

Bob Marley, Marcus Garvey and the Pan African Revolution

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Thank you very much and welcome to everybody here this morning especially to the school children. My topic for this morning, the topic which I was asked to speak about is 'Bob Marley, Marcus Garvey and the Pan African Revolution'. I will start by giving you an idea of what we mean by Pan Africanism.

Pan means international or global, so when you are talking about Pan African you are talking about Africans all over the world you know a global African community. So Pan Africanism then means a variety of things. First of all, Pan Africanism means that African people around the world share certain things in common. It doesn't matter whether African people live on the African continent, whether they live in the Caribbean, where I was born, whether they live in the United States of America, in Brazil. *Pan Africanism means first of all that Africans no matter where they live anywhere in world have certain things in common.* And what are these things that Africans have in common? First of all Africans have in common a similar ancestry, all Africans all over the world came at some point from here from the African continent. So wherever you find Africans in the world that is one thing they have in common. Africans also have in common certain aspects of our history for the last 500 years. Most of us for the last 500 years were subjected, we were forced to suffer from colonialism, from being enslaved and from a variety of other factors. So we have a history of suffering together. It does not matter where you find Africans, again it could be here, it could be in Brazil it could be in the Caribbean, at some point in our history in the last 500 years you will find we were colonized by Europe, we were subjected to all kinds of suffering so that is something else we have in common. A third thing that African people have in common around the world is certain cultural similarities. Of course, there are differences in the culture in different parts of Africa and different parts of the Caribbean, but there are certain things that Africans tend to have in common as far as culture is concerned. Wherever you go in the African world you will find that drumming for example is a very important part of our music of our artistic expression or so on. You will find that many of our folk tales are very similar. You may go to the Caribbean you will hear folk tales very similar to folk tales here, you have Anancy stories in Ghana you will hear Anancy stories in the Caribbean and so on. *So that these are some of the kinds of things that African people have in common; a common racial ancestry in Africa, a common history to some extent in the last 500 hundred years; and to some extent common cultural expressions.*

Again this is not to say that all African people are exactly the same. There are differences but you will find that there are some similarities. So Pan Africanism then, the idea the African people around the world share certain things in common. And what Pan Africanism says is that because African people share these things in common, therefore it is necessary for African people to come together and to help one another to achieve uplifts, to achieve equality with other people. Because we share 500 hundred years of suffering we have to rise out of that suffering so that all of us around the world should come together and help one another to achieve that liberation from that suffering that we have been subjected to. So that basically is what Pan Africanism is all about.

Now, that Pan African movement has been a very important movement all over the world for the last several hundred years. And by the Pan African movement I mean the effort on the part of African people everywhere to do precisely what I just said, to unite, to come together to help one another to improve our condition. You will find that African people have had that idea as a very important sort of goal for the last several hundred years. The one event in our history that made all of this possible was unfortunately the slave trade. What the slave trade did – that is the slave trade across the Atlantic Ocean – was that it took African people from the African continent and scattered African people around the world. So that made it possible to have an international African movement. Before the slave trade started although there were Africans in the Caribbean or in North America or in Brazil or in Europe there wasn't this same awareness of being an international community. *The African slave trade across the Atlantic Ocean had its beginnings in 1441* – that is you know over 500 years ago. In 1441 some European sailors from Portugal were sailing off the West African coast and they stopped, we are not sure where they stopped but we think it was somewhere around modern day Senegal, perhaps Mauritania somewhere near Mauritania or Senegal. These Portuguese sailors stopped somewhere on the West African coast and they kidnapped a few Africans, and took them back to Europe to Portugal. And for the next 50 years the sailors from Portugal and from other European countries would come to West Africa, they would kidnap Africans, they would take them back to work as slaves in Portugal sometimes in Spain. That was the beginning of this slave trade, it was the beginning of this process which scattered African people around the world. Now there were Africans in Europe even before 1441, but 1441 represents the beginning of the modern Pan African movement. After about 50 years of taking Africans to Europe as slaves, as enslaved people around about 1502 the Europeans began taking Africans across the Atlantic Ocean. *The first Africans who were taken by the Europeans across the Atlantic Ocean were taken in 1502*. A little more than 500 years ago. And those first Africans were taken to an island in the Caribbean, an island known as Hispaniola.

The island of Hispaniola today is an island which has two countries in it, it's a very large island. On one side is Haiti, on the other side is a country called The Dominican Republic. That is where the first Africans were taken in 1502 as enslaved people by the Europeans. The African community became even more international then with Africans already being taken to Spain and Portugal and now across the Atlantic to the Caribbean. As time went on Africans were taken to other places by these Europeans, they were taken to other islands in the Caribbean; to Jamaica, to Barbados, to Trinidad and many other islands. They were taken to Central America, countries like Costa Rica, Panama, Mexico. Many were taken to South America, places like Brazil, Peru, Argentina. Many were taken to North America, places like the United States of America, Canada. Some were taken even further away, to Europe, to England, to France, to Belgium.

Within a short space of time because of this slave trade started by the Europeans, you now had Africans living all over the world. So whereas in say 1441 when the Portuguese started kidnapping Africans, you know almost all the Africans in the world would have been living here in Africa. Within 100 years long you had Africans living all over the place in South America, in the Caribbean, in North America in Europe in large numbers. We are talking here about millions and millions and millions of people. Nobody knows exactly how many millions of Africans were taken out of Africa, some people say

as many as 600 million, some say 12 million, some say a couple hundred million, nobody knows for sure. But what we do know is that the figure had to be a huge figure in the millions. What we do know is that over 15 million slaves died during this passage. I don't think that there is any other time in the history of the world where so many people have been forced to leave their homes to go to a different place; and under such harsh conditions. The slave trade has to be the most awful experience that any people has had to deal with in the whole history of the world. Because once these Africans got to the Caribbean to North America, wherever they went they were enslaved for their entire lives, they had to work for their entire lives. You know it was against the law to provide education, so if you were a slave in Haiti or Jamaica or wherever, you would expect to work your entire life as a slave for somebody else. Your children would be slaves after you, your grandchildren would be slaves after you; that is what slavery meant. Slavery meant no education it meant working all day long, cutting cane or doing some other agricultural task for the most part. It meant being subjected to awful cruelties, you know slaves had their arms or legs cut off for punishment, and all kinds of other cruel punishments were brought to bear against these slaves.

So when the Africans found themselves in all of these different countries all around the world, the idea of Pan Africanism was born; that is the idea as I said earlier that here are all these people from the African continent now but living in all these different countries all over the world. So all of a sudden Africa became not only a continent but it became a global and international reality and that is what we mean by Pan Africanism. Now you had a global Africa an international Africa. And what happened in these other places is that as time went on, in the Caribbean in the United States in Brazil and all these places, as time went on you found Africans from a large number of different countries coming together in these areas. Now if you were an African living in Africa, let us say, suppose you were living in Ghana, you might never have met anybody from Angola, let us say, or Senegal maybe. But in the Caribbean somebody from Ghana might be working on the same plantation as somebody from Senegal or from Angola or from the Congo or from someplace on the African continent itself they would not have had much opportunity to meet. So that the fact that all of these Africans from all over the continent found themselves in the same place now in the Caribbean or in North America and so forth, that too gave them the feeling that they were not only 'Ghanaians' or 'Angolans', they were 'Africans'. African now had a new kind of a meaning, so they saw Africans in a different sense in a much larger sense. And of course there were always some Africans in these other areas who would have known exactly where they came from on the continent. But as time went on somebody from Angola might have children with somebody from Ghana and then their children might have children with somebody whose parents were from Nigeria and Senegal and so on. So that the whole continent became kind of mixed up in these other areas. So all of this caused people to think of Africa in a wider sense, not as one country in Africa but as a whole global international community.

And that again, comes back to the whole idea of Pan Africanism. I say again a 'Pan' as in global, international African community. Now if any human being is separated by force from their family, that human being is going to try their best to find their family again, it does not matter where it is in the world or what race. If you kidnap somebody and take them far away, the first chance they get, they are going to try to find their way back home to establish contact with their family. And the same is true not only

for a family but of a larger group, a nation, a race. So you find that when the Africans found themselves in these other countries, there was a great desire to try to get back home, to reunite with their home. And all of this fed into the Pan African idea, because what was beginning to happen now was that the Africans in the West Indies, in the Caribbean and so on they had this great burning desire to somehow reach back home to Africa. They had been kidnapped basically from their home and there was this great desire, and this was true not only for those who were actually born on the African continent but even their children, their grandchildren who were born in the Caribbean, born in North America. They still were born with this great desire to find their way back home in some form or fashion. That also helped to encourage the Pan African idea because by wanting to get back home it meant that they had Africa on their minds all the time. It did not matter where they were born they had Africa on their minds, they wanted to somehow find a way back home. This led to efforts to establish contact between Africa here at home [the continent] and what we call 'Africa Abroad', that is the other places where these Africans were taken to. All of that was Pan Africanism because it meant that people were looking at Africa in a global or international kind of a way.

Now this effort to reestablish contact with Africa during the period of slavery, this effort took various forms. For example, we are told that when Africans were captured here in West Africa sometimes they would try to jump off the slave trip and swim back home. That is one basic way in which people tried to reestablish contact with their home. Historians tell us that some Africans, when they got to wherever they were going, the West Indies, America and so on, some Africans went so far, the desire to get back home was so great that some Africans went so far as to commit suicide, to kill themselves, because they hoped that when they committed suicide that their spirits would go back home and be reunited with the spirits of the ancestors. Some people who have studied the songs that the enslaved Africans sang, in the lyrics of the songs, so called 'slave songs', some people can see that yearning, that desire to reestablish contact. When some of the Africans in these countries began to be converted to Christianity very often they would use these Christian ideas to express this desire. For example, they would sing about crossing the river Jordan, and the river Jordan would really be the Atlantic because they wanted to cross the Atlantic to go back home to Africa. Many of the Africans who were enslaved became obviously very rebellious, no human being in the history of the world has been willingly enslaved you have to force somebody into slavery. And if you force somebody into slavery the first chance they get they are going to try to free themselves. And African slavery was no different from any other kind of slavery in that respect. And you found that very often when the Africans revolted and rebelled and had rebellions and what not to try to liberate themselves, very often the desire to get back to Africa was a very important factor in those efforts to liberate themselves. So you find that many of the greatest revolutionaries among the enslaved Africans, when they rose up, when they fought back against their Europeans, their aims were not only to get rid of slavery, but to somehow get back to Africa.

There are some very famous cases, for example in 1839, there were some Africans in a Spanish slave ship off the coast of Cuba, the ship *Amistad*. These Africans on the slave ship had been enslaved somewhere in Africa they had been taken to Cuba, in the Caribbean, and they managed to rise up on that slave ship, they managed to kill the white people who were enslaving them but they spared the life of the pilot (the man on

the ship who knew how to steer the ship, to drive it back where it came from). They told him we are not going to kill you but we want you to take us back to Africa, apparently the Africans were able to tell the direction that the ship was going at night by looking at the stars and apparently at night the pilot went east but during the day when there were no stars to guide the Africans, when he pilot could rely on his instruments (compass etc.) he went north and he ended up in the United States of America. And a very famous court case took place where the Spanish people who owned these slaves – slavery was a hell of a thing that somebody would own another human being, somebody could buy a slave and sell a slave, like the way you would buy a horse or cow or something. So the Spanish people in Cuba who ‘owned’ these slaves came to the United States and they brought a court case to try to get their slaves back. As far as they were concerned these Africans were their property and they wanted their property back. This case remained in court for many years, eventually the Africans won the case and they were sent back home to Sierra Leone. That is just one case of revolutionary rebellious Africans who rose up against slaver and for whom the main purpose in rising up was to get back home. This would be a Pan African thing because this would be an effort to establish contact with the African homeland once again.

One more example, the greatest slave revolution in history was the revolution that took place in Haiti, what we know as The Haitian Revolution. Now Haiti is a country in the Caribbean and Haiti was the most important country as far as slavery was concerned. They had a very large number of Africans who had been enslaved, and in Haiti the slaves made more money for their European masters – in this case the Europeans were French – and France was able to make more money from the work of these slaves in Haiti than any other slave country was able to make in the whole world. So Haiti was the most important slave country in the entire world. For 12 years from 1791-1803 the Africans in Haiti fought a major revolution for their freedom and they won.

This is the greatest slave revolution, the most successful slave revolution in the history of the world. Now when the Haitians won their independence one of the first things that they tried to do was to look towards West Africa because the slave trade was still going on in West Africa and the Haitians wanted to send an army from Haiti to West Africa to try to stop the slave trade at its source right here in West Africa. So here again you have something very Pan African, here were rebellious revolutionary Africans in the Caribbean and it was not sufficient for them to win their independence but they had a Pan African element meaning they wanted to use their independence to end the slave trade in the African homeland also. So it was out of this slavery experience then that the whole idea of Pan Africanism arose, the idea that we were all part of the global, international African community and that somehow we had to try to help one another. Now the time came when slavery ended, when what we call ‘emancipation’ took place. And once slavery ended it meant that the Africans in the Caribbean and elsewhere had a little bit of freedom, not total freedom but they at least could now work for themselves, earn some money and travel. Things they could not do when they had been slaves. And once emancipation came they found that this desire to reestablish a connection... they were born in these other countries but this feeling of somehow getting back home and this feeling of Pan African connection remained very very very strong. So throughout the years after slavery ended, all over the Caribbean, in Brazil, in Cuba in the United States of America and even in England, you found Africans trying to get back home to Africa.

And many succeeded. In 1789 for example you had several Africans from England who came back to Sierra Leone; in 1820 you Africans from America who went to Liberia. There were many Brazilians over the years who went to a variety of different places, some came here right to Ghana, some went to Benin and some other places, Togo as well. This was a constant thing happening all the time. You had people from Barbados in the West Indies who went to Liberia. As late as the beginning of the 20th century round about 1900 you had thousands of people in Cuba trying to go back to the Congo; many of the Africans in Cuba had come from the Congo and Angola and those places and they were trying to get back to the Congo and some did in fact get back. And you had this incredible desire even in the 20th century. One of the important people in this effort to reunite African Americans especially and Africans was a man from Ghana – what they used to call the Gold Coast back in those days – from Salt Pond, a man who was known in the United States as Chief Sam. He went from Ghana early in the 20th century to United States of America, he was a business man and he organized a repatriation movement. He actually bought a ship in 1914 and brought a shipload of African Americans back to Ghana. The British who were in charge were very much against this idea. The Europeans were always trying to prevent Africans from overseas reestablishing contact with Africans at home and so they gave Chief Sam a hard time. When his ship got to Sierra Leone they took the ship and prevented the people from coming off and made them pay all kinds of taxes and whatnot. The British tried their best to prevent this from happening. But the fact is that Chief Sam from Salt Pond here in Ghana was able to bring a whole shipload of Africans from America back home here round about 1914/1915. And there were many other efforts to establish Pan African Contact. The most important of all of these Pan Africanists, these people who tried to establish Pan African contact, was Marcus Garvey.

Marcus Garvey did much of what these other people had done before but he was the most successful. Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica in 1887 and Garvey traveled in many countries. As a young man he traveled in Central America to places like Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama. He traveled in Central America countries like Ecuador, Peru. In 1912 Garvey came to Europe, he traveled to England, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and he went to Hungary to France to Spain, he traveled all over Europe. And Garvey as he traveled he gained an incredible knowledge of the Pan African world. That is he had a good sense of how Africans were doing in different countries around the world. Many Africans at that time would have known what was happening in their country maybe in a neighbouring country but Garvey developed an incredible idea and knowledge of the entire African world. Here was Garvey from Jamaica he had traveled in the Caribbean, he had traveled and lived and worked all over Central America he had gone to South America, he had come to Europe. He never did get to Africa but he met a lot of people from the African continent in Europe. He worked on the docks as a labourer in London, England and he worked with many Africans there. There were also many African seamen from the African continent in England at that time and he met them and spoke with them.

He also worked for a Pan African magazine a very important magazine called the '*Africa Times and Orient Review*'. This magazine was edited by a man from the African continent who was living in London and Garvey worked for this magazine. Working for this magazine gave Garvey a good sense of what was happening all over the African

world because the magazine would contain article from Africans from all over the place from West Africa, North America, the Caribbean from all over. And very often when African people from around the world were traveling in Europe they would come to the offices of that magazine. The offices of that magazine was a kind of a meeting place where Africans who were involved in trying to win political freedom against colonialism would come. So Garvey was able to meet a lot of people from the African continent even though he himself never did manage to get to Africa. So after 4 years of traveling Garvey realized that something was wrong because anywhere he went in the world and anywhere that he heard about the story was the same; African people were suffering, they were colonized, they were enslaved, overrun by European nations, one country after the next was being conquered. In 1914 when Garvey was in England, the last of the African countries that is the last of the countries here on the African continent was being conquered by Europe, almost the whole of Africa was conquered by European armies in about roughly 50 years or so from the middle of the 19th century to round about 1914 or so, almost the whole of the African continent was conquered by Europe. So in 1914 when Garvey was working for this magazine – ‘The Africa Times and Orient Review’ – there were only three African countries in the entire world that had any kind of political independence. All the other African countries in the world in 1914 were overrun, they had been conquered by Europeans and they were what we knew as colonies.

Ethiopia was one country that was not conquered by Europe, not only was Ethiopia not conquered but the Ethiopians were one of the few African countries who were actually able to defeat a European army. In 1896 the emperor of Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik the second, he defeated the Italians who were trying to turn Ethiopia into a colony the same way that the British turned Ghana (Gold Coast) into a colony, the British had turned Nigeria into a colony, they had turned The Gambia into a colony, the French had turned Senegal into a colony, the French had turned Cote D’Ivoire (Ivory Coast) into a colony, Angola was a Portuguese colony etc. And the Italians were trying to do the same thing to Ethiopia but Ethiopia was one of the few African nations that was able to defeat a European nation. There were two other African countries in the world that were independent. **Liberia** was free but it was not totally free but technically/officially Liberia was free in a kind of way. Liberia had actually been given its independence in 1847. So Liberia was officially free here in West Africa and **Ethiopia** in East Africa. The **Haitians** fought the most successful slave revolution in history; they fought for 12 years 1791 -1803.

Africa is the world’s second largest continent, five times larger than Europe, the world’s largest continent is Asia. Here you have the world’s second largest continent and there are only three [independent] countries, two on the African continent – Liberia (West Africa) and Ethiopia (East Africa) – and one other African country in the Caribbean – Haiti. Every other African country in the whole world had been conquered by Europe. So Garvey as he traveled around the world this is what he saw, everywhere he went African people were colonized by somebody, subjugated by somebody, suffering because of somebody and so Garvey after four years he asked himself a very famous question he said ‘where is the black man’s government? where is the black man’s king, his kingdom, his men and women of high affairs?’. He could not find any all he could find was black people suffering all over the world, being killed, massacred, forced to work for nothing,

enslaved. So he decided he would do something himself to try to change that situation. So Garvey started an organization in 1914 in Jamaica when he went back home to Jamaica.

He called the organization '*The Universal Negro Improvement Association*', the UNIA. Garvey realized that black folk did not have any money, did not have any political power, had very little economic power. But what Garvey realized was that the one thing that black people had was numbers, lot of people. And he said that if African people could come together – Unite – in large numbers then they could do things even though they did not have the money. If a lot of people came together and united and got a program and decided to follow that program, then the numbers, the sheer force of the numbers would enable black folk to get over. And that is precisely what Garvey did. He built an incredible organization, the largest Pan African organization in the history of the world. After about two years in Jamaica, Garvey moved to the United States of America to Harlem (the black area in New York City). He moved the organization from Jamaica to Harlem. And within a few years Garvey did some amazing things, he had an organization that had about 1200 hundred branches, all over the world. There were branches of the Garvey movement here in Ghana it was all over West Africa in Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, South Africa, Namibia. Even in places where there were no branches there were still people who knew about Garvey and who considered themselves 'Garveyites'- people who followed Garvey. There were even Garveyites in Australia, all over the Caribbean. 1200 branches in over 40 countries all over the world.

Garvey did this at a time when there was not much airplane travel, there was no internet, there was no television, but somehow Garvey was able to reach out across the entire world and get African people excited and mobilized behind his program. Garvey's program was a program of what we call 'African Nationalism'. *Garvey told our people three things, he had three ideas. His first idea was 'Race First'* meaning that African people must put our racial self interest first and foremost, look after our own interest first, write our own history from our own point of view, write our own poetry, literature, see our God like us (if we are black then we are to see our God as black also), all of that for Garvey was 'Race First'. Garvey didn't have anything against any other race, he was for his race, he was not against anybody else's race, but he was very much for his race. A race which had been suffering for many years and which he wanted to rise up to uplift to it out of the suffering which it had undergone for 500 years. The first idea Garvey put forward then was 'Race First'. *The second idea he put forward was 'Self Reliance'*. Garvey felt that a suffering oppressed people had to learn to do things for itself. Take care of its own business, 'Self Reliance' black folk had to start business, get into business, employ their own people, do things for themselves. And Garvey was very successful Garvey started something called 'The Negro Factories Corporation' and he was employing black people... The Ghana government took the same name that Garvey had and used that name for the Ghana government shipping line. So Ghana had a Black Star Line. But the Ghanaian government's Black Star Line was named after Garvey's 'Black Star Line'. President Nkrumah was a great admirer of Garvey and so this is why there is a 'Black Star Square' in Accra and the Ghanaian football players are called the 'Black Stars'.

When President Nkrumah was a student in the United States of America he used to go to meetings of Garvey's organization, he read Garvey's famous book 'The Philosophies and Opinions of Marcus Garvey'. When President Nkrumah wrote his

autobiography a book called 'Ghana', he said that of all the books he read the book that had the greatest impact on him, on his consciousness on his development was Marcus Garvey's book. Ghana was not the only country that was influenced by Garvey, anywhere you went in the African world you found that many of the leaders who lead African countries to independence were similarly influenced by Marcus Garvey. So Garvey built this organization and he got black people doing things, he employed black folk, he published a newspaper named '*Negro World*' which became the most successful African newspaper in the entire world. This paper became so powerful that very often the European people who were running the colonies, they would ban the paper because they were so afraid because Garvey was telling African people to do things for themselves, to love themselves, to rise up out of colonialism and the British and the French and all the others who were ruling Africa, they became afraid of this message and sometimes they would ban Garvey's newspaper. You could go to jail in many countries for reading Garvey's newspaper. In what is now Zimbabwe, it used to be Southern Rhodesia, an African was actually sent to jail for life for importing copies of Garvey's newspaper. That is how powerful Garvey's newspaper was and that is how much the colonial powers, England, France, Spain all the rest of them that is how afraid they were of Garvey's message. So Garvey had a great impact in a Pan African way – that is across the entire African world.

And when we look at Bob Marley we see a similar kind of Pan African impact. In every generation in every era there is somebody who rise up, you know who kind of becomes a sort of representative of that Pan African spirit, who is able to reach out across the world and bring African people together and when we find the same kind of thing when we look at Bob Marley and the Rastafarian movement generally. The Rastafarian movement came into existence in the early 1930s and at that time Garvey had been deported from the United States. The Americans could not deal with Garvey and they sent him back home to Jamaica. And Garvey was in Jamaica when the Rastafarian movement got going round about the 1930s. One of the events that is usually given as an important event in the early history of Rastafarianism is the coronation of His Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. This took place in 1930. Garvey was publishing a newspaper in Jamaica at that time, the name of this newspaper was '*The Black Man*'. 'The Black Man' like many other newspapers around the world was very happy at Haile Selassie's coronation, in fact the front page of Garvey's newspaper carried a huge photograph of Haile Selassie when he was crowned Emperor of Ethiopia. And of course as we all know, Haile Selassie is a central figure to the Rastafarian faith and so Garvey and the Rastafarians had this in common that they both honoured Haile Selassie when he was crowned. Many of the early Rastafarians in Jamaica were people who had been members of Garvey's movement at some point or another.

Many years ago I interviewed a very important old Garveyite from Jamaica, a man named Zeb Munro Scarlett, he was a very important figure around that time in Garvey's movement in Jamaica. And Scarlett told me that many of the early Rastafarians used to be all around the UNIA office, they would sort of hang out around the UNIA's office so there was a close connection from very early between the early Rastas and Marcus Garvey. Now the whole question of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie have a special place in the Rastafarian movement. But many of those Ethiopian ideas were already around the UNIA for a long time. For example, the UNIA had a national anthem and the

national anthem of the UNIA was and still is called '*The Ethiopian National Anthem*'. I've heard many Rastafarian groups play that anthem but that anthem comes originally from Garvey's movement – it starts '*Ethiopia, the land of our fathers, thou land where the Gods love to be, a storm cloud at night suddenly gathers, our armies come rushing to thee*'. That is the first verse of the anthem of the Garvey movement. So the point that I am making is that for the early Rastafarians, the whole idea of Ethiopia is something that they would have been familiar with up to a point from Garvey. Garvey was very fond of that famous quotation from the old testament, *Psalms 68* '*Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God*'. Garvey used to repeat this quotation many times in his speeches. Not only Garvey but long before Garvey, that had been a favourite quotation of Africans in the West who were looking forward to liberating Africans. In fact the Garvey movement had a catechism (like what you have in church), a black people's catechism. One of the questions in the Garvey catechism was 'what does that quotation mean?' 'Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God'. The answer was that it means that Africans will once more rise up and become free and be the equal of other nations in the world. That is how the Garveyites interpreted that quotation.

In 1922 when the Garvey movement had its big international convention in New York City, Haile Selassie, who was not yet Emperor he was what they called a 'Prince Reagent', actually sent a message to the Garvey movement's convention in 1922 inviting Africans from the West to come back to Ethiopia. Many years later Haile Selassie did in fact provide some land, a place called Shashemane, after he had become Emperor, where he encouraged people to go back to Ethiopia from the West. In 1930 after Garvey had been deported back to Jamaica, round about the same that Haile Selassie was being crowned Emperor, a group of Garveyites from New York went back to live in Ethiopia. They were led by a man who had been born in Barbados a man called, Rabbi Arnold Ford. He was an African Hebrew. And they went back to Ethiopia and they made a very great contribution. Rabbi Ford was a master musician and he taught music to the Emperor's family, his wife Mignon Ford opened the first high school for girls in Ethiopia (these are Garveyites coming from out of New York). So the Rastafarians coming out of Garvey's movement would have been familiar with a lot of this kind of Ethiopian symbolism... There is quotation from Bob Marley in 1979, he said "when we say we are Rasta, we mean we seriously deal with Marcus Garvey, Haile Selassie seen" he said "we are black people who want our own" and by saying that one little sentence he was tying Garvey and all of this together. But that essentially is what Garvey was about – Black people who wanted their own, their own country, their own culture to be respected, their own freedom. So that one little sentence said it all you know the connection between Garvey and Rasta.

I read that in both Bob's family and in Rita's family there were some very ardent Garveyites and that there was a lot of reasoning around the question of Marcus Garvey going on among Rastafarians in the 1960s when Bob Marley was coming on the scene and Bob Marley himself was part of these reasonings. One very important thing that happened in the 1960s when Bob Marley was getting going was that Marcus Garvey's body was brought back home to Jamaica in 1964. Marcus Garvey had died in England in 1940 but that was during the second world war and his wife was unable to get permission to bring the body back home because of the war. But when the war ended there was some

other problems but eventually in 1964 Garvey's body was brought back home. And Garvey was reburied in Jamaica with great pomp and splendor a lot of ceremony, it was a major event, all the dignitaries, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition, the Chief Justice, the Archbishops, the Bishops everybody turned out and it was a magnificent affair and Garvey at that time was named the first National Hero of Jamaica. So all of this would have encouraged Garveyites generally and Rastafarians and others to reason around this question. So this was happening right around the time that Bob Marley was coming on the scene in 1960s two years before Haile Selassie himself came to Jamaica in 1966, which was one of the greatest events that ever happened in the history of Jamaica. So the Rastafarians then generally, Bob Marley in particular then were paying homage to Garvey, they recognized Garvey as a prophet, somebody who inspired them, and then they were able to take Garvey's movement to different level.

Brother Mutabaruka was mentioning the fact that Rasta was able to bring a new kind of a spiritual dimension now to the Garvey movement. But the essence was still the same, it was still the same essential idea of African Nationalism that Garvey was preaching, it is still 'Race First', still 'Self Reliance', still the same ideas do for yourself, interpret your own reality, write your own history, have your own religion, have a black God. All of these things were in Garvey already but the Rastafarians were able to develop it in a very innovative way and take it to a whole new level. And one of the results was that Bob Marley in particular ended up having an incredible Pan African impact. In my own experience, I'll mention a few examples from my own experience moving around that made me realize the incredible Pan African impact that Bob Marley and the Rastafarians had. I remember in 1978 the first time I came to Africa I went to Guinea, but I went through Senegal and I seemed to remember, although I read a book that said that Bob Marley never went to Senegal, seeing posters in Dakar announcing that Bob Marley was coming through. My wife in 1980, when she was a teenager, she went to an international youth conference in Bulgaria of all places, which in those days would have been a communist country behind the 'iron curtain' as they call it. And there were youths there from all over the world and these youths had to perform something cultural and my wife tells me that the Libyan kids, their cultural performance was 'Get up Stand up' Bob Marley's tune. This is the song that these Libyan kids chose to sing in Bulgaria of all places. So even in North Africa, Libya, Bob Marley's impact was so great already, this was 1980. Of course it is well known that when Zimbabwe became independent that Bob Marley was invited to Zimbabwe. One of the books I was reading made a very interesting point, it said that when the Zimbabwe independence celebrations took place, the first official words that the new country of Zimbabwe heard after the Zimbabwe flag went up, were 'Ladies and Gentlemen, here is Bob Marley', that is how Zimbabwean independence started. I understand that there was an unsuccessful military coup in Kenya some years ago, apparently the soldiers who were trying to overthrow the government captured the radio station, and when they captured the radio station apparently they played nothing but Reggae music. They captured the Radio station for a few hours and in that period before the government took it back over all the country heard was Reggae music. But again all of this speaks to the incredible reach that Bob Marley in particular and reggae music had. And this was true every place else.

There is a popular calypso coming out of Trinidad by one of our popular calypsonians a man who calls himself Black Stallion, and Black Stallion some years ago

had a very popular calypso called 'Caribbean Man'. Now Black Stallion is a Rastafarian himself (this is in Trinidad now) and he was making the point in this song 'Caribbean Man' that the politicians in the Caribbean for years had been trying to forge unity and have a federation and so on and he was saying the politicians have failed the politicians have been unable to unite those countries in the Caribbean area. He was making the point that Rastafarians had united that area. He was saying there were Rastafarians in Jamaica, there were Rastafarians in St. Lucia, there were Rastafarians all over the place. And he asked the question in the Calypso he said 'maybe there is something that the Rastafarians know that the politicians don't know'. And his answer is that the Rastafarians knew that we were one Race came from the same place, had the similar destiny and they were able to unite people on that basis. So Rasta then had been a very unifying force.

Going back to my own experience, I came here to Ghana for the first time in 1990, to give some lectures and after the lectures I met a lot of Rastafarians and we were talking and so on and it was three lectures that I gave and up to maybe the second lecture or so I assumed that the Rastas I was talking to were from Jamaica you know because they had assimilated Jamaican language and everything else to such a great degree it came as a shock to me to discover that they were not Jamaican at all. I had a similar experience several years after in 1999 in Zimbabwe when I met some Rastas from South Africa from Cape Town and the same thing again, and last night, watching the concert last night I couldn't help but remark again at the incredible way that the Rasta movement and Bob Marley in particular have been able to reach out and pull people from all over the world the African world particularly but not only the African world even, together. So to have people assimilated into their means of speaking, their means of dancing. So same thing that Black Stallion in the calypso was asking you know, maybe the Rastas know something that the politicians don't know, to bring people together on that kind of a Pan African level...