



# MARCUS GARVEY

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## Connections Between Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie

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## 1 Introduction

There are a number of historical incidents that tell us something about the calibre of relationship that existed between Haile Selassie and Marcus Garvey. For instance, as early as 1920, Garvey made an unsuccessful attempt to invite Haile Selassie's participation in the UNIA convention. He would also make a regular practice of publicly quoting 'the Psalmists' who spoke about princes coming out of Egypt and Ethiopia, which some people wrongly interpreted as a 'prophecy'. The supposed 'prophecy' has some parallels with the Christian 'prophecy' in the story of John the Baptist and Jesus the Christ. However upon examination, the evidence of the alleged Garvey 'prophecy' is at best inconclusive.

History also records that at the time of Haile Selassie's coronation (i.e. 1930), Garvey made a number of complimentary comments about the emperor. However Garvey's position changed following the 1935 Italian fascists' invasion of Ethiopia, which led to Haile Selassie and Marcus Garvey being simultaneously resident in Britain. Despite their close geographical proximity, it is known that Haile Selassie did not grant Marcus Garvey an audience. This is despite the fact that Haile Selassie's popularity and support amongst Diasporan Afrikans profited from the remnants of the UNIA infrastructure built in US Satan by Marcus Garvey a decade earlier. Garvey's final comment on the emperor was less than complimentary; he lambasted Selassie in a ferocious manner both as man and leader.

The term 'Ras Tafari' is used in a number of different and often overlapping ways. For instance, there is 'Ras Tafari': (i) the man – with all of the human frailties of other men; (ii) the eventual king – who can be compared to any other historical leader and assessed on that basis; (iii) the god – who comes into existence as the result of a particular set of religious or spiritual beliefs; and (iv) the movement – which has produced many stalwarts in the Afrikan liberation process. A clear examination of the relationship between the two men can be hampered by the fact that the term 'Ras Tafari' has so many, often inter-related and different meanings.

In the context of this document it can be seen that Garvey commented on three of the four interpretations of 'Ras Tafari' identified above. For instance, Garvey said that Haile Selassie was just a man like any other man; as a king, Haile Selassie was eventually seen by Garvey as a below par leader; nor was Selassie a god in Garvey's eyes. Despite the fact that it gave Garvey a position of prominence, he had little in the way of comment on the issue of the Ras Tafari movement. This may be connected to the fact the movement was still in the early phases of its infancy at the point at which Garvey crossed to meet the ancestors.

## 2 Marcus Garvey invited Haile Selassie to a UNIA Convention

Ethiopia occupies a special position of pride in Afrikan history. This is partly because of the great victory of one of Haile Selassie's predecessors Emperor Menelik whose armies defeated Italian imperialism at the battle of Adowa in 1896 (Dennis, 1988, p. 182). It was almost certainly in that spirit of pride that Marcus Garvey wrote to Haile Selassie in an attempt to bring him into Universal Negro Improvement Association's (UNIA's) ongoing worldwide process of Afrikan unification. The invitation letter sought Haile Selassie's (then prince Ras Tafari Makonnen) participation in the UNIA convention held in 1920 (Lewis & Lewis-Warner, 1994, p. 111 & 119).

It is not clear how many dignitaries of this type were sent similar invitations, but it is certain that Haile Selassie was not the only royal dignitary to be invited to a UNIA convention. For instance, not only was Prince Madarikan Deniyi of Lagos, Nigeria invited to the 1920 UNIA convention, but he accepted the invitation and attended (Hill, 1983b, p. 4, 525, 563 & 650). Furthermore, Prince Kojo Tavalou of Dahomey was invited and subsequently attended at least one convention. In addition to prince Kojo operating as a senior member of the UNIA and actively participating in the 1924 Convention, a great banquet was held in his honour as part of the overall proceedings (Garvey 1986, p. 317).

In contrast to Princes Madarikan Deniyi of Lagos and Kojo Tavalou of Dahomey, Ras Tafari Makonnen appears to have snubbed Garvey by never replying to the invitation; in fact the invitation letter was apparently returned by the Ethiopian government unopened. It seems that the snub may have triggered in Garvey some level of resentment towards Selassie (Lewis & Lewis-Warner, 1994, p. 111 & 119). Years later Garvey would refuse to allow Leonard Howell – a one time member of the UNIA and one of the early leaders of the Rastafari Movement – the opportunity 'to sell the Emperor's pictures in Edelweiss Park, the [Jamaican] headquarters of the UNIA' (Marcus Garvey and Early Rastafarians; Leonard P Howell). Selassie's snub to Garvey is one of the events that contradict the notion that Garvey later prophesied the rise of Haile Selassie as a God.

## 3 Evidence of Garvey's alleged prophecy

In December 1921 Marcus Garvey used the term '*Ethiopia stretch forth her hands*' in one of his sermons (Garvey, 1986, p. 86). On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1922 Garvey is documented as having said:

"As by the action of the world, as by the conduct of all the races and nations it is apparent that not one of them has the sense of justice, the sense of love, the sense of equality, the sense of charity, that would make men happy, and make God satisfied. It is apparent that it is left for the [Afrikan] to play such a part in human affairs-for when we look to the Anglo-Saxon we see him full of greed, avarice, no mercy, no love, no charity. We go from the white man to the yellow man, and we see the same unenviable characteristics in the Japanese. Therefore we must believe that the Psalmists had great hopes of this race of ours when he prophesied '*Princes shall come out of Egypt and Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands onto God*'. (Garvey, 1986, p. 81 - *our emphasis*)

The first point to observe in these early examples of Marcus Garvey's usage of the words 'princes' and 'Ethiopia', is that he is quoting the words of 'the Psalmists' rather than speaking his own original ideas. Secondly, in quoting 'the Psalmists', Garvey makes no specific mention of Ras Tafari Makonnen. There is insufficient evidence in Garvey's words to justify a claim of him having made a prophecy about Haile Selassie on those occasions. However in 1930, shortly before Haile Selassie's coronation, Garvey's use of the Psalmists' quote appears to have altered slightly. He wrote:

"We have great hopes of Abyssinia in the east - the country that has kept her tradition even back in the days of Solomon ... the Abyssinians are [Afrikan] people ... They are part of the great Afrikan race that is the rise from its handicaps, environments and difficulties to repossess the imperial authority that is promised by God himself in the inspirations: *Princes coming out of Egypt and Ethiopia stretching forth her hands' in anticipation of the coronation of Ras Tafari who was to take on the title Haile Selassie.*" (Dennis, 1988, p. 183 - *our emphasis*)

Garvey is now using the quote in the full knowledge that Ras Tafari the prince is soon to be crowned Haile Selassie the king and makes specific reference to him. However, despite the more specific reference to Haile Selassie, Garvey's words still fall short of being a prophecy on the grounds that he was not referring to anything that was unknown to masses of other people in the world at the time. In fact it is highly likely that Garvey as a journalist and researcher received his information about the impending coronation either directly or indirectly from Ethiopia. Garvey was not prophesising, he was relaying information.

A week after Haile Selassie's coronation Garvey made the following written statement:

"We do hope that Ras Tafari will live long to carry out his wonderful intentions. From what we have heard and what we do know, he is ready and willing to extend the hand of invitation to any [Afrikan] who desires to settle in his kingdom. We know of many who are gone to Abyssinia and who have given good report of the great possibilities there, which they are striving to take advantage of.

*The Psalmist prophesied that Princes would come out of Egypt and Ethiopia would stretch forth her hands unto God. We have no doubt that the time is now come. Ethiopia is now really stretching forth her hands. This great kingdom of the East has been hidden for many centuries, but gradually she is rising to take a leading place in the world and it is for us of the [Afrikan] race to assist in every way to hold up the hand of Emperor Ras Tafari.*" (Marcus Garvey's Rastafari Prophecy - *our emphasis*)

This statement which is sometimes referred to as the prophecy is clearly supportive of Haile Selassie. However, whilst Garvey does make an explicit positive reference to Ras Tafari, his words nonetheless fall short of being a prophecy on the grounds that they were written after the coronation had taken place. At best it can be argued that Garvey was pointing out that the prediction of 'the Psalmist' had possibly come true.

One point that can be made emphatically is that Marcus Garvey did not think that Haile Selassie was a God. None of his statements can be legitimately construed as prophesising the emergence of Haile Selassie as a new God. We can assert this with certainty because, as Garvey scholar Rupert Lewis points out, 'At the very beginning of the Rastafarian movement, Garvey challenged Leonard Howell's claim that Selassie was divine' (Marcus Garvey and Early Rastafarians). Furthermore, in March 1937 Garvey made the unequivocal statement that 'Haile Selassie is just an ordinary man like any other human being' (Failure of Haile Selassie). Garvey's stated positions clearly confirm that no prophecy was being made by him around Haile Selassie's Godly status. Furthermore, the latter statement would amount to a rescinding of any previous 'prophecy' if indeed such a 'prophecy' had ever existed.

#### **4 Invasion of Ethiopia and Haile Selassie's exile in Britain**

On 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1935 Italy invaded Abyssinia (now Ethiopia). Less than 6 months later on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1936 Haile Selassie and his family fled via Somaliland to Britain in 'a move resented by some Ethiopians who were accustomed to a warrior emperor' (Country Studies). He arrived at Waterloo station in London on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1936 (Hill, 1983g, p. 387-396). Haile Selassie's time in Britain was neither easy nor comfortable for him. The intense publicity surrounding his presence in London was causing the British government embarrassment. He was therefore 'ordered out of London' and took up residence in the city of Bath. The city's healing water spa was given as the reason for his move and he remained in Bath from 1936 until 1940 (Dennis, 1988, p. 180; Markakais & Ayele, 1986, p. 180/1). Haile

Selassie's exile ended on 5<sup>th</sup> May 1941 shortly after Britain declared war on Germany and Italy. Britain then provided Commonwealth troops to support Haile Selassie's return to Ethiopia (Markakais & Ayele, 1986, p. 180)

## 5 Malaku Bayen and Ethiopian support networks in US Satan

Even before the fascist Italian invasion of Ethiopia, tensions were growing in the Horn of Afrika and this contributed to the formation of Ethiopian focused groups in the Diaspora. For instance:

"In [US Satan], under the leadership of William Leo Hansbury, [Afrikan people] from Afrika and the Diaspora in 1934 organised the Ethiopian Research Council (ERC) ... [other organisers included] ... Ralph Bunch and Williams Steen of [US Satan], Hoesa Nyabonga of Uganda and Malaku Bayen ..." (Agbahowe, 2009, p. 327).

Malaku Bayen was the cousin of Haile Selassie. He studied in US Satan and when he returned to Ethiopia from his studies, he became Selassie's personal physician. He was also part of Haile Selassie's entourage as he went into exile in Britain. Malaku Bayen would later emerge as a very important figure in the process of nurturing support for beleaguered Ethiopia amongst Diasporan Afrikan communities following the fascist Italian invasion. It was in the aftermath of the initial invasion that:

"A number of pro-Ethiopian organisations emerged in [US Satan]. One notable example was the Friends of Ethiopia [Abyssinia] (FOA) organised by Willis Higgins, an Afrikan-American teacher who had witnessed Europe and elicited endorsements from Ethiopia's ambassadors in London and France. Within a year, the FOA had branches in 106 cities in 19 states in [US Satan]. Joint fundraising plans were also made with the International Friends of Ethiopia in London." (Agbahowe, 2009, p. 328).

Another important organisation in this respect was the Harlem based Menilek Club, an umbrella organisation which sought official recognition as the key coordinator for all of the Afrikan organisations working in US Satan to support Ethiopia. One of the constituent organisations in the Menilek Club was the United Aid for Ethiopia, which had a considerable degree of success in raising funds to support Ethiopian resistance. Through the efforts of the Menilek Club, coupled with Haile Selassie's recognition of the need for the considerable funds that the United Aid for Ethiopia had raised:

"A delegation [of members from the United Aid for Ethiopia: Reverend William Lloyd Imes, Pastor Philip M. Savory and Mr. Cyril M. Philip] was dispatched to London and persuaded the emperor, despite [US Satan] state department objections, to send an emissary to rally support for Ethiopia. Thus in 1936, Malaku Bayen, a 1935 Howard medical school graduate and [co-] founder of the ERC, arrived in New York as the emperor's emissary to the American hemisphere. Bayen and his Afrikan-American wife were well received by [Afrikans in US Satan] and some whites ... the greatest result of Bayen's presence in [US Satan] was the organisation of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF) [on 25<sup>th</sup> August] 1937. Bayen publicly stated, 'We are out to create a United States of Afrika'. He also held that the EWF would instil black pride in the black world." (Agbahowe, 2009, p. 329; Malaku E Bayen).

The desire for money was a key motivation for sending Malaku Bayen to US Satan and for the setting up of the EWF. Haile Selassie had been made aware that considerable funds were being collected from Afrikan people in US Satan who were keen and determined to support the Ethiopian cause. It was also brought to his attention that:

"From the outbreak of hostilities, [Afrikan] embezzlers and racketeers sought to take advantage of [Afrikan-American] sympathy for Ethiopian people. These criminals gave the public impression that they were collecting funds for Ethiopia's defence, but in reality ... some [of the] responsible organisations and individuals may have engaged in faulty business practices or even have mismanaged funds." (Malaku E Bayen)

It was against this background that the EWF was founded as a mechanism for ensuring that, from then on, the misdirecting of funds would cease to occur.

Nonetheless over and beyond this financial remit, Malaku Bayen made tremendous progress in linking with and harnessing the support of Diasporan Afrikan people in US Satan where he was living. Grassroots support for the Ethiopian cause poured in ostensibly because of his efforts and his overt willingness to interact directly with his fellow Afrikans in US Satan.

Furthermore, former UNIA and Afrikan Black Brotherhood member Claude Mc Kay reminded us that many of the Afrikan grassroots networks in US Satan that Bayen would almost certainly have relied on to help facilitate the rapid flow of support for the Ethiopian cause, would have had their roots in Garvey's UNIA movement (Krenn, 1998, p. 128). In the previous decade the UNIA had contributed to a massive rise in Afrikan people's level of internal organisation and this produced a corresponding rise in Afrikan people's consciousness. Bayen's considerable efforts undoubtedly benefited from Garvey's groundwork. We know for instance that Leo 'Hansberry' [founder of the ERC]

had meaningful relationships with WEB Du Bois [and] Marcus Mosiah Garvey, the founder of the United Negro Improvement Association' (Leo Hansbury).

It was through those same UNIA influenced Afrikan Diasporan grassroots networks that Bayen appears to have made firmer links with the Ethiopian support groups in London. Indeed, despite the fact that Bayen was in US Satan, his links appear to have been firmer with the London based groups than those of his leader Haile Selassie who was physically located in the UK. The other irony created by this situation is that Haile Selassie was willing to meet with and accept money from grassroots networks which benefited from the historic work of Garvey, whilst simultaneously appearing unwilling to meet with Garvey himself.

## **6 UK based Pan-Afrikanists reached out to Haile Selassie**

The Afrikan community in Britain was much smaller than the communities of Afrikan people in US Satan. However, the enthusiasm for helping Ethiopia to overcome the fascist Italian invasion was no less. Indeed, the desire to support Ethiopia was heightened by the fact that Haile Selassie had, taken up residence in Britain. However, despite the existence of such a fertile environment, Haile Selassie did not achieve the same level of success in linking with local Afrikan communities that Malaku Bayen achieved in US Satan.

In fact, there were 'rumours that [Haile Selassie] had rebuffed [an Afrikan] delegation in London' (Malaku E Bayen). The renowned Garvey scholar Robert Hill went further and stated that:

"Garvey was a member of a delegation representing the [Afrikan] community in Britain which was spurned by Haile Selassie I when it planned a welcoming reception for him upon his arrival in London. The emperor declined to meet with the committee, which included representatives from the British Guiana Association, the Colonial Seamen's Association, the Gold Coast Aborigines Protection Society, the Gold Coast Students Association, the International Friends of Ethiopia, the Kikuyu Association of Kenya, the League of Coloured Peoples, the Negro Welfare Association, the Pan-African Federation, the Somali Society, and the UNIA. After the emperor arrived in London on 3 June 1936, the tone of Garvey's previously favourable editorials changed" (Hill, 1983g, p. 687-695).

Furthermore, Garvey himself informs us that:

"The Emperor's advent into England again revealed the great love he has for the white race and his belief in their sincerity. When he landed at Waterloo Station, in London, he was, no doubt, advised by his Minister to receive the white delegation that waited on him: but a black delegation that was led by an Association known as the Negro Federation was ignored and the address that the delegates had to present to him had to be handed in by the holder, by running after one of the ordinary officials of the Ethiopian Embassy. His first reception in London was to the white people, some of whom refused the invitation. He extended his invitation even to the Salvation Army. No invitation went to representative Negro Institutions, organizations or individuals. Probably the Emperor is not to be blamed for this. That must have been the work of his advisers, and if so, it is consistent with the advice he has received, which has caused his defeat." (Hill, 1983g, p. 687-695)

If these assertions are correct, it is possibly an indicator that Haile Selassie did not give his personal encouragement to local Afrikan initiatives aimed at supporting Ethiopia. In any event, beyond rumours and regardless of whether or not Haile Selassie offered his formal or informal support, we know for certain that:

"Afrikans worldwide openly displayed their anger and frustrations against [the fascist led Italian invasion of Ethiopia]. Padmore issued a call 'for all [Afrikan] men to aid the endangered empire'. He joined the Afrikan Friends of Abyssinia, under the leadership of CLR James, along with Amy Ashwood Garvey, Jomo Kenyatta, Ras Makonnen, Arthur Lewis and Albert Merryshow." (Baptiste, 2009, p. 30/31)

We also know that:

"As the historical record shows, it was CLR James, the future advocate of direct democracy who publicly volunteered to join the emperor's army in 1935. The offer was declined. However, this was perhaps so because James made clear that he welcomed the opportunity to stay in Ethiopia to fight for a democratic revolution after throwing out the Italian occupiers." (Baptiste, 2009, p. 122/123)

In March 1937 George Padmore set up the International Service Afrikan Bureau (ISAB), an organisation which effectively took over from the International Afrikan Friends of Ethiopia (IAFE) (Baptiste, 2009, p. 68; Buhle, 1986, p. 14 & 74/5). It became successful in connecting local issues in the UK with the Ethiopian crisis through its newspaper the *International Afrikan Opinion*. It also sought, with some success, to cooperate with Afrikan groups in US Satan (Agbahowe, 2009, p. 326).

It is an irony that both the UK based IAFE and ISAB appear to have had closer working relationships with Ethiopian support groups operating in US Satan than they had with Haile Selassie - the Ethiopian leader based in the UK. The fact that these organisations are known to have made public efforts to engage with Haile Selassie is an indicator that the poor level of liaison was more than likely as a result of Haile Selassie's unwillingness to engage. If Garvey had attempted to make contact with Selassie, it is clear that he would not have been the lone Pan-Afrikanist to make such an effort. Furthermore, there is no substantive reason to suppose that Selassie's response to Garvey would have been more favourable.

Nonetheless, there is evidence of Haile Selassie associating with some Afrikan people resident in the UK. For instance, he employed Jamaican born Una Marson, a former secretary of the UK based League of Coloured Peoples (LCP), as his secretary. Una had previously lived in the house of the founder of the League Dr. Harold Moody in Peckham South London (Una Marson). Perhaps it was because of his close link with Una Marson that Haile Selassie eventually participated directly in a meeting jointly organised by Dr. Moody's organisation. One researcher reports that:

"In 1939, communists shared a platform with Leonard Barnes, Reginald Reynolds (ILP) and NCC delegates at the 'Conference of Afrikan Peoples, Democracy and World Peace', which was organised in London by the LCP, NWA, Coloured Film Artists Association and the Gold Coast Students' Association. Speakers included Haile Selassie, Dr. Harold Moody, HG Wells, Arthur Creech Jones and Stafford Cripps of the Socialist League." (Bush, 1999, p. 241; Race and US)

No mention is made about the attendance or non-attendance of Marcus Garvey, CLR James or George Padmore. However, whilst it seems likely that where Haile Selassie did associate with selected sections of the UK based Afrikan community, his association appears to have been infrequent and tended towards the 'moderate' rather than 'radical' sections of the Afrikan community.

### **7 Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie lived in Britain at the same time**

From 26<sup>th</sup> March 1935 to 10<sup>th</sup> June 1940 Marcus Garvey was mainly resident in London (Lewis & Lewis-Warner, 1994, p. 110; American Experience). Whilst it is true that Garvey travelled internationally during this period, his presence in London meant that Marcus Garvey and Haile Selassie were both resident in the same nation for a substantial part of that four year period. If they were friends, colleagues or even allies, we could have reasonably expected them to have met or made contact to discuss joint ideas, plans and initiatives aimed at bringing about Afrikan people's unity and liberation. However, no such meeting ever took place.

Although there is only limited documentary evidence, it is likely, given their close proximity, that Garvey made attempts to contact Haile Selassie. Some scholars have claimed that 'Marcus Garvey tried to contact [Selassie], but was snubbed' (Malaku E Bayen). However, what can be said for certain is 'there is no doubt that Marcus Garvey was not granted an audience by Haile Selassie' (Malaku E Bayen). A second rejection of Garvey on the part of Haile Selassie might help to explain the ferocity of Garvey's anti-Selassie attack. It also undermines the notion of a Garvey 'prophecy'. The refusal of Haile Selassie to meet with Marcus Garvey is also completely inconsistent with the idea that Marcus Garvey was Haile Selassie's prophet.

The evidence demonstrates that, despite the fact that Garvey and the rest of the Pan-Afrikan community in London were overtly supportive of Haile Selassie and openly organising in defence of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie did not adopt a pattern of participating in their grassroots processes. Selassie appears to have distanced himself, at least initially, from UK based grassroots Afrikan led initiatives aimed at defending and supporting Ethiopia, whilst simultaneously: (i) appealing to European imperialist nations for help; and (ii) favourably receiving delegations and offers of assistance from Afrikan people living outside Britain in US Satan. These responses could well have been, and probably were interpreted as a snub by Garvey.

### **8 Garvey's scathing attack against Haile Selassie**

It was in this environment that throughout 1935 and 1936, Garvey wrote articles which became more and more critical of Haile Selassie's response to the Italian invasion. By 1937, it became clear that Garvey had had enough. He almost literally exploded and launched a full frontal, wholly uncompromising attack against Haile Selassie for what he regarded as Selassie's: (i) cowardice, (ii) dislike and enslavement of black skinned Afrikan people in Ethiopia & (iii) failure to modernise Ethiopia (Lewis & Lewis-Warner, 1994, p. 111; Garvey, 1986, p. 243/244). For instance, Garvey wrote in his Black man magazine:

"Mussolini of Italy has conquered Haile Selassie of Abyssinia, but he has not conquered the Abyssinians or Abyssinia. The Emperor of Abyssinia allowed himself to be conquered, by playing white, by trusting to white advisers ... When Haile Selassie departed from the policy of the great Melenik and surrounded himself with European advisors, he had taken the first step to the destruction of his country ... He inherited a vendetta from Italy. He knew that Italy one day would strike. Why he kept the majority of his countrymen in serfdom and almost slavery is difficult to tell ..." (Dennis, 1988, p. 184)

In Garvey's view, Italy failed to conquer the Ethiopian people in spite of Haile Selassie, rather than because of him. He accused Selassie of being such a poor leader that he caused a national split in Ethiopia which served to undermine the Ethiopian people's efforts to effectively defend their land. Garvey pointed out for instance, that the Askari's of Ethiopia were so opposed to the leadership of Haile Selassie that they actually fought alongside the fascist Italian forces in a misguided, but desperate bid to rid Ethiopia of Selassie (Failure of Haile Selassie).

Garvey's most critical article, published in March 1937, launched an unrelenting attack against Haile Selassie and what Garvey clearly saw as his failed leadership of Ethiopia, its people and the broader Afrikan world. Amidst an unrestrained tirade of insults, Garvey accused Selassie of failing to 'represent the truest qualities of the [Afrikan] race'. Selassie 'wanted to play white', 'leaving the serious white world to laugh at every [Afrikan]'. Garvey felt that Afrikan people 'must be ashamed of the way in which Haile Selassie surrendered himself to the white wolves of Europe' (Failure of Haile Selassie).

Garvey lambasted Selassie as 'an Emperor of slaves and serfs' who 'at best ... is but a slave master', 'holding the blacks as slaves'. Selassie was 'the feudal Monarch who looks down upon his slaves and serfs with contempt', 'who liked to chain and flog black men' who 'preferred a slave State of black men than a free democratic country'. On top of this Garvey maintained that, 'Haile Selassie proved a cringing coward' who 'ran away from his country to England'. He 'cowardly exiled himself' 'leaving his people to be massacred by the Italians'. Garvey was emphatic that Selassie 'hasn't proved his nobility in the war between Italy and Abyssinia' (Failure of Haile Selassie).

Garvey derided Haile Selassie as a 'little misguided Emperor' with 'limited intellectual calibre and weak political character' who behaved 'like an imbecilic child', 'too silly to take pride in his race'. Selassie behaved like a 'white slave hero worshipper, visionless and disloyal to his country', 'undermining the fabric of his own kingdom by playing the fool with white men' and in Garvey's view was 'not ... a fit person to be in authority in the very country in which he was born' (Failure of Haile Selassie). Garvey's expression of opposition to Selassie was total; on no account can Garvey be regarded as Haile Selassie's ally, colleague or friend. If there ever was a prophecy, it was fully retracted.

Other pan-Afrikanists such as George Padmore and CLR James rose above Haile Selassie's snub and offered support to the emperor despite his contradictions. They took the position that even though Garvey's criticisms of Selassie were not false, in view of the fact that Ethiopia was fighting off a foreign invader, it was tactically wiser to hold back on their criticism (Baptiste, 2009, p. 123). They saw themselves as part of a worldwide anti-imperialist movement with a duty to rally to the support of Ethiopia. In openly attacking Haile Selassie, Garvey had chosen the wrong priority at the wrong time. Together with some of Garvey's own UNIA supporters, they criticised and sidelined Garvey in response to his attacks against Selassie, leaving Garvey more marginalised (Country Studies).

## 9 Conclusion

Selassie was publicly silent on Garvey throughout the entire period under discussion. We are left to infer Selassie's position on Garvey from his silence in the context of the surrounding circumstances. Selassie is known to have ignored Garvey's invitation to him to attend the 1920 UNIA convention. Furthermore, whilst in exile in the UK, Haile Selassie appears to have distanced himself from the UK based Pan-Afrikanist community. In at least some cases, he overtly rejected their offers of support. It is likely that Garvey's offers of support were similarly rejected. Haile Selassie's response was in stark contrast with his apparent reason for being in Britain i.e. to gather support for the Ethiopian people's fight back home. However, it is clear that at no stage during Marcus Garvey's life did Haile Selassie demonstrate that he wanted to be associated with Marcus Garvey.

Garvey on the other hand, left little room for doubt as to his assessment of Selassie. In his early political life, Garvey did make active attempts to be associated with Haile Selassie and even made occasional complementary remarks about him. However, Garvey was also explicit in stating that Selassie was not his God – a fact which thoroughly undermines the idea that Garvey was the prophet of Haile Selassie the God. Garvey is also known to have refused to allow Haile Selassie's picture to be sold on UNIA premises. However, it was Haile Selassie's response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia coupled with what appears to have been a second snub of Garvey by Selassie that caused Garvey to abandon protocol and let Selassie know what Garvey really thought of him.

Haile Selassie had come to Britain to seek support for Ethiopia. He accepted support from the European imperialist colonising enemies of Afrika on the one hand and Afrikan organisations in US Satan on the other. Therefore, it was a serious contradiction in Haile Selassie's position that he was prepared to accept assistance from European imperialist nations, whilst openly rejecting specific offers of assistance from leading grassroots Pan-Afrikanists in the UK. In exposing this contradiction, Garvey appears to have succumbed to, what for him was a second snub and in doing so, overtly distanced himself not only from Selassie, but also the other Pan-Afrikanists in the UK.

Garvey's response was to publicly reprimand and lambaste Haile Selassie, in the most ferocious and insulting manner. In doing so, Garvey totally disassociated himself from Haile Selassie and openly exposed Haile Selassie as an unjust feudal lord who took European imperialist support whilst enslaving Afrikan people. It is beyond doubt that there was no love lost between these two historical figures. Although the term 'neo-colonialism' had not yet been invented, with the benefit of hindsight, it is quite clear that Garvey was accusing Selassie of being a neo-colonialist enemy of Afrika and her people. Their differences were political rather than personal however and there is no doubt that the differences between their political standpoints were wide and glaring.

There is little doubt that from 1937 until Garvey's death in 1940, neither Marcus Garvey nor Haile Selassie wanted anything to do with each other. Furthermore, there was no attempt at reconciliation on either of their parts. It follows therefore, that any attempt to present these two historical figures as a united or allied political or spiritual entity, amounts to a falsification of history as well as a clear disregard for the positions known to have been held by each of them. Selassie's silence on Garvey leaves room for the suggestion, however incredible, that they were not enemies. However, Garvey's words put Selassie firmly in Garvey's enemy camp. Furthermore, there can be no doubt that they were class enemies, with Haile Selassie firmly committed to his position as a feudal lord of lords and Marcus Garvey positioning himself and his movement firmly amongst the predominantly poor Afrikan working class.

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