 1920s. Then, none of these resources existed.

When Marcus Garvey came to New York in 1916, the civil rights issue had disappeared from national politics. After the election of 1876, Congress refused, for instance, to permit the Army or Federal Marshals, to protect black voters. By the turn of the century, a southern advocate of black disfranchisement could confidently say "We have now the sympathy of thoughtful men in the North to an extent that never before existed." In 1901, the last black representative left Congress.

The Supreme Court offered no more hope. As early as 1873, a five-man majority asserted that it was not the purpose of the 14th Amendment to transfer the security and protection of civil rights from the States to the Federal Government. By the end of the century, the Supreme Court Justices, writing into constitutional law their own belief that blacks were inferior, produced a legal counter-revolution. Few intellectuals spoke out. Academics, clergymen, and editors vied to justify white supremacy by appeals to Darwinism and Anglo-Saxonism. The few who remained concerned with racial injustice counseled gradualism, rather than immediacy. Thus, the South received all the permission it needed to institutionalize white supremacist beliefs.

The key change at the turn of the century, was disfranchisement. Political impotency affected every aspect of black life. Unable to participate in the enactment or enforcement of the law, Southern blacks became increasingly vulnerable to physical assault, oppression, and Jim Crow.

The southern changes were significant because in 1910, nine out of every ten blacks lived there, three-quarters of them in rural areas, proscribed by the isolation and poverty of plantation labor,

as much as the formal proscriptions of law. A few, mostly members of the tiny northern black elite, organized to protest the new conditions.

But even the new NAACP, established in 1909, did not seem promising. The civil rights organizations of the early 20th century, lacked adequate finances, political leverage, mass support, white allies, and access to the major institutions shaping public opinion and policy. Although northern blacks voted, their numbers were strategically insignificant. Before the World War I migration, only one million were northern, and they were scattered. Five percent of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, two percent of New York and Chicago, and barely visible in Detroit, Cleveland, and Newark.

Blacks fared no better in other parts of the world. By 1903, after 20 years of the new imperialism, Africans remained sovereign in only six of 40 political units. Conditions were no better in March in Garvey's Jamaica. Ruled by Great Britain, political participation in local government was limited by stiff property qualifications. Economically, old land and international competition depressed its sugar economy. Jamaicans went abroad to work; some of them emigrated permanently.

Thus, Marcus Garvey, born in 1887, grew up in a society where economic well-being, not to say opportunity, was meager for the mass of Jamaicans. The son of a master mason, the young Garvey was apprenticed to his godfather, a printer. Like Benjamin Franklin, Garvey found that the printing trade brought him into a world of advanced thought and politics. Like other Jamaicans, however, he left the island in 1910 and traveled throughout Central America, England, and Europe, seeking work and some understanding of the ways that black life could be bettered.

In London, he met other blacks, many from Africa, and he began to believe that group, or Pan-African methods, could be efficacious. Returning to Jamaica in 1914, he began a new organization, the Universal Negro Improvement Association. The name captured his Pan-African scope, but also revealed the main methods he would use. The word improvement, at that time, meant to make better, but it also implied that the way to make things better was through profitable enterprise. Economic development corporations then, were frequently called improvement companies. Yet, in Jamaica, economic prospects were not very promising.

Garvey's hopes remained, however. He had read about the economic ideas of Booker T. Washington, the head of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. In March of 1916, he arrived in Harlem and subsequently traveled about the United States lecturing and learning. Garvey's optimism was fueled by new changes in the United States. As the Nation entered the war, black appointments in the Labor and War Departments, recognized the new importance of the black population, both as soldiers and as workers. One-half million migrated to the North. The higher wages earned by blacks in cities stimulated the growth of new black businesses. But all was not encouraging.

There was no major change in the legal status or the power of the Afro-American community in the South. The right to vote was still denied. An attempt by black sharecroppers to form a union in Elaine, Arkansas was met with violent repression. Contests for

scarce housing, in some northern cities, triggered race riots. Yet, for the first time since the end of Reconstruction, prospects for change appeared promising. Both the ideology of the war "to make the world safe for democracy"—and real changes in the world, the removal of the Russian czar, the setting up of new nation states in Eastern Europe gave many people the sense that empires would be replaced by new democratic nation states everywhere. Although in retrospect, we know the changes were more limited, at that time the possibility of change stimulated many to organize and demand democratic rights.

During this period, Garvey established branches of the UNIA in many Eastern cities. Although he protested unjust treatment of blacks and demanded self-determination, Garvey was not simply a critic. He did not believe that the Supreme Court—

Mr. CONYERS. Excuse me, Professor Stein. Those two bells require that all the members vote on a matter now pending on the Floor of the Congress, so we will take a short recess and we will resume your testimony as soon as we return.

[Recess]

Mr. CONYERS. Will everyone take their seats please, so that the subcommittee hearings can proceed. The subcommittee will come to order. Professor, you may continue.

Professor STEIN. Garvey did not believe that the Supreme Court, the national Government, or the South, would alter the key mechanisms of white supremacy. Rather, he continued to believe that economic power was a sure route to black equality.

He told an audience, on February 1, 1919, that blacks must become a "commercial and industrial people." Garvey's solution was to build a Pan-African shipping line. From the perspective of 1919, it was not an unsuitable vehicle for black aspiration.

In 1919, ships were preeminent symbols of national power. The United States Government created a corporation to increase the American fleet. The shortage of shipping made it a very profitable business, too. Moreover, a shipping line offered Pan-African dividends. African and West Indian shippers felt that the British, who dominated their trade, were discriminating against them in favor of European traders. Many of them encouraged Garvey to build the Black Star Line. The idea appealed to blacks of ambition and talent, who found normal entrepreneurial routes blocked. American corporations, at this time, rarely hired blacks in managerial positions. Hugh Mulzac, one of Garvey's ship captains, had been unable to obtain a position on the bridge after the War.

One thing should be made clear. At the time, and still today, some people believed that the Black Star Line was the vehicle for a back-to-Africa movement. An aide of Garvey's tried to clarify the issue. He said that the UNIA is not a "Back-to-Africa" movement. "The Negro in America has had a better opportunity than any other Negro."

Thus, the UNIA plan for Liberia was not an exodus, but in modern language, a plan to build an infrastructure so that the nation could develop in the western way. The Black Star Line was an important link in the economic development of the black world. After incorporating the Black Star Line, Garvey obtained his first ship. Although he acquired others, paid for by selling \$5.00 shares,

the Black Star Line failed. Although Garvey and his associates made some mistakes, ultimately, they were victims of the depression of 1920-1921.

The postwar depression, by drastically reducing world trade, made the shipping business unprofitable. At the same time, the American economy suffered a brief, but sharp, depression. Nationwide unemployment hovered at 20 percent and over 100,000 businessmen went bankrupt. The unemployment was greatest in the Tidewater area and midwestern cities, which had attracted many blacks during the war. Many of these areas were the homes of the strongest UNIA locals. Forced to seek work, many members became inactive. The unfavorable economic conditions proved decisive.

Garvey fought a losing battle to sustain the Black Star Line. It was in this period of vulnerability that the Justice Department indicted him for mail fraud, an issue which others will address in detail. Identified as an agitator, a radical, and even a Communist by J. Edgar Hoover, the bureau chief had attempted to find a crime so that Garvey, an alien, could be deported. Failing to discover income tax violations, sexual improprieties, or passport irregularities, the Justice Department hit upon mail fraud at the time the Black Star Line was in economic difficulties.

However, Justice Department documents reveal that the thread running through the prosecutor's case was that Garvey was, in the words of J. Edgar Hoover, a "dangerous race agitator." One must remember the context of that judgment and the meaning of those words. To many whites in power, the race question would be solved gradually and through the goodwill of sympathetic whites. To agitate, meaning to protest, was outside the boundaries of legitimate racial politics. To attempt to organize the masses of blacks, independently, was similarly out of bounds. To try to build a black shipping line could only be a fraudulent scheme to them.

But by 1927, the efforts of Garveyites began to have effect. Congressmen, Senators, as well as ordinary people, joined the campaign for pardon. The Attorney General suddenly discovered that the facts of the case were not as the prosecutor had presented them, and that UNIA shareholders did not believe they had been defrauded. Nevertheless, the Government was still motivated by its conception of racial politics. Garvey was not pardoned. In 1927, his sentence was commuted and he was deported. Garvey, an alien, was the most vulnerable kind of political dissident.

The legal system should not be used, as it was in all stages of this case, to suppress dissent or serve the political prejudices of bureaucrats. Exonerating Marcus Garvey, by passing House Resolution No. 84 is not only an acknowledgement that many people admire Garvey's work. It will remind people that American justice has not been perfect and that the Nation can acknowledge its errors. Both effects will strengthen American democracy.

[The statement of Professor Judith Stein follows:]

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF HOUSE RESOLUTION
NO. 84, SUBMITTED TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE
ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE OF THE COMMITTEE ON
THE JUDICIARY, JULY 28, 1987

JUDITH STEIN
PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
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For most people today, the model of a black leader is Martin Luther King, who self-consciously and deliberately tried to end discriminatory laws and practices in the United States through the use of mass civil disobedience, or a black elected official who does the same through the formal mechanisms of government. While the course of the civil rights movement beginning after World War II-- from protest to politics -- seems inevitable, it was not. Many things changed between the two world wars which caused that route to change. In order to understand Marcus Garvey's place in history, it is necessary to recreate the world as it looked to him and many blacks during the period of World War I and the 1920s. From their perspective, King's way would have seemed utopian. The ingredients of the successful politics of the 1960s -- a mobilized black community and a sympathetic Supreme Court, Congress, academic community, labor movement, and public opinion -- did not exist.

When Marcus Garvey came to New York in 1916, the circumstances of black life and the possibilities of black politics were much narrower. After the election of 1876, the civil rights issue disappeared from the national political agenda. After acting to end slavery and establish equality, including voting rights, the Congress permitted the white South to disregard black rights and disfranchise Afro-Americans formally and informally. Thus, it refused to permit the use of the Army or federal marshalls to protect black voters. By the turn of the century, a southern, white

advocate of disfranchisement could assert confidently that "we have now the sympathy of thoughtful men in the North to an extent that never before existed." In 1901, the last black representative left Congress.¹

The Supreme Court offered no more hope. Although the aim of the framers of the Fourteenth Amendment had been to protect the legal and political rights of Afro-Americans against arbitrary state action, a five-man majority asserted as early as 1873 that it was not the purpose "to transfer the security and protection of civil rights ... from the states to the federal government." Throughout the late nineteenth century, the Amendment was narrowed and state laws permitting or mandating segregation, excluding blacks from jury service, permitting disfranchisement, and barring interracial contact -- in one state playing checkers in parks -- were found to be acceptable. Writing into the Constitution their own belief that blacks were inferior, Supreme Court justices produced a legal counter-revolution.²

Few American intellectuals spoke out. Academics, clergymen, and editors vied to justify white supremacy by appeals to Darwinism and Anglo-Saxonism. The few who remained concerned with racial injustice counseled gradualism rather than immediacy. Thus, total acquiescence by Northern liberals and government officials gave the white

1. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 1966), esp. 70, 74.

2. *Slaughter-House Cases*, 16 Wallace 36 (1873); and see *United States v. Cruikshank*, 92 U.S. 542 (1876) and *United States v. Reese*, 92 U.S. 214 (1876).

South all the permission it needed to institutionalize white supremacist beliefs.³

Senator Carter Glass of Virginia proclaimed at a constitutional convention: "Discrimination! Why, that is precisely what we propose; that, exactly, is what this convention was elected for -- to discriminate to the very extremity of permissible action under the limitations of the Federal Constitution, with a view to the elimination of every Negro voter who can be gotten rid of, legally."⁴ And so it went. Political impotency affected every aspect of black life. Unable to participate in the enactment or enforcement of the law, southern blacks became increasingly vulnerable to physical assault and oppression. Jim Crow laws mushroomed after the turn of the century. Atlanta mandated Jim Crow Bibles in its courtrooms, New Orleans segregated prostitutes, Oklahoma, telephone booths. Black schools, segregated before the new era, became marked by gross inequalities when blacks were excluded from the political community in the South.⁵

The southern changes were significant because in 1910, nine out of every ten blacks lived there, three-quarters of

3. William Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas, 1963), ch. 7; I.A. Newby, *Jim Crow's Defense* (Baton Rouge, 1965), ch. 1.

4. Cited in Paul Lewison, *Race, Class, and Party: A History of Negro Suffrage and White Politics in the South* (New York, 1932), 86.

5. *Ibid.*, 84-85; 214-20; Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 97-102; Charles Wallace Collins, *The Fourteenth Amendment and the States* (Boston, 1912), 77-78; Horace Mann Bond, *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel* (Washington, D.C., 1939).