

CHAPTER III

A "SECOND EMANCIPATION": THE TRANSFIGURATION OF GARVEY'S "RACIAL EMPIRE" IN RASTAFARIAN THOUGHT

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OVERVIEW

"We must create a second emancipation — an emancipation of our minds."

— Marcus Garvey, 1929 anniversary of Emancipation in
the English speaking Caribbean¹

"Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery/none but ourselves can free our minds."

— Bob Marley, "Redemption Songs," 1980

"The problem with emancipation is the fact that the chains on the mind are often even more binding than the chains on the body," Jamaican literary critic Carolyn Cooper has written.² Ms. Cooper was addressing certain forms of "mental slavery" which persist in Jamaican popular culture, and its critics. She clearly had Marley's famous lyric in mind when she expressed her faith in the "self-emancipatory powers" of people of the African diaspora. Marley adapted the line from Marcus Garvey, who is a sort of patron saint of Rastafarians. The quotes are similar, yet the second emancipation advocated by Garvey, and the emancipation from mental slavery called for by Marley, are in many ways quite different. The roots are the same: both Garvey and Marley speak about this emancipation within the context of the memory of the African slave trade. But their articulation of the nature of emancipation differed in fundamental ways; their audiences were distinct; and the ways in which the messages of Garvey and Marley have been interpreted by their audiences vary radically.

I want to trace the trajectory of this notion of a "second emancipation" from mental slavery, from Marcus Garvey's time, and the historical context in which he was rooted, to the era of Bob Marley and the Rastas, and the future towards which they were oriented. In the course of examining how this notion of a "second emancipation" has been transfigured, within an international and multi-ethnic context, I want to rethink the uneasy co-existence of Pan Africanism and non-racialism, within the freedom movements for which both Garvey and Marley are contested icons. Indeed, given the fact that both Garvey and W. E. B. Du Bois, as founders of Pan-Africanism, had a conception of race that was "mystical" and "something akin to a faith," as W. J. Moses has written,³ the idea that one can be both a Pan-Africanist and a non-racialist, as Marley and many Rastas were, would seem counter-factual or even offensive to many who share the faith of the respective Pan-Africas of Garvey and Du Bois.⁴

I ask a series of questions about this second emancipation:

- 1) Emancipation from what?
- 2) Emancipation into what?
- 3) Emancipation by and for whom?
- 4) Emancipation by what means?

These questions are directed to the respective ways in which this concept of a "second emancipation" was articulated by Garvey, as the voice of one of the "Pan-Africas" of this conference, and by Marley, as the best-known representative of the Rastafarians, who adapted but also radically transformed some elements of Garveyism, in particular its racialism.

1) Both Garvey and Marley agreed on the basic concept of emancipation from mental slavery. They agreed that psychological bondage in the present had roots, for many people, in human bondage in the past. However, Marley had a much broader conception than Garvey of the forms of mental slavery from which his audience, his people, needed to be emancipated. Marley voiced the need for emancipation from

religious and political ideologies ("isms and schisms"), for instance. Garvey framed the issue almost entirely in racial terms: black people's emancipation from a racial inferiority complex, and from marginalization in world affairs.

2) Garvey viewed the second emancipation as a process that led *into* what he called a "racial empire," which in many ways seemed to be a black mirror image of British imperialism. Marley and the Rastas envisioned this second emancipation as being directed towards, or leading into, an African Zion. So in a real sense Rasta is a continuation of Garveyism as "black Zionism." However, Marley conceived of Africa not just as a black homeland, but as the mother of all races, in relation to which the concepts of black liberation and multiracial redemption co-existed. I will return to this aspect of Marley's version of Rastafarianism, which I have previously written about at length in the "Bob Marley's Zion" chapter of my book *On Racial Frontiers*.⁵

3) Garvey explicitly viewed a second emancipation as being by and for black people, "Africans at home and abroad." In his "racial empire," black people would reject the heroes, and thought patterns, of other races. "Any race that accepts the thoughts of another race . . . becomes the slave race of that other race," Garvey argued. And he insisted: "To emancipate yourselves from that you must accept something original, something *racially your own*"⁶

Marley forwarded parts of Garvey's worldview, in which Africa, Europe, and Asia were seen as racial homelands. He certainly conceived of Selassie, at least initially, as a "black" God. Yet like most Rastas, he proclaimed that Selassie was an "international God." In this sense, the Rastas followed a Biblical pattern that rejected the claim of racial ownership espoused by Garvey. The Biblical Jehovah was originally conceived of as a tribal Jewish God, but later evolved into universal God that was "neither Jew nor Gentile," who inspired a community of faith who constructed "a house of prayer for all people."⁷ Rastafarian thought has undergone a similar evolution, as it has interacted with an international audience. Thus when Marley voiced, on a global stage, the metaphor of an Exodus of *Jah people*, he conveyed a sense of community which in the final analysis was not a racial concept.

When Marley sings "none but ourselves can free our minds," he echoes Garvey. But the "we" here has changed. His "songs of freedom" are sung worldwide, by a predominantly non-black audience. Marley's interviews make it clear that he saw this process of emancipation as multi-racial, although people of African descent claimed a privileged role as the "cornerstone" of this collective emancipation.⁸

4) Garvey believed that a second emancipation for black people must take place *through the means of* a "racial hierarchy," a religious notion of race pride utilizing a "racial catechism," which was used to instill and enforce racial allegiance. It was a separatist worldview in which different races had mutually exclusive heroes and leaders. Garvey's "Black Zionism," like the Jewish Zionism on which it was modeled, had both religious and political dimensions. In religious terms, it was much like a theocracy, with Garvey as Moses-like lawgiver. Politically, the "ideal state" posited by Garvey combined fascism (as Garvey himself explicitly said), and imperialism. "African Fundamentalism points to Imperialism," he insisted.⁹ Thus, emancipation for black people would be achieved, on an individual level, through a positive self-concept achieved in large part through what Wilson Jeremiah Moses calls a "cosmic rotation of elites"; replacing white, or Jewish Gods, heroes, and leaders with black icons. These black Gods and heroes would be "emotionally satisfying" to black people. Furthermore, they would enter into the "psychological structure" of the people and give them a new "cognitive orientation," as the equals, and indeed the superiors (or original model) of the great empires created by other races. Collective emancipation was to be achieved by the submission to the "absolute authority" of a black king modeled after conquerors such as Alexander the Great and Hernán Cortez.¹⁰

Marley's notion of emancipation included an emphasis on racial uplift ("Blackman Redemption"). And he believed in the absolute authority of Selassie as "earth's rightful ruler." Yet this was a spiritual authority which, in the view of Rastas, undermined the legitimacy of political leaders. Rastas have a pronounced messianic tendency, as did Garvey, yet it is at the same time a very decentered movement, a

"community of prophets." Emancipation is achieved by each man and woman becoming his own King or Queen, owing allegiance not to political authorities, but only to the God within. ("I and I don't expect to be justified by the laws of men.") Furthermore, in direct contrast to the racial essentialism of Garvey, Rasta is centered on the ideal (and the biological reality) of One Blood ("One Love, One Heart"). This is presented as *the solution* to the mental slavery of race-based definitions of identity and community.¹¹

Rasta, in this sense, was capable of containing seeming opposites within a larger unity. It articulated a belief both in black liberation, and in multiracial redemption, neither of which could be achieved without the other. So when Marley sings "fighting against isms and schisms," he speaks to more than one audience, in more than one voice. He is continuing Garvey's call for black unity ("Africa Unite"), and criticizing the mental slavery that prevents this unity. But he is also addressing the need for a broader form of unity, of which "black unity" is but one part.

Immediate Context of Garveyism

To glimpse the distance between Bob Marley's concept of a "second emancipation" and that of Garvey, it may be useful to briefly recall the historical context in which Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association emerged.

Garvey was born in 1887 and founded the UMA in 1914 (1917 in New York), a period that roughly corresponds to that has been described as the "high stage of White supremacy." In North America, the Supreme Court instituted a "separate but equal" policy in the 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision. In Jamaica, the implementation of Crown Rule had effectively disenfranchised blacks, in the latter nineteenth century, as Afro-Americans meanwhile had been disenfranchised with the abandonment of Reconstruction. Lynchings were widespread in the U.S. So-called "scientific racism" was still predominant, although this would be challenged by many influential scholars, notably beginning with the Universal Races Congress of 1911. After World War I, the European Powers carved up Africa. Black American troops

returning home from Europe encountered bloody race riots throughout the U.S. in 1919, and thereabouts.¹²

It was in this context that Garvey "leaped into the ocean of black unhappiness at a most timely moment for a savior," as Norman Girvan writes. Returning to New York in 1917 after a Continental speaking tour, Garvey envisioned black Americans as "a chosen people to whom he could be Moses and who would thrill to his gospel of a black Zion," as David Levering Lewis puts it. The discrimination he encountered in the U.S. radicalized Garvey, an experience similar to many other Caribbean immigrants, as Winston James has eloquently documented.¹³

In the early days of the UNIA, Garvey had some alliances with socialists, and with Jews and Irish also fighting for a quasi-racial homeland. Like the Zionists, he adapted a chosen people mythology for political purposes. "If the Jews could have Palestine, why not the Negroes another Palestine in Africa?" he asked his followers. But his movement quickly took a rightward turn towards a reactionary racialism. His vision of black liberation became a variant of Ethiopianism, which posited binary opposition between blacks, as an oppressed but fundamentally superior race, and whites, who were inherently racist and genetically defective. Garvey's racialism, it should be noted, accepted many of the assumptions about race theorized by white supremacists. From this basis, Garvey began prophesying a coming race war, declaring that whites were the "natural foe" of black people, "irrespective whether they were American, English, French or Germans." In the short run, this was an effective mobilizing tool: mass movements can be directed much more effectively when there is a clearly defined enemy. But in the long run, this led Garvey into extreme positions that undermined much of his support. It is a truism that "anything pursued to an extreme becomes its opposite," and this can be seen in Garvey's praise of President Harding's speech declaring that "racial amalgamation there cannot be." His meetings with the Ku Klux Klan, whom Garvey saw as natural allies in the goal of African repatriation, furthered his isolation.¹⁴

In imagining a "racial empire" as a means of psychological, economic, and political emancipation for the peoples of the African diaspora, Garvey drew heavily on a British model of imperialism. Ironically, despite the seemingly African-centered nature of his "Africa for the Africans" enterprise, Garvey's worldview in many ways remained thoroughly Eurocentric.¹⁵

Garvey's vision may have been "megalomaniacal," but it was formulated with the needs of his audience in mind. Many had internalized the dominant society's view of them. Garvey called on black people to emancipate themselves from the hero worship of the leaders of other races, and instead to "canonize our own saints." Garvey used over-statement as psychological compensation: "All other Continents copied their civilization from Africa." If black people separated themselves from other races, and reoriented themselves to their own glorious past, they could envision a glorious future, a "Racial Empire upon which 'the sun shall never set'."¹⁶

Garvey named himself "Provisional President" of Africa and insisted on complete and unquestioning loyalty among his followers. As Barry Chevannes notes, he was in some ways adapting a persona to meet the projected expectations of black people. His middle name itself, Mosiah, seemed to indicate that he was a sort of combination of Moses and a Messiah. And this was how many of his followers saw him. Garvey filled a vacuum.¹⁷

Historical Context: Rebellion & Messianism in Jamaican Culture

Although Garvey's Pan-Africanism was an international movement, in some ways Garvey's perspective remained thoroughly Jamaican. Jamaican culture has a long history of fusing messianic expectations with political rebellion. This may in part reflect Biblical and Zionist models. Michael Berkowitz notes that among the most successful Jewish icons of Zionism, "eroticism and messianism combined." Berkowitz' observation is equally relevant for the Jamaican dynamics that inform Garvey and Marley: "Messianism and redemption assumed many guises. We underestimate their staying power."¹⁸

The Jamaican variant of this pattern forms a root for the different but intersecting models of emancipation that Garvey and Marley would articulate. Jamaican slave revolts moved through several phases or types of rebellion, Robert Stewart observes.¹⁹ Most early rebellions were individual acts of resistance. In the next phase, there were group revolts, not really directed against slavery as such, but rather local conditions. Later there were large-scale movements against slavery, such as the Sam Sharpe Rebellion, and the Morant Bay Rebellion. These rebellions were usually led by Baptist activists, who voiced the fusion of political rights rhetoric, and messianic aspirations, that are evident in both Garvey and the Rastas.

I want to make two points about this historical context of Jamaican rebellions against racial injustice. First, the nature of what people were rebelling against evolved over time. The trajectory from individual resistance, to local group uprisings, to widespread rebellions against slavery, would continue to evolve in new directions. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, rebellion was envisioned by the preacher Alexander Bedward as a black-against-white "racial Armageddon." During the last years of the nineteenth century, when Garvey was a boy, Bedward was urging his followers to "remember the Morant War" and build a "black wall" to "knock down the white wall which has oppressed us for years."²⁰

The Jamaican "labor riots" of 1938, when Garvey had already relocated to England, were more class-oriented, although since they occurred on the centenary of emancipation, they still drew on the memory of racial oppression. In the following years, rebellion came to be directed more against colonialism. Eventually, for Marley and the Rastas, rebellion was transfigured again. Their rebellion still named racism and colonialism as enemies. But with the development of the concept of the "babylon system," rebellion for the Rastas came to be directed against the system that produced slavery and colonialism in the first place. This includes racialism, as internalized slavery, an enemy within.²¹

The second point I wish to make about the historical and cultural context from which Garvey and Marley emerged is that Jamaican race relations were not always so

binary as Garvey's pronouncements. One of the figures that Garvey urged black people to "canonize" was George William Gordon, the mulatto or "brown" collaborator of Paul Bogle during the Morant Bay Rebellion. As Richard Burton notes, Gordon was a prototype for an archetypal pattern of "colored redeemers" in Jamaican history, which includes Alexander Bustamante, political leader of the 1938 Labor Riots; Prime Minister Michael Manley, and Bob Marley himself. Furthermore, many Jamaicans had a more nuanced view of Europeans than Garvey's attitudes might indicate. Abigail Bakan has noted another archetypal presence in Jamaica, as well as other Caribbean countries; the "Good White Man" who gave sanction to, or participated in, popular protest movements. Sometimes these "good white men" were local, but more often they were distant figures, such as abolitionists in Great Britain.²²

So from Gordon to Bustamante to Manley and Marley, there is a tradition of mixed-race figures, as well as Europeans or men of uncertain racial origin, who play important roles in the struggle for racial equality and political independence. The trajectory of this thinking, which recognized the possibility of alliances across the lines of color, class, and nation, was that local or regional rebellions could not succeed, in the long run, without foreign support, often of Europeans. Such traditions led to more nuanced concepts of kinship. On the one hand, Jamaican history is full of racials like Garvey who urged their followers to "cleave to the color." But there is also a well-established pattern of cross-racial alliances, especially in an international context.

A New Framework for Emancipation²³

The shift from Garvey's concept of a racial "second emancipation" to Marley's broader emancipation from "mental slavery" is evident in the evolution of the language the Rastas used to describe oppression. Early Rastas in the 1930s adapted a battle cry of Kenyan guerrillas, fighting against British imperialism: "death to white oppressors." By 1960, this had evolved to "death to black and white oppressors," or sometimes, "death to black, white, and brown oppressors." This

phrase was repeated often by Marley, and is still utilized frequently by contemporary Rastafarian reggae artists such as Capleton. It points to an awareness of a system of oppression which cannot be understood in merely racial terms. The Rastas called this the "Babylon System," which has been defined as "an artificial affluent society of self-absorbed individuals who worship idols and live decadent lifestyles at the expense of the poor." A significant minority of Rastas today, particularly the BoboShanti, still understand the "Babylon System" as the "white man's system," and argue for black supremacy as an antithesis to white supremacy.²⁴ But most Rastas have moved towards a synthesis, a worldview in which the forms of mental slavery characteristic of the Babylon System, as defined above, are perpetuated by people of all colors. And even BoboShanti artists such as Junior Reid call for a unity based on "One Blood," in which more attractive alternatives to the Babylon System can only be created by multi-racial coalitions.

For a culture which has "an amazing fixation with the memory of Garvey," as Robert Hill remarks, this notion of a transracial emancipation is a remarkable evolution. It articulates the potentially revolutionary notion that the struggle for emancipation must be directed not only against an external enemy, but also, as Don Robotham writes, "against an enemy within." The far-reaching implications of this evolution, I want to argue, point to notion of "cultural emancipation" undertaken "without regard to race." The transfiguration of Garvey's project of "pan-African regeneration," within Rastafarian thought, has allowed a more inclusive community "to conceptualize the possible transformations towards a new social order where the full capacity of humanity will be shorn of the deformities of race," as Horace Campbell writes.²⁵

Europeans in a Transfigured Pan-Africa: a Contested Presence

Over the last twenty years I have been personally involved in a variety of ways in the culture about which I am writing. I was a songwriter for a multi-ethnic band in Austin, Texas during the 1980s, playing styles of music such as reggae, funk and

jazz that we are accustomed to thinking of as "black." As a journalist I have written about Afro-Caribbean and Latin American art forms during three decades now. I produce many forms of radio programs that disseminate understanding of Afro-Caribbean culture.²⁶ I have two children with whom I speak only Spanish, Their mother is an Afro-American from Port Arthur, Texas. I have daily interchange on a variety of levels with Spanish-speaking peoples, and with peoples of the African diaspora. So I see myself as part of the culture about which I write. Yet my presence in this culture has been challenged, sometimes violently, at every step of the way.

Honesty requires me to acknowledge that my presence, and the presence of other people of European descent, is fiercely contested by some people. Over the last two years, since the publication of my book *On Racial Frontiers*, I have been speaking all over the U.S. and in Great Britain And I have seen that for a vocal minority of my audience, it has been impossible for them to look beyond the messenger to the message. My appearance is like a red flag for those who, like Garvey, perceive this domain as a racial property or possession. They look at me and they see a "white man" (although this is certainly not how I would define myself). And this over-determines the reception of the material I am presenting. It sometimes arouses deep-seated hostilities, and in my view, produces a severe myopia,

My own work in this domain is a matter of public record, and I don't want to take up time defending it here. But the issue of the boundaries of "racial" communities, and in particular, the constituency of the form of Pan-Africanism popularized by the Rastas, is very important, I believe. The stakes are great, or they would not arouse such intense emotions. So I think it is worthwhile to take a closer look at what other central figures within this culture have had to say about racialism, in general, and about the presence of Europeans and other non-blacks in the cultures of the African diaspora, in particular.

My claim to be a part of the culture I write and speak about is historically grounded, It is rooted not so much in my own experience, as in the deep roots of that experience within an extensively documented "third space," an arena of interracial

interaction and contestation, which I refer to as racial frontiers, or what Ralph Ellison once called "the true inter-relatedness of blackness and whiteness." This is not a Utopian view, but rather, a recognition that historically, interracial relations have often been a sort of "antagonistic cooperation," as Ellison said. Whether one chooses to focus on the antagonism, or the cooperation, the end result has been co-creation, to which all of us can lay claim, in some fashion, and for which all of us must take responsibility.²⁷

This is a "previously invisible domain," which is still fiercely contested by some whose perspective has been blinkered by the blinders of a binary racial mythology.²⁸ Clearly, my claim to be a part of shared if contested "third space" would not have been accepted by Garvey. Although I should also say that Garvey had great respect for the Irish as freedom fighters who also battled imperialism, and racialized discrimination. So to the degree to which I am willing to claim "Irishness" as some sort of ancestral identity, Garvey would have accepted me, in theory, as an ally. But in practice, he abhorred interracial unions such as that which produced my own children, which were a threat to his faith in racial purity.²⁹

There is an irony, then, that Marley has emerged as by far the most famous proponent of Garveyism and Pan-Africanism. Marley was the offspring of an interracial relationship, and Garvey was notoriously prejudiced against mulattos.³⁰ But although Marley's mixed-race origins were important to his later development of a philosophy of non-racialism, they were not central, because this was a core philosophy of many Rastas. At least as important as Bob's personal biraciality, I believe, was his audience, so very different from that of Garvey. The vast majority of Bob Marley's audiences during his lifetime was European, and Euro-American. So the question of the role of "white" people in relation to a seemingly "black" culture was raised frequently. Marley had a lot to say about this. Since his responses are similar to what I've heard from many other Rastas and Rastafarian-influenced artists, I want to survey these first, before moving on to the historical context that led to Rasta's more inclusive form of Pan-Africanism.

Bob Marley did not call himself a black man, he called himself a Rasta. And this is a crucial distinction: to understand that Marley was indeed a Garveyite, and a Pan-Africanist, but that he was foremost a Rasta, which was a community of faith whose philosophical foundations explicitly opposed the son of racial separatism advocated by Garvey.

I have an interview with Marley from 1978 in which he argues: "If the white man accept the ways of Rastafart, the Rasta man can't tell him, you [don't belong]," Marley said, "The black man don't have a right to tell him that, because this is *God business*."³¹

And who was this God, who trumped racial divisions?

Rasta: Ethiopianism "Without Regard to Race"

Garvey had said that he understood that God was a universal God, but that African peoples would worship him "through the spectacles of Ethiopia," The idea of worshipping God through our own spectacles was often explained by Malcolm X in this way: "If someone hands you a God that doesn't look like you, you hand that God right back to them."³² This is a international phenomenon, in which people need to imagine their Creator in their own image.

So the Rastas followed Garvey's lead, and rejected images of a blond-haired, blue-eyed Jesus that had been imagined by European artists. They looked to Ethiopia, and found a ruler whose official title was "King of King, Lord of Lords, Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah," as is written in Revelation. They claimed him as a Black Christ, the Messiah returned in a new name, although Selassie himself was a devout Christian.³³

It was through imagining Selassie as divine, and themselves as sons and daughters of the Higher One, that Rastas underwent the "second emancipation" Garvey had called for. But the ruler of that "Black Zion" himself rejected racialism. In a famous speech called "What Life Has Taught Me About Racial Prejudice" that Selassie delivered to the United Nations in 1963, Selassie voiced his belief in political

action based on the conviction that *"the color of a man's skin is no more important than the color of his eyes."* There would never be peace, he said, until *"equal rights are guaranteed to all without regard to race."* Selassie used these words in the service of African liberation. It is a vision of Pan-Africanism that harkens back to Du Bois' ringing declaration, at the Second Pan-African Congress of 1921, of "the absolute equality of races" as "the founding stone of world peace and human development." But it is even more closely allied with the non-racialism being voiced by Martin Luther King in the same year Selassie delivered his speech.³⁴

It was these words, of "equal rights without regard to race," that Marley put to music in the song "War," and which he would repeat over and over, from 1975-1980, as he explained to an international audience his vision of Rasta.

Since Marley's primary audience was European, and many of his songs were messages of rebellion, and African unity, he was asked if he was prejudiced against white people. "I can't be prejudiced against myself," Marley reasoned. "My father was white and my mother was black, and them call me half-caste, or whatever. But I'm not on the black side or the white side, I'm on God's side, the one who create me, who cause me to come from black and white."³⁵

This non-racialism, rooted in worship of a "Black God" who was actually Semitic, was given Biblical legitimacy within the Twelve Tribes branch of Rasta, of which Marley became a member, around the same time that he was recording "War." The Twelve Tribes were explicitly multi-racial, and Twelve Tribes founded Prophet Gad quoted Acts 17.26 to explain his non-racial policy: "Out of one blood God created all nations that dwell upon the face of the earth."³⁶

In the last two years of his life, after touring Asia, Marley began expanding this non-racialism beyond a black-and-white framework. In a 1979 interview, Randall Grass asked Marley if the Japanese had actually understood his message. Marley replied that their response was the same as elsewhere in the world. "This music can unify the whole universe," he declared. "The truth of the music carry, and the whole philosophy and ideology behind it." To say that Marley's willingness to embrace of

Europeans and Asians indicates that he had been "co-opted" would be a very reductive reading. Marley's inclusive attitude can easily be interpreted as a variant of an African tradition of adopting outsiders into tribal and religious traditions, as my colleague Akineyele Umoja has observed.³⁷

Marley has become a global icon now, like a Buddha, or the Virgin Mary, which one finds in all nations. This presents an occasion for dialogue about issues such as the historical trajectory of Pan-Africanism, within a broader context. Marley's anthem "One Love" was chosen by the British Broadcasting Corporation as its "song of the millennium." This is a "feel-good" song, the sort of Marley composition that many people prefer to remember. But as with so many of Marley's songs, there is both critique, and a more attractive alternative. Marley asks:

Is there a place for the hopeless sinner/Who has hurt all mankind, just to save his own?

The answer is in the chorus: "One Love, One Heart." If people can actually put the philosophy of One Blood into practice, then yes, there is hope for their redemption. There is a place for their presence, within the culture,

Marley and the Wailers gave a fascinating interview to the Black Studies Department at UCLA in 1979, while on the *Survival* tour, when they were connecting to a broader Afro-American audience for the first time³⁸ The gist of Marley's message, addressed specifically to a black audience, was: being a Rasta is more about what we stand for, than what we stand against. If we only know what we oppose, we become like what we hate, and the cycle of violence and hatred continues. But *Rasta* emancipates us from that mental slavery, because it is a *revolution in consciousness*, away from all isms and schisms, including racialism. It can be shared by anyone who puts into practice the philosophy of equal rights to all, without regard to race.

As Marley envisioned it, Rasta incorporated both black liberation, and multiracial redemption, on the basis of non-racialism. I think to fully understand the radical nature of this emancipation, we have to look beyond Garvey, or Du Bois, to some deeper roots of the forms of rebellion which informed Pan-Africanism.

Abolitionism and Emancipation as Ongoing Processes

What are we to make of footage of Bob Marley singing "Slave Driver" to almost all-"white" audiences in Europe? Surely it's amazing thing, when you think about it, to see a room full of "baldheads" singing along with Marley: "Chase them crazy baldheads out of town."

This is an irony, to be sure. But it's nothing new, historically speaking. And herein lies a secret to a historically grounded understanding of how Marley and the Rastas were able to evolve a non-racial, yet African-centered concept of emancipation.

Take the cover of Marley's 1979 masterpiece *Survival*. It is filled with the flags of newly independent African nations. Underneath the title is a drawing of a slave ship and its tightly packed human cargo. The album was originally titled "Black Survival," until Island Records dropped the "black," with Marley's consent, for marketing reasons. But there is no doubt of the primary intended audience of this music, from "Africa Unite" to "Zimbabwe" to the closing theme of "black survivors." Garvey's quote about "a people without knowledge of their history is like a tree without roots" appears on the cover. And the representation of the slave ship would seem to be, could be taken as, proof of the impossibility of common ground between Europeans and Africans, as Garvey claimed.

Yet this very image of slave ships originated as a form of abolitionist propaganda, first published by the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade in London in 1789. As Marcus Wood discusses in *Blind Memory*, this *Description of a Slave Ship* "caused an immediate and international sensation. This print was the most famous, widely reproduced . . . image representing slave conditions on the middle passage ever made." The image was reprinted thousands of times throughout the Atlantic world and beyond, from the era of the American revolution, until today, as a means of inspiring guilt, outrage, and political resistance.³⁹

This image opens up on a historical legacy that helps explain why Marley made his leap to superstardom in England, singing radical songs of rebellion to people

who looked like his father. In fact, when Frederick Douglass traveled to Great Britain in 1845, to promote his *Narrative*, and to mobilize European opinion against American slavery, he found a ready-made audience. The English and Irish had been turning out for around fifteen years already, to hear Afro-American speakers call for an end to slavery, and racial discrimination.

Black abolitionists, writes R. J. M. Blackett, became "so much in vogue that white women and men sometimes colored their faces and hands." A London *Times* correspondent remarked on the "demand for the 'article' of Ethiopian lions in the London Market." One of Douglass' "chaperones," Richard Webb, noted that British of all classes treated him as "quite a lion." Douglass himself observed, with tongue planted in cheek, that "It is quite an advantage to be a nigger here," and that he was 'hardly black enough' for British tastes. Sophisticated ladies threw themselves at him; children followed him around; musicians put his words to music. Douglass was in numerous ways a powerful refutation of racist stereotypes about Africans, but also about mulattos as inferior degenerates. His powerful oratory itself, as Gregory Lampe notes, was a fusion of African and European rhetorical traditions. As a fully hybrid man, he was uniquely positioned to take this movement of emancipation to new levels of influence and popularity. Above all, Douglass drew the enthusiastic support of European and Euro-American feminists. The close mutual support between Douglass and "white women" for over half a century is a dramatic validation of Orlando Patterson's claim: "The role of Euro-American women in the history of Afro-American advancement is a major episode in American cultural history waiting to be written." I have contributed to that process with a sketch of Douglass' partnership with Julia Griffiths, and Maria Diedrich has examined Douglass' relationship with Otilie Assing.⁴⁰

Douglass was a combination of freedom fighter, sex symbol, and entertainer, as Marley would become 130 years later. And like Marley, it was Douglass' English audience who gave him a new understanding of the scope of his international support network, and an expanded vision of identity and community. Ralph Ellison describes

a similar epiphany after the *Invisible Man* spoke to a multiracial audience of believers, in equal rights:

"For the first time . . . I could glimpse the possibility of being more than a member of a race. . . . I would represent not only my own group but one that was much larger. The audience was mixed, their claims broader than race."⁴¹

Sojourns in England and Europe have played a pivotal role in the careers of many Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean artists, intellectuals and activists. Because of this we cannot understand movements such as "Pan-Africanism" outside of an international and multi-ethnic context. The history of Douglass and the abolitionists dramatize this interconnectedness. Abolitionism was a "secular church" with a multiracial and international congregation. Its speakers were centered on "black liberation," but they could not achieve that emancipation without explaining its importance in a language comprehensible to, and indeed *attractive to*, an audience of all colors. Furthermore, over time, activists within this movement came to understand that the emancipation process was not just a "black problem." As Du Bois would write, the slave trade resulted "not only in the degradation of Africa, it was a moral degradation of those who were guilty." True emancipation required inclusive redemption.⁴²

Douglass came to understand, as would Marley later, that the problems of racism could not be solved with the language of race. So after the first Emancipation of the Civil War, Douglass increasingly directed his attention not merely to a criticism of racism, but to a critique of its underlying cause, racialism. Racialism is "the insidious confusion of race with culture which haunts our society," Ralph Ellison said. And it is a problem perpetuated by people of all colors. This was a perspective voiced explicitly by both Douglass and Marley.⁴³

Douglass called racialism "diseased imagination."⁴⁴ Like a disease, it had its periods of contagion, and relative remission. If it could not be cured, it could be contained, by presenting a "more attractive alternative." This was the proposition to which Douglass and Marley both dedicated the latter parts of their lives.

So the Rastas, in historical context, are the new abolitionists. And a central part of their project is devoted to emancipation from the mental slavery of racialism itself, one of the most binding chains on the mind.

Since Marley was rooted in Garveyism, and since he was particularly keen on reaching an Afro-American audience, when he spoke to black Americans, his emphasis shifted somewhat. Many members of this constituency were affiliated with the black power movement. Marley was speaking to people who were often fixated upon a hatred of "white" people, and in some cases were espousing an ideology of black supremacy. "You musn't bow to the white man," Marley told them. "You must be *superior* to him. That means you cannot be prejudice, because if you are superior, how can you be prejudice?" When we read these comments through the history of Ethiopianism, Pan-Africanism, and the development of Rastafari, we see that Marley was refashioning the concept of "black superiority" in which Rasta was rooted. The true "superiority," in his view, had to be radical equality, transracial in character.⁴⁵

Racial Empires, Reconsidered: the Limits of Oppositional Thinking

Having sketched this evolution, let us now step back to Garvey, whose perspective Rastas continue to validate as a cornerstone of their worldview. Garvey had defined Pan-Africanism as: "The principles that will one day give us the promise of Africa redeemed and a race emancipated throughout the world, so that the black race, like the other races of the world will not only stand socially equal, but politically equal to the other races of the world."⁴⁶

All of us who study this tradition, who have been transfigured by it, should be able to affirm the importance of "an emancipated race," as Garvey frames it: social and political equality, and economic equality, as Du Bois added. But we have some disagreements on how to achieve that, and what an emancipated race would be, or would look like. Sometimes progress is made more difficult because of group-think, and hero worship, which Garvey advocated, and in which he is still enveloped. This

is something that has been very evident in the reception to the PBS documentary on Garvey, "Reap the Whirlwind," in Jamaica, where Garvey is venerated.⁴⁷

Speaking for myself, I understand the over-statements that Garvey often engaged in as a form of compensation, a historically necessary correction to a legacy of white supremacist thought and practice. But I wonder: is a "Racial Empire" what we still want? Is the history of either Empire, or of racialism, a sufficient foundation for emancipation? Clearly, the notion of a racial empire still has a constituency. Empires don't have to engage in dialogue, as Octavio Paz once observed of the U.S., as what he called an "imperial democracy." They can demand to be judged by a different set of standards.⁴⁸

But I have spent my adult life in opposition to the imperial tendencies of my own nation-state. So I am not in agreement with the aspiration to empire, much less a *racial* empire. At the same time, I respect the right of self-definition of all peoples, and I seek common ground with all those who struggle for equal rights and justice. But in my view, the "obsessive refutation" of Eurocentrism by many scholars and activists in the fields of Pan-Africanism and Afrocentrism, has led to a form of thinking that in some ways is a mirror image of Eurocentrism. This is arguably yet another form of "internalized colonialism" that needs to be looked at critically.

I once heard Angela Davis critique racialized opposition as another form of mental slavery. This was at a "Building Coalitions Among Students of Color" conference at the University of California-San Diego, where Davis did graduate work with Herbert Marcuse. Speaker after speaker got on stage and trashed white people. Davis followed this with some constructive criticism. Davis told her audience: Coalitions that actually change the balance of power should take an approach in which "white people are neither centered nor excluded."⁴⁹

That seemed to me wise advice, and a compelling critique of certain strands of oppositional politics that seem overly invested in opposition to "white people" and/or Eurocentrism. A decentered politics and cultural practice cannot afford to center on any one group. To seek "pure opposition" is to center what one opposes.

There are two forms of subservience, David Hackett Fischer once wrote: "slavish imitation and obsessive refutation." Either extreme is a form of "mental slavery."⁵⁰

Gayatri Spivak has pointed out that perpetual opposition to a presumed Eurocenter merely reifies that center, and confines one to "an accusing position." One runs the risk of getting stuck in oppositional poses that are "merely gestural," as Paul Gilroy has said.⁵¹

A lodestar for me, in trying to help create a more attractive alternative to this action-reaction cycle, has been the goal of a non-racial democracy, as espoused by Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress. Mandela has also spoken of a "multi-racial democracy," as an achievable short-term goal. But non-racialism has been the official ideology of the ANC for almost a century now. And of course the ANC has numerous historical affiliations with Pan-Africanism. So when I criticize the limits of oppositional thinking, I do so within a commitment to the notion of a non-racial democracy in which people of African descent have a central and honored place, although not in a space beyond constructive criticism. So I ask: is there a way to engage in a critique of empire "without regard to race"?"

This is what I have attempted. But I also understand, as has been often said, that black people must love themselves before they can love others. This is true of all peoples, but perhaps especially true of peoples of the African diaspora. Emancipation is a long process, and the people engaged in that process have first priorities. So Marley, whose goal was collective emancipation, placed first priority on the immediate goal of African unity. He explained it in this way, in a 1979 interview: "When the black people are united, then the other people will be united in the sense of righteousness." Unity must start from the root.⁵³

Before achieving emancipation from racial prejudice, people who have suffered from a history of racial discrimination must first achieve a sense of self worth. And then, on a social level, there still remains the project of the correction and replacement of racial stereotypes. This is the politics of recognition, the essence

thereof.⁵⁴ Looked at from a long-range perspective, I would suggest four stages, over time, in this process of a "second emancipation":

- 1) Psychological centering;
- 2) Cultural regeneration;
- 3) Political representation;
- 4) Economic compensation.

Obviously, political and economic equality would not be the end of emancipation. We face larger crises, such as environmental degradation, our *oil addiction*, which require and indeed demand coalitions.⁵⁵ But my concern here is principally the first two parts of this process, and especially the political implications of cultural regeneration. Culture is often undervalued by materialists, but a culture has great political and economic power, and can be used as a tool for, indeed a site of, social transformation. I am convinced that in emancipation struggles, cultural regeneration plays a crucial role. "Symbol imperialism, rather than institutional racism, is the major social problem facing multicultural societies," Molefi Asante has argued. I don't see that as an either-or proposition, but I do agree that *racial formations* are imbedded in and perpetuated through "symbol imperialism," as the base of racial consciousness and institutional practice. "To question the tutor, to challenge the sender, must remain a part of any liberating discourse," Asante writes.⁵⁶ Within the context of an inclusive "second emancipation," racialized symbols and discourse must be challenged, and replaced, since the original "senders" of this imperial symbolism come from a history of white supremacy. Following the lead of Douglass and Marley, and the tradition to which they gave voice, I do not believe racialized symbols can be *redeemed*, in the long run, no matter the skin color of those who currently speak in the language and iconography of race. However, they can be understood, in the short run, as necessary correctives, as a stage of cognitive and cultural reorientation.

Let me propose another understanding of the Rastas as new abolitionists, one that is audience-centered. The Rastas, building on a foundation created in part by

Marcus Garvey, have made the "redemption" and "regeneration" of Africa a central part of their enterprise. This has involved, of course, challenging and replacing the "symbol imperialism" that devalues Africa, and African peoples, in human affairs. Rastas have re-visioned Africa as the "stone that the builder refused," which has become the "head cornerstone." This has significant implications for the ideological reorientation of a global audience, those singing "songs of freedom" rooted in the struggle for black liberation. These songs of freedom provide a new "cognitive orientation," a new cultural paradigm, in which the notion of an African Zion has become a part of everyday discourse. It is within this context, of a new psycho-social orientation of a multi-ethnic public, that I have spoken of figures such as Douglass, Ellison, and Marley as "integrative ancestors." I.e., they have taken up residence in the consciousness of a multi-ethnic public. This does not mean that they have been "assimilated." It means that their legacy cannot be contained by racial boundaries. The consciousness-raising power Marley has had on people all over the world cannot be explained from within a merely racial framework, although the cultural reorientation he has inspired cannot be fully understood apart from the history of racial oppression, either."

In 1978, a reporter asked Marley what he made of the fact that white people were following a black man. "Is God who mek everybody, and him mek a way for the black man that the white man have to follow, because out of the black man came the white man, all men," he responded. Marley had carried an Afrocentric paradigm through to its logical conclusion. If Africa was the mother of all races, than all "races" were related. Black and white people were cousins, and even Europeans were "Ethiopians," in an ancestral sense.⁵⁸

Marley had sighted the limitations of defining Pan-Africanism in black-and-white terms. This becomes increasingly evident outside of the English-speaking world. For instance, the Garvey-ite assumption of unity based on African descent, in the sense of a color-based definition of community, has not translated well in Latin America. The phenomenon of *mestizaje*, or racial mixture, is so commonplace in

Latin America that "black" and "mulatto" people in Spanish and Portuguese-speaking countries do not always feel committed to a Garveyite definition of racial solidarity. Many influential Latin American writers, artists, and political leaders have articulated a belief not in "race first," but in racial mixture as the foundational reality of most Latinos, which typically includes a three-way mixture of African, Native American, and European peoples. José Martí drew on this notion of mixed-race community in his vision of "nuestra América," as a foundation from which to achieve independence in Cuba and other American nations. This mestizo "our America," an "imagined community," would be carved out in opposition to North American hegemony, which was often seen indeed as a "racial empire," a "White Republic." But rather than replicating this dysfunctional pattern, many Latin American intellectuals and artists have chosen a different path. José Vasconcelos popularized a notion of mestizos as a "cosmic race" who would provide an example of how to move away from binary concepts of racial identity. This has been an important concept for many Latin Americans, from the guerrilla Che Guevara to novelist Carlos Fuentes.⁵⁹

Thus, when Pan-African activists have tried to organize in Latin American around the notion of racial unity, they have found only partial allegiance to this concept. Darien Davis has written that "The politics of racial identity represent the most formidable enemy of Pan-Africanism." Reporting on a 1994 Pan-African conference in Uruguay, Davis wrote that "many Latin American civil rights activists are first and foremost interested in political commitment... As one delegate put it, "We are interested in *conscious people*. It doesn't matter if you're black or white. But we want a commitment."⁶⁰

The notion of consciousness superseding race is foundational to Rasta. In political terms, one can think of many examples of the potentially self-defeating nature of a strictly racial allegiance. For instance, Clarence Thomas' right-wing ideology, which continued after his appointment as a Supreme Court Justice, was perceived by many Afro-Americans as an unforgivable form of racial betrayal. There had been a "racial faith" that he would shift course, once nominated, and attend to the interests

of "his people." There seems to be an obvious lesson here, that consciousness and ideology exist independent of color. We cannot always accurately predict consciousness, political allegiance, or cultural orientation by color.

In moving towards the synthesis necessary for an inclusive, lasting emancipation, then, we must be not just crusaders against racial injustice, but also create a more attractive alternative. Neither our friends nor our allies in this process can be determined merely by skin color.

The Transfiguration of "Black Liberation": a Synthesis of Survival

In closing, let us examine a concept around which this essay has centered: *transfiguration*. I have been relying on a common sense understanding of this term. But now, I want to look of the roots of that concept, powerful in literary, spiritual, and political traditions.

For his posthumous novel *Juneteenth* Ralph Ellison chose a poem by T. S. Eliot, which reflects on "the use of memory" as a form of "liberation" in which the "faces and places" of the past "become renewed, transfigured, in another pattern." The transfiguration in which Ellison was interested was that in which heroic figures of the past, such as Frederick Douglass, reappear "with a new body and a new face." This is one manner in which Ellison explored "the true inter-relatedness of blackness," and whiteness," to which he believed racial mythologies blinded us. The recognition of this interracial kinship had a transformative potential, and was a necessary precondition for "true democracy."⁶¹

Transfiguration of course has religious roots, as in the encounter between Moses, Elijah, and Jesus in Matthew 17. More broadly, transfiguration can refer to any sudden transformation in outward appearance which also indicates inner change. People have often used the language of transfiguration to describe leaders of racial equality. Thus, Martin Luther King seemed visibly transfigured at the end of his Mountaintop speech, on a stormy night just before he was assassinated. In one strain of North American cultural mythology, racialized transfiguration leads to political

redemption: often as a blood sacrifice which atones for the sins of exclusion, and sets a moral tone necessary for the enactment of a more inclusive democracy.

The question remains: is inclusive democracy still a widely shared goal? Within the oppositional cultures on which I have focused in this essay, the answer is not so clear. There is a stream of thought within critical theory that speaks of "premature inclusion."⁴² And the question of: inclusion into what? certainly needs to be asked, and wrestled with. But let us recall Albert Murray's assertion that "the mainstream in America is not white, but mulatto." This is a cultural fact of life in the Americas. To pretend that the mainstream is purely "white," or European, is a form of racial mythology. Yet the "obsessive refutation" of Eurocentrism, which I referred to earlier, has clearly become a fashion in parts of academic discourse and popular culture. The following lyric from Rage Against the Machine illustrates the binary manner in which this opposition is often expressed:

'Europe ain't my rope to swing on / Can't learn a
thing from it/ yet we hang from it / The present
curriculum / I put my fist in 'em / Eurocentric every
last one of them.'⁶²

This conflation of Europe with lynching ropes brings to mind Public Enemy's "Hazy Shade of Criminal." The cover shows two black men hanging from trees in Indiana. Not many people want to talk about that part of our-story. I think we must, which is why I have written about the anti-lynching campaign led by Ida B. Wells and Douglass. But rather than portraying such incidents as somehow normative of interracial relations, I think it is equally important to tell the full story of those who fought against such atrocities. This is a hard sell in an era in which race relations are often characterized by what David Hollinger calls "a game of competitive disillusionment."⁶³ We compete to see who can be most cynical about race relations. Worst-case assessment are safest in this environment. They acquire an almost automatic aura of legitimacy, and give cover to those want to prove they are on the right side.

When artists or leaders portray racial violence as normative, political motivations are often in play. The iconic power of such images is evident when Chuck D compares this history to the "lynching" of Mike Tyson in Indiana, in order to argue that race relations have not changed. There is certainly a constituency who believes Tyson was a victim of a racist "lynching." But outside the church of black victimization, this claim is more likely to be seen as an abuse of the history to which Chuck D refers. So when we witness right-wing zealots like Clarence Thomas claiming to be victims of a "high-tech lynching," we have clear evidence that this claim to lynching has become a political ploy. It is being used as a claim to power: hot to argue that black men should be treated as equals, but that they should be judged by a different set of standards, an endangered species who are above criticism by representatives of "mainstream" society.⁶⁴

As for the Eurocentrism Zack de la Rocha wants to destroy, I myself have been helping create an alternative to a Eurocentric curriculum for decades. (Whole wheat, please). However, the notion that we have nothing to learn from European cultures strikes me as reactionary. One cannot reject the whole of Europe without rejecting elements of African and Asian cultures and peoples within Europe, without ignoring a history of critiques of Eurocentrism within European scholarship itself, dating back to Voltaire and Herder. But I have not spent my life defending European cultures. I have mostly drunk from other streams. And certainly, Europe has got a lot to answer for. It has been all-too-human. But I do think that emphasis should be kept upon the *human*. I feel compelled to insist that we need to keep in view the diversity of peoples in Europe, and the conflicted but often co-creative nature of their relations with their African, Asian, and Arabic neighbors; their uncertain borders. After all, the history of the Mediterranean world, examined without the blinders of racial mythology, makes it clear that the sources of "Western Civilization" emerged out of intercultural relations between Africa, the Greeks (Southern Europeans), and Western Asians. This means that at root, Europeans and Africans have a form of kinship (sometimes over a West Asian bridge), however troubling that relationship has

often been. Both European and African Culture emerged out of a long history of inter-penetrations.⁶⁵

As regards to the anger so evident in the work of artists like Public Enemy and Rage Against the Machine, and the forms of scholarship that share this outrage, I have affirmed repeatedly that there are many things about which we should be angry, against which we should rebel. Babylon *must get defeat*. But I wonder: where is the space, within a materialistic society of throw-away lifestyles, where cultures of rebellion can claim to exist untainted by the influences of Eurocentrism, racialism, consumer waste, and patriarchy? Such claims to pure opposition do indeed seem open to the criticism of being "merely gestural." A lasting emancipation means perpetual reconstruction, and the idea that the tools which we use to engage in that reconstruction can ever be merely "African" or "European" seems to me a hopeless form of racial romanticism.

What IS Pan-Africanism, then, within a twenty-first century context? What are its borders? Its goals? Horace Campbell, at a previous conference on Garvey and Pan Africanism, said that Garveyism was centrally concerned with "correcting the falsifications of the place of Africa, which is at the base of the intellectual culture of Europe."⁶⁶ The process of reclaiming Africa's rightful place, on one level, as a cornerstone of the intellectual culture of Europe, has important consequences. I want to close by thinking about the implications of popularizing an African-centered "cognitive orientation" to an international audience.

If we accept the evidence that all peoples came out of African roots, and follow Marley's interpretation, then eventually, this should lead us to an understanding of our inter-dependence. An Australian reporter asked Marley in 1980 what the people of Jamaica could do to overcome apartheid in South Africa. Marley quoted the Selassie passage about "a color of a man's eyes" to emphasize that "it is as much your responsibility as it is mine."⁶⁷ Overcoming racialized systems of oppression cannot be done without alliances that cross color lines, and above all, without a vision of equal rights and justice based on something other than race.

Interdependence, Stephen Covey has argued, is a higher form of consciousness than independence.⁶⁸ But independence is a necessary evolution beyond dependence, and this was the stage on which Garvey and his branch of Pan-Africanism concentrated. But that corrective, as permanent antithesis, becomes reactionary, another species of racial mythology.

"The postulate that racial liberation and empowerment were inherent in racial opposition and alienation," observes David Levering Lewis, was "a fundamental construct of . . . Garveyism." "Racial opposition and alienation" have become profitable fashions for some. (And who is the primary audience for hip hop and reggae, after all?) But for too many others, it is a life sentence without hope. These two tendencies co-exist. But racial alienation and resentment as a *way of life* cannot lead to a second emancipation. Adolph Reed Jr. notes that Du Bois' concept of *double consciousness*, in the Afro-American popular imagination, most often is accepted uncritically as an unchanging black essence. Double consciousness, as "racial alienation," has real-life resonance, or it would not have been so popular. But it often has evolved into a self-perpetuating *stigmata*. Double consciousness is not just a "black" phenomenon, Reed notes. Psychologists such as William James and C. G. Jung used this to describe much broader psycho-social phenomenon. Both James and Jung argued for the necessity of mediation between the "warring selves." Only through this mediation, by bringing the double selves or opposing parties into constructive dialogue, could people (or cultures) become "twice-born," and achieve emancipation from a dysfunctional binary opposition and alienation.⁶⁹

One path from Garvey leads to claims, such as that made by August Wilson, that black culture is the "property and possession of black people." It leads, presumably, to the model of black nationalism employed by poet Kim Whiteside, in which the refrain "words to kill" were repeated over and over again.⁷⁰ But there is another path, that trod by the Rastas. Rather conceiving of words as weapons of destruction, or vengeance, Marley described them as tools of reconstruction, and of emancipation. "Music is the biggest weapon, because it save," he said in an interview.

And he sang: "We free the people with music." And while I'm quoting Bob, I can't resist adding: "Who's gonna stay at home/While the freedom fighters are fighting?"⁷¹

The transfiguration of Garvey in memory continues, in our day. Knowledge is increasing, and pressure is unceasing. We live in "a World that forces lifelong insecurity," as Marley sang in "Survival." This world challenges to rethink and revision what it is that we are fighting against, and what we are trying to build as a replacement.

Leaders of groups who truly seek structural transformation, rather than merely gestural opposition, must themselves undergo transfigurations in relationship to a mixed public, the allies necessary for a lasting emancipation. Such alliances must seek a common language with which to transfigure the world, in order to make it work better for us. But above all, we must teach ourselves to live within this world's limits, to increase the hope of our childrens' survival. Mother Earth is the final fashion, and we're "gonna have to answer to the Real Rock."⁷² This requires that leaders with an eye to the future re-orient their constituency towards inclusive alliances. Calls for racial solidarity may be emotionally fulfilling; they may in fact in some cases make good business sense. But they still do not prepare us to face the many crises of our globalized era that cross boundaries of all sorts.

Marley is an example of a sort of "Cultural emancipation" in which commonalities and differences co-exist. Marley himself was transfigured during his search for personal identity, and for African liberation. He had to cross many boundaries to move towards his understanding of the second emancipation Garvey called for. This was an emancipation centered on African liberation, but to be achieved without the language of race. In an interview with Afro-American journalist Greg Broussard, in Marley's Delaware home, Marley explained that he didn't like to use the word "black," because it was always used to "block" African peoples. "With Rasta, one vibe yu get," Marley said. He also told Broussard that he didn't sing for any one race, he sang for all peoples. "Because everyone suffer when you check it in a certain sense."⁷³

Marley once said: "Unity is the world's key, and racial harmony. Until the white man stops calling himself white and the black man stops calling himself black, we will not see it."⁷⁴ I take him at his word, and I understand this as a part of the same process of collective emancipation for which Douglass fought his whole life. Which is why, when people try to define me as "white," I say: *White is the color of a piece of paper*. There are no human beings in the natural world that can accurately be described as black or white. If people want to call themselves black or white, I am not going to argue against that, although I would prefer to honor a broader range of shades. I honor self-definition, but I also seek recognition of the multi-centered world I live in. In this "real world," eye-to-eye, if I were to remove all elements of what we call "black" culture from my soul, then I would only be a shell of my self.

But even if I accepted white as a starting point, then I would have to ask: who wrote on that paper? People of the African diaspora, Latin Americans, and Native Americans have written all over me. I am one of the new mainstream that Guillermo Gómez-Peña calls "multi-centric," i.e., neither me nor my family fits in any one box. Culturally, I'm an Afropean who speaks Spanish. So I don't accept Garvey's definition that because I am of Irish ancestry I am a "natural foe" of African people. I can't accept this because I can't be prejudiced against myself, to adapt Bob. Africans are my kin, whom I recognize as "co-creators in the Kingdom of Culture."⁷⁵ After a lifetime of participating in freedom struggles, and multi-ethnic artistic expression, and learning that there is a long history of people of all colors doing the same thing, I can say with conviction and historical justification: Frederick Douglass and Bob Marley are my ancestors too. I seek to further the revolution in consciousness they sparked. To spread the spark of critical consciousness to all nations, to apply a reconstructive mindset to equal rights and justice, and sustainability, in our time. Which puts on me the moral burden of seeking dialogue with those who seek structural transformation, not merely fashionable or emotionally satisfying opposition.

I believe in thinking dialectically, which is why I think Marley had it right when he allowed his masterpiece to be re-titled as simply *Survival*. Because many kinds of survival are threatened now. Our collective survival depends on moving beyond action/reaction cycles, such as the thesis Eurocentrism, and the antithesis of Afrocentrism, or any other "ism and schism." Marley's transfiguration of Garvey's project of a second emancipation employs dialectical rhythms (riddims, as Jamaicans say). It looks forward to a new synthesis, the Synthesis of Survival. It insists, while firmly rooted in an African foundation (a foundation that has been re-imagined and even invented) that we must co-create Systems of Survival.⁷⁶

Looking back from the dawn of the twenty-first century on one of the major revolutions of the twentieth century, Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes observes: "Now, the children of the revolution ask the final fruits of that revolution: economic development with political democracy and social justice."⁷⁷ The children of the anti-imperial revolutions that inform the cultures of resistance such as Pan-Africanism and "Our America," speak many languages. To even discuss our differences, we must have some rudiments of a common language. With this goal in mind, I have sought in this paper to recognize elements of a common language with Pan-Africanism.

I know that all of us have in fact been transfigured by the search for freedom by African peoples, whether we realize it or not. And in the final analysis, I have to take seriously Marley's message about the "true inter-relatedness" to be found at the African roots. By returning to them, psychologically and culturally, we discover that "the whole world is Africa," as Black Uhuru sang. The process of collective emancipation remains front and center in contemporary Jamaican culture, where artists such as Junior Kelley insist that we can find "Love in All Races," while Beres Hammond prays to his Creator to help him give voice to new songs of freedom, which will bring unity to everyone who sings along, "regardless of the race."

Stand firm, then, and do not let yourselves be burdened again by the yoke of slavery.
(Galatians 5:1)

Do not conform any longer to the pattern of this world, but be transformed by the renewing of your mind.
(Romans 12:2)

ENDNOTES

(I would like to thank Marley archivist and author Roger Steffens for providing cassette copies of many of the Marley interviews on which I have relied for quotes in this essay.)

1. Philip Potter, "The Religious Thought of Marcus Garvey," in Rupert Lewis and Patrick Bryan, *Garvey: His Work and Impact* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1991), 162.
2. Carolyn Cooper, "Righteous Reggae," *Jamaica Observer* 12-14, August 1994, quoted in Norman Stolzoff, *Wake The Town and Tell The People: Dancehall Culture In Jamaica* (Durham: Duke UP, 2000), 244.
3. Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism* (Oxford UP, 1978). Moses is referring to Du Bois, but the mystical nature of Garvey's racial faith, an Imperial Messianism, was even more pronounced. Garvey wrote: "The masses of the race absorb the doctrines of the UNIA with the same eagerness with which the masses in the days of... imperial Rome accepted Christianity. The people seem to regard the movement in the light of a new religion." *Negro World*, October 16, 1920, quoted in Robert Hill and Barbara Bair, eds., *Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), xxxvi.
4. David Levering Lewis, "Du Bois and Garvey: Two 'Pan-Africas,'" in W. E. B. DuBois, *The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 37-84.
5. Zionism: Hill and Bair, ed., *Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons*, lii-liv, (Hereafter *Life and Lessons*). Gregory Stephens, "Bob Marley's Zion: A Transracial 'Blackman Redemption,'" in *On Racial Frontiers: The Itow Culture of Frederick Douglass, Ralph Ellison, and Bob Marley* (Cambridge UP, 1999).
6. Marcus Garvey, "African Fundamentalism," in *Life and Lessons*, 7-8, my emphasis.
7. "neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free": Galatians 3:28. See also 1 Corinthians 12:13, "one body, Jews or Gentiles, slave or free." "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all people": Isaiah 56:7.
8. The original source of Marley's phrase "the stone that the builder refused/shall be the head cornerstone" ("Ride Natty Ride") is Psalms 118:22, and the passage was cited numerous times in the New Testament in connection with the transition from Judaism to Christianity. At the end of his "African Fundamentalism" lecture series, Garvey also cited this passage along with the famous "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands" verse of Psalms 68:31: "it means that the rejected stone will become the head of the corner, the permanent stone to erect a magnificent building that shall last forever." *Life and Lessons*, 24.
- International God: In a taped interview in my possession (Detroit, 1979), Marley says; "We don't talk about black and white. ... Haille Selassie is God almighty to everyone. So you can't really deal with a color prejudice thing. Cause everyone call on God, you know, black, white, China, everyone."
9. Racial catechism, and Imperialism: *Life and Lessons*, xxv; 23. Fascism: "We were the first Fascists," Garvey told Joel A. Rogers, and himself wrote that "Mussolini and Hitler copied the programme of the UNIA." *Black Man* 2:8 (December 1937), 12; *Life and Lessons*, lviii.
10. "emotionally satisfying": Norman Girvan, "The Political Economy of Race in the Americas: The Historical Context of Garveyism," in Lewis and Bryan, *Garvey: His Work and Impact*, 19. One study of object relations psychology that I have found most relevant to the present project is Moshe Halevi Spero, *Religious Objects as Psychological Structures: A Critical Investigation of Object Relations Theory, Psychotherapy, and Judaism* (U. Chicago, 1992). "Cognitive orientations": G. M. Foster, "Peasant Society and the Image of the Limited Good," *American Anthropologist* 67 (1965), 293-315, cited in Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon, 1992), 10. Absolute authority: *Life and Lessons*, xli. On Garvey's admiration of conquerors, see "African Fundamentalism," *Life and Lessons*, 11. As Hill and Bair note (li), Garvey found inspirational

common ground in the "divide and conquer" tactics of military conquerors like Hernando Cortez, and the "tricksterlike advice" of Dale Carnegie, on how to disarm or deceive opponents. *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936/1964), 67.

11. Laurence Breiner, "The English Bible in Jamaican Rastafarianism," *Journal of Religious Thought* 42:2 (Fall/Winter 1985/1986), 30-43. Kings and Queens: Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse UP, 1994). One scholar exploring the sometimes troubling gender politics of Rasta is Carole Yawney. See for instance her "To Grow a Daughter Cultural Liberation and the Dynamics of Oppression in Jamaica," in *Feminism: From Pressure to Politics*, ed. Angela Miles and Geraldine Finn (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1989), 177-202.

12. John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge UP, 1982). Historian Rayford Logan called this era "The Nadir" of white racism: John Brace, Jr., August Meier, and Elliott Rudwick, eds., *The Black Sociologists: The First Half Century* (New York: Wadsworth, 1971), 1. On Crown Rule, instituted after growing hysteria about "future black ascendance" in Jamaican politics, see Swithin Wilmot, "The Growth of Black Political Activity in Post-Emancipation Jamaica," in Lewis and Bryan, *Garvey: His Work and Impact*, 43. David Levering Lewis, *The Race to Fashoda: Colonialism and African Resistance in the Scramble for Africa* (1995). David Levering Lewis discusses Arkansas, DC and Chicago race riots in *W. E. B. Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919-1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000), 7-10; 34. Miles Davis recalls growing up hearing neighbors talk about the "sick white people" who went on a murderous rampage in St. Louis in 1917 in *Miles, The Autobiography*, with Quincy Troupe (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 14-5.

The First International Races conference of 1911 was attended by Alain Locke, Franz Boas, and many others who participated in a "Copernican Revolution in the way social scientists treated the concept of race." Michael Winston, Foreword, Alain Leroy Locke, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations*, ed. Jeffrey Steward, (Washington, DC: Howard UP, 1916/1992), ix. Probably the most influential paper out of this conference was Boas' "Instability of Human Types," in *Inter-Racial Problems: Papers from the First Universal Races Congress in London in 1911*, ed. G. Spiller (New York: Citadel Press, 1970).

13. "timely moment for a savior": Girvan, "Historical Context of Garveyism," in Lewis and Bryan, *Garvey: His Work and Impact*, 19. Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1998). In this impressive book, see especially Chapter 6, "Race Consciousness, Class Consciousness, and the Political Strategies of William Monroe Trotter and Marcus Garvey," 185-94. David Levering Lewis, *Du Bois: The Fight For Equality and the American Century*, 54.

14. Palestine: *Negro World* (June 14, 1924), in *Life and Lessons*, liv. Du Bois criticized the imperialist assumptions of Afro-American designs on Liberia in "Pan-Africa and New Racial Philosophy," *The Crisis* 40 (November 1933). On the history of imperialism in Afro-American claims on Africa, see Yekutiel Gershoni, *Black Colonialism: The Americo-Liberian Scramble for the Hinterland* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985). Lewis' discusses the resistance of Liberian leadership to Garvey's colonization plans, and Du Bois' role in this process, in *Du Bois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century*, 75-7; 118-27. "Natural foe"; binary opposition and race war, Harding: Lewis, *Ibid.*, 52-9; 71.

15. Garvey's Eurocentrism: several elements of this are discussed in the Introduction to *Life and Lessons*. "Spiritual and Jazz Music are credited to the Negro," wrote Garvey, "Simply because we did not know better music." Clarence Walker, *Deromanticizing Black History* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 38.

In his lectures on "African Philosophy," Garvey subscribed to the "leprosy" theory of Caucasian racial origin *Life and Lessons*, lii. Garvey's meetings with Klan: Lewis, *Du Bois*, 80-2. Garvey's animus against interracial relations was in part rooted in a traumatic experience with a young white girlfriend in Jamaica. He discussed this in "The Negro's Greatest Enemy," *Current*

History (Sept. 1923), reprinted in Amy Jacques-Garvey, ed., *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey* (New York: Atheneum, 1980), 124ff. W. J. Moses believes this experience was formative. *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1982), 125-6. See also the discussion of this episode in the 2001 PBS documentary *Marcus Garvey: Reap the Whirlwind*.

16. Canonize, Copies, and Empire: "African Fundamentalism," *Life and Lessons*, 3, 15, 5.

17. On the way Jamaicans remember Garvey, especially re: the combination of messianic ; and Mosaic roles, see Barry Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology* (Syracuse UP, 1994), 99-110.

18. Jamaican orientation: PBS Video *Marcus Garvey: Reap the Whirlwind*. Messianic projections onto political leaders: Richard D. E. 'Bvnon. *Afro-Creole: Power, Opposition, and Play in the Caribbean* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1997), 147.

Michael Berkowitz, "My Rabbi is Tougher Than Your Rabbi: Inter-Jewish Picture Polemics, 1920-2000," paper at "Writing the Diaspora" conference. University of Wales-Swansea, September 2000. In another parallel with Rastas, Berkowitz notes that Zionists employed (he phrase "One God, One Nation, One Land," an expression that like "One God, One Aim, One Destiny" (Garvey) expresses specifically ethnic, racial, or religious aspirations, but also carries a double-voiced expression of a potentially more inclusive one-ness.

19. Robert J. Stewart, *Religion and Society in Post-Emancipation Jamaica* (Rnoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

20. Racial armageddon, black wall: Burton, *Afro-Creole*, 112-6.

21. Labor riots: Burton, 144-5. DuBois also noted the changing nature of rebellion among Africans: "Sometimes it is revolt against slavery; sometimes revolt against land theft, sometimes complaint against low wages, always a chafing at the color-bar." "A Second Journey to Pan-Africa," in David Levering Lewis, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader* (New York: Henry Holt/Owl Books, 1995), 667.

22. Colored redeemer: Burton, 114; "Good white man": Abigail Bakan, *Ideology and Class Conflict in Jamaica: The Politics of Rebellion* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1990), 7-8.

Some Rastas at first saw Bustamante as the savior prophesied by Garvey, but were bothered by his being mulatto, or brown. Chevannes, *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*, 103, 111.

23. I have adapted the idea of a "new framework" from Horace Campbell, "Garveyism, Pan-Africanism and African Liberation in the Twentieth Century," in Lewis and Bryan, *Work and Impact*, 170.

24. Marley on "black and white oppressors" in video *Reggae Sunsplash 2*. Capleton interview: <http://www.reggaesource.com/artis/capleton/interview2000.htm>.

Jack Johnson-Hill, I-Sight: *The World of Rastafari: An Interpretive Sociological Account of Rastafarian Ethics* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1995), 29. Barry Chevannes has done ethnographic research on the Bobos, which has been published in *Rastafari: Roots and Ideology*. On-line excerpts are at: <http://www.oneworldmagazine.org/focus/etiopia/rasta.html>

My radio show "White Boy a Follower? From Black Supremacy to One Love in Rasta Reggae" includes samples of voices of both Bobos and Twelve Tribes members, discussing their respective racial and non-racial ideologies, <http://www.nif.rice.edu/~scottie/nr.html>

25. fixation and regeneration: Hill, xvi, xxiv; "enemy within": Don Robotham, "The Development of a Black Ethnicity in Jamaica," in Lewis and Bryan, *Work and Impact*, 37. "Deformities of race": Horace Campbell, in *Work and Impact*, 71. "Enemy memory": Shelby Steele, *The Content of Our Character* (New York: St. Martins, 1990). I reviewed Steele's use of this concept, and the murderous rage it aroused among some in his black audience, in Gregory Stephens, "Emancipation from the 'Enemy Memory,'" and "Putting the Cross on Steele," in *San Francisco Review of Books* (Spring 1991), 15-7.

26. Several of my on-line radio programs ("edutainment" specials on various themes in Rastafarian-influenced reggae music) can be found at: <http://www.iiregae.com/djrj&mc.htm>

27. antagonistic cooperation: Albert Murray has said he introduced Ellison to the idea after reading it in Joseph Campbell's *The Hero With a Thousand Faces* (New York: Pantheon, 1949). Quoted in Dick Russell, "The Craft of Ralph Ellison," *Black Genius* (New York: Carrol & Graf, 1998), 40. See my discussion of this in *On Racial Frontiers*, 22.

Following are a few examples of the extensive scholarship on racial frontiers/border cultures:

Celeste Condit and John Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African Word* (University of Chicago Press, 1993); Shelly Fisher Fishkin, *Was Huck Black? Mark Twain and African American Voices* (Oxford UP, 1993); Neil Foly, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture Beyond the Color Line* (Harvard UP, 2000), and *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Harvard UP, 1993); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (New York: Pantheon, 1998); David Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1996); George Hutchinson, *Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Belknap/Harvard UP, 1995/1997); Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1994); José Limón, *American Encounters: Greater Mexico, the United States, and the Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon, 1998); Mechal Sobel, *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Princeton UP, 1979), *The World They Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (Princeton UP, 1987), and *Teach Me Dreams* (Princeton UP, 2000); Eric Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature* (Cambridge: Belknap/Harvard, 1993); Werner Sollors, *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both: Thematic Explorations in Interracial Literature* (Oxford UP, 1997), and *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford UP, 1986).

I would also like to pay respect to the work of Wilson Jeremiah Moses. Although he is a scholar of "black nationalism," his work also contains an abundance of material relevant to the non-binary study of interracial relations. In addition to *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, I wish to point to *Black Messiahs and Uncle Toms: Social and Literary Manipulations of a Religious Myth* (Pennsylvania State UP, 1982); *The Wings of Ethiopia* (Iowa State UP, 1990), and *Afrotopia: The Roots of African American Popular History* (Cambridge UP, 1998).

I define racial frontiers as "an arena of interracial interaction and contestation, both within geographic and nongeographic domains." In *On Racial Frontiers* (13-14), I write: "Residents of racial frontiers participate in a culture which has been transmitted across generations. As Bob Marley's songs testify, the culture of this domain can speak in multiple voices, which can be read by different portions of its audience in racial, multiracial, and postracial fashion. So, by racial frontiers I mean to convey a sense in which its residents often live in a liminal zone between racial, and postracial, definitions of identity and community. ... I hope that readers will come to share a sense that, as Charles Chestnut wrote a century ago, the residents of this contested space are often a 'new people' with a 'new culture'."

29. Garvey's whispering campaign against interracial marriages: *Life and Lessons*, 23-4.

30. On the conditions under which Bob was conceived: Cedella Booker with Anthony Winkler, *Bob Marley: An Intimate Portrait by His Mother* (London: Penguin, 1996). Anti-brown prejudice in Jamaica: the historical context of this, and manifestations during Marley's youth, are discussed in *On Racial Frontiers*, 167-70.

31. Tape in author's possession, Jeff Cathrow interview, San Francisco, July 20, 1978. Barry Chevannes notes: "Rastafari, instead of going the way of the Black Nationalists of the U.S."

with a mythology that makes Whiteness an attribute of the Devil, allow the possibility of salvation for Whites, based on inward acknowledgment and rejection of the evil of a White [Babylonian] society. *Rastafari and Other African-Caribbean Worldviews* (Rutgers UP, 1998), 29.

32. *Spectacles of Ethiopia: Philosophy and Opinions*, 34.

33. King of Kings: Revelations 5; 17:14; 19:15-16. Selassie rejected any claim of divinity, but enshrined the myth of Solomonic descent within the Ethiopian constitution, which was used as a justification for imperial conquest of other African tribes within the region. Harold Marcus, *Haille Selassie* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Harold Marcus, *History of Ethiopia* (U. California Press, 1994); Peter Sorenson, *Imagining Ethiopia: Struggles for History and Identity in the Horn of Africa* (Rutgers UP, 1993). BBC is producing a documentary which examines the question, "Why do we think Christ was white?" However, their computer generated-image of "the real face" of the historical Jesus shows what looks to be an Ashkenazi (North European) Jew. http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/uk/newsid_1244000/1244037.stm.

34. Lewis, *DuBois*, 39.

35. This quote can be heard at the beginning of the film *Time Will Tell*.

36. Jamaican radio program "Running African," 1997. Selassie Semitic: Harold Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*. It would be a mistake to interpret the multiracial themes of Marley and the Twelve Tribes as atypical. "Rastafari needs to be seen in the context of these social and racial struggles over a Jamaican identity that is heir to both British and African cultures." However, Rastas described their culture as wholly African, as a correction to colonial mentality. Rupert Lewis, "Marcus Garvey and the Early Rastafarians: Continuity and Discontinuity," in Nathaniel Murrell et al., eds., *Chanting Down Babylon: The Rastafari Reader* (Temple UP, 1998), 155.

37. Interviewed recorded by Randall Grass, Philadelphia, November 1979, portions of which aired on WXPB. In author's possession. Umoja teaches at George State.

38. The so-called *Last Known Interview*. See my on-line review of this at http://www.jahworks.org/music/movies/bob_marley_lik.html.

39. Marcus Wood, *Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America, 1780-1865* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 16-40, quote page 17.

40. R. J. M. Blacken, *Building an Antislavery Wall: Black Americans in the Atlantic Abolitionist Movement, 1830-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1989), 39-40; 106; 89ff, Gregory Lampe, *Frederick Douglass: Freedom's Voice, 1818-1845* (East Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1998). Orlando Patterson, *The Ordeal of Integration: Progress and Resentment in America's "Racial" Crisis* (Washington, DC: Civitas/Counterpoint, 1997), 117. Griffiths & Douglass' relationship to other European/American women: *On Racial frontiers*, 67-8, 74, 82, 98-103. Maria Diedrich, *Love Across Color Lines: Ottie Assing and Frederick Douglass* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1999).

41. Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Random House/Vintage, 1952/1982), 353.

42. Gilroy, *Black Atlantic*. Garvey in UK: *Life and Lessons*, lv.

43. Ellison, "Going to the Territory," in *Collected Essays*, 606. Douglass' critique of black racialism is discussed in *On Racial Frontiers*, 108-110.

44. Frederick Douglass, "The Races," *Douglass Monthly* (August 1859), quoted in David Blight, "W. E. B. Du Bois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory," in *History & Memory in African-American Culture*, ed. Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally (OxfordUP, 1994), 52. W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Negro's Fatherland," in David Levering Lewis, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader* (New York: Owl Books, 1995), 653.

45. Stephen Davis, *Bob Marley* (Rochester, VA: Schenkman, 1983/1990), 204.

46. Garvey, "African Fundamentalism," *Life and Lessons*, 23.

47. *Ibid.*, 24; Du Bois referred to Pan-Africanism as a project of "industrial and spiritual emancipation." "Pan-Africa and New Racial Philosophy," *The Crisis* 40 (November 1933), in Herbert Aptheker, ed., *The Complete Published Works of W. E. B. Du Bois*, Vol. 2 (Millwood, NY: Kraus-Thompson, 1983), 721. Reception of Whirlwind: Marcus Garvey's son Julius Garvey got into a shouting match with the American producer Stanley Nelson after a showing in Jamaica, calling

the film "a lynching of the character of Marcus Garvey." Basil Walters, "Uproar over Garvey Film," *Jamaica Observer* (Feb. 22, 2001).

48. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings* (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 219, 325.

49. "Building Coalitions Among Students of Color" conference (UCSD, Spring 1993). My colleague Reiland Rabaka (Black Studies, Cal-State, Long Beach) pointed out to me the implications of the link between Davis and Marcuse. He described it as a typical illustration of the fact that there is always an interracial link between black power/Afrocentric movements, and European intellectual movements of equal rights and justice, i.e., Critical Theory. One thinks of Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in Cuba with Che; Camus in Algeria, etc. The intellectual roots of this solidarity and respect for differences in Herder and Vico Isaiah Berlin, *Three Critics of the Enlightenment: Vico, Hamann, Herder*, ed. Henry Hardy (Princeton UP, 2000).

50. David Hackett Fisher, *Historians' Fallacies* (New York: Harper, 1970), 3-39. An alternative to centering by full opposition: "He who fights and runs away/ Lives to fight another day." Marley, "Heathen."

51. Gayatri Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic* (London: Routledge, 1990); Paul Gilroy, *Small Acts* (London: Serpent's Tail, 1993), 9.

52. Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994).

53. My fellow reggae D J Ras Charles Jones, in Binghamton, New York is one of numerous people in the culture who both espouse a "black people must first love themselves" philosophy, while also advocating "One Blood" as a firm foundation of the culture. Marley quote from 1979 Detroit interview, in author's possession.

54. Nancy Fraser, "From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age," in Cynthia Willett, ed., *Theorizing Multiculturalism* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1998), 19-49. Charles Taylor et al., *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton UP, 1994), ed. Amy Gutmann.

55. William Julius Wilson, *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics* (University of California Press, 1999); Fred Rose, *Coalitions Across the Class Divide: Lessons from the Labor, Peace, and Environmental Movements* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2000); Wilbur C. Rich, ed., *The Politics of Minority Coalitions: Race, Ethnicity, and Shared Uncertainties* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

Within the framework the Rastas have developed, from a Garveyite base, the key to emancipation is developing a "spiritual diagnosis," a vision of the more attractive alternative to our prior bondage. Tracy Nicholas and Bill Sparrow, *Rastafari: A Way of life* (New York: Anchor, 1979), 39. Such an emancipation must look beyond recognition and compensation, towards a revolution in consciousness. This is the revolution the Rastas advocated, as the seed of collective awakening. In my understanding, this process should lead out of racial myopia, and prepare us to face us to greater problems facing us: our unsustainable lifestyle; the paving of the planet. Rasta's "second emancipation" leads to a broader sense of inter-connectedness, to a wider definition of kinship. It leads to respect for the Earth, as part of creation, our endangered foundation, the sanctuary of the Creator, I raise these larger issues, because Rasta also raises them, as a horizon towards which we must remain oriented, while we are "riding through the ruts" and engaging in hand-to-hand combat.

One finds critiques of the unsustainability of a Babylon lifestyle in many songs. Marley's "We and Dem" speaks of mankind "eating up all the flesh from off the earth." One of my favorite songs as I wrote this paper, "What You Gonna Do" by Yogie and Lenn Hammond, asks: "What you gonna do when the river runs dry/And you look up to pure dark sky? The stars no shine and the rain no fall and the birds no longer fly." (ReggaeLuv, 2001).

56. Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea* (Temple UP, 1987), 56, 31. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial formations in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 1986/1994).

"In interpreting the systems of representations produced by interracial relations, we cannot ignore the power imbalances that have so often been characteristic of race relations. But neither can we accurately portray the authors of these representations as if they lived solely within a self-contained racial group whose borders were well marked and seldom crossed. Racial Formations, as Omi and Winant say, have had a major structuring role in cultural production and political discourse, to be sure. They are psychological and institutional realities. But much as we have replicated racial formations, so have we engendered *multiracial formations*. They take shape in multi-centered public spheres which cannot always be mapped along color lines." *On Racial Frontiers*, 5.

There is a large literature about the interface between popular music and political movements, and I can only point to a few titles here. On of the best works on the political function of reggae music is Anita Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1985). Among the works treating music's political power in Europe, Africa, and the United States are Reebee Garofalo, ed., *Rockin' the Boat: Mass Music and Mass Movements* (Boston: South End, 1992); Robin Denselow, *When the Music's Over: The Story of Political Pop* (London: Faber&Faber, 1990); Michael E. Veal, *Fela: The Life & Times of an African Music Icon* (Temple UP, 2000); Deanna Campbell Robinson et al., *eAs, Music at the Margins: Popular Music & Global Cultural Diversity* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991).

The lawsuits over NAPSTER 2000-2001 are an indication of how threatened the music industry feels by alternative networks of distribution and consumption, which can undermine corporate control and profits.

57. stone — See note #8. Du Bois, "The Negro's Fatherland," *Survey* 39 (Nov. 10, 1917), in David Levering Lewis, ed., *W. E. B. Du Bois: A Reader* (NY: Owl Books, 1995), 653.

Let me give two examples, one personal, the other scholarly, of this idea of Marley, and the worldview of the Rastas, colonizing the consciousness of an international public. My friend and colleague Andrej Grubacic is a reggae DJ and a university lecturer in Belgrade who has translated several of Noam Chomsky's books into Serbian. He is a founding member of the Reggae Power Society, which used reggae as a mobilizing tool against the Milosevic dictatorship, drawing audiences of thousands to rallies all over Yugoslavia, http://www.welcom.to/reggae_powcr.

Among the scholarly works that discuss reggae's international reach, I would point to Nathaniel Murrell, et al., eds., *Chanting Down Babylon* (Temple UP, 1998), especially Frank Jan Van Dijk, "Chanting Down Babylon Outernational: The Rise of Rastafarianism in Europe, the Caribbean, and the Pacific," 178-98, and Randal Hepner, "Chanting Down Babylon in the Belly of the Beast: The Rastafarian Movement in the Metropolitan United States," 199-216.

58. Stephen Davis, *Bob Marley*, 204.

59. Christopher Abel and Nissa Torrents, *José Martí: Revolutionary Democrat* (Durham: Duke UP, 1986). On "nuestra América," see especially Roberto Fernandez Retamar, "The modernity of Martí," 1-15; Jacqueline Kaye, "Martí in the United States: The flight from disorder," 65-82. José David Saldívar, *The Dialectics of Our America* (Duke UP, 1991), Chapter One.

Alexander Saxton, *The Rise and Fall of the White Republic: Class Politics and Mass Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (London: Verso, 1990); José Vasconcelos, *The Cosmic Race/La raza cósmica* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1997). Che cited Martí re: his vision of Latin Americans, in direct contrast to the racial empire of the north, as a mixture or alliance of all races. Jon Lee Anderson, *Che: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: Grove, 1997), 82, 89.

Fuentes discusses the notion of *mestizaje*, and borderlands as a region of intercultural interaction and contestation in many places, including the novel *Old Gringo* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1985), and *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1982).

60. Darien Davis, *No Longer Invisible: Afro-Latin Americans Today* (London: 1995); first seminar on Racism and Xenophobia, Montevideo, 1994 (Afro-Latino Pan-Africanism). Cited in Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr., eds., *Africana* (Basic/Civitas/Perseus Books, 1999), 1487-90.

61. Ralph Ellison, *Juneteenth* (New York: Random House, 1999), ix. Inter-relatedness: Ralph Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," *Partisan Review* 25 (Spring 1958), reprinted in *Shadow and Act* (New York: New American Library, 1966), and *The Collected Essays of Ralph Ellison*, ed. John Callahan (New York: Modern Library, 1995), 107. "True Democracy": a line from the Steel Pulse song "Rally Round," which cites Garvey, on *True Democracy*.

62. Michael Billig reactively denounces an "ethnocentrism of inclusion" in "Nationalism and Richard Rorty: The Text as a Flag for *Pax Americana*" *New Left Review* 47 (Nov.-Dec. 1993).

"Bombtrack," *Rage Against the Machine* (Epic, 1992). Albert Murray, *The Omni-Americans* (New York: Button, 1970), 112.

63. David Hollinger, *Postethnic America*, 169

64. Linda Williams, *Playing the Race Card: Melodrama of black and white from Uncle Tom to O. J. Simpson* (Princeton UP, 2001); Jewel Taylor Gibbs, *Young, Black, and Male in America* (Auburn House, 1988).

65. Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers UP, 1987). In a more recent historical context (the colonial era), see the works of Mechal Sobel (note #27). Isaiah Berlin notes that Herder drew on a well-established (if minority) stream of what we would now call "cultural pluralism" in European scholarship. He notes that "the head and source of all opposition to Eurocentrism" was Voltaire. *Three Critics of the Enlightenment*, 171-2. One of the most consistent critics of Eurocentrism and proponents of cultural pluralism during the era of "modernism" was C. G. Jung. Europe is "after all only a tiny fraction of humanity," wrote Jung, "living mainly on that thickly populated peninsula of Asia which juts out into the Atlantic Ocean, and calling themselves 'cultured'.... Viewed from a safe distance, say from central Africa or Tibet, it would certainly look as if this fraction had projected its own unconscious mental derangements upon nations still possessed of healthy instincts." *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology* (Princeton UP, 1966), 204-5. One of the most perceptive studies of the role of Africa, and Native Americans in Jung's imagination is Michael Vannoy Adams, *The Multicultural Imagination: "Race," "Color," and the Unconscious* (London: Routledge, 1996). One finds in Jung "the seeds of a surprisingly modern and constructive attitude to race," writes Andrew Samuels. But because of persistent (but ill-informed) charges that Jung was a Nazi sympathizer, "psychoanalysis and other intellectual disciplines are permitted to continue to ignore the pioneering nature of Jung's contributions," note Samuels. Especially his valuation of non-European cultures, I would add. Samuels is quite critical of some of Jung's statements about Jews, but concludes that he was not an anti-Semite, although his "attempt to establish a culturally sensitive psychology of nations brought him into the same frame as Nazi anti-Semitic ideology," during the late 1930s. "Jung, anti-Semitism and the Nazis," in *The Political Psyche* (Routledge, 1993), 309, 290, 336.

66. Lewis and Bryan, *Work and Impact*, "Intro," 5.

67. Marley interview with Australian reporter in author's possession. Thanks to Paul Johnson, an encyclopedic young Marley collector, for providing this.

68. Stephen R. Covey, *The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People* (New York: Fireside/Simon & Schuster, 1989), 49.

69. Lewis, *Du Bois*, 52. Adolph Reed, Jr., "Du Bois's 'Double Consciousness': Race and Gender in Progressive-Era American Thought," in W. E. B. Du Bois and *American Political Thought: Fabianism and the Color Line* (Oxford UP, 1997), 103-4, 97. Ervin Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986). William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: 1902/1961), 393-398. Jung writes: "The confrontation of the two positions generates a tension charged with energy and creates a living, third thing ... a movement out of the suspension between opposites." The establishment of a relation

between opposites, and a move beyond the binary model, can only happen if conflict is allowed. "So long as these are kept apart—naturally for the purpose of avoiding conflict—they do not function and remain inert." "The Transcendent Function," in *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche* (Princeton UP, 1969), 90.

70. Kim Whiteside delivered a series of poems at the opening of the conference at which this paper was presented. She described herself as a fan of the Last Poets (from the era in which they were doing raps like "White Man's Got a God Complex"). August Wilson, "I Want a Black Director," *New York Times*, August 26, 1990, and in *Spin* (October 1990). However understandable such a claim may be, in historical context, it is not tenable. People of the African diaspora are certainly at the cornerstone of virtually all New World cultures, but they cannot claim to be owners. Culture is not a racial property. Giving respect where respect is due, and adequate compensation, are goals we can agree on. But the notion of culture as racial property is another form of mental slavery. Wilson himself is of mixed "race," and biracial or fair-skinned people with some African ancestry often develop "a kind of super-racial consciousness and zealotry," as Caroline Bond Day once wrote: *A Study of Some Negro-White Families* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum of Harvard University, 1932), 121-22.

71. Music as weapon: Marley, *In His Own Words*;
"Who's Gonna Stay": "Talking Blues," *Natty Dread* (Island, 1975). "We free the people": "Trenchtown," *Confrontation* (Island, 1983).

72. I'm quoting from the chorus of the title song of Shinehead's album *Real Rock* (Elektra 1990).

73. Cultural Emancipation: Don Robotham, "The Development of a Black Ethnicity in Jamaica," in *Garvey: His Work and Impact*, 23. A copy of Marley's interview with Greg Broussard, recorded June 22, 1977, is in the author's possession.

74. Ian McCann, *Bob Marley: In His Own Words* (London and New York: Omnibus Press/Book Sales, 1993), 54.

75. Guillermo Gómez-Peña, "The Multicultural Paradigm," *Warrior for Gringostroika* (St. Paul: Graywolf Press), 49; "kingdom of culture": Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk*.

76. I am referencing the Earth, Wind and Fire song "System of Survival."

77. My translation. Carlos Fuentes, *Los cinco soles de México: Memoria de un milenio* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 2000), 22. "Ahora, los hijos de la revolución piden los frutos finales de la revolución: Desarrollo económico con democracia política y con justicia social."

78. Black Uhuru, "The Whole World is Africa"; Junior Kelley, "Love in All Races," *Juvenile* (JetStar, 2001); Beres Hammond, "Give Me a Friend," *Music Is Life* (VP, 2001).

Beres: "Father bless me with a song/
To make the whole world sing along/
Regardless of their race, regardless of their taste...
Give us the rain every now and then
Before we burst into flames"

May 3, 2001