

ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF POSTCOLONIAL POLITICS

Edited by Olivia U. Rutazibwa and Robbie Shilliam

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

NO MIGRATION, REPATRIATION

Spiritual visionings and political limitations of Rastafari repatriation to Ethiopia

Ijahnya Christian

Birth of a nation

Now I am home, Iyahbinghi seh, Now I am home, I an I still yant Fari, now I am home
Singing glory halleluJAH, Hail Ras Tafari, Now I am home...

(lyrics of Nyahbinghi chant adapted in
Shashemene from the original, 'When I yod/trod home')

In 1948, the same year that land was secured to create the modern day nation of Israel, Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie I granted five *gashas* (approximately 500 acres) of land in Shashemene, Southern Ethiopia, as a gesture of thanks to the Black peoples of the west who had supported Ethiopia during Mussolini's invasion. It remains unique on the African continent, as the only land granted to facilitate the return of the descendants of Africans taken away during the trans-Atlantic trade in African people. Africans in the Diaspora did not return *en masse* and those who hold on tenaciously to what is left of the land grant are mainly Rastafari. There is an Ethiopian proverb which says, 'Do not grow your hair long unless you have been to battle or you have chased and killed a lion.' Rastafari, who have no interest in killing any animal, instead adopted the imago of the lion, the persona of the Conquering Lion, and assumed a power that would overcome all obstacles and propel themselves home from colonized, enslaving lands to a country that had never experienced colonialism.

This chapter calls to attention the extraordinary situation of Rastafari who have repatriated to Africa, with specific reference to those who live in Ethiopia on the Shashemene Land Grant. The complex process of Repatriation (as distinct from event) is infused with what famed educator calypsonian The Mighty Chalkdust, Hollis Liverpool refers to as 'rituals of power and rebellion' handed down from African ancestors. The media by which such rituals are carried out on the Shashemene Land Grant are Nyahbinghi drums and chants as well as popular reggae music. And '... the power to change society and to mobilize the people through song ...' (Liverpool, 2001: 450) is consciously recognized by those who survive the odds on a daily basis. The chapter, therefore, reiteratively explores themes of power and mobilization, creativity, conflict, contradiction, integration and resilience in the quest for formal recognition, meaning legal status, of the people Bonnaci (2015: 389) calls 'transatlantic migrants' and who lay claim to the land grant. It also discusses inhibiting factors, all of which are worthy of further exploration.

Though the intent here is to reflect movements and immobilities from the post-colonial era, it should not be assumed that colonialism is a thing of the past. Neither should it be assumed that repatriation is a tidy event in which well-organized masses board ships and planes bound for Africa and a resettlement plan. Some continue to cross the Middle Passage mobilizing resources everywhere to support life in a pan-African family sphere. The context is one of continued struggle with identity and variously tempered and frustrated by the realization that freedom of movement within Africa is not a right guaranteed to most Africans. The writer's is a voice from the colonial present. It is also an insider voice, with perspectives shaped by frequent travel to and from Ethiopia in order to maintain legal status while in residence at the Nyahbinghi Tabernacle Center on the Shashemene Land Grant. This is our story.

On the verge of Jamaica's independence in August 1962, Mortimo Planno, a strong voice from the emerging Ras Tafari Nation in Jamaica, wrote in a Letter to the Editor of *The Gleaner* as follows:

What provisions will be made within the new constitution for the desire of those who alienate themselves from the Jamaica way of life? I am thinking principally of those whose desire is to be repatriated to Ethiopia. One of the countries of Africa that already granted lands for the sole purpose of resettling people from the Western world. I as one who is claiming by originality (Ethiopian) would like the world to know that our rights must be respected. Because I am of the opinion that respect for man's right is the greatest achievement of peaceful solution to problems which has a temperature of 100 degrees (March 3, 1962).

Planno's letter is significant not only in its assertion of Ethiopian identity but also in its recognition of the Shashemene Land Grant and more importantly, the matter of Repatriation as a right – the Right of Return. Not only were InI called, some were chosen to settle on the Shashemene Land Grant located in the Oromo Region in southern Ethiopia.

Rastafari in the Caribbean Region have therefore had a sense of entitlement regarding the return to Africa, and a sense of mission: fulfilment of purpose defined in themes of African Redemption such as Marcus Garvey's Africa for the Africans, those at home and those abroad. A more recent theme is that of the African Renaissance with Rastafari at the vanguard. But the boundless faith of Rastafari has not been matched by the political work of 'Get Up Stand Up, Stand up for your rights...' (Marley and MacIntosh, 1973). Instead there has been the traditional shying away from politics, especially partisan politics. Despite the trials and tribulations of trying to hold on to land, which is a defining element of nationhood, a contextual analysis of Rastafari in Ethiopia reveals not stagnation but a dynamism bound up in the country's history, culture and the politics of diversity in twenty-first-century globalization. Progress has nevertheless been slow.

In the Caribbean region that gave birth to the Rastafari Nation/Movement, the appearance of these people, terrible and dread, made for instant rejection. An 'otherness' prevailed right from the start as Rastafari rejected options of island nation or regional identity, and instead embraced their identity as Ethiopian. In terms of spiritual direction, more than four decades before the realization of independence in the Caribbean, seers and seekers pursuing knowledge in the 1920s swung the point of the compass eastward to the divine direction of return. The vision of Robert Athlyi Rogers documented in the Ethiopianist text, *The Holy Piby* (1924), generally recognized as the most important theological reference to the foundational philosophy of Rastafari (Hill in West et al., 2009: 140), was clear:

Then shall the children of Ethiopia return to their own land and there establish a light with [which] no nation shall compare, nor will there be any power sufficient to douse it. For I am the Lord God of Ethiopia.

(Rogers, 1924: 3)

The grand coronation of Crown Prince, Ras Tafari Makonnen, as Emperor Haile Selassie I in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on November 2, 1930 is generally considered the birth of the Rastafari Nation. Two years later, the Rev. Fitz Ballentyne Pettersburg of Jamaica, in *The Royal Parchment Scroll of Black Supremacy* (1926), foresaw the precedent set by His Majesty, for His Consort, Her Royal Highness, Itege Menen Asfaw, to be crowned along with him in the Church and not days later in the palace. A few years later, another Jamaican, Leonard Percival Howell, in *The Promised Key* (1935) identified Rogers' God of Ethiopia, as none other than His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I. The world had also witnessed the anointing of a child in that ceremony, which signaled to these visionaries, in thought, word and deed, that it was time to restore the Mother to the Holy Trinity. Bound up in the mystic revelation of Ras Tafari, whose name the Nation/Movement adopted, was the message of African Redemption necessitating physical return to the African Motherland, the source, the origins – Ethiopia.

Caribbean solidarity with Ethiopia may be marked by the visit of Haitian Ambassador Benito Sylvain's visit to the court of Emperor Menelik II after the latter's victory at the Battle of Adwa in 1896. In the next century, this solidarity was expressed in popular culture decades before the creation of orthodox reggae music in Jamaica. This may have some bearing on the demographics of the repatriated community in Shashemene, which will be discussed later. That solidarity was most strongly expressed in the calypso arena of Trinidad and Tobago during Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. The calypsonians were conscious of what was taking place in Ethiopia and they, then as now, sang for the common people what a colonized leadership could not speak (Christian, 2011: 1–17).

Songs such as Houdini's (1935) *Ethiopian War Drums*, Lion's *Advantage Mussolini*, Radio's *Abyssinian Lament* and Caresser's *Selassie Held by the Police* in 1936:

all condemned the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy and called especially upon the Africans in the country to mobilize themselves for possible action against the Italian leader Mussolini and the Pope who, according to widespread rumour, blessed the Italian troops.

(Liverpool, 2001: 452)

Rastafari in Jamaica even appealed to the British government to rescind the law that prevented them as Jamaicans, from joining the Ethiopian army to keep the invading forces out of the 'Promised Land' (Murrell, 1998: 7). Despite the perpetuated notion of the Promised Land – the Shashemene Land was not promised but actually gifted. Eventually even Jamaican society had begun to realize that the idea of Repatriation was not just '...wishful thinking among the uneducated...' (Murrell, 1998: 7), and Rastafari consciousness of their Ethiopian identity could not be diminished by the advent of independence. By the time Jamaica and then Trinidad and Tobago attained independence in 1962, Rastafari in the Caribbean were armed with the spiritual power of an African king in whom they found the example for living and inspiration to take the moral high ground internationally.

The
Blac
tens
are
Mu
tini
tho
are
sistr
bers
bea
wh
ider
and
no
ate
Ras
Gov
and
resp
to l
a ra
peo
are
ity
mer
viev
Nye
cal t
tafa
and
gro
Oth
(EA
(EV
Gra

Land for a nation of many passports

Man is respected by his utterance; the land is respected by its borders.

(Ethiopian proverb)

The mass movement of Rastafari as envisaged in reggae singer Fredlocks' song, *Seven Miles of Black Star Liner* is yet to be realized. Only a few hundred people are in residence, holding on tenaciously to what is left of the Land Grant. Who are these chosen few?

Among them are those from islands that have not yet tasted the sweets of independence. They are from British Overseas Territories of Anguilla, Montserrat and Bermuda; Bonaire, a Special Municipality of the Netherlands; and the French Overseas Departments of Guadeloupe and Martinique. Persons from these non-independent Territories are holders of European Union passports, though it is generally held that Jamaican passport holders are the largest group on the land. There are also many who are holders of United Kingdom (UK) passports. Many of these brethren and sistren were born to and raised by Jamaican parents in the UK. There are also relatively high numbers of those with passports issued by Trinidad and Tobago. Some came directly from the Caribbean, others via the UK and the United States (US). There are also several US citizens and others who came from Barbados, St. Vincent and the Grenadines. As many as 16 nationalities have been identified, but important as these passports may be to officialdom, many of them have expired and are somewhat irrelevant to Rastafari who came with every intention of staying in Ethiopia, no matter what. Perhaps the biggest irony of all is that in Ethiopia informally, all of the repatriated Rastafari are thought of and called Jamaican. However, there are strong feelings held by some Rastafari of other nationalities who do not accept the Jamaican designation.

Up until 2014 there were also a number of Stateless Persons in the community but the Government of Jamaica made provision for the issue of Jamaican passports to those eligible and interested. It is not clear how many other nationalities may be affected in this way but this response underscored a status as migrants in residence and seemed a regressive step on the path to legal status in Ethiopia.

The size of the repatriated community is often queried but the answer is not so clear. Usually a range of 500 to 800 is given but this has not been verified. It is a fluid community in which people come and go all the time. Among them are those who have established homes there but are concerned to stay on the right side of Ethiopia's Department of Immigration and Nationality Affairs. There are also usually a few Rastafari youths from other African countries – young men from Kenya, Tanzania, Ghana and Zambia who travel to Ethiopia by road, also with the view of repatriating to Holy Mount Zion. Some of them have been temporarily resident in the Nyahbinghi House, usually thought of as a neutral space in the sometimes polarized community.

The Nyahbinghi Order, as the foundation of Rastafari spiritual expression, also employs the musical tradition of gathering and chanting '...to break down barriers... The Nyahbinghi ritual is a Rastafari creation born from resistance traditions...' including retentions of African spirituality in Jamaica and '...layered on an Ethiopian Orthodox philosophical foundation' (Niaah and Christian, 2013: 24).

The Order has its largest tabernacle in Shashemene and a house has been built on the grounds of the Nyahbinghi Tabernacle Center, to serve as the residence of presiding elders. Other Rastafari Churches/Mansions include the Ethiopia Africa Black International Congress (EABIC) aka Bobo Shanti, the Twelve Tribes of Israel and the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), a black people's organization dominated by Rastafari. Historically, the Shashemene Land Grant was meant to be administered by the EWF.

Youth traveling by road from neighboring Kenya receive their visas at the border town of Moyale and make the two-day journey there annually for them to be renewed. One young man from Ghana incorrectly assumed privilege as a continental African, and fell into the immigration money trap which demands payment of huge sums in foreign currency for persons who have overstayed. Others have sought, and obtained favor through, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawahedo Church. One Rastafari couple who came to be trained in the duties of the Orthodox faith traveled by road from South Africa with two small daughters. They were provided for by the Church but were eventually forced off land they had acquired independently and on which they had planned to live. Another, a young man who repatriated from the US, graduated as a full-fledged priest of the Church in August 2016. Via the route of his training (during which he was required to cut his dreadlocks), he met the language and other criteria required for citizenship and has successfully attained that status. His passport bears his Ethiopian baptismal name. It would be remiss not to mention that two residents of the community had gained citizenship during the revolutionary years of the Dergue's regime and one Rastafari woman from Ireland who lives in Addis Ababa gained citizenship several years ago.

In order to present the full face of the Rastafari community in Shashemene, mention is made of a few young Ethiopians, some of whom have never left Shashemene but sport dreadlocks, speak with a Jamaican accent and may pretend to visitors that they are Jamaican. There are others who may not have dreadlocks but who faithfully worship with Rastafari in the Nyahbinghi Tabernacle, bringing their families along with them on the high holy days. On such days, particularly the anniversary of the birth of Ras Tafari Makonnen, several members of the wider Ethiopian community also worship with Rastafari. The elders among them refer to the land as 'the Jamaicans' land' in the area commonly called the Jamaican *sefer*. This relationship helps to defend and protect what they call the Ras Tafari Church. It has not, however, protected the repatriated community from the high incidence of breaking, entering, theft and robbery, also experienced by Ethiopians who are born and bred. The ambiguities have been succinctly captured in the following observation:

Although their culture is sometimes embarrassing to the Ethiopians, they nevertheless build schools and clinics and develop businesses and services. They attract tourists, they invest and they bring up their children in the country. Nevertheless, their contributions remain unrecognized, and their integration is not easy. Bob Marley is now celebrated in the country and adopted as a cultural reference by Ethiopia's youth. Yet there is no government policy to facilitate the settlement and integration of Rastafari. Nor is there any legal or financial assistance from pan-African institutions (Bonacci, 2016: 155).

Multiple forces have diminished access to land in Ethiopia where the more commonly expressed aspiration among Rastafari from the African Diaspora who have settled on the Shashemene Land Grant is the desire to have legal status. The absence of this status disables the holding of federal IDs and acquisition of 'carta' plans for increased security of land use. This Catch-22 situation has severely limited the contributions of repatriated Rastafari to the development of Shashemene and Ethiopian society.

Nevertheless, an article entitled 'Promised Land? Rastafarians Struggle in Ethiopia' published in the *Jamaica Observer* cites Ras Reuben Kush, President of the EWF's Local 14 in Shashemene, thus:

Ethiopia is our land, for we Blacks in the West ... The Emperor had given us 500 hectares – today we live on six or seven hectares... Today, we have no control over our property.
(Bould, November 16, 2015)

Bould posits the Rastafari returnees as stateless and hopeless victims of '...Communist-inspired ex-rebels...' but her analysis is accurate only in part. As the following account shows, there are individuals and experiences within the repatriation process that do not quite fit in this narrative.

In a context where land is nationalized and therefore cannot be bought or sold, (though it is), the story of how the original land is occupied by other Ethiopians is well documented. What is acceptable is compensation for increasingly smaller lots of land that have been developed in some way. They may be under cultivation, fruit trees may have been planted, and they may have built structures. But as official demands dictate against larger landholdings, there are stories of land being sold sometimes by the most unlikely persons when hard times hit. Land losses have also occurred through failed conjugal relationships, mainly between repatriated men and Ethiopian women as Ethiopian law is very protective of women and children. Land has also been lost to roads built years after they became part of Shashemene's elusive Master Plan, which includes reports on progress and development objectives. The implementation of such plans has been slow but stories abound about the community having been long-informed of the intent to establish a road network in the part of the city within the bounds of the original Land Grant. Prior knowledge has made these losses no easier to bear when fully-grown trees, fences and more substantial built structures have had to be sacrificed for new roads. Bonacci (2015: 269–79) tells us that the Master Plan of 2000 makes reference to the Jamaica 'sefer' and the 'Ras Taferians', the first mention in an administrative document after 50 years of Rastafari residence in Shashemene – in acknowledgement of their cultural and touristic value.

The Shashemene Land Grant of the mid-twentieth century was not the only one gifted by Haile Selassie I in Ethiopia. His Majesty had also granted land in the nearby town of Kuyera to the Seventh Day Adventists, who established the Ethiopian Adventist College there in 1947. But there is either no uniformity in arrangements or no provision at all for Africans who have repatriated from the Diaspora to other African countries. Across the continent, the small, West African country of Benin, seems to have gone furthest in ensuring that repatriated Rastafari are relatively secure in terms of land settlement. Administered by Mere and Pere Jah, who repatriated from the French Department of Guadeloupe in 1996, 'Ambassade de la Diaspora' has enjoyed excellent relations with successive Beninese governments, at times being part of government delegations. They were eventually given land designated as a protected area on which they live, engage in educational farming and other sustainable developmental activity. They have not been granted citizenship. There is a larger number of repatriated Rastafari in neighboring Ghana but settlement seems to have been by independent effort with local community support. However, in December 2016, the outgoing John Mahama administration in Ghana went further than any government in Africa in granting citizenship to some persons from the African Diaspora. We will return to this development in the conclusion of the chapter.

At the southern tip, South Africa, reputed to have a Rastafari population significantly larger than even Jamaica's, has at least five instances of lands being secured and held by local Rastafari for the development of Rastafari communities but also with the objective of facilitating repatriation. The oldest of these is the Marcus Garvey Community in Cape Town (unpublished report of the Rastafari Fact Finding Mission aka the Harar Trod, 2009). The experience of persons repatriated to Ethiopia, Ghana and South Africa suggests that no matter how repatriated persons acquire land, if that land is not used, it is lost. It is also clear that the status of returning Africans is one that will be hard won, despite a history of such returns.

The present Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia makes provision for a federal arrangement of autonomous and diverse nation states. In fact, one of the regional states is the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). This nomenclature

alone, backed by constitutional provision, lends credence to the concept of a Rastafari Nation, though small size and other factors render this unviable. Without that tenuous hold on the Shashemene Land Grant, however, the missing element in the definition of Rastafari nationhood would be land. Without land as a prerequisite, it has been shown that new paths to belonging are being forged. With land, it is, however, conceivable to envision a nation comprising persons of different nationalities, holding different passports and different races.

Race is among the sources of grumbled undesirability seldom openly expressed except in other matters of conflict concerning white people resident on the Shashemene Land Grant. Some of them have been resident for a long time, having come mainly but not exclusively as members of the Twelve Tribes of Israel or as spouses of members. In terms of those non-black nationalities:

Rastafari from over the world had arrived in Shashemene, sometimes from as far as Sweden, New Zealand, Chile, Japan and South Africa. Rastafari communities had meanwhile developed in Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar, Awassa and Debra Zeit.

(Bonacci, 2016: 155)

There is also the unverified account of the community being criticized by a government official for allowing white people to settle on the land. Except in the EWF, which has been experiencing resurgence over the last three years, Rastafari of European stock have been active in the internal developmental, unification and centralization initiatives of the community. There is a tolerance that speaks to the racial consciousness of Rastafari that is to be clearly distinguished from racism. From the global Rastafari community, some of whose ancestors were the enslavers, are ones who have asserted their presence in the '...land where the gods loved to be...' (Burrell and Ford, 1919). There is no open confrontation but as one attendee at a community meeting in 2012 remarked with reference to this reality, the problem with white people on the land is not one of biology but one of history.

Repatriation and representation

Woman and earth can handle anything.

(Ethiopian proverb)

Repatriated Rastafari are confronted in many ways with their status as determined by the immigration authorities of Ethiopia. For those who have been in Shashemene longest, this may be no longer relevant, except in the case where children have been born. Others strive to stay legal by any means necessary. Doing so means having the ongoing means of meeting immigration requirements. US citizens can obtain tourist visas that are valid for two years. Tourist visas for other nationalities are valid for three to six months. In the past, those who expressed interest in investment could obtain visas valid for six months, during which time they could secure investment permits from the Ethiopia Investment Commission, along with temporary resident ID cards issued by the Immigration Department. These are valid for one year and are reissued annually once progress could be shown in the area of investment proposed. The end route is a business licence obtained from the Ministry of Trade, but very few of those repatriated and living in Shashemene have been able to attain or sustain this height. Again we hear from Ras Reuben Kush, this time from his perspective as a mechanical engineer, in a joint venture that operates a factory in Addis Abeba's industrial zone in Kality.

Rastafari repatriation to Ethiopia

There are vast opportunities in Ethiopia that can be exploited with an entrepreneurial spirit. I advise small groups of four or five ones to come together with an investment plan, to work together and live together. Everything hinges on thinking collectively...'
(unpublished interview: 2014)

Those who entered the country with business visas could use them to seek employment if there was no real investment. Business visas are no longer issued except to the actual investor class – evidence of having met investment requirements must now be presented before a business visa can be obtained. In one instance, the holder of a temporary resident ID secured a short-term consultancy with an agency that had diplomatic status and obtained a special ID with diplomatic privileges issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and valid for one year. Those with tourist visas must leave the country upon their expiry but can apply for extended stay, usually of one month at a time. Fees for such extension must be paid in foreign currency, which is scarce in the banking sector. An illegal but thriving parallel foreign currency market operates just outside the premises of the Immigration Department with currency exchange rates that are much higher than bank rates.

Those who have not been able to secure investment permits, business licences or employment and who can afford to do so therefore find it necessary to leave the country every three or six months to return as able. Those who obtained the ID through employment with a work permit must hand these in once contracts are terminated if they are not to be renewed. There is no hunting down and flushing out activity, but those who have long overstayed, from an immigration perspective, are unable to leave the country if they want to as they are unable to pay the carefully calculated immigration arrears or court fines. This is a source of frustration for many on the land and many who are desirous of coming but it does not prevent those spiritually chosen for the mission of physical relocation to Africa from coming. For others, the choice may be to visit and support from outside. As one writer perceives:

The reality is most of our people are not going to emigrate back to Africa. Some of our people have returned but the masses of our people will remain where they are for the rest of their natural lives.

(Stanton posted: July 2016)

Those who have returned may be best represented by one of the community's caregivers, Beverley Stewart, who has lived with her now adult children for over a decade and has built her house in Shashemene. Sister Bev shares the common experience of land insecurity and inadequate representation but ends on an optimistic and persuasive note:

Various organisers spring up to represent us only to peter out. On the ground there are a lot of positive happenings (but individually and not collectively) for economic development. Underneath it all, there are positive vibes... Come with an irit (a spirit) to create, to build on what is already here. Come home soon (unpublished interview, 2014).

Repatriation, however, can be distinguished from either traditional migration or what has come to be known as transnational migration, which refers to the movement of people who relocate from one nation-state to another, who 'live their lives across borders, participating simultaneously in social relations that embed them in more than one nation-state' (Schiller, 2003: 99–128). Other defining characteristics of transnational migrants include the desire to improve their lives, and the sending of remittances from their new countries of residence to

those of origin, once they settle (Levitt and Schiller, 2004). While there are some similarities with Rastafari Repatriation, there are also significant differences.

The constraints imposed by lack of legal status, coupled with Ethiopia's financial regulations, mean that they are unable to send remittances back to the countries from which they came – which are not considered 'home'. They left those countries to come home to Ethiopia, and relations with the West are partly maintained out of the need for the support of those left behind. Thus, remittances flow from lands of origin, into the repatriated community. Often, in leaving the country to meet immigration requirements, the opportunity is used to seek employment or to engage in informal fund-raising, to bring money back to the community of returnees. However, there are times when relatives from the more 'developed' world left behind are also in need and unable to give support that may be expected in Ethiopia. Contrary to what may have been true of early repatriates, as reported in the Rastafari Movement Association's (RMA) *Rasta Voice* of September 9, 1971, recent arrivals do not view '... [r]epatriation and self-help organizations such as the EWF and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church as a way out of capitalist-induced poverty, wage labor and unemployment' (Tafari, 2001: 311).

In fact, many Rastafari leave behind in the West what may be to their new neighbors, enviable lives, compared to conditions in which they live in Africa. Others have established substantial to luxurious homes in their repatriated homelands. Yet others pay exorbitant rents for city life. Among those with whom they live in the wider Shashemene community, Rastafari who have returned from the Diaspora are perceived to be wealthy and therefore prime targets for thieves. Under such circumstances, security of home and property are strong concerns. During the Jamaican government-sponsored Mission to Africa in 1961, Haile Selassie I had raised the anticipated challenges of such inequity.

This entire discussion lends itself to the possibility that those on the Shashemene Land Grant who have been there for decades, who have long lost a relationship with the Immigration Department may well be those who can be said to have repatriated. They have no desire to return to the geographical spaces from which they came and are content to live their lives entirely within Ethiopia's borders. Those who prioritize avoiding the inherent risks, despite their best intentions can fit into the category of transnational migrants, with the reverse movement of financial resources in the form of monies brought home from the countries they yearn to leave behind but to which they seem tied. Yet, it must not be imagined that the resources mobilized and brought home by those in motion, flow only from north to south. There is an emerging visibility of repatriated Rastafari women engaging in intra-African trade of cultural items, academic and professional skills. They network successfully to further such activity by invited participation in processes, conferences and festivals in all regions of the continent, including the African Union (AU), and invite others in – a vantage point gained by having an African base. There being a continuation of the legacy of African trading women is worthy of further study. The marriage and family life of repatriated women, to African brothers born and raised on the continent, may also be of gendered sociological interest.

Perhaps with less idealism and grounding in reality, over time the very concept of repatriation has garnered different interpretations. As Ras Ikael Tafari discerns, there has been '...the shift from a millenarianism to... the opening up of new vistas of mass mobilization and 'power...'' (Tafari, 2001: 7). For others, it is the shift from a physical to a psychological and cultural return requiring divine or political intervention (Edmonds, 1998: 31). According to the late Ras Boanerges, a very influential Patriarch of the Nyahbinghi Order:

the Rastaman is not dealing with the mere physical relocation of a particular group to some part of Africa. His goal is Repatriation, i.e. the overall 'Ransom of Israel [that

Rastafari repatriation to Ethiopia

is, the sons and daughters of the black race internationally] by the moral laws of the Almighty Rastafari,' restoring and rightfully returning them to their own national 'vine and fig tree' – Africa.

(Tafari, 2001: 314)

Paradoxically, within the acknowledged weakness in meeting Ethiopia's immigration requirements, there is strength in the continuity of presence that cannot be offered by those who may regularly need to leave the country in the quest to stay legal. Those who are unable to leave because they cannot pay the high immigration arrears are among those who serve some of the leadership needs of informal structures such as Unity in Motion. Without what one may consider the necessary experience in diplomatic or political leadership, they may be late but may well be spearheading the political work and aspirations of the Rastafari Movement, located in:

the mooted third, unfolding secular cycle of the late 1980s and 1990s, where Rastafari is starting to become the centralized nucleus of a movement for black macro-political liberation and repatriation... [when] the objective conditions within the movement [are] probably ripe for the Rastafari as a unified body to organize and control their political/economic destiny at both the micro and macro/state level ...

(Tafari, 2001: xxxi)

Indeed, the period of the 1990s saw a resurgence of repatriation, particularly following the downfall of the Dergue in 1991 and again during the centenary in 1992, of the birth of Tafari Makonnen.

By 1995–1996, by international effort, the first Nyahbinghi Tabernacle was erected on the Shashemene Land Grant. It is therefore impressed upon visitors to the Nyahbinghi Tabernacle Center in Shashemene, to be mindful of their behavior as they stand on one of the power spots of the Black World. Within the boundaries of this power spot, there has been historical conflict over the legitimacy of representation by one House/Mansion/Organisation or the other with interventions initiated either by the community or by various arms of the government. Much has been made of these differences but careful scrutiny of archival material at the Nyahbinghi Tabernacle Center shows that the Elders of the Nyahbinghi Order have always participated in movements towards centralized representation.

Historically, the responsibility of administering the entire Land Grant was that of the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF), which, by the second decade of the twenty-first century, showed new legitimacy and popularity. However, nothing on record indicates that the EWF ever administered the Shashemene Land Grant in the manner intended. The view that residents on the Land Grant must be members of the organization is contradicted by the fact that non-members have always come and taken up residence as able. Its constituents make it a legitimate organization, but relations between it and the Addis Ababa-based EWF legally registered as a non-government organization (NGO) have been impaired. The registration is a major bone of contention with those for whom the role of EWF is that of a government within a government. Others see the registration as a necessary and helpful step. Given the prevailing spirit of Unity in Motion, a cross-section of the community can be seen at the major social events of the EWF and the Twelve Tribes of Israel whose membership is highest. The only legally registered representative entity in the repatriated community in Shashemene is the Jamaica Rastafari Development Community (JRDC). Issues of credibility and representativeness have caused its influence to wax and wane but it has endured.

Representation of repatriated Rastafari interests has been sporadic at best and the community has not pressed advantage when opportunity has presented itself. Hence, the petition requested

by an Ethiopian parliamentary committee, presenting an opportunity to demand legal status in 2012, was not as strongly worded as it could have been and did not bear the maximum number of signatures. Also by invitation was the submission of draft text for the government's Diaspora policy, which focuses largely on Ethiopians who left the country in the twentieth century in search of a better life. Repatriated Rastafari seem to have relied primarily on their resource of unbounded faith. This, combined with a soft power comprising faith, patience and cooperation, contributes to the community's resilience. Several had managed to become permanent residents, but persons who sought such status around 2014 were informed by the Immigration Department that there was a moratorium on the granting of permanent residence.

Rastafari on the land continue to assert that they are not refugees, people living in exile, internally displaced persons, the type of investors being attracted or any of the existing legal statuses. They represent a category that does not officially exist – returning Africans (Owens, 1976; Christian, 2011; MacLeod, 2014). A former Mayor of Shashemene, Demisse Shito, acknowledged that repatriated Rastafari are different from regular foreigners but:

they are still not Ethiopians. While he recognizes and values the 'mental and 'spiritual' connection Rastafari have to Ethiopia, his comments point to the enormous difficulty for Rastafari to be fully accepted without government legitimacy. Thus, beyond the current bureaucratic challenges preventing citizenship, the mayor also presents a perceptual problem created by lack of categorization for Rastafari.

(MacLeod, 2014: 226)

MacLeod sees among the options available to Rastafari settlers, the ethnic identity strategy and the African Diaspora strategy. The Rastafari Nation may be a problematic concept but what better time to consider the cultural identity than in the UN Decade for the People of African Descent. It is a problem for consideration in the discourse on the African Diaspora as the 6th Region of the African Union, for in the return home one is no longer in the Diaspora. It is a problem for representation from entities such as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) in that its citizens, holders of its passports, are demanding to be recognized as Africans/Ethiopians desirous of leaving that space in which their enslaved ancestors sweated, bled and died. The harsh realities of Repatriation may lead one to agree that since the 1961 Mission to Africa:

apart from fairly limited achievements of the Twelve Tribes and the EWF – no further, single, concrete development on any scale of significance has come from the brethren and sistren, the Jamaican government, or for that matter any African government, following this historic reconnection between Africans at home and abroad which would have sustained or intensified its vital momentum.

(Tafari, 2001: 303)

Conclusion: wielding power with patience

A property will return to its rightful owners even if it takes a thousand years.

(Ethiopian proverb)

Neither in Ethiopia where Rastafari have been living on the Shashemene Land Grant for over 40 years, nor in any other African country has there been '...facilitation of the welcomed return and resettlement of the descendants of enslaved Africans...' envisioned as a reparatory

Rastafari repatriation to Ethiopia

measure in the UN Durban Programme of Action (2001, Section IV: Article 158). The document coming out of the United Nations World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and other forms of intolerance was considered groundbreaking as it was the first government documentation to acknowledge repatriation as part of reparations – though neither of these terms was used. Fifteen years after Durban, as the African Union includes the Diaspora Initiative in its journey of implementing Agenda 2063, and as the UN observes its Decade for People of African Descent, Caribbean governments have co-opted the reparations movement and are waging a lukewarm campaign with some level of Rastafari involvement, but the traditional demand of reparations for repatriation seems diminished.

Meanwhile, on the continent, in December 2016 the Republic of Ghana awarded citizenship to 34 persons from the African Diaspora, some of whom were resident, others who were acknowledged for various contributions. Many among the Rastafari Nation repatriated to Ethiopia felt disappointed that Ethiopia had not taken the lead in this regard. Among the new Ghanaians was Dr. Desta Meghoo, Coordinator of the Africa Unite concert, whose country of residence is Ethiopia. It is not clear whether these Ghanaians have full citizenship rights like the generations of those born and bred there. Several years earlier, Bob Marley's widow, Rita Marley, had been granted citizenship following many years of residence.

Ras Shango Baku, writer, publisher and member of the Nyahbinghi National Council (UK), captured the excitement of the new citizenship moment in his emailed notes bearing the subject line, 'Free at last! Ghana Grants Citizenship to Diaspora. Afrikans!'

Great day in Accra! Wednesday 28th December 2016. Signing of the Diasporan Citizenship Act at the WEB Du Bois Center in the presence of outgoing President John Mahama. Huge gathering in a spacious hall at the Center. At least 400 splendidly dressed African dignitaries and returnees from the Diaspora. Massive Rastafari presence adding color, quality and poignancy to the occasion. Songs of Bob Marley fill the auditorium as the expectant crowd awaits the President's arrival: Redemption Song, Africa Unite, Exodus, etc., setting hearts a-flutter as eyes grow misty with historical remembrance (29 December 2016 21:29).

However, there has been a note of criticism about the process in Ghana, with claims of elitism in the selection made by the Diaspora Coalition which was established to liaise with the government and represent the interest of all Africans from the Diaspora in Ghana. Citizenship had been conferred on only 34 when there were many more who had been resident for much longer. A widely circulated email from Empress Marina Blake, a well-known Rastafari lawyer with interests in Ghana, described the downside like this:

On January 19, 2017, a meeting of the Diaspora Coalition was held in the offices of the Diaspora Africa Forum (DAF) located at the WEB Du Bois Center in Accra, Ghana. The meeting was well attended, as many people had questions regarding the citizenships granted and what process had been established to facilitate the citizenship of the thousands of remaining diasporans. Many people in attendance were disgruntled and some were outright angry.

(February 5, 2017)

Earlier in 2016, Ghana's announcement that nationals of other African Union Member States could obtain visas on arrival caused no stir of excitement among the Rastafari Nation. Neither did the issue of the African (AU) passport to Heads of Government. Rastafari

recalled the announcement made in 2011 that the very first of such passports would be issued to the late stalwart Jamaican pan-Africanist, Elder Dudley Thompson, QC. Sadly, he passed away on January 20, 2012, the day after his 95th birthday. Apparently, the award was never made though plans are afoot to do so posthumously. The intended gesture was symbolically significant, though.

Meanwhile, the repatriated community in Ethiopia continues to be the soul of patience, with individual frustration manifesting more so than communal anger. The community wields a soft power that perhaps contributes to the ongoing accommodation of Rastafari. The best example of this was the successful hosting in 2005 of the mega concert 'Africa Unite' to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the birth of Bob Marley. The Government of Ethiopia closed off the famous city-center landmark Meskel Square for a reggae show that attracted an international audience of some 400,000 (by the highest estimate) reggae and Rastafari lovers. This would obviously have had a strong tourism value and economic impact. Some years earlier, when the press announced the intention of Bob Marley's widow to have his mortal remains interred in Ethiopia, the Jamaican public was loud and fierce in its disapproval. Seated visibly, prominently, perhaps presidentially at the main events of 'Africa Unite', were the Elders of the Nyahbinghi Order of Shashemene, joined by Patriarchs and Matriarchs of the Order flown from Jamaica, along with Mama B, whose repatriation destination was South Africa. On arrival in South Africa, Mama B in her zeal had burned her Jamaican passport. After several years and with great difficulty she was able to obtain a new one and was thus able to travel to Ethiopia to help usher in the Ethiopian New Millennium. Despite years of residence in South Africa, Mama is still unsettled and up to 2017 faced threat of deportation – a fate reserved in Ethiopia only for those who have returned and have been convicted and imprisoned.

Historical tensions surrounding land tenure and development in Ethiopia again escalated in August 2016 with the Amhara nation joining forces with the Oromo in a wave of fatal protests that began in late 2015, and kept resurging, leading to the declaration of a State of Emergency in October 2016. They have not responded to various social media calls for taking a stance on the causal issues, a call echoed by Professor Horace Campbell during his presentation on Bob Marley at the AbiReggae Colloquium in Côte d'Ivoire in April 2017. Rastafari has not protested at all in spite of varied sources of conflict between the repatriated community and the people among whom they have settled. Despite deep anger experienced in late 2015 at the brutal murder of a Rastafari Elder that involved conflict over property he had acquired and lived on for several years, there was no violent response from the community.

Apparently, there has been a limited response by the community to overtures to join an Oromo political party, signaling an element of departure from both the traditional shunning of partisan politics and from strict allegiance to the imperial throne. Though some individuals support political parties and vote in general elections, Rastafari have, in general, shied away from partisan politics, remaining in the realm of non-alignment, affirmative, flexible and using the great strength of moral persuasion, as espoused by Haile Selassie I at the Organisation of African Unity Summit in Cairo on July 21, 1964. It is Bonacci (2015: 389) who explains the relations and affiliations that now seem to be shifting:

At the local level, in Shashemene, the Rastafari were associated with the emperor, whom the Oromos saw as a coercive central power. In a region still marked by a history of alienation of the land and by economic and social domination, the symbols of imperial power were inevitably despised. At the national level, a group like the Rastafari, which identifies with an imperial, Amhara, and centralized Ethiopian nation, is

also in contradiction with a national imaginary ... based on ethnic distinction and the autonomy of the federal regions.

But the relationship between the imperial throne and the Oromo had not always been conflictual. At the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, a class of young people, called by foreigners the Young Ethiopians or Young Abyssinians, mainly educated overseas, who spoke French as a second language, agitated for reform. According to Pankhurst, one of them, an Oromo named Yilma Deressa from Wallaga, thought that the Emperor was educating them to civilize Ethiopia and declared: 'We Young Abyssinians are in duty bound to our country, we are the bridge that the Emperor has thrown across to European culture...' (2010: 131).

In the twenty-first century, Shashemene, in addition to cases of conflict over land within the perimeters of the Land Grant, the cause of hostility expressed on the part of some Rastafari is based on the claim that the Oromo fought against His Majesty. The passionate justification for that fight is summed up in a personalized account by one of the fighters who took part in the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974, '... with enthusiasm and hope to seek justice for a people [the Oromo] largely expropriated and marginalized by the imperial political system and administration' (Gnamo, 2014: 6). The counterclaim, borne out by Teshale, 1995; Milkias, 2011 and Mekonnen, 2013 is that Oromo blood could be found in the genealogy of both Haile Selassie I and his royal consort, Empress Menen. This may have been the rationale for at least seven of the Land Grant's well-known personalities, acting on the principle of 'by any means necessary', who seem to have found an alternative path to formally becoming Ethiopian.

They have been resident in Shashemene for varying lengths of time and are known to be affiliated with the Bobo Shanti, Nyahbinghi and the Ethiopian World Federation. In 2016–17, these individuals, all born in Jamaica, used their creative genius to make a case based on the sixteenth-century history of a group of Jamaicans originating in Jamma, Werleu, in Ethiopia's Oromo Regional State. The partial account is of 20,000 Ethiopian Christians sold first by Arabs to Iraq, then later to Spain and ending up in Jamaica. A photocopied page of part of the story as documented by an Ethiopian, A. M. Belay, is being circulated in the community by Brother Ayyoono Babu, also known as I Priest Itabarica. He is one of the group of repatriated Rastafarians engaged in a process of 'Oromofication' which, by the traditional Oromo Gada system (recognized by UNESCO), the '... Abba-Gada literally "father of the period"' and by court procedure, enabled them to be issued Oromo names and IDs identifying them as Ethiopian and placing them on an alternative path to citizenship. Those holding such IDs have been told that they can seek employment without the formerly required work permit. Apparently, the new IDs come with the benefit of eligibility to receive 'carta plans', giving their holders the authority to use lands in a context where land is nationalized. In these and other ways they are yet to be tried and tested. However, this phenomenon supports the argument that:

People in the 21st century will claim multiple political and religious identities, to both national and transnational groups. The critical task is to understand the way individuals and organizations actually operate across cultures, and the costs and benefits of these arrangements. It is to understand how ordinary individuals and organizations ...redefine the boundaries of belonging along the way.

(Levitt, 2004)

Though some in the community have responded with amusement at this development, one concern is the question of where the loyalty of the new Oromos would lie in cases of conflict. The Oromo Nation, the largest in Ethiopia, has been struggling to attain a greater slice of the

Ethiopian political and economic pie. In this quest, violent protest has erupted, resulting in loss of life and property damage. A State of Emergency was declared on October 2, 2016 and this may have impeded outcomes of the most recent engagement between the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the repatriated community.

The initiative leading up to the meeting with the Ministry had begun several months earlier, when on Sunday, May 29, 2016, having presented his credentials a year earlier, Ethiopia's first Ambassador to Jamaica, Girma Birru visited the island. The media (*Jamaica Observer, the Gleaner, Ethiopian Herald*), reported his acknowledgement of the historical and cultural affinity between Jamaica and Ethiopia. He further expressed Ethiopia's desire to strengthen ties in the areas of tourism, sports, education, culture and trade (*The Jamaica Observer*, May 31, 2016). Shortly after that, on June 12, Ethiopia's then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Tedros Adhanom arrived in Jamaica for:

an historic two-day official visit – the first by an Ethiopian minister of government – to boost long-standing relations between the two countries ... [and] seek support for his country's bid to become a member of the United Nations Security Council next year.

(*Loop News*, June 13, 2016)

It is also felt by the repatriated community that the visit of the Minister to the island was linked to his seeking the Caribbean community's support for his bid to become head of the World Health Organization (WHO). Members of the community quietly reasoned among themselves, raising the concept of reciprocity. The whisper may have been heard in the corridors of power as in July 2016, representatives of the community were invited to a meeting with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, initiated by the latter. More likely it was the reminder from the government and people in Jamaica about regularizing the status of Jamaicans and other Caribbean nationals living in Ethiopia as repatriated persons. The invitation to the meeting was issued to the Jamaica Rastafari Development Community (JRDC), which then ensured the inclusion of representation from the Nyahbinghi Order and the Ethiopian World Federation (EWF) in Shashemene. Ras Reuben Kush, even before that historic meeting, saw through the nuances and was moved to remark, 'We're here to stay. We haven't been kicked out of Ethiopia after all these years, that means we are accepted,' (Bould, 2015). One outcome of the meeting with the Foreign Ministry, was the formation of a representative task force to work out the details of granting permanent residence to members of the repatriated community.

While that seemed a significant step in the process of that long desired goal, expressed in the passionate cry, 'No Migration, Repatriation!' the aftermath was marked by a competitive air in the behavior of both the JRDC and EWF. The former had begun a process requiring all applicants for legal status to take membership with them. However, at a community meeting called by the EWF in March 2017, several persons expressed dissatisfaction with what seemed like forced membership. The community maturely anticipated the charge of an administration fee to meet expenses and proposed that Shashemene's representation be formally strengthened to include the Nyahbinghi representative who had participated in the meeting with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The community also advised the EWF that the local team of five should follow up with the government's team of five and that the former should convene the next meeting instead of either the JRDC or the EWF. However, the JRDC had already submitted over 100 applications through its lawyer, and the EWF continues to liaise with various officials and to call community meetings, but at the time of writing there was no alternative process on offer. Up

to mid-April 2017, the EWF to the community that among the gains obtained, was an amnesty for those with outstanding immigration arrears.

It is not yet clear how the change in legal status will affect those who remain desirous of repatriation to Ethiopia, but hopefully Ethiopia's long-awaited gesture will reverberate in other countries where there are settlements of returning Africans. After all, though this is another century, the case remains, as it did over fifty years ago, that 'in a real sense, our continent is unmade; it still awaits its creation and its creators' (Haile Selassie I, 1963).

Man is respected in his native land.

(Ethiopian proverb)

Bibliography

- Belay, A.M., n.d. 'Kings of Yesterday Ethiopia', reference book.
- Berhan, D. posted on Thursday, December 1, 2016 @ 5:17 am, 'Briefing: What Is Oromo's Gada System?' accessed 20 April 2017 at <http://hornaffairs.com/2016/12/01/description-oromo-gada-system/>
- *Exodus! L'histoire de retour des Rastafariens en Ethiopie*, Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Bonacci, G. (2015), *Exodus! Heirs and Pioneers, Rastafari Return [t]o Ethiopia* – translated by Antoinette Tijani Alou, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago: The University of the West Indies Press.
- Bould, J. 'Promised Land? Rastafarians Struggle in Ethiopia', in *Jamaica Observer*, Monday, November 16, 2015., accessed 5 September 2016 at http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/Promised-land_19238767 -
- Burrell J. and Ford, A.J. (1919), 'The Universal Ethiopian Anthem', accessed 19 April 2017 at <https://keyamsha.com/2014/08/18/the-universal-ethiopian-anthem-and-how-it-came-to-be-written/>
- Christian, I. (2011), 'When People Cannot Speak, They Sing', in Baldacchino, G. (ed.) *Island Songs: A Global Repertoire*, Lanham, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press Inc. in collaboration with AIRS (Advancing Interdisciplinary Research in Singing).
- 2013, *Message to the African Union – A Rastafari Yardstick for Performance Evaluation*, commemorative publication of Haile Selassie I's address at inaugural meeting of the Organisation of African Unity in Addis Ababa, May 1963 for 50th anniversary of the OAU/AU, with Rastafari commentary, Shashemene, Ethiopia, Matriarks Self-Publishers Association.
- Edmonds, E.B. (1998), '“I” In-A- Babylon' in Murrell et al. (ed.) *Chanting Down Babylon – The Rastafari Reader*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Gnamo, A.H. (2014), *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880–1974, The Case of the Arsi Oromo*. Leiden, Boston Brill.
- Haile Selassie I's address at the Cairo Summit of the Organisation of African Unity. accessed 20 April, 2017 at http://nyahbinghi.ca/RasTafari-speeches/view-speech.asp?word_id=oau_cairo
- Hutton, C.A. et al. (ed.), (2015), *Leonard Percival Howell & The Genesis of Rastafari*, Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago: The University of the West Indies Press.
- Levitt, P. 'Transnational Migrants: When “Home” Means More Than One Country', *Migration Information Source*, Migration Policy Institute, October 1, 2004, accessed 19 April 2017 at <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/transnational-migrants-when-home-means-more-one-country>
- Levitt, P. and Schiller, N.G. (2004), 'Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society' *International Migration Review*, vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 1002–1039. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00227.x Accessed 20 July 2016 at <https://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/.../conceptualizing-simultaneity-a-transnational>
- Liverpool (Chalkdust) H. (2001), *Rituals of Power & Rebellion – The Carnival Tradition in Trinidad & Tobago 1763–1962*, Chicago, Jamaica, London, Trinidad and Tobago: Research Associates School Times Publications Frontline Distribution Int'l. Inc.
- Loop News Report (June 13, 2016), 'Ethiopian Foreign Minister Seeks Jamaica Support to Sit on UN Security Council'. Jamaica, accessed 5 September 2016 at <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-ab&btnG=Search&q=Loop+News+Report+%28June+13%2C+2016%29%2C+%E2%80%98Ethiopian+foreign+minister+seeks+Jamaica+support+to+sit+on+UN+Security+Council%E2%80%99>
- MacLeod, E.C. (2014), *Visions of Zion: Ethiopians and Rastafari in Search for the Promised Land*, New York: New York University Press.

- Marley, R.N. and McIntosh, W.P. aka Bob Marley and Peter Tosh (1973), 'Get Up, Stand Up', The Wailers album *Burnin'*, Recorded: Harry J. Studios, Kingston, Jamaica
- Milkias, P. (2011), *Ethiopia*. Santa Barbara, Calif, ABC-CLIO.
- Mekonnen, Y.K. (2013), *Ethiopia: The Land, Its People, History and Culture*, accessed 20 April 2017 at <https://books.google.com.et/books?isbn=9987160247>
- Murrell, N.S. et al. (ed.), 1998, *Chanting Down Babylon – The Rastafari Reader*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Niaah, J. and Christian, I. (2013), *What Is Rastafari? Introduction Rastafari – A National Museum Jamaica Exhibition*, Kingston, The Institute of Jamaica, Ministry of Youth and Culture.
- Palmer, C. A. (2006), *Eric Williams and the Making of the Modern Caribbean*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Pankhurst, R. 'Who Were the "Young Ethiopians" (or "Young Abyssinians")? – An Historical Enquiry', *Ethiopian e-Journal for Research and Innovation Foresight*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2010) – Education Issue: pp (121–138), accessed 16 April 2017 at <https://www.google.com/search?q=Young+Ethiopians+or+Young+Abyssinians+by+Richard+Pankhurst&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&client=firefox-b-ab>
- Prunier, G. and Ficquet, E. et al. (2015), *Understanding Contemporary Ethiopia: Monarchy, Revolution and the Legacy of Meles Zenawi*. C. Hurst & Company (Publishers) Ltd., UK. Accessed 13 September 2016 at <https://books.google.com/books?id=wnxeCwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Rogers, A. (1924), *The Holy Piby*, Woodbridge, New Jersey, Athlican Strong Arm Company, accessed digitally on 23 May 2013 at the Anguilla Library Service.
- Shashemene Profiles (2014), unpublished interviews with Beverley Stewart and Reuben Kush, Shashemene, Ethiopia.
- Stanton, J.R. 'The Realities of Resistance and Nationhood', *Current Events and Topical Issues*, posted on TheBlackList Pub. on 7 July 2016, accessed 10 July 2016 at theblacklistpub.ning.com/forum/topics/the-realities-of-resistance-and-nationhood
- Tafari, I. (2001), *Rastafari in Transition – The Politics of Cultural Confrontation in Africa and the Caribbean (1966–1988)*, Chicago, Jamaica, London, Trinidad and Tobago Research Associates School Times Publications Frontline Distribution Int'l. Inc.
- Tibebu, T. (1995), *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896–1974*, accessed 15 April 2017 at <https://books.google.com.et/books?isbn=1569020019>
- United Nations Durban Programme of Action (2001), World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, accessed 5 September 2016, at <http://www.un.org/WCAR/durban.pdf>
- Vinson, R. (2009), 'Providential Design: American Negroes and Garveyism in South Africa', in West, M.O., Martin, W.G., Fanon, C.W. (ed.) *From Toussaint to Tupac – The Black International since the Age of Revolution*, The University of North Carolina Press, accessed 5 September 2016 at <https://books.google.com/books?id=rNxa2v3rz8oC&pg=RA1-PA151&dq>
- Worku, M. (2007), translated by Ras Abye Tilahun, *The Golden Book of Wisdom from Ethiopia – A collection of Amharic Proverbs & Oral Literature*, Volume I, Shashemene: Author.