

MARCUS GARVEY THE FORGOTTEN GIANT OF BLACK LIBERATION



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MARCUS GARVEY: THE FORGOTTEN GIANT OF BLACK LIBERATION

By Paul Hill, Jr.



Where have we as Africans born on the Western Hemisphere gone astray? And who should be remembered and considered as a point of reference and model for Black and Non-Black members of the planetary underclass?

What is our condition? Thirteen decades have passed since emancipation, and half the Black Men between twenty-four and thirty-five are without full-time employment. One Black Man graduates from college for every one hundred who go to jail. Almost half of Black children live in poverty. With such conditions the movement has degenerated to a series of endless non-strategic marches and intellectual meandering by dream teams and HNIC'S.

What lessons and examples of leadership and movements of the past have we forgotten and not built upon?

Introduction

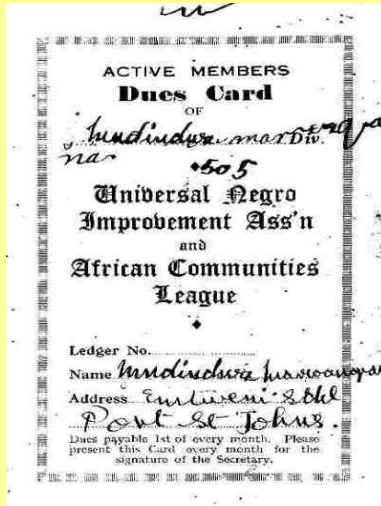
Marcus Garvey and the Black liberation movement he founded are largely forgotten today. But Garvey and his movement constitute one of the most important, innovative, and original of all contributions to the struggle for Black and African liberation. Moreover, in the current period of decline in the world economic culture, with its inevitable concomitant revival of issues of class and race, Garvey and his movement can provide powerful inspiration and lessons for both Black and Non-Black members of the planetary under and working classes.

Marcus Garvey was born in 1887 in Jamaica. He worked as a laborer organizer in various Caribbean countries but initially found only limited success in organizing the Black working class. Visiting Britain in 1912, Garvey came in contact there with Black African intellectuals. He thereupon developed a powerful and unique model of Pan-Negro liberation on the basis of Africa as the Israel of Black people. Garvey's model 1) viewed Black people as a single worldwide community, whose original home had been in Africa; and 2) called for total de-colonization of Africa, its unification as a single state, and its recognition as spiritual center and planetary home for Black people wherever they might be on the planet.

Just as Jews who at that time had no homeland must free Palestine to find their own place in the world, Garvey argued that Blacks must free Africa to find their freedom in the world. Having been dispersed by European colonialism and slavery into a 'Black Diaspora', Black people must return spiritually - and in many cases physically - to their life in Africa.

In Garvey's vision, Africa was to have the same centrality, with the same religious theme of exile into slavery and return, that Israel has for the Jews.

Organizing U.N.I.A.



Upon returning to Kingston, Jamaica Garvey was fired with this vision of universal, 'African-centered', Negro liberation. He began working with friends to enact the vision by developing U.N.I.A. - The Universal Negro Improvement Association. The first chapters of U.N.I.A. were established in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries in 1914. But while visiting the U.S. in 1916 Garvey began to build chapters of U.N.I.A. there and gradually found that his vision struck a deep positive resonance among US Black people. The center of the movement - and Garvey himself - shortly gravitated to the US. From there the movement developed rapidly and on a virtually planetary scale, with several thousand chapters being established in the US, Europe, the Caribbean, Africa, and elsewhere.

Black people in the US were particularly responsive to Garvey's vision. They resonated to his internationalist theme - the theme that all Black people were members of one mighty international race stretching from the Black urban ghettos and sharecroppers shacks of America to the sugar workers of the Caribbean and the tribes people of Africa; they related to his view that all Black oppression flowed from common sources in the European conquest and colonization of Africa and the forcible dispersal and murder of millions of Black Africans by European enslavement; they rallied to his practical program for immediate steps linking the liberation of Black Americans with the liberation of Africa; and they found new dignity and understanding of their place in the world through his conception of Africa as the natural spiritual center and home of Black people.

A New World For Black People

U.N.I.A. was for a time extremely successful in organizing itself as a new cultural, economic, social, and political world for Black people. Many U.N.I.A. chapters, at least in the US, were massive in character, with total movement membership peaking in the early 1920's at several hundred thousand. In many US cities 'Liberty Halls', as the movement's central headquarters were called, sprang up. Within its chapters U.N.I.A. successfully organized: a) Black women's organization, b) musical groups, c) religious organizations including 'the African Orthodox Church', d) an internationally distributed newspaper 'The Negro World', 3) the 'Black Cross' Nurses, and other specialized divisions as well.

Photographs from the period show such sights as Garvey paramilitary troops parading through the neighborhood; brigades of 'Black Cross Nurses' passing in review; as well as large conclaves and gatherings at the Harlem Hall.

U.N.I.A. members also successfully developed their own Black economic co-operatives in various American cities and southern rural communities, and they began the collection of funds for purchase of passenger ships for 'the Black Star Lines', a shipping company whose mandate was to take Black people who desired repatriation back to Africa. Meanwhile, U.N.I.A. laborer organizers in the Caribbean successfully organized a number of unions in sectors of the work force consisting largely of Black people.



Moreover, in an era when male dominance was almost universal in mixed gender organizations whether Black or otherwise, women - including Garvey's own wife - were unusually prominent in the U.N.I.A. movement and occupied a number of important positions.

The 'women's page' of the U.N.I.A. Paper, edited by Garvey's wife Amy Jacques Garvey, spurned news of cocktail parties and bridge games, then standard on women's pages. It favored instead articles on such topics as African and Asian women liberating themselves from male bondage; articles encouraging women to fully develop their individuality; articles extolling women as harder workers than men; and articles criticizing Black men for not working hard enough to provide security for their families.

Combining Political and Cultural Liberation

Garvey's movement appealed strongly to ordinary Black people. It appealed, that is, to the 'field Negro's' - to the residents of the northern US ghettos, and to the southern class of poor Black farmers and workers. It likewise appealed to the oppressed and impoverished Black people of the third world. Its appeal was less effective with the 'house Negro's' of the Black educated classes. This stratum was generally more attracted to the work of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the work of activists such as Dr. W.E.B. Dubois.

One of Garveyism's greatest appeals to ordinary Black people, an appeal which Black liberation groups of the 1960's were unable to duplicate, lay in fully combining within one organization 'Black liberation groups of the 1960's were unable to duplicate, lay in fully combining within one organization 'Black political liberation' (liberation concerned with institutional change and the struggle for Black social, political, and in the case of Africa anti-imperialist liberation) with "Black cultural liberation' (liberation concerned with Black identity, Black personal life, and Black contributions in the arts).

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The 'educated Negro organizations' tended to spurn the new popular Black cultural forms such as jazz as marks of ignorance. But Garvey's organization embraced those very forms - jazz was frequently played at U.N.I.A. meetings - as a means of building the new positive Black identity. Moreover, the central "Liberty Hall' of the movement, located in the Black Neighborhood of Harlem, was closely tied to jazz.

Global Scope of U.N.I.A.

U.N.I.A. - The Universal Negro Improvement Association - was expanding not only in the US but around the world from 1916 through 1923. By 1920 the movement felt strong enough to convene a world convention representing Black people. In the words of one of Garvey's biographers, Theodore G. Vincent, "Never before and never since has there been an assembly of Black people to match the convention of 1920."

The convention was a truly planetary affair, with representation of the Black masses from around the world. It took place in New York City with approximately 2,000 delegates and other members from U.N.I.A. Chapters in 25 countries on four continents.

The convention drew up and passed a charter declaring that Africa must be granted freedom as a unified independent state, and establishing a pro-tem 'African government' to which all Black people, where ever they might be, were to be loyal. Precepts of the charter included the demand for an end to all forced segregation or discrimination against Black people in housing, employment, and access to public facilities; an end to European colonialism in Africa; and the stipulation that no Black person should be inducted for military service or war by any nation and - in any case - was not obliged to serve, without the consent and approval of the Black world government. Chosen as titular head of the new Black world government as the mayor of Monrovia, one of the delegates to the convention. The choice was significant, as Monrovia was the capital of Liberia, which was then one of only two independent Black African states. Finally, the convention chose Garvey as president of the new pro-tem Black world state.

Stressing Self-Reliance

Garveyism stressed economic and cultural self-reliance of Black people, and the importance of separating themselves intellectually, spiritually, and socially from the White European society that oppressed them. Garvey taught that Blacks should, for example, develop their own literature while taking the best from white literature. He stressed, however, that Black people must read white literature critically, with careful attention to preventing racist denigration of Black people from entering their minds subconsciously. At the same Garvey was fundamentally non-racist, stating that all races should live in equality, peace, and harmony, although he at times strayed over the line to anti-Semitism in some of his writings of the early 1930's.

As a supreme protagonist of Black people, Garvey was not afraid to bluntly criticize his people for their faults. He stressed that the White race had risen to dominance partly through self-discipline and hard work and that in order to win their freedom - Black people must do the same. One unifying thread of his approach was the constant thrust towards full human dignity for all Black people.

Decline of U.N.I.A.

From 1923 or 1924 onwards Garveyism went into decline. This decline was partly due to internal contradictions, faction fights, and personality conflicts within the organization; partly to a reversal of policy by the African country of Liberia which had tentatively agreed to accept Blacks who wanted to resettle in Africa but then reversed itself; and partly due to persecution by the US government and by other governments of the movement.

Garvey himself was imprisoned in 1923 by the US Government for alleged fraud in connection with supposed misappropriation of funds related to the Black Star Lines. The evidence against him was of dubious character, however, and he was pardoned by the president of the United States in 1927, before the completion of his jail term. This pardon is thought to have eventuated from pressure brought to bear within the government by Black federal civil servants. Upon his release, Garvey was immediately deported to Jamaica. He was never allowed to set foot in the US again. This enforced absence accounts in part of the decline of the movement.

Enduring Influence of Garvey and U.N.I.A.

By the mid 1930's, at the latest, Garveyism had disappeared as an effective organized force. But it remains to this day the largest organized mass-based movement of Black people - and by far the most internationalist one - to ever be established in the US. Moreover, its influence is still felt in a number of areas. Elijah Mohammed's Nation of Islam - popularly known as 'the Black Muslims' - and a number of other Black nationalist organizations which began during the 1930's were, to a great extent, 'Neo-Garveyist' movements.



These movements attracted many thousands of former Garvey members, although they generally offered far less cultural and political breadth and less humanist universality than the original Garveyist movement. In addition, Garvey's writings are known to have influenced a number of significant leaders of the African independence movement. Kenya's revolutionary leader and first president, Jomo Kenyatta, considered himself a member of U.N.I.A. Kenyan laborer leader Tom Mboya" ...followed very

closely the writings and speeches of Marcus Garvey." Ghana's independence leader and first national leader Kwame Nkrumah said: "I think that of all the literature I studied, the book that did more than any other to fire my enthusiasm was the philosophy of Marcus Garvey published by his wife".

Among other African leaders who admired and considered themselves indebted to Marcus Garvey were Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first president of Nigeria; President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia; and Felix Eboué from the Central African Republic.

Moreover, the Jamaican Rastafarians owe their origins to Garvey, who prophesied in Jamaica that 'a Black king shall arise in Africa'. This king was thought - by those who became 'Rasta'), and this together with Garvey's heady mixture of Africa-as-Black-Israel led to the formation of Rastafarianism.



Finally, no less a figure than Malcolm X credited Garvey as a signal source for Black liberation, stating that "Every time you see another nation on the African continent become independent, you know that Marcus Garvey is alive!...All the freedom movements that are taking place right here in America today were initiated by the work and teachings of Marcus Garvey."

The Legacy of U.N.I.A. and Garvey

Garvey's movement was the largest mass-movement of Black people ever assembled in the United States. This movement was ahead of all Black organizations of its day - and of ours - in the all-sided totality of cultural, political, economic, and spiritual liberation for Black people to which it aspired, and at least within its own ranks began to achieve. So great was this totality that Garveyism has been described a 'a Black civic religion'.

In addition, one of the movement's greatest strengths was internationalism. The Garveyite movement saw that black people - like the Jews - constituted a single planetary people who had been forcibly removed from their homeland, sold into slavery, and scattered into a 'Black Diaspora'.

In the present period of economic cultural decline, the cultural totality and planetary scope of the Garveyist movement is a model worth remembering for both Black and Non-Black members of the planetary underclass.

The Rt. Excellent. Marcus Mosiah Garvey



Marcus Mosiah Garvey, Jamaica's first national hero and one of the greatest leaders African people have produced, was born August 17, 1887 in St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. He spent his entire life in the service of his people. He was one of the most powerful orators on record who could literally bring his audiences to a state of mass hysteria. Garvey emphasized racial pride. His goal was the total redemption and liberation of African people all around the globe.

Marcus Garvey migrated to Kingston where he worked as a printer and later published a small paper "The Watchman". He formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914. Its motto was "One God, One Aim, One Destiny," and pledged itself to the redemption of Africa and to uplift Black people everywhere. He travelled throughout Central America and visited London and in 1916, Garvey was invited to the United States by Booker T. Washington to assist in establishing an industrial training school, but he arrived just after Washington died. In March 1916, shortly after landing in America, Garvey established a chapter of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Within a few years Marcus Garvey had become the best-known and most dynamic African leader in the Western Hemisphere and perhaps the entire world. In 1919 he created an international shipping company called the Black Star Line. By 1920 the UNIA had hundreds of divisions. It hosted elaborate international conventions and published a weekly newspaper entitled the Negro World. However, USA officials disapproved of his activities and he was imprisoned and then deported. No other organization in modern times has had the impact as the UNIA. During the 1920s UNIA divisions existed throughout North, South and Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, Europe and Australia.



Through his public speeches and his newspaper *Negro World*, Marcus Garvey became one of the most influential black leaders of the early 20th century. Born and raised in Jamaica, Garvey travelled in Central and South America, then moved to England to continue his education. In 1914 he started the Universal Negro Improvement Association and began speaking out publicly in favor of worldwide black unity and an end to colonialism. He moved to the United States in 1916 and helped start a steamship company, the Black Star Line.

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It was both a business venture and a part of his "back to Africa" plan for Americans of African descent -- the notion that African-Americans should return to Africa and set up their own new country there. Garvey was always a controversial figure: he favored fiery rhetoric and elaborate uniforms, and was considered a dangerous character by some established politicians. Garvey was jailed in 1925 after being convicted of mail fraud (related to the sale of stock in the Black Star line), but his sentence was reduced and he was deported to Jamaica two years later. Garvey eventually moved back to London, England, where he died in 1940. His body was returned to Jamaica in 1964.

Extra credit: The name of the Black Star Line was a riff on the White Star Line, the famous British shipping company whose most famous vessel was the *Titanic*. <http://www.who2.com/marcusgarvey.html>

The Confession of A Great Whiteman & Leader

LIBERTY HALL, NEW YORK, March 18, 1923

My subject for tonight is "The Confession of a Great White Man and Leader." Some Sunday nights ago you heard me speak of the speech made by William Jennings Bryan in Washington at a dinner where he was entertained by a large group of his own people. We commented on Mr. Bryan's speech in Liberty Hall, as well as through my front page article in the *Negro World*. Other Negro newspapers commented on the speech of Mr. Bryan, and these various comments led the daily "Times" of New York (I speak of the white 'Times') to request of Mr. Bryan to write an article expressing his further opinion on the matter and explain himself for what he said at the dinner in Washington.

Mr. Bryan repeated everything he said this morning in his article in the daily "New York Times" and adds even more.¹ In concluding the article he said this: "My views upon the race question do not depend upon my present residence in the South; 2 they were formed long before I ever thought of living in the South; they were expressed as the occasion required, and so far as I know do not differ from the views of other white men who have had occasion to express themselves on the fundamental principles involved when these principles would apply to themselves and to their own families."

In this article of today we have Mr. Bryan repeating himself what he said in his talk in Washington a few weeks ago and adding more as expressing his attitude on the race question. He held to his idea of white supremacy and his belief that government should only be in the hands of the white man because white men are best able to interpret the needs of humanity.

He concludes this article by saying that his views, he feels sure, are the views and opinion of other white people when called upon to give an opinion upon the subject.

The statement of Mr. Bryan confirms the opinion and attitude of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. of five years and confirms my stand in the matter of the Ku Klux Klan and the misrepresentation that other Negroes tried to make of my interview with that organization and the statement I made after that interview—that all white men in America feel like the Ku Klux Klan, but the only difference is that the Klan is honest enough to give expression to its opinion and carry out its attitude in defiance of any other opposition whilst others are not honest enough to give expression but feel the same way. Mr. Bryan comes out and says as a leader and statesman that his feeling and his opinion on the race question is that there should be white supremacy and that government should be in the hands of the white race because the white race can best interpret the needs of humanity; that such is the feeling of other white men when called upon to give an opinion on the same subject.

This should convince us now that the majority of white people in this country feel as the Ku Klux Klan feels and Mr. Bryan feels, and that is that the power of government should rest not with the Negro race in this country, but should rest with the white men. For that they intend to fight and for that they intend to die. Now admitting that is so, and as we know it is so, what is the alternative for the Negro? The alternative is to follow in the cause of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn., that of the Negro building for himself. Hence the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. wastes no time in trying to explain itself. We do not need men like Mr. Bryan or Tillman and Vardaman to tell us that; we understand that well; we know that so long as this difference in numbers between the two opposite races that live in this country exists, the white man is going to carry out a program of white supremacy, and there will be absolutely no chance or opportunity between now and eternity for the colored man in America to take an equal place socially, politically and economically with the race that dominates.

The one alternative is for the Negro not to waste his time and energy and ability in contributing to that which will make the other man great, but to use his energy and ability in contributing to build for himself. And that is where the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. differs from all the other movements in this country, in that we feel that whatsoever they do, whatsoever they say in trying to bring about a condition where colored men will co-operate side by side with the white man, at the best they are contributing to the white man's civilization, the white man's power, and are therefore wasting their energy and their ability that they should use in building for themselves.

PROGRAM OF THE U. N. I. A. CLEAN CUT

The Program of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. is clean cut as far as our destiny in America and in other parts of the world goes, and when it comes to the carrying out of the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. we need not fear the result or the consequences. This recent propaganda against us has done a great deal of good, for the simple reason that without invitation, without our request, we have brought to our support more and more a large number of men not of our race in this country who have held the view and opinion of the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. probably even before the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. came into being, and it brings to those of us who are leaders of the movement the fact that when the time comes for the Universal Negro Improvement Assn. to draw the line we will draw it with a great deal of support behind us in helping us to put the program over.

I am not going to blame Mr. Bryan for saying this, for the simple reason he is only speaking the truth as he sees it, and is only speaking the truth, as the Universal Negro Improvement Association knows it. I have a better regard and appreciation of Mr. Bryan than the men who would try to deceive us into believing that all will be well in the future when they know that the future holds nothing but darkness to ward this race of ours. By our being able to understand American political psychology, by our being able to understand the intentions of the political leaders of this country, we will be placed in a better position to prepare for ourselves and to act for ourselves.

We have lived under this camouflage for over fifty years, so much so that there are many of the other organizations of the race coming forth and telling us they are working towards the time when justice and equality will be meted out to the Negro in this country. Such a time will never come as far as the Negro is concerned if the Negro relies upon the mere question of humanity to solve this great problem of race. Humanity has never settled any great political program between races and nations. The appeal to humanity is a thing that has fallen flat even from the time of Jesus to the present hour. The appeal to humanity will not solve the great human problem. The only appeal that will solve the great human problem is the appeal to power, to force.

The Universal Negro improvement Association, therefore, will not waste its time advancing a purely humanitarian cause, believing that one day the dominant race will become so converted in its attitude toward the oppressed that it will hand to the oppressed and weaker peoples of the world that which we call justice and real liberty and freedom and democracy. It has never been in the ages past and will never be in the ages to come. There has been but one resort for those who are oppressed and that was the resort to power, to force, and that is where the Universal Negro Improvement Association is striking 400,000,000 Negroes of the world, endeavoring to accumulate that physical power, that mental power, that political power out of which we will be able to convince the world of our ability to protect ourselves not only in one spot but throughout the world.

Therefore I trust that you have tonight, if not before, a true conception of the program of the Universal Negro Improvement Association as far as it affects us in our American life and in our American attitude. We believe in the eternal existence of man; we believe that in the end of time only the fittest of this great human race will survive. We believe also that at the present time humanity everywhere is preparing itself for a condition through which it will live into eternity; but in this regulation of human affairs we find all peoples heretofore oppressed clamoring for a chance, clamoring for an opportunity to make their impress upon the world, to make their contribution to the world, so as to convince others of their fitness to live, of their fitness to survive, and we can do nothing less than to make some contribution to the civilization of this age.

The race or the nation that is to be recognized must be the race or nation, which is capable of doing for itself. Dependent races and dependent nations will be ignored, will be pushed aside, will be weeded out will be exterminated. It is only a question of time, and here we have it. As far as America is concerned, the great statesmen of the nation say that in the regulation of things the white man is the fittest individual to control government and to dominate government, because he is better able to interpret human needs. During the time that he has been interpreting human needs and the time that he has been regulating human society, what has he done?

In that time he has brought us from freedom in our own native country to slavery, and kept us there for 250 years. That is his interpretation of the regulation of human society. Who can tell but that may be his interpretation in the next fifty years or the next hundred years? Can you, therefore, trust yourselves to his interpretation? (Cries of "No! No!") Can you, therefore, place your destiny in his hand? ('Cries of "No! No!") Therefore, the only alternative for the Universal Negro improvement Association and all sober minded Negroes is for them to draw 'he line and strike out for themselves, because no one can better interpret your needs than you can yourselves.

I trust, therefore, those of you who doubted that America's attitude toward the Negro is that of white supremacy-that of Government in the and is of the majority group will now be convinced by the utterances of Mr. William Jennings Bryan; and it pains me sometimes when I hear these little insignificant Negroes talking about what the white man can not do and saying that what Mr. Bryan has said is all bosh. They say what Mr. Bryan is saying is bosh and cannot be done, and all the time it is being done. It is all right for you to write in your papers saying it cannot be done, but what are you doing if they are doing it and not asking leave or license to do it?

You must decide at the present time between propaganda and idle sentiment and facts. It is a fact that you have an organized strength in the country made manifest in the Ku Klux Klan and you have in conjunction with that the utterances of Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan when he speaks carries more weight in what he says than all the Negroes of the United States of America speaking at one time. Whatsoever Mr. Bryan says, whether he says it in Washington or Florida, carrie[s] more weight with the people of this country and the Government of the country than all our newspapers, magazines and books put together. Therefore, when a man like this, talks we cannot afford to say it is idle bosh. And what has happened? I told you in regard to this Ku Klux business that these newspapers and those local politicians who talk about putting the Ku Klux Klan out of business were only playing with you and were only adopting a clever method of advertising the Klan.

This morning's papers brought out that the Klan is now stronger in the Northern States than they are in the South States; that there are more Klansmen in the State of New York than there are in Texas, that there are more Klansmen in Jersey than there are in Alabama, that there are more Klansmen in Illinois than there are in Mississippi.³ And what has happened? Last Sunday fifty Klansmen put on their robes and the leader of them occupied the pulpit of a large church in Newark, ⁴ and all the other Klansmen had the front seats; and in New York they were so bold and were given the right of way that one of their members died and they paraded and attended the funeral all of them in their regalia, and the New York World tries to deceive and fool us that they are going to crush the Klan.⁵ What has happened?

The great noise that Governor Parker in Louisiana was making that he was going to lead all the governors of the States into a great organization to crush the Klan in every State and he was going to start crushing the Klan in the State of Louisiana and when they got hold of ten of the Klansmen an accused them of killing two men in one of the towns of that State and they were making a great noise how they were going to convict them, the District Attorney of that State closed the case and said there was nothing against the Klan and has given the Klan a clean slate in the State of Louisiana.⁶ It is nothing else but a skillful game of these men to advertise the Klan by showing the merit of the organization to those who never thought of it before.

So when these ignorant Negro papers talk about doing this and doing that, you will understand that when any group of white men get together in this country and talk about doing something, you had better get busy and look out for yourselves and don't think that appeal to humanity or any appeal to their Christian conduct is going to help you: it is not going to do it.

William Jennings Bryan is as big a Klansman as the Imperial Wizard himself, and not only Mr. Bryan but men bigger than William Jennings Bryan are deep down in the Ku Klux Klan and they are going to put over that program of white supremacy as sure as there is a God; and the only thing you can do is to get busy and get a country of your own and build up there so strong that not even hell and the Klan will be able to move you in the future. (Applause.)

So that my message to you tonight in Liberty Hall is to pay more and serious attention to what is going on, because within another fifty, another hundred years, especially when the world returns to its normal attitude and all these different nations are able to give more attention to their own domestic affairs, you and I will be confronted with a condition in this country, economically, that will end in nothing else but disaster for those of us who will live here at that time. I want you to understand that when the time comes for the white man to carry out his program of white supremacy for the purpose of eliminating the Negro as a political, social and industrial competitor he will not have to shoot you down, he will not have to lynch you and burn you to get rid of you. The Negro problem in America is such that economically he will grind us and push us to the wall, and in the space of two or three years he will solve the Negro problem without the Negro even realizing that the problem is already solved. The white man has laid the plan of economically forcing the Negro to the wall in another few years.

I am going back now to the bread-and-butter question. Do you know that every Negro in Liberty Hall tonight can die out by the end of this month without anybody poisoning you, without anybody putting a rope around your neck, without anybody shooting you or without anybody doing any bodily harm to you? Do you know? By starving. There is not a man in this building tonight who, if denied food for thirty days, would be able to resist death by starvation. What do I mean by that? I mean this: that we are so careless of ourselves, so careless of our future, that tonight 15,000,000 of us in America are dependent upon the white man for our daily existence, our daily sustenance and our daily bread. If the white man should say in another twenty-four hours that "I will not employ any more Negroes in my industry, on my farms or in my business," what would happen? Fifteen million Negroes would be jobless in the United States of America.

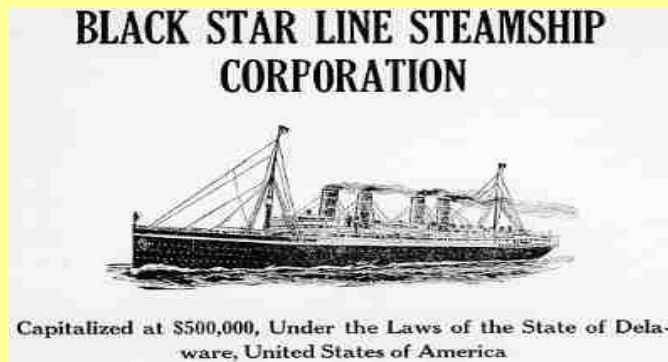
And if you were kept jobless for a day or a week and rendered unable to go to the grocer to buy your provisions or to pay your rent to your landlord on the 1st or the 15th of the month and you were kept jobless for two weeks, everyone of us would have to leave our homes in Harlem and go out into the streets, unable to go to the grocer, and every one of us would be dying on the streets of New York, and I feel sure the white man would not have any objection to supplying the coffins to bury us by the hundreds, because it will be in keeping with his plan to get rid of us. Such a condition of unemployment would rid this country of 15,000,000 people just as the North American Indian was exterminated. And that was the white man's plan to get rid of the Negro problem in America up to 1913.

But God Almighty sent the war and created a breach. We are still in that breach and if the 15,000,000 Negroes of America remain without action for another five or ten years and allow this country to return to normal to carry out their pre-war program, it is only a question of fifty or 100 years more when you and I will be weeded out from this Western civilization.

So the Universal Negro Improvement Association is pointing the way to destiny. There is only one relief, which is: While the world is readjusting itself now, while the world is reorganizing itself, while political boundaries are being adjusted, to pitch in and establish some political stronghold of your own. And there is no more logical place than Africa. (Applause.) The selfishness of the present-day Negro leader causes him to see only that in his lifetime he can get all that he wants and accumulate all he wants.

Fellows like Du Bols will not think of the future, because they can get all they want. They have so much love for the Negro that if it comes to moving they can move to Brazil or Cuba; and as they do not like the Negro race already, it will be splendid for them to identify themselves with another race; they can be South Americans and Cubans. But you, the common people, who have nowhere to go, who have to struggle for your daily existence, you are the ones to be considered at that time, and you should see this danger that confronts us.

I trust you understand what the Universal Negro Improvement Association is driving at when we say that the time is now that we are to endeavor to create a nation of our own, and I thank God we are gradually creeping toward the realization of that dream. The strength of this movement is: being admitted by the South Africans themselves⁷ and the white men who have gone to Africa; they admit that the Universal Negro Improvement Association is pressing them to the wall. The best thing you can do is to get behind the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and as they are pressing us to the wall in this Western world, let us unitedly press them to the wall in Africa. If you give to this organization for another five years the moral and financial support that we need I feel sure that we will have a new tale to give to the world and the world will have a new history to write out of the achievement of the twentieth century negro. (Applause.)



Printed in NW, 24- March 1923. Original headlines omitted.

1. The article, which appeared on 18 March 1923, was an amplification of Bryan's earlier address to the Southern Society of Washington on 20 February 1923 (NYT,

2.

2. In 1916 Bryan and his wife, Mamie, moved to Miami. By 1923 he maintained residences in both Miami and Lincoln, Nebr. (Charles Morrow Wilson, *The Commoner: William Jennings Bryan* [New York: Doubleday, 1970], pp. 357-358; WJWA, 1922-1923).

3. No official records have been found of Klan membership and probably none ever existed. Estimates of Klan membership fluctuated widely; in 1923 membership figures ranged from 1.5 million to 4.5 million (NYT, 14. February 1925; Kenneth T. Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 235). The Klan itself rarely boasted of over 2 million members. In the early 1920's the Klan's strength had increased markedly, especially in the Midwest and the East. By 1925 New York was estimated to have 300,420 members and Texas, 50,000; New Jersey boasted 720,000 members and Alabama 115,910; Illinois was said to have had 300,324 and Mississippi 93,040 (NYT, 14 February 1923; Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, pp. 10-12, 235-238, 289).

4. On Sunday, 11 March 1922, forty, hooded Klansmen marched into the Grace Methodist Episcopal Church in Newark, N.J. The pastor of the church, who had arranged the event, then introduced the Klan leader as "the Exalted Cyclops" and permitted him to deliver a speech on the need for white Protestant supremacy. The pastor followed the address with a sermon on "Americanism" (NYT, 13 March 1923).

5. Probably a reference to the series of articles that appeared in the New York Word attacking the Klan. In 1921 the World had run a three-week expose of the Klan which was picked up by other national newspapers and helped lead to the federal investigation of the organization. The Word continued to publish articles on the Klan throughout the 1920s (Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, pp. 11-13; David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* [New York: Franklin Watts, 1981, pp. 42, 227, 294).

6. In September 1922 Gov. John M. Parker of Louisiana condemned the Klan for the kidnapping of five men in the small town of Mer Rouge and stated his intention to fight the Klan "to the finish" (New York Age, 16 September 1922). In November Parker informed federal authorities that the administration of state law had come to a virtual halt in Louisiana and that U. S. government administration of law in certain portions of the state might be necessary. The governor also instructed the attorney general to use "the full power of the State, civil and military" in an investigation of the torture and murder of two of the five kidnapped men (New York Age, 25 November 1922). At the annual governors' conference in December, Parker again denounced the Klan and called for federal legislation requiring the registration of secret organizations with the Department of Justice. He also requested that the governors put themselves on record against the Klan's usurpation of the judicial process (NYT, 15 December 1922). No federal intervention was forthcoming, however, and in March 1923 a special grand jury, many of whose members were known Klansmen, failed to return a single indictment against forty-six suspects (NYT, 16 March 1923). Despite this failure, Governor Parker's crusade against the Klan proved successful, and by 1924 the Louisiana Klan was in rapid decline (Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan*

7. A South African newspaper, Cape Argus, carried an article on 29 January 1923 which reported that the Garvey propaganda "among the natives of South Africa... is having an unsettling effect, and is beginning to cause anxiety among the white people, who have worked for the good of the natives, and among the educated natives, who foresee danger in the present situation" (Cape Argus Cape Town, 29 January 1923).

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AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS

For five years the Universal Negro Improvement Association has been advocating the cause of Africa for the Africans - that is, that the Negro peoples of the world should concentrate upon the object of building up for themselves a great nation in Africa. When we started our propaganda toward this end several of the so-called intellectual Negroes who have been bamboozling the race for over half a century said that we were crazy, that the Negro peoples of the

western world were not interested in Africa and could not live in Africa. One editor and leader went so far as to say at his so-called Pan-African Congress that American Negroes could not live in Africa, because the climate was too hot. All kinds of arguments have been adduced by these Negro intellectuals against the colonization of Africa by the black race.

Some said that the black man would ultimately work out his existence alongside of the white man in countries founded and established by the latter. Therefore, it was not necessary for Negroes to seek an independent nationality of their own.

The old time stories of "African fever," "African bad climate," "African mosquitos," "African savages," have been repeated by these "brainless intellectuals" of ours as a scare against our people in America and the West Indies taking a kindly interest in the new program of building a racial empire of our own in our Motherland.



Now that years have rolled by and the Universal Negro Improvement Association has made the circuit of the world with its propaganda, we find eminent statesmen and leaders of the white race coming out boldly advocating the cause of colonizing Africa with the Negroes of the western world.

A year ago Senator MacCullum of the Mississippi Legislature introduced a resolution in the House for the purpose of petitioning the Congress of the United States of America and the President to use their good influence in securing from the Allies sufficient territory in Africa in liquidation of the war debt, which territory should be used for the establishing of an independent nation for American Negroes. About the same time Senator France of Maryland gave expression to a similar desire in the Senate of the United States. During a speech on the "Soldiers' Bonus." He said: "We owe a big debt to Africa and one which we have too long ignored. I need not enlarge upon our peculiar interest in the obligation to the people of Africa. Thousands of Americans have for years been contributing to the missionary work which has been carried out by the noble men and women who have been sent out in that field by the churches of America." Germany To The Front This reveals a real change on the part of prominent statesmen in their attitude on the African question. Then comes another suggestion from Germany, for which Dr. Heinrich Schnee, a former Governor of German East Africa, is author.

This German statesman suggests in an interview given out in Berlin, and published in New York, that America takes over the mandates of Great Britain and France in Africa for the colonization of American Negroes. Speaking on the matter, he says "As regards the attempt to colonize Africa with the surplus American colored population, this would in a long way settle the vexed problem, and under the plan such as Senator France has outlined, might enable France and Great Britain to discharge their duties to the United States, and simultaneously ease the burden of German reparations which is paralyzing economic life." With expressions as above quoted from prominent world statesmen, and from the demands made by such men as Senators France and McCullum, it is clear that the question of African nationality is not a far-fetched one, but is as reasonable and feasible as was the idea of an American nationality.

A "Program" At Last I trust that the Negro peoples of the world are now convinced that the work of the Universal Negro Improvement Association is not a visionary one, but very practical, and that it is not so far fetched, but can be realized in a short while if the entire race will only co-operate and work toward the desired end. Now that the work of our organization has started to bear fruit we find that some of these "doubting Thomases" of three and four years ago are endeavoring to mix themselves up with the popular idea of rehabilitating Africa in the interest of the Negro. They are now advancing spurious "programs" and in a short while will endeavor to force themselves upon the public as advocates and leaders of the African idea.

It is felt that those who have followed the career of the Universal Negro Improvement Association will not allow themselves to be deceived by these Negro opportunists who have always sought to live off the ideas of other people. The Dream Of A Negro Empire It is only a question of a few more years when Africa will be completely colonized by Negroes, as Europe is by the white race. What we want is an independent African nationality, and if America is to help the Negro peoples of the world establish such a nationality, then we welcome the assistance. It is hoped that when the time comes for American and West Indian Negroes to settle in Africa, they will realize their responsibility and their duty. It will not be to go to Africa for the purpose of exercising an over-lordship over the natives.

But it shall be the purpose of the Universal Negro Improvement Association to have established in Africa that brotherly co-operation which will make the interests of the African native and the American and West Indian Negro one and the same, that is to say, we shall enter into a common partnership to build up Africa in the interests of our race. Oneness Of Interests.

Everybody knows that there is absolutely no difference between the native African and the American and West Indian Negroes, in that we are descendants from one common family stock. It is only a matter of accident that we have been divided and kept apart for over three hundred years, but it is felt that when the time has come for us to get back together, we shall do so in the spirit of brotherly love, and any Negro who expects that he will be assisted here, there or anywhere by the Universal Negro Improvement Association to exercise a haughty superiority over the fellows of his own race, makes a tremendous mistake.

Such men had better remain where they are and not attempt to become in any way interested in the higher development of Africa. The Negro has had enough of the vaunted practice of race superiority as inflicted upon him by others, therefore he is not prepared to tolerate a similar assumption on the part of his own people. In America and the West Indies, we have Negroes who believe themselves so much above their fellows as to cause them to think that any readjustment in the affairs of the race should be placed in their hands for them to exercise a kind of an autocratic and despotic control as others have done to us for centuries.

Again I say, it would be advisable for such Negroes to take their hands and minds off the now popular idea of colonizing Africa in the interest of the Negro race, because their being identified with this new program will not in any way help us because of the existing feeling among Negroes everywhere not to tolerate the infliction of race or class superiority upon them, as is the desire of the self-appointed and self-created race leadership that we have been having for the last fifty years. **The Basis Of An African Aristocracy.** The masses of Negroes in America, the West Indies, South and Central America are in sympathetic accord with the aspirations of the native Africans. We desire to help them build up Africa as a Negro Empire, where every black man, whether he was born in Africa or in the Western world, will have the opportunity to develop on his own lines under the protection of the most favorable democratic institutions.

It will be useless, as before stated, for bombastic Negroes to leave America and the West Indies to go to Africa, thinking that they will have privileged positions to inflict upon the race that bastard aristocracy that they have tried to maintain in this Western world at the expense of the masses. Africa shall develop an aristocracy of its own, but it shall be based upon service and loyalty to race. Let all Negroes work toward that end. I feel that it is only a question of a few more years before our program will be accepted not only by the few statesmen of America who are now interested in it, but by the strong statesmen of the world, as the only solution to the great race problem. There is no other way to avoid the threatening war of the races that is bound to engulf all mankind, which has been prophesied by the world's greatest thinkers; there is no better method than by apportioning every race to its own habitat.

The time has really come for the Asiatics to govern themselves in Asia, as the Europeans are in Europe and the Western World, so also is it wise for the Africans to govern themselves at home, and thereby bring peace and satisfaction to the entire human family.

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MARCUS GARVEY QUOTES

A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like tree without roots.

A reading man and woman is a ready man and woman, but a writing man and woman is exact.

Africa for the Africans... at home and abroad!

Chance has never yet satisfied the hope of a suffering people.

God and Nature first made us what we are, and then out of our own created genius we make ourselves what we want to be. Follow always that great law. Let the sky and God be our limit and Eternity our measurement.

I have no desire to take all black people back to Africa; there are blacks who are no good here and will likewise be no good there.

I know no national boundary where the Negro is concerned. The whole world is my province until Africa is free.

I like honesty and fair play.

I regard the Klan, the Anglo-Saxon clubs and White American societies, as far as the Negro is concerned, as better friends of the race than all other groups of hypocritical whites put together.

If you have no confidence in self, you are twice defeated in the race of life.

Liberate the minds of men and ultimately you will liberate the bodies of men.

Look for me in the whirlwind or the storm.

Look to Africa, for there a king will be crowned.

Men who are in earnest are not afraid of consequences.

Our success educationally, industrially and politically is based upon the protection of a nation founded by ourselves. And the nation can be nowhere else but in Africa.

Progress is the attraction that moves humanity.

The Black skin is not a badge of shame, but rather a glorious symbol of national greatness.

The whole world is run on bluff.

There is no force like success, and that is why the individual makes all effort to surround himself throughout life with the evidence of it; as of the individual, so should it be of the nation.

There shall be no solution to this race problem until you, yourselves, strike the blow for liberty.

Up, you mighty race, accomplish what you will.

Whatsoever things common to man, that man has done, man can do.

With confidence, you have won before you have started.

You may call me a Klansman if you will, but, potentially, every white man is a Klansman, as far as the Negro in competition with whites socially, economically and politically is concerned, and there is no use lying.

http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/m/marcus_garvey.html

The Rt. Excellent.
MARCUS MOSIAH GARVEY



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JAH ROOTSMAN
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