

2. Self-reliance - Black folk should as far as possible help themselves through their own efforts, rather than relying primarily on external assistance.
3. Nationhood - Self-determination and political empowerment for the race everywhere and lobbying for the freedom of Africa were major objectives of Garvey's organization.

From an official viewpoint, Garvey's philosophy was a radical one, likely to make his followers unhappy with their lot and hence a problem of law and order. Even where authorities admitted the legitimacy of Afro-America's grievances, the question of maintaining law and order took precedence over addressing the root causes of Black upset.

Garvey's movement was accordingly the subject of broad official and quasi-official surveillance and harassment. Within a year of Garvey's 1916 arrival in the U.S.A., such surveillance on the part of police authorities was already heavy. Agents monitored his meetings, infiltrators joined his organization and Garvey and his associates were summoned before law enforcement officials. In 1919 J. Edgar Hoover of the Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the Department of Justice expressed regret that Garvey had not committed any crime that might have made him deportable. "Unfortunately," said Hoover, "he has not as yet

violated any Federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an undesirable alien, from the point of view of deportation." Hoover's remarks seemed to suggest an effort at entrapment.

Harassment took a variety of other forms. Garvey was arrested during each of his international conventions, the meeting places (Liberty Halls) of the UNIA were raided, and U.S. consular and diplomatic officials around the globe were implicated in hindering his movement in various ways. There were even suggestions that Garvey be charged under the Mann ("White Slavery") Act for traveling with his fiancée.

Quasi-official organizations such as the National Civic Federation augmented this surveillance and harassment.

#### The Trial

The 1923 trial represented the culmination of what were essentially political attempts to stem the tide of Garvey's movement. In their zeal to get at Garvey the authorities initially indicted him alone, ignoring the fact that he was but one member of the board of directors of the Black Star Line. The indictment was later amended, but it was evident during the course of the trial that Garvey, and not the other board members, was the chief object of the prosecution's zeal. There

were two indictments containing thirteen counts. Garvey was alleged to have sent, or caused to be sent, certain letters through the mail as part of a scheme to defraud. Some counts alleged a conspiracy on the part of the defendants to implement the same scheme. Garvey was convicted on only one count, involving "a certain letter or circular enclosed in a post-paid envelope addressed to 'Benny Dancy, 34 W. 131 Street,'" in New York City. The prosecution produced an empty envelope bearing the Black Star Line stamp and claimed that a particular letter promoting the line had been mailed in it. Dancy's testimony was very unsatisfactory. He could not remember the contents of the envelope in evidence and had been induced to testify as a result of a visit to his house by government agents.

Garvey's lawyers, in setting forth their grounds for appeal, summarized their objections to Dancy's crucial evidence in the following terms --

And when we seek to understand how it was that the jury, by some inexplicable, absurd process found that Garvey was guilty of mailing a circular or letter to Dancy, when there was not in the evidence any such circular or letter, and when there was not in the evidence any means by which the circular or letter could be identified, and when the sole exhibit consisted of an envelope, that did not even appear to have been addressed by Garvey, or through his procure-

ment, then we feel fully justified in stating that the verdict was unjust, that it was the result of speculation, if not of passion or prejudice.

Another witness, Schuyler Cargill, who claimed to have mailed Black Star Line letters, did not know the location of the post office where the letters were mailed and could not name fellow employees he was supposed to have worked with. He admitted that his evidence was concocted by a member of the prosecution team.

Several other factors helped suggest either that the trial was the result of an elaborate set-up or that it was hopelessly prejudiced, with the active or passive approval of the government. For one thing, many of the financial setbacks suffered by the Black Star Line took place while Garvey was forcibly kept out of the U.S.A. in 1921. (U.S. consuls refused to visa his passport.)

Presiding judge, Julian Mack, admitted in court to being a member of the NAACP, an organization at the time spearheading a vitriolic campaign against Garvey. The NAACP's organ, The Crisis, was full of anti-Garvey material, much of it vituperative and inaccurate. Several top ranking NAACP members were in the forefront of a "Marcus Garvey Must Go" campaign which peaked in the period between Garvey's indictment and the trial.

NAACP leaders had been among a group of eight persons writing the attorney general of the United States calling for Garvey's arrest and possible deportation, and this while Garvey's matter was sub judice. The Department of Justice made it quite clear that it was in sympathy with the signatories of that letter. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, a major NAACP leader, even wrote the secretary of state, Charles E. Hughes, shortly before the start of the trial informing him that Garvey was a criminal.

Judge Mack admitted to being a member of, and financial contributor to this association, but yet refused Garvey's request to disqualify himself.

Judge and prosecutor exhibited considerable animosity towards Garvey. Judge Mack at one point asked the parties to hurry up proceedings because he wished to go to an international convention in Chicago. Garvey refused to have his case compromised for any such reason. Garvey, perhaps not surprisingly, eventually received the maximum sentence of five years, a fine of a thousand dollars and was additionally ordered to pay the costs of the trial. He was refused bail for three months pending appeal.

The date of his appeal in 1925 was suddenly brought forward while he was out of town and he was unnecessarily arrested on his way back to surrender himself.

#### Immediate Aftermath

The popular reaction to Garvey's imprisonment was unprecedented in Afro-American history and showed clearly what millions of people thought about the fairness of Garvey's trial. Millions from around the world appended their names to petitions praying Garvey's release. Many of these are still available for perusal in the National Archives of the U.S.A. Even many of those who had called for his imprisonment had a change of heart in light of the experience of the trial and sentence. The culminating evidence of misgivings at the course of justice came in January 1927 when nine of the twelve member all-white jury that had convicted Garvey relented. They signed a declaration saying that Garvey had been sufficiently punished. Two of the jurors could not be located and only one refused to cooperate.

It was because of this massive and broadly based outpouring of concern that President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in 1927. Deportation followed and this, too, became clouded in possible illegality. For there was no stipulation for deportation in the president's warrant of commutation and evidence points to a possibly illegal deportation on the part of over-zealous officials.

The fact that the president of the United States was willing to commute the sentence in 1927, however, should be seen as a significant preliminary step towards the complete exoneration of Marcus Garvey in 1987. Then the observations of Garvey's attorney will be vindicated. "In my twenty-three years of practice at the New York Bar," said Armin Kohn, "I have never handled a case in which the defendant has been treated with such manifest unfairness and with such a palpable attempt at persecution as this one."

INTENTIONAL  
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Mr. CONYERS. We owe all of you a debt historically for putting on the record in the Congress some of the incredible circumstances surrounding the trial and conviction of Marcus Garvey—the reconsideration of the jurors, the concealed exculpatory evidence, the absence of the element of criminal intent, the effect upon the jury of discharging the attorney, the selection of possibly the wrong count, and the indictment.

I wanted to ask you this question that seemed very interesting to me, because as I remember President Calvin Coolidge, he did not strike me as a person very prone to liberal acts such as the pardon that he granted. What do you think motivated President Calvin Coolidge to do what he did?

Dr. MARTIN. You are quite correct. Calvin Coolidge's record in race relations leaves very much to be desired.

Calvin Coolidge may have been motivated possibly by political considerations. For one thing, the mass pressure that was brought to bear on him and his administration was quite unprecedented. I am talking about 150,000 people demonstrating, millions of petitions and what have you.

At first, his Attorney General John Sergeant was in favor of leaving Garvey in jail. He argued that if Garvey was released from jail and deported, his power was such that even from Jamaica, his impact on the United States might have been so great that he might have been a nuisance from the official point of view. However, by 1927, an election year was looming; 1928 was an election year. I suspect that this may have had something to do with it. He may have seen at that point that the best thing would have been to get rid of this problem, so to speak, by getting Garvey out of jail at least, and possibly out of the country. I believe that that may be part of it.

Mr. CONYERS. That commutation was very extraordinary, and I think that it may have been some of the elements of the trial that weighed on the President's decision. Do you think that is also possible?

Dr. MARTIN. Yes. I think this is absolutely true because there were several requests made by Garvey through his lawyers, at least on about three occasions. On each occasion the irregularities of the trial were detailed. So this might very well have had something to do with it, also.

Professor STEIN. And, additionally, Coolidge's pardon attorney, was genuinely convinced that the facts of this case, as the prosecutor had presented it to the jury, were not true. The truth and good politics came together in this instance. There are long memos to that effect among the records of this case. Some Government officials believed that a wrong had been done.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, I appreciate this very, very much, and I would like now to recognize Congressman Edwards.

Mr. EDWARDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have been very much moved by the testimony today and will certainly do everything I can to make sure this splendid bill authored by Mr. Rangel is enacted.

I think that the issue is larger, much larger than what happened, the tragedy and the terrible persecution of Marcus Garvey. Remember that in 1921 and 1922, they had the Palmer raids in this

country where the Attorney General of the United States put in jail hundreds of alleged radicals without trial and without any reason at all except that the Attorney General did not like the cut of their chin. Throughout our history, we have the Government persecuting individuals when the Government of the United States under our Constitution and the Federal courts are supposed to protect people from the majority or from unreasonable laws or from being harassed for their belief, protect them in their legitimate political opinions and in their economic opinions. Mr. Garvey was doing everything lawfully, and he should have been protected by the Government; instead, he was harassed and persecuted by the Government. Just as Senator McCarthy harassed people a little bit later in the House of Representatives and the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the FBI in Cointelpro.

Mr. Rangel and I sat on the same subcommittee when that came out, and we found out that the FBI was heavily involved in politics and in dirty tricks and so forth. And what the FBI did to Dr. King—this is the United States Government again—was simply unconscionable and criminal. And the State of North Carolina to the Wilmington Ten, once again the Government at work.

In so many of these cases, there is an element, an ugly element of racism which, in the Garvey case, is predominant. If a white man had been doing the same things, he would have been praised; but if a black man did it, he was suspect for trying to bring up an entire group of people into a relative state of equality.

I just received today from former Republican Congressman Pete McCloskey his brief for a new trial for Geronimo Pratt who was, in Los Angeles about 10 years ago, convicted of killing two people in the famous Parking Lot murders. Well, ex-Congressman McCloskey is convinced that it was a set-up, that it was a frame-up, because Mr. Pratt was a member of the Black Panthers. And then, Mr. McCloskey found out that the FBI had been persecuting Geronimo Pratt for many years and infiltrating the organizations that he belonged to and sending out poison pen letters about him and alienating him from other Black Panthers such as Huey Newton and the rest of them. He even has an admission from an FBI agent in his brief that I read today that there was a frame-up there. But, I do not think a new trial is going to happen. I think it is very difficult to change things like this.

So this experience today is not just to get Mr. Rangel's bill passed and not just to exonerate Marcus Garvey. It also is a signal for all of us to take a giant step forward, not only to make sure that this never happens again, but to do everything we can to fulfill his dream, which is, in essence, full equality for black Americans in our society, or at least the opportunity which we denied them right and left.

That is the message I am getting out this, Mr. Chairman and Mr. Rangel, and our witnesses. I am very grateful for the opportunity to be here today because I had not been privy to a lot of this information. I feel privileged that I have had this chance.

I thank you.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, you identified a number of incidents of Government harassment.

Did any of the witnesses want to comment on anything that Mr. Edwards has said? Yes?

Professor HILL. I would like to point out that in the period of 1919 to 1920, the period you referred to as the Palmer raids, this period is known to history as the Red Scare. What is not recognized is that there was a parallel Black Scare that this Government unleashed; and that if you only see this as relating to Marcus Garvey, you do not really begin to fathom why such a powerful organized effort was made to depose him as a black leader.

The point is that Marcus Garvey was symbolic of the spirit of defense of rights, fight back for what is yours if it is taken from you. And this caused the Government to deem the movement of this era, the new Negro radical movement, as a very serious threat. The Government unleashed a parallel Black Scare to the analogous Red Scare of this period, and I think if you use that, you can then understand why in the 1960s another Black Scare was unleashed, and in the 1970s yet another Black Scare was unleashed.

This goes back to the era of slavery. Blacks have always been instrumental in the creation of these moments of hysteria in the White American mind, which causes a wave of persecution to be unleashed against the black community.

Professor STEIN. I think there is another point to be made, because actually the worst part of both the Black and Red hysteria was over by the time of the indictment in 1922. It seems to me what this indictment reveals is that individuals in the Government—in this instance, J. Edgar Hoover—you know, had a great deal of personal power, unbridled by law and institutions. (If there are contemporary parallels, I will let you make them.) Despite procedural changes that were made after the 1919-1920 Red Scare, determined individuals could still frustrate the purposes of the law. And here you see Hoover and subordinates having a great deal of power to make indictments against political dissidents and to harass despite the legal changes.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Rangel.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Chairman, I think that all of us feel that we are part of history. I was just sharing with Congressman Edwards that the record of J. Edgar Hoover as relates to the harassments of blacks in this country, one would suspect that if anyone was convicted as a result of his efforts, that it should be with the FBI to prove that they had evidence of that guilt.

I intend to make certain that copies of this eloquent testimony is a part of our Nation's history, and that those of you that have participated and, indeed, those of you that have taken the time out from your business schedules to be here, I would make certain that you would have a copy of this because it is just as much a part of the history as Marcus Garvey, as if though he were here.

And there are so many other people who have not achieved the greatness that he has that have suffered in our penal system, and yet they were not fortunate enough to have sons and supporters that have the heart and the spirit and the fight not to rest until this great day has come.

Let me thank you, Mr. Chairman. You have been a great Chairman, and you made it possible for this great committee to wrong an injustice. Could anyone tell me how one could get access to the

transcripts that have been referred to by the historians and, more specifically, Mr. Hill.

There are any number of lawyers that would want to have an opportunity to review this in legal terms rather than historic terms. And I assume that you were able to give access.

Could you state for the record how you were able to do this and where the records are located?

Dr. HILL. I would be happy to. The records in this case take three principal forms, the surveillance records beginning in November of 1918. These surveillance records are made up of Military Intelligence Division records of the U.S. War Department, general stock. They are made up of the Bureau of Investigation records, the Bureau of Immigration records, Naval Intelligence records, records from British Military Intelligence, French Intelligence, Belgian Intelligence.

The surveillance composite of records run very, very deep. There was free transmission across the Atlantic between America and Western allies of transcripts of activities of Garvey. The legal records I think perhaps I should say something about. The trial transcript of the criminal trial is deposited in the records of the United States Supreme Court in the National Archives. To my knowledge, that is the only place where the original transcript is, which runs to over 2,800 pages. It is voluminous. And the supporting affidavits, both Government and defense exhibits and affidavits, are a wealth of very rich historical information on what happened.

In addition, you have the appeal briefs by Garvey's attorneys and the response of the Government attorneys to the appeal briefs. Those can all be found in the records of the U.S. Department of Justice. It has never been satisfactorily explained how they got from a conviction on count three of the second indictment and made it transferrable to the third count of the first indictment.

Mr. RANGEL. Do you have the citations? Are you saying that the State's trial records are not deposited with the United States Supreme Court Archives?

Dr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. RANGEL. Did the case go to the Supreme Court?

Dr. HILL. No. I think an appeal for a writ of certiorari to the Appeal Court, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, was denied. When Garvey's conviction was affirmed, he applied for permission to file a writ of certiorari in March of 1925, and it was denied him by the U.S. Circuit Court.

Mr. RANGEL. And so the records of the trial would be in the Washington Archives of the United States Supreme Court?

Dr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. RANGEL. Do you know the citation of the Garvey case?

Dr. HILL. Yes.

Mr. RANGEL. Could you give it for the record?

Dr. HILL. Sure. They are cited under two indictment numbers, C-31-77 and C-31-688. I could be wrong. It is in my footnotes here.

Mr. RANGEL. What you use as your testimony, would it be there because the Chairman has allowed the written testimony to be entered into the record so that you would not have to point—it will be a part of our records.



Dr. HILL. It is in my written testimony.

Mr. RANGEL. Well, I cannot thank you enough. The sons and the children have suffered enough, but you stayed, with the fight, and you fought a good fight, and certainly historians always have an opportunity to report their findings, and we are eternally grateful for your taking the time out. Thank you so much. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. You are more than welcome. I would like to ask Dr. Garvey and Marcus Garvey, Jr. as well, if he is in the room, this question. How was it, under such adverse circumstances in which your father was traveling extensively and your mother had very enlarged political responsibilities, how was it that both of you got such a first-rate education both in medicine and engineering? I think this should be made a part of the record, and I know that you had some other comments you wanted to make.

Dr. GARVEY. First, in terms of my own education, I must say that in that event my mother was my main motivator on a day-to-day basis. And, of course, the historical memory of my father served the same purpose. We were always admonished that we were Garvey's sons, and we had to do something with our own lives that would make our father proud of us.

I would just like to say, as a son of Marcus Garvey, and perhaps speaking for the millions of sons and daughters of Marcus Garvey, that we are here, not because we feel that Marcus Garvey has to be exonerated. In our minds, in our hearts and our spirits, he was never a criminal. He was a martyr for the race. And this is an opportunity, I think, for America to express itself through the Congress. A great wrong has been done to black people through the ages. A great wrong has been done to black people here in these United States. A great wrong was done to Marcus Garvey as a representative of black people in 1925.

The evidence is overwhelming. It is hoped that in this 200th year of constitutional democracy in these United States, the American people will seek to ratify the Constitution, not as a clannish tribal document but, indeed, as a document that embodies universal truth and applies to all citizens within these United States.

It is my fervent hope that the American people will clear this up once and for all for posterity.

Mr. GARVEY. I would just like to say that I had the benefit of first-rate education because I had a super mother, a mother who was able to communicate to us the ambitions that she had, and to make us feel those ambitions and to do all these things single-handedly. Because when my mother did these things, my father was dead, and I was brought up by this mother who was unique and who was a great contributor to the African struggle.

The works of Marcus Garvey were continued by my mother. And it is therefore natural for me to want to excel, because Marcus Garvey called for black people to turn to science. That was one of his great principles, that the reason we were backward as a people was because of our inability to achieve an understanding of technology and science, and to apply the science. And that was the reason, one of the reasons why I—although I started out in my career to be a lawyer, and I have a degree in law, I ended up being an engineer.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, you know we came here, thanks to Congressman Rangel, to correct a wrong. But you know, in attempting to correct a wrong—and this begins the process, this does not end it, this is the opening shot across the bow.

I was mentioning to my colleague from California, Mr. Edwards, and Mr. Gekas, that usually around January, Black History Month, we get a little discussion going about Garvey, especially on the campuses there is a lot of chitchat. But, here we have gone deeply into this subject matter in order to develop a comprehensive understanding of it, not of just the history but of where we have got to go. When Congressman Edwards ran down the litany, as some of you have, of what happens to black leaders in the American political situation, this case is not unusual. We now stand as Garvey's legatees to correct the wrongs done to him and to make sure that they do not occur in the period in which we live. In doing so, we will probably make him very proud of all of us.

All of the witnesses have been supremely eloquent, and I deeply appreciate this resolution being brought to our subcommittee so we can join with you. Thank you for your attendance.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Chairman. I am sorry, but I would just like to acknowledge the presence today of the nephew of the Black Eagle who certainly was a dear friend and associate, William Julien is here for the Black Eagle.

Mr. CONYERS. Thank you very much. That is very important. This hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:56 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

## ADDITIONAL MATERIAL



## NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, INC.

477 West 142 Street, Suite 5, New York, New York 10031  
(212) 862-0080

TESTIMONY OF HARLEMS WOMEN'S COMMITTEE/NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION  
HEARINGS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE OF THE HOUSE  
JUDICIARY COMMITTEE - JULY 28, 1987

RE: H. Con. Res. 84 - MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY

DELOIS BLAKELY

THANK YOU MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE FOR ALLOWING ME, DELOIS J. BLAKELY, TO SUBMIT A STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE HARLEM WOMEN'S COMMITTEE/NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION FOR THE REMOVAL OF CHARGES AGAINST MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY.

AS A WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION BASED IN HARLEM, U.S.A., AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE PLIGHT OF AFRICAN PEOPLE, WE SEE A NEED TO JOIN OTHER WITNESSES IN AN EFFORT TO REMOVE FROM THE RECORDS THE WRONGFUL, UNJUST DEED OF CONVICTION OF THE HONORABLE MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY OF A CRIMINAL ACT. HE WAS PERSECUTED FOR HIS IDEALOGY OF ELEVATING A PEOPLE FROM THEIR PLIGHT OF POVERTY AND DEGRADATION.

HIS ONLY CRIME WAS BEING BOLD ENOUGH TO WORK ON BEHALF OF HIS PEOPLE.

MUCH IS KNOWN OF THE EARLY BEGINNINGS OF THE GARVEY MOVEMENT. IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT THE MOVEMENT (UNIA) BEGAN IN HARLEM AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, IN WHICH MANY AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEN GAVE THEIR LIVES FOR DEMOCRACY ONLY TO FIND THAT THEY DID NOT BENEFIT FROM IT. IT WAS DURING THIS PERIOD THAT GARVEY WORKED TIRELESSLY FOR SELF-RELIANCE FOR AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AMERICA AND WORLD-WIDE. IT WAS, AND IS, A JUST CAUSE. THE

NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, INC.

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SUCCEEDING HISTORY WAS ATTESTED TO THE NEED FOR SELF-RELIANCE AND INDEPENDENCE OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AMERICA.

WE, AS AFRICAN WOMEN IN AMERICA APPRECIATE HIS WORK TO FREE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AMERICA OF THE MENTAL BONDAGE WHICH PREVENTS DEVELOPMENT.

WE APPRECIATE THE HONORABLE MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY'S WORK TO TEACH AFRICAN PEOPLE THE NEED TO BE A "FREE PEOPLE IN BODY AND SPIRIT"

TO ATTAIN THE KNOWLEDGE NECESSARY FOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FABRIC OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN AMERICA AND WORLD-WIDE.

BASED ON THE FACTS, HAVING BEEN DOCUMENTED IN THE TRANSCRIPTS FROM THE COURT HEARINGS THAT MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY WAS NEVER PROVEN GUILTY BY CONVINCING DIRECT EVIDENCE OF ANY WRONGFUL DOING BUT WAS CONVICTED AND SENTENCED ON "HEARSAY".

QUEEN MOTHER MOORE

IT IS A TESTAMENT TO THE DURABILITY OF THE IDEALS OF MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY THAT AN INDIVIDUAL INSTRUMENTAL IN SECURING HIS RIGHT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF "FREE-SPEECH AND ASSEMBLY", THE HONORABLE QUEEN MOTHER MOORE WAS PRESENT AT A PUBLIC MEETING IN LOUISIANA WHERE SHE MADE A STRONG EFFORT TO SECURE THIS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT. QUEEN MOTHER MOORE, AT 89 YEARS OLD THIS PAST WEEK, IS PRESENT TO TESTIFY AT THIS HEARING.



## NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, INC.

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THE FOLLOWING EXCERPTS FROM AMY GARVEY IS AN APPROPRIATE  
STATEMENT WHICH OUTLINES SOME OF OUR THINKING:

AMY GARVEY

EXCERPTS FROM OPEN LETTER TO JAMACIAN GOVERNMENT BY

MRS. AMY GARVEY:

"I have lived with deprivation through the years, the ridicule from the misinformed, the sneers of those whose horizons stop with the shores of the country of their domicile, and above all the harassments of governmental administrators, whose lust for political power and personal aggrandisement see in me an implacable enemy, because I am against their manipulation of the economic interests of the black masses by an alien economic elite.

What these people need today is that those who have bread and a little butter, should not get more butter, while the majority do not...

Food, clothing and housing are the three essentials necessary to man's existence. All three are controlled by minority groups. From the daily large profits of the food and clothing trade, 'Housing Developers' have established themselves. The real estate market is cornered.

The more wide-spread is education the more youngsters will leave schools yearly equipped to earn a living. The vast majority of them are black. Where are the jobs for them.\*

The Black people are squeezed out of business by devious, discriminatory means, and since trade is the life-line of any country, they are sinking into poverty and frustration...

It is time that the fear of a race-cry be no longer smothered, and that 98 percent of the population - black people - take their rightful stand and place in the categories of nationhood that holds the keys to prosperity for the masses...

\*Emphasis added.

## NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, INC.

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Since money to me is not adequate compensation, and you are concerned about me, please rectify the above complaints, and give me the joy of knowing that my people are being activated by laws, regulations and the human approach to change their status in the nation...

And now to (sic) more personal requests --

Please see that Marcus Garvey's shrine is finished and railed around to prevent children from playing on the tomb, and dogs from depositing their excrement there.\*

CONCLUSION

WE, THE HARLEM WOMEN'S COMMITTEE/NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT AND CONCLUDE THAT THE UNJUST CHARGES AND CONVICTION AGAINST MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY BE REDRESSED. WE SEE THE NECESSITY OF THE IDEOLOGICAL THINKING OF MARCUS GARVEY AS PART OF THE ADVANCEMENT OF A PEOPLE COURAGEOUSLY WORKING TO REMOVE OPPRESSION INTERNATIONALLY.

WOMEN PRESENT - HARLEM WOMEN'S COMMITTEE/NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION:

Queen Mother Moore	-	Historian, World Federation Of African People.
Adelina St. Clair	-	Graduate student/International Relations and Development, City College of the City University of New York.
Adunni O. Tabasi	-	UNIA Member - Harlem Chapter.

Supported by Mrs. Aileen Avery  
Vice Chairperson  
The Harlem Women's Committee/  
New Future Foundation

Respectfully submitted,

By Delois J. Blakely  
Delois J. Blakely  
Chairperson, Harlem Women's  
Committee/New Future  
Foundation and Honorable  
Deputy Mayor of Harlem

NEW FUTURE FOUNDATION, INC.

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Special thanks to Congressman Charles B. Rangel (D-NY), author of H. Con. Res. 84.

Special thanks to Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League of the World - Aug. 1929 and Mr. Oduno A. Tarik.

Excerpts from an article entitled "SAYS GARVEY GOT RAW DEAL, SEEKS REDRESS" by Simon Anekwe, Amsterdam News dated January 14, 1984.

ONE GOD! ONE AIM! ONE DESTINY!



# UNIVERSAL NEGRO IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION AND AFRICAN COMMUNITIES LEAGUE



AUGUST 1929 OF THE WORLD PARENT BODY

2200 E. 40TH ST., P.O. BOX 03441, CLEVELAND, OHIO 44103

MARCUS GARVEY  
FOUNDERJUL 28 1987 MASON A. HARGRAVE  
PRESIDENT GENERAL

July 28, 1987

Congressman John Conyers, Chaired  
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice  
Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

RE: H. Con. Res. 84, "Expressing the sense of the Congress that the mail fraud charges brought against Marcus M. Garvey by the Federal Government were not substantiated, and that his conviction on those charges was unjust and unwarranted".

Dear Members of the Committee and Witnesses:

PRESENTED AS TESTIMONY

My name is Mason A. Hargrave, President-General of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and African Communities League (ACL) of August, 1929 of the World Parent Body; founded by the Honorable Marcus M. Garvey.

Marcus M. Garvey came to the shores of the United States of America in 1916. He brought with him the organizational structure of the UNIA and ACL which he earlier had founded in Jamaica in 1914; after traveling through Central America and noting the conditions that he saw black people living in, and he said he would make a difference.

I have come here today to testify that I am a product of that difference. I first learned of Marcus M. Garvey, in 1968, and have sought him religiously every since.

I had heard as a youngster of a man that wanted to provide ships for taking black people (Negroes) back to Africa. He also was responsible for having caused the literary folks to begin spelling Negro with a capital "N". I learned also that he wanted the Negro to feel good about himself--that his conduct should be the light to his path.

As I learned from the Elders as I ask questions about this MAN who gave us the key to LIBERTY, and the PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS, by giving us a FLAG that allows Negroes to be so identified when we came to the social bar of justice as other races of people who come are also identified.

Maybe this may be the only way in which he will rise again as a man who has crucified and arose a long time ago (so the story is told), and has been past on for centuries.

One day I visited Virginia to question my Dad as to why he did not tell us as youngsters about Marcus M. Garvey, and he said to me "I was afraid of him". I have told my son of Marcus M. Garvey, and I have told Cleveland, Ohio, the State School Board of Ohio, the President of the United States, the high Governmental Officials; the length and breadth of this land. I have put the flag of red, black and green on display, and its principals in the hearts of everyone I have reached.

The flag of the red, black and green has flown about the Cleveland City Hall on the same flagpole carrying our Nation's flag for the past 14 years; atleast three times per year, and will do so again beginning with its birthday, August 13, 1987.

Marcus M. Garvey declared that if we were Negroes when we were down, and without recognition as men, and as a people, we will be Negroes when we have acquired status as human beings.

I AM A NEGRO. I am draped with the flag of red, black and green which carries the highest standards of human conduct known to man, and causes me to have a new value in life...TO VALUE BLACK WOMANHOOD. He carried us into a thinking revolution.

COME, YOU TOO CAN JOIN--KNOW A NEW JOY!!!

I have been President of the UNIA and ACL August, 1929 of the World since 1975 following the death of Vernon Wilson of Chicago, Illinois. My position as President-General is in line with the succession of the Founder and First President-General, The Late Honorable Marcus M. Garvey.

Marcus M. Garvey came to the shores of America in 1916, and built an organizational force of over eleven million members. We believe he was unjustly persecuted by the United States Government because of the wishes of some of the leading Negro politicians and Clergy who were able to influence the law forces of New York, and local and federal agencies. HE WAS CONVICTED OF MAIL FRAUD!!!

The transcripts read, re-read, and studied by many learned scholars of law have recorded the injustice of the decision rendered against Marcus M. Garvey.

Many books and articles have been published that have proven beyond a doubt that Marcus M. Garvey was not guilty of mail fraud, and he was unjustly convicted. Public opinion was swayed against Marcus M. Garvey by many false articles that were published about him; for which he brought suits against the publishers.

Marcus M. Garvey was loved and highly respected by many. History has recorded that he made the Negroes of his time (and down through today) feel good about themselves as a people, as a race, as a nation. Leading the cries "Let Africa be for the Africans", "Those at home, and those abroad", and "Up your mighty race; you can accomplish what you will".

I come now to plead, and join with others in our heartfelt desires for your positive decision to place a bill to exonerate The Honorable Marcus M. Garvey before our President of these United States.

Please let your hearts hear us, and let your minds give us the benefit of your intellectual thinking and courage of conviction in a highly sensitive situation. Many lives will be affected by your recommendation. Let us this day also keep in mind that Marcus M. Garvey stimulates us with "It is the thoughts of men that make a nation".

"EVERY PEOPLE NEED A FLAG". LET MY FLAG BE MY ROLE MODEL. Let my flag bearer be free to carry again (before us and others), our flag that has flown for 14 years above the Cleveland City Hall on special and selected days. That we Negroes might reach collectively for higher standards of conduct, higher standards of responsibility, higher educational achievements, and political, economical, and social involvement that is carried in the red, black and green flag adopted August 13, 1920.

"America is a two-flag system, and we Negroes of the world come with our flag of standard to the equal line of justice to establish our pride and patriotism in the land where our Fathers died".

Let me go back to Cleveland, let my son, his wife, and mother-in-law, go back to Virginia, let others return to their climes feeling good about themselves; with a sense of respect for the political structure under which we all live.

As Martin Luther King, Jr. stated in June of 1965, "The Honorable Marcus M. Garvey was the first man of color who gave millions of Negroes a sense of dignity, and made the Negroes feel that they were somebody".

Marcus M. Garvey gave to us (as a people) a constitutional guideline to live by. Should a man who gave so much of himself be made to continuously carry the stigma of a guilty verdict that was given by men of prejudicial thinking in their hearts and minds? Now, we have a privilege before the world today to ask you to raise your consciousness of thought, and grant justice to overturn an injustice done. We want your understanding---LOOK AT US!!!

We believe our educational system does not set the scene for advance thinking, for protective thinking, for the conduct standards that will allow us as a people to live together in peace. Your recommendation will allow the changes for acceptance.

When you know I am a Negro--others will know. When you know, and recognize my flag of identity--others will know my identity as a man...as a people...and we will march together...you with your flag...me with mine...under the Nation's flag.

We are not here to change anything; only to carry out the order of things after trial and error amendments can be introduced for adoption.

We ARE Negroes, NOT Blacks. NOT African-Americans, NOT Colored, NOT Afro-Americans, NOT Niggers. We are a people with a heartbeat. We have developed a consciousness of thought. We as Negroes will respect your separate roads to your religious thoughts; whatever gives you comfort as you prepare for death.

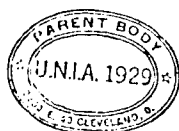
Our thoughts are geared to self-government in peace and harmony with ourselves as we live among others. We are to be examples as we show an expression of the Creator's goodness and mercy; grading ourselves for social honor and distinction on the basis of conduct.

"With every drop of red blood that flows through my veins, I shall protect the dignity of BLACK WOMANHOOD as long as there is a spot of God's green earth for me to stand on".

Your brother in the struggle,

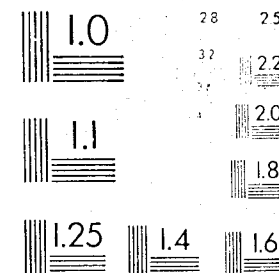
*Mason A. Hargrave*  
Mason A. Hargrave  
President-General

MAN/dj  
exhibits



## MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A



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