

LIONS IN BABYLON :
THE RASTAFARIANS OF JAMAICA
AS A
VISIONARY MOVEMENT

by

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Abstract

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This thesis approaches Rastafarianism as a visionary movement whose development in the Jamaican context has been influenced by historical, cultural, social, economic, and political factors. It discusses the manner in which the experience of a visionary state of consciousness produced by the ingestion of cannabis affects the ideological and social dynamics of the movement. It is argued that the two processes which accompany this act - meditation and reasoning - are critical in enabling individual members both to derive directing ideology from official formulations and to mediate social interaction among various groups in the movement. These mechanisms are examined in more detail by focusing upon one leader within the movement and upon his immediate social network. It is argued that the experience of visionary states within the small group situation of meditation and reasoning contributes to the development of a social movement which permits a wide range of individual adaptations within a general ideological framework.

Résumé

LIONS A BABYLONE

Le Ras Tafari en Jamaïque :

mouvement visionnaire

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Cette thèse examine le Ras Tafari comme mouvement visionnaire dont l'évolution dans le cadre jamaïcain a été influencée par des éléments historiques, culturels, sociaux, économiques et politiques. Elle parle de la façon dont l'expérience d'un état de conscience visionnaire produit par l'ingestion de la marihuana influe sur la dynamique idéologique et sociologique du mouvement. Selon nous, les deux opérations de l'esprit qui accompagnent cette action - méditation et raisonnement - jouent un rôle décisif en ce sens qu'elles permettent à chacun des membres d'en tirer un double profit, c'est-à-dire, en puisant une idéologie directrice dans les formulations officielles et en facilitant la communication réciproque parmi les divers groupes du mouvement. Ces opérations sont étudiées de manière plus détaillée dans le cas particulier d'un leader du mouvement et de son cercle social immédiat. Selon nous, l'expérience des états visionnaires vis-à-vis la méditation et le raisonnement en petit groupe contribue à l'évolution d'un mouvement social qui admet des possibilités importantes et variées d'adaptation individuelle dans un cadre général idéologique.

Forward

Brother Timhirt the temple-keeper posed me a riddle. Drawing the numbers three, five and eight on the ground, he asked me how I would go about filling four parts from eight into five? I replied that I would fill in the five with a three, then refill the three and put those into the rest of the five; then I would be left with a one-part measure in the three, and from that I could measure anything. He laughed and said : " Seen. With that one you can do anything. Anyhow as you come down to the one it's all right. For one is I, Rastafari, I-and-I. "

I want to express my gratitude to the following sisters and brethren for having taught me the same lesson in different ways : Marra; Saffa; Milikit; Gazza; Ashsha; Tabbot; Bimg; Faka; Kass; Posta; Rajjim; Shibo; Wadaj; Sabat; Kallada; Zimmita; Chuhat; Har; Timhirt; Goradie; Manta; Zamara; Karra; Alawa; Matra; Irfat; Kalam; Ababa; Sukar; Nahiyi; Chinkillat; Doro; Gannat; Chawata; Arbana; Kaboro; Santi; Zagol; Daba; Asalfo.

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To brother Maskaram, who took even more pains than these others,

rastaman
counterswell of neptune
beating your trident
into illuminum
lalibelas

dungle buccaneer
nomad of the undertao
wearing your coronet
of see-weed
the pipe full-sail,

I dedicate these lines.

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Chapter One

Without A Vision The People Perish : The Study of Millenarian Activities

The subject of this thesis is the Rastafarian movement of Jamaica. Rastafarianism can be characterized most generally as a Black, African-oriented millenarian movement. We are using the notion of the Millennium as our point of departure for an analysis of Rastafarianism. Whatever else Rastafarianism may share in common with other types of social movements, its one guiding imperative is a vision of the Millennium to come. This is the feature which distinguishes millenarian movements from other social movements. It is the expectation of the Millennium that orients members in the world and guides their actions. Although the exact nature of the millennial conception may vary from society to society, its one goal, Redemption, is imagined as perfection.

For the Rastafarians, the Saints (those who accept the millennial message) shall reach Zion (the perfect state) when Babylon (the corrupt secular society) falls through the intercession of supernatural forces, somehow embodied in the person of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.¹ This collective Salvation for all Black People in the diaspora who accept this message will be total in that a new man and a new society will be achieved. Traditionally this vision of Redemption has taken the form of Repatriation to Africa from which Black People in the West were taken as slaves. The Rastafarians have managed for over forty years to maintain a sense of imminent change. The fact that only a few dozen Rastafarians have trickled to an Ethiopian settlement during that time period surely reinforces the necessity of conceiving of this transportation as a movement en masse, at some unspecified time in the future - while at the same time the very fact that a handful of Saints have reached Zion sustains hope.

This bare outline of the Rastafarian conception of the Millennium fits into the general pattern of millenarian dreams which other such movements share, regardless of cultural differences. The Millennium has

been a focus of longing since the time of Christ. Dense now with connotation and emotional overtones, it refers specifically to the period of a thousand years during which Christ will establish His reign on earth (Rev. 20 : 1 - 7). It has since come to be accepted as a reference to a period of general righteousness and happiness in the most immediate future. Sometimes the Greek equivalent chiliasm is used instead. Researchers in this area generally agree that " the term may be applied figuratively to any conception of a perfect age to come, or of a perfect land to be made accessible " (Thrupp, 1962 : 12). Others point out that millenarian movements conceive of Redemption as collective, total, terrestrial, imminent, and miraculous in some way (Cohn, 1962 : 31; Talmon, 1966 : 200). In both these ways the Rastafarian conception fits the model.

The name " Ras Tafari " is a combination of an Amharic word meaning " Lord " or " head " (Ras) and the family name of Emperor Haile Selassie before ascending the throne (Tafari). Until they reach Zion, the Rastafarian Saints must live as Lions in Babylon - as exemplary Africans in exile working for the unity of Africa. Their image of themselves as Lions is derived from one of Haile Selassie's titles, " The Conquering Lion of Judah ". In their eyes this is a reference to Ethiopia's symbolic role as guardian of the continent of Africa, the great cat that watches in the jungle during the long night. The focus of this thesis will be an examination of the millenarian activities of these Lions in Babylon who await the establishment of the Kingdom of Zion on earth.

Approaches to Millenarism

The term " millenarian movement " refers to such a diversity of social phenomena that it is difficult to establish a general model for such activities without noting an exception to every point made. Even if we were to follow Burridge's lead in assuming an " impersonal historical force " is at work (Burridge, 1969 : 137), once this energy manifests in the cultural realm, we are presented with a variety of ideational forms and social patterns which still have to be explained, and even more, predicted. Bryan Wilson in his encyclopoedic study of

millenarian movements emphasizes the importance of their cultural context. In particular, he stresses the differences between the Western social setting and Third World societies as affecting the final form the millenarian movement in question will take (Wilson, 1973 : 31).

These difficulties notwithstanding, we can safely say that all millenarian movements represent a form of protest against the way things are in the world, and express a desire for redemption through some manner of supernatural intercession. As such, their membership generally consists of the less privileged members of society. Some scholars, like Cohn (1962 : 34 - 35) and Shepperson (1962 : 46), hold that this viewpoint is an unwarranted assumption on the part of Marxist scholars. But Worsley has taken this objection into account by distinguishing between " millenarian movements as large-scale social phenomena and millenarism as the belief systems of small-scale micro-sects among coteries " (Worsley, 1968 : xlii).

Millenarian movements are predominantly religious in that their relationship with the supernatural provides the focal point for their belief system and activities. Although their symbolism and ritual typically incorporate otherworldly elements, such movements do have political implications. Generally speaking, their presence frequently provokes some form of social ostracism from elements of the dominant society. Nevertheless, it remains true that such movements rarely are effective politically in the sense of seizing power. For one thing, they tend to be loosely organized around local charismatic leaders who provide inspiration for the followers until deliverance comes at the hands of a saviour. Messianic fervour and emotional enthusiasms characterize many of their activities. Rarely are such movements able to sustain directed leadership over a period of time. As a result they tend to be socially polymorphous, even fissiparous.

Rastafarianism fits the general model described above. Its membership is drawn primarily from the less privileged groups of Jamaican society, the unemployed and the underemployed, particularly those from urban slum areas. The cultural content of the movement, its ritual activities and symbol system, rely heavily upon redemptive motifs. Even where that content is expressly political - for example, with respect to political oppression

in Africa - the message is phrased in terms of God and Judgement. Although the movement is non-violent, loosely organized, and appears to represent no organized political threat to the status quo, Rastafarians have drawn a great deal of hostility from Jamaican society. Despite its egalitarian ideology, local charismatic leaders tend to shape the direction the movement takes. Sectarian tendencies are especially pronounced in the case of Rastafarianism, and we shall have occasion below to discuss this point further. Finally, in terms of the emotional nature of millenarian activities, Rastafarians generally value the use of cannabis sativa or " herbs " as a means of heightening their consciousness or gaining " inspiration " in their search for God.

There are at least two ways of approaching the study of millenarian movements. One is classificatory, the other explanatory. There exist a number of studies which classify millenarian movements along various dimensions. Such studies usually succeed in pointing out what we know already - that we are dealing with a diverse and complex social phenomenon that takes many guises. Such movements are labelled by a variety of terms : nativistic movements (Linton, 1943); revitalization movements (Wallace, 1956); messianic movements (Ribeiro, 1962 : Pereira de Queiroz, 1965); African " independency " movements (Barrett, D.B. 1968.); religions of the oppressed (Lanternari, 1965); cult movements (Aberle, 1962); crisis cults (La Barre, 1972). This list does not exhaust the inventory. Bryan Wilson (1973), La Barre (1971) and Lanternari (1974), to name only a few, have itemized these movements and attempted to supply us with a general framework for their comparative study. Both Burridge (1969 : 102) and Kopytoff (1964 : 85) have suggested that this multiplicity of terms represents the particular emphasis that the analyst chooses to place on certain elements of such movements. This of course is a possibility. But so too is the observation that these movements actually do differ substantially from each other.

At best, classification is a prelude to explanation. With respect to the latter, we are able to distinguish between several levels of explanatory approaches to the study of millenarian movements, although their discussion is generally presented as a debate between various schools of thought. In fact, these orientations actually complement each other.

While psychological, economic, social, political, and religious factors may be distinguished analytically, in reality they are interdependent. Thus a comprehensive discussion of millenarianism would have to avoid reductionism of any kind and of necessity develop a framework which would encompass these different points of departure. Moreover, it should be able to cast light upon both small-scale behaviour within the movement (e.g., individual experience and day-to-day decision-making processes) as well as larger-scale social phenomenon at the level of the movement's relationship with other relevant groups in the society. Finally, such an approach should not overlook the millenarists' own account of their experience. Bearing in mind these objectives, let us now turn to a discussion of some of the more relevant literature on millenarianism.

1. Psychological Perspectives

These interpretations stress the emotional and enthusiastic nature of millenarian activities, seeing in this type of behaviour a kind of irrationality that verges on collective insanity. Norman Cohn's important contribution to the historical study of European millenarianism, while clearly an outstanding scholarly work, ultimately uses a form of psychological reductionism. Cohn believes these movements to have been composed of the most disoriented and desperate of the poor. He suggests that they:

Acted out with fierce energy, a shared fantasy which, though delusional, yet brought them such intense emotional release that they could live only through it, and were perfectly willing both to kill and to die for it (Cohn, 1970a : 28).

By treating these movements as collective psychopathologies, Cohn minimizes the social and political contexts in which they flourished. Although one of Cohn's achievements is to demonstrate the persistence of millenarian themes over the centuries, he gives us little understanding of the social conditions which activate them. Nevertheless, Cohn almost encourages us to think of millenarian movements as naturally occurring events, being both repetitive and self-renewing.

Weston La Barre has also referred to millenarian activities as group neuroses. In La Barre's analysis, these movements represent unrealistic attempts to deny death by either positing a messiah or calling for a return of the natives' own heroes (La Barre, 1972 : 270 - 272).

These crisis cults deal with irresolvable problems in a manner that is distinct from ordinary secular actions or social movements such as war or legal and fiscal reforms (La Barre, 1972 : 42). La Barre writes:

In unbearable crisis situations, religious prophets are culture innovators who are able to contrive new social forms and new symbolisms to keep all men in the society from going individually insane : but what a monstrous pathology then is the new 'normality'In order to see clearly how a whole society can be as disoriented as any individual, it is necessary to examine the false dichotomy between culture and personality (La Barre, 1972 : 47).

In dismissing such responses as illusory (La Barre, 1972 : 42) and by presuming the senselessness of the phenomenon, there is no encouragement to penetrate further. In Dunn's words we are left with the impression that " religion is the product of mental aberration, a neurotic response to reality, the non-neurotic response to which would be science " (Dunn, 1974 : 333). In the final analysis, psychological explanations, while sensitive to the social conditions which provide the setting for millenarian activities, tend to ignore the role of such conditions in the developmental dynamics of such movements. Such approaches treat the enthusiastic and emotional responses of the members to real conditions of oppression as ultimately irrational. They overlook the role of millenarian belief systems as ideologies of the oppressed, and the conditions that drive people to such extremes. It is unfortunate that this orientation has oversimplified the nature of millenarian movements because the study of psychology is rooted in the individual. Other approaches often concentrate too much on social structural variables and show little appreciation of the impact that such movements have on the day-to-day life of individuals. Psychological interpretations often disregard the potential that such movements have for generating more effective secular action, both by focusing on the sources of conflict in the society, and by fostering a sense of collective identity that has the possibility of transcending purely local boundaries.

Bryan Wilson's approach also tends to emphasize psychological variables, although he claims that at this stage of our knowledge it is impossible to formulate a general theory of causal explanations of cult movements (Wilson, 1973 : 501 - 502). While some might be tempted to dismiss Wilson's work as yet another compulsive taxonomy of religious

movements (La Barre, 1972 : 42), this source remains a valuable contribution to the comparative study of millenarian movements on account of the scholarly and detailed background given for each example. Despite his seven-fold ideal-type classification system which he uses to present the data, Wilson focuses more on one type of response, the thaumaturgical. The manner in which he contrasts the magical-religious cult with the rational and orderly world of Western science reveals Wilson's basic attitude, which is reminiscent of La Barre :

New religious movements - least of all millennial movements - are not prompted by intellectual demand to see things ' as they are ' or by the desire to understand objective truth in a detached way However ingenious may be the interpretation of causal forces that magical and millennial movements canvass, they never constitute impressive demonstrations of intellectual reconstruction. Emotional orientations are too dominant, and evaluations too inseparably incorporated in factual observations for that (Wilson, 1973 : 500).

A weary hiker, seeing a deer, regrets that it is not a horse! Psychological approaches see such movements as utopian at best - as going nowhere. This is unfortunate, because those like Worsley and Hobsbawm who emphasize the political potential of such movements, could draw upon psychologically-oriented studies, the better to understand the appeal of such movements at the individual level. This may help explain why the transformation of millenarian movements into genuinely socialist forms rarely occurs. For example, a major facet of the Rastafarian movement is the strong sense of personal identity fostered by the collective insistence on being African in Jamaica. If personality transformation appears to members to be more central than political transformation, then as researchers we may profitably focus upon that dimension in addition to others.

2. Cultural Perspectives

In this category of explanation we would want to consider the various studies which treat " relative deprivation " or the discrepancy between expectations and achievement as factors motivating millenarian activities. This type of explanation is distinguished from socio-political explanations by virtue of the emphasis that it places upon general cultural processes as opposed to more expressly political and economic ones. Here we may include the work of Linton (1943), Wallace (1956), and Aberle (1962). As unsatisfactory as these views are as comprehensive explanations,

notions of deprivation are always one factor to be considered in a discussion of the aetiology of millenarian activities. Unfortunately, the use of this explanation alone frequently produces studies which lack adequate analysis of the role of colonialism or capitalism as generating the oppressive conditions under which " deprivation " occurs. For example, to speak of " culture contact " and " contact situations " (Linton, 1943) or of " acculturation " and " acculturating agents " (Wallace, 1956) is to mystify (unnecessarily) the process of colonialism or the extension of capitalism through proletarianization. It leads the investigator to focus on the millenarists' specific response rather than to examine the total social and economic context within which such activities develop. Moreover, there is the implication that it is the millenarian society that should adapt to new conditions, and that a millenarian response is not particularly appropriate.

More recently, Hans Mol has developed an extended critique of deprivation theory in explaining the growth of sects and cult movements by arguing that " religion deals with the interpretation of reality - and not just with a reality which can be reduced to a form of deprivation " (Mol, 1976 : 181). In explanations that treat the behaviour of millenarists as attempts to compensate for some form of deprivation, Mol sees an instrumental bias which " regards the need to interpret the world as secondary to the need to master that world " (Mol, 1976 : 183). As an alternative approach he offers the view that:

...a systematic interpretation of reality, and a manipulation of man's world, are interdependent and stand in dialectical rather than causal relation to one another (Mol, 1976 : 183).

Mol identifies his own approach as similar to Geertz, who criticizes Malinowski's interpretation of religion as a coping device. In his essay on religion as a cultural system, Geertz develops the point of view that religion is essentially a system of meaning, and that:

Over its career religion has probably disturbed men as much as it has cheered them; forced then into a head-on unblinking confrontation of the fact that they are born to trouble as often as it has enabled them to avoid such a confrontation of the fact by projecting them into sort of infantile fairy-tale world (Geertz, 1968 : 18).

This is an orientation we intend to develop with respect to Rastafarianism. While Rastafarians could be regarded as " culturally

deprived " with respect to many aspects of Jamaican middle-class and elite culture, it would be a gross oversimplification to say that theirs is a movement of compensation for this fact. The fact that Rastafarians regard non-members as culturally deprived themselves does not support cultural deprivation theory, though it may appear to do so at first glance. What Rastafarian millenarianism offers its followers is neither material wealth nor political power, but a rich complex of meaning and symbols which guide action in the world. It is based on a critique of the shallowness of Jamaican national culture which has systematically suppressed any understanding of African culture and the experience of slavery and colonialism in shaping contemporary Jamaican society. Thus one could reverse the argument by pointing out that it is the non-Rastafarians who are in fact culturally deprived when examined against the Rastafarian cultural creation which is based - and rightly so - on an appreciation of historical experience. The rest of Jamaican society could be regarded as suffering from historical amnesia, to use a term inspired by Memmi (Memmi, 1967 : 102 - 103). Which then is the distorted - and deprived - worldview ? Rastafarians would argue that they are trying to overcome the " hypocrisy " (their term) or duality of existence generated by colonialism.

There has been some interest in testing the application of the cultural deprivation theory to historical materials. Carroll's study revealed that those tribes which had only recently been deprived of buffalo were more likely to join the Ghost Dance movement (Carroll, 1975 : 396). He also found that there was some support for the contention that societies possessing unilineal kin groups and some form of inheritance were less likely to join the movement (Carroll, 1975 : 398). But he was unsuccessful in relating these two variables to each other to determine which would be the more independent one. And of course, in this kind of analysis, other factors cannot be taken into account. Carroll nevertheless has succeeded in directing our attention to certain factors, such as the inhibiting influence of kin groups, which can be taken into account in other case studies, even though they may work in the other direction - that is, to promote millenarianism.

Another approach to the reconsideration of the relative deprivation theory is that of De Beet and Thoden Van Velzen. They question the work

of Voorhoeve and Van Renselaar (1962) who explained Bush Negro millenarism using this model. De Beet and Thoden Van Velzen reassess the historical data and conclude that, if anything, the Bush Negroes were in many ways far better off than other population groups in Surinam during the period of millenarianism. Thus Thoden Van Velzen and De Beet conclude that here the movements were not primarily expressions of despair. They write:

There is no basis for assuming that all such movements would necessarily attempt to promote the interests of the oppressed (De Beet and Thoden Van Velzen 1977 : 131).

On the other hand, these authors make the point that they do not intend to offer an alternative hypothesis, but do point out that they would consider an examination of political conditions and the prevailing mode of production to be of primary importance (De Beet and Thoden Van Velzen, 1977 : 130 - 131).

3. Political Perspectives

Included in this category of explanation are all those studies which treat millenarian movements primarily as expressions of political protest resulting from socio-economic exploitation. While these approaches focus on the objective conditions of millenarists in the world as factors motivating the outbreak of millenarian activities, their analysis goes far beyond the vague causal pleonasms of the deprivation school. This orientation has given rise to two distinct approaches. One appreciates the conditions of exploitation which generate millenarian activities, but regards these movements as ultimately futile. Lanternari and E.P. Thompson are proponents of this viewpoint. The other position tends to be evolutionary in its perspective. While noting the limitations of such movements as far as achieving a positive change in objective conditions, it argues that their presence is indicative of an advance in the collective consciousness of the masses that has the potential to develop into more effective forms of protest. Here we would include both Hobsbawm and Worsley.

Both orientations, however, are preoccupied with the objective conditions of the members of such movements. While they are able to provide rich insight into their social conditioning, generally they are

unable to explain why some individuals in the same socio-economic circumstances chose a religiously-inspired form of protest, while others follow a more secular path - while still others do nothing at all. Moreover, given that a religious response is indicated, we need to ask why some people chose millenarianism as opposed to other forms of religious expression, such as Pentecostalism or spirit possession.

Let us examine these approaches more closely. Lanternari's work is a study of " messianic movements " in colonial societies. He uses a framework and terminology which are bound to offend the sensibilities of those anthropologists conscious of the suffering wrought by colonialism. That Lanternari should find messianic movements to be " interesting and astonishing results of cultural clash between populations in very different stages of development " which " serve the interest of the more advanced civilizations by tearing down barriers erected by Western colonialism and ethnocentrism " is informative (Lanternari, 1965 : 239). Language such as this should alert the reader to his evolutionary stance. Elsewhere he writes of these movements as being " highly impressive manifestations of the acculturative process " which, in his opinion, " constitute an alternative to other responses to the challenge of Western civilization " (Lanternari, 1974 : 484). Although Lanternari focuses on social-structural variables, that is, the colonial context of such movements - a factor which needs to be given more attention in light of the limitations of earlier studies - his understanding of colonialism leaves much to be desired. He tends to see it as both inevitable and desirable, from the point of view of facilitating the evolution of Third World societies into modern " civilized " ones. Thus his use of a " culture contact " model is both disturbing and revealing, for his own ethnocentrism stands in the way of a full analysis. By focusing on the rapid changes brought about by colonialism as the reasons for the rise of millenarian movements, Lanternari is unable to explain why such movements may develop in societies that have been colonized for long periods of time, and presumably had time to " adjust " to such changes. He is also unable to explain why such movements would develop in situations where they are not apparently preceded by a social crisis. Roback's analysis of the Jordanite movement in Guyana is a case in point (Roback, 1973 : 20).

On the other hand, Lanternari appears to recognize that millenarian movements can arise " endogenously " without colonialism being a factor (Lanternari, 1965 : 248 - 249). Here it seems is an opportunity to examine other factors which might contribute to the genesis of such movements, but Lanternari passes it by. Indeed, to attribute to " historical forces " their own laws, and their inevitability, tends to mystify both the process of social change and colonialism once again (Lanternari, 1965 : 252). Lanternari's work is in fact riddled with contradictions. Are these " religions of the oppressed " or " cults of liberation " (page vi) ? Is this book an " indictment of Western civilization " (page vii) or a study of responses to the " challenge " of Western civilization ? Finally, are millenarian movements predominantly " radical escapes from reality " (page 248) and " collective psychoses " (page 249) or useful vehicles for fostering inter-tribal cooperation (page 253) ?

All these points of view represent possibilities, of course. However, it would seem that Lanternari's final assessment of these movements is that although conditioned by colonial excesses, they are ultimately futile. Margaret Sanford has actually taken this pessimism one step further. Her analysis suggests that such movements " may be quite positive indications that acculturation may be completed or well on the way to accomplishment " (Sanford, 1974 : 504). Her analysis of Carib history in Belize is intended to demonstrate the contention that a " revitalization movement " is an indication that the colonized group has already absorbed the values of the colonizing class, " including the value which places themselves at a low level of social ranking " (Sanford, 1974 : 506).

Turning our attention away from the colonial exploitation of indigenous peoples to the oppression of the working class and urban lumpenproletariat under conditions of early capitalism, we find similar attitudes shared by historians who have examined social movements for that period. E.P. Thompson, in his discussion of English millenarian movements in the 18th and early 19th centuries, refers to them as " the chiliasm of despair " (Thompson, 1968 : 411 - 440). In his analysis of the Joanna Southcott movement, probably the most influential of them all, Thompson recognizes that millenarianism appealed to the working poor, in particular those who were caught in the contradictions of Methodism, a religion of both the

exploiters and the exploited (Thompson, 1968 : 412). He writes:

Southcottianism was scarcely a form of revolutionary chiliasm; it did not inspire men to effective social action, and scarcely engaged with the real world; its apocalyptic fervour was closely akin to the fervours of Methodism - it brought to a point of hysterical intensity the desire for personal salvation. But it was certainly a cult of the poor. Joanna's God cursed the false shepherds of England (landowners and governors) who conspired to raise the price of bread (Thompson, 1968 : 424).

Thompson contrasts revolutionary chiliasm with the chiliasm of despair and provides us with many examples of the latter, but none of the former. He is critical of Cohn's treatment of millenarian movements as collective psychopathologies, and raises the possibility that those who adopted the " quietist " response and did nothing despite severe social and economic dislocations, had a sense of reality even more impaired than the chiliasts (Thompson, 1968 : 54). He argues that the fantastic-sounding imagery of millenarists, so distasteful to Cohn, is " evidence of powerful subjective motivations, fully as real as the objective, fully as effective ... in their historical agency " (Thompson, 1968 : 54). But, he continues, just because this imagery pointed to goals that were clearly illusory, does not mean the chiliasts had a " chronically impaired sense of reality " (Thompson, 1968 : 54). Thompson communicates a very real sense of the social upheavals that were occurring during the 18th and 19th centuries in England and an understanding of why millenarian movements would appeal to some sectors of the population. However, he is unable to explain why one type of religious enthusiasm is chosen over another. Nor does he focus on the reasons why millenarian forms of protest were inherently limited in their expression. Clearly this factor needs more attention.

Where both Lanternari and Thompson would treat millenarianism as a politically conservative force - Lanternari because he regards such movements as actually assisting the penetration of colonialism, Thompson because they subvert the revolutionary energies of the poor - Hobsbawm and Worsley would have these movements heralding a revolutionary shift in the political consciousness of the masses in the direction of their own mobilization. For these two authors, millenarianism is a pre-political stage in the growth of collective consciousness towards revolutionary awareness. Worsley, like Lanternari, applied his thesis to non-Western societies, while Hobsbawm, like Thompson, works with European materials.

Charges of economic determinism have been levied at Worsley because of the emphasis that he places on the social and economic upheavals in native society caused by colonialism (Jarvie, 1967 : 91). This rather extreme view seems unwarranted in light of the kind of analysis that he actually pursues. Worsley's intention is to demonstrate the historical development of " Cargo Cults " in Melanesia over a period of time in the direction of proto-nationalist movements. Because of the nature and scope of the data, he has had to concentrate on broad social structural variables, to show how these movements emerged, the activities they engaged in, and the events which gradually transformed them.

Talmon suggests that Worsley was not interested in the development of the cultural aspects of these movements - in their doctrine and ritual - but a reading of the case studies (Taro, Vailala Madness, Marching Rule, and Paliau, to name a few) gives us enough insight into the content of these movements to enable us to make useful comparisons with other examples. As the work is not based on prolonged fieldwork, it is bound to be ethnographically weak, unlike Burridge's Mambu which emphasizes the moral and intellectual content of another Melanesian cargo movement.

Worsley's contribution should be recognized for what it is. Given the negative attitude of most authorities towards millenarianism, it is refreshing to be able to approach them in a more positive light. Although Worsley is under no illusions about the limitations of such movements, his intention is to demonstrate the manner in which over several decades they have served as the focal point for the growth of social consciousness. One of his constant themes is to show how such movements facilitated ideological, and occasionally social, unity on a level which transcended tribal and local interests. In the case of Taro, for example, Worsley emphasizes that its doctrine of brotherhood, its nonviolent and non-militant orientation, and its custom of shaking hands, had political significance in the fact that these customs represented a break from past traditions and symbolized the forging of new social relations (Worsley, 1968 : 65). Now that Taro followers were forbidden to carry weapons to their gardens, villages and tribes that had been hostile to each other began establishing amicable relationships. In his discussion of Vailala Madness, which sprang up after World War I, Worsley emphasizes the way

in which its members rejected oppressive tribal customs (Worsley, 1968 : 86 - 87), as well as economically exploitative relationships with the Europeans (Worsley, 1968 : 88 - 89). In particular, he shows how the movement was forced to develop " new political mechanisms " in order to protect themselves from growing hostility on the part of church and government (Worsley, 1968 : 89). For Mambu, which developed just prior to World War II, Worsley emphasizes its anti-white, anti-mission, and antigovernment content, as well as its repudiation of certain tribal customs. The suggestion is that non-Western peoples would have to realize both the limitations of some traditional ways as well as the devastating effect of colonialism before being able to assume political responsibility. Thus such movements can be seen as vehicles for the development of this collective consciousness.

In his discussion of post-World War II movements, Worsley is able to demonstrate better the continuity between the spread of cargo movements and the development of proto-nationalist movements. Marching Rule is one such example. Although he notes the initial millenarian content of this movement, Worsley emphasizes the political, social, and economic demands that its members made, and points out the secular forms of organizational control that characterized it. For example, Marching Rule organized people to boycott the census, to refuse taxes, and to resist plantation labour. Throughout the history of these movements, labour disruption on the plantations was a major factor in provoking administrative hostility. The Paliau movement in Manus was even more effective in this respect. In addition to proscribing oppressive tribal customs (such as the emancipation of women from unfair marriage arrangements) Paliau rejected illogical cargo beliefs, and set about organizing local communities along more secular and cooperative lines, in a fairly disciplined manner. The movement also united formerly hostile groups. In the early 1950's following arrest and imprisonment Paliau re-emerged in a less important capacity to work cooperatively with government administrators. These last two examples, Marching Rule and Paliau, are the only two large-scale movements in Melanesia (outside Fiji and New Caledonia) to be recognized by colonial authorities (Worsley, 1968 : 194).

Worsley has indeed shown us that cargo movements are capable of generating a collective social consciousness that transcends local

communities. He has demonstrated the capacity of millenarian movements to carry a revolutionary message. However, in only two of his examples do we have clear evidence of their evolution into effective secular forms of social organization, which appear to be reformist at best. Worsley would have done well to consider at greater length the limitations inherent in millenarian movements that make this transition difficult. This is a question which needs more attention, if we are to profit from Worsley's insight.

Worsley insists on treating millenarian activities primarily as an " expression of reaction against what is felt as oppression " (Worsley, 1968 : 227). Herein lies the major limitation of his work. He is so concerned with the efficiency of these movements in achieving some degree of integration among previously disunited people, that he tends to interpret and to evaluate the various aspects of millenarian behaviour from this instrumental point of view. In particular, Worsley argues that such movements take a religious form because appeals to supernatural authority, supported by the appropriate rituals and symbols, are more effective in bridging local and sectarian interests in the promotion of unity (Worsley, 1968 : 237). While religious ideologies and religious ritual under certain circumstances may well serve the purpose of transcending conflict, surely we need to carry the question further, by examining the role of religious behaviour as an end in itself, and not only as a means to an end.

Hobsbawm's analysis of working-class and peasant movements in Europe draws similar conclusions. Much hinges on Hobsbawm's understanding of what comprises millenarianism :

The essence of millenarianism, the hope of a complete and radical change in the world which will be reflected in the millennium, a world shorn of all its present deficiencies, is not confined to primitivism. It is present, almost by definition, in all revolutionary movements of whatever kind, and 'millenarian' elements may therefore be discovered by the student in any of them, in so far as they have ideals. This does not mean that therefore all revolutionary movements are millennial in the narrower sense of the word ... (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 57).

Hobsbawm characterizes such movements as rejecting the present world, possessing a chiliastic ideology, and showing a vagueness about the way in which changes will occur (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 57 - 58).

Like Worsley, Hobsbawm analyzes millenarian movements as vehicles for social protest. Moreover, both authors build evolutionary assumptions

into their models. Worsley, for example, distinguishes between two types of millenarian movements, activist and passivist (Worsley, 1968 : 227 - 236) : the former is dynamic and actively engaged in preparing for the millennium, while the latter is escapist and quietist in nature. Worsley argues that " there is a general trend in the development of cults ... towards secular political organization " with the result that " the revolutionary energy is drained from them, they become passive " (Worsley, 1968 : 231). One exception he notes occurs when " secular military-political " means of struggle are defeated; then we are likely to see the rise of activist millenarian movements (Worsley, 1968 : 230). Hobsbawm suggests a continuum of movements that " range from the purely passive at one extreme, to those which skirt modern revolutionary methods at the other ... to those which merge naturally into modern revolutionary movements " (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 58). For Hobsbawm, the critical distinction is that revolutionaries make revolution, while millenarists " expect it to make itself " (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 58).

Hobsbawm contends that the great contribution of millenarianism is to create an effervescent mood that makes the masses susceptible to the " imprinting " of a revolutionary philosophy. In other words, it is a necessary but not sufficient condition in bringing about radical change. The very notion of "imprinting " suggests that Hobsbawm conceives of the masses themselves as incapable of transforming their objective situation and assuming responsibility for themselves. From the materials he presents, it would seem that millenarists are prevented by their class experience and historical circumstances from pursuing the logical consequences of their own actions. Using such phrases as "atmosphere of high exaltation ", " joyful tidings ", " contagion ", and " aura of invincibility and future triumph " to describe the mood surrounding millenarian activities, Hobsbawm suggests that:

Millenarianism, in fact, is not merely a touching survival from an archaic past, but an extremely useful phenomenon, which modern social and political movements can profitably utilize to spread their range of influence, and to imprint the groups of men and women affected by it with their teachings (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 106).

Again, he asserts that when masses of people are enthralled by the prospect of the Millennium at hand, they are predisposed to be "imprinted with the right kind of ideas about political organization, strategy and tactics,

and the right kind of programme " without which millenarian movements inevitably collapse (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 107). Hobsbawm's concept of " imprinting " the masses suggests he is far less optimistic than Worsley regarding people's ability to recognize their own limitations, given the desirability of a certain end. Worsley seems to take it for granted that activist millenarian movements will evolve into secular political ones, given that alternative.

What would be useful in this context would be data based on personal interviews with millenarianists who are experiencing the possibility of such a transition. Jamaica in the 1970's is a case in point. Here the Workers' Liberation League - a Marxist-Leninist party - has been actively engaged in organizing trade unions independently of the two established parties and their unions. Given Prime Minister Michael Manley's " socialist-democratic " leanings, the political atmosphere surrounding such developments is more conciliatory than usual. While it appears that the W.L.L. is growing only very slowly, the Rastafarian movement is thriving. A leading Jamaican clergyman has recently pointed out that " the growth of the Rastafarian Movement, even among the middle class, threatens to outpace the birthrate " (A. Smith, 1968 : 12). Under the circumstances, we need to determine what factors are stimulating the florescence of the Rastafarian movement. Its recent growth seems to be largely among the youth - both middle-class and lower-class - for whom employment possibilities are few. The Rastafarian movement is subject to both cooptation pressures and persecution tactics at the same time, to manipulation and to control. Is it possible that conservative political forces would actively seek to perpetuate millenarian activities among a segment of the population which is potentially explosive, rather than risk the possibility that such people would seek a more radical alternative? However, for Rastafarianism to be acceptable under these conditions, it would have to be purged of certain ideological elements. Thus we find a continuing hostility to ideas of Repatriation, and to the use of cannabis to promote visionary experiences (although its use in other contexts appears to be better tolerated). These ideas are developed at greater length below. The only point we wish to make here is the possibility - not taken into account by Worsley, Hobsbawm, and other

writers in this area - that conservative political forces in a society may actively seek to encourage participation in millenarian activities in order to deflect attention away from more radical options. Thus a millenarian movement may be perpetuated beyond the conditions outlined by Worsley and Hobsbawm which should herald its transformation, its regression, or its demise.

It is possible to approach the Samin movement in Java from this point of view. Pieter Korver has argued for its reinterpretation from the perspective of millenarianism, attempting to demonstrate that its origin was multicausal, and that in fact, it displayed far more internal diversity than previously thought (Korver, 1975). Saminism was a rural peasant movement protesting colonial measures such as closing the teak forests and increasing monetary taxation from the 1890's onwards. Korver raises the problem that although the Saminists were " unable to voice their grievances through concerted political organization or action in the modern sense " why did they not then join forces with another movement, operating at the same time in the same area, with similar goals - one that was far more effectively organized as a modern political movement (Korver, 1975 : 265)? Yet Worsley has been arguing that millenarian movements have a special capacity for uniting diverse segments, while Hobsbawm would see in this situation excellent possibilities for effective imprinting. Why did it not happen? Putting aside the question of whether or not an instrumental approach such as this, is warranted, Korver could profitably look to the relationship between Saminism, other political organizations, and conservative forces in the society, for part of his answer. Cooptation and repression of millenarian movements need to be examined in more detail.²

One cannot ascribe certain developments or the lack of them within millenarian movements to the intrinsic properties or dynamics of millenarian movements alone. Millenarian movements do not exist in social isolation and it would be naive to underestimate the kinds of forces which are marshalled against them. We need to consider not only the possibility of manipulation by cooptation of selected aspects of the movement into the " national culture " but also the real probability of infiltration by agents provocateurs. Recently the history of the Métis

revolutionary, Louis Riel, has been examined from this perspective and a good case has been made for such an argument (Adams, 1975 : 96 - 97; Wiebe, 1977). As for the Rastafarians, this is undoubtedly an important factor. If one were to regard millenarian movements primarily as forms of political protest, one would as a matter of course examine the impact of countervailing influences on the direction of the movement. In our opinion neither Worsley nor Hobsbawm devotes enough attention to this matter.

In his discussion of the Lazzarettists of Tuscany, Hobsbawm notes that, being predominantly religious in orientation, and Papist to boot, the movement survived with the tacit approval of the Church for a time - at least until Lazzaretti proclaimed himself the Messiah. Whether their falling out was due entirely to this heresy or to more complex political issues needs further investigation. Hobsbawm notes that it was not until he visited France where he found wealthy patrons, that Lazzaretti announced his self-appointment (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 70). What in fact happened in France? Who were these " wealthy patrons " ? What were their interests in Lazzaretti? These questions need clarification. At the final point in his variegated career Lazzaretti descended victorious from his mountain fortress whereupon he was shot dead by the waiting carabineers.

If millenarists are susceptible to " imprinting " by responsible social activists, they may also be vulnerable to precipitous vanguardist action at the instigation of infiltrators. In the former instance an appeal is made to their political sensibilities, in the latter situation their millenarian enthusiasms may be manipulated. From their inception millenarian movements engender opposition. Thus the whole problem of institutionalization of millenarianism has to be approached from this perspective. Paliau was arrested, served a prison term, and returned to organize a kind of cooperative community along reformist lines. A similar scenario was acted out in the case of Rev. C. Henry, a prominent Rastafarian leader who was tried for sedition in the early 1960's, only to be released a few years later in order to establish a reformist cooperative rural community. Henry's political affiliations are well-known. About such examples we need to ask what was the nature of the agreement reached

between such leaders and conservative political elements. In the Henry example, the radical and oppositional nature of the movement was considerably dampened, particularly with regard to Repatriation (which represents for those Rastafarians who support it their ideological rejection of Jamaican society as presently construed); and in its place we find emphasis placed upon peaceful economic and cultural coexistence within the society. Thus attention is deflected from certain aspects of the movement as traditionally understood. While we are not attributing the course of development of any particular millenarian movement to this external factor alone, our experience of Rastafarianism suggests that considerably more attention needs to be given to the dynamics of co-optation and repression.

But let us turn to a more fundamental problem - the role that religious ideology and symbolism play in such movements. In dealing with another example, the Sicilian Fasci, Hobsbawm identifies the millennial elements as being the use of religious symbols on the part of the peasants, their ideological confusions, and their unbridled hopes for redemption. To Hobsbawm religion was " fundamentally irrelevant to the movement, except insofar as the peasants' aspirations were automatically expressed in its terminology " (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 101). Their ideological confusion derives, in his opinion, from their " medieval " outlook (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 98), while their vision of the new order was revolutionary but utopian to the extent that they were unprepared to organize for it. The question persists : why were they unprepared to organize for it? Indeed, this is characteristic of most millenarian movements, a " fundamental vagueness " about how the future utopia is to be achieved. However, should we turn our attention to more immediate concerns, that is, how millenarianists go about their daily affairs, we might understand more clearly some of the satisfactions of the path they have chosen, and some of the obstacles that lie in the way of transformation of millenarian activities. Here we would want to examine the role of religion not only as a language of protest, but from several other perspectives as well. What it is depends upon many interconnected factors, not the least of which is the historical tradition the millenialists are drawing upon, and the role that religious expression and religious experience have played in the society in question.

We might also discuss the work of Pereira de Queiroz in this context of political explanations of millenarism. Although she does not go as far as Hobsbawm and Worsley to argue that such movements are possible harbingers of the awakening of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, she does tend to see millenarian activities in a positive and political framework - as dynamic, innovative, and reformist (Queiroz, 1965). Her data derives from a study of Brazilian messianic movements, which depart from our previous examples in some respects. There we find dozens of different millennial movements, flourishing in the rural backlands, each organized around a leader, who as the group's messiah, founds semi-independent or isolated communities to which entire families belong. These communities are relatively disciplined and organized along the lines of whatever vision of the New Society the group in question holds. The foundation of these " holy cities " can be better understood perhaps when we consider the seminomadic or migrant worker lifestyle of the rural population in these hinterlands. Some of these " holy cities " grew to include tens of thousands (Willems, 1967 : 33). Queiroz explains these millenarian activities by pointing to their positive functions : they provide a stable lifestyle in " anomic " circumstances (Queiroz, 1965). On the other hand, in the plantation areas of Brazil where we find economic and social conditions that Worsley and Hobsbawm deem ripe for millenarianism, we find no such response. Both Queiroz (1965 : 75) and Ribeiro (1962 : 64) have noted this. Queiroz argues that plantation routine offers a social stability absent in the hinterland - whereas Worsley and others argue that plantation routine is exploitative. Clearly, neither argument is comprehensive enough to explain why millenarian responses arise when and where they do. Any " positive functions " such movements serve cannot be put forward as explanations, for other social mechanisms could also be effective. More factors need to be considered here.

Willems has noted that such movements have indicated the capacity of isolated rural peoples to " organize themselves in their own fashion " (Willems, 1967 : 33), and that even under marginal conditions certain dynamic factors within rural societies, albeit expressed in the form of millenarian activities, enabled some of these people " to undertake the evolution from subsistence to cash agriculture, and even a quasi-

industrial craft production " in their Holy Cities (Queiroz, 1965 : 85). Brazilian messianic movements, although numerous, remained encapsulated and thus did not foster a pan-community revolutionary consciousness. For the most part they have been reformist in nature.

Yonina Talmon has further developed the argument that millenarian movements are positive forms of premodern political activity (Talmon, 1972; 1968). A central premise in her work is that " while bridging the gap between future and past, millenarism also connects religion and politics " (Talmon, 1972 : 249). She makes a special point of the fact that whether or not millenarism or another type of religious ideology develops is " ultimately conditioned also by the type of prevalent religious beliefs " (Talmon, 1972 : 246). She follows Worsley in arguing that millenarism is functionally integrative because the appeal to divine sources of authority can legitimize leaders beyond local communities (Talmon, 1972 : 249) although earlier in the same article she points out that :

Millenarian movements suffer from frequent cessation and fission partly because they base their recruitment of their leaders on inspiration. A revelatory basis of recruitment facilitates the emergence of numerous leaders and prophets since many may claim divine inspiration (Talmon, 1972 : 242 - 243).

The relationship between vision and fission is also stressed by Worsley (Worsley, 1968 : 241). This apparent contradiction can be reconciled if we understand that this feature of millenarism, like its other characteristic traits, can work both ways. This is an important point. In chapter two we shall see that Gerlach and Hine reinterpret several features of the social organization and ideology of social movements to show how the growth of the movement is fostered. Yet we need to situate such social dynamics within a balanced perspective. At what point does the tendency to decentralized and polycephalous organization cease to promote the spread of movement and become a liability? With respect to Rastafarianism, we have observed that several apparently contradictory tendencies seem to be present simultaneously. Thus we need an approach to millenarism which will allow us to understand how these dynamics operate.

In this regard Yonina Talmon has developed a more comprehensive framework than most others working in the field. In the first place, she is more concerned with the conditions under which millenarian movements

are transformed into modern political ones, and she makes the point that this connection is borne out only in materials on Melanesia, Africa, and Italy (Talmon, 1972 : 250). In fact, she notes that :

Membership in millenarian movements in modern societies functions more as a competing alternative to membership in militant secular movements rather than as a preparation for it. All these movements reject secular movements and enjoin their members to keep away from them. It is clear that the actual functions which any millenarian movement performs depend on the degree of differentiation between the religious and political sphere in the society in which it operates and on the chances it has to engage in active political action and carry out a successful revolution (Talmon, 1972 : 250).

It is in this sense then that an examination of cooptation and repression of millenarian movements would be useful. With respect to Rastafarianism, both forces are active simultaneously. This in turn interacts with characteristic millenarian social dynamics to produce a particular kind of response. Talmon has taken both Hobsbawm and Worsley to task on the grounds that they " tend to deal with conditions and consequences of millenarism rather than with the development of its doctrine and ritual " which results in a lack of " adequate analysis of internal, partly independent processes in the religious sphere " (Talmon, 1972 : 252). Yet it is only by understanding the relationship between the historical and political context of such movements, the socio-economic situation of its members, and the traditional role that religious experience and expression have played in the society in question, that we can come to appreciate the role of millenarism.

Elsewhere Talmon develops this point of view by arguing for " the potency and partial independence of the religious factor " (Talmon, 1968 : 357). Although she appreciates the kind of analysis that Worsley and Hobsbawm make of the social and economic context of such movements, she is moved to examine in far more detail the kinds of religious beliefs prevalent in the society in question. She uses the Sabbatai Zevi movement among the Jews in the 17th century to demonstrate her point. Here Talmon argues that while the movement arose immediately after wide-scale pogroms, its appeal was just as strong - if not stronger - in societies where the Jews lived securely and prosperously, where it consisted of upper- and middle-class Jews as well as the masses (Talmon, 1968 : 357 - 358). This she claims can only be understood with reference to the

Kabbalistic tradition dating from the previous century. Thus Talmon concludes that all the predisposing factors are interrelated - the historical, social, economic, political, and the religious.

Both Clarke Garrett (1975) and Peter von Sivers (1973) have elaborated this approach in their treatment of historical materials. Von Sivers analyzes a stream of local revolts that occurred in Algeria from 1849 to 1879 following the establishment of a shaky French colonial administration there in 1847. He focuses on the " apocalyptic " expectations that characterized these rebellions. In his discussion he examines the role that " reality-eclipsing " techniques such as the prediction of miracles or the production of visions played in forcing the population out of its resignation or defiance (von Sivers, 1973 : 60). He writes :

A number of resistance movements directed against the French were prompted by ... visions of an abrupt, miraculous establishment of social perfectionThe enactment of such a collective experience was contingent upon a communal tradition of ecstatic practice. Apocalyptic inspiration must be regarded as a cause distinct from political, economic, and social causes. Even though these causes were often simultaneously operative, it is imperative that they not be reduced to each other (von Sivers, 1973 : 48).

In other words, we have existing side by side, social and economic oppression on the one hand, and on the other, visionary traditions in Islam which could render these conditions intolerable when articulated in a powerful way by a messianic leader. While none of these revolts was successful in thwarting French control, they did serve to keep alive an independent Muslim culture during that period. Von Sivers is able to show that the religious tradition of Islam was a major factor determining the shape that resistance to foreign domination took - as opposed to brigandage, tribal uprisings, and individual acts of retribution. However, he does not deny the material interests of the movement and he seeks to describe the apocalyptic revolts in political terms as well.

Garrett takes a similar position with respect to millenarian activities during the French Revolution. There we find no single large movement, but rather several millennial leaders all of whom attracted groups of followers to their message much like Queiroz described for Brazil. Although Garrett adopts a biographical approach towards his three case studies, he examines them in the context of several centuries

of European millennial thought, arguing that such movements need to be assessed for their religious value as well as for their ability to articulate political messages. While Garrett credits Marxist historians for their insight that millenarian movements can express political sentiments, he wishes to locate this development more fully within the context of European religious experience and its tradition of spiritual regeneration (Garrett, 1975 : 229), in order to help explain the almost compulsive appeal of millenarism. A limitation in Garrett's work is the lack of data concerning the social composition of these movements. This may be the result of the kinds of source materials he had to use. His analysis of Suzette Labrousse is especially useful in demonstrating the flexibility of millenarism in adapting its message to changing political circumstances by incorporating new ideas and images, in order to provide a continuously meaningful definition of reality for its followers.

That a certain kind of religious framework could continue under these circumstances to provide its followers with a meaningful definition of reality has to be understood in light of its traditional role. We need also to examine the nature of that particular religious system which allows it to adjust to changing conditions. But we would also want to know at what point such an orientation would cease to be relevant, or would at least lose its appeal for certain followers. With reference to the anthropological understanding of religion in general, the work of Clifford Geertz (1966 and 1973) demonstrates the conceptual advances that we can make by treating it as worthy of analysis in its own right. While we are not suggesting that religion should be treated as an independent variable, with a life of its own totally unconnected to other aspects of social life, we are arguing that its analysis does more than lay bare the social order. Geertz directs us to the impact that religious systems have on social and personality systems - that religion does not merely " interpret social and psychological processes in cosmic terms ", but rather, shapes them (Geertz, 1966 : 41). Geertz would thus direct students of religion to focus first on the system of meaning embodied in religious ritual and symbolism. He argues that :

It is this sense of the 'really real' upon which the religious perspective rests and which the symbolic activities of religion as a cultural system are devoted to producing, intensifying, and, so far as possible, rendering inviolable by the discordant revelations of secular experience. It is again, the imbuing of a certain specific complex of symbols - of the metaphysic they formulate and the style of life they recommend - with a pervasive authority which, from an analytic point of view is the essence of religious action (Geertz, 1966 : 28).

While religion can have an instrumental role to play in millenarian movements, the use of Geertz's approach allows us to appreciate the role that ritual and symbols can play as social forces in themselves. Thus we can avoid the problem of unnecessarily ideologizing religion, and the pitfalls that that approach entails. Concern with the instrumental as opposed to the expressive aspects of religious behaviour leads one to concentrate on the apparent goals of millenarian movements. When the expressive nature of millenarian activities is recognized, we can better appreciate the kinds of conflict that this tension between the instrumental and expressive aspects of behaviour generates even for the millenarists themselves. With respect to Rastafarianism we shall see that there is constant internal struggle within the movement to constantly balance these two divergent tendencies. It is realized, for example, that time involved in organizing collective action - marches, strikes, pamphleteering, cultural performances, meetings - is time away from the small group activities of reasoning, meditation, and the pursuit of the visionary experience. Yet the force of the vision is such that it must be communicated. How do millennialists come to terms with these problems, given the larger social context of both cooptation and repression, and their basic lack of material resources?

Frances Hill approaches Vietnamese millenarianism from this point of view. Hill criticizes the assumption that " religion is either a collective escape mechanism or a convenient cover for other activities more easily analysed by secular categories " (Hill, 1971 : 327). Hill argues that :

...it is the failure to appreciate the continuing dynamism of selected aspects of indigenous culture that underlies misleading unilinear theories (Hill, 1971 : 327).

The analysis of the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao movements which follows is set against the historical background of religious traditions in Vietnam, yet

still demonstrates the significance of social, political, and economic factors. Particularly interesting is Hill's discussion of the attempts by the French first to coopt, then to repress Caodaism, the nature of which was changing over the years (Hill, 1971 : 333 - 335).

The work of Kenelm Burridge could also be discussed in this context. His book Mambu focuses on the moral dilemma in two New Guinea societies that gave rise to Cargo Cult movements (Burridge, 1970). While he does not ignore the social and economic context of these movements - indeed, he gives a very sensitive account of the effects of Western society upon the Tangu and Manam peoples - Burridge emphasizes the mythical and symbolic background against which these Cargo Cult movements emerged. Thus he demonstrates the continuity of religious beliefs, and shows how Cargo Cult activities are moulded within a particular religious tradition. Burridge points out that " the activities of the cult and the expression of its symbols appear as ends in themselves " (Burridge, 1970 : 32) and that " to base an analysis on a distinction between the rational and the irrational or non-rational is to take up an extreme ethnocentric if not ego-centric position, and to ignore what is fundamental " (Burridge, 1970 : 44).

In light of this orientation, the distinct contribution of Mambu is Burridge's application of the idea of myth-dream to the analysis of Cargo movements in this area. This particular insight is useful from the point of view of this thesis. For Burridge, a myth-dream is :

... a body of notions derived from a variety of sources such as rumours, personal experience, desires, conflicts, and ideas about the total environment which finds expression in myths, dreams, popular stories, and anecdotes. (Burridge, 1970 : 27).

The concept of myth-dream as Burridge uses it, is difficult to define precisely. Elsewhere in the book, Burridge notes that myth-dreams " can be reduced to a series of themes, propositions, and problems which are to be found in myths, in dreams, in the half-life of conversations " (Burridge, 1970 : 148). Burridge alerts us to the fact that a prophet or a group of people in a given society may articulate the myth-dream in such a way that it becomes the basis for a social movement (Burridge, 1970 : 148). He argues that all millenarian activities in New Guinea are attempts to " realize the myth-dream, to translate or externalize

its content into direct and effective activity " (Burridge, 1970 : 28). In spite of the repeated failures of these movements to attain their material goals, the myth-dream continues to have far-reaching consequences (Burridge, 1970 : 31 - 32).

In a more general work on millenarism, Burridge develops this idea of the myth-dream further (Burridge, 1969). In seeking to explain the beginning of millenarian activities at some point in time, Burridge states that " only rarely can we be sure that there are no connections whatever with similar kinds of movements either through a direct historical link, or through a common tradition " (Burridge, 1969 : 62). Again he refers to his own data to show how millenarian movements arose from a common collection of myths, emphasizing the fact that when he refers to " myths ", he is " speaking of formulations with the same kind of doctrinal force in relation to basic assumptions as, for example, the Book of Revelations " (Burridge, 1969 : 63). Having reviewed several other case studies from this point of view, Burridge argues that :

What anthropology cannot do, because it lacks the tools, is make a more than arbitrary decision on the spirituality of a millenarian movement. Yet it is precisely on this point that millenarists should wish to be judged (Burridge, 1969 : 104).

It is very unclear what Burridge means here by " spirituality ". Having demonstrated the connection between traditional religious beliefs and experience (e.g., the myth-dream) and millenarian activities, does Burridge mean that we should go further now and attempt to assess the success of the redemptive process for the individual? Or are we to take this to mean a reference to the cultural renewal possibilities inherent in millenarism? Elsewhere Burridge concludes that in further exploring the nature of millenarism, a Hegelian approach would be " potentially fruitful " because " framed within the terms of an abstract historical dialectic, [it] admits the operations of a transcendent power " (Burridge, 1969 : 137). In trying to explain why millenarian movements develop in some circumstances but not in others, Burridge is directing us to the broadest possible perspective, short of invoking the deus ex machina clause.

Since we regard the central vision of Rastafarianism (that is, the redemption of all Black people as Africans) as a form of millennial expression, and because many aspects of Rastafarianism share much in common with other millenarian movements, we have reviewed the literature on such phenomena in order to develop a preliminary framework for the discussion which follows. In chapter two we will review some of the literature on non-millenarian social movements as well. At this point, however, we would like to summarize the implications of the preceding argument for our approach to Rastafarianism.

Generally speaking, we found that explanations of millenarian movements fell into three categories - psychological, cultural, and political. While we found little of value in psychological interpretations which tended to regard millenarian behaviour as collective psychopathologies, we felt that research into the impact of millennialism on the individual's identity, worldview, and lifestyle needed more attention than some studies of millenarism as social movements were able to give us. We argued that we needed to understand the role of millenarianism at the individual level as well as at the collective level if we were to be able to appreciate its singular appeal under certain circumstances.

We argued that while cultural approaches recognized the role that oppression or exploitation played in the genesis of millenarism, we felt that theories of cultural deprivation lacked a sufficient understanding of the social and economic forces which had generated this deprivation. On the other hand, although we found many of the political explanations to be adequate from this point of view, we argued that several did not take into account sufficiently the cultural and religious factors which combined with other influences under specific historical conditions to produce the millenarian responses characteristic of given areas. Moreover, while we agreed with political approaches that tended to regard millenarian activities as significant collective undertakings we felt that such studies did not devote enough attention to the kinds of pressures such movements would experience as a result of their relationship with elements of the dominant society. In particular, we stressed the dynamics of both cooptation and coercion in this regard. Therefore, any analysis of millenarian activities would have to rectify these

shortcomings. In the Rastafarian case, this would involve a discussion of the history of Jamaica as a colony, and an examination of its cultural tradition. It would also entail an investigation of the more immediate socio-economic and political context in which Rastafarianism developed, as well as an account of its relations with representatives of the dominant order.

Whereas we have dismissed psychological approaches as being misconceived, the cultural and the political explanations appear to suffer more from incompleteness. Moreover, we find it difficult to move from the level of explanation offered in these studies to a discussion of the day-to-day dynamics of a movement. In order to arrive at a more comprehensive understanding of millenarian activities, we feel that it is necessary to make a particular millenarian's behaviour intelligible in terms of the movement's general themes. In other words, it becomes necessary to link the general with the specific in order to appreciate the way in which day-to-day activities are influenced by cultural assumptions and historical context. We would also want to examine the impact of day-to-day activities on the direction of the movement. In our case this would involve narrowing our focus in order to examine in depth the manner in which an individual or group of individuals within the movement go about solving the problems of their daily existence within the framework provided by Rastafarianism. This would also entail a discussion of both the relationship between these individuals and the rest of the movement as well as their relationship with specific elements of the non-Rastafarian public. In this regard, we are particularly interested in how individual members orient themselves in the world by moving from the general to the specific level of ideology.

Thus our intention is twofold. On the one hand, we want to develop an approach to Rastafarianism which will allow us to take into account the historical, political, social, economic, and cultural factors which have conditioned the form that the movement has assumed. On the other hand, we want to provide an account of Rastafarianism which will allow us to understand how the direction of the movement is shaped by day-to-day considerations at the level of the individual. The discussion which follows is organized to meet these demands.

In chapter two we discuss the development of Rastafarianism in the Jamaican context. We briefly trace the history of Jamaica both as a colony and as an independent nation from the point of view of the social, economic, and political problems which have developed with time. We then discuss the historical events which conditioned the emergence of the Rastafarian movement. Our intention is to show how the development of Rastafarianism was consistent with other cultural and ideological trends within Jamaican society. We then review some of the critical episodes in the history of Rastafarianism which are necessary for an understanding of the movement's present direction. Finally, we examine the existing literature on the movement in order to shed further light on some of the problems that its study entails.

In chapter three we discuss the ideological and social dynamics of the movement. Our intention here is to demonstrate the wide range of individual viewpoints and social forms which the movement is able to accommodate within a general ideological and social framework. We employ a comparative frame of reference in order to elucidate some of our points, drawing upon examples of other social movements which share certain ideological and/or social features with Rastafarianism. We then discuss the particular point of view which we have adopted in approaching Rastafarianism as a visionary movement. In this chapter we deal at some length with our central problem : that is, the manner in which individual members of groups within a social movement are able to evolve directing ideology from the existing official ideological paradigm.

In chapter four we discuss the methodology which we used in the course of the fieldwork. In particular, we deal with the selection of one group within the movement and its leader for more detailed study. Since our research problem involved participant-observation in small group situations, in this chapter we discuss the kinds of understandings that govern small group interaction among Rastafarian brethren.

In our analysis, the problem of moving from the general to the particular level of ideological functioning is handled in the small group situation which involves the smoking of cannabis, meditation, and reasoning among brethren. Since in our opinion the use of cannabis among the Rastafarians is a highly ritualized act which has important social consequences, in chapter five we review some of the relevant literature

on its physiological and psychological properties. We hope to establish the range of effects made possible by the use of this substance. In this chapter we also set the Rastafarian use of cannabis within the Jamaican cultural context, it being widely used by many non-Rastafarians as well. Finally, we provide a detailed description of the ritual and symbolic complex surrounding the Rastafarian use of cannabis.

In chapter six we focus in much more depth on the states of consciousness experienced by the Rastafarians in their use of cannabis. We attempt to show how such visionary experiences or inspirational episodes are central to Rastafarian daily life in activities such as meditation and reasoning, speech behaviour, and chanting and drumming. In this chapter we are concerned particularly with demonstrating how the social process of reasoning among brethren is the forum in which individual members of the movement are able to test and apply their understanding of general Rastafarian ideology to specific problems.

In chapters seven and eight we develop this line of argument further by focusing upon our case study. In chapter seven we locate our example within the social and ideological context of the movement, as discussed in chapter three. In addition to discussing the problem of how this particular leader and his immediate circle deal with problems that arise on a daily basis, we are also concerned to show how the question of leadership is handled within an avowedly egalitarian social movement. Our intention is to demonstrate the role that cannabis use, meditation, and reasoning play in this regard.

While chapter seven deals with interpersonal relationships and social dynamics within a small group of Rastafarian brethren, chapter eight turns to an examination of the relationship between this group and other segments of the movement in general. This is accomplished by focusing on several issues which arose during the course of our study which posed problems for the movement as a whole. We hope to show that while the positions adopted by the individuals in question on these various matters are consistent with their general ideological orientation within the movement, they nevertheless are the products of extended meditation and reasoning sessions on the part of those concerned.

Finally, in chapter nine we summarize our argument and point to its implications for further research in this area.

Footnotes to Chapter One

1. There is considerable disagreement among members of the movement about the exact nature of Emperor Haile Selassie. Some regard him as an important African historical figure. Others look upon him as a political leader, calling him their King. Many brethren regard him as a spiritual leader, some claiming that he is God.
2. Roy Wright, a graduate student at York University, Sociology Department, is currently doing research in this area. His thesis concerns the historical development of the Rastafarian movement in terms of its relationship with other groups in society. Wright is especially interested in cooptation and repression from both the right and the left.

Chapter Two

Do Not Accept A Title From Another Race : Rastafarianism In the Jamaican Context

The title of this chapter has been inspired by a quotation from Marcus Garvey which Rastafarians frequently repeat. It refers to Garvey's admonition that Black people should not accept the labels applied to them by Europeans. In Garvey's opinion, Black people should call themselves "Africans" or "Ethiopians". In a very general sense this chapter is about the history of Africans in Jamaica both before and after Emancipation. Our intention is to develop a framework within which we can discuss the emergence of the Rastafarian movement. We want to outline the relevant social, economic, political, and cultural factors which influenced the form it assumed and the direction it took. We also want to review briefly some of the critical episodes in the history of the movement itself in order to have a perspective for understanding its current strategies. Finally, but not entirely removed from the discussion of labelling, we want to discuss the approaches that other social scientists have taken to the movement, in order to reach a point of departure for our own analysis.

Jamaican Society : Past and Present

In this section we want to discuss two aspects of Jamaican society : the inheritance of its colonial past as well as the problems created by its continuing dependence. Rastafarianism is shaped by these circumstances at the same time as it attempts to deal with them. In this regard we want to examine the relevant psychological, economic, social, political, and cultural (with an emphasis on the religious) factors which have conditioned the form and direction that Rastafarianism as a social movement has taken.

Jamaica is not an autochthonous society. Its indigenous inhabitants were killed off in the early days of colonization, to be replaced by white colonizers and Black slaves. These slaves were intended to provide the labour force for a highly specialized mode of production, the plantation. A key feature of the plantation economy is its need for abundant labour. Following Emancipation in 1834 the colonizers turned to India and other Asiatic countries for non-white indentured labour. As a result, in Jamaica and other West Indian nations today, the population consists of predominantly non-white elements, visibly stratified along class-colour lines. This in turn has bred hostility among the various segments.

Orlando Patterson in The Sociology of Slavery provides for us an extensive account of slave society in Jamaica. He depicts that country as a colony which attracted poor Europeans and corrupt members of the middle and upper classes, in addition to African slaves transported against their will. Patterson describes this early society in a way that suggests that almost total anarchy reigned, the implication being that it is a wonder that any kind of recognizable social life could emerge under these conditions :

...Jamaica developed into what it would remain for the rest of the period of slavery : a monstrous distortion of human society. It was not just the physical cruelty of the system that made it so perverse, for in this the society was hardly unique. What marks it out is the astonishing neglect and distortion of almost every one of the basic prerequisites of normal human living. This was a society in which the clergymen were the 'most finished debauchees' in the land; in which the institution of marriage was officially condemned among both masters and slaves; in which the family was unthinkable to the vast majority of the population and promiscuity the norm; in which education was seen as an absolute waste of time and teachers shunned like the plague; in which the legal system was quite deliberately a travesty of anything that could be called justice; and in which all forms of refinements, of arts, of folkways, were either absent or in a state of total disintegration (Patterson, 1973 : 9).

Initially race was used as the moral justification of slavery. The psychological consequences of beliefs about the inherent superiority and inferiority of certain races have as much impact as the sociological legacy of slavery. Feelings of inferiority based on race still characterize much of the under class, particularly when their low socio-economic position in the society seems to justify this view. David Lowenthal has this to say :

Coloured and Black West Indians not only admire whiteness, they follow whites in linking blackness with poverty, laziness, stupidity, and vice ... Everyday circumstances are minutely compartmentalized in 'black' and 'white' traits. Colour frustration is endemic : the more a non-white West Indian accepts European evaluations, the more he rejects his own blackness. Self-contempt is the most damaging consequence of West Indian internalization of white values (Lowenthal, 1972 : 258).

Jamaica was undoubtedly a " new-style " plantation society, in which absentee landlordism played a major role in the way the colony developed, and contributed significantly to the colonizers' rapacious attitude to that island, and to their lack of social responsibility; scholars, however, disagree among themselves concerning the extent to which absenteeism shaped the social and economic development of the colony. Eugene Genovese, in his comparative analysis of New World slaveholding societies criticizes Patterson for taking too narrow a view in trying to pin all the ills of Jamaican society on this factor (Genovese, 1971 : 29). George Beckford argues that plantation society was slightly more efficient and stable than Patterson has depicted, if only because economic considerations were imperative (Beckford, 1972). Beckford emphasizes the role of the plantation as a total institution and examines in detail its mechanisms of social control, in particular its system of social stratification. He argues for the continuity of this ascriptive system into contemporary plantation society in Jamaica.

There also exists disagreement among scholars concerning the social legacy of plantation society. While Beckford has described the historical process whereby racial factors determined the division of the population into economic classes, not all accept his argument that race continues to be an important factor in class divisions (Beckford, 1972 : 68 - 69). Carl Stone, in a study of race, class, and political behaviour, argues that while plantation society did produce a race-stratified social order, consisting of a white elite, a coloured or brown middle stratum, and a black lower class, he feels that :

...material affluence and income are the main determinants of social status in contemporary urban Jamaica, although race, education, training, and class acculturation clearly affect the economic life chances of the individual. This is not to suggest, however, that other factors such as race, colour, and occupational prestige do not influence social status (Stone, 1973 : 11).

Stone would give primacy to occupational class factors as determining the nature of social stratification in Jamaica. Colin Clarke, in a study of social change in Kingston over a period of nearly three centuries, argues that while historically race may have determined class, today the situation is more complex. Clarke produces data to demonstrate that in his opinion, socio-economic status is determined more by secondary education than race, although he admits that there is a positive correlation between a light skin colour and secondary education (Clarke, 1975 : 113). Other scholars emphasize cultural factors as most significant in determining class divisions (M.G. Smith, 1965; Nettleford, 1970). Finally, some like Norman Girvan, draw out Beckford's analysis by arguing that " racial castes " are mechanisms of special significance in the political economy of exploitation (Girvan, 1975 : 31). Clearly it is not an easy matter to determine the relative effect of race, class, and culture on the present Jamaican social structure. Nevertheless, non-black groups continue to dominate the economy and to maintain privileged lifestyles.

While there exists some disagreement about the social legacy of the plantation system in terms of the relationship between race and class in contemporary Jamaica, there is considerably more unanimity regarding the contribution of the plantation system to Jamaica's continuing economic dependence. Beckford has argued that the persistence of the plantation system which dominates Jamaican agriculture has actually contributed to the underdevelopment of that country for several reasons. The modern form that the plantation has assumed - its industrialized form of production, in particular - has increased rural unemployment. At the same time, the fact that it produces crops for the export market while exercising a monopoly on some of the better land in Jamaica helps to undermine the capacity of the countryside to feed itself. Despite the fact that the majority of Jamaica's working class is employed in agriculture, that sector of the economy generates a comparatively low percentage of the gross domestic income (Jefferson, 1971 : 110; Barrett, 1977 : 7). On the other hand, the urban-industrial sector, with its smaller families and fewer dependents, receives considerably more for less input. Beckford has concluded that in the long run, in a plantation

economy such as Jamaica, " the underdevelopment biases tend to outweigh the development impact " (Beckford, 1972 : 183).

Havelock Brewster has argued that even the developments that have taken place in the areas of mining and industry " have been achieved within the framework of an economic organization similar to that of the original sugar economy-pioneer manufacturing and large corporation mining " (Brewster, 1971 : 39). In the early 1950's for example, one of the world's largest bauxite deposits was discovered in Jamaica. This reserve was mined by international corporations in a manner that benefited only a small minority of Jamaicans, while contributing to the further impoverishment of the countryside. Monroe has analyzed the role that bauxite mining has played in dispossessing the rural peasants of their lands on terms hardly in their favour (Monroe, 1973 : 212). In the short run, while the dispossessed peasant might become a tenant farmer on company lands after he has sold his own holdings at a price too low to buy new properties, in the long run, Monroe argues, the impact of bauxite mining contributes to the greater oppression of the peasantry. For one thing, the cost of living in the bauxite mining areas rises. Ultimately, such dispossessed peasants either join the landless rural proletariat or become part of the chronically unemployed masses in the towns (Monroe, 1973 : 212). Ironically, the development impact of bauxite has been experienced mainly in the more urban areas. While this attracts the rural unemployed, it also contributes to periodic shortages of labour in the rural sector at critical periods.

In the urban centres, in addition to the bauxite industry, tourism, construction, and manufacturing have also contributed to an imbalance in income distribution which increasingly polarizes the class structure. In Kingston in particular, but throughout the island in general, there exists massive unemployment and underemployment. Jefferson has pointed out that despite the growth of mining, tourism, and manufacturing in Jamaica, the Jamaican economy is characterized by the fact that " income ... is very unevenly distributed relative to advanced countries, and even to those at a roughly similar stage of development " (Jefferson, 1971 : 110). In other words, despite Jamaica's economic resources, such as bauxite, and the gains made in industrialization, the gap between the rich and the poor appears to be increasing.

Thus far we have argued that the historical legacy of the plantation system produced a social structure in which the factors of both race and class are of importance in determining one's place in it. While scholars may disagree about the relative effect of race and class, we shall see below that in terms of the perceptions of the mass of the people, race appears to determine class. This is a key understanding in terms of our discussion of Rastafarianism. Moreover, we have shown that far less disagreement exists among scholars in terms of the effect of the plantation economy on Jamaica's continuing dependence. In a very general sense, the Jamaican economy has been organized to meet the demands of an international market. This has had profound effects upon the lives of its people. There exists today massive unemployment and underemployment, a lack of skilled manpower, unequal distribution of income and resources, and widespread social problems.

While the economic implications of this situation for the individual may be obvious, there is another dimension to this problem. Douglas Hall has raised the subject of the effect of chronic impoverishment on the political behaviour of the masses (Hall, 1968 : 13 - 13). In particular, Hall focuses on the ability of political parties to manipulate the behaviour of the people under such circumstances. The fact that in the last decade Jamaica has witnessed increasing levels of political gangsterism and outright terrorism is especially notable in light of Jamaica's politically radical past. The entrenchment of the two-party system following the political upheavals of the 1930's (which will be discussed below) seems to be associated with increasingly conservative political behaviour on the part of the masses and a greater control over political decision making by a minority.

Richard Hart has argued that a series of slave rebellions in Jamaica which threatened to spread to the other islands was responsible for the granting of emancipation in the British colonies in 1834, long before other nations followed suit (Hart, 1973). Gordon Lewis has demonstrated the way in which political events in Jamaica acted as catalysts for radical activities elsewhere in the Caribbean (Lewis, 1969 : 167). George Beckford too has documented patterns of proletarian resistance in Jamaica to the incursion of monopolistic practices, focusing

on trade unionism, political mobilization, and social revolt (Beckford, 1974 : 51 - 54).

The 1930's, a period of widespread political unrest in Jamaica, has profound implications for an understanding of contemporary politics. This is also the decade which witnessed the genesis of the Rastafarian movement. Working-class unrest and a series of strikes during the 1930's culminated in the 1938 labour revolt which was dominated by events at the Frome estate, a rural sugar factory owned by the international company, Tate and Lyle. The impact of these activities and the emotionalism surrounding them has produced conflicting reports of what happened. (See Phelps, 1960; Post, 1969; and Munroe, 1972.) Most observers agree, however, that these events laid the basis for the emergence of the two-party system : the Jamaica Labour Party (J.L.P.) and the People's National Party (P.N.P.) under the leadership of two cousins, Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley respectively. These figures were to dominate the Jamaican political scene well into the late 1960's. A peculiar fact about the Jamaican two-party system, however, is that the only two labour unions (until recently) in the country were directly affiliated with the two parties. About this situation Gordon Lewis has the following to say :

The dominant form of political unionism, in which the Jamaican unions have come to be run by the political parties as vote-catching annexes instead of being controlled by the workers, has inevitably taken the edge off the militancy (Lewis, 1969 : 179).

In 1944, the political situation seemed stable enough for Britain to end Crown Colony government and to introduce a new constitution based on the principle of universal adult suffrage. When an attempt to form a West Indian political federation in the late 1950's failed, Jamaica received political independence in 1962. While political leadership has oscillated between the J.L.P. and the P.N.P. in a way that makes Jamaica almost the model of the two-party system for the West Indies, political activity there has been increasingly characterized by violence, as we have noted above.¹ Since Independence, the political ideologies of the two parties have tended to diverge as well. The J.L.P., which was in power from 1962 to 1972, has become increasingly identified with a programme of conservative politics, based on the principle of " industrialization by invitation " which allowed for greater penetration of the

economy by foreign (mostly American) interests. The P.N.P., on the other hand, under the leadership of Norman Manley's son, Michael, since its election in 1972, has gradually developed a programme of " Democratic Socialism ". In the course of trying to diversify Jamaica's international connections and to promote greater self-reliance at home, it has experienced considerable economic difficulties and political crises. Charges have been made (openly) against the United States by the Manley administration to the effect that the American government is pursuing a policy of destabilization in Jamaica, in order to weaken public support for the P.N.P.'s brand of socialism. The 1976 elections, in which Manley won an overwhelming victory for the second time in a decade, were preceded by a civil crisis which was the occasion for the declaration of a state of emergency that lasted several months. Neither party has been able to solve Jamaica's chronic economic problems. In fact, Jamaica as a nation has been unsuccessful in achieving political solutions for the problems brought about by the plantation system and continuing economic dependence. At various points in Jamaican history, it was only as a result of mass action or violence that political changes were even introduced. Thus, in considering attempts to redress the imbalances of Jamaican society, we have to bear in mind the impotence of legislative responses to date.

Historically, in Jamaica and elsewhere in the Caribbean, there have been other kinds of developments which can be regarded as forms of resistance to the plantation system and foreign domination. Here we refer to the widespread incidence of enthusiastic religions throughout the region, especially evident among the underclasses. George Simpson has surveyed the area and classified these nonconventional religions into five basic kinds of " cults ", ranging from Vodun expression at one end of the continuum, to Rastafarianism at the other (Simpson, 1976 : 310 - 311). His first four categories represent religions based on beliefs in spiritism and possession. Garveyism and Rastafarianism are classified in a fifth category as " politico-religious cults ", distinguished from the others by the absence of the belief in spirits and spirit possession, and by an emphasis on a secular ideology alongside a predominantly theological doctrine. In his discussion of the role of religion in the formation of West Indian society, R.T. Smith

has noted that :

Rastafarianism is the only example in the English-speaking West Indies of an attempt to fashion an aggressive social ethic based on a well-developed religious doctrine and incorporating African symbols in a clear way (R.T. Smith, 1976 : 341).

While Rastafarianism is clearly a development from Garveyism, we need to consider the historical and religious context within which both of these movements emerged, before we deal with the relationship between them. In the first place, many West Indian slaveholding societies refused to teach their slaves Christianity on the grounds that it would make them difficult to manage. Jamaica was no exception (Simpson, 1956 : 334). As a result, certain African religious elements persisted among the slaves. Before Emancipation, however, British colonists, who themselves belonged to the Church of England, were disturbed by the fact that Christian missionaries from nonconformist religious groups, such as the Baptists and the Moravians, were making inroads among the slaves. Moore and Simpson have described at length the way in which the slaves achieved a high degree of syncretism between their African traditions and nonconformist Christianity (Moore, 1965; Simpson, 1956). Following Emancipation, however, the former slaves grew increasingly dissatisfied with what appeared to be the growing institutionalization of their religious life (Barrett, 1977 : 21). The result of this was a wave of revivalism in Jamaica in 1860 and 1861. Philip Curtin has argued that this " Great Revival " marked the point of departure for the separate development of the nonconventional missionary churches, on the one hand, and the Afro-Christian syncretic groups, on the other (Curtin, 1955 : 68). Elsewhere, in a general work on the African heritage in Afro-American religion, Barrett adopts the argument that as a result of this event, the African religious initiative in Jamaica was able to develop independently of the strictly Christian denominations (Barrett, 1974). Thus we have in Jamaica a tradition of African-oriented religion in the form of Pocomania, Revivalism, and Revival Zion which exists outside of the predominantly Christian tradition consisting of both orthodox and nonconformist persuasions. The significance of this lies in the fact that both Garveyism and Rastafarianism developed in a historical context in which there already existed a precedent for religious movements in which African elements were highly valued, if not predominant.

Now it is necessary to discuss in some detail the movement founded by Marcus Garvey, and to establish its relationship to Rastafarianism. Marcus Garvey was born in Jamaica, and although he established his organization there in 1914, he developed his platform in the United States. Garvey's ideology of continental separation - Africa for the Africans, at home and abroad - had mobilized, some claimed, millions of Blacks. Garveyism was a phenomenon which profoundly threatened the hegemony of Europe in Africa. Thus the imperial powers, more than any other single factor, were responsible for the collapse of the Garvey movement. Even before Garvey was imprisoned in the United States in 1925, and deported to Jamaica in 1927, the United Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) was outlawed by many colonial governments. For example, in Haiti, Trinidad, Santo Domingo, and Guyana, Garveyism faced severe restrictions - its leaders were often imprisoned and its members deported. On the continent of Africa, only Ethiopia and Liberia were not colonized. Elsewhere Garveyism was perceived as a threat by colonial administrations. Vincent writes :

In the French colonies, the authorities believed the U.N.I.A. had been involved in a number of violent demonstrations by black soldiers in 1919 and 1920. Consequently, they declared the association illegal - in some countries the punishment for having copies of Negro World (the official U.N.I.A. tract) was five years hard labour; in Dahomey it was life imprisonment (Vincent, 1971 : 176).

The strongest U.N.I.A. movement outside the United States was in Jamaica. When Garvey paid a visit there in 1921, the British authorities were so concerned that they stationed two battleships in Kingston Harbour during his stay (Vincent, 1971 : 171-172). After his deportation, Garvey remained in Jamaica until 1935, and it was during this time that he attracted an even larger number of followers. However, the pressures brought against him by establishment interests eventually caused him to leave, and he died in England not long afterwards. It is ironic that following Jamaican Independence in 1962, Garvey and several other previously discredited revolutionary leaders were elected to the status of " National Heroes ". In a wave of nationalistic fervour, his ashes were returned.

Garveyism was a powerful social force which spawned several kinds of Black initiatives. Vincent discusses many of these movements, both

in the United States and elsewhere (Vincent, 1971). Many of them drew upon the teachings and symbolisms of Garveyism for their content. In particular, notions of Repatriation to Africa, pan-Africanism (the unity of all people of African descent), the independence of Africa, and the autonomy of Ethiopia, all played a role. Vincent claims that " most early followers of the Rastafari movement, which started in the slums of Kingston in the early 1930's, were from the rank and file of the Jamaican U.N.I.A. " (Vincent, 1971 : 227), while Horace Campbell in an address to the sixth Pan-African Congress writes that :

The Rastafarian movement grew out of the womb of Garveyism , They represented the desires of the people to forge progressive links with Africa. (Campbell, 1975 : 50).

While Rastafarianism has drawn substantially upon Garveyite ideology - particularly with respect to Africa and the liberation of Black people - and while many followers of Garveyism in Jamaica apparently transferred their allegiances to Rastafarianism, we must emphasize that sociologically the two movements share little in common. The Universal Negro Improvement Movement was a centralized, constitutionally organized, and hierarchically directed operation, with hundreds of local chapters each with its own slate of officers and membership roster. Marcus Garvey as a charismatic figure was central to its continuing success. Rastafarianism, by contrast, is predominantly a decentralized and polycephalous social movement, organized in network fashion with few formal organizational trappings. While both movements originated in urban ghettos, they appeared to attract individuals who held different orientations to the larger society. The difference between the American industrial north and colonial Jamaica is significant in this regard. Garveyites were primarily motivated to generate Black pride and to raise the status of the Black people by improving their standard of living and by competing with non-Blacks on an equal footing. Rastafarianism on the other hand, developing after the collapse of Garveyism and the Great Depression, rejected any strategy of accommodation within the larger society. It tended to adopt a far more revolutionary view of the social system than Garveyism, in that Rastafarians envisioned the necessity of a total change of the social order before the Black Man would be able to achieve equality. Thus, while both movements were dedicated ultimately to the liberation of Black people, their relationship in time and space resulted in different

social forms. While the U.N.I.A. has continued to exist, although it has changed its name to " The United African Improvement Association ", at the time the research for this thesis was conducted, there was no formal association between it and any part of the Rastafarian movement. On the other hand, the Rastafarian brethren, despite their many differences on other matters, continue to regard Marcus Garvey as second in stature only to Emperor Haile Selassie.

We have now reached the point at which we can engage in a discussion of the specific events surrounding the emergence of Rastafarianism. Before embarking upon a historical account of the movement, however, let us summarize our argument in this section. We have maintained that in social terms one of the major legacies of plantation society has been the creation of a social order visibly stratified by both race and class, with the majority of the population falling into the " poor and black " category. This situation has been intensified by the economic legacy of plantation society and continuing dependence on foreign capital. Contemporary Jamaica is plagued by chronic economic problems. We have also established that the two political parties in Jamaica have been unable to deal effectively with this situation to now. In addition, because of the close association between the trade unions and the political parties, we have argued that political trade unionism has also proved unsuccessful. We also discussed other ways in which Jamaicans have responded to this situation. We have interpreted the efforts of several religious movements in Jamaica to preserve some aspects of their African tradition as a form of resistance to the cultural domination of colonialism. We examined Garveyism from this point of view as well. In addition, we saw that the explicit racial ideology of Garveyism represented an attempt to deal with the feelings of inadequacy and racial inferiority which colonialism produced. With these observations in mind, let us now examine the shape that the Rastafarian movement took. We hope to demonstrate that most of its social and ideological strategies are understandable in light of the above.

The History of the Rastafarian Movement

The experience of a changing colonial situation has profoundly affected the adaptive strategies of the Rastafarian movement. At this point we would like to review briefly the historical phases through which the movement has passed, as well as some of the historical events which are critical in understanding its current direction. In the reconstruction which follows we will be emphasizing the relationship between certain groups within the movement and elements of the dominant society. While we are able to sketch some of the internal developments which have taken place within the movement since its inception, the historical record remains very poor in this regard.²

1. Formative Urban Period

The decade of the 1930's provided the context for the emergence of Rastafarianism. Marcus Garvey had predicted that when a Black King was crowned in Africa the time of deliverance would be at hand. In 1930 Ras Tafari was crowned Emperor, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah. Could he be the one of whom Garvey spoke? Later, in 1935, the world witnessed the invasion of Ethiopia by the Italians under Mussolini, and the League of Nations' subsequent refusal to honour its treaty with Ethiopia. It turned a blind eye to the acts of genocide being perpetrated there. This was seen by many in Jamaica as dramatic evidence of collaboration on the part of the Great Powers to oppress the last of the free African states and to suppress the liberation of Africans. These events were seized upon by the Rastafarians, and coupled with an extreme sense of alienation from the mainstream of Jamaican society, formed the basis of what initially appeared to be a utopian ideology.

Apparently, Rastafarian leaders started to make doctrine independently of each other at first. Among these leaders were Leonard Howell, Nathaniel Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley, Robert Hinds, and Paul Erlington. Howell, Hibbert, and Dunkley had all lived abroad at some point in their life. Howell was to become a major influence in the movement. The University of the West Indies Report suggests that he had been a world traveller, that he had fought in the Ashanti War of 1896,

and that he claimed to speak one or more African languages (Smith, M.G. et al., 1960 : 6). Howell and his deputy, Robert Hinds, were very active Rastafarian preachers. In addition to successfully establishing a following in Kingston, these two brethren founded a large community in St. Thomas, a parish to the east of Kingston. While these developments were taking place, Hibbert and Dunkley were cooperating to some extent on building an organization in Kingston. Hibbert had belonged to a Masonic society, the Ancient Mystic Order of Ethiopia, in which he had achieved the position of a Master Mason. He attempted to organize his followers formally by founding the Ethiopian Coptic Church. Dunkley, on the other hand, based his teachings mainly on the Bible (Smith, M.G. et al., 1960 : 7), but agreed with Hibbert on several issues.

In early 1934, however, Howell and Hinds were arrested in St. Thomas and charged with sedition. They had apparently sold 5,000 photographs of Emperor Haile Selassie to unsuspecting citizens as passports to Ethiopia. The government took advantage of this swindle to prosecute both Hinds and Howell on the grounds that they had been inciting sedition in their anti-British, anti-white, antigovernment preachings. Hinds and Howell were sentenced to prison for one and two years respectively, while both Hibbert and Dunkley were arrested and sentenced on various charges several times in the mid-1930's. In this regard we can observe that a pattern of persecution of the movement was established at a very early period in its history.

In 1935, when Italy invaded Ethiopia, a new wave of Rastafarian activities was triggered which helped to polarize racial ideology. Local newspapers published accounts of an alleged secret society organized by Haile Selassie to overthrow white domination by force and race war, called the International Order of Niyabingyi. In retrospect this appears to have been part of a propaganda war somewhat along the lines of the International Jewish Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. At the same time, the complicity of the Vatican in the invasion had undermined the authority of the Church and other institutions in the society. At this juncture the brethren reasoned that until they could return to Ethiopia physically, they should withdraw from the white-contaminated sectors of Jamaican society, meaning in effect its cities.

While Brothers Hibbert and Dunkley appear to have adopted a low profile by the end of the 1930's (as little is known of their activities since then), Howell undertook a new venture. He founded a rural Rastafarian commune about twenty miles northwest of Kingston.

2. Rural Encapsulation

While Rastafarian activities undoubtedly continued in some centres in Kingston during the 1940's and early 1950's, the main focus of the movement appears to have shifted to the countryside in order to avoid interference from the authorities. Howell's community in Sligoville, which was called " Pinnacle " is said to have housed nearly 2,000 followers. It was organized in a strictly authoritarian fashion, with Howell serving as its chief. Barrett suggests that it was patterned after the independent Maroon communities in Jamaica (Barrett, 1977 : 86).³ Income was derived mainly from the cultivation and sale of cannabis, and it was on this account that Howell and some of his followers were again arrested in 1941. However, he returned to the settlement in 1943, where he continued to manage its affairs until a massive police raid finally broke up the community in 1954. During this period, the Dreadlocks fashion was cultivated, as members grew their hair in long locks after the style of Ethiopian warriors. They also came to be associated with ideas of racial purity and violent behaviour, as it is claimed that Howell's brethren frequently raided and terrorized the surrounding towns and farms. However, this is a period of Rastafarian history for which we have very few accounts, other than newspaper reports and police records. The raid on Pinnacle in 1954 is well described from the government's point of view by an American who witnessed them (Lepinske, 1955). While only a hundred-odd followers were arrested, the rest were scattered and the settlement was completely destroyed. Confronted with the untenability of keeping a separate collective base on Jamaican soil, many of these brethren began drifting back into Kingston to live. Up to that time, there appear to have been few Rastafarians in town. George Simpson, who conducted research into local religious movements in 1953, reports that there were at the most only one hundred and fifty brethren living in all of Kingston (Simpson, 1955 : 168).

3. Urban Entrenchment

In the mid-1950's Rastafarianism again became an urban phenomenon. Several events were to occur following the destruction of Pinnacle which contributed to a mounting crisis for the movement in terms of its relationship with the dominant society, which culminated in a special government inquiry into the movement in 1960. At this point we would like to consider the rapid growth of the movement from 1954 until the early 1960's. This constitutes in our opinion a third phase which was characterized by several kinds of initiatives on the part of various groups within the movement without any sense of overall direction. During this phase the Dreadlocks or locksmen came to gain ascendancy as the prototype of the Rastafarian brethren. In the public eye they were associated with ideas of racial violence, criminality, and cannabis use, largely on account of the alleged behaviour of the Dreadlocks at Pinnacle. Moreover, their separatist ideology came to dominate the movement, and Repatriation as a literal goal was actively sought. At the same time, Kingston was experiencing rapid growth as a primary city. West Kingston began to take on a formidable dimension as a sprawling urban slum. Peasants dispossessed as a result of bauxite development began to drift to the city in large numbers, where few, if any, opportunities awaited them. The urban lower class which formed the basis of the Rastafarian movement continued to grow.

During this period many Rastafarian brethren grouped into local branches of the Ethiopian World Federation as a result of the very successful campaign of Mrs. Mamie Richardson, one of its New York members. The Ethiopian World Federation (E.W.F.) is an organization founded in New York by a representative of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1937. Its stated aim was to assist Black peoples of the West to repatriate to Africa, Ethiopia in particular. While it is the subject of a lengthy discussion in chapter seven, we want to clarify here its relationship to the Rastafarian movement. The E.W.F. consists of many local groups (called " Locals ") which elect their own officers and plan their own activities, but which are constitutionally bound to their headquarters in New York City. Its membership is open to anyone who is interested in African cultural affairs, since its Repatriation programme has not been very successful. In Jamaica it struck a responsive chord among several members

of the Rastafarian movement, who felt that it might further their goal of Repatriation. However, several other Jamaicans interested in the aims of E.W.F. also joined it. Some Jamaican locals consist of both Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians, others consist predominantly of either Rastafarians or non-Rastafarians, while a handful are dominated by Dreadlocks brethren. While the E.W.F. continues to function in Jamaica, it seems to have reached the height of its activities in the 1950's before sectarian squabbles between the various locals paralyzed any potential it might have had for developing a pan-African consciousness among the lower classes. The majority of Rastafarian brethren remained outside of any formal organization.

In 1958 a prominent Rastafarian leader, Brother Prince Edwards, organized the first major Rastafarian public convention, on the promise that after the celebrations those in attendance would embark for Africa. Several thousand people were present during the twenty-one days that celebrations continued. Many who lived in rural areas had sold their property and belongings in anticipation of a new life in Africa. The occasion resulted in numerous conflicts between the brethren and the authorities, culminating in a major confrontation at a park in central Kingston which the brethren attempted to "capture". Repatriation did not materialize; many disillusioned Rastafarians thereupon drifted into the squatter settlements in West Kingston.

Several more incidents occurred towards the end of the 1950's involving hostilities between the police and the burgeoning Rastafarian population. None of these events helped to improve the image that the public held of the brethren. Finally, in late 1959 the public's worst fears were realized. Reverend Claudius Henry, a Jamaican resident in New York, had returned to the island for Brother Prince's convention. Afterwards he remained to establish the African Reform Church. In 1959, Henry was involved in a Repatriation fraud. Henry sold several thousand tickets to Ethiopia at a shilling each. The University of West Indies Report estimates that perhaps 15,000 were sold in all (Smith, M.G. et al., 1960 : 16). When the day appointed for the departure arrived, and the ships did not materialize, the thousands of people assembled threatened to break the peace. Once again, a violent confrontation ensued, and Henry and several followers were jailed.

Rumours were circulated that Henry was planning a takeover of the government as revenge. In April, 1960, the authorities raided the premises of Henry's church where it is alleged they found a substantial cache of arms. Henry was indicted for treason and jailed for six years, although he denied all charges. However, shortly after his imprisonment, a national state of emergency was declared when news reached the authorities that a Rastafarian rebellion had broken out in the Red hills area near Kingston. Several people on both sides were killed, and the leaders of the alleged insurgency were charged. Henry's son Ronald was hanged for his role as director of the affair. The entire Rastafarian movement was now regarded as a subversive element within Jamaican society.

4. Reorientation

Although the above activities represented the work of a minority of brethren, the entire movement was called into question. Accordingly, several leading brethren requested that the government appoint a commission of scholars to investigate the movement and to report publically on their findings. This step is significant for two reasons. To this point, there existed no social mechanism which was capable of transcending the various groups in the movement in order to speak for the movement as a whole. This represented the first of many attempts to develop pan-movement channels of communication. Secondly, it represented the first effort on the part of the movement to defend itself collectively. To this point, when individual brethren or local groups ran askance of the authorities, there was no representative movement body to speak on their behalf. The government complied with this request.

In 1960, the University of the West Indies Report on the Rastafarian Movement was published serially in the local newspaper. It cast the movement in a far more favourable light than ever before. It concluded that " the great majority of Ras Tafari brethren are peaceful citizens who do not believe in violence " (Smith, M. et al, 1960 : 27). Moreover, it went on to argue that the Rastafarians had legitimate complaints about the inherent inequality of Jamaican society which should be taken seriously by those in authority before the movement changed into a revolutionary organization. Among other suggestions, it recommended to the government that it send a mission to Africa to inquire about the possibility of Repatriation, since this seemed to be the central concern of the brethren

which should be resolved once and for all. The government implemented this recommendation and three Rastafarian delegates were included on the mission. The report and the mission touched off a public furore. Clearly Jamaicans were unprepared to treat Rastafarianism seriously. Then, in 1963, six alleged Rastafarians went on a murderous rampage in Coral Gardens, near Montego Bay, the heartland of the tourist industry. This set off repercussions across the country and Rastafarians everywhere were persecuted once again. Mau has described the repression that followed the Coral Garden affair (Mau, 1973 : 58) and even today many brethren can produce vivid accounts of mass arrests and detentions during that period.

These events served to remind the brethren of their precarious social position. The newly independent government under Bustamante, the J.L.P. leader, took the Coral Gardens occasion to clarify its position on Rastafarianism. It held cannabis responsible for the Rastafarian threat to national security, and vowed to stamp out its use. Nettleford describes these events in detail and remarks that " during this time the war on ganja and the war on Rasta became one and the same thing " (Nettleford, 1970 : 81). In Churchillian terms Bustamante stated in a pamphlet entitled " This Menace to Our Future " :

Wherever ganja is grown, whether on the hills, on the plains, in the forests, or on platforms between trees or in pots, I intend to see that there is no resting place for these evildoers until this country is rid of the menace (Daily Gleaner, Oct. 19, 1963).

As a result the Dangerous Drugs Law was amended establishing stiff mandatory penalties for ganja-related offences.

The brethren also drew their own conclusions about their relationship with the two political parties during this period. While it was the P.N.P. government which sponsored the mission to Africa, it was the J.L.P. government which adopted extremely repressive measures as a result of the Coral Gardens affair. For these and other reasons, Rastafarians today, while totally rejecting party politics, still appear to be more partial to the P.N.P. than to the J.L.P. Because the P.N.P. philosophy also seems to be more egalitarian than the J.L.P.'s, it is that much more compatible with Rastafarianism.

During the 1960's several leading brethren of the movement recognized the need for social mechanisms which could promote communication and understanding among the diverse elements of the movement. While no

forms of permanent organization emerged, several initiatives were made in this direction. The brethren had developed their solidarity to the point where on several occasions the government found it necessary to convene a committee of leading brethren for consultation. The growing sense of solidarity among members of the movement in general was suddenly intensified by the visit of Emperor Haile Selassie to Jamaica in 1966. This was a major event in terms of the movement's history. For the first time several thousand Rastafarians participated publicly in a state drama. In fact, the response of all Jamaicans to the Emperor's visit was so enthusiastic that the authorities were unable to exercise control over the crowds at the airport. The Emperor was unable to disembark from his plane. The Governor-General had to call upon a prominent Dreadlocks Rastafarian brother from West Kingston to ascend the steps of the plane and to appeal for order. This has been interpreted by members of the movement as a major validation of their status.

Thus we can conclude that during the period of the 1960's there developed among members of the movement an increasing feeling of solidarity. While this did not result in any formal pan-movement associations, several critical events served to reinforce this point of view. By the end of the 1960's it appears that even the Dreadlocks, traditionally the most separatist wing of the movement, had concluded that if they were not to be isolated and crushed, they would have to forge alliances with all progressive elements, not only with pan-Africanists. Thus by the end of the 1960's the Rastafarians opened what had been a relatively closed society as far as journalists and social scientists were concerned. A wave of Rastafarian studies appeared around this time.

5. Revivalism

This stage comprises the 1970's. It was during this period that Rastafarianism experienced a popular revival, especially among the youth who were attracted to it on a large scale. This appeal has to be understood in light of the spread of Black Power ideas to the Caribbean at this time, coupled with severe repression of any attempts along the lines of militant opposition. For example, in 1970 in Trinidad we witnessed the suppression of a military coup and the preparedness of the Americans and British to intervene if necessary. Régis Debray has argued that

" revolution revolutionizes the counter-revolution " (Debray, 1967 : 21). Since the Cuban revolution, Western nations have been especially concerned with political disturbances in the West Indies. Jamaica, which traditionally has had an image of radicalism, is undoubtedly an object of concern. Rastafarians therefore have been sensitive about maintaining an image of peaceful nonviolent protest, which under the circumstances, they argue, represents a nonpolitical alternative.

At the end of the 1960's two different accounts estimated the number of declared brethren to be 70,000 (Barrett, L.E., 1968 : 2; Nettleford, 1970 : 49). Owens questions this estimate as being too high, putting the number at 50,000 in West Kingston. At the time of the census taking in 1970, the Chief Census Officer himself reported to the Minister of Finance that :

... without the taking of the Census among the Rastafarian brethren we will lose a very significant proportion of the population. This thought is based on the views derived from persons who worked in and organized the 1960 Population Census and on my own observations as well as the listing of households in recent times in connection with the Continuous Social and Demographic Survey. It is my firm opinion that the numerical strength of the movement is far larger than we would believe. Furthermore, there are a number of very strong sympathizers who are not obviously members of the Rastafarian Movement (Letter dated March 4, 1970).

A recent article in the London Sunday Times (October 3, 1976) on the subject of Rastafarians in England reports :

Their movement indeed has doubled in numbers in Britain in the last two years to more than 5,000 (there are about half a million throughout the world).

The growing popularity of the Rastafarian movement was seized upon by the P.N.P. in the 1972 elections. Their successful campaign was based largely upon an implied association with the Rastafarian movement. Many election issues directly concerned Rastafarian symbolism and figures. Both parties argued about the " Henry pamphlet affair ". This concerned a one page poster-type pamphlet apparently published by Claudius Henry, who had been released from jail some years before and who had established a collective rural settlement. Local people claim that he was greatly assisted in this matter by P.N.P. patronage. The pamphlet in question declared that a divinely ordained Trinity of the Godhead consisting of Henry as Moses, Michael Manley, the P.N.P. leader as Joshua, and Selassie as Lord of Lords, would solve the economic and political ills of Jamaica.

The manner in which each party handled this publication was a source of controversy for weeks.

Another election issue concerned the rod of correction, an ornate walking stick given to Manley by Selassie on his 1969 visit to Ethiopia. It was used throughout the campaign as a party symbol, as opposed to a bell and clapper, the J.L.P. symbol. A very common motif showed the rod of correction tapping and cracking the bell. A prominent member of the J.L.P. the Minister of Finance whose riding is in West Kingston (where the largest concentration of Rastafarians is to be found) challenged Manley's claim to the true rod by producing another which he claimed was " truer ". Each party organized mass rallies around this issue and the press covered it extensively.

In addition, the P.N.P. based its campaign around such slogans as " it's time for a government of love " and " hail the man ", a common Rastafarian greeting. It even went so far as to organize a musical bandwagon, which travelled about the country, playing Rastafarian-inspired songs drumming up support. Throughout this period Rastafarians were very critical of this abuse of their culture and made many sardonic 45 r.p.m. records to this effect.

One of the first items on Manley's agenda after winning this election was to send another mission to Africa, ostensibly as a goodwill gesture from his government. This team of five delegates included one Rastafarian, a person who had also been a member of the 1960 Mission to Africa. By the time the 1976 election campaign was underway, several Rastafarian brethren appeared to be giving Manley " critical support " in his struggle to be re-elected. This was a source of controversy among the brethren, which had to be resolved at the individual level. While Rastafarians do not vote, their moral support is politically valuable. At one point just prior to the election an assassination attempt was made upon the life of Bob Marley, an internationally famous Dreadlocks singer, because of his involvement in a P.N.P. benefit concert.

With many Caribbean governments paying lip service to the African liberation movement, Rastafarians are being recognized more and more for their contributions to an awareness of African culture and history. In actual fact though, Jamaicans have traditionally held contemptuous

attitudes towards their African origins, even though approximately ninety percent of the Jamaican population is Black. We have already seen that Marcus Garvey's attempts to raise African consciousness among his fellow Jamaicans were lamentably unsuccessful. Rex Nettleford has discussed the fact that attitudes towards Africa began to change in the 1960's (Nettleford, 1970). Selwyn Ryan has actually credited the Rastafarian movement with keeping alive a vision of Africa until a greater part of the West Indian society was prepared to accept it (Ryan, 1975 : 1). This is a very general statement, though, for in actual fact, African consciousness holds different implications for different people. Many Rastafarians themselves are ambivalent about attempts to usurp their cultural initiatives.

Nevertheless, Rastafarianism spread to most of the other West Indian islands during the 1970's. This movement has been assisted to a large extent by the popularity of Bob Marley's music. In some of the islands, the Rastafarian movement has been regarded by the authorities as a threat to the status quo. In Dominica, an Unlawful Societies Act was passed in 1973 which made it illegal even to wear Rastafarian insignia. On the other hand, the movement seems to be easily tolerated in places such as Trinidad. While an examination of the diffusion of Rastafarianism throughout the West Indies is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is a development of which the brethren are well aware. While they are generally impressed by the growing popularity of the movement, however, it has generated some concern over the question of orthodoxy, an issue which has not been of much concern until now. According to newspaper and other popular accounts, the kinds of people joining the movement abroad are criminals and radicals with a propensity for violence. While brethren reject this extreme position as propaganda, they nevertheless have expressed concern for making available on a larger scale the teachings of the movement so that those aspiring to become Rastafarians can have access to " orthodox " interpretations. As we shall see in this thesis, to the extent that Rastafarianism was a locally based movement in Jamaica, one learned the doctrine and ritual mainly through personal associations with brethren in small group situations. It remains to be seen how the popularity of the movement beyond Jamaica in the 1970's will affect the way in which the teachings are transmitted.

The period of the 1970's has witnessed some successful attempts to organize the movement in a more cohesive fashion. During the period of this fieldwork, for example, a small group of brethren from central Kingston formed the Rastafarian Movement Association. Without compromising their spiritual and cultural understandings, this group became very active in an overtly political fashion. For one thing, it published regularly a newsletter, sometimes weekly, sometimes biweekly, which expressed Rastafarian opinion on a variety of subjects. In particular, it carried reports of the persecution of the brethren by those in authority. It also organized public meetings, marches, and cultural events, and was active in seeking alliances on the university campus. While the R.M.A. has seen some changes in terms of its leadership and social organization, it continues to be very active still.

There were several other Rastafarian groups, less expressly political but equally as active, which were successful in recruiting large followings during the 1970's. Here we might mention the Twelve Tribes of Judah, which is modelled after the E.W.F. It has gained an extensive following among middle-class youth. While no single Rastafarian organization emerged as dominant, most experienced significant increases in their membership.

One final event to note in relation to the events of the 1970's is the founding of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jamaica. This is treated in detail in chapter eight. While membership in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, like the Ethiopian World Federation, is open to anyone, Rastafarians dominate it, at least in Jamaica. The E.O.C., like some of the Rastafarian organizations described above, has achieved considerable success in recruiting members. We might also note that Rastafarians who belong to the E.O.C. may also belong to some of the other popular organizations such as the R.M.A. or the Twelve Tribes.

What all this seems to suggest is that during the decade of the 1970's there appears to have been a significant growth in the Rastafarian movement. Moreover, while most Rastafarian brethren probably still do not belong to any formal association, there is no doubt that the number of successful organizations within the movement has increased. Finally, there is evidence that Rastafarians on the whole have become more active

in the public life of Jamaica. In fact, certain Rastafarian associations actively cooperate with non-Rastafarian interest groups.

During Manley's 1972-1976 term in office, there were many political initiatives undertaken by various interest groups. One of the most significant was the establishment of the Worker's Liberation League (W.L.L.), a movement committed to the pursuit of Marxist-Leninism and the establishment of " scientific socialism ". This group has been active in organizing an independent workers' trade union movement. Despite their disappointment with Manley's hesitant economic policy, the W.L.L. nevertheless gave Manley critical support in the 1976 election campaign. At the same time, the W.L.L. has been forging links with members and leaders of the Rastafarian movement around the issues of African liberation and education. The W.L.L. recognizes the role that Rastafarians have played in the area of culture and it officially regards the movement as a religion which has a right to practise in its own way.

In reviewing the events of the 1970's several questions are raised. While we have seen a significant increase in the numbers of the movement, and despite efforts on the part of many brethren to organize the others in a more formal fashion, generally speaking we may say that the majority of Rastafarians do not belong to recognized groups. Secondly, while Manley's government appears to be moving in the direction of socialism, and although a viable Marxist-Leninist party has been established, the majority of those dissatisfied with the way things are appear to be joining the Rastafarians. Young people in particular are attracted to the movement. Thirdly, Rastafarian brethren themselves are not leaving the movement in order to join either the P.N.P. or the W.L.L. This situation needs to be explained. We shall turn our attention to this problem in the following chapter, after we have discussed the social organization and ideology of the movement in more detail.

In summarizing this general review of the history of the movement, we have shown that at various points the activities of a handful of extremist brethren have had negative repercussions for the movement as a whole. We have also seen that while it may have been in the interests of the movement to have established formal pan-movement associations, this has not taken place. Our discussion has also revealed that the

movement has grown increasingly strong with the passage of time. Therefore it can no longer be regarded as marginal by the non-Rastafarian public. It remains to be seen how public acceptance of the movement will affect its future course.

Interpretations of Rastafarianism

At this point we want to turn to a discussion of the literature available on the Rastafarian movement. In a very general sense, it comprises part of the movement's history. The first accounts of the movement were produced by George Simpson in the mid-1950's, in the context of a study of Afro-Christian religions in Jamaica. Then, as a result of a political crisis involving the movement, the University of the West Indies dispatched a team of scholars to make a survey of the movement in 1960. However, it is not until the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's that numerous accounts of the movement became available. This can be interpreted partly as a result of the growing significance of the movement in Jamaican society, and partly due to the increasing tolerance among movement members towards outsiders.

There seems to be a general consensus in the literature on Rastafarianism that it comprises a cult phenomenon. The earliest social science work on the movement, carried out by Simpson in the mid-1950's, refers to it as a back-to-Africa cult (Simpson, 1960 : 160). He also uses the term political cultism (Simpson, 1955). Later works of the 1960's express this orientation : Patterson's cult of outcasts (1964); Lanternari's the Tafari cult (1965 : 136); Kitzinger's politico-religious protest cult (1969); Barrett's messianic cultism (1969); Post's cult of Rastafari (1970 : 195); Nettleford's cargo cult (1973 : 47); La Barre's crisis cult (1972 : 261). On the other hand, James (1965), Norris (1969 : 36), and Wilson (1973 : 63 - 69) refer to Rastafarianism as a sect. In none of the accounts mentioned is there a theoretical discussion of sect and cult, nor are reasons advanced for categorizing the movement as one or the other.

The question of the relationship between such ideal types as sect and cult is a thorny one, not to mention the problems involved when concepts derived from the study of religious deviation from standard

orthodoxy in European culture are applied to non-Western societies. Nevertheless, assuming that the above-mentioned scholars are not simply following popular notions in labelling the Rastafarian movement as a cult or as a sect, we hope to show that neither term adequately conveys the social and ideological complexity of the movement. Rastafarianism manifests characteristics of both sects and cults as these terms are traditionally understood.

Sect is frequently discussed in relation to Church, while cult is generally defined in relation to sect. In terms of social organization, sects usually advocate a high degree of equality between members (Mann, 1972 : 5); they generally seek to perpetuate the group qua group, and tend to control and to limit the participation of outsiders (O'Dea, 1968 : 131). On the other hand, the classic description of the social organization of a cult refers to it as an " amorphous, loose-textured uncondensed type of social structure " (von Wiese and Becker, 1932 : 627). From this point of view, we can see that Rastafarian social organization tends to approximate more that of a cult, although there are groups within the movement organized in sect fashion. Joining a sect is a more rigid and formal process, whereas membership in cults tends to fluctuate and need not preclude membership in other groups (O'Dea, 1968 : 134). Again, Rastafarianism resembles cult organization in this respect, although its membership is far more stable than is implied for cults.

As we shall see, it is often difficult to distinguish Rastafarians from non-Rastafarians, and therefore we have preferred to speak of participants rather than members. In contrast, O'Dea points out that sect members take special measures to distinguish themselves from non-members with measures such as dietary and clothing rules (O'Dea, 1968 : 131). There is a strict code for all sect members to follow. Schwartz has also noted that cults are more flexible than sects with regard to how individuals define their place within the group (Schwartz, 1970 : 85). With respect to Rastafarianism, we shall show that there exists an idealized moral code and lifestyle, fairly rigorous and demanding in themselves (as in the case of sects), although not all Rastafarians choose this path.

On the other hand, with reference to their relationship to the larger society, Mann argues that cults are adjusted to the secular culture

and are therefore utilitarian and this-worldly in outlook, whereas sects are indifferent to or opposed to many secular goals (Mann, 1972:7). This difference may be related to the fact that sects traditionally draw their membership from the lower class whereas cult membership tends to be more middle-class, and more educated (Niebuhr, 1957 : 46 - 47; Mann, 1972 : 40 - 41). O'Dea has also noted that mysticism, an elaboration of cult experience, also tends to attract educated people (O'Dea, 1968 : 135). Rastafarianism has a very strong mystical bent, yet its membership is drawn from the underclasses of the society. Moreover, it is avowedly opposed to material values and the goals of the dominant society. Here it approaches more closely the sect model. Moreover, Mann has suggested that cult organization is rational and businesslike with regard to the dominant society (Mann, 1972 : 7). Once again, Rastafarianism seems more sect-like and less cult-like.

With reference to ideological positions, sects are far more likely to emphasize collective salvation than individual redemption (Mann, 1972 : 38). Cults tend to stress ecstatic experience, comfort, and mental and physical healing. While Rastafarians do not deny the validity of these pursuits for individual well-being, the orientation of the entire movement is towards the liberation of all Black people, and thus, within this context, Repatriation as a goal equals collective redemption. They also emphasize the ills of the society, as opposed to the weakness of the individual (cults focus on the latter), while at the same time stressing individual potential in terms of overcoming worldly conditions. Once again, Rastafarianism appears more sect-like.

These are some dimensions along which we may compare the concepts of sect and cult. The categories in themselves are problematic and some scholars have advocated boycotting their use altogether (Goode, 1967). While the distinctions we have discussed above may be rather artificial (meaning that most observers would not use these terms in such a specific sense), we nevertheless must take into account the fact that several scholars have used the cult or sect frame of reference with respect to the Rastafarian movement. In our opinion, neither concept should be applied without a critical assessment of how the example discussed does or does not fit the model. This precaution is singularly lacking with respect to Rastafarian studies. Works which use the sect or cult frame

of reference tend to emphasize the oppositional nature of Rastafarianism in relation to the larger society. By contrast, we hope to examine the dialectical relationship which exists between Rastafarianism and the larger society, focusing in particular on the range of responses that the movement has made.

There are two kinds of scholarly works on Rastafarianism. The majority of studies are based on direct fieldwork and firsthand accounts of the movement. But we also have those studies which focus on larger theoretical issues, such as millenarism or Black Power, **whose authors use their** own interpretation of firsthand materials to make certain arguments.

One of the most significant accounts of the movement, by Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, lacks a comprehensive theoretical framework. It is in fact, a report on the state of the movement as it existed in 1960, and not a general sociological assessment of it. Nevertheless, this report did marshall a great deal of data about the movement, and for the first time, its complexity was grasped (Smith, et al., 1960 : 17 - 18). This report is also ethnographically weak, with no data on the day-to-day behaviour of members, ritual and symbolism, special codes, and the experience of the visionary state. For example, it dismisses the brethren's use of cannabis as " ganja addiction " in " ganja smoking clubs " (Smith, M. et al., 1960 : 29). We isolate this particular observation because it is upon the grounds of ganja smoking that the movement is most often discredited, despite the fact that the use of ganja is a widespread cultural pattern in Jamaica. The association alleged to exist between the detrimental effects of ganja and the Rastafarian movement is the major way in which the dominant society attempts to portray the Rastafarians as a lunatic fringe of an otherwise healthy society.

The complex nature of the Rastafarian movement makes it very difficult for the researcher to define a representative sample. It would be presumptuous to generalize across the face of the movement on the basis of limited personal contact, unless one accurately indicates the segment with which one is dealing. The 1960 report which really conducted a survey of the movement, failed to come to terms with it theoretically. On the other hand, Sheila Kitzinger's work, which presents an insightful account of two small groups of brethren, does not really locate them in the context of the movement (Kitzinger, 1969 and 1971).

Leonard Barrett's work approaches the Rastafarians mainly through formal organizational structures, and thus much of its network character **is lost** (Barrett, 1969). Finally, there are accounts of the movement based on little or no fieldwork, which generalize about it from the author's particular point of view (Watson, 1973; Post, 1970).

From the perspective of social psychology, the general impression gained of the Rastafarian movement is that of an unrealistic attempt to escape or to withdraw from reality - the dominant colonial reality providing the reference point. This reflects the general tendency to use a functionalist framework to interpret millenarian activities. The classic series of papers by Simpson describes the movement in just these terms : an " escapist-adjustive " type of activity, " pseudo-religious in nature " (Simpson, 1970 : 160). His other works emphasize this functional orientation, that Rastafarianism is an attempt to adjust to the miseries of society and the image presented of the brethren is one of social cripples (Simpson, 1955a, b, and c). Simpson's view is supported by Hogg, who argues that Rastafarianism is a response to deprivation and frustration; even though he recognizes that the movement is one of the most misunderstood phenomena in the Caribbean, he does little to rectify the situation (Hogg, 1966).

Kitzinger also uses a social-psychological framework to interpret Rastafarianism. While she does present some original data on the role of tabus, the status of women, and attitudes to health and disease, her limited sample introduces some distortions into her work. For one thing, she emphasizes both the political and religious aspects of the movement, or in Rasta terms, the statical and the churchical, but suggests that these are two mutually exclusive strategies between which brethren must choose (Kitzinger, 1969 : 257). Our data shows that while these two tendencies are apparent within the movement, they are not in fact mutually exclusive; indeed, many brethren are involved in both kinds of activities.

The second criticism of Kitzinger is more serious. Here we refer to her analysis of the movement from a psychoanalytical viewpoint. Using a functional approach, she argues that :

Its predominant characteristic is that of a politico-religious cult which allows the controlled expression of what Melford Spiro has called forbidden dependency needs (Kitzinger, 1969 : 259).

She then goes on to argue that because Rastafarianism is a socially marginal phenomenon, these expressions cannot be reliably channelled and routinized. There are no " built-in safeguards " operating as in Pocomania, Zion, and other revivalist sects. Hence, she concludes that : There is an uneasy balance between the mystic and the revolutionary elements, and repressed drives may at times seek immediate and uncontrolled expressions (Kitzinger, 1969 : 259).

Finally, she makes a plea that educational opportunities be provided so that Rastafarians can achieve the " habits of logical thought " through which they can resist rabble rousers and verbalize their protest in a nonviolent manner (Kitzinger, 1971 : 587) although she fails to provide any evidence of violent Rastafarian protest. This is a very misleading statement, for anyone who has spent time with the brethren can attest to their ample powers of reasoning.

Orlando Patterson also uses a framework of group fantasy and socio-psychological withdrawal in treating the Rastafarian movement as an unrealistic response to the despair and isolation of life in the slums of West Kingston. He tends to focus on the bizarre and sensational aspects of millenarian activities. We find the brethren criticized for their inability to organize " truly revolutionary " action :

And this is the fact, that with the millenarian cult one has the semblance of a revolution using the technique of group fantasy. In the final analysis, the millenarian cult is an outlet, rather than an agent, for revolutionary social action. It functions far more in maintaining the status quo than in disturbing it (Patterson, 1964 : 15).

One has to wonder, if Patterson's assumption about the reactionary nature of millenarism is correct, why the Rastafarian movement, rather than being embraced as a positive force by the dominant society, has been continuously persecuted and oppressed throughout its history.

Rastafarianism is suppressed precisely because it represents a movement and an ideology of an oppressed class. Rather than being an unrealistic escape from reality, the movement has developed logically from Garveyism and the experiences of Blacks in the British West Indies. Instead of recognizing in Rastafarianism the genesis of a struggle against exploitation and domination, many scholars have dismissed the movement out of hand on account of its millenarism. C.L.R. James, a noted West

Indian author of radical persuasion, goes even further than Patterson in decrying the " colossal stupidities, the insanities " of the Rastafarians, and their " imaginative fantasies " about escaping to Africa (James, 1965 : 75). Such interpretations are hard-pressed to explain the wide-spread popularity of the movement in the 1970's. They might have to conclude that a large section of the West Indian population is similarly deluded.

Raymond Prince, a psychiatrist who worked in Jamaica in the late 1960's, became interested in the Rastafarian movement because of his involvement with mentally ill Rastafarians. Like C.L.R. James, Prince initially approached the movement as a " delusional " system. However, Prince argued that the belief structure did provide meaning and self-esteem in the midst of degradation, even if the result was group psychosis (Prince, 1969a : 7 - 9). These views were put forward at a conference of the American Psychiatric Association held in Jamaica in 1969. Several brethren attended these meetings and accused Prince of racism, threatening to picket the proceedings if this view was not amended. At a later date Prince presented a revised version of the paper in which he argued that while members of such movements were not psychotic, their views were still unrealistic in nature. However, he went on to add that " the appearance of these cults is a symptom of social health rather than illness " because of their socially integrating role (Prince, 1969b : 4).

In addition to the social-psychological perspectives which tend to emphasize the " unrealistic " orientation of the movement, we have accounts which appreciate the socio-economic context giving rise to oppression and protest, but which treat the Rastafarian response as " illogical " in much the same fashion as Hobsbawm bemoans the wasted energies and misplaced ingenuities of millenarian movements. We have already noted that Orlando Patterson tends to adopt this point of view, arguing that such movements ultimately support the colonial status quo by not clearly and consciously directing the energies of the masses towards social action aimed at seizing power. In light of the experience of Garveyism, the intervention of United States and Britain in the Dominican Republic, Anguilla, Cuba, and Trinidad, and Guyana (to name but a few), and the fate of independent party movements in a Westminster

context, it is hardly surprising that Rastafarians continue to pursue their alternative. More importantly though, analyses such as those of Patterson (1964), Post (1970), and Watson (1973) are based on a Marxist orientation which treats the role of class consciousness as a significant factor in social change. Unfortunately, they tend to underestimate the powerful appeal that race symbolism and racism as a framework of analysis can have in a situation where both historically and currently the experience of race and class coincide - and where, moreover, " race " emerges as the factor which appears to determine " class " in people's experience.

In the New World, economic and political power is highly correlated with racial origins. Most criticisms of Rastafarianism tend to regard the emphasis given to racial factors as largely irrelevant to a meaningful political struggle, if not outright misleading - although it is generally admitted that the racial component in Rastafarian ideology may satisfy some emotional need for self-respect and pride. Such an argument minimizes the role that racism has played in the history of the Black people in the New World, and indeed, underestimates the force of racism in contemporary society. This viewpoint has been challenged recently by some West Indian and Latin American scholars who are beginning to reassess the role that racial ideology plays in the struggle of oppressed peoples in the New World, particularly Amerindians and Blacks.

Norman Girvan, a Jamaican scholar, has made a significant contribution in this direction. In his paper on " Aspects of the Political Economy of Race in the Caribbean and in the Americas " he adopts the position that resistance offered by Indians and Blacks to exploitation must of necessity have a " strong, if not predominant racial content on the ideological level " (Girvan, 1975 : 20). Girvan argues that racial awareness as a component of Black and Indian nationalism is " not only 'emotionally satisfying' but also objectively relevant ideologically in the struggle against exploitation " (Girvan, 1975 : 21; author's stress). Elsewhere he points out that :

... a purely 'class' analysis of the society is an insufficient basis for revolutionary ideology in that it does not adequately deal with the assignment of different racial groups to different economic roles along lines which more closely conform to a caste system. Further, a purely class analysis does not speak to the ideology of racism which accompanies

such a 'caste' system, and which derives additional force from the fact that different racial groups have internalized the racist values of the ruling class in their attitudes to each other. Hence in this context revolutionary ideology must provide an effective counter not only to what the different racial groups have been made to believe about themselves but also to how they have been conditioned to regard other groups, especially groups which they have been taught to regard as their enemy but which are in a structurally similar position. Furthermore, we hold the view that strategies for revolutionary change cannot effectively subsume that the 'race question' will be solved as a derivative of the 'class question'. Rather they must explicitly recognize the special significance of 'racial castes' as a mechanism in the political economy of exploitation, and develop strategies which speak directly to this condition and seek to ensure that it does not reproduce itself, albeit in more subtle form, in a revolutionary situation (Girvan, 1975 : 31).

While Girvan does not deal explicitly with the situation of the Rastafarians, what he has to say can be directly applied to that case study. The other point that Girvan develops which has relevance for revolutionary struggle is that an understanding of the historical and contemporary role of racism in keeping apart oppressed peoples who are of different racial and cultural origins but who share similar structural positions with respect to the capitalist class structure, is integral to future collective undertakings on the part of East Indians, Blacks, Amerindians, etc. Thus, while Rastafarian ideology has a strong racial component, this should not prevent us from looking for points of intersection between the Rastafarian analysis based on their collective experience, and the kinds of arguments made by other oppressed minority groups. Bearing this in mind, let us turn to a discussion of some of the interpretations of Rastafarianism made by authors who give close attention to the class factor.

Norris sets her analysis of Rastafarianism against a background of the social and economic ills of colonialism, and the party struggle, set off by Jamaican Independence. She suggests that the growth of the Rastafarian movement must be interpreted as a sign of extreme frustration (Norris, 1963 : 38). Elsewhere she captures the contradictions of Jamaican society in the following remark :

Numerous schools of thought developed inside the movement, besides the three basic concepts of Haile Selassie's divinity, the need for Repatriation to Africa, and the superiority of the Black race.

Under colonialism the profession of any one of these beliefs clearly singled out an individual as anti-social and, since a Jamaican government has taken over, officialdom pays grudging lip service to Garvey but continues to emulate the Western culture that Garvey rejected.

To live according to the spirit of his teachings even in a modern Jamaica is therefore to sentence oneself to being a social outcast. This has led to a deliberate adoption of anti-social attitudes as the fourth basic characteristic of Rastafarianism.

Such rejection of society has taken many different forms as the political, social, and economic changes in the society create new opportunities for showing hostility to orthodox standards. But an almost consistent element in this hostility has been a withdrawal from society, rather than an active combat to change it (Norris, 1963 : 46).

Here we find the Rastafarian preference for some kind of reconstructed African culture regarded as anti-social, while their overall orientation is interpreted as withdrawal. Close attention to the daily activities of Rastafarian life would reveal their involvement in their local communities, as well as active attention to the " personal as political ", a path that has much in common with North American feminism.

Post's article also strikes the escapist refrain. He analyzes Ethiopianism in Jamaica in the 1930's, and argues that it is a product of false consciousness, on the basis of its general irrelevance to the workers' strikes and protests that dominated events in 1937 - 1938 in that country. He nevertheless sets the development of Ethiopianism during that period in the context of imperialism by showing how much of the ideology is an attempt to come to terms with the historical experience of slavery and colonization of Black people. About the fate of Ethiopianism he has the following to say :

Thus there was no longer any need for this kind of false consciousness on their part, since opportunities for action deriving much more directly from material realities were now open to them. From this point on (1938) Ethiopianism was effectively restricted to its more extreme Rastafarian form, as the ideological expression of the lumpen-proletariat, or at least Jamaica's equivalent, the unemployed and the semi-employed inhabitants of the slums of West Kingston and other towns.

Rastafarianism was destined to periodically impinge upon public awareness, but never again (until possibly the end of the 1960's) was it to form part of a more general expression of protest such as the ideology of Ethiopianism had been in the 1930's (Post, 1970 : 106).

Post gives us no indication of how he would regard the popular appeal of Rastafarian ideology since the late 1960's. Undoubtedly the " opportunities for action " he heralds above - these being party politics and trade unionism - have come to be regarded by a large number of Jamaicans - the underclasses of the society - as ineffective in changing their situation.

Watson too is sympathetic to the oppressive situation in which Rastafarians find themselves. However, he once again characterizes their

response as escapist, and somewhat unrealistic in terms of meaningful social action (Watson, 1973 : 188, 193). In comparing the Rastafarians with Black Muslims, Watson is apparently more interested in the socio-economic conditions which fostered them rather than in the dynamics of the movements themselves (Watson, 1973 : 201). Nevertheless, utilizing a dialectical model, he is able to portray Rastafarianism more as a conscious and creative response (however misguided) than as a blind messianism. In this regard his work marks a departure from other studies.

There are other authors also of Marxist orientation, who unlike James, Post, Patterson, Norris, and Watson, are less inclined at first glance to dismiss the Rastafarian response as unrealistic. Instead, they are more likely to regard Rastafarian ideology as a significant factor in opposing oppression in the West Indies, and to examine the reasons for the failure of the movement " politically ", i.e., in terms of seizing power. In his analysis of race, class, and political behaviour in urban Jamaica Carl Stone has argued that Rastafarianism and Black Power represent the two most important attempts since World War II to devise a political alternative to the two-party system which is dominated by class coalitions (Stone, 1973 : 153). He writes :

Both attempts have been the subject of systematic state coercion through the police, as well as efforts by dominant political groups to co-opt the symbols they project Significantly, both efforts have not evolved beyond the stage of embryonic political movements and their political thrust and potential have been dissipated for various reasons. The reasons have little to do with mass support and relate respectively to shifting goals and emphases in the case of Rastafari and weak organizational efforts on the part of Black Power advocates. The extent to which these embryonic political movements have established support within the urban mass public gives some indication of the level of radical mass politicization which could provide a basis for future radical political alternatives to the multiple-class coalitions (Stone, 1973 : 153).

Stone then goes on to trace the history of Rastafarianism against a model of political development which subsumes three stages : mobilization, bureaucratization, and effective functionalization. Categorizing Rastafarianism as a " millenarian movement with a political ideology ", Stone argues that the " religious, cultural, and spiritualistic aspects of the movement advanced at the expense of arresting its political potential " (Stone, 1973 : 154). This in turn has led to attempts by the dominant elites to coopt the movement. In this respect Stone cites the inroads

that Rastafrian art, music, and philosophy have made into popular culture, and the official encouragement given to the founding of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In his analysis of cultural domination and political subordination in the West Indies, Singham echoes these sentiments. He goes further in decrying the role played in this process by bourgeois intellectuals, "who see in populism an ideology that unites them with the masses" (Singham, 1973 : 281). He points to Manley's use of Rastafarian culture and symbols in the 1972 elections as an example of this. Singham notes that "while there is debate over the political potential of the Rasta movement, with its strong millenarian base, there is general agreement that their alienation and their doctrines have provided them with a strong measure of resistance to cultural imperialism and that theirs is an authentic voice of protest" (Singham, 1973 : 287). While Singham leaves open the role that Rastafarianism may yet play in a changing West Indian society, Stone seems unclear on this issue. On the one hand, he suggests that the cooptation process has been so successful that it signals the ends of the potential threat of Rastafarianism to party politics and "the termination of its role as a disorganized source of political opposition" (Stone, 1973 : 155). But in the following paragraph using the results of a statistical opinion survey which he conducted, Stone reports that the Rastafarian doctrine of racial injustice and "its message of black dignity continue to provide a major influence on the political perspectives of the manual classes and the 'lumpen' stratum" (Stone, 1973 : 156).

Another author interested in populism and resistance is Colin Prescod. Like Singham and Stone, he notes the many attempts that have been made to coopt popular movements in the Caribbean, in particular Rastafarianism. However, he takes the position that while the elite classes have not succeeded in this effort, they have at least "diverted" the development of Rastafarianism (Prescod, 1975 : 72). In his opinion, the strength of Rastafarianism lies in the fact that it is not an elite-defined ideology, and that as an ideology of an oppressed class it may well have the resilience and the motivation to get back on-track, so to speak. He writes :

Let us not be too confused by the negative paradoxes of the emergence of Rastafarianism - its back to Africa/religious elements; its possibly naive attachment to the exploding aristocracy of Selassie in Ethiopia; its fair share of mal-practising, even if well-intentioned, preachers and prophets. If we are to think about it, there was no other way for an oppressed ideology to emerge.

On the positive side, Rastas foresaw the concerns of black power, both its cultural and political variety. They foresaw the need for the masses to organize livelihood on the fringes and margins of Babylon's major enterprises, which first threatened to crush the masses and then eventually destroy themselves ... and even as it is still not understood, Rastas foresaw the need for a kind of living that included not just the importance of physical and material well-being, but also the vital significance of spiritual well-being (Prescod, 1975 : 72) (Emphasis added).

Both Singham and Prescod remind us that growing popular resistance elicits repressive governmental and police action (Singham, 1973 : 287; Prescod, 1975 : 74).

Finally, there are those studies of Rastafarianism which attempt to assess the contribution of the movement to Jamaican culture. This discussion is always carried on in the context of routinization and institutionalization. Carl Stone hints at this development. He claims, for example, that the decision of the Rastafarian movement to coexist within the status quo has contributed to its depoliticization, and that as a result the art, music, and symbolism of the movement have acquired legitimacy (Stone, 1973 : 155). While Rastafarianism has undoubtedly made progress in terms of popularizing its message in wider circles, we also read this as evidence of attempts to coopt the movement. However, in our experience " the individualistic and disorganized Rastafarian movement " did not " become subject to rapid institutionalization through the Ethiopian Orthodox Church " (Stone, 1973 : 155). Rather, some brethren joined the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but they still represent a minority within the entire movement. Carl Stone's characterization of the movement as disorganized, depoliticized, and respectable leaves much to be desired (Stone, 1973 : 155).

Joseph Owens' book entitled Dread represents an attempt to portray the Rastafarians as the most vital Christian force in present-day Jamaica. Owens is a Jesuit priest who was completely captivated by the energy, enthusiasm, and insightfulness of the Rastafarians he met, and Dread is a work which systematically discusses the theology of the movement. Much

of the content of the book consists of statements about man, God, and judgement in the words of the Rastafarians themselves. It is significant that this was the first book to be published on a commercial basis entirely within Jamaica. Its release was heralded as a significant contribution to Jamaican culture because it rectified a gap in people's understanding of local culture.

The introduction to Dread is written by Rex Nettleford, whom we have already discussed with reference to the 1960 U.W.I. report on Rastafarianism. In a later work, Mirror, Mirror, on the subject of race, identity, and protest in Jamaica, Nettleford devotes two chapters to the history and influence of Rastafarianism on the development of Black consciousness in Jamaica (Nettleford, 1970). While extremely valuable as a historical source on the movement, this work managed to avoid confronting an analysis of the social and political potential of the movement. In the introduction to Dread, however, Nettleford adopts an unreservedly positive attitude to Rastafarianism - to the extent that his writing style, in its rhythms and vocabulary, captures much of the mood of Rastafarianism itself. Nettleford characterizes the movement as :
... a still developing system of religious thought and a style of practical living that summon a groping and equivocal society to honesty and moral certitude (Nettleford, 1976 : vii).

He heralds Rastafarianism as a " native-born and native-bred concentration of effort, drive, and will to bring about fundamental transformation of an unjust society if not its total destruction " (Nettleford, 1976 : ix). Nettleford continually makes the point that it is in the field of religion that Rastafarianism makes its greatest challenge, Owens's book then goes on to fill out this theme. What we have here is an effort to package Rastafarianism in a way that would make the movement culturally acceptable to many non-Rastafarian Jamaicans by minimizing its political and ideological content in favour of emphasizing its religious and cultural contributions. This is not a balanced picture of Rastafarianism. Moreover, while lip service is given to both the spiritual and cultural components of Rastafarianism, we might note that the central feature of Rastafarian communion - the use of herbs (cannabis) - is still a criminal offence in Jamaica.

While we are on the subject of interpretations and reinterpretations of the Rastafarian movement, we should note that Leonard Barrett's original book entitled The Rastafarians, A Study in Messianic Cultism (1968) has been updated and republished as The Rastafarians, The Sounds of Cultural Dissonance (1977). In both books Barrett continues to refer to the movement as a cult and to its members as cultists, while at the same time arguing that Rastafarianism fits perfectly well into A.F.C. Wallace's model of revitalization movements. It is his chapter on the final stage of this revitalization process that concerns us here. In a section entitled " An Ambivalent Routinization " Barrett spends twenty pages discussing how the movement has become institutionalized and accepted by the majority of Jamaicans (Barrett, 1977 : 146 - 166). Not once does he explain what he means by ambivalent routinization. Nor is the evidence he puts forth in support of routinization completely satisfying. He bases his argument for routinization on the experiences and strategies of accommodation to the larger society of only a small sample of Rastafarians, many of whom are drawn from the West Kingston area, and who can be characterized as having a particular orientation within the movement as a whole. For example, he speaks of Ras Sam Brown running in the national elections in 1961 as a highly significant turning point in the history of the movement (Barrett, 1977 : 147 - 156). Sam Brown, however, only received thirty-three votes, and no Rastafarian has ever run in an election again. This fiasco confirmed most brethren's opinion that other solutions would have to be sought. Again, Barrett insists that the success of some few Rastafarian artists and the rise of reggae under the influence of Bob Marley, a Rastafarian himself, are prime evidence that the movement has institutionalized and is accepted by the rest of the society. Once more, we would have to point to Singham's and Prescod's argument about the cultural cooptation of resistance ideologies by the elite, and let the readers draw their own conclusions (Prescod, 1975; Singham, 1973).

In summary, we are able to make several observations about the existing literature on Rastafarianism. In the first place, we can point to the imprecise and/or inappropriate use of concepts to describe the movement. Secondly, studies which characterize Rastafarians as an

unrealistic response to very serious conditions of poverty and oppression give us no encouragement to penetrate further towards determining why such a movement has developed and continues to attract a following. Such studies also tend to regard Rastafarianism as an isolated and/or marginal social phenomenon. They overlook the connections that exist between the movement itself and representatives of the dominant order. This attitude limits our understanding of the dynamics of social change and social movements. Thirdly, most studies of the movement are ethnographically weak, in that they are based on little or no fieldwork. Some that are adequate in this regard, are flawed on account of their one-sidedness and lack of balance, since they tend to emphasize only one dimension of Rastafarian behaviour and activities. Fourthly, there is little attention given to the problem of the relationship between social behaviour and movement ideology at the individual level. While several of these accounts may help us to understand the collective activities of some segments of the movement in light of their shared beliefs, we gain little insight into the way in which single participants guide their daily activities within the framework provided by the movement. Finally, apart from Watson's article which compares Rastafarianism as a social movement to the Black Muslims, there is no systematic attempt to discuss Rastafarianism within a comparative perspective.

In this chapter we have attempted to accomplish three objectives. In the first place we have tried to outline certain facts about Jamaican society which we could expect any movement for social change to take into account. Jamaica has experienced chronic problems as a result of its dependent economic status. The two political parties and their associated trade unions have been unable to rectify this situation. Thus, while a movement for social change could be expected to develop an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist position, we might also expect it to be sceptical of organized parliamentary activity as a means of redressing these imbalances. As for radical political activity, it is a fact that the political atmosphere in the West Indies has grown more expertly repressive in this regard following the success of the Cuban revolution.

On the other hand, we have noted that there exists in Jamaica a longstanding cultural tradition which associates the adoption of African symbols and practices with resistance and independence. Historically such attitudes have tended to manifest themselves in forms of religious behaviour, although with the advent of Garveyism strong secular elements began to appear. On the other hand, we have **seen that** movement dominated by a powerful leader and oriented to accommodation within the larger society. That movement floundered when its leader was crushed. While Garvey's ideology of race pride and race respect had a profound effect on Blacks, its organization did not prove capable of resisting unsympathetic forces. Therefore, we could expect a social movement building on the ashes of Garveyism to draw its own conclusions. It is obvious that an ideology which combines anti-colonial attitudes with an African orientation could have popular appeal. Perhaps we could expect a rejection of expressly political forms of activity and look for a more general acceptance of religious motifs. Finally, we might expect to find social forms devised to counteract the limitations of centrally organized groups. As we shall see in the following chapter, the Rastafarian movement has come to terms with these problems in a characteristic fashion.

Our second objective was to document critical episodes in the evolution of the Rastafarian movement. The history of its relationship with non-Rastafarianism is characterized by misunderstanding and violent confrontation. When certain extremist groups within the movement challenged elements of the dominant society, the entire movement experienced the repercussions. Moreover, where coercion of the movement was not successful as a strategy of social control, attempts were made to deflect the direction of the movement by coopting certain aspects of its message. Thus, while Rastafarianism has continued to increase in significance, it has had to develop its programme within certain institutional limitations. As we hope to demonstrate in the following chapter, many internal contradictions have developed within the movement which must be explained in light of these historical developments and its relationship to the dominant society.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. In some other West Indian nations, where the two-party system operates at least nominally, strong leaders and their parties have tended to dominate the political scene e.g., Trinidad, Guyana, Grenada, and Barbados.
2. Two major sources are the 1960 University of West Indies Report, by Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, and Rex Nettleford's book, Mirror, Mirror, published in 1970. There is still no comprehensive source on the events of the 1970's available yet, although Barrett's revised version of an earlier book, entitled The Rastafarians, provides some new data.
3. Throughout the West Indies slaves who managed to escape established independent communities, usually in isolated areas. Such people were called " Maroons ". Sometimes in return for their cooperation with colonial authorities, treaties were negotiated which officially recognized the Maroons' rights to the land they had occupied. Jamaica has several such settlements. Because of their isolation such communities came to be culturally distinct from the surrounding population. Even though in actual fact the political behaviour of the Maroons developed in a conservative direction, their towns came to be associated with ideas of independence, self-sufficiency, and African culture. Rastafarian brethren frequently express admiration for the spirit of the Maroons even today.

Chapter Three

We Are Only A Visitor Here:

Ideological and Social Dynamics of the Rastafarian Movement

One of the most striking characteristics of the Rastafarian movement is its extreme ideological and cultural heterogeneity. It is possible to classify Rastafarians in a variety of ways according to the point of view of the observer. Rastafarians, too, have their own methods of making distinctions among themselves. In this respect, Rastafarianism is very much like Black Power or Feminism in North America. While at the most general level all three terms refer to an abstract ideological orientation, the range of lifestyles and beliefs of those claiming to be adherents of any one of these movements is quite diverse. In 1960 Smith, Augier, and Nettleford described the heterogeneous character of Rastafarianism in these terms :

Rastafari brethren are a very heterogeneous group. Rastafarians hold in common only two beliefs : that Rastafari is the Living God, and that salvation can come to black men only through Repatriation to Africa. On all other matters the opinions of the brethren vary as widely as the opinions of the rest of the population They are also very disorganized, and lacking in leadership. Probably the great majority are not attached to any of the many organizations which give themselves names and lists of officers. There is no leader or group of leaders who can speak for the movement as a whole or define its doctrines (Smith, M., Augier, and Nettleford, 1960 : 18).

How then are we to deal with the problem of how an individual member determines in what way these shared understandings actually apply to his life? In this chapter we intend to outline the general ideological orientations of the movement, discussing the kinds of implications any of these beliefs can have for behaviour. Then we will examine more closely the social dynamics of Rastafarianism, illustrating how variations on these ideological themes are in fact expressed at the level of the movement. We shall discuss the social organization of the movement within a comparative framework in order to gain a better understanding of the kinds of problems social movements face in articulating ideology with behaviour. The ways in which Rastafarianism has attempted to deal with these issues can be considered in a wider perspective.

At this stage we want to clarify the assumptions upon which this chapter is based. We shall be discussing the relationship between Rastafarian ideology and the social organization of the movement with the intention of examining the contradictions that have developed between the values and understandings held by the movement's members, and the social and economic environment of Jamaica which makes their realization difficult, if not impossible. We shall use the multigroup approach to social movements developed by Gerlach and Hine in their study of Black Power, Pentecostalism, and other groups in order to deal with the ideological diversity and social heterogeneity of the Rastafarian movement (Gerlach and Hine, 1968 ; 1970).

The relationship between an ideological system and social structure is problematic, if not paradoxical. Ideology cannot be understood simply as a function of social structure - nor can it be regarded as determining social structure. We shall adopt the position that an ideology is a set of beliefs which both reflects social existence and directs social action. Leaving aside the problem of the pejorative connotations commonly associated with the term ideology, we nevertheless must point out that ideologies frequently contain within them ambiguities and contradictions which can be sources of confusion, conflict, and possible error. However, certitude being one of the more noteworthy characteristics of an ideological system, believers are unlikely to abandon it easily. Moreover, as Schwartz has pointed out in his comparative study of Seventh Day Adventism and Pentecostalism, people do not commit themselves to a belief system " solely on the basis of the credibility of its isolated propositions " (Schwartz, 1970 : 3). Here Schwartz is following Geertz who argues that it is :

... the attempt of ideologies to render otherwise incomprehensible social situations meaningful, to so construe them as to make it possible to act purposely within them, that accounts for the ideologies' highly figurative nature and for the intensity with which, once accepted, they are held Whatever else ideologies may be - projections of unacknowledged fears, disguises for ulterior motives, phatic expressions of group solidarity - they are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience (Geertz, 1973 : 220).

In other words, as the result of a collective effort to deal with a common problem, an ideology arises in a particular social context and is understood only by examining the issues it is designed to resolve. However,

the inability of an ideological system to lead to action which will resolve a problem in a pragmatic way does not invalidate it in the eyes of its followers. Clearly, as Geertz has suggested, ideologies offer more than workable solutions. In fact, we have seen cases where "failure" may serve to intensify commitment on the part of followers, rather than to cast aspersions on them. (See Lofland, 1966 and Festinger et al., 1964.) Nigel Harris has pointed out that :

To make an ideology sharper, to deepen its assumptions, requires the continuation of just such a major problem, and usually a threat to the existence of the group through great deprivation or sustained hostility by the rest of society (Harris, 1968 : 64).

Thus we have to ask, under what conditions does an ideology become credible, accepted, and maintained by a number of individuals, in a situation where alternative belief systems are available and are being adopted by other groups of people with the same problem. It becomes necessary to examine the nature of the ideology itself in relation to the problem, and to allow for the possibility that ideologies need not offer only practical solutions to real problems to be credible. This brings us back to Geertz's point that ideologies first and foremost provide meaning. He outlines the conditions under which solutions are sought as follows :

It is when neither a society's most general cultural orientations nor its most down-to-earth 'pragmatic' ones suffice any longer to provide an adequate image of political process that ideologies begin to become crucial as sources of socio-political meanings and attitudes (Geertz, 1973 : 219).

If we adopt the position that ideologies both reflect social existence and direct social action, we allow for the possibility of a dynamic relationship between these two dimensions. Thus our approach to the study of ideology is based on the assumption that it is capable of changing in order to adapt to new situations and to explain new developments. While at a given point in time we may attempt to analyze a particular ideological system as a set of beliefs and attitudes, we should bear in mind that it is the product of changing historical circumstances, and that most likely it may be still subject to external pressures. As a result, we must also examine an ideology for areas that seem more responsive to change, or for propositions that seem to be open-ended or possibly subject to further modification. Ambiguities and contradictions in ideologies

may also be approached from this point of view. For example, for most of its history Rastafarianism has been associated with the idea of literal Repatriation to Africa. This was reinforced by the fact that several dozen brethren settled there in the 1960's. There could be no doubt that Rastafarianism and Repatriation were almost synonymous, both in the minds of brethren and non-members alike. But towards the end of the 1970's Repatriation became the subject of extensive reasoning sessions among the brethren. It was no longer approached with such dogmatic certitude, given the changing conditions in Ethiopia, and the ironic fact that Rastafarians have become persona non grata in their elusive Zion, since it is now ruled by a communist military dictatorship. At this stage there seems to be a certain amount of ambiguity surrounding this issue among the brethren, and some of the contradictions inherent in this idea have still to be worked out.

Rastafarianism is a social movement that is expressly religious in terms of its symbolic formulations and most of its day-to-day activities. Its ideological system is religious in the sense that it deals with metaphysical principles upon which social interaction should be based. While the Rastafarian ideology, then, can serve political and social activist ends as well, it can be characterized as a religious ideology rather than a political or social ideology. In this respect we are not following someone like Schwartz who makes an analytical distinction between theology, on the one hand, and ideology on the other (Schwartz, 1970 : 169). From his point of view, " the ideological aspects of religious belief emerge when assumptions about man's relationship to supernatural forces are adjusted to nonsacred realities " (Schwartz, 1970 : 169). In other words, Schwartz seems to be making a distinction between purely religious (theological) beliefs, on the one hand, and ideological statements on the other, on the basis of whether or not the belief in question is being applied to secular or non-secular problems. We, however, regard religious beliefs (theology) as ideological per se, in that they both reflect and direct social action. Moreover, Rastafarian religious ideology is radical in nature, given the Jamaican cultural context. Rastafarian religious beliefs and metaphysical propositions espouse a point of view and offer explanations which belie the dominant cultural paradigm which has developed in a colonial situation. In this sense the way in which

Rastafarians define man's relationship with supernatural forces is ideological. In no way can we regard Rastafarian metaphysics as purely theological. They have been developed, not arbitrarily, but in a historical context of oppression. Moreover, given this said cultural context, the fact that the Rastafarians have chosen to use a religious ideology (as opposed to a secular ideology) as their point of departure is neither inappropriate nor without precedent. In chapter two we discussed the problem that much of the ideological content of Rastafarianism - its symbols, central concepts, and core beliefs - is meaningful only in light of Jamaica's colonial past and dependent present.

Although Rastafarians are considered socially marginal to Jamaican society by the wider public, and while their beliefs in fact represent an opposition to the status quo, we are not justified in conceiving of their ideological system merely as a set of " statements of dissatisfaction with the social order in disguise " (Schwartz, 1970 : 8). Instead, we intend to show that Rastafarian ideology offers its adherents an ordered system of cultural symbols which transforms mundane issues into materials for metaphysical speculation. Having derived a set of propositions about the nature of the universe and human morality, Rastafarians can then apply these understandings in objective social situations. The relationship between ideology and social behaviour becomes problematic at this point in the sense that there are environmental limitations on the degree to which the ideology can be applied.

With respect to Rastafarian ideology, we intend to examine the contradictions that have developed between certain widely-held Rastafarian beliefs on the one hand, and the demands imposed by the social environment on the other, by making use of the work of Aberle and Mannheim. Both of these authors distinguish between two levels of ideology. For Aberle, an official ideology is a general set of beliefs which members of a particular group hold to be true, but which lack any coercive influence on behaviour, while directing ideological elements are those beliefs which inform day-to-day activities and guide action in concrete situations (Aberle, 1966 : 317). Mannheim distinguishes between the particular as opposed to the total conception of ideology. The total conception of ideology is used when one refers to " the ideology of an age or of a concrete historico-social group " when one is " concerned with the

characteristics and composition of the total structure of the mind of this epoch or of this group " (Mannheim, 1936 : 56). The particular conception of ideology is used to refer to only a portion of an individual's ideational content, without calling into question his entire world view.¹

Mannheim takes the position that :

If we confine our observations to the mental processes which take place in the individual and regard him as the only possible bearer of ideologies, we shall never grasp in its totality the structure of the intellectual world belonging to a social group in a given historical situation Every individual participates only in certain fragments of this thought-system, the totality of which is not in the least a mere sum of these individual fragmentary experiences (Mannheim, 1936 : 58).

When we employ the total conception of ideology with respect to Rastafarianism, we attempt to outline the worldview of an entire social movement as a whole. However, it can be assumed that individual members of the movement - and separate groups within the movement - share only selected aspects of this general orientation. Moreover, given the external restrictions upon the application of this ideology, we can also expect individual members and/or groups to interpret official ideology in ways that suit their own needs. It is at this point that an understanding of the relationship between the ideological system and the social organization of the movement becomes critical.

In the first chapter we discussed some of the problems inherent in attempts to classify millenarian movements, in that real examples never fully correspond to ideal types. Classification exercises of social movements in general suffer from the same limitations. Aberle, for example, classifies movements according to the group's orientation to change in the world - in much the same way that Wilson categorizes cult movements according to their response to the world (Aberle, 1966; Wilson, 1973). Gerlach and Hine, however, point out that within a single broad social movement it may be possible to find different kinds of perspectives represented by various groups, who nevertheless are still regarded as members (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). Such social movements are decentralized in terms of power, authority, and decision making, consisting of small local groups (segmented) which are loosely bound together in network fashion (reticulate). Within one social movement one may find, then, groups sharing the same general level of ideology, but which adopt

various positions in relation to the surrounding society. This model eliminates some of the problems inherent in the ideal-type approach and may correspond more realistically with the social dynamics of a given movement.

Contrasting with such reticulate and segmented social movements are those tending towards hierarchical principles of organization, in which a leadership clique is to be distinguished from a mass of followers. Here the linkage between the official and directing levels of ideology is achieved by fiat, through directives and central commands. In these instances directive ideology is not likely to be articulated by other than the leadership clique; this, in fact, may serve as their one defining feature. The followers in such a movement, in other words, pay heed to the official ideology in a passive sense; they are not expected to - and indeed may be discouraged from - using the official ideology creatively, to articulate directives binding on the local collective. Black Muslims are a case in point.

Where a reticulate, segmented form of organization develops, a different relationship exists between the official and directing levels. The distinction between leaders and followers being less clear-cut, movements of this kind seek to derive directing ideology through group means in a more egalitarian setting. The members are expected to use the official ideology creatively, by framing their own views of what is to be done concretely, in accordance with it.

The social organization of the Rastafarian movement can be characterized as decentralized, reticulate, and segmented. Ideologically, it is characterized by a high degree of ambiguity and plasticity even at the official level, where certain universal truths are held to be valid, and within which it is possible for many specific, but occasionally contradictory, elements to operate at the directing level. Instead of following Hobsbawm, who argues that this variation "wastes energies" and "misplaces inequities" (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 91 and 153), we shall take the position that this creativity actually extends the scope of meaning and makes purposive action possible within given situations. We will now turn to a discussion of the general ideological framework of Rastafarianism.

I Ideological Dynamics of the Rastafarian Movement

In this section we intend to discuss in a general way the ideology of the Rastafarian movement. We hope to show the kinds of collective experiences that have shaped it and the dynamics whereby it operates. We have already pointed out that the movement is extremely heterogeneous in nature, that a wide variety of individual and group adaptations can be observed within it. In this section we intend to restrict our discussion to the total or official level of Rastafarian ideology, while at the same time noting the variations that are possible upon these general themes. We hope to avoid the pitfalls that such a task may entail by delineating the common ideological pool on which individuals may base their own orientation, rather than proposing a set of beliefs about which it can be said that all Rastafarians agree. Thus this discussion addresses itself, not to specific individuals or groups, but to the movement in general.

We also hope to show that the structural characteristics of Rastafarian ideology have much in common with the nature of ideological systems followed by other social movements. Gerlach and Hine have summarized the generic properties of movement ideology based on their study of Black Power and Pentecostalism (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 159 - 182). Most of their remarks are directly applicable to the Rastafarian movement, in particular their discussion of the " split-level " nature of ideology (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 165). Here they note that while there are few basic concepts upon which all participants agree, these are central enough to create movement solidarity and to promote intensity of commitment. With respect to Rastafarianism, we can demonstrate that there also one finds orienting concepts which in themselves are sufficient to give those who share them a sense of altered identity within the Jamaican context, and a means whereby they can distinguish themselves from non-members. Nevertheless, as Gerlach and Hine point out with reference to their examples, we find a wide range of ideological variation on " lower levels " of ideology. This possibility fosters the development of the decentralized, reticulate, segmented social organization which we have noted is characteristic of Rastafarianism. Gerlach and Hine repeatedly caution us, however, that given the " infinite variety " of ideological form, any

attempt to stereotype a movement's basic beliefs " can lead to a distorted perception of the movement " (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 165 - 166). We could not agree more.

The following discussion of Rastafarian ideology will be organized around four themes. First, we shall discuss Ethiopianism in Rastafarian thought. This will subsume an examination of pan-Africanism, Repatriation, and racial awareness. Secondly, we shall look at the anti-colonial/anti-imperial element in Rastafarian ideology. Thirdly, we consider the biblical fundamentalism of the movement. Finally, we will turn to a feature of Rastafarianism which has not been dealt with extensively elsewhere : the brethren's espousal of I and I consciousness. Once again we stress that we are dealing with the common ideological pool of the movement and not the orientation of any one group or individual within it. This approach can be readily distinguished from other studies on Rastafarianism which tend to draw up lists of commonly held beliefs without really examining how such ideologies function in practice (Simpson, G.E., 1962 : 160; Smith, M., Augier and Nettleford, 1968 : 17; Barrett, L.E., 1977 : 104; Patterson, 1964 : 17; Watson, 1971 : 191). The unfortunate aspect of these works is that most sources quote the list of " beliefs " given by Simpson in the 1950's without any further consideration. These are the following :

1. Black people are reincarnations of ancient Israelites.
2. The White man is inferior to the Black man.
3. The Jamaican situation is a hopeless hell.
4. Ethiopia is Heaven.
5. Haile Selassie is the Living God.
6. Black people will soon return to Africa and rule the world. (Simpson, 1962 : 160).

We would like to consider these and other propositions as aspects of a larger ideological orientation, which is not entirely fixed, but which is capable of modification and elaboration. Following Eric Schwimmer's approach to the analysis of Maori and Canadian Indian culture, we want to emphasize both the political and cultural content of Rastafarian ideology. Schwimmer has argued that both the Maoris and the Canadian Indians " have developed well-articulated opposition ideologies supported by a highly developed symbol system and a rich mythology " (Schwimmer, 1970 : 5).

However, he points out that most theorists tend to focus on the element of protest in such ideologies, and are " inclined to underestimate the richness of the symbolic edifices that oppressed peoples build out of the facts of their oppression " (Schwimmer, 1970 : 5). With respect to the Rastafarians we hope to demonstrate the manner in which their cultural creation, as well as their political understandings, guide action on a day-to-day basis.

1. Ethiopianism

The most basic and predominant characteristic of Rastafarian ideology is its Ethiopianism. In the Ethiopianism of the movement we find the kind of underlying yearning that Kenelm Burridge calls a myth-dream. Ethiopianism is not peculiar to Rastafarians. It is a philosophical orientation generally embodying notions of pan-Africanism and African liberation. Ken Post has reviewed variations on Ethiopianism in this century (Post, 1970); however, as a historical ideal, Ethiopia plays a role as far back as Homer. In a book on the experience of Africans in the diaspora, Snowden discusses the image of Ethiopia in the Classical Period (Snowden, 1976). The first Ethiopians in European literature are the " Blameless Ethiopians " of Homer, renowned for their piety, military prowess, justice, and diplomacy, the protected of the gods - for Ethiopia had never been invaded and Ethiopians themselves preferred death to slavery (Snowden, 1976 : 29). Greeks and Romans applied the term " Ethiopia " to more than just Abyssinia, and Ethiopians were not considered to fit the stereotype of barbarians (Snowden, 1976 : 22). In the same volume, Bernard Lewis reports that Ethiopians had acquired a similar reputation in Islam (Lewis, 1976 : 40 - 41). While Rastafarians themselves to not appear to have an academic knowledge of the history of Ethiopianism as a philosophy, one finds similar arguments made by both Rastafarians and other Ethiopian-oriented social movements.

In a review of the history of the independent church movement in South Africa, Sundkler demonstrates the significance of the historical-symbolic role played by Ethiopia. Biblical passages mentioning Ethiopia were used as ideological support - one of the most significant being Psalm 68 : 31 - " Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God " (Sundkler, 1964 : 39). We find the same kind of argument and the same quotations used in both Garveyism and Rastafarianism. By the end of the

19th century the " Africa for the African " ² programme was underway on the continent, and Sundkler suggests that it was Ethiopian-initiated (Sundkler, 1964 : 56). In his analysis, Sundkler speaks of the " mythical charter " of the Ethiopian Independent Church movement, in that actual historical events in Ethiopia lent credence to its image as protected of the gods. Much of what Sundkler attributes to Ethiopianism holds true for the Rastafarian movement. We find the same ideological emphasis on the Italo-Abyssinian struggles, on anti-white sentiment, and on the incorporation of Ethiopian symbols to validate the movement. In Jamaica the Garvey movement had already espoused a limited form of Ethiopianism, but it was under Rastafarianism that it was to flourish. In his article on the Bible as ideology, Ken Post outlines in some detail how :

Ethiopianism ... was a vehicle not for a narrowing of perspectives ... but for the emergence of a Jamaican Ethiopianism broad enough to encompass a wide range of racial concepts (Post, 1970 : 193).

Ethiopianism emerged as an ideology, as a general explanation of the situation of Africans, at home and abroad. While in its concrete form Ethiopianism took many facts out of their historical context and somewhat reconstructed the nature of reality, it generally provided the basis of a pan-Africanism which was especially attractive to Blacks in the diaspora. In fact, Shepperson argues that :

... it is no exaggeration to call pan-Africanism the latter-day ideology of the African diaspora (Shepperson, 1976 : 8).

The Rastafarian movement enthusiastically seized upon this message of pan-Africanism as a means of liberating Africa for all Africans, both on the continent and in the diaspora. It coupled this with continuous demands for Repatriation to the motherland, to escape the conditions of slavery, which is how they conceive of life in Jamaica.

Thus Rastafarian Ethiopianism is characterized by a vision both of pan-Africanism and Repatriation. It is in regard to the latter that we can speak most generally of a myth-dream. Although a discussion of the history of back-to-Africa movements among New World Blacks is beyond the scope of this thesis, we want at least to provide enough background for our account of Rastafarian Ethiopianism. There exists a substantial literature on the continuity of the back-to-Africa ideology among American Blacks from the earliest days of slavery. The record for the West Indies

is somewhat weaker in the sense that the primary source materials have not yet been drawn together in a convenient form. Nevertheless, there exist autobiographies by slaves, letters between slaves and masters and/or ministers, accounts in story and song, personal testaments, articles, and speeches, all of which indicate that a stream of Blacks in the New World kept alive the vision of liberation as a return to Africa. For example, while the problem of illiteracy among the slaves generally prevented their recording this dream themselves, there are a number of accounts written by Arabic-speaking Muslim slaves from West Africa who conceived of Africa in this way (Redkey, 1969 : 16 - 17). Jenkins has analyzed the content of slave songs from this viewpoint (Jenkins, 1975 : 33 - 34). While Redkey's work concentrates on back-to-Africa movements after the 1890's, he utilizes several historical sources to trace the theme of back-to-Africa from the 1700's. Jacob Drachler has edited a volume of works which presents both historical and contemporary attitudes on the part of Afro-Americans to Africa (Drachler, 1975).

It is also clear that while back-to-Africa themes are present throughout the history of Blacks in the New World, they were not always popular among all Blacks. Nevertheless, from time to time, prominent Black leaders emerged who were able to articulate these ideas in a coherent fashion, resulting in the formation of back-to-Africa political and social movements among certain sectors of the Black population. While the image of Africa projected under these circumstances was often highly symbolic, if not unrealistic, it nevertheless served to motivate Blacks to organize in their own interests. The idea of a return to Africa, however that continent was conceived, had a powerful emotional appeal, apparently not weakened by the failure of most of these ventures to materialize. In this manner Burrridge has described his conception of myth-dreams as applied to a study of cargo cults in New Guinea : disconnected themes appearing in several sources, organized from time to time as a body of doctrine by prophets who have the ability to inspire people to action on the basis of these beliefs (Burrridge, 1970 : 27 - 32; 148). Burrridge's work is instructive in that it alerts us to the role that such notions play in motivating behaviour despite frequent failure to realize stated goals. In other words, we should not underestimate the power inherent in the vision.

Thus, in the New World there are countless instances of back-to-Africa movements which resulted in failure. Nevertheless, among a steadily growing number of New World Blacks these ideas continue to find resonance (Jenkins, 1975; Drachler, 1975). Such back-to-Africa movements as were organized by Black nationalists must be distinguished from African colonization movements sponsored by white interest groups desirous of preserving the purity of their race. In fact, Drachler argues that, in the 19th century, plans for Blacks to go to Africa were far more popular among the white population (Drachler, 1975 : 5). In her account of the Maryland State Colonization Society, Campbell traces such schemes to 1691 when the State of Maryland passed a law prohibiting the manumission of slaves unless arrangements were made to deport them from the colony (Campbell, 1971). However, it was not until 1784 that Thomas Jefferson put forth the first concrete plan for government-sponsored colonization of Africa by freed Blacks. In 1817 the American Colonization Society was founded by Northern reformers. Under its auspices Liberia was established as a colony. Before the American Civil War, approximately 13,000 ex-slaves had settled there, the great majority of them freed on the express condition that they return to Africa. Several accounts of the history of this society and others like it exist (Fox, 1919; Staudenraus, 1961; Campbell, 1971). While white colonization plans for Africa met with some success, in general we can say that in the period before the Civil War resettlement schemes organized independently by Blacks tended to fail.

During the period of Reconstruction following the Civil War both colonization schemes (as the white-sponsored programmes were called) and emigration or repatriation plans (as the Black nationalist programmes were termed) tended to wane as the expectations of freed slaves rose. However, when it became evident by the end of the century that conditions in both the southern and northern states were little improved for the majority of Blacks, back-to-Africa movements started to flourish once again. The ideological climate by this time was somewhat different from the pre-Civil War period. Ethiopianism was developing on the African continent itself, while in the United States Black nationalism was a growing force. However, the majority of Blacks, uneducated and poor,

disassociated themselves from the accommodationist strategies of the Black elite.³ During the same period, there was a great deal of communication between Africa and the New World. Black leaders from both the United States and West Indian countries visited African nations and upon their return reported upon their travels through extensive lecture series. In addition, Blacks who had settled in Africa returned to the New World on speaking tours. In 1898, E.W. Blyden, a West Indian who had settled in Liberia, published "The Jewish Question", a book in which he compared Zionism to Repatriation. This was to form the ideological basis of the many repatriation programmes that were to emerge in the 1900's. By the 1900's the Black nationalists in the New World had liberated the back-to-Africa movement from the hands of the whites. The most successful of these movements, which intended to settle Africa in the interests of Africans, not whites, was Garveyism. As we have seen in chapter two, such Black-controlled back-to-Africa movements were doomed to failure, threatening as they did the interests of white nations in the African continent.

Thus while Rastafarian Ethiopianism has been most profoundly influenced by Garveyism, both of these movements can be analyzed against a historical tradition of back-to-Africa sentiments and movements which have appeared in the New World from the earliest days of slavery. In this most general sense we can speak of the back-to-Africa movement in the context of a myth-dream, which exerts a very powerful influence on the consciousness of Blacks struggling to resist oppression. Repatriation, then, in the Rastafarian context has historical precedents.

The other dimension of Rastafarian Ethiopianism - the vision of pan-African unity - is also understandable in light of historical events. Pan-Africanism is a philosophy begun by Blacks in the diaspora which is characterized by an emphasis upon the dignity of the Black person as African. While its ideological roots lie in Booth's espousal of "Africa for the African" (as we have noted above), it was a Trinidadian lawyer living in London, England, Sylvester Williams, who organized the first pan-African conference there in 1900 (Ajala, 1973 : 4). It is important to note that many West Indian Black nationalists living in self-imposed exile in Britain and France dominated the pan-African movement at certain periods of its development. We have already discussed the role of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican. In the period between the two wars and particularly

in the 1930's, in response to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, we find several West Indian pan-African nationalists writing and organizing in support of Africa, e.g., Aimé Césaire of Martinique; George Padmore, Sam Manning, and C.L.R. James of Trinidad; and T. Ras Makonnen (alias Thomas Griffiths) of Guyana (Langley, 1973 : 286; 326). In advocating Repatriation, Rastafarians joined a New World movement; but in adopting pan-Africanism, Rastafarianism took on an international dimension. Thus while we may use the concept of myth-dream to understand the force of the appeal of Ethiopianism, the scope of this myth-dream extended far beyond local experiences.

In the Jamaican context, Rastafarian Ethiopianism implies a rejection of the tendency of Black people to pattern their identity and behaviour after European or white ideals. It provides a new-found sense of meaning for those who recognize their African descent. This orientation itself is radical given the fact that the majority of West Indians reject their African ancestry. But, in addition, it also provides the basis for action in that it is incumbent upon Rastafarians to work out the meaning of being African or Ethiopian in Jamaica. Herein we find a source of conflict and contradiction within the movement. Not only is it difficult in a hostile social climate to develop an African identity, but Rastafarians themselves disagree substantially about the practical implications of being African in Jamaica.

There are many ways to solve this problem, ranging from individual lifestyle solutions to political action. Moreover these interpretations are not mutually exclusive. The lifestyle solution is based on a rejection of ways of living conditioned by the excesses of industrial society - called " Babylon " by the brethren - and a return to " purer " (i.e., African) traditions. This alternative way is referred to as " I-tal ".⁴ Being " I-tal " involves the adoption of a strict moral code and an attempt to control certain aspects of daily living, such as personal hygiene, food, sexual relations, and child rearing. While " I-tal " principles can be applied virtually to all areas of life activity, most brethren are not exclusively " I-tal ".

The most obvious application of " I-tal " principles is to hair styles. The ideal of the " natural man " is the Dreadlocks brother who neither trims his hair nor shaves his beard. But not all Rastafarians

adopt this personal grooming style. There are those who are called " trim and shave " - that is, they cut their hair and shave their beards. Others are " trim and beard ", a style intermediate between these two. Rastafarians themselves call non-believers " bald heads " or " skin heads ", regardless of the hairstyle of the outsider.

Probably the most successful application of " I-tal " principles has been in the area of food preparation. " I-tal " food is highly regarded by non-Rastafarians as well. This is food prepared from organic sources (grown without chemical fertilizers), prepared in pots reserved exclusively for that purpose, with no salt or unnatural substances added. Greens are highly valued, meat is rejected, pork in particular is abhorred. Juices and tonics made from herbs and roots are also noteworthy items in this diet. Some " I-tal " families even carry their own food and cooking pots when they have to be away from home. The quality of such food is widely appreciated and represents a distinct alternative to social pressures favouring the use of pre-packaged foods, chemical additives, and short-order multinational chain restaurants which are attempting to make inroads in Jamaica. By eating in this manner Rastafarians also hope to avoid the imbalances of a ghetto diet high in carbohydrates in the form of sugar and hard dough bread. Although Rastafarians prefer to eat this way, it is not always convenient for brethren to prepare their food " I-tal ". Frequently one's daily labour routine and economic rounds interferes with a proper diet. Thus while some brethren make being " I-tal " their central concern, even to the extent of selling such food, many others forego their example and work out their African identity in other ways.

The political contradictions surrounding Africanism in the Jamaican situation are most apparent. While all brethren regard Repatriation as an ideal, some are far more " realistic " about it than others. Thus many brethren have vowed to build Africa in Jamaica, against some future possibility of migration. While a minority of those who accept this point of view have opted to build encapsulated African communities, the remainder are highly active and visible with respect to the raising of African consciousness among the masses. Many have formed African interest associations, often working closely with non-Rastafarian intellectuals and artists along these lines. In the decade of the 1970's such brethren have

been very active in organizing meetings, rallies, and fund-raising drives in support of African liberation movements. They have put a great deal of pressure on government to support these movements morally, if not economically. Thus being an African in Jamaica in this sense means the promotion of African identity - or pan-Africanism - partly by forming alliances with non-Rastafarian groups and working through social mechanisms acceptable to the larger community. In another sense, though, it involves the refusal to engage in certain political processes. Traditionally Rastafarians have rejected two-party politics and have refused to vote. They also refuse to cooperate with population-monitoring surveys, such as census-taking, on several grounds. They argue that Ethiopia has never taken its census. They also point out that such survey devices are in fact forms of social control. In chapter eight we will discuss the controversy that the 1970 census created among members of the movement.

This kind of secular involvement can be a source of contradiction within the movement. For one thing, it provides opportunities for the cooptation of the movement by Jamaica's elites, around the issues of African cultural forms and African nationalism. Bourgeois intellectuals and artists are able to isolate and to promote a diluted version of Rastafarian culture, and thus distort the real meaning of the movement for a significant portion of the under class. Rastafarians can also be misled by a false image of their success and, wooed by recognition from elite quarters, pursue cultural activities at the expense of social and political programmes. This very tendency has become a source of controversy among brethren themselves. Manley's P.N.P. government for example has attempted to appropriate Rastafarian initiative in regard to giving state moral support to African liberation movements, in order to defuse popular enthusiasms around this issue. Cooperation with non-Rastafarians in the area of raising African consciousness is also a source of conflict for brethren who find it difficult to associate with others whose lifestyle is not spiritually or morally compatible with Rastafarianism - yet whose tactical support is necessary if Rastafarians wish to project their message in certain quarters. All these problems remain to be worked out at the individual level, in the process of reasoning.

The raising of African consciousness among the masses is carried out not only in the small group context, but through the mechanisms of

public meetings, rallies, and celebrations on occasions like African Unity Day, All Africa Day, and other special events which are recognized by Africanists internationally. The Rastafarians publicize these events themselves, since they are not official Jamaican holidays. Rastafarians also have access to journals and periodicals about Africa, which they distribute to each other and outsiders. One of the results of the raising of African consciousness has been the tendency to develop a polarized racial consciousness as a distinctive feature of Rastafarian ideology.

To the outsider this polarized racial consciousness is probably the most striking aspect of Rastafarian ideology. It forms the basis of the Rastafarian interpretation of history and analysis of the contemporary situation of Black people. Quite literally, events are interpreted in Black and White terms. The emotional appeal of this approach cannot be underestimated, given the Jamaican situation in which there is a direct relationship between being oppressed and being Black. The tendency to want to use race as the meaningful factor in establishing social and political relationships is counteracted by the observation that most Black people in Jamaica have embraced Anglo-American values and cultural forms, thus alienating themselves from their true identities. This is a source of real contradiction for the Rastafarians, who have no consistent point of view about forming alliances with more progressive individuals and groups. Gerlach and Hine might say that this ambivalence is one way that a minority social movement can keep outsiders off guard; but, on the other hand, it tends to discourage long-term relationships with those who have a sincere interest in the movement. From the members' point of view, however, Gerlach and Hine have noted that in all social movements, there is a "glass wall" which clearly distinguishes insiders from outsiders and that it is only on the basis of membership and commitment that long-term relationships can be established (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 176).

While the Rastafarians may appear inflexible on the question of race as the basis of meaningful social relationships, their ambivalence is reflected by a number of concepts which act as "escape clauses" whereby under special circumstances the movement can work with non-Black individuals and groups. The concept of volunteer Ethiopian is pertinent in this regard. A volunteer Ethiopian is an African who has been

" reincarnated " in the outreaches of Babylon in order to work for the liberation of African peoples from a different vantage point. Rastafarians point out that some volunteer Ethiopians are Rastafarians in Jamaica, others are white people who share similar interests.⁵ Volunteer Ethiopians have to work to liberate the slave master as well as the slave from false consciousness, or else Africans cannot truly be free in the Rastafarian scheme. Another concept that permits ambivalence is the common Rastafarian exhortation to be friendly to strangers who may be God's angels in disguise. There are also interpretations of biblical expressions which convey similar sentiments. While the Rastafarians themselves may be flexible on the question of race, being exclusivist or tolerant depending on the situation, one finds that many sympathizers and non-members have picked upon this message in a rigid and dogmatic way that prevents further understanding of their oppressed condition and inhibits communication with those whose more objective analysis may be strategically useful. Thus, while the subject of race may be a useful vehicle for consciousness-raising among oppressed Blacks, it is not sufficient in itself to provide directives for successful social action. Other factors such as class and sex need to be taken into account.

In summary, we can say that Ethiopianism is relevant to Rastafarian cultural forms, economic patterns, lifestyle, social relationships, and political tactics. While individual Rastafarians are expected to interpret Ethiopianism in a way that is meaningful for them, we can nevertheless make some general observations about the total ideological pool which is available. We might also note at this point that many social movements - millenarian ones in particular - develop some conception of cultural patterns and values which provide an alternative to the dominant oppressive culture and values, and which function as a focal point for an emerging group identity. Frequently, as in the case of Rastafarian Ethiopianism, a polarized racial consciousness is a factor.

2. Anti-Colonialism

The second distinctive characteristic of Rastafarian ideology is its anti-colonial stance. While this is a logical development from Ethiopianism, it is a factor which warrants a separate discussion. Many non-Rastafarian Jamaicans, while unable to relate positively to Rastafarian

Ethiopianism, find that the brethren's consistent use of an anti-colonial framework makes meaningful their present situation of oppression. Rastafarians argue that as realized Africans in Jamaica, they must inquire into the historical circumstances that marked their forcible removal from the Continent. Looking into the process and institution of slavery, they claim to see little difference between this historical epoch and the situation of poor people in Jamaica today - the slave chains, they argue, were simply melted down into money, for if one is poor, one is still a slave. In a less dramatic fashion, but with equal impact, they consistently pursue the implications of British colonialism and North American imperialism for the cultural, socio-economic, and political institutions of Jamaica, demonstrating how this situation benefits not the masses of Jamaicans, but a Jamaican elite and their overseas masters. It is the anti-colonial stance of the movement that radical intellectuals and university students find at once both appealing and frustrating, since in their minds the Rastafarians have not developed this position in a practical manner. In contrast, we hope to demonstrate that through this ideology Rastafarians have developed an alternative to elite culture, not only permitting survival on the fringes of the industrially-dominated economy, but also fostering moral and spiritual regeneration in a demoralizing and oppressive situation. Their ideology has given the Rastafarians strength to resist subordination to imperialist pressure.

We can safely say that all Rastafarians share an anti-colonial posture, although some are more sophisticated than others in articulating this position. In terms of moving from the total to the particular level of ideology, however, problems arise with regard to the degree to which one actively rejects dominant influences. Whether to send one's child to school or not, whether to accept employment in factories or government, even whether to communicate with representatives of the dominant order - all are questions which must be resolved. Thus we find a variety of adaptations within the movement representing various attempts to deal with such problems. In this area, Rastafarians are not unlike other social movements which adopt anti-colonial sentiments, yet have to limit their application because of immediate and practical considerations.

3. Biblical Fundamentalism

A third prominent feature of Rastafarian ideology is its biblical fundamentalism. In general Rastafarians have incorporated the Bible into their discourse in a very thorough way. Images and themes from the Bible are part of their daily frame of reference, and Rastafarians consider themselves to be prophets in exile, the True Israelites, the original Christians, and the descendents of Solomon, all in one. Scriptures are always brought to bear authoritatively on any problem. This is a source of constant frustration for outsiders, who resent Rastafarian dogmatism and certitude in this regard. Biblical tradition is an important source of authority in moving from the total to the particular conception of ideology. Rastafarians spend hours reasoning about the relevance of any number of passages to immediate problems. Their use of the Bible has to be examined in relation to their use of Ethiopianism, anti-colonialism, and universal values. It is regarded as a sacred text, much in the manner that Christian teachings have acquired status among Peyotists, Pentecostals, and Cargo Cultists.

The Bible is also widely used by other lower-class religious movements in Jamaica. What is distinctive about the Rastafarians is their insistence upon using the "Maccabee" version. This edition of the Bible contains certain books and writings commonly called the "Apocrypha". While the Apocrypha never had canonical status among the Jews, its books were included in the Latin Vulgate edition of the Bible until the sixteenth century on the assumption that they formed part of the Old Testament. Both Luther and the Church of England in the period of the Reformation redefined the status of these books, no longer regarding them as being of divine inspiration. Consequently their use among Protestants became optional. The Roman Catholic Church, however, decreed at the Council of Trent in 1546 that the Apocrypha should continue to be regarded as sacred and canonical. In Rastafarian opinion, this is the proper point of view. While the Apocrypha contains many songs and books, the Rastafarians regard the two Books of Maccabee with special interest. These deal primarily with the story of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers who successfully recaptured the Temple of Jerusalem and reestablished Jewish law and custom. The theme of cultural and religious resistance to domination and exploitation is found throughout Maccabee I and II. In fact, a Rastafarian group

recorded a song upon this theme which became quite popular with the Jamaican public. It was entitled " Maccabee Version " :

You suffer I, you rob I, you kill I,
You sold the land God gave I.

Black man, rise up, stand up on your foot,
And give Black God the glory.

Bring back the Maccabee version
that God gave to Black man;
Give back the King James version
that belong to the white man.

The Bible is not used by Rastafarians merely as an ideological shield to defend their beliefs, it is also an important source of guidance and inspiration. While it is clear that in the context of centrally organized and doctrinally homogeneous religious movements the Bible can serve conservative interests, this should not blind us to the Scripture's continuing relevance as a visionary text in movements which emphasize the individual's personal experience of divinity. The frequent occurrence of visions and revelations in both the Old and New Testaments reinforce the brethren's interest in pursuing visionary understanding. Rastafarians repeatedly make reference to biblical passages which highlight visionary episodes, and discuss among themselves the means used to interpret them. In such passages we find yet another precedent for a central feature of Rastafarianism, the value placed upon visionary experience.

4. I and I Consciousness

In his comparative study of ideology and class conflict, Jayawardena distinguishes egalitarian ideology - based on the belief in the intrinsic personal worth of human beings - from the idea of equality of rights and opportunities. The first he terms human equality, the second, social equality (Jayawardena, 1968 : 414). Among the Rastafarians an emphasis on human equality is apparent in the centrality of the term I and I. I and I (or I-n-I in dialect form) refers to the basic unity of mankind, the basic human nature that people share, regardless of what the Rastafarians regard as superficial and sometimes artificial differences, such as nationality, race, class, and sex. This orientation is embodied in Rastafarian sayings and expressions which emphasize universal and humanitarian values such as peace, love, justice, harmony, fraternity, pacificism, and truth.

While all accounts of Rastafarianism discuss their African and Black orientation, their apparent anti-white bias, their anti-colonialism, their strong biblical leaning, and their egalitarian or democratic philosophy, the relationship between these features is rarely explored. More specifically, the moral basis of their egalitarianism - this I and I consciousness - is never exposed, despite the fact that this concept is elaborated in a wide variety of ways. Only Joseph Owens has considered this aspect of Rastafarianism at any length (Owens, 1976 : 64 - 68). The ethnosemantic dimension of this concept will be dealt with more fully below in chapter five. We simply wish to point out here that I and I consciousness, as an integral part of Rastafarianism, is nevertheless based on values which seem to stand in direct contradiction to the three other fundamentals of Rastafarian ideology that we have been discussing.

The universal sentiments upon which I and I consciousness is based are common to many millenarian and social movements. Jayawardena has observed that :

... intrinsic or human equality seems to prevail in inverse relation to the prevalence of social equality. Typically, notions of human equality are dominant in a sub-group to the extent that it is denied social equality by the wider society or its dominant class (Jayawardena, 1968 : 414).

While this relationship seems to hold true for the cases he discusses, his explanation implies a kind of negative determinism : that almost as a last resort groups which are deprived and " stripped of all worth and respect in terms of social values ... stress ... the only unaffected attribute left to them - their human worth " (Jayawardena, 1968 : 423). He specifically offers this as an alternative to the possibility that egalitarian norms arise out of a need for collective action. It is also questionable, given accounts of the human experience of colonialism, whether notions of human worth remain as " unaffected attributes ". In the Rastafarian effort to develop an ideology of resistance, egalitarianism is more than an emotionally satisfying belief and more than a functional device to promote cooperation among diverse social elements - although it may well contribute to both these ends. Egalitarianism is an essential feature in any ideology of struggle against exploitation because of the very principles upon which an oppressive system is based : basic lack of regard for the human worth of people. Thus in many contemporary social

struggles, including Rastafarianism, we find emphasis placed on human equality, rather than simply social equality, because the former does not follow necessarily from the achievement of the latter. This is the same kind of argument that feminists make when they assert that sexism is not automatically eliminated when the class problem is solved or when Amer-indian activists argue that racism is not automatically eliminated under similar circumstances.

While members of a social movement may appreciate the principles of an egalitarian ideology both intellectually and emotionally, among the Rastafarians there is an additional dimension to I and I consciousness which promotes the experience of intersubjectivity and thus heightens the emphasis on egalitarianism. Here we are referring to an altered state of consciousness produced by the ingestion of cannabis. The culturally valued goal among the brethren is a transcendental experience much like mysticism - though this state is not always produced when cannabis is smoked. There is a wealth of literature which relates the association between mystical experiences (however produced) and perceptions of the basic unity or sameness of mankind. This experience of intersubjectivity - the I and I consciousness - is interpreted by the brethren in a general sense to mean that one should overlook differences between individuals in order to relate to them on the basis of love and respect. This orientation can raise all kinds of practical and ideological problems.

This ideological directive seems to stand in direct conflict with understandings developed as a result of their Ethiopianism and anti-colonial perspective. Rastafarians have many apparent contradictions to work out in this regard. The I and I ethos is expressed in the greeting One Love which refers to the Rastafarian belief that the same divine principle resides in all men, directing their behaviour under the proper conditions. On the basis of this understanding rests the Rastafarian argument for egalitarianism and fraternity. At times this conflicts with the need for leadership and with the fact that since inspiration is valued as a mechanism of revelation, those who have pronounced gifts in this area are likely to assert a kind of leadership as well. The notion of One Love also seems to contradict the Rastafarian position that has developed with regard to the low status of women within the movement. But the most

obvious contradiction lies in the area of race relations. Which ideological directives does a Rastafarian follow in a concrete situation involving interaction with non-Black individuals?

I and I consciousness is used to argue for collective goals, for the collective salvation of mankind. But practically speaking, where does one draw the line? Even within local groups of brethren who meditate and reason together, this collective sentiment has not lead in most cases to collective economic arrangements. In fact, there are few Rastafarian collectives which have an independent economic base. The source of this lies not entirely in the oppressive economic situation but also in a tendency to factionalism within the movement. Despite the strong ideological case made for unity, the fact that inspiration as a source of authority is highly valued and open to all promotes the tendency to individualism. We have already quoted Worsley's observation on this point (Worsley, 1968 : xv; 68). In this respect, cannabis-smoking rituals, which play such a major role in the movement's cultural patterns, paradoxically promote subjective experiences which tend to reinforce both individualism and the experience of intersubjectivity. Rastafarians themselves frequently bemoan the fact that there is too much individuality within the movement, that the only thing brethren know to do together is smoke the pipe, but at the same time they point out that every brother can be a " prophet " (i.e., one who is able to interpret general ideological understandings in a way that inspires others to creativity and innovation). This is regarded as a source of strength by the brethren because it means that within the movement individuals are " free ". Here one has the opportunity to belong to a large collective grouping without the restrictions of formal rules, regulations, and bureaucracy. Still, some kind of balance between the collective will and individual initiative needs to be achieved. It is in this context that reasoning among the brethren becomes a critical mechanism in those local groups which are not organized along authoritarian lines. Reasoning provides a crucial link between group consensus and individual interpretations. It is the process most frequently followed when individuals and groups have to move from the total to the particular level of ideology.

In this section we have isolated four orientations of Rastafarian ideology which function on the official level : Ethiopianism,

anti-colonialism; biblical fundamentalism, and I and I consciousness. Within this frame of reference are contained many contradictions and possibilities for dissension over ideological issues. Turning now to a discussion of the social organization of the movement, we shall see that the movement lacks any central authority capable of resolving these issues in a way that would apply to all brethren. As a result the movement may appear confusing to an outsider, consisting of small groups and segments which lack internal consistency. We hope to show that, while Rastafarianism is indeed very heterogeneous and complex, its social mechanisms are capable of directing the movement within the ideological guidelines outlined above.

As members of the lowest socio-economic class in the society, Rastafarians are hard pressed to earn a living. Their Rastafarian faith only intensifies economic pressures since most Jamaicans are reluctant to employ them. Most brethren manage a marginal economy. A great majority are self-employed in the sense that as petty entrepreneurs, they are able to sell products they have produced using self-taught skills. (Few have much education beyond the primary level.) Thus one finds Rastafarian tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, producers of domestic items like brooms and straw crafts, weavers, herbalists, knitters, and other crafts people. The production of these items is highly labour intensive, using the simplest of resources. Many items incorporate Rastafarian symbols and are marketed to other brethren. Many brethren are itinerant vendors, selling shrimp and local foods in season. Income derived from home production is limited but for most it is their only livelihood. Sometimes brethren involve themselves in unskilled labour on a contract basis, in house-painting, construction work, mechanics, and gardening. But labour of this kind is very occasional. A handful of brethren are in business for themselves, running small shops which provide neighbourhood services. The smallest percentage have been able to establish cooperative businesses, like bakeries or repair depots, but this usually requires political patronage. In general, we can conclude that most Rastafarians make their living by skuffling. This is a Jamaican term referring to the adoption of provisional economic strategies on a day-to-day basis.

Living mainly in the urban slum sprawl, Rastafarians in Kingston share their socio-economic milieu with others who are equally hard-pressed. Because access to housing is limited, brethren usually share quarters or yards with non-Rastafarians. Rastafarians are in daily contact with non-members and it is difficult, if not impossible, for the movement to isolate itself. Even if segregation were the goal, it would be difficult for physical encapsulation to take place because members lack resources. Although Rastafarians profess a strong "back-to-the land" sentiment in the form of love of nature, they argue that it is far easier for them to survive economically in the city. As an alternative to physical distance, Rastafarians follow certain cultural practices which distinguish them sharply from other Jamaicans. Under these conditions the brethren manage to maintain a sense of separate identity while still being able to circulate through the urban environment in various capacities, thus remaining open to extraneous sources of information.

II Social Dynamics of the Rastafarian Movement

At the outset we dealt with Rastafarianism as a form of millenarian movement, showing how certain aspects of the Rastafarian vision are millennial in nature. In this chapter we have examined at some length the total ideology of the Rastafarian movement, arguing that within this general orientation many individual adaptations are possible. At this point we want to look at the sociological face of the movement as a whole in order to understand how these various combinations of ideological themes are reconciled in social forms. We shall compare the social dynamics of Rastafarianism to other kinds of social movements, which may not be millennial in nature, but which may exhibit similar features.

1. Origin of Members

Rastafarians are drawn primarily from the most deprived - in both relative and absolute terms - social strata of the society. Moreover, Rastafarianism is largely an urban phenomenon. Although one finds Rastafarians in all areas of Jamaica, the largest concentration of them is to be found in and around Kingston. We have seen already that Rastafarianism began in Kingston, and presently the most innovative elements of the movement are located there. Owens describes the situation as follows :

The Rastas are most numerous in the long strip of congested slum which runs along the length of Kingston Harbour. The strip extends about a mile or a little more inland and runs for about almost nine uninterrupted miles, from Riverton City, about six miles west of the centre of town, to Rockfort, about three miles east of the centre. Along with the bulk of the residential areas for the lower class population, these nine square miles include also the downtown shopping area and a considerable amount of industrial land. In general it may be said that Rastas will be found wherever there are poor people (Owens, 1975 : 36).

In the fact that Rastafarianism has developed in a situation of cultural impoverishment and economic oppression, it resembles other social movements. In chapter two we discussed the economic history of Jamaica. We saw that there had been a shift of population from rural to urban centres, resulting in unemployment and underemployment in the towns, and periodic labour shortages in the country. We also argued that subsistence patterns had been altered to the extent that the capacity of the rural parts to produce enough food for its population had been undermined. Worsley's discussion of Melanesian millennialism reveals similar patterns. There, cargo members tended to be natives who were caught in the double bind of colonialism. Having been deprived of the best land by the plantations, having been forced into a form of indentured labour by the imposition of taxes and the newly acquired need for European goods, unable to live satisfactorily in either the towns or rural villages, Melanesians flocked into the cargo movements. (See Worsley, 1968 : 32 - 45 for a description of these changes.) Likewise, the Ghost Dance appeared on the American Plains at a point when the traditional economic basis of native life had been drastically curtailed by white settlement programmes (Burrige, 1969 : 79). Hobsbawm discusses examples of millenarian movements amidst endemically poor and backward rural populations whose plight was intensified by changing land-holding patterns and the initial pressures of industrialization (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 64). The complex situation which developed in the Belgian Congo, with the success of Kimbanguism and subsequent movements, is similar to the patterns established in Melanesia (Wilson, 1973 : 373 and 366 - 382, passim). In all of these cases, colonial developments exerted pressure on groups of people least able to resist its incursions, to the point that those in rural areas experienced increasing difficulty in meeting subsistence needs, while those who migrated to towns or urban centres were forced into exploitative economic arrangements.

Most of these examples are drawn from tribal and peasant peoples whose millenarian response was apparently sudden, total, and short-lived. One distinguishing feature of Rastafarianism is that it represents an example of a genuinely millenarian movement which has originated and continues to thrive in an urban environment without developing into a more secular form of protest movement. That urban poverty and generally depressed urban conditions have led many to join enthusiastic religious movements is commonly observed (Wilson, 1973; Willems, 1967). In Africa, in Latin America, and elsewhere in the Caribbean, we find such responses. These enthusiastic religions, however, are predominantly emotional in their expression (through the use of trance and possession rituals) and frequently rely on beliefs in spirits, magic, and thau-maturges. Intensification of urban stresses results in increased participation in enthusiastic movements for those so disposed, rather than a reorientation towards more secular forms of struggle. By contrast, Rastafarianism is a more sober response, in that rationality, rather than enthusiasm, is highly valued. Rastafarians consistently oppose religious movements which rely on beliefs in spirits and blind superstition on the grounds that they only divert their followers from the knowledge of the true sources of oppression. In Jamaica, Rastafarians are strongly opposed to Pocomania⁶ and Christian Fundamentalism which have a following in the same social milieu. In the 1970's however, it is only Rastafarianism that has experienced a rapid growth. By contrast with Pocomania and Christian Fundamentalism, Rastafarians have used their exposure to progressive ideologies in the urban milieu neither to develop socialist forms of struggle nor to escape further into emotional excesses, but to enrich their analysis by incorporating concepts like colonialism, slavery, and imperialism.

Examples of religious movements which develop in urban lower-class milieus but which value pacificism over enthusiasm are rare. In this respect we might consider Jamaa, a Congolese religious movement which has developed among industrial mining workers, where economic security is fostered at the expense of living powerless and regimented lives in company towns. Johannes Fabian has provided a detailed account of the history of Jamaa, which was begun by a Roman Catholic priest working among

the Bantu (Fabian, 1971). Jamaa members are basically Roman Catholics who have incorporated selected aspects of Bantu philosophy and social practices into their religious behaviour. In particular, they value small group interaction in which various members present their interpretation of Jamaa doctrine and others respond accordingly. In this context, Jamaa is generally regarded by Congolese authorities as non-threatening since its ideology focuses primarily upon interpersonal relationships and not upon social protest.

In summary, then, we can note that, like members of most other millenarian movements, Rastafarians are drawn from the lowest socio-economic strata in Jamaican society. We have also seen that urban poverty tends to foster the development of marginal or deviant religious movements under certain circumstances, rather than encourage the formation of collective and politically-oriented social movements.

2. Groupings

We can profitably use Gerlach and Hine's model of social movements to describe the social organization of Rastafarianism (Gerlach and Hine, 1970). They write :

One of the most significant and least understood aspects of a movement is its organization, or " infrastructure ". We have found that movement organization can be characterized as a network - decentralized, segmentary, and reticulate. Most people, even those participating in movements, are not able to imagine an organization of this type (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 33).

In general we can describe the Rastafarian movement as consisting of small, local groups loosely connected along the lines of personal networks. The movement is effectively decentralized - there is no hierarchy of decision-making or offices.

These groups which meet informally in yards comprise the social building blocks of the movement. It is in these face-to-face encounters that brethren shape the direction the movement takes. Here they explore the meaning of Rastafarianism through reasoning and meditation, processes which are given focus by the smoking of herbs. Brethren who have actively sought visionary experiences or inspiration attempt to analyze their significance using the group setting. They reason among themselves about how general ideological elements apply to particular situations. Here we are able to observe the process whereby members move from the total to the directing level of ideology.

While some of these groups may be categorized as predominantly of one bent or another within the movement, in general it would be misleading to classify these local units according to ideological persuasion. Their significance lies in the role they play within the movement as social arenas in which doctrine is explored and formulated. If we wish to make distinctions between various lifestyles and ideological orientations, it would be more appropriate to do so on the individual level. Most brethren associate with two or three of these groups for various reasons, and the diversity of styles within each group is considerable.

These local groups which function informally on a day-to-day basis are to be distinguished from voluntary associations which the brethren organize in a more formal manner in order to promote particular causes or programmes within the movement. While all Rastafarian brethren participate in the reasoning activities of local groups, it is probably fair to say that only a minority of the movement's members belong to any kind of formal organization. However, an outsider might possibly be impressed with the number of groups which give themselves names, elect officers, hold regular meetings, and in general maintain a high public profile. While many such formations are short-lived, some have had a long and active life, due mainly to the efforts of a handful of committed members. We want to briefly describe some of the more successful ones.

Rastafarians themselves make a distinction between churchical and statical brethren. The former term refers to those who are more explicitly religious and cultural in their orientation, while the latter term refers to those who are engaged in activities which are more expressly political and social. Many of these formal groups could be categorized in this manner. Prince Edward Emanuel, a central Rastafarian figure as early as the 1950's, organized a religious community along the lines of a commune, called "The Ethiopian National Congress". Between one hundred to two hundred members are said to belong. The "Rastafarian Theocratic Government" is a spiritually-oriented group, consisting mainly of Dreadlocks brethren, whose intention is to establish a religious state. Claudius Henry founded his "Peacemakers Association", a religiously oriented but economically self-sufficient community, with the intention of building Africa in Jamaica. The "Sons of Negus" is another group whose purpose is to promote knowledge of Rastafarian religious beliefs.

A religiously-oriented group very active among middle-class youth and students is the " Twelve Tribes of Judah ". This group believes that on the basis of astrological birth sign one can be assigned to one of the twelve tribes. They are very active in seeking membership, since they hold that when their roster reaches a total of 144,000 (as revealed in Revelations 14 : 3) they shall return to Africa. As is apparent, some of these groups are organized as communities, others as formal associations.

There are several Rastafarian associations which have more secular goals. The " Rastafari Movement Association " is a loose coalition of several groups which publishes a newspaper called Rasta Voice . This paper reports on local events of interest to the brethren, reprints articles by African nationalist leaders, and includes Rastafarian poetry and artwork. This organization is interested in forging links with progressive political groups outside the movement. Another group, the " Mystic Revelation of Rastafari ", grew out of a Rastafarian cultural association. It has become active in seeking to organize Repatriation to Africa with the cooperation of the Jamaican government. It has already received state assistance in the establishment of an educational centre. In 1977 the M.R.R. began taking a census of the movement hoping to establish the number of skilled Rastafarian brethren who would be able to repatriate.

In addition to Rastafarian associations organized by the brethren themselves, there are two international bodies which have branches in Jamaica to which a number of brethren belong. Here we are referring to the Ethiopian World Federation and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Both of these organizations have their headquarters in New York City. However, they have established a significant following in Jamaica. While both the E.O.C. and the E.W.F. will be dealt with at some length in chapter eight we should note here that brethren who belong to some of the above groups may also belong to either of these organizations as well. Membership is not mutually exclusive.

This multigroup aspect of Rastafarianism has been observed elsewhere. Gerlach and Hine point out that this is a trait of Black Power and Pentecostalism (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 41); Willems argues the

same for Pentecostalism in Brazil and Chile (Willems, 1967 : 110 - 116); and Worsley does likewise for cult movements in Melanesia (Worsely, 1968 : 68 - 69; 241). In contemporary North America one can observe similar characteristics for the Women's Movement, the counter-culture movement, and the Native People's Movement. Gerlach and Hine have analyzed at length the adaptive functions of a decentralized and segmented social organization in terms of maintaining security, fostering the spread of the movement, maximizing social innovation, and minimizing failure (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 63 - 78). They ably demonstrate that such features are a source of strength rather than evidence of weakness.

Nevertheless, Rastafarianism, like many other social movements, exhibits a pattern of fission and fusion. New groups are constantly forming for different reasons. At the same time, pan-movement groups may be established to deal with matters affecting the welfare of all Rastafarians as a whole. The formation of the Rastafarian Steering Committee in 1975 is a case in point. In general, there is easy access to most groups by members of the movement, and intervisiting remains the major channel of communication between groups.

The proliferation of so-called " cults " and " sects " among urban poor elsewhere in the Caribbean, Latin America, and Africa has been noted (Barrett, D.B. 1968 ; Gutkind, 1974 : 128; ; Simpson, G.E. 1956; Wilson, B. 1973). While most differ substantially in their ideology and practices from Rastafarianism, they are generally characterized by decentralized multigroup formations. It must be emphasized here that the internal structure of the local group may vary considerably, from tightly organized hierarchical formations, to groups with a considerably more egalitarian bent and little internal status differentiation. What we are discussing here is the relationship among groups in a given movement.

The Jordanites of Guyana is an example of a Caribbean religious movement which shares certain structural features with Rastafarianism, yet approximates most other West Indian " cults " and " sects " in belief and practice. It is especially interesting from our point of view because, although its membership at present only numbers approximately 2500 (Roback, 1974 : 235), its historical roots go back to Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. Roback notes that admiration for Emperor

Haile Selassie and Ethiopia still persists, and that many Jordanite members transferred from U.N.I.A. chapters (Roback, 1973 : 201 - 202). Yet the development of Rastafarianism and Jordanism have diverged significantly. Today the Jordanite movement is characterized by an older membership (aged 45 - 90), which is primarily oriented towards a fundamentalist type of expression (Roback, 1974 : 236). This includes baptism by immersion, Sabbath worship, white clothing, prayer meetings, Bible reading, and occasionally glossolalia. Rastafarianism, on the other hand, appeals very strongly to lower-class youth in Jamaica.

Despite its small numbers, Roback writes that " segmentation, with the absence of organizational unity and of formalization, are structural features of the White-Robed Army which, rather than having weakening effects, have provided flexibility and have facilitated persistence and expansion " (Roback, 1974 : 255). Local groups - called " gatherings " - form around central figures, and are linked to each other by personal networks through individuals who are members of more than one gathering. However, hierarchy and authoritarianism characterize the internal workings of the Jordanite gatherings. Roback has described their elaborate series of offices, noting that this proliferation is common to other Afro-American religions in the Caribbean area and the United States (Roback, 1974 : 258 - 259). Sundkler has also made the same observation for African groups (Sundkler, 1964). Herein lies a major distinction from Rastafarianism. Simpson wrote in the 1950's that Rastafarian groups, in marked contrast " to a revivalist group, which is dominated by a leader ", are " extremely democratic " (Simpson, 1955a:167). Orlando Patterson has pointed out that Rastafarians belonging to the Ethiopian World Federation tend to be more indulgent along these lines to the point where " there is an inevitable jostle for power within any organization he [the New World Black] creates, and most of the group's energies is wasted in trying to maintain discipline rather than doing anything constructive " (Patterson, 1964 : 17). While we would agree that this is a problem in Ethiopian World Federation circles, we would argue that the great majority of Rastafarians have avoided such problems by attempting to maintain essentially informal and democratic group procedures on the local level.

3. Leaders and Followers

Gerlach and Hine have pointed out that many contemporary social movements are characterized by acephalous forms of organization, much like non-Western societies in which there is no political or decision-making authority above the level of the local community (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 34 - 35). With reference to the concept of primus inter pares they write :

The concept of 'first among equals' is extremely difficult for the Western mind to grasp unless it has been experienced. It is a type of group interaction that maintains genuine egalitarianism while utilizing individual initiative and leadership capacity. It also has built-in controls over attempts to usurp authoritarian power (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 35).

For the movements they discuss in their book, Gerlach and Hine prefer to use the term polycephalous. They point out that even in the highly authoritarian Pentecostal and Black Power groups, leaders are still " conceptually and emotionally equal with the humblest new convert " (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 35). The egalitarian ideology of Rastafarianism is expressed in the terms of address " brother " and " sister ". While we may speak of several dozen " leading brethren ", we must note that decisions are arrived at by the process of group consensus, and even then are not binding on individual members. " Leading brethren " are regarded by both members and non-members alike as those brethren who can articulate in a sophisticated way the ideology of the movement. They base their authority upon their ability to interpret Rastafarianism in a way that inspires others and are known for the rate and quality of their visionary output. However, they have no real power apart from their moral and intellectual qualities, unless they belong to a formally organized group in which they have been elected to a decision-making office.

We might note that there are far more local groups and Rastafarian interest associations than there are " leading brethren ". While all groups tend to focus their activities around a particular figure, not all such individuals become prominent in the movement as a whole. There are several reasons why a brother would choose to associate with a particular local group, and not all are related to the personal qualities of the focal figure. In many cases a brother dominates the activities of a local group because he happens to control the premises where the brethren gather. Moreover, he is probably able to supply his associates with herbs and a pipe to smoke. On the other hand, many brethren make a point of

seeking out groups which are focused around dynamic individuals who are able to reason effectively. Thus a brother may join one group because it is conveniently located near him home or place of work, and another because it provides him with inspiration and high quality reasoning.

Many other social movements are also characterized by a less than clear-cut distinction between leaders and followers, and by the authority of the leader being dependent upon his continuing to function as an exemplary individual within the context of the movement. With respect to Peyotism, Aberle has noted that spokesmen tend to be those who hold the most sophisticated beliefs, since most members have incorporated only a small part of the total belief system (Aberle, 1966 : 177). Within the movement itself, however, ritual leaders or " Road Men " generally should have spent some time in formal study with an experienced elder (Aberle, 1966 : 197). While ritual specialization, in the sense of mastering a set of techniques in the area of cannabis smoking, does not constitute a basis of authority within the Rastafarian movement, certain brethren are highly regarded in that their presence is considered capable of contributing to a more effective communion.

Following Talmon, Worsley has pointed out that many millenarian movements are characterized by multiple leadership, since the significance of such roles lies not so much in the personalities of the actors, as in their function as symbol, catalyst, and message bearer (Worsley, 1968 : xvi - xvii). We find that various Rastafarian spokesmen may be active in many different areas : some know how to deal with government; some have university contacts; others have influence with union activists; some can penetrate rural localities; others can deal effectively with the more religious brethren. Many are capable of operating on more than one front. Worsley has also noted something else, particularly applicable to the Rastafarian movement :

Where leadership is not so closely focused as this on the person of the outstanding prophet, but much more on the message 'borne' by him, it is indeed highly probable that a prophetic movement will generate not a centrally focused single authority structure, but a fissiparous dispersion of leadership in the person of numerous leaders, particularly where inspiration is open to all (Worsley, 1968 : xv). (Emphasis added.)

The Rastafarians constantly point out that inspiration is indeed open to all through the medium of herbs^{*} smoking, and that each member can be a prophet. Like the situation Cochrane describes for "big men" in the Solomons and Papua, the retention of status in the movement depends on continuing satisfactory performance (Cochrane, 1970 : 143).

In his study of Pentecostalism in Brazil and Chile, Willems discusses in some detail the socially levelling effect of receiving the Holy Spirit. He too notes that anyone receiving inspiration may be a prophet - although in the case of both Chile and Brazil the movements he examines are organized along the lines of churches and pastors, unlike Rastafarianism which traditionally has resisted ecclesiastical tendencies. Willems writes :

The social implications of prophetizing are rather obvious. Vested in religious symbolism, it constitutes a mode of social control which may be exercised by any member of a congregation over anybody else, including the pastor. It minimizes the social distance between the common members and the pastor, between laity and clergy. It is an institutionalized way of keeping authority within the group in a state of continuous flux. In sects that have adopted the hierarchical and authoritarian tendencies of an episcopal structure, prophets cannot be tolerated (Willems, 1967 : 139).

Gerlach and Hine argue that parallels may be found in the Black Power and Pentecostal movements in that no one can control having access to "having soul" and being "spirit filled" respectively (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 37). Among the Rastafarians, there is immediate respect for one who is inspired, and since inspiration is a subjective experience, leaders cannot control access to it.⁷

The authority of Rastafarian "leading brethren" and anyone aspiring to a position of power is limited by the fact that as individuals they cannot possibly know all the groups that comprise the movement. Frequently they have to rely upon members of their own circle for information regarding the activities of others. Communication between members and different groups depends chiefly upon face-to-face relationships along the lines of personal networks.

The distinction between messianic movements and prophetic movements is significant in regard to leadership. Talmon observes that most millenarian movements are messianic, that "redemption is brought about by a messiah who mediates between the divine and the human" (Talmon, 1962 : 242). While Haile Selassie is regarded as a spiritual authority, he does

^{*}We have followed the general Rastafarian procedure of using the plural form of "herb" to refer to the sacred substance in order to distinguish "holy" herbs from the common herb. Brethren often use this plural form

not appear to be perceived as a " messiah ". And in the history of the movement there is no leader who claimed to be a messiah. While a messiah may be capable of mobilizing large numbers of people at a given time, the crisis of leadership following his death generally creates problems for the movement. Rastafarianism, rather, is a prophetic movement. De Beet and Thoden van Velzen point out that " a prophet is a visionary who claims divine inspiration " (De Beet and Thoden van Velzen, 1977 : 103). Among the Rastafarians prophetic inspiration is open to all. We would argue that this promotes the adaptability of the movement by increasing the opportunities for individual creativity. Individual inspiration is always put to the collective test by the small group process of reasoning, and thus inappropriate contributions can be culled. Millenarian movements organized around messiahs, on the other hand, tend to crystallize ideologically and socially.

4. Recruitment and Membership

Recruitment to the Rastafarian movement occurs mainly on the basis of face-to-face personal relationships. All the individuals interviewed in this study, for example, either had been exposed to the movement over a period of time by knowing and living near other brethren, or had been impressed by the meaningfulness of the Rastafarian argument when imparted to them. The importance of personal ties as the basis for recruitment to such a movement cannot be underestimated. While one attracted to the movement can learn something from Rastafarian public celebrations or other kinds of public activities, the small group experience is central to a full understanding of it. It is only in the small group situation of smoking and reasoning that one learns the extent to which the total ideology can be adapted to fit individual needs.

The value of personal networks as recruitment mechanisms for some social movements has also been discussed by Gerlach and Hine (1970 : 79 - 97). Schwartz too argues that given a predisposition to choosing a " deviant " religious perspective, an individual will make his selection on the basis of strong personal ties between " proselytizer " and " convert " (Schwartz, 1970 : 216). However, this position tends to minimize the differences between the choices possible, as for example, between Rastafarianism, Pocomania, and Fundamentalism. We would argue that in addition to personal networks, the characteristics of the religious

movement in question also influence individual choice.

While there is no ideological directive among Rastafarians stressing the value of active proselytization, Rastafarians generally delight in expounding their beliefs. They constantly engage in passionate discussion, much like the Andalusian anarchists described by Hobsbawm who "lived in argument" (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 85). Unlike some social movements in which there is formalized teaching, there is no official Rastafarian catechism to learn before passing from one stage to another. In order to familiarize oneself with the doctrine, one simply spends time reasoning with other brethren. In this regard Rastafarianism closely resembles Peyotism, for through the use of cannabis or peyote, members are encouraged to "discover" rather than "learn" meanings for themselves (Aberle, 1966 : 174). This contrasts markedly with a movement like Jamaa where there is a formal set of teachings to learn before passing through a series of graded initiations (Fabian, 1971 : 126; 177). On the other hand, Jamaa also places a great deal of emphasis on dream experiences as a source of individual inspiration, and as a means whereby the formally learned doctrine can be interpreted and applied to one's own situation. Rastafarianism differs from other social movements like Black Power, the counter-culture, and the Women's Movement, in the extent to which it can make use of printed media. While there definitely is a Rastafarian culture in the form of print, music, and art, it hardly approximates the "mass culture" aspects of the movements just mentioned. Thus personal contact and exposure to "exemplary" brethren continue to be the most significant means of recruitment.

While a handful of brethren have formalized their activities to the extent of organizing membership drives, processing membership cards, and demanding tithes, the great majority do not behave in this fashion. In fact, one of the most disconcerting aspects of the movement for outsiders is the difficulty one has in distinguishing members from non-members. In this respect, we can follow Gerlach and Hine in speaking of participants rather than members (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 37). The extent to which one involves oneself in the movement is largely a matter of personal choice. In Jamaica both Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike speak of "Rasta sympathizers" to refer to those individuals who have drawn near the movement without "officially" joining it.

As far as we can determine from the available data, Rastafarianism never spread in a " contagious " fashion as did many other millenarian movements. Worsley, for instance, describes the movement of Vailala Madness from village to village as entire communities were caught up en masse (Worsley, 1968 : 75 - 76). Likewise, the John Frum movement expanded (Worsley, 1968 : 154 - 160). Mass recruitment also seems to have characterized the initial spread of village anarchism through Andalusia (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 79 - 92). The Ghost Dance also diffused in an enthusiastic way as did many of the movements in the Belgian Congo (Wilson, 1973 : 367 - 383). Peyotism and Jamaa are similar to Rastafarianism in that recruitment is gradual. In all three movements awareness of the implications of the choice made is stressed. However, individuals join Rastafarianism, not entire families or villages at one time. In this respect Rastafarianism differs from Jamaa and shares with Peyotism the fact that there is no pressure per se for family units to belong.

In general Rastafarians interviewed in this study reported a process whereby they had familiarized themselves with the movement over a period of time. If a so-called conversion experience had occurred, it was regarded as the culmination of a series of changes, rather than as an unexpected and sudden spirit-filled rebirth, as is the case with Pentecostalism, where conversion is emphasized as a highly significant peak experience (Schwartz, 1970 : 67 - 68; Willems, 1967 : 130). This gradual recruitment into Rastafarianism may help explain why members tend to remain committed to their faith. This contrasts with cases where people drift back and forth between " deviant " religions seeking peak experiences. Willems described how Chilean and Brazilian Pentecostals have an " experimental " attitude to religion in that they frequently change from one group to another (Willems, 1967 : 258). He attributes this to anomie which is not alleviated by the new-found faith. The relationship between conversion experience as a means of recruitment and continuing commitment is one that merits further research.

5. Commitment

We have already suggested that it may be more appropriate to speak of " participants " as opposed to " members ". The process of becoming a Rastafarian is a gradual one. Individuals interpret the doctrine in

ways that suit themselves. Thus we find a variety of lifestyles and adaptations within the movement. In terms of physical appearance some brethren are virtually indistinguishable from other Jamaicans, while some, like the Dreadlocks, follow a characteristic fashion. Lifestyles tend to correspond to ideological positions within the movement.

Gerlach and Hine have argued that there are two components to commitment : identity-altering experiences and bridge-burning acts (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 135). With respect to Rastafarianism, we find that while all brethren share a transformed sense of identity as Africans in the Jamaican context, not all have taken the further step of radically changing their lifestyle in a way that alienates them from the dominant society and entails sacrifices. In the Jamaican context one of the most defiant bridge-burning acts one can undertake is to grow one's hair in locks - for whatever else Jamaicans will tolerate in the way of differences, the wearing of locks is a sure provocation. Even under Manley's Democratic Socialist regime there continue to be reports of police and school officials forcibly trimming locks. Although their numbers remain small relative to the rest of the movement, the Dreadlocks continue to be the most innovative element in the movement, constituting a kind of avant-garde of high moral and intellectual character. They also represent the most socially marginal members of the movement. It must be emphasized that Dreadlocks do not represent a group as such, but as individuals they are distributed throughout the movement, every local group having its share of such Dread brethren. It is the Dreadlocks who have come to be synonymous with Rastafarianism.

In summary, there are no formal acts of commitment undertaken in a group setting. There is an emphasis on symbolic acts instead, the growing of the locks being the primary one. While perhaps not as dramatic as the destruction of crops or the construction of airstrips, the growing of the locks signifies a radical awakening. It is quite consistent with the Rastafarian emphasis on slow and conscious change, as opposed to enthusiastic adventurisms.

We have just noted the nature of identity-altering and bridge-burning acts in Cargo Cults. Among the Plains Indians the swift spread of the Ghost Dance through the region occasioned collective identity-altering experiences in the forms of visions and traces. In some areas

this resulted in the destruction of property or the adoption of new customs (La Barre, 1972 : 228, 230). Unfortunately, it is generally the Ghost Dance ritual itself that is discussed, while there is little data available on its aftermath or the kinds of changes its practice entailed. Mooney emphasizes the ritual and symbolic components but says nothing of the life of the people when not dancing (Mooney, 1965). We know that a revolutionary aspect of the Ghost Dance was the fact that men and women danced together, but whether this had any effect on the nature of the relationship between the sexes is not reported. Wallace's account of the Handsome Lake religion among the Iroquois nearly a century earlier emphasizes the acts of commitment involved as members struggled to build a new moral and economic order (Wallace, 1972 : 303 - 315). Peyotism is also an example of a movement in which a significant identity-altering experience, the ingestion of peyote, leads to bridge-burning acts which result in a transformation of one's lifestyle over a period of time (Aberle, 1966 : 335; Slotkin, 1975 : 18). In fact, Gerlach and Hine argue that for Peyotists the bridge-burning act and the identity-altering experience merge, in that the taking of peyote is highly significant as a rite of commitment (Gerlach and Hine, 1970 : 141). However, this does not hold true for the Rastafarians. In Jamaica the use of cannabis, while illegal, is a widespread cultural pattern among the lower class. Thus the smoking of cannabis per se is not regarded as a significant act of commitment, although given the proper ritual context it can take on this kind of meaning.

There are numerous other examples of identity-altering experiences and acts of commitment in social movements. Gerlach and Hine discuss Pentecostalism and Black Power. We have noted cases of entire villages joining movements and reorganizing their socio-economic arrangements. Rastafarianism would seem to have more in common with movements like Peyotism and Jamaa which place less emphasis on ecstatic experience and more stress on the process of gradual commitment. At the same time, Rastafarians do not underestimate the role that cannabis-smoking and reasoning play in developing and maintaining a sense of altered identity : becoming African in Jamaica.

6. Male-Female Relations

Rastafarian brethren are more visible than their female counterparts. Most Rastafarian activities are dominated by the males. Although Rastafarians argue strongly for the integrity of the nuclear family in a cultural context where female-headed extended families are the common pattern, their attitudes in this regard approximate a double standard. In the area of intersex social relationships, the Rastafarians appear to have maintained traditional West Indian standards.

There are many tabus within the movement regarding women which reflect a certain ambiguity on the part of the males. Women do not generally participate in smoking and reasoning groups except on an individual basis. The sisters are expected to cover their heads while smoking, the reason being that brethren might lose their " power " otherwise. The brethren, on the other hand, are expected to bare their heads. Not all brethren have wives or " queens " as they are called. Many in the fashion of other West Indian males have more than one " baby's mother " whom they may visit from time to time and try to assist financially. Many brethren have decided to live independently of women altogether, claiming to have experienced the " woes " that such relationships bring (woman equals woe to man in their eyes). Brethren complain that women are not interested in anything more than sexual adventure - yet, on the other hand, women are not encouraged to participate in reasoning.

There also seems to be a double standard surrounding sexual relationships beyond the nuclear couple. This seems to be tolerated for the brethren, but condemned among the sisters. Many Rastafarians defend their involvements by claiming that they are raising the consciousness of the women concerned. In fact, most brethren do not bother to be discreet in their activities and problems frequently arise. This ambivalence also extends to other matters. For example, I have seen women severely chastized for urinating in a public area, something which men commonly do. Moreover, one hears derogatory references to female body parts and functions, while no parallel remarks are made about the brethren. For example, there is an understanding that pregnant women should keep to themselves, some would even say confine themselves. Thus brethren do not like pregnant women to pass when they smoke the pipe.

Some of these attitudes and behaviours appear to be inconsistent with the ideology and lifestyle of a movement which claims to be revolutionary in its anti-colonial stance. But this male-female conflict is by no means peculiar to Rastafarianism. There is ample evidence from women involved in other revolutionary and liberation struggles elsewhere that a double standard exists elsewhere which tends to be maintained by male-dominated hierarchies. A notorious example is postrevolutionary Cuba (Levinson and Brightman, 1971 : 246 - 272) or postrevolutionary Algeria (Burris, 1971 : 112 - 117), Margaret Randall and Franz Fanon to the contrary. Black women have experienced oppressive conditions within the Black Panther party (Maxine Williams, 1972 : 45) while it is a common experience for women in the New Left (Burris, 1971, passim).

The brethren when questioned about this problem defend themselves by arguing that they wish to keep their queens invisible to protect them from persecution. This would be a justifiable strategy if their backstage treatment of the sisters indicated that their autonomy was recognized. But it is not. In fact, I was occasionally intimidated in an attempt to discourage my pursuing the question. For example, on one occasion I was told that I was making a nuisance of myself, that even though the brother and I understood each other, another Rastafarian overhearing our conversation might take it in mind to " give my mouth a lick " for interfering with Rastafarian teaching on this point.

One factor contributing to the brethren's ambivalence is that, while they assert patriarchal principles on the ideological level, the nature of the dependent economy is such that women contribute a substantial portion of family earnings. If women are not engaged directly in some form of wage labour, their labour power is utilized for cash purposes. They may help prepare cooked food for sale, or assist in the manufacture of craft items. Rural sisters frequently engage in market gardening. This factor, however, does nothing to ensure Rastafarian women a more equal place within the movement. In spite of the female's economic contributions, Rastafarian males will often argue that a woman's path to God is through man.

Rastafarians, however, do have an ideal conception of Woman - or more specifically, of the Black Woman - as Wife and Mother. They seek out poetry, for example, which deals with the subject of the Black woman as the ideal mate for a conscious Black man. In their minds the female

principles is associated with Mother Africa and the Mother of the Black Race. It seems difficult to reconcile at first glance this positive definition of the female with generally held derogatory attitudes to female biological functions and the general belief that their social role is a disruptive one that pits males against one another. But this kind of contradiction is consistent with a patriarchal orientation, and here the Rastafarians keep company with Victorian England and the ante-bellum South.

While it is not a well-documented aspect of the literature on revivalist, fundamentalist, and other religious movements, there seems to be some evidence which suggests that females outnumber males in the general membership. On the other hand, while a disproportionately high number of females may be represented, males tend to dominate the leadership hierarchy. In Jamaica this pattern holds true for Pocomania and for many revivalist churches. Mischel and Mischel have observed that Trinidadian Shango tends to attract more females than males (Mischel and Mischel, 1953 : 250) while Roback has described the same situation for Guyanese Jordanites (Roback, 1974 : 236). In his classic work on possession cults and shamanism, I.M. Lewis suggests that the appeal of marginal religious activities to women in particular is due to their doubly jeopardized position in many societies as both poor and female. Even in traditional societies, where poverty may not be a factor but sexism exists, Lewis argues that women have found the possession experience to be a way of releasing pent-up frustration and resentment (Lewis, 1971 : 73 - 113, passim). Either way, males are generally the authoritarian religious figures. If it is a general pattern, that women are attracted in disproportionate numbers to religious movements manifesting themselves among the underclasses, then Rastafarianism represents a specific exception. For many of these other movements, while the ultimate authority figure may be male, women can often achieve some degree of upward mobility within the ranks. This is true for both the Jordanites of Guyana and Vodun in Haiti. Among the Rastafarians, however, no leading or influential figures in the movement are female.

Comparative materials are weak with regard to data on male-female relationships in social movements. We have already mentioned that the Ghost Dance departed from traditional norms in allowing men and women to

dance together. The Handsome Lake religion also altered male-female relations in the economic realm (Wallace, 1972 : 310 - 311) but it is unclear how this affected social relations between the sexes in the community. Certainly in both these religions the male members have taken the religious initiatives. Aberle (1966:130;150) and La Barre (1969 : 41, 50, 60) both note the tendency in Peyotism to exclude women, although recently this custom has been somewhat eroded. On the other hand, the Jamaa movement clearly emphasizes the role of the conjugal pair, as both a spiritual and social unit, but this tells us nothing about the status of women in Jamaa society (Fabian, 1971 : 81). Even there males dominate religious leadership. Hobsbawm discusses the demanding moral code of social movements and the ideological emphasis placed on brotherly-sisterly relations between the sexes (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 61 - 62). For example, he notes the involvement of women in the Fasci movement (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 98 - 99) but gives no consideration to whether or not the oppression of women by males had ceased. In his discussion of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya D.L. Barnett describes the constraints applied to relationships between the sexes, due to traditional beliefs about the problematic role of women (Barnett, D.L.,1966:226). Rastafarianism, then, like most social movements with the exception of feminism, has not successfully dealt with the problem of male-female relationships.

7. The Movement in Social Context

To present Rastafarianism as " counter-cultural " in the sense that its values and lifestyles are based strictly on a rejection of the status quo would be misleading. Such a position would lead us to conceive of the relationship between the movement and the larger society in terms of extremes and polar opposites. It would gloss over the heterogeneity of the movement and cause us to misconstrue the complex way in which links are maintained between members of the movement and society at large. We have already noted that there is a great deal of freedom with respect to an individual's role within the movement. The majority of the brethren are in daily and continuous contact with nonmembers. The very notion of " surrounding " society or " larger " society in itself is misleading. What we really need to determine is how members of the Rastafarian movement interact with specific groups or classes within Jamaican society.

In her study of millenarism in Vietnam, Hill notes that " the internal dynamics of a millenarian movement are consistent with several modes of interaction within a larger system, provided this system proves itself to be effective and responsive " (Hill, 1971 : 349). We also need to examine what the policies of the various social sectors are towards the movement. Thus, strictly speaking, we are dealing with neither a homogeneous movement nor an unidimensional society. Given this observation, certain patterns may be noted.

We find that Rastafarians consider themselves to be leaders in the community, in that they conceive of their role as an exemplary one. Thus one finds that most brethren seize the opportunity to teach whenever the occasion arises. The Dreadlocks are especially visible in this regard. Here Rastafarians resemble the Andalusian anarchists described by Hobsbawm. The Andalusian anarchists rejected any disciplined organization, refused to participate in politics, carrying on their work at the level of the small groups. The more active ones were called " those who have ideas " (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 84). These obreros conscientes were " educators, propagandists, and agitators, rather than organizers " for they believed that :

What influenced men was not ... other men, but the truth, and the entire movement was geared to the propagation of the truth by every person who had acquired it. For having acquired the tremendous revelation that men need no longer be poor and superstitious, how could they do anything but pass it on (Hobsbawm, 1965 : 85)?

In the Andalusian villages, the obreros conscientes were widely respected by all citizens. Likewise, Rastafarian brethren, while barely tolerated by officialdom, are relied upon for leadership in many community matters, in their poverty stricken neighbourhoods where people lack the services available elsewhere. The Black Power movement, many cargo cults in Melanesia, the Ghost Dance, and Peyotism, to name a few, have a history of legal and/or military persecution. On the other hand, fundamentalist Christian movements may be tolerated more since their activities seem less likely to disturb the status quo. Then we have examples like the Handsome Lake religion and Jamaa in the Congo which may be encouraged by those in authority. Spurning accommodation and rejecting safety valve enthusiasms, Rastafarianism clearly falls into the category of movement that authorities find disturbing.

Much has been written about the changes that take place within a social movement when it attempts to regularize its relationship with the "larger" society. For movements which have their origin in chiliasm or charismatic activities, this process has been variously termed "institutionalization" or "routinization" (Weber, 1947 : 363; Wallace, 1956 : 275). We have already argued that the Rastafarian movement does not exist in isolation from the surrounding society but in a dialectical relationship with it. As we shall see below in our discussion of the scholarly work on Rastafarianism, there has been a tendency to focus on the Rastafarian rhetoric of withdrawal and rejection and to emphasize Rastafarian techniques of maintaining social distance, at the expense of understanding the complex ways in which Rastafarians as individuals and the movement as a whole are integrated into the larger society. This relationship has to be examined from two perspectives. How do Rastafarians themselves regard their social milieu and the dominant order? And how do members of the larger society and the representatives of its social institutions regard Rastafarianism? Here we are dealing with a millenarian movement which spans nearly half a century. What are the compromises that have been made in order to ensure its survival? Are we even correct in assuming that priorities have been assigned and compromises have been made? Which combination of Rastafarian beliefs and practices are most acceptable to non-Rastafarians? How has the movement changed as Jamaica has developed as an independent nation in the modern West Indian and international setting?

The example of the Jordanites of Guyana may be instructive here because the two movements emerged at about the same point in time, with Garveyism being a significant influence in each case. However, the Jordanite movement is a relatively small social grouping now, which emphasizes religious beliefs and practices that appeal to an older population. Roback emphasizes that it cannot be considered "anti-colonial", "anti-White", or "protonationalist" in any way, and that it has been effectively routinized and integrated into Guyanese society. However, she is very careful to point out that in her experience charismatic considerations continue to be the basis of both recruitment and selection of leaders (Roback, 1974 : 260 - 261). Thus we are faced with the

problem of the relationship between the institutionalization of a particular movement and the extent to which charismatic energies may continue to manifest themselves. Is the balance to be struck here part of the arrangement that has to be made between a social movement and the larger society? In this regard it would be instructive to compare the history of Vodun in Haiti, and its accommodation within the larger society, to the historical relationship between Rastafarianism and the state. Certainly in both cases there are periods of tolerance, perhaps though at best ambivalent, alternating with periods of direct persecution.

But an even more instructive example in this regard is the Jamaa movement of the Congo. At the level of small group dynamics Jamaa social encounters are strikingly similar to Rastafarian reasoning sessions. Yet the relationship between Jamaa and the wider society is quite different. In Jamaa we have a movement which places a high value on individual inspiration yet is able to accommodate itself to the surrounding society without compromising this orientation. This case, therefore, would seem to offer a counterpoint to the Rastafarian development.

In the African context the Jamaa movement in the Congo appears to be somewhat anomalous in that, unlike the majority of African social movements, Jamaa does not simply multiply a given institutional pattern (as in the cases described by Sundkler, 1964), but rather lacks well-defined organizational boundaries (Fabian, 1969 : 166). Rastafarianism, in the context of the Caribbean, differs from other religious movements by virtue of its unique combination of religious doctrine and political orientation (Simpson, 1976 : 310 - 311; Smith, R.T., 1976 : 341). On the other hand, like many African prophetic movements, Jamaa owes its initiative to an individual leader who possesses charismatic qualities and who has taken on the role of prophet. Moreover, both Jamaa and other African religious movements incorporate elements of traditional culture by re-defining them in new and meaningful ways, while at the same time providing a philosophy which is capable of transcending tribal boundaries by appealing to universalistic tendencies. While the movements described by Sundkler (1964) and Barrett (1968) developed independently of and in opposition to the established church missions, Jamaa represents a radical departure in that its growth has thrived in the context of the Catholic

Church mission. Yet, as Fabian has insisted : " Jamaa is neither a pious Catholic society, nor an association of industrial workers, nor a cultural movement of Bantu philosophers " (Fabian, 1971 : 202).

The prophetic leader of Jamaa, Placide Tempels, was a Roman Catholic priest in the Congo for many years before ill health forced him to retire to Belgium, from which country he continues to play a directing role in the movement. His dissatisfaction with the inability of traditionally-trained missionaries to relate meaningfully to their African followers, given the colonial situation, caused Tempels to undertake a personal search of Bantu culture and religious practice which resulted in the major doctrinal work of the movement, his Bantu Philosophy. As a result Tempels radically defined the role of priest in the following manner :

I thought that, having discovered Bantu personality, I would become once more the pastor, the boss, the doctor, now that I had mastered a technique, a language adapted to 'teaching' Christianity. But all of a sudden I realized that through this encounter between man and man, soul and soul, being and being, we had progressed from mutual knowledge toward sympathy, and finally, love : and it was exactly at that moment that Christianity was born and had already begun (Fabian, 1971 : 32).

The act of personal encounter between members of Jamaa, including priests, is the social basis of the movement. Without encounter (the term used by Jamaa) there can be no Jamaa - Jamaa being the Swahili word for family.⁸ Recruitment, transmission of the teachings, the process of initiation, and the interpretation of the doctrine as it applies to daily life (i.e., the formulation of the directing ideology) - all occur within the social context of encounter. Unlike other African charismatic movements, Jamaa members do not participate in public proselytization. Also exceptional is the fact that Jamaa is politically nonradical and nonantagonistic to the established authorities. In fact, Jamaa seems to exist almost invisibly in the bosom of the Church (Fabian, 1971 : 81).

The significance of Jamaa for our understanding of Rastafarianism is threefold. Firstly, spiritual authority for both movements is held to reside in distant leaders, both involuntary in a sense, though both aware of their impact on the movement. At the local level, however, both movements consist of many decentralized groups loosely organized around individual leaders who function in a primus inter pares fashion. Tempels,

for example, apparently did not anticipate either the impact that his book would have or the controversy that would surround the genesis of Jamaa. Fabian has documented these events in detail (Fabian, 1971 : 21 - 48). Here we might note that at one point from 1945 to 1949 Tempels was exiled from the Congo by the Vatican. Tempels appears reluctant even now to accept responsibility for his part in the movement (Fabian, 1971 : 43). Contrary to this assertion, Fabian produces much evidence which clearly shows Tempels's role in the founding of Jamaa (Fabian, 1971 : 37 - 39).

Haile Selassie, on the other hand, while not directly involved in the founding of the Rastafarian movement, has not actively sought to dissuade the Brethren from their views. We have already referred to the Emperor's visit to Jamaica in 1966. As one of his last acts before leaving, the Emperor awarded gold medals to many Jamaicans including several Rastafarian brethren. These medals have acquired the status of sacred objects among the brethren, and are regarded as proof of Selassie's tacit support of the movement.⁹

The Emperor has also visited the Rastafarian settlement in Ethiopia several times. In 1970 one of his daughters invited three repatriated Rastafarian children to live with her in the imperial palace. The Ethiopian government is also indirectly involved with the Rastafarian movement through the Ethiopian World Federation and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. While not a leader in the sense that Tempels is, Haile Selassie has constituted a source of authority for the movement historically. Events in the 1970's in Ethiopia are forcing the movement in Jamaica to confront some of the contradictions that such an authority would pose for a movement that operates at the grass roots level and is avowedly egalitarian.

In both cases, these involuntary, or at best, ambivalent, leaders are an integral part of their respective institutional frameworks - Tempels in the bureaucracy of the Roman Catholic Church, Selassie as Emperor and secular head of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. This means that members of both movements have to work within an institutional framework to some extent in order to establish and maintain effective communications with these men or their representatives. This in turn appears to have exerted a stabilizing or conservative force on their visionary populism. Thus, while members of Jamaa personally value

dreaming as a source of inspiration and visionary experiences, the Church nevertheless serves to dampen visionary excesses (Fabian, 1971 : 187), much in the same way that Mission Churches discouraged the role of visionary dreams among the Bantu (Sundkler, 1961 : 267; 271).

With reference to Rastafarianism, some brethren have involved themselves in hierarchically-organized bureaucratic organizations such as the Ethiopian World Federation and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, because they were established as a result of the Emperor's initiative. Both organizations, but more so the Church, discourage the pursuit of visionary episodes through the mediation of cannabis. Both organizations tend to foster the development of elitism along hierarchical lines in a movement which is otherwise committed to egalitarian principles. However, unlike Jamaa, which is considered nonantagonistic to the surrounding society (Fabian, 1971 : 75), Rastafarianism, despite the conservative influence of the Federation and the Church, is regarded generally as a movement opposed to the dominant society. This does not preclude the possibility of the cooptation of certain elements of the movement by the ruling class.

The second feature which Jamaa and Rastafarianism share is the emphasis upon face-to-face contact as the basis for the transmission of the message. In Jamaa this is called encounter; in Rastafarianism, reasoning. Fabian writes :

Encounter is the 'liminal' experience in the process of 'becoming one', the aim of Jamaa teaching (Fabian, 1971 : 168).

Despite the difference in procedure between reasoning and encounter, the effect upon both movements is to create a network of spiritual kinship which is the basis for their social organization (See Fabian, 1971 : 99; 115; 168 - 170). Members of both movements regard love as the basis of unity which will overcome all the barriers that separate people (Fabian, 1971 : 89). This emphasis upon face-to-face communication acts as a counter-balance to the pressures to channel communications along institutional lines. Both encounter and reasoning are the social occasions through which personal charismatic energies can continue to manifest themselves. These are the situations in which individual variations upon general ideological themes are worked out. Thus local leaders arise in both movements who may establish groups around themselves. In both movements the tension between fissiparous tendencies and the desire for unity

is a constant preoccupation. (For Jamaa, see Fabian, 1971 : 88 - 92. For Rastafarianism, see below, chapter seven.) In Jamaa, leading members are regarded as " heads " of spiritual lineages, in that they have personally influenced and given birth to (Jamaa term) many Jamaa members. In Rastafarianism, although this procedure is less formal, leading members also base a good deal of their authority on the extent to which their lives and their thinking have been and continue to be a personal inspiration for other members.

It is interesting to note that despite their fitful reliance on bureaucratic procedures, both movements profess a strong antibureaucratic element in their ideology. Fabian has noted that :

Exact figures on membership in a Jamaa group, then, are not available, not only because subconscious fears of bureaucratic procedures and conscious objections against measuring charisma prevent an adequate census but also because the concept 'member' lacks precision. People who are not, or not yet, initiated in the technical sense participate in the activities of the group (Fabian, 1971 : 73).

The same considerations led many Rastafarians to refuse cooperation with the national census-taking of 1970. Both movements then have no clear-cut ideological position on the definition of membership. Jamaa members claim that Jamaa is a state of mind (Fabian, 1969 : 166), while many Rastafarians similarly use subjective criteria in speaking of their own involvement with the movement.

A third point of resemblance lies in the fact that both movements place a great emphasis upon visionary episodes as a source of spiritual inspiration. It is through inspiration, worked out in the social context of encounter or reasoning, that the individuals attempt to determine the directing elements of the official ideology that have relevance for them. Fabian distinguishes between a " latent common pool of orientations " (which he suggests is comparable to Burridge's notion of myth-dream) and a " manifest system of orientations " (Fabian, 1971 : 185). Jamaa members in fact have two terms of reference to refer to each of these - the former being mawazo or the " thoughts guarded by Jamaa people ", the latter being mafundisho, or individual teachings. In Jamaa dream and message are both called mawazo (Fabian, 1971 : 186) and have become interchangeable concepts in Jamaa ideology because of their " identical function in relation to what we have called (after Burridge) the myth :

both articulate and formulate latent orientations in such a way that they become relevant in particular situations and for specific problems " (Fabian, 1971 : 186). Rastafarians also seek visionary meditation and collective reasoning, using the medium of cannabis. But this is a subject that we shall pursue at much greater length in chapter six.

Above we have attempted to delineate some of the salient features of Rastafarian social organization in a comparative framework. We have used a limited number of examples to highlight these characteristics. Peyotism is relevant because of its emphasis on the ingestion of a consciousness-altering substance, and its ideology of resistance to white cultural domination, although, strictly speaking, it is not a millenarian movement. The choice of the Black Power movement is logical in terms of the collective experience of Blacks in the New World, and in the fact that it is predominantly an urban movement. Rastafarianism, unlike Black Power which is primarily political and social reformist, is nevertheless an attempt to redress the situation of a large number of Blacks living in depressed urban conditions.

Cargo cults as millenarian movements based on prophetic experiences and oriented to ideas of collective salvation also have relevance for our understanding of Rastafarianism. Rastafarianism is different from most millenarian movements, however, in that a handful of its members have actually achieved The Millennium by repatriating to Ethiopia to settle on a land grant there. In this fact, and in the fact that the Rastafarian millennium is directed to another continent, there is found an international dimension to Rastafarianism which stands in marked contrast to the parochialism of most millenarian movements.

We have also made use of examples of religious movements which have developed in lower-class urban areas to discuss features of Rastafarian social organization which are shared despite strong ideological differences. In much of this discussion we have relied upon the work of Gerlach and Hine to expose the principles of Rastafarian social organization. A more detailed understanding of these social mechanisms can be pursued when we turn to our discussion of our case study. Finally, while a systematic comparison is outside the scope of this study, we must mention that in terms of social organization and the mechanics of ideology

formation, the cases of both feminism and the counter-culture may prove useful for our understanding of Rastafarianism.

While it is evident from our discussion in chapter one that we consider Rastafarianism to be an expression of millenarism, we nevertheless feel that we can further our understanding of it as a social movement by comparison with movements which share similar ideological and social features. In this chapter we have attempted to outline the general scope of Rastafarianism as a movement which permits a range of ideological interpretations and social forms within a generally accepted framework. The problem that concerns us in this thesis is the manner in which individual members and groups go about deciding what their particular adaptation will be. This we have phrased as the process of deriving directing ideology from official ideology, following David Aberle (Aberle, 1966).

We have chosen to approach Rastafarianism as a visionary movement because of the critical role played by the experience of a visionary state of consciousness in the resolution of this problem. In our opinion, the ritual use of cannabis in the small group situation as a prelude to the acts of meditation and reasoning produces an altered state of consciousness which is interpreted by the brethren as a reaffirmation of their collective ideology. Within this context, meditation and reasoning take place, two processes whereby individuals are able to explore possible interpretations of Rastafarian ideology and test their application to a given situation. On the most general level we can say that this entire procedure is conditioned by the central vision of Rastafarianism : the liberation of all Black people as Africans. Thus our term visionary movement is intended to convey both the significance of this guiding image for the movement in general, and the critical role that the experience of visionary states of consciousness plays in the small group dynamics of the movement.

There are a number of reasons for introducing yet another term to the already copius nomenclature of millenarian movements. In the first place, the term " millenarian movement " itself hardly does justice to the social character of these movements; it is essentially a cultural term, stressing the general features which commonly characterize The

Millennium. On the other hand, we must avoid some of the pejorative connotations associated with terms like " nativistic movements " or " acculturative movements ". Moreover, some of these terms are dated in the sense that they describe colonial situations which are no longer so clearcut and dichotomous.

In essence, the term " visionary movement " is designed to place equal emphasis on both the religious and secular dimensions of millenarianism. The term " millenarian movement " itself errs in one direction by overemphasizing the emotional and " nonrational " dimensions of such movements. On the other hand, to speak only of " modern forms of social protest " or " protonationalist " movements distorts the nature of such social phenomena by overly emphasizing their secular nature. Thus the term " visionary movement " describes a situation in which one finds **strong emphasis upon** mythological thought, expressed in the form of visionary understandings, side by side with " modern " secular forms of social protest and a secular ideology.

There is a seeming dichotomy between the thought structure of such movements, and their social articulation. This is very clear in the case of Rastafarianism. Many social activists have been attracted by the revolutionary potential of the movement, only to be disappointed when socialist forms of struggle did not materialize. The temptation is to regard the millenarian content of such movements as transitional, as a survival, and to assume that such millennial orientations will reform themselves in the course of things. This would seem especially possible when the movement's social base indicates a capacity for organization. But in fact, such an approach fails to appreciate the role played by millenarian thought, and the power inherent in the vision. The notion of " visionary movement " should alert the observer to these two streams within such movements which appear to exert a balancing effect on each other. Thus we can assume that if the Rastafarians can achieve what they regard as the highest good through the movement as it presently exists - that is, access to visionary forms of thought and inspiration - there is no reason to expect the movement to alter its basic character, although of course it must adapt continuously in pragmatic ways to a changing social environment. The movement organizes to protect itself, to publicize and to defend itself, to develop an economic base within the

society, however tenuous, and to gain access to public facilities, like schools and churches, for its own purposes. It also may seek alliances with other groupings in the society such as African-oriented interest associations. Probably only under conditions oppressive enough to prevent brethren from gathering together to pursue " I and I " consciousness could we expect the Rastafarian movement to move in a revolutionary direction.

The term " visionary movement " is also intended to convey to the reader a sense of the changed colonial context within which contemporary millenarian movements must deal. Specifically we refer to the fact that there now exists an international popular revolutionary tradition in terms of which millenarists are able to see themselves. Certainly the Rastafarians are aware of the works of Mao, Ché, Fidel, and other popular revolutionary figures of the second half of the twentieth century. They follow the activities of the various liberation movements in Africa closely. Just what impact these streams of revolutionary consciousness will have on future millenarian movements is difficult to say, but it is reasonable to expect an influence in this regard. Thus, we need to ask ourselves how millenarian movements will respond to revolutionary developments elsewhere. Under what circumstances does a millenarian movement incorporate such influences, and what overall impact does this have on the direction of the movement or the conflicts which arise within it?

At this point in our discussion, however, we can only say that the Rastafarians are aware that certain elements of their message have diffused beyond the movement into other sectors of Jamaican society. The incorporation of popular revolutionary sentiments into the ideology of the movement, coupled with the appeal of its primary myth-dream - that all Black people realize their African identity - has proven irresistible in certain quarters. Artists and intellectuals capitalize on this part of the Rastafarian message - while other sectarian interest find it politically expedient to associate themselves with such cultural initiatives. Colin Prescod has already noted, specifically with respect to Rastafarianism in Jamaica, that " oppressed ideologies are and must be subverted by the ruling classes in defence of their privileges " (Prescod, 1975 : 72). While he admits that this strategy has not been successful with the Rastafarians, nevertheless he argues that it

has diverted the direction of the movement in some respects. With Rastafarianism we have then an example of a millenarian movement that is acquiring a broad appeal on both the political and mythic levels - so much so that it must contemplate a central role in future Jamaican development. The notion of "visionary movement" is also intended to remind us of this doubly appealing Rastafarian message. But, if Rastafarianism participates forcefully in Jamaican development, will this involve attenuation of the visionary experience?

Here we have to ask ourselves a question that is of prime importance to students of millenarian movements. How can a millenarian movement respond to pressures from both reactionary and revolutionary elements in the society without compromising its chiliastic orientation? The use of the term "visionary movement" reminds us also of this fundamental dilemma. We must not be misled by the secular ideology of the movement into thinking that its prime objective is the elimination of all sources of oppression. Rather, we should realize that The Millennium is the focus of all activities. There is revolutionary work to be done, but the power of the vision is seen as an end in itself. Having experienced life's unity and eternity in the visionary state, there seems nothing more to do - except to arrange to experience it again. Thus, we can in fact think of Rastafarianism as a visionary movement in a double sense. Not only does the Rastafarian struggle involve a "vision" in the general meaning of the term, but also this "vision" is continuously being shaped, directed, and extended by the actual experience of the visionary state.

Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. Others have made a similar distinction in other contexts. See Bailey, 1969 : 86 and Harris, 1968 : 48.
2. The origin of the term " Africa for the African " is somewhat obscure. Although extensively popularized by Garvey in the 1920's, its use seems to have appeared earlier as a title for a book by a Baptist missionary, Joseph Booth, in Nyasaland, published about 1895 (Legum, 1965 : 22).
3. About the situation that was emerging, Redsky writes : " During the years after 1890 - years of violence, depression, segregation, and disenfranchisement - a considerable number of Southern Blacks lost the basic optimism shared by Washington and DuBois. Lower-class blacks, remote from middle-class status and pessimistic about gaining equality in middle-class America, formed the popular base of a black movement that advocated emigration to Africa. Causes for this black unrest in the 1890s were many, but the most pressing burden, and the problem that made those people think that emigration was the only true solution, was economic " (Redsky 1969 : 5). Washington and DuBois are two Black leaders who advocated assimilation based on economic achievement and education.
4. " I-tal " is a term derived from " natural ", according to the rules of a distinctly Rastafarian argot which many brethren speak. This argot will be discussed at length in chapter six.
5. This concept is similar to the Buddhist idea of the Bodhisattva, the enlightened individual who reincarnates to help work for the liberation of his fellow men (Govinda, 1969 : 40 - 43).
6. Pocomania or " Little Madness " is a Jamaican possession religion professing belief in spirits.
7. At the time of this study the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was being founded in Jamaica. Although it attracted only a minority of the brethren - (3,000 out of a possible 30,000 - 70,000) it was the subject of an on-going controversy about this very issue.
8. For an extended discussion of the origins and significance of encounter see Fabian, 1971 : 32 - 40; 41 - 42; 71 - 72.
9. During the period of fieldwork, two of my key informant's gold medals given him by Selassie were stolen. This event caused a major disruption in the community for a week, until the medals were safely returned. Although it is generally known by the Jamaican public that Rastafarians make a point of decrying witchcraft and magic, it was only by resorting to such threats that the brethren were able to intimidate the thief, who, it seems, had left behind a dirty footprint on a clean sheet. Thus, it would seem that the special status of these medals may require exceptional measures to protect them.

Chapter FourDon't Vex, Then Pray : The Methodology of Initiation

We have two concerns in this thesis. In the first place we hope to show the relationship between the religious ideology of the Rastafarian movement and the social, economic, and political context within which it operates. Here our interest lies in examining how the movement has developed in a dialectical relationship with the larger society. This leads us to our second consideration. More particularly, we want to focus on a problem in the study of ideology. Given that any ideological system consists of a number of discrete propositions and understandings, the totality of which lies outside the experience of any one individual, we hope to examine the means whereby one moves from the official or general level of ideological functioning, to its particular application in any concrete situation. This is a complex sequence, one in which many social factors have to be balanced or reconciled.

While this can be accomplished in many ways, among the Rastafarians, in our opinion, the individual visionary experience and the collective act of reasoning are the two major mechanisms, one closely related to the other, whereby this process is carried out. In this chapter we want to discuss both the more general methodological strategy involved in researching the concerns outlined above, and the more specific methodological problems involved in developing research techniques appropriate to the study of visionary experiences and reasoning.

Nigel Harris has discussed some of the methodological problems inherent in the study of ideological systems. For example, he points out that ambiguity is necessary for ideologies to survive, because they permit multiple interpretations (Harris, 1968 : 48). Harris argues that many of these ambiguities may not have been resolved because people have not needed to act. On the other hand, he notes that an outsider may have difficulty distinguishing between those ideological elements which are really active and could guide action, and those which are latent, or occurred in some past historical circumstance, and just survived into the present (Harris, 1968 : 48). In his opinion, while it

is possible to reconstruct an ideological system for a group, in order to give it meaning - and to help answer some of the problems raised above - it is necessary to have context, speaker, and audience. In this way we are able to understand what the various principles mean in one situation for one individual or group. Harris writes :

A more fruitful approach is to examine the work of a particular representative, even though he is necessarily only one of a group that formulates an ideology or supplies different elements, and such people are usually of above average cultural sensitivity ... (Harris, 1968 : 49 - 50).

Bearing in mind the difficulties inherent in such an approach - mainly determining the representativeness of the individual in question - it is this procedure we intend to follow in order to further clarify our understanding of the Rastafarian movement. Harris has suggested that one check on representativeness is whether or not these figures carry the group concerned (Harris, 1968 : 50). Given that people believe and act only within a particular social context, we intend to examine situations in which the representative we have chosen and the group of which he is a part have to deal with problems and make decisions about certain issues. Adopting this kind of problem orientation we may be able to highlight the kinds of considerations and understandings that are taken into account when moving from the general to the particular level of ideological functioning.

There is some precedent for this kind of approach in existing studies on Rastafarianism. L.E. Barrett's work, for example, has drawn extensively upon his association with Ras Sam Brown and the local Rastafarian community in East Kingston. A.B. Chevannes has researched in depth the relationship between Rev. Claudius Henry and the Rastafarian movement. Henry is an influential Rastafarian leader who has organized a rural collective in Clarendon, a Parish to the west of Kingston. On the other hand, while Joseph Owens collected much of his material in West Kingston, his data is based mainly on lengthy tape recorded sessions of several Rastafarians addressing themselves to a wide variety of topics. His intention was to record the " theology " of the movement and in this he succeeded remarkably well. However, we cannot gain an understanding from any of the above works about how the movement functions on a day-to-day basis.

Our own approach to these problems is revealed in the organization of this thesis. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to an examination of the kinds of methodological problems encountered in our fieldwork. Following this, we shall review cross-cultural materials on the effects and use of cannabis, which is so central to the visionary experience and the process of reasoning among Rastafarians. This in turn leads to an analysis of the manner in which cannabis is used in Jamaica both by Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike. At this point we shall take up our case study. In order to clarify the relationship between the official and the particular levels of ideology, we propose to adopt several procedures. Firstly, we want to look at the problems that arise on a daily basis for Rastafarians living in West Kingston. But of course, we shall be focusing on our representative and his local group of brethren. Secondly, we want to see what kinds of problems arise for this same group of people in their relationship with the movement as a whole, and vis-à-vis the larger society. Here we will examine several critical issues that arose during the period of our fieldwork. Finally, moving from our representative and his local group to the movement in general, we want to see what kinds of problems have been created by the growth of the movement and its attempts to penetrate the larger society with its message.

The Research Setting

The admonition in the title of this chapter refers to a Rastafarian saying about not smoking herbs when one is angry. Since herbs smoking among the brethren often engendered visionary experiences, I was to hear these words many times, even with reference to myself. The nature of the visionary experience is considered " holy " by the brethren, and the situation surrounding it is also sacred. Participants are intent upon eliminating extraneous sources of noise and distraction, so that turbulent emotional states are discouraged as well as interruptions and other provocative behaviour. If we are to be present as anthropologists in a situation where visionary experiences are being generated then certain demands are made upon us as people as well as reporters. As reporters we have to adopt a certain posture that will minimize our

presence as a potential source of noise. This means no note taking and no tape recording. But as people, we have to become part of the spirit of the group if the occasion is to be free of distraction, and holy as well. In the case of the Rastafarians this meant sharing their communion and altering one's consciousness as they did. This I refer to as the methodology of initiation.

" Initiation " may seem to be a rather formal and forbidding term for what was perceived as an almost casual process. In fact, to my knowledge, the word itself was never used by the brethren to refer to the growth of our mutual relationship. Nor am I using it in the sense of pledging oneself as a member of a church or a sect, and undergoing formal rituals of incorporation, such as Slotkin did with the Native American Church (Slotkin, 1975). Rather, I mean that the society in question regulates the nature and the sequence of experiences by which the outsider is socialized into its understandings. In this respect I may use the term to refer to the course that one takes in becoming familiar with the Rastafarian movement.

Most of the research on the Rastafarians had hitherto been conducted on an appointment basis; that is, researchers approached the Rastas through organizational channels or were present on special occasions by prearranged agreements. While this may permit on-the-spot recording in the form of notes, tape recordings, or photographs, it usually limits the investigator, who is the centre of attention, to formalize data about beliefs, ideology, and rituals - in other words, he gets the standard fare. But the paucity of ethnographic detail about the Rastafarians is a consequence of this approach. Even the Rastas themselves are aware that they have a special code by means of which they closely regulate the information flow. On several occasions I was present in a yard when a visitor arrived. The brethren would ask me to observe the manner in which they intended to check him out, and afterwards there would often be a hilarious discussion about the significance of the visit.

Since the nature of the yard situation is somewhat open, the Rastafarians have developed a code whereby they can communicate certain understandings among themselves which would not be comprehended by outsiders. They do so partly through the use of metaphor and biblical

language, and partly by the use of subtlety and innuendo. To the observer it may sound like the same old fanaticism, but in fact, the meaning is derived from the context, shared understandings, and the experience of intersubjectivity. Thus the brethren could always tell each other and me as well, how far an individual was to be trusted.

It is understandable that an important source of data for the brethren about a visitor is his response to the invitation to smoke herbs, and his reaction to smoking herbs if he does accept. Brethren have a great deal of respect for someone who is willing to take the plunge and draw the pipe, especially if he is not accustomed to it. They will go out of their way to make such an individual feel comfortable, even though they may disapprove of his ideology and lifestyle. However, the brethren ridicule visitors who take a little puff just to be sociable. They make a point of giving such people a whole spliff¹ to themselves.

In contrast to the " Rasta tourists " (a term used by the brethren themselves), my approach was designed to avoid violating the initiatory character of face-to-face relationships in small groups that note taking or tape recording would have produced. Although later in my research I made many tape recordings and took photographs, I was never able to record any of the reasoning sessions in which I was a participant. This was simply out of the question, since in my role of initiate, I was actively involved. The anthropologist who proceeds on his own schedule is also subject to a form of manipulation but he achieves only partial exposure. I preferred the initiatory strategy even though I could not dictate the terms by which I could record the stream of events.

In general, I would say that the brethren treated me both as a soul to save and as one whose political consciousness needed raising. Both happened at once, and in the course of my research I received a comprehensive exposure, partly through planned events, partly through adventitious circumstances. As I was undergoing this " training " I adopted a whole range of roles : chauffeur, liaison officer, study partner, and amanuensis. It was in the performance of this last function that I finally came to realize that I had passed through an initiation. Having helped draft a communiqué to Ethiopia, I could not help but think of myself as a volunteer Ethiopian.

In chapter three we reviewed some of the historical and contemporary attitudes to the Rastafarians as a group. What emerges is a picture of a male-dominated, racist, fanatic, bewildered, ganja-smoking society, the very dregs of the social order. There was little published data available on the Rastas at the time I undertook this project with the result that I anticipated studying a cult-like phenomenon, with definite boundaries and points of entry. I underestimated both the caution with which the Rastafarians treat outsiders, as well as the misgivings of non-Rastas about researchers interested in the Rastafarians. Moreover, having experienced very benign field situations elsewhere in the Caribbean I was ill-prepared to grasp the reality of either an urban slum in a colonial situation or the forces of racism. However, the problems posed by the former far outweighed those of the latter. A racist posture on the part of individuals was easily dealt with by adopting a cheerful and humorous response, and by the willingness to accept challenges in good spirit.

I chose to conduct my research in West Kingston because some of the more innovative brethren live there. Apart from the problem of obtaining housing for myself in such an area, there were always possible threats to personal safety and the problem of petty theft. Rastafarians pride themselves on being able to move freely and fearlessly in areas where most other people are afraid to go, particularly after dark. They argue that government and police attempt to confine crime and violence to certain city areas, the ghettos, rather than to wipe it out altogether, as a method of behavioural control. They say that if you look at a man with love in your eyes, "he can't do you nothing". Consequently, if I were to accompany the brethren and to keep the hours they kept, I had to adjust myself to moving about as freely as possible under these circumstances as well. During the first four months of my study, I had only public transportation at my disposal, and my willingness at that time to stay in Rasta yards until well after midnight, and to take taxis home, was a form of test which only later they discussed with me. Partly, they wanted to see if I had the courage to persist in the face of difficulties. But more, it was a test of my purity of heart, for if I had been injured or harmed in any way, they claimed they would then have known that I was not to be trusted. Since they had few other ways of checking on my authenticity, this was their most reliable strategy.

Near the end of my fieldwork, many brethren told me that I had "moved through" a number of dangerous situations, unknown to myself. They regarded the fact that no harm had come to me as proof of divine protection. By this they meant that on several occasions I had apparently interacted with both gunmen and undercover police in ways that did not provoke any hostility. The brethren attempt to behave in an exemplary fashion with such individuals so as to avoid unnecessary provocations. They expected me to set a similar example, and said as much. In my second month, when I did not have a car, I had to visit an area of bad reputation in Central Kingston. There was a Rasta camp there. Although I had been invited by a brother to come, I had to find my own way. En route, a few blocks from the camp, a youth came up to me and grabbed my handbag. There wasn't much in it, except a red, gold and green tam I had been knitting. Much to the amazement of the people on the street, I wrestled with the thief, and chased him down the gully. He eluded me, however, carrying the bag with him. By this time I had arrived at the camp. Everyone was laughing for this had been quite a spectacle, my daring to fight back. I was told I was lucky he had not knifed or shot me. There were lots of children about. Soon one of them came to the camp with my tam, the bag, and its other contents less two dollars for ransom.

I conducted my fieldwork during the last two years in the office of the Jamaica Labour Party government. The immediate circumstances surrounding my fieldwork were somewhat tense in that the Rastafarians at that time were concerned with the possibility of being used as a political scapegoat by the J.L.P., which was rapidly losing credibility. Their feeling was that the J.L.P., through the mechanisms of gang politics and ghetto psychology, would create a situation of civic unrest and disorder, then hold the Rastafarians responsible. Since the elections were only two years away when I began my fieldwork, I was able to witness the increasing tensions that were developing, and party campaigning in the forms of joining gangs and carrying guns. The more orthodox brethren constantly feared that a crisis situation might develop in which some local henchman under the guise of being Rasta, would commit an act of violence, on the basis of which widespread persecution of the movement would follow.

The Rastafarians were even predicting that because of this scare of civic unrest the government would suspend elections, and Jamaica would become a police state. This reflects a mentality of constant crisis. During my fieldwork the memory of Coral Gardens (see above page fifty-three) was still alive, and indeed I did witness the use of fear and intimidation directed against many individuals and yards in areas I frequented. As the elections approached, the incidence of " fires of unknown origins ", people being hit by " stray bullets ", petty thefts, personal assaults, police harassment in the form of curfews and searches - all increased. There were also many strikes - bus drivers, garbage collectors, street vendors, dock workers, condensery workers and gas station attendants - which affected mainly ghetto areas and tried the patience of poor people. Local newspapers, the Star in particular, reported all these events in a sensationalist fashion and thus contributed to the atmosphere of tension that prevailed. The association made between ganja and guns in the popular press could only fan the fires of imagination.

Because of the local political situation, one might expect the authorities to find the presence of a researcher troublesome. But I would say that my fieldwork was remarkably untroubled except for a few apparently isolated incidents. Mau has made reference to the difficulties of conducting work in West Kingston (Mau, 1973 : 60), as has Norris (1969 : 69). In the course of my research I was stopped by the police no more than a dozen times, but always at night while I was driving my car. Half of those times I had Rastafarians in the car and we were searched. On the other occasions, when I was alone, they would inquire if I were lost in West Kingston, and finding I was not, would accompany me safely home to my yard. Since it is assumed that white people and Dreadlocks riding together can only mean one thing - ganja dealing - the police were sometimes brusque until I explained the reasons for my presence. I was also present in yards on a few occasions when the police raided but I was never harassed. These encounters proved very valuable sources of information. On one occasion in the middle of the night, the police came to a yard where eight or nine brethren and I were smoking and reasoning. Within a matter of seconds everyone, including the brother whose yard it was, had disappeared - some over the wall, some

into a woman's room to hide under the bed. I was left sitting on a porch step and, although my car was parked on the front street (local people park their cars inside) the police walked right by me unnoticed. They looked through the yard, in the kitchens, on the porch, and left me undisturbed. This was later interpreted by the brethren as a sign of my sincerity : " Jah moves the pure of heart through and nothing do them. " Afterwards they all chided each other for panicking in the face of Babylon.

Research Strategies

It came to pass that I spent a lot of time in the back of yards where the brethren were smoking. For me, much more was to be gained by settling down and adopting one yard as a base, than in wandering about and engaging people in chance encounters on street corners. My method led to the possibility of becoming identified with one group and being regarded as the representative of its yard. But since it was a group that was both central to the movement and respected by Rastas and non-Rastas alike in the community, more was gained in the way of participation in key events and in meeting other brethren, than was lost in the alienation of other yards through jealousy over the fact that I did not visit them as frequently. From time to time rumours came to my attention but I largely ignored them - except in one case where the individual concerned circulated a statement about my disregarding his yard, and another brother called us together to work out the problem.

One yard in West Kingston in particular impressed me both with its high state of activity and its generally stimulating level of discourse. The central figure in this yard was a man who was quite well-known among Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike. He had been intimately involved with the movement in West Kingston since the late 1940's and early 1950's. He knew all the leading brethren who had been around since then. He had witnessed the return of the Dreadlocks impetus to West Kingston after the Pinnacle settlement² in the country had been broken up by the State. In fact, he had taken part in all the developments of the 1950's and 1960's in general. Still, he was radical and uncompromising in his lifestyle, and an outspoken critic of the general scene.

He was regarded as a man of high stature by both Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike. In particular, I considered the strength of his reasoning to be superior. He was clearly a visionary of Rastafari, and it was for this reason above all others that he had won the respect of so many. Let us call him Brother Maskaram.

Brother Maskaram was a key ritual specialist on the Rasta scene. He not only elaborated existing doctrine but constantly formulated new visionary understandings. Moreover, he was always conceiving of new ways to transmit these understandings to the people at large. His yard was regarded as a centre of inspiration and locally it had a reputation for unpredictability. This yard was also a forum for ongoing controversies about a variety of matters, and these often took the form of very heated and passionate debates. But I never witnessed any physical violence with the exception of one occasion when a goat thief, whom Brother Maskaram was trying to prevent from hacking another brother with a machete, cut him instead. Gradually, I came to realize that a yard in which new symbolism is being coined, in which ideology is being forged, and old ideas are being discarded, might become the centre of contradictory rumours. Thus I accepted its controversial nature partially as a result of its intense visionary output, and adjusted myself to the erratic pace. The final consideration was that this yard had an excellent reputation for some of the finest herbs in Jamaica.

There was a circle of brethren who spent a lot of time in this yard but most did not live there. (Because Brother Maskaram was a Dreadlocks, many such brethren were also part of his intimate circle.) There were three dozen or so who came on a daily basis, or several times a week, for their visiting cycle varied according to when and where they could obtain employment. This close circle became my " baptismal group ", because they were the ones who taught me the proper use of herbs. Brethren maintain a close spiritual life with others with whom they came up in the faith,³ or with whom they were baptized. Baptism of the pipe is a Rastafarian concept. As I came to know these brethren, I came to know their families and their yards, and to be involved in some of their life situations. In all, I concluded that this particular yard had a high rate of visionary output, and in order to convey some of these visionary understandings it was actively involved in the community in several ways.

Having drawn certain conclusions about this yard, I was still not in a position to assume any shared understandings about my place in it. I continued to make the rounds of other yards, and to visit other brethren whom I had come to know in the course of my work. For my initial introductions, I relied upon two people - one of whom led me into a West Kingston network, the other into an East Kingston scene. In the beginning, the work progressed very slowly and was quite discouraging at times. In retrospect, it appears that we were going through a period of mutual testing, the brethren and I. During this stage I had to assimilate certain Rastafarian teachings, while they had to adjust to my presence in their midst, and the controversies that this generated.

These Rastafarian attitudes that I gradually adopted and internalized, turned out to be concepts central to the movement. In many ways, my coming up in the faith was not unlike some of the experiences recounted to me by brethren when describing their early encounters with the movement. Moreover, one does not have to live in the yard to be an initiate. Many of the yards which I frequented early in my study, I scarcely visited at a later stage. On the other hand, only as I moved through Rasta did I gradually become familiar with other yards. In many yards there appeared to be a hierarchy of brethren, some of whom were more spiritually informed and/or politically sensitive than the others. It happened that in the beginning many of these leading brethren would only talk to me indirectly (by addressing another brethren with remarks obviously intended for me - a common form of discourse) or would hold a one-way conversation with me, using standardized Rastafarian rhetoric. This did not represent any form of reasoning between us. I was much more easily incorporated into yards that were located in quiet out of the way places which did not have many brethren passing through. In yards like Brother Maskaram's, though, a routine process was occurring during which many brethren who regularly visited the yard would sit, and smoke and reason with me in order to check me out. It was not until about three months after I met him that Brother Maskaram drew the pipe and reasoned with me.

The organizational basis peculiar to the Rastafarians as I found it in 1970 and 1971 was a system of yards or collective dwellings, in both urban and rural areas, linked together as a network into a community of understanding. These yards were neither cells nor communes in the

sense that we might understand them. Individuals were free to move in and out. Yards did not constitute a distinct economic group. Nor did Rastafarians alone live in them. Primarily, they were foci for discussion, reasoning, and debate, as well as serving as dwelling units. In spite of the somewhat open character of yard society, we find an integral system of symbols and understandings by which strangers might be tested and classified. Thus the Rastas are effective in filtering out Babylonians. Unlike the North American cannabis-using subculture, Jamaican smokers readily tolerate the presence of non-smokers, who are not rejected by their peer group on the grounds that they refuse to smoke. This observation is borne out by Rubin's 1972 paper as well.

Therefore, methods other than physical exclusion have been developed to protect their interests when necessary. Of major significance here is the Rastafarian argot which makes a great deal of use of puns, innuendo, and double meanings. Although there is a sort of standardized vocabulary that has developed out of this argot, the manner in which it is used under any given circumstances can very cleverly combine these words, Amharic terms, and creole expressions, to produce an esoteric communication which is intelligible only by those for whom it is meant. Meaning is derived from context as much as content. The brethren seem to work on the assumption that if you are initiated to the degree that you understand, then it is all right. Otherwise, they can carry on almost any kind of business in the presence of outsiders and maintain privacy. This is also conditioned partly by the fact that it is so difficult to hold private conversations in these yards because of the overcrowding.

As far as my own progress was concerned, I understood very little in the first few months unless a brother was addressing me directly. Yet I had complete access to many yards. It surprised me to learn afterwards about some of the events that had taken place under my nose! Even when a brother was directing his communication to me, I still had difficulty understanding and often had to ask him to repeat. I was often told at this stage to smoke more ganja, that it would clean out the passages between my nose, ears, eyes and brain. To know truth, they said, the nose must run. In other words, I needed to smoke enough to get the mucus moving, and whenever I took a draw that caused me to cough, spit, and sputter, there would be a great deal of laughter and remarks to the effect that the pipe gave me a lick.

The brethren made much out of the fact that I needed to relax my ears in order to hear the sounds. Sounds were very important, being recognized as an order of vibration that carried its own data. If someone wanted to report on a tendency he had observed, he would say I hear sounds that,etc. The brethren were always telling me that if I listened I would hear, that words have great power, so one must use them judiciously. It is interesting to note that despite this contention that words have power and that one must use them sparingly, no one in Jamaica loves to hold forth as much as a Rastaman! They are fantastic and hypnotic orators, very clever and very funny. When I was observing some of the street meetings that the brethren held, I would mix with the crowds that had gathered, and hear people laughing and saying " a true, sah, a true ". Or, is that not the truth, sir. The brethren had an incredible ability to isolate the most obvious features of politicians, church leaders, ethnic groups, and others, and to make very pointed caricatures out of them.

In order to hear the sounds, I had to change my style of research, in the direction of altering my sense of time. Initially, I was something of a Rasta tourist myself, moving from yard to yard, sometimes visiting three or four in one day. I would stay for a while, have a draw, reason some, and when attention shifted to other matters, I would leave. Perhaps I was overly sensitive about the question of how welcome I was. I found it difficult to speak only when spoken to. I had to endure what seemed like long and endless tirades of biblical intensity, and then respond in a reasonable manner as if all made sense. It was necessary to account for my interest in Rasta, ganja, and the vision over and over again. Whenever the subject of conversation turned to current events, I was always placed in the position of having to account for European and American actions. It was during these times that I came to understand the meaning of within the proper time, a phrase Rastas use a lot. It emphasizes the virtue of being patient. This was a period of mutual testing. Finally, I realized that the nature of yard society was such that people made their own place in it, fit in as best they could. As I learned to adjust myself, and to cease being self-conscious and uncomfortable, even though nothing seemed to be happening according to my

criteria of action, I started to hear the sounds. Consequently, after a few months, little escaped my attention. In fact, there seemed to be so much going on that I was sometimes overwhelmed. Needless to say, the problem of understanding the spoken word was resolved. In fact, I started to play the game too, and both my proper and improper use of the argot were a source of amusement for many. In this way, I was able to test what I thought the rules were. But at no time did I ever sit down and discuss the structure of the argot with the brethren from an intellectual point of view.

In fact, we rarely discussed anything from an intellectual point of view in the sense of my using an interview technique to obtain objective answers to questions I had. Right from the beginning it was understood that if I wanted to smoke ganja and learn about Rasta, then I would have to approach matters from the heart and not the head. The brethren repeatedly told me that one could find all the answers within, all that was required was to study the problem for a while and one would soon have the answer. On one level this is the essence of revelation - the moment when a problem one is considering makes perfect and lucid sense, when the data stands revealed, when the scales fall from one's eyes, another concept central to the movement. As part of their strategy to decolonize the mind, the brethren attempt to demystify the sources of information and knowledge in the society. They argue that one of the ways in which one sells his birthright is to listen to what others tell you is the truth. Their role is to question all those who set themselves up as authorities on various matters, for they argue it is by this parcelling of information that society develops a stratification system based on expertise. They want to return autonomy and responsibility to the individual, and one way of doing so, in their eyes, is to alert one to the capacity he has within for solving these problems and finding the answers to the questions he asks. This idea is central to the movement's philosophy but I was to discover it by going through the motions myself. For example, all the chants that I have transcribed for this thesis, I learned by attending meetings and chanting with the brethren - not by asking anyone what the words were.

Something else that was always pointed out to me was that I needed to move with the spirit. The brethren meant that I should become sensitive

to context, that I should flow with the situation, and not try to interfere with the stream of events. I adjusted myself whereby I put myself in the hands of the brethren and allowed them to guide my activities. They would teach me the proper use of herbs, for example. My course was to ask a minimum number of questions and to try to be as unobtrusive as possible. I tried to keep to their schedule. I began keeping highly irregular hours, and to travel in all parts of Kingston day and night. Nor did I balk about going into certain situations. Bleaching or staying up all night was a prerequisite. At one point, in June and July of 1970, I was so active that I slept only every other night! The brethren also made use of fatigue to break down my cultural crystallizations. When I did sleep, it was very soundly, and on only three occasions during the entire field stay do I recall dreaming.

Sight is equally as important as sounds. This was the other lesson I had to learn - to see. The role of sight can be traced to such expressions as without a vision, the people perish or the name of Rastafari in the sense of Rasta-far-eye. Or to Selassie, in the sense of See-la-see. Brethren will point out the sight at the beginning and end of this name. The terms sight and seen are also used to mean I understand, e.g., I sight the man, or, in response to a remark, one might say seen, brother, seen. Related to the sense of sight is the ability to see signs and to understand them. One has to be able to read the signs of the times.

Here I am referring to the idea of synchronicity, or as some would have it, coincidence. What is happening or about to happen on one level is mirrored in or mapped out on another level. Thus brethren turn their attention to details, to observations that most people would dismiss as unimportant, and find meaning in them. For the brethren, such events are not random. They regard them as reflecting events in the macrocosm. Although this is only one aspect of their life, in general they were quick to interpret things that happened to me as proof of my good intentions or ill will. Moreover, I started using this method to test out whether I was acting appropriately or not. To have confirmation in this manner can be a very powerful realization. For example, I knew some brethren in East Kingston very well, and even after I started spending a lot of time in Brother Maskaram's yard, I continued to visit them. One day, one of them suggested that we go into the country to visit a

close brother of his whom he had not seen for over a year. We were going to stay for a few days, so it required a little preparation. This was the first time any brother had taken me into the country and I was rather excited. I was a little disappointed in Maskaram, however, since he had long since promised to take me to the country. He was a very politically sensitive brother though, and was somewhat concerned with what the reactions of others would be if he took me, whereas the present brethren who were taking me kept a low profile. I had also been wondering about my choice of Maskaram's yard and whether or not it was as central to the movement as was my impression. Imagine my surprise when we reached the brethren in the country and what should I find but a small settlement of Dreadlocks who were very close to Maskaram, and who had just held a groundnation⁴ there with him the previous week. Moreover, a brother from Maskaram's yard, one with whom he was well grounded, and whom I knew from town, was staying there in the country. Everyone took it as a sign that I was moving with the spirit, and could pass through Rasta with few difficulties. When we returned to town, and Maskaram learned what had happened and that I had been well received, he started visiting there with me.

Grounding with the brethren is another key concept. It comes closest to our notion of "getting it on" with someone. But it is a little more than that too. It has to do with the experience of intersubjectivity. For example, when several people share the impact of synchronicity, it creates a bond between them that is difficult to describe in words. A shared understanding **brings the brethren** closer together. Grounding is associated with smoking herbs together and during such occasions one often experiences intersubjectivity. Sometimes it is verbalized, but most often these shared understandings are acknowledged in nonverbal ways. Brethren regard this as a phenomenon of the heart centre and thus no direct reference is required. Brethren refer a great deal to telepathy and minor telepathic events are frequently reported by them.

To this point I have been discussing the philosophical orientation of the Rastafarian movement, and my own initiation into these shared understandings. Students of millenarism know that the vision makes an intense impression on consciousness such that it is experienced as

truth beyond a doubt. Similarly, the above ideas had an equally effective impact upon me, to the extent that I experienced a complete reorientation in my research strategy. The rate of data collection and the kind of information I received were determined by the nature of the movement. My activities were so irregular that I decided to restructure the study in order to play down the social aspects and emphasize the cognitive. I thought I would concentrate specifically on thoughts and mental patterns. At an opportune point I made this clear to Brother Maskaram and others in his yard. But by that time I had been initiated into enough of the understandings to be able to participate more in community life, and just as I thought I had given up the notion of collecting social data, it started coming in. Thereafter, I was illumined to the actual nature of the movement, and data gathering went comfortably. But not until I had dropped any preconceived notions about the flow of communications in a network. What eventually transpired was that I studied this particular Rastafarian network emanating from Brother Maskaram's yard using the methodology of initiation. As an initiate, I let myself be led from situation to situation, from yard to yard, following the same channels as the communications. The methodology of initiation is a way of coming to terms with an ego-centred network. It progresses by degrees, by graded encounters, utilizing an altered state of consciousness as well. Once I had adjusted to one situation, I was taken into one somewhat more intense. I was tested in a supportive environment and then the action was stepped up.

Problem solving was also involved here. I started to rely on the brethren for most of my needs. They found a car for me to buy and a mechanic to fix it whenever it broke down - which was regularly. They found a yard for me to live in in West Kingston, not far from Trenchtown, and supplied me with all that I needed to set up house. Since I was under their portfolio as they put it, they made a point of taking me around to yards they knew about town, where I would meet several other brethren from that area. They made a point of being seen with me. Wherever I travelled, someone usually accompanied me. But when I was alone and ran into difficulties, there was always someone around who knew my associations and would say that all right, and the problem would

be rectified in a hurry! One occupational hazard at this stage was the fact that every time I met someone who was a stranger to me, I was invited to smoke ganja with him so that he could check me out. In this situation I found myself smoking more than the brethren at times!

Part of the bargain was that I would be as accessible to them as they were to me, and I did whatever I could to help. My car was constantly in service, transporting people and goods up and down. My pace of life in the day was as hectic for me as it must have been for the brethren. But it was always tempered with a glowing herbs pipe, and like them, I came to look forward to the nights when, as they say, the saints walk while the pagans sleep. Gradually, as I acquired facility in the argot, my role in these reasoning sessions changed. I became actively involved in the play of ideas and it could not have been otherwise for the brethren pressed me to reveal my mind to them. Maskaram in particular, was stimulated by my presence in the circle and he frequently carried on lengthy dialogues with me in the presence of the other brethren. In this role of study partner, I was encouraged to reason on local, international and cosmic issues as a Rasta would.

After one of these sessions I would often go home early in the morning, and write up my notes by kerosene lamp until sunrise. Kingston is coolest around dawn. I have already mentioned that face-to-face relationships in these small smoking groups had an initiatory character which would have been violated had I taken notes. Frequently, I was a participant in the reasoning sessions. Thus I had to develop a system of ganja mnemonics to allow me to carry information and a constellation of symbols from one state of consciousness into another. One characteristic of cannabis is that it is state-specific - it is very difficult to achieve that frame of consciousness or to have memories of it without smoking again. (Of course in some cases knowledge that is state-specific for one individual may be part of ordinary consciousness for another.) It is not that the individual forgets what it is like to smoke, but rather, the data that passes as the profoundest truth in a smoking session is often forgotten unless it is captured in some symbolic or ritual form. This is not because the data is vapid or lacking in content, but only that the state of consciousness changes.⁵ All the data is still

accessible on a particular level of consciousness, if only one can get access to it. In fact, the Rastas are wont to quote Revelations, Chapter 5 : "Who is worthy to open the book and to loose the seals thereof?" For them, the key is the herbs. But when I reached my yard, where I decided neither to keep nor to smoke ganja, I had to have an alternative method of retrieving the data. Hence ganja mnemonics.

My solution was to develop a set of symbols and signs of sufficient power to draw data from one state of consciousness into another, from the passive accepting state of the initiate into the lineal, critical state of the anthropologist. There were at least two kinds of data. One was of the informational sort - activities, life histories, records of meetings - and the like. The other consisted of more subjective data pertaining to states of mind, emotions and feelings, attitudes and values. It was less difficult to record the events of any one day than it was to reproduce a reasoning session of several hours' duration. I did not know of the traditional art of memory at the time, the Ciceronian approach as described by Frances Yates in her book (Yates, 1969 : 190). I rapidly had to coin one of my own. I used two methods. The first was to attempt to categorize the data as it was coming in. I used key words which were intended to trigger off entire sections of conversation for me. As the subject changed I would add another signal to my list and mentally review it from time to time. All this would be happening as I was also smoking ganja and joining in the sessions. At the first opportunity I would write the list down, and try to elaborate upon it at my earliest convenience. Eventually, this data-coding process became an almost automatic procedure, and I became free to absorb meaning on another level. By the time I became active in reasoning sessions, I could engage most of my attention units in the debate. In the writing of notes by this method, I would meditate on the symbol and try to retrieve the state via this key. Then suddenly the scene would be recreated before my eyes like a movie and I could write it down. What resulted was less than a transcript for I could not hope to capture our discourse with complete accuracy. The less inspired content had by then, become hazy. But neither was it a paraphrase for I still had clear recall of the visionary moments. Examples of this reconstructed discourse are included at various points later in the text.

The other method I adopted allowed me to reconcile the subjective and objective components of the initiation experience. Many Rastafarians are artists of a sort, and all of the brethren at some time or another try their hand at drawing. Several well-known local artists are Rastafarians, in fact. Although I had never drawn seriously in my life, four or five months after I had been there, I started making little drawings in an attempt to catch some of the spirit of the day's activities or some understandings from the night's reasoning. The brethren did not object to this. In fact they rather enjoyed it, for it allowed them to see how the mind stays. It also permitted me to verify my own conclusions.

These methods of notation were used at sacred times when it would have been inappropriate to record discourse in a mechanical way. However, when I had gained Brother Maskaram's confidence in some degree, he actually requested that I use my tape recorder in certain public and private meeting for his own record. He began to refer to me as his secretary, and he requested that I accompany him on his rounds to record public speeches, church meetings and festival occasions. In this capacity I could think of myself in good faith as a Rastafarian, while at the same time maintaining my role as an anthropologist. At a later point Maskaram requested that I type his movement correspondence. This included letters to the editor, broadsides, and copies of plays and declamatory poetry. Finally, one day he had me sit down and prepare a correspondence concerning a delicate political matter in Ethiopia. As his amanuensis I had been invited to prepare a message meant for Zion. At this juncture I considered my initiation complete.

As a result of my presence among them, the Rastafarian brethren underwent an initiation in their own right. The uncompromising image of the locksmith was challenged by my presence in Maskaram's yard. Although the brethren often said that they wanted to remove the association of race hate from the movement, my activities nevertheless proved controversial. While sexual encounters with the brethren were out of the question for several reasons, there were a number of social problems which did develop. The conflict was exacerbated by the fact that the brethren as a group smoked the pipe seriously with me in public. Generally,

this is predominantly a male activity. My participation often provoked much discussion about rules and boundaries, and was a learning situation for both sides.

In the twelfth month of my field stay there was a crisis which brought the brethren's dilemma to consciousness. A certain local psychopath, a sober mad in their terms, as opposed to a mad mad, took set upon me. His behaviour for the previous two or three months had been questionable. He had thrown acid on his babies' mother and burned her baby. He had attempted to attack a couple of the other brethren and their families. But this is not unusual for a ghetto area so he was still walking the streets. He frequently visited Brother Maskaram's yard, as he only lived a few doors from it. The Rastas always said he would not carry on so if he were baptized in the faith. Finally, on one occasion, between Christmas and New Year's, when the community was in a general state of excitement anyway, this mad tried to take me from Maskaram's yard forcibly. Brother Maskaram chased him out, but he came back several hours later, and this time he had a knife. Now, across the street there had been a wounding. Seeing a way out for me, Brother Maskaram sent me to the hospital with the injured man. Before I could move off though, the mad had pulled me out of the car and started taking me down the street at knifepoint. He slashed at anyone who came near. A large crowd had gathered and he was fairly excited. A few of the brethren tried to assist me but were unsuccessful. I calmed him down by entering into his fantasy with him. Suddenly, after an hour or so there was a great commotion. Three tough-looking youths on motorbikes arrived, pistols drawn, whips bristling. Undercover cops! They took me to the police station and the mad followed. When he got inside they arrested him and sent him to the asylum the next day.

In the following few days there was much argument in the yard about whether or not a Black man should injure a Black brother to protect a white woman. There was general consensus that I should be protected, and it wasn't long before this conclusion was put to the test. On the fifth day of his incarceration, the mad escaped from the asylum and went straight to my yard. For the next two weeks he followed us wherever we went, and threatened more violence. Brother Maskaram had to carry a

knife now. At night the mad would stand outside my yard and cry about how he was my God-sent protector. We lived in a poor section of town, at the end of the street, right next to a gully. Of course there was no phone. I went to the police but they claimed they could not catch him. Finally, the situation grew so tense that I returned to Canada one day on the spur of the moment for a few weeks. During this period the mad attacked several people physically and finally the police jailed him. When I returned I did not see him again. In this incident the problem of my status as a white woman had come to consciousness and was dealt with openly.

In this chapter we have described the fieldwork methodology used in this project and the kinds of problems involved in its application. In the course of this discussion we introduced the reader to several key concepts used by the Rastafarians which were discovered by the author in the course of initiation into the movement. Other guiding themes will become apparent in the course of this thesis.

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. A spliff is a conical-shaped cigarette of herbs, several inches long, and half an inch or so wide at its largest point.
2. This event has been discussed in our account of Rastafarian history in chapter two. A Rastafarian rural settlement consisting mainly of Dreadlocks was disbanded by the State.
3. The phrases or expressions which are underlined in the following discussion are terms which are in general use across the face of the movement.
4. A groundnation or ground-the-nation or grounation is a special Rastafarian celebration in which brethren gather to feast and reason, sometimes for several days. Also called Assembly.
5. See Charles Tart, 1972, for a theoretical discussion of state-specific science.

Chapter Five

Herbs and the Chalice : Cannabis Use in Jamaica

In this chapter we want to examine the patterns of cannabis use in Jamaica. There cannabis is widely used by certain segments of the population other than Rastafarians. We intend to show how the Rastafarian use of cannabis differs from that of other cannabis-using groups. The brethren have developed an elaborate ritual and symbolic complex around their use of this substance in such a way as to encourage reasoning. Reasoning itself bears directly on a problem which is central to our thesis; namely, the relationship between the official and directing levels of ideology. Thus an understanding of behaviour surrounding the actual use of cannabis by the brethren enables us to appreciate the context in which reasoning takes place. However, first we want to determine the range of effects of cannabis as a psychotropic substance by reviewing some of the general literature concerning its psychiatric and psychological status. We shall leave to the following chapter a discussion of the subjective - mystical dimensions of cannabis use.

In his book, Marijuana and Social Evolution, Joel Hochman, a well known American worker in this field, argues that the two most powerful impacts on man in the 20th century have been atomic energy and psychedelic drugs, which includes cannabis (Hochman, 1972). While it may be true that more people in the 20th century, particularly the 1960's, have experienced the effects of psychedelic drugs, cannabis at least has been known to man since the beginning of recorded history. It appears that cannabis originated in Central Asia and spread thence to the rest of the world. It can grow wild or in cultivated form, and among its many uses, a major one is the production of hemp for fibre. However, it is best known for its resin. This substance produces minor physiological effects (Ginspoon, 1969; Kalant, 1968 : 3 - 4; Weil et al., 1968; Weil, 1969) while permitting a wide variety of psychological effects, ranging from subjective accounts of no effects at all to descriptions of mental states such as those described for the more powerful psychedelics (McGlothlin, 1968; Tart, 1969 : 335 - 355). There are other aspects of cannabis which bear upon this study :

1. The most extensive research on cannabis has been conducted in North American and India. There is certainly enough evidence to indicate that apart from minor physiological responses, there is no invariable linkage between it and behavioural response. In fact, the contrary seems to be the case. There are numerous reports to indicate conflicting use of cannabis in different cultures. North Americans claim it stimulates the appetite, for example, while Muslim and Hindu priests claim it facilitates fasting.
2. Physiologically its use in non-addictive (Bruin Forum, 1967; Kalant and Kalant, 1967; LaGuardia, 1944; Murphy, 1963; Silver et al., 1933; Tart, 1969; Wolsenholme et al., 1965; Walton, 1938).
3. It is generally agreed that its use does not cause psychoses de novo, although it may precipitate a psychotic-like state in severely disturbed individuals (Allentuck and Bowman, 1942; Bruin Forum, 1967; LaGuardia, 1944; Murphy, 1963; Silver, 1933; Watt, 1965, Walton, 1938).
4. It is also generally agreed that cannabis does not lead to the use of opiates unless the individual in question is influenced by environmental factors such as a criminal subculture (Ball et al., 1968; Garey, 1968; Chein et al., 1964; Garattini, 1965; Klein and Phillips, 1968; LaGuardia, 1944; Pearlman, 1968).
5. The major controversy seems to concern the possibility that severe cannabis dependencies of a psychological type may result from chronic use over time. The evidence of this is drawn from studies conducted in heavily urbanized areas of Africa. These studies were conducted for the most part by medical personnel and are heavily problem-oriented, emphasizing cases of excessive use (Asuni, 1964; Benabud, 1957; Boroffka, 1966; Bouquet, 1950 and 1951; Soueif, 1967; Watt, 1961). The only conclusion that can be safely drawn is that under conditions of cultural deprivation, chronic unemployment, or severe rural/urban dislocation, the use of cannabis could become psychologically addictive leading to apathy, malnutrition, emotional disorders, and further dislocation.

In a lengthy review of the cannabis literature, Oriana Kalant has revealed that, despite its prolonged use by man, there exist relatively few sources, perhaps 2,000. Compare this to the available literature

on alcohol which has been known to man for as long - 11,847 sources at the end of 1966 (Kalant, 1968 : 3). Kalant concludes that there is scholarly consensus that the effects of cannabis depend mainly upon the preexisting mental state of the user and the setting in which it is used. She stresses that there is really no direct evidence that cannabis use per se causes violence, sexual arousal, or anti-social behaviour. These are the conclusions more or less confirmed by both the Le Dain Commission of Inquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs (1972), and the National Commission of Marijuana and Drug Abuse, U.S. (1967). Let it be noted here that we are referring only to cannabis use, and not to multiple drug and alcohol use, which may involve cannabis as well.

What exactly is the nature of the subjective experience produced by cannabis such that man is willing to tolerate persecution and risk imprisonment in order to use it? And why is it that alcohol, so obviously a dangerous and harmful chemical, is universally tolerated, while cannabis, a substance whose harmful effects are much more difficult to isolate, is almost everywhere illegal? There appears to be much more at stake here than merely the issue of the physical well-being of the general public. It would be wise to bear these questions in mind with respect to the situation in Jamaica, where the use of ganja, although a widespread cultural phenomenon, incurs very strict legal penalties, by North American standards, although the use of alcohol, also a widespread cultural phenomenon, goes unchecked, even in terms of public health education.

In fact, there may be something intrinsic to the nature of the subjective effects of each substance that can map very well onto current ideological struggles taking place in many societies. Hochman has noted this in his book, and suggests that the use of cannabis has played a large role in polarizing segments of American society (1972 : vii-viii). Research into the immediate subjective effects of cannabis (as opposed to those effects reported sometime after ingestion) has been difficult to conduct for legal, moral, and ethical reasons. For the same reason, it has been difficult to monitor long-term chronic users. Finally, there remains the possible methodological bias on the part of the researcher who has never experienced the effects of cannabis, and in whose language the subject must communicate, and not vice versa. Recently,

however, there has been a growing interest in minimizing some of these problems, with the result that a small but competent literature on the subjective effects of cannabis is gradually emerging. Miles et al. have summarized some of the problems noted above :

When the drug in question is illicit, of variable quality, associated with a particular lifestyle and frequently used in conjunction with other drugs. the administrative, legal, and ethical problems become almost insurmountable. It is not surprising ... that few investigators have confronted these problems (Miles et al., 1974 : 2 - 3).

Erich Goode has questioned the general thrust of the cannabis research. In an article entitled Marijuana and the Politics of Reality (1969), he contends that the public cannabis controversy is primarily a political rather than a scientific one, that the debate reflects predominantly moral and ideological interests. Goode uses a model derived from Berger and Luckman's The Social Construction of Reality (1966) in discussing the manner in which different peoples and societies " validate reality " (Goode, 1969 : 83 - 85). He concludes that what is really at stake is the validity of two world views, an institutional one which is anti-cannabis by nature, and a counter-cultural one composed of cannabis supporters. As a result, he feels the debate is unlikely to be solved in the near future.

If alcohol were the stimulant in question, we could assume a shared understanding concerning the special character of intoxication. Probably the majority of people interested in its effects have experienced the impairment of motor coordination and the lessening of super-ego controls entailed by its consumption. But as yet we can be less confident that there exists shared understanding as to the subjective effects of the cannabis high, especially regarding persistent use of highly potent strains such as one finds commonly consumed in Jamaica. How much less subjective agreement there is is likely to be when one is dealing with the use of cannabis in different cultural settings. In contrast, the cross cultural effects of alcohol have been plentifully documented (Popham and Yawney, 1967). People smoke ganja to get high, yet the professional literature on cannabis has not come to terms with its cognitive implications. Apart from personal memoirs, there are only a few accounts which deal with its effects in a more generalized framework (Tart, 1969, and 1971 ; 335 - 355; Weil, 1973 : 73 - 97). Both of Tart's works categorize the effects

of cannabis and limit the discussion to the functioning of the psychological mechanisms within the individual. No attempt is made to assess the social and cultural implications of these effects when experienced across a section of the population, such as Einhorn (1970) and Aaronson and Osmond (1970 : 461 - 678) have done for LSD. Hochman has attempted to do just this in his book, Marijuana and Social Evolution (1972) although his analysis is not very far-reaching or dramatic because he tends to concentrate on typical middle-class cannabis users, who are not radically innovative. He largely ignores its use by those more in the avant-garde of the society such as artists and others who employ it for highly creative purposes. Tart was concerned enough about the limitations of his research that he subsequently attempted to develop a new methodology to investigate the subjective experience of altered states of consciousness, whether they are caused by cannabis or not. He refers to this as " state specific science " (Tart, 1972), and in this article he attempts to work out a model that would allow the researcher to both experience the state in question and yet to be as objective as possible about it.

Weil's account of cannabis use is quite in contrast to Tart's (Weil, 1973). Weil is well known for having conducted one of the first experiments in the United States to give cannabis to non-users in a laboratory setting. He observed that regular users of cannabis, unlike naive users, did not show the same degree of impairment on tests, and in many cases showed no impairment or performed even better (Weil, Zinberg, and Nelson, 1968 : 1234). Weil very frankly describes his own subjective experiences and observations on them. He uses the concept of " pharmacological noise " to distinguish the effects of cannabis from those of alcohol - the latter being very high in its physiological distraction properties (Weil, 1973 : 84 - 85). The thrust of his research suggests above all that one must learn to " notice " the effects of cannabis, and that the setting is very important in conditioning the results. His personal remarks represent a departure from most works, and also contrast with the kinds of observations he made when using laboratory subjects. Researchers who use such subjects tend to emphasize the effects of cannabis on several isolated factors and not the overall gestalt. A recent example of this is the long term cannabis use project conducted

by the Ontario Addiction Research Foundation (Miles et al., 1974) in which individuals living-in for three months were allowed to smoke cannabis while their reactions, particularly their work output, were observed. The limitations of this kind of setting are readily apparent, in that it hardly approximates a real life situation.

If reasons must be sought for this apparent hiatus in the literature on the subjective effects of cannabis, we might point out that cognitive studies themselves are a recent thrust in social science. But more to the point, the problem orientation of the research community plus its insistence upon quantification procedures have seriously impoverished the data. An individual's use of cannabis, which is so often cyclical and periodic in nature, at least in North America, can evolve and mature over time, a fact that Howard Becker noted as early as 1967. Moreover, these two aspects of cannabis use cannot be easily researched in epidemiological studies. The scientific approach to the concept of the high finds its origin in a system of nomenclature not very well suited to its investigation. It would defeat the purpose of study, for instance, to consider the high a form of psychopathology, or to reduce cannabis to the level of an effect-specific chemical. By assuming the impairment of psychological functioning, the researcher will tend to treat the effects of cannabis as predictable, in the sense that the effects of alcohol, ether, tranquilizers, or other stimulants follow a typical curve in which the physiological properties of the drug generally override other considerations at a given point. But the literature on cannabis recognizes that its effects are subject to a high degree of volitional control. Where volitional control is absent, there is an enhanced susceptibility to ambient influences. Hence the importance laid on setting. One critical difference between the use of ganja and alcohol is the fact that with cannabis a period of training takes place in which volitional control is gradually acquired. Charles Tart's comprehensive study of the subjective effects of cannabis use clearly indicates the diversity of contradictory experiences achieved (Tart, 1971).

Cannabis Use In Jamaica

In this thesis we use the term ganja to refer to the cannabis smoked in a secular context, while herbs is employed when cannabis is

consumed ritually for non-secular purposes. In considering the use of cannabis in Jamaica, it is perhaps useful to put into parenthesis notions derived from personal experience in North American cannabis-using circles, as well as information gleaned exclusively from North American sources about its popular use. The social situation in Jamaica regarding cannabis use is radically different, as is the quality of cannabis that one can obtain there. In Jamaica, the use of cannabis, though illegal, is a widespread cultural phenomenon, and the quality and amount of cannabis consumed at any one time are both very high by international standards.

Traditionally, the stimulant associated with the Caribbean has been rum, the by-product of the sugar industry there. Rum, its use and abuse, its central role in plantation life, among both Africans and East Indians, is a well-known historical fact. Yet until the late 1960's there were no systematic studies of the subject and its relationship to other aspects of West Indian society (Beaubrun, 1968; Yawney, 1968). Moreover, in all of the Caribbean, Jamaica probably has the best developed cannabis trade, yet it is surprisingly under-researched as well. It was only in the early 1970's, with international interest aroused over cannabis, that several projects were initiated there. Jamaica, because of its high rates of use of both cannabis and alcohol, provides an interesting research laboratory.

The only significant piece of research on cannabis use in Jamaica prior to the period discussed above is a brief pamphlet by W.L. Barnett published in 1951. In addition to outlining procedures for the chemical detection of cannabis, Barnett notes that the rate of prosecution for using this illegal substance has risen significantly, year by year since 1923. There is no mention of the characteristics of probable users but several photographs of typical smoking pipes are included.

The next kind of literature we have dealing with cannabis use in Jamaica consists of writings by psychiatrists concerned about the possible link between cannabis and psychotic episodes. One of the earliest papers, apparently published around 1968 and available through the Department of Psychiatry, U.W.I., Kingston, is by Dr. D.J. Spencer on " Cannabis Induced Psychosis ". It concerns cannabis use in Nassau but was considered applicable to the general West Indian situation, as it described the kinds of symptoms a doctor might be called upon to treat. The psychotic pattern

which manifested itself was distinct from other kinds of patterns and Spencer concluded at the time that it was specific to cannabis poisoning, which precipitated a type of mental illness, with long-term effects, in patients already predisposed to mental problems. He noted that most people who use the substance suffer no ill-effects whatsoever.

The next source we have is a paper by Dr. J. Marriott, probably written around the end of the 1960's and available through the Department of Psychiatry, U.W.I., Kingston, entitled " Ganja Use ". Again it is based on data obtained from patients who have had ganja-related illnesses. Marriott, too, argues that ganja use can precipitate psychosis in a chronically disturbed individual, though he would not commit himself on whether or not this was a special pattern peculiar to cannabis. His remarks on the Rastafarian use of cannabis concern us more. Marriott writes :

The next group of ganja users is that of the Rastafarians who are by far the heaviest users. The Rastafarians are a special quasi-religious, quasi-eccentric group of negroes and near-negroes who believe that their destiny is to return to their land of racial origin, Africa, but somehow their ideas have become distorted

My own belief is that this group contains many pre-psychotic and psychotic people, in addition to those with personality disorders and many adolescents who have a crisis of identity, feeling that there is little for them in Jamaica (Marriott, 1968 ? : 4 - 5).

This approach is typical of the kind of psychological projection of individual characteristics onto entire social groups that we discussed above in our review of the literature on Rastafarianism. Later in 1972 Marriott co-authored a paper with Prince and Greenfield on cannabis and alcohol use in Jamaica (Prince et al., 1972) in which they were careful to avoid similar interpretations of the Rastafarian movement. Undoubtedly the controversy surrounding Prince's earlier work was an influence in this regard. (See above page sixty-six.) Based on a study of a hospitalized male population of mentally disturbed individuals, the study concluded that when the Rastafarian informants were removed from the group, it was clear that poor people would prefer to use alcohol instead of ganja, but economic considerations being primary, they are forced to use ganja. Rastafarians, on the other hand, use cannabis for religious purposes and thus all were motivated to continue its use. It is interesting to note that despite the fact that Jamaica is a heavy producer of rum, ganja is still far cheaper than alcohol. The study also concluded that, in their opinion, ganja was not an important cause of mental hospitalization.

Michael Beaubrun, the head of the Department of Psychiatry at the U.W.I. in Jamaica during the late 1960's and early 1970's, has written a series of papers on cannabis and alcohol use. His approach is generally nonalarmist, arguing that the only drugs in widespread use in Jamaica are alcohol and cannabis, but that serious abuses are related only to alcohol (Beaubrun, 1971a : 4). Elsewhere Beaubrun reported that while alcoholism is a major problem in Jamaica, Jamaica still has a lower rate of alcoholism than the Bahamas, Aruba, U.S. Virgin Islands, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Guyana, Trinidad, Puerto Rico, Antigua, and Barbados (ranging from high to low in that order) (Beaubrun, 1971b : 4). In Jamaica a significant percentage of the alcoholism-prone population use cannabis instead. Moreover, Beaubrun argues that cultural expectations may have the greatest influence on whether or not this use of cannabis will become a problem (Beaubrun, 1971b : 7). In the meantime, the whole issue of a special pattern of cannabis-caused psychosis peculiar to Jamaica, and possibly the West Indies, continues to be debated (Knight and Harding, 1973).

It appears that ganja was first brought to the island by indentured East Indian labourers after Emancipation. The term ganja itself is an East Indian word.¹ The uses to which ganja is put in Jamaica - as tea, as medicine, as tonic, as an aid to meditation, as a relaxant, as an energizer - also closely approximates Indian usage, as described in the Indian Hemp Commission Report and the work of the Chopras (Chopra and Chopra, 1957). A comprehensive study of cannabis use in Jamaica sponsored by the National Institute of Mental Health, United States, reports that :

Given the extent of non-smoking uses, one could estimate with considerable confidence that some 60 to 70 percent of the lower section of the rural population, men, women, and children, inhale, ingest, or use ganja in some form - undoubtedly one of the highest rates of marijuana use for any population in the Western world (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 38).

The N.I.M.H. report gives no figures for the incidence of cannabis use in the urban areas, although in another publication Rubin observes that its use there is fairly high (Rubin, 1974 : 8). I myself would estimate that at least half of the urban lower class use cannabis in some form. Nevertheless, despite this generalized use of cannabis, the penalties during the time this research was conducted were quite stiff. Since then,

they have been somewhat eased, as a result of internal pressure largely supported by the N.I.M.H. report, all of which was published serially in the leading local newspaper, the Daily Gleaner, as part of the campaign to change the laws. The N.I.M.H. report contains an excellent section on the history of ganja legislation in Jamaica, and the issues which surround it. These are the mandatory penalties for cultivation and possession :

1. Any person who is guilty of the offence of cultivating or selling or otherwise dealing in ganja shall on a first conviction be imprisoned with hard labour for a term not less than five years and not exceeding seven years, and on a second or subsequent conviction for such offence be imprisoned with hard labour for a term not less than seven years and not exceeding ten years.
2. Every person who is guilty of the offence of being in possession of ganja shall, on summary conviction before a Resident Magistrate, in the case of a first conviction for such offence, be imprisoned with hard labour for a term not less than eighteen months and not exceeding three years, and in the case of a second or subsequent conviction for such offence, be imprisoned with hard labour for a term not less than three years and not exceeding five years (Dangerous Drugs Laws Amendment Act, 1964, page 3).

This was the most recent amendment to the Dangerous Drugs Law of 1941, which, for the first time in Jamaican law, incorporated the principle of mandatory imprisonment (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 24). Six months after the N.I.M.H. report was submitted, the government amended the Dangerous Drugs Law again, by repealing the mandatory sentences for cannabis use and possession. 242 prisoners in jail on first offences and less serious charges than trafficking were released (Daily Gleaner, Aug. 7, 1972). This is not to be interpreted as a sign of a general tolerance towards cannabis use. Several Rastafarians have told me that they interpret this act as a " truce " offered by the Manley government, in order to curry favour with some segments of the community so it can consolidate its hold in other areas. As a matter of fact, if some pressure has been taken off local consumers, all the more effort appears to be directed at international trafficking in ganja from Jamaica.

The kinds of people held for possession of ganja locally can be seen by a glance at some of the following headlines :

- " Pan Am clerk held for ganja " - Daily Gleaner, July 13, 1971
- " Jamaican seamen jailed for ganja " - Daily Gleaner, July 31, 1971
- " Teacher on ganja charge " - Daily Gleaner, July 15, 1971
- " Cops stop bus, seize ganja - The drivers, two baggagemen and two passengers ... were arrested " - Star, Dec. 1, 1971

- " Two cops held in car with ganja - six men, including two policemen, were arrested ... " - Star, July 2, 1971
- " 70 year old charged for ganja " - Daily Gleaner, Aug. 8, 1971
- " Father, son on ganja charges " - Daily Gleaner, Dec. 3, 1971
- " Man, boy 14, on ganja charge " - Star, Feb. 27, 1971
- " Man, 'wife', fined for chillum pipes " - Daily Gleaner, Oct. 28, 1970
- " Big ganja haul as cops nab 5 - ... civil servant, a high school student, a taxi driver, and three other persons ... " - Star, Dec. 9, 1971

Now, let us examine the variations in sentences for ganja offences, particularly the mandatory sentences of eighteen months applied to the possession of very small amounts :

- " 18 months for having ganja in trouser pocket ":- Daily Gleaner, 27, 1971
- " Had ganja under pillow, gets 20 months " - Daily Gleaner, Nov. 11, 1970
- " Gets 18 months for 18 bags ganja " - Star, Oct. 20, 1970
- " Jailed three years on ganja charge - ... pleads guilty to a charge of being in possession of ganja and was given the mandatory sentence of three years hard labour. The magistrate in sentencing said : 'You have admitted two previous convictions for the offence hence there is nothing I can do for you. The law is that you having been convicted twice before you can be sentenced to three or five years at my discretion. You are thus sentenced.' " - Daily Gleaner, Jan. 28, 1971

Every day the paper has similar accounts. The penalties for cultivating are even harsher - yet cultivating ganja is a supplemental cash income for many rural farmers in Jamaica. The following is taken from the N.I.M.H. report :

Unlike food crops which must be sold immediately after harvesting, ganja can be stored and parcelled for sale a little at a time, thereby extending the flow of cash over a long period. Again, unlike food crops, the market for ganja is remarkably stable with regional prices rarely fluctuating to any marked degree. For poor households then, the cultivator of ganja can provide a small but steady source of income and a consequential supplement to the household economy (Daily Gleaner, June 23, 1972).

The article the next day goes on to show that :

In short, the distribution of ganja can be characterized as a small, albeit, illegal business, actively engaged in by a relatively larger number of occasional and part time vendors. Given the occupational patterns found in rural Jamaica, ganja selling can be considered in the abstract as another supplementary economic enterprise available to the poor individual. There is not evidence to suggest that there is any centralized local, regional or island wide distribution network that operates within the community (Daily Gleaner, June 24, 1972).

There are two growing seasons a year for cannabis, April to August and June to November, and during each period near the time when the crop is ready, the anti-cannabis campaign reaches a peak :

" Major ganja raid; seven in custody " - Daily Gleaner, Nov. 30, 1970

" 6 acres of ganja destroyed " - Daily Gleaner, July 28, 1971

" Cops destroy 20,000 ganja plants " - Star, Oct. 26, 1970

" Dawn raid on ganja cultivation " - Star, June 19, 1971

" Nine fields of ganja destroyed " - Daily Gleaner, May 15, 1971

" 17 fields, nurseries destroyed " - Star, March 3, 1970

" 2,000 ganja seedlings destroyed " - Star, Feb. 20, 1970

" 30 acres of ganja destroyed " - Daily Gleaner, Sept. 14, 1971

The N.I.H.M. report, although it focussed primarily on ganja use in the rural areas, concluded that the use of ganja forms a cultural complex that " lends itself readily to institutional description and analysis " (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 36). They claim that it supports working-class culture by serving a number of essentially pragmatic functions, among which are motivations to work, fortifying health, keeping consciousness, maintaining peer group relations, and enhancing religious contemplation (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 166). They regard the ganja complex as permeating all aspects of working-class social structure :

In Jamaica, ganja use is integrally linked to ... cultivation, cash crops, marketing, economics; consumer-cultivator-dealer networks; interclass relationships and processes of avoidance or cooperation; parent-child, peer, and mate relationships; folk medicine; folk religious doctrines; obeah and gossip sanctions; personality and culture; interclass stereotypes; legal and church sanctions; perceived requisites of behavioural changes for social mobility; and adaptive strategies (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 161).

Rubin and Comitas deny that the working class seeks psychedelic effects through ganja use (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 161). In their estimation, it functions instead to make the current state of affairs supportable. In other words, the realities of working-class life have succeeded in routinizing whatever situationally transcendent properties cannabis may have. This is especially surprising in light of the quality of the Jamaican strain of cannabis, and sheds some light on the role of cultural expectations in perceiving the effects of cannabis. Rastafarian and working-class use diverge significantly in this regard.

The American Drug Commission estimates the tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) content (the psycho-active ingredient) of Jamaican ganja to be

4% to 10% (Shafer, 1972 : 61). Canada's Le Dain Commission indicates that some Jamaican samples have THC values assayed above 10% (Le Dain, 1972 : 31). The N.I.M.H.'s Jamaica study reports values ranging from 0.7% to 19.2% with a mean of 2.96% (Rubin, 1974 : 9). The study by Rubin and Comitas was the first effort to analyze THC values of cannabis currently being used in a given population. All other reports are based on samples confiscated by law enforcement officials and little is known about origin, date of harvesting, etc. The Rubin and Comitas samples were obtained from twenty-nine subjects of a clinical investigation, over a period of time. Nothing other than THC content is reported. Thus, having obtained a cannabis import permit for research purposes from the Canadian government, we conducted a more general sampling of cannabis in current use, with the end of collecting data on cultivation methods, classification by type, curing styles, etc. Laboratory analysis was carried out by the Addiction Research Foundation in Toronto.²

While the technical details of this research are reported elsewhere (Marshman, Popham, and Yawney, 1976) we wish to comment briefly upon our findings. The thirty-six samples analyzed were obtained from rural cultivators and urban dealers. Locally they were classified as being of high quality (cully or kali), medium quality (average weed), or low quality (bush weed). We also had some samples of so-called " green ganja ", considered good for tea only. We also noted whether the cannabis was grown with organic or inorganic fertilizer. Rastafarians use organic or natural fertilizer, complaining that chemicals give herbs a bad taste and arguing that natural herbs gives one a better high. Here are our findings:

The THC concentration ranged from little more than a trace to almost 8.05%. However, the distribution is positively skewed and concentrations of 4.0% or more were comparatively rare (6 out of 36). The mean of the distribution is 2.8%, the median is 2.3%, and the mode below 2.0%. These results agree very well with those of Rubin and Comitas (1975, App. 3)

The seasonal difference in sampling is clearly reflected in the THC concentrations. Over-all, the spring samples were nearly two-and-a-half times as potent as those obtained in mid-summer. And some of the within season variation would appear to be attributable to the type of fertilizer used : the use of organic fertilizers is associated with a somewhat higher median THC content in both months

Finally, it is evident that local judgements of quality differentiated samples quite accurately as to THC content, although certainly not with infallible success (Marshman, Popham, and Yawney, 1976 : 65 - 66).

We might note here that the cannabis grown with organic fertilizers, with its higher THC content, was generally obtained from Rastafarian sources. The overall THC concentrations are significantly higher than cannabis samples from North America. The Shafer Commission estimates average street cannabis in the United States to be less than 1% THC (Shafer, 1972 : 60), while Le Dain suggests that half that figure might be more accurate for Canada (Le Dain, 1972 : 40). If we assume THC to be the sole active component, we can conclude that some strains of Jamaican cannabis are two to three times more potent than their North American counterpart. However, we have a problem when we try to estimate the amount of THC actually ingested by the smoker. In Jamaica, the amount of cannabis consumed at any one time by one individual is considerably higher than in North America. However, Jamaicans (Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike) do not make a point of holding their breath with the smoke in their lungs for a long period of time, though they inhale more cannabis smoke. We do not know how this would ultimately affect the amount of THC ingested. Secondly, Jamaicans, unlike North Americans, generally add tobacco to their cannabis. (Mikuriya, 1970 reports the addition of tobacco to cannabis is common in Morocco.) We do not know how the nicotine reaction would alter the cannabis reaction. On the other hand, among the Rastafarians, pipes to be smoked with the specific intention of seeking a spiritual experience may be prepared without the addition of tobacco. At any rate we are safe in assuming that Jamaican cannabis has the potential to produce consciousness-altering experiences which can be psychedelic in nature. Moreover, Jamaican cannabis is free from the kinds of chemical contaminations found so frequently in cannabis available commercially in North America. Here poor quality cannabis may be sprayed or otherwise altered with chemicals in an effort to heighten its effect.

Ganja consumption may be prolonged and intensive among both working-class users and the Rastafarians. One of the great services rendered by the N.I.M.H. report was to show that there were no significant differences in performance standards or physiology between a population of chronic users which included Rastafarians, and a control group of non-users (Beaubrun and Knight, 1971 : 8 - 9). The N.I.M.H. study probably has done much to demonstrate to Jamaicans that many others besides Rastafarians

use ganja. All these studies have also contributed a great deal to public knowledge about the lack of association between the use of ganja, and violence and insanity. Nevertheless, on the part of many Jamaicans these attitudes still persist, nor is the situation alleviated by the manner in which the media sometimes present things. For example, the newspapers are continually describing situations in which both guns and ganja are found in association. Many of my own informants claim that international ganja trading is the major way in which a subculture of Jamaicans obtain guns : ganja for guns. This has certainly been a concern of the present government and in addition to the crackdown on smuggling ganja out of the country it has passed some rather severe anti-crime legislation (with the advice of professionals from the U.W.I.) including the establishment of a " Gun Court " [sic] and imprisonment without trial if found in the possession of or in association with weapons. On a recent visit to Jamaica, many Rastafarians told me of their belief that the special gun court facilities and detention centre were a de facto concentration camp, and they felt that a " Ganja Court " would soon follow. During the time of my field work the newspapers were in the habit of publishing daily law briefs concerning crime, violence and ganja offences. Following are some examples of newspaper items concerning the above :

- " Guns, ganja seized; men held in raids " - Star, May 3, 1970
- " 5 men held in raids -The charges included shopbreaking, rape, shooting with intent, and being in possession of ganja. " - Star, March 6, 1970
- " Gun traffic tie-in with ganja trade " - Daily Gleaner, Oct. 24, 1971
- " 18 held in ganja raid, chargedThose held have been arrested and charged with various offences, including possession of ganja, smoking of ganja, and being suspected persons. " - Daily Gleaner, April 21, 1971 (Emphasis added)
- " 50 held in ganja raidAmong the men held are several wanted for questioning in connection with offences including murder, armed robbery and shooting with intent. They are to go on identification parades later this week. The raids were made in the Trench Town, Denham Town, and surrounding areas and are part of the cleanup drive launched by the police in West Kingston. " - Daily Gleaner, April 23, 1971

The last example is particularly interesting since it describes something of the police tactics used in certain slum areas where large numbers of Rastafarians also happen to live. Areas of a community are sealed off and

then the majority of the adult males are arrested and detained, sometimes for several hours without charges. Frequently, Rastafarians are also taken into custody and used in the line-ups. At such times the police and soldiers may even bivouac in the community. The upshot of such propaganda is that some sections of the community call for more repressive measures to control activities against other, more poorly organized sections. Of course, attention is directed away from the underlying cause of such problems, namely unemployment and underemployment resulting from underdevelopment in a colonial situation.

Scientific conclusions to the contrary, ganja use is still regarded with much ambivalence in Jamaica. The popular press carries on a fairly vigorous campaign against its use, and almost every week one sees headlines like the following :

" Is ganja a sex stimulant? " - Star, July 19, 1972

" Ganja users risk brain damage " - Daily Gleaner, Dec. 4, 1971

" Ganja Danger " - Star, April 24, 1971

" Control a Maddening Problem " - Star, March 25, 1970

The publication of the N.I.M.H. report may have tempered some of these sensational and irresponsible articles. However, it is hardly likely to alleviate the growing concern with drug abuse in the Caribbean in general. There is a real fear of both hippies and the contaminants they bring. In May of 1971 the Montego Bay Kiwanis Club, concerned with its clean tourist image sponsored a " Drug Alert " Programme, the highlight of which was a luncheon at which the then Minister of Health who was also the M.P. from Montego Bay, was presented with two alleged capsules of LSD purchased locally. After a series of articles on the gravity of this problem, it turned out that the capsules were not LSD after all. There were charges of " scare tactics " levelled at this programme and the result was an ensuing controversy in the press. The debate is most often couched in terms of ganja vs alcohol - see for example " Ganja or Alcohol " (Cooyah, 2 : 1970), or the series of columns by Thomas Wright in the Daily Gleaner, dated April 14, 1971, and May 5 and May 7, 1971.

The purpose of the preceding two sections has been to summarize the international scientific literature on cannabis with the intention of showing that despite its highly negative image in most societies, it is alone not responsible for crime, violence, insanity or any other severe

behavioural disorders. Moreover, physiologically speaking, its use is far less dangerous than alcohol, another psychotropic substance in wide use. Because of its peculiar properties cannabis is a substance highly susceptible to cultural conditioning - the user must learn how to integrate it, and to produce the many effects that are culturally valued. In the Jamaican situation, where cannabis of excellent quality is readily available, its use is highly valued by the Rastafarians for its ability to produce visionary experiences. This has made their movement more than simply a ganja-smoking subculture or a network of drug-dependent casualties. They have developed a symbolism, a lifestyle, and an ideology which are in contradistinction to the status quo. For this reason, they will have to be approached on their own terms.

The Rastafarian Use of Cannabis

A kitchen garden in Jamaica doesn't look much like its North American counterpart. For one thing, you do not find things arranged in tidy rows and zoned by species. The shade trees, the greens, the root crops - all seem to be growing together haphazardly, as if wild. Also, many of the plants are unfamiliar. Over there, for instance, sheltered amidst a cluster of shrubs, is a bush about four feet tall, with languorous fountain-like boughs. You ask the cultivator what it is called, and he tells you it is herbs. He says there is herbs for the body and herbs for the mind. He asks : does the woman know the proper use of herbs?

While cannabis may appear to be cultivated almost casually - at least in small amounts - individual growers are sensitive to the fact that severe penalties could result if charged. Efforts are made to be discreet. On the other hand, despite its illegality, cannabis is taken for granted as one element in the daily round. Thus its circulation, while the cause of concern, does not promote outright anxiety and paranoia as in many North American circles.

In Jamaica, there are basically three kinds of ganja : bush weed, seedy bush and kali.³ All types can be procured green, and sometimes they are preferred this way for tea. But for smoking it is definitely mandatory to cure it. In fact, the curing of ganja is considered an art among the Rasta cultivators, and of course, most brethren prefer to buy their weed from one another, for several reasons. In the first place, they refuse to participate in the non-Rasta ganja trade. This is a

business that succeeds by virtue of bribery and corruption, and lends itself to international trading. It is well depicted in the Jamaican film The Harder They Come directed by Perry Ansel. There are large-scale commercial ventures, and in order to produce a mature product as efficiently as possible, chemical fertilizers are used in high amounts, with no attention being paid to curing. The brethren object to ferty herbs (cannabis grown with chemical fertilizers) on the grounds that it is noxious, and its effects are not conducive to inspiration because of the lack of curing and loving care. They charge that some of these herbs are also chemically treated. It is always easy to distinguish chemically fertilized ganja : it is porous, and it bends rather than breaks when one tries to crack a stick. It has a very strong smell and a harsh taste. The brethren on the other hand, use a variety of natural fertilizers : rat bat manure, cow manure, chicken droppings and compost. Naturally-grown herbs leaves a white ash after burning. Some herbs are cured for three months, but we have seen some cured for up to eighteen months. In such cases, small-scale cultivators grew their herbs in remote areas of the backlands, difficult of access except by narrow foot-paths. Sometimes the brethren in the city would go for the herbs themselves, sometimes the country people would bring it in.

Bush weed refers to ganja before it is mature, and therefore seeds are absent. Seedy bush refers to ganja in which the seeds are formed but not yet mature, and therefore there is a noticeable lack of resin. Kali refers to the highest grade available, the mature ganja, in which large amounts of black, nutty seeds are present; kali buds are tightly curled resinous knots, with a high percentage of resin. The brethren say that without seeds herbs are impotent, that one needs the seed of life for inspiration. They refer to Genesis I to support their views. However, the presence of seeds is only an indicator of the quality of the herbs. When the brethren prepare a spliff (a large cone-shaped cannabis cigarette) or a pipe they either remove the seeds, or crush them and burn them. Otherwise the seeds would cause the herbs to burn erratically and to " explode " from time to time. Sometimes the brethren call green cannabis ganja and only kali herbs. When a large amount of weed (another term for ganja sometimes used) arrives in town, special kali buds are always set aside for personal use, while the rest is wrapped out for individual

sale. The private supply of kali is smoked with close brethren, or given to friends as gifts. High grade herbs can be used to facilitate the flow of information. Brother Maskaram, for example, had a reputation for having access to high quality herbs, and when he wanted to get something done, or find something out, he would make a point of obtaining as much as two or three pounds of special kali. At other times he would use kali to effect reconciliation among estranged brethren. This function is of critical importance in a movement which tends to factionalism and petty bickering. The brethren claim that kali promotes peace and love, and that it is very difficult for one to remain angry long.

Within this general classification, the Rastas recognize several different ganja strains : cock's comb, macony, red beard, cotton, shepherd's beard, and others depending upon length of growing season, amount of seeds, and other variables. Herbs is also classified on the basis of its effects. The brethren agree that you can test herbs better in a spliff than in a pipe : " The first draw of real good herbs tingle in every cell of flesh. " On the other hand, there is mad weed. Mad weed has not yet matured - it is weak, has short flattish leaves, and is full of seeds. It resembles bush weed, only it will mash you up (a local term for sickening) : " I didn't even have enough herbs to cover my grity⁴ and it mash me up. " Mad weed has negative mental effects while bush herbs or bumps herbs produces unpleasant physical effects : " It will make you fever, sweat, and feel cold one time; you have to go under a sheet for a day. "

Another kind of herb the brethren consider treacherous is time-piece herbs. Sometimes they call it cotton wool ibs. This herb has no perceivable effect at first and so one smokes a considerable amount. But it has a delayed reaction, and before one realizes it, you black up, man. Black up is the term used to refer to the overpowering effects of ganja. It does not mean a loss of consciousness, but there is a distortion of motor functions. Sometimes one is unable to move; other times one cannot stop moving. It is usually a source of great amusement when someone blacks up, for the brethren say that it means that the herbs has played a little joke and caught one short. There would usually be a lot of blacking up when a new batch of herbs arrived from the country and the brethren were not yet used to it. The first day or two might produce

these results until they learned to adjust themselves rather than go over the top. This is also related to a tolerance that one can develop to a particular kind of herb. In fact, the brethren will periodically, perhaps every two or three days, make a point of getting a different draw in another yard, just to offset the tolerance they had acquired to the herbs they were drawing regularly.

The term most commonly used to refer to the effects of the herbs, though, is charged. Being charged really means energized, vitalized, or activated. One brother described being charged as : " a thousand thoughts at once, then no thoughts; a thousand lights blinking, then no lights. " Another one says that there definitely is a time when one is so charged that one must lie down, close one's eyes, letting one's thoughts spin. Sometimes a timepiece herbs can take effect the next day and suddenly one feels charged and full of energy for no apparent reason.

It is difficult to adequately describe the terms black up and charged. The brethren were constantly pointing out the limitations of the English language claiming that it was too insensitive to express some of their thoughts. They would focus on the terms I used to describe the effects of ganja, and attempt to demonstrate their limitations. They said that even to speak of the effects of herbs showed my lack of understanding. In the beginning I would preface many of my questions with if, and they would say that as soon as they hear the word if they know it is a Babylon conversation. It was better for me not to ask questions, but to discover meanings for myself. All the same, they loved to speak of the proper use of herbs, and always prefaced their remarks with the phrase herbs won't hurt you.

There are a few considerations to keep in mind about the relationship between ganja smoking and the role of diet. These are related to the Rastafarian idea that water on the brain keeps one from thinking, and the purpose of ganja is to irrigate the brain. They say that rice keeps water in the system : " man feel sluggish, tired, heavy, black up more if eat too much rice. " Ganja supposedly cleans the inside of the body, gets rid of the excess water, and is especially helpful in ridding the lungs of mucus - it is considered good to cough and spit a lot when drawing the pipe. Water also dilutes the blood and robs strength from the body. Hence a tabu against eating salt. A good ganja smoking diet

consists of greens, teas, and roots. Roots, as a food, as tea, as tonic are held in high regard - for after all, in the roots is the nourishment of the plant. Ganja smoke in the belly gives one ulcers, so it is good to drink plenty of tea and tonic to prevent this condition. A good strong pipe draw encourages one to sweat and that also eliminates water from the system.

These considerations aside, there are basically two reasons why one would want to smoke. One is to relax, to ease tensions, to feel good, to become peaceful. The other is to know God. This is by far the more important concept among the brethren, for it leads directly to inspiration in the affairs of reasoning and meditation. Nevertheless, it is a controversial issue, for some younger brethren, particularly those coming from the rudie⁵ sector, do not always use it this way. One of the more vocal Dreadlocks brethren, Ras Dizzy, penned a letter to the local paper in which he expressed his view on this problem :

Can you say why people just cannot live in peace anymore?

I listened over the weekend to a conversation between two belonging to different groups. One Rasta was trying to isolate one of the most relevant and important doctrines of the Rastafari cult and its movement and church.

This individual Rasta, who walked completely out of the true Rasta's doctrine and their faith in the true divinity of God, was saying to the other brethren that " herbs " which Babylon calls " ganja " was not used by Rastas as the Holy Sacrament of God. He said : " man just smoke it or don't. "

Now, the other Rasta, who understood properly His Master's faith, told his brother the true religious conceptions concerning the Rastafarian and herbs.

At this stage of the game then, I should make it known that a " ganja man " does not take herbs as a Divine Honour to God our Creator. All those man who is to put fire on ganja and then smoke. He too, should be given the freedom and rights to do so.

That fact is that it does not make him or her do anything harmful and that they are not prophets nor holy disciples of the Negus. Those sets are " ganja people " and seem to use the " herb " to get comfort and peace of mind from fear and false conflicts and so on. While the pangs of sophistication reach their doors amidst the violence and crime of a city of terror - a good smoke makes them escape the destruction and insecure crowd. Well, there is nothing wrong with that.

All I ask the public to note is that Rastafaria Brethren offer holy thanksgiving, honour, and divine reverence to God

In substitute of bread and wine, the true Rasta offer a sweet and burning cup of sacrifice unto their Creator. This is a Divine conception and cannot be changed ... not even by new groups who seem to be " doing their

own thing " and instead of keeping in line with the Rastafari movement, they break away and do not do God's business nor do they keep in line with the true identifications of the Rastafari movement anymore.

Please don't say that the Rastafari movement does not use herbs for the love, honour, and diving confirmation of the Holy Sacramental Order.

Herbs is the healing of the Nation. The " word is love ", brother, See Genesis First and Psalm 18. You leave Rastafari name alone. See 2nd Peter. (Star, May 25, 1972).

The brethren say that thoughts must come from somewhere : " We call it inspiration, but they really come from God. " The use of herbs opens one's mind to inspiration. They say that herbs is not knowledge in itself, but merely helps one find the key to the lock of understanding, that God choses to reveal himself through herbs. There is a symbolic relationship between the locks on a Dread's head, and the kali bud : locks are sometimes called kali, and kali is sometimes called locks. The brethren argue that if one does not attain full overstanding⁶ from the smoking of herbs, he surely will through the growing of his locks. The growing of the locks represents the final severance of the bond with the traditional society. Whatever else Jamaicans tolerate in the way of differences, they cannot disregard what the locksman claims to represent. The symbolism of the locks, the visible representation of ideas, cannot be ignored. With the growing of the locks one has crossed a social as well as a cognitive boundary. Up to this point it would still be possible to dissimulate the potential conflict of ideas. But by growing locks one generally forfeits the opportunity to obtain decent employment. Occasionally Dreadlocks are hired in responsible positions, but this is the exception rather than the rule. Rastafarians say that Rasta and ganja are twin brothers who know no father and no mother. We take this to mean that they are both rejected - i.e., orphaned - by society.

The brethren argue that it is the duty of man to praise Jah and through the use of herbs one is best able to fulfil this obligation. One has communication with God and this opens the door to inspiration and illumination. God dwells in every man, and through the use of herbs one knows the divine within oneself. Inspiration assists in matters of reasoning. Herbs makes people confront their problems, not escape them. Rastas say that to hear the sounds is the beginning of truth. Do not rush the search for truth or it will overcome one; God will appear when one is ready. Just take one step all the while as in the following chant :

Take one step all the while
Take one step all the while
Don't look back, only rest for a while
Take one step all the while.

They say that : " the Lord does move you through creation; it all comes naturally ." In smoking, one must go with the forces of nature, not fight them. If one is meant to see, herbs will help. But some smoke herbs and never see, while some see although they do not smoke herbs. They say : " those truly called must conscious ." They would always ask me how my search was going, and was I getting through? How much longer would I stay in Rome? They encouraged me to smoke a lot of herbs, and told me not to be afraid if I blacked up : " Just lie down, you always come back. " They say that one needs to deal gently with those meditating, " for they may be so far off in their thoughts that if you call them back quickly, it shock them. Madness comes because one tries to contain the universe in the brain but it can't hold there. "

The preparation of the herbs is a crucial act in the sense that it very much affects the nature of the smoke and the kinds of inspiration one has. It is a highly ritualized act, with each brother having his own personal technique within a kind of standardized procedure. It is not merely a matter of stuffing some ganja down a pipe bowl. On the contrary, the detail surrounding this act is an indication of how seriously the brethren take the prologue to inspiration.

One either smokes a spliff or draws a pipe. We have already noted that spliffs are conical shaped cigars of ganja wrapped in bread bag. Spliffs are built, not rolled. Most brethren smoke both pipe and spliff, and one has to learn the artful combination of the two throughout the day in order to achieve and maintain the desired effects. The majority have a preference for the pipe though. A few brethren are known as spliff men in that they smoke them exclusively. Pipe brothers on the other hand, claim that they definitely need to draw the pipe, they could not satisfy with a spliff like some. They point out that some love the pipe so, they seek after it, while others only smoke it conveniently. Also, they argue that one get headaches from smoking too many spliffs. In general, the spliff is used for meditation when one wants to be alone in one's thoughts, while the pipe is conducive to action and to reasoning, a

collective undertaking. Some brethren smoke a spliff in order to prepare for a pipe draw, while others smoke one afterwards in order to maintain the charge.

Just as some brethren are known for their ability to prepare a good pipe draw, others are recognized for their ability to build a good spliff. A good spliff is one that burns evenly, holds its fire, and does not come undone. In either case, a decision has to be made as to whether or not tobacco will be added. Without tobacco, herbs is called I-tal. (As we have seen, I-tal is a concept central to the movement, meaning pure or organic or natural.) Perhaps only five percent of the brethren I knew were I-tal in that they never mixed tobacco with their herbs. Other brethren say that one adds tobacco to help keep the fire and to cut the bite. I-tal smokes dry and harsh, the throat tickles and feels thick. I-tal herbs in a steam pipe uses up the water very quickly. Despite the fact that they reason together, I-tal brethren only rarely share a pipe with those who use tobacco. Since those who use tobacco dominate the pipe smoking activity in many yards, I-tal brethren tend to smoke spliffs in their presence, and to draw I-tal pipes in their own yards. They object to the nicotine residue on the pipe. Another term for I-tal is maytall. When I expressed a preference for an I-tal pipe one day, a brother said, " Ah, you are taller than I. " Maytall refers to a pipe without tobacco and the possibility that one will get more charged. However, since it burns hot and causes such coughing, most brethren prefer to stay away from it. Still they joke and say, " You're good to add a little salt and go from maytall to fatal "; or " You might smoke a maytall pipe and come close to fatal yourself. " This is a reference to the fact that brethren avoid the use of salt. Here the brethren are joking about the possibility that a good I-tal pipe could have a powerful effect. They recognize the fact that an I-tal pipe is stronger, but most cannot take it. And some brethren smoke both : herbs with tobacco in the daytime for energy, and I-tal pipes at night for reasoning and meditation.

A water pipe is normally used in the group setting. There are of course, several kinds of water pipes that one can use. In all cases the herbs is placed inside a clay, wooden, or tin cuchi or bowl, which in turn is inserted in the base of the pipe that holds the water. It is

attached by means of a piece of bicycle grip that has been glued into a hole in the base. The bottom of the cuchi holds the grity stone, a small piece of nutmeg, stone, or clay, upon which the herbs rests and through which the smoke is drawn. The base of the pipe can be made from horn, coconuts, bamboo, seashells, plastic piping, glass bottles, or any other convenient material. The combination of the organic and the non-organic in the sacred vessel reflects flexibility of attitude as much as economic necessity. A ran or goat horn is most preferred however, and a rich symbolism has developed around it. One draws the smoke through a long rubber hose which has been inserted into the base of the pipe. Near the mouth of the pipe is a small hole through which one can expel the smoke left in the passage by the previous user. This hole must be covered by the thumb while taking a draw.

Rastafarians themselves prefer pipes constructed from natural materials, in particular, ram-goat or cow horn. The bicycle grip, though, is a ubiquitous feature of all pipes, Rasta and non-Rasta. It is interesting to note the the close similarity between Rastafarian water pipes and the water pipes used by native peoples in South Africa where cannabis is called dagga. Watt's article includes photos of horn pipes with bowls attached in a manner similar to Rasta pipes (Watt, 1961), although his descriptive material is very brief. A more recent article by Du Toit is far more detailed (1975). Du Toit describes a form of South African dagga smoking pipe made of horn, with the bowl attached to the pipe by a long reed, sealed into the horn with gum or wax. The smoke is " taken in huge breaths, and exhaled with great coughing and sputtering " (Du Toit, 1975 : 103). Based on his historical research, Du Toit concludes that the water-pipe with clay bowl inserted in horn or gourd is associated with cannabis throughout southern and eastern Africa irrespective of region, socio-economic level, or linguistic group membership (Du Toit, 1975 : 100). The manner in which the gourd is used is very similar to the way in which Rastafarians use coconut shells.

Du Toit and Watt both report on modern adaptations of the more traditional pipes. Du Toit writes that " modern variations on nearly all these types of pipes have appeared, showing great initiative and ways in which elements are substituted " (Du Toit, 1975 : 105). Watts claims this is due to fear of detection (Watt , 1961 : 10), while Du Toit says

it is due to both this fact and the conditions of urban living (Du Toit, 1975 : 106). Both claim that crowded urban conditions, fear of detection, and the extra work involved in using the water-pipes have resulted in greater use of dagga cigarettes or spliffs as they are called in Jamaica. In this regard Du Toit notes that " as the pipe was replaced, so, too, was the calm relaxed atmosphere of use " (Du Toit, 1975 : 106). He offers this comment without further elaboration, since his research is based more on available records and interviews, than participant-observation. The Rastafarians themselves argue that the elaborate preparations involved in the use of the water-pipe serve to calm the mind and prepare the assembly for an extended worship. My own observation confirms that where the pipe is to be used in a collective setting, people must be prepared to spend more time smoking and reasoning, and the social atmosphere is generally calmer and less rushed.

Careful attention is even given to the manner in which one adds water to the pipe or mixes tobacco with the herbs. Although preparation is a highly ritualized act, it seems almost a casual affair given the level of activity in most yards. However, there is a special board reserved for the cutting of the herbs - a suru board, which is somewhat like a bread board. In fact, in the preparation of the herbs, one actually kneads the ganja, adding water and working it up into a tightly packed resinous block in order to slice it finely with a knife. Or one can french cook it, i.e., suru herbs without a knife by breaking it into fine particles with one's fingers. One can only learn by experience and by the feel of the herbs, how much water to add and how fine to suru it. The small sticks and seeds must be removed, or carefully cut up. The herbs must light easily, and burn evenly while keeping the fire.

Only after six months of field work did the brethren actually begin to teach me how to suru herbs, and it took several tries on my part before I could guarantee the right combination. Generally, one surus one quarter to half an ounce of herbs along with one or two cigarettes. Some brethren add the cigarettes in the beginning, others suru them separately and then add them. One also has to learn precisely how much water to put in the base of the pipe. Generally, the pipe is filled with water by the brother suruing the herbs, or by an assistant. A little is poured on the ground to consecrate it, some is added to the herbs on the suru board, and the

remainder is adjusted to the cuchí. The objective is a cool smoke; water added to the herbs and the tobacco facilitate this, but add too much water and the pipe will not light. Occasionally, coconut milk or oil is added to the herbs instead of water.

On one occasion, while one brother was suruing the herbs, another was sitting nearby holding the empty pipe. Another brother asked him if he was going to fill it with water, or "is buck, he want to buck it, and see who can buck harder." The brother laughed and went to fill the pipe with water. This was a reference to the fact that drawing herbs without water burns so hot that it can give you a lick. They frequently speak of the pipe giving one a lick or bucking one. The brethren always caution the children not to play with the knife, or the suru board, and not to trouble the brother preparing the herbs. Some brethren have two or three cuchis in order to facilitate smoking for each time the pipe is burned (finished), the cuchí should be emptied of ash, scraped down, new herbs added and the water in the base of the pipe replaced.

The actual lighting of the pipe and its passage through the assembly may at times be highly formalized, and at other times, very casual. It depends upon the nature of the gathering - whether the smoking is going on during the course of the day, as brethren pass through a yard in their round of activities, or whether a group of close brethren is sitting down together at night to meditate and to reason. In any case there is a set of conventions shared by all brethren and it is closely adhered to, although the occasion may appear to be very informal indeed.

When the pipe is ready it is invariably blessed. Whatever the level of activity, there is a temporary respite as attention turns to the brother giving the blessing. It is generally he who has prepared the herbs, although younger brethren often give it to their elders to light as a gesture of respect. He may ask ; " who will accompany me up? " Brethren doff their tams ; I have even witnessed those who have long precepts or beards tucked up under their chins, unroll them for the occasion. It is not mandatory to remove the tams, and some brethren only do so when they want to emphasize a particular occasion. The blessing sanctifies the offering of incense to Jah, for it occasions the holy sacrament of the Rastafarians, the supping from the cup or chalice of understanding and love. Blessing the pipe is also intended to neutralize

any toxins left in the cup, somewhat akin to the laying on of the hands. The Rastas claim that the secret of much smoking is to bless the pipe, to give God praises, and then one will not become mad! If one is nervous, God will not come. Several examples of pipe blessings follow :

1. Blessed is the man who walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly
Nor standeth in the ways of the sinner
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful
But his delight is in the law of the lord God Jah Rastafari,
Haile Selassie, the Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah,
The Elect of God, the Root of David,
The one light of the world is in the Lord God Jah Rastafari,
Haile Selassie.
2. I worship thee, oh thou good and great Jah
I will bow down mine ears to hear they supplication
For I will be with thee in trouble and forever praises thee
Oh thou good and great God, Selassie I king.
Jah liveth and reigneth forever among all mankind, Selassie I.
3. For whom shall I be afraid?
When the wicked, thine enemies and thy foes, they stumble and fall
My heart shall not fear
Hail Rastafari, king of glory
The whole earth and the whole nation praise thee, oh Selassie
Thou good and great God
Burn the wicked, lightening and thunder
Brimstone and fire shall cast upon the wicked
In the day of wrath when thou speaketh righteousness
Righteousness shall endure forever
Selassie I, Jah Rastafari.
4. Worship the Lord God Selassie I in the beauty of his holiness
Worship the Lord God Selassie I that liveth and reigneth in Mount Zion
For his light endureth through all the earth
His peace walketh in darkness
Therefore ye shall be like a tree that planteth by the rivers of water
That bringeth forth in his due season
All ye shall not wither and whatsoever ye doeth shall prosper
The ungodly are not so
The ungodly are like the men that sank down in a pit
Therefore, their own foot are taken in the net which we have laid
privately for the righteous
Blessed be the Lord God Selassie that reigneth in Israel and reign
all over the earth
Selassie I God Jah Rastafari. Selah.
5. I will praise thee oh Lord God with my whole heart
I will forever speak of they righteousness
Even in the den of Eden will I give praise unto thy holy name
For thy righteousness endureth through all the earth
Therefore thee have men that praise thee and men that speaketh not
of the Lord
For the Lord God of earth dwelleth in the heart of Mount Zion
And they are not thereof.

6. Psalm 121 (or a variation thereof)

I will lift up my head unto the hills whence cometh my help.
 My help cometh from the Lord God almighty, Jah Rastafari, who make
 Zion and Earth.
 He will not suffer thy foot to move. They that keep Jah will never
 stumble.
 Jah is the strength, Jah is our keeper.
 The sun will not smite thee by day nor the moon by night.
 Jah Rastafari almighty God shall preserve I and I going out and
 coming in
 from this time ever till henceforth.

7. Psalm 122 (or a variation thereof)

I was glad when they said unto I, Let I and I go into the house of
 the Lord Jah.
 Our feet shall stand within the gates of Zion.
 Jerusalem is builded as a city whither the tribes of Israel, I and I,
 give up to give testimony unto Jah, Rastafari.
 Pray for the peace of Jerusalem. They shall prosper that love thee.
 Let the words of I mouth and the meditations of I heart be acceptable
 in thy sight, Jah Rastafari.

8. Psalm 87 (or a variation thereof)

His foundation is in the holy mountain
 The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob.
 Glorious things are spoken of thee, oh city of God, selah.
 I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me.
 Behold Philistia and Tyre, with Ethiopia.
 And of Zion it will be said that this and that man was born in her
 and the highest himself shall establish her,
 The Lord shall count when he writeth up the people that this man was
 born there.
 As well the singers as the players of instruments shall be there.
 All my springs are in thee. Selah.

9. Psalm 133 (or a variation thereof)

Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together
 In unity.
 It is like the precious ointment upon the head, that run down upon
 the beard.
 As the dew descent upon the mountain of Zion, for there the Lord
 commands the blessing and life forever more.
 Selah.

The pipe is lit with a torch of burning paper, more often than not the
 very paper in which the herbs ~~was~~ wrapped for sale. This is the kind of
 irony the brethren appreciate, for here the vehicle which brought the
 herbs to its destination is itself consumed. The image of fire is a
 prevalent one, as its dual nature of life-giving and death-dealing is
 recognized. Lighting the pipe symbolizes the very act of creation, because

all the elements are present and interact to transform the mind : earth in the clay cuchi; water in the bowl; fire in the light; and air to make it burn. This dimension of smoking is something the brethren themselves point out.

A more veiled meaning is the allusion to the procreative act. Oblique jokes are occasionally made in this regard - though my presence may well have inhibited references in this respect. However, terms such as rape the chalice and go up on it are part of the standard vocal repertoire. I.M. Lewis has noted that :

Ecstatic communion is thus essentially a mystical union; and, as the Song of Solomon and other mystical poetry so abundantly illustrate, experiences of this kind are frequently described in terms borrowed from erotic love (I.M. Lewis, 1971 : 58).

He goes on to discuss the use of sexual imagery in spirit possession behaviour, where people " mount " spirits or spirits " mount " people, and where the language of the stable, very rich in sexual innuendo, is used. Lewis also describes the use of the concept of mystical marriage in this regard (I.M. Lewis, 1971 : 59 - 60). One will find most Rastafarians speak of their marriage to Jah, the herbs, and their pipe - one or all three. Their so-called " fleshy " marriage, i.e., to a woman, is a secondary concern.

Lighting the pipe is regarded as a privilege by the brethren because the first draw is considered to give a special kind of charge, especially if one is fresh or has not smoked for a few hours. One will often hear refrains of " my light, my light " as the second or third rounds are introduced. After the first round, the brother next in line after the brother who finishes the pipe generally has the privilege of lighting the next one - unless the person who receives the pipe to burn is short-changed. This is a consideration only if there are more herbs on board. This means that another brother has added round to the suru board. In fact, a brother who receives a nearly burned pipe will make a point of asking if more herbs is available. If the answer is positive he may pass the pipe back to the brother who handed it to him, so he can have the opportunity to light the next one. Sometimes petty disputes arise around this issue with other brothers chastising those in argument that they should not vex and pray. This is one of the contradictions about the smoking situation.

While such an occasion is regarded as a holy one, even despite the low price of herbs in Jamaica, it still represents an economic expense for nearly all brethren in this impoverished class. Thus in a sense the sacred substance is in short supply from an economic viewpoint. If there are no more herbs on board, the brother will take the pipe and burn it with great concentration and effort - while another brother might criticize him for being " piggy " about it. Again, a balance between a holy act and economic restrictions has to be achieved.

The pipe is called a chalice or a cup - but it is often called a gun, too, depending upon whether its inspirational or its revolutionary aspects are being emphasized. One wonders what the Rastafarian reaction would be to Du Toit's comment that nowadays empty cartridge cases in South Africa are the most common form of pipe (Du Toit, 1975 : 105) ! In any case, a great deal of symbolism is drawn from the ram-goat horn, which can represent either aggression or affection, depending upon whether ram-goats are playing or fighting. This connection the brethren themselves make explicit.

The pipe is smoked in such a manner that very large amounts of smoke are drawn into the lungs and exhaled immediately through the nose, which is often held in order to control the outflow. Brethren do not hold the smoke in their lungs at all. They say that to know truth the nose must run, that one uses smoke to see through smoke. When the pipe is used in this manner, the smoker is enveloped in clouds so dense that for a moment he seems to have vanished. In a puff. Sometimes in lighting the pipe or, while taking a draw, the herbs catch fire and blaze up in flames. One hears cries of " dread ", " fire ", " burn wicked " and " lightning ", for it is considered a sign of God's presence revealing itself. It also lends significance to whatever was being said or thought at the time. If a cock crows while brethren are reasoning or taking a draw, the same conclusions are drawn. There also negative signs - such as dropping the cuchí and breaking it, or not being able to light the pipe. The brethren look to Revelations for much of their inspiration, and here they find support for their understanding of the role of fire. They say that to know no love is to know hate; without love, destruction will visit the wicked in the form of fire. The only weapon the poor can afford is matches, and in order for man to unite, poor people must first burn down the houses that separate them. Liberation comes in the

form of fire, the fire in the cuchi bowl. It is the fire within that burns out old thoughts and inspires new ones, for when the heart sees its true identity it must burn with fire. Every time the pipe is lit, there is a fresh baptism by fire.

There is a close bond formed among the brethren who come up in the faith together and who continue to smoke together. They speak of baptism - and sometimes when an individual gets on mad, they will say he would not carry on so if he were baptized. During the course of one smoking session, there is also a bond formed among those sharing the pipe. At the very least, one should not leave the group until the pipe is burned. But more to the point, if the brethren are engaged in reasoning, or chanting and playing drums, one should not leave until it is understood by all that it is the proper time. Such understandings are communicated intersubjectively, but occasionally I was reproached for making a move before the others were ready. Sometimes one even received verbal confirmation, like a brother saying " session done " when it was over.

We do not want to convey the impression that all pipe smoking sessions are highly structured, in the sense that the brethren sit in a circle and pass the pipe one to another. This can happen if it is convenient. In general though, the highly structured aspect of this act is the preparation of the herbs, and certain understandings governing the movement of the pipe through the assembly. The assembly, however, may be dispersed, in that some are sitting, some are leaning in the doorway, others are strung out along the fence, another is sitting on the porch stoop, one is lying on newspaper in a corner. It does not matter, all will share in the pipe, and the brother passing it may have to walk a distance to deliver it. Unless it is inconvenient, the pipe is passed to the left - clockwise. There is even a saying - clockwise - to mean " right on, precisely, that's exactly it. " The brethren know who is to receive the pipe next and make certain the right person gets it, even if they have to call him. One will hear the words Look upon Jah, get right again, or come a church, man to call people's attention to the fact that the pipe is being handed to them. Once in a while a brother will cut in on the sequence, if he has to leave for example, and arrest the pipe. Or someone might not want another draw, and simply say I pass. The point is that although the smoking scene might appear random and unstructured to an outsider, it is really a very rich and complex activity.

The composition of the smoking group is another consideration. Although the brethren generally do not exclude anyone from their communion, there are a few restrictions. Firstly, it is a capital sin to offer a pipe to an outsider if one does not know how him stays - whether he eats pork or has Babylon sentiments. One can learn how his heart stays in a matter of seconds, though. Secondly, the brethren like others to settle down before drawing the pipe. If an excited brother comes on⁷ the others will tell him to blow off, to not rush through so, to calm down, draw the pipe, and then deal with his business. Sometimes brethren are explicitly excluded from the yard. I only witnessed this a few times. For example, one day one of Brother Maskaram's close brethren told two others " you did commit a breach " and as such were not really welcome in the yard. They said " beloved " and left. Beloved means " that's all right, we understand, love still, no hard feelings ". This offence supposedly involved carrying a gun. That is the one breach that Rastas will not tolerate, someone bringing a gun into their yards. Occasionally there are minor problems or personality conflicts, and these are handled indirectly by refusing to sell herbs to the person in question.

At the end of the smoking session it is very important to rinse out the pipe, to clean the cuchi and the gritty, and to put both away in the hiding place. The next user will find them ready. From time to time the hiding place is changed to invalidate any information an informer might have. In addition to rinsing the bowl after each use, every now and then it must be scraped and cleaned with boiling water to prevent fever. The care of these communal smoking items is a real source of contention. Whose responsibility is it? The brother who sells the herbs ? Other brethren who live in the yard? Or those who make use of its facilities? The job gets done but not without squabbling sometimes.

To this point we have been discussing the complex of ritual and symbolism that surrounds the Rastafarian use of herbs. We must always bear in mind that while the proper use of herbs is a religious act for the brethren, it is a highly illegal one. Nevertheless the Rastafarians have developed elaborate ideological supports for this central act. The brethren call herbs the wisdom weed and they claim it is the very plant that grew upon Solomon's tomb. They legitimate its use with passages drawn from Holy Scripture, where reference is made to plants,

smoke, fire, herbs and burning bushes. The following verses are frequently quoted :

And God said, let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding after His kind, whose seed is in itself.

And the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after its kind, and the tree yielding fruit, whose seed was in itself, after His kind, and God saw that it was good (Gen. 1 : 11 - 12).

And God said, behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth, and every plant in the garden which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for mean (Gen. 1 : 29).

... and thou shalt eat the herb of the field (Gen. 3 : 18).

... and eat every herb of the land, even all that the hail hath left (Exodus : 10 : 12).

There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured : coals were kindled by it (Psalms 18 : 8).

Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith (Proverbs, 15 : 17).

In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there, the tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits, and yielded her fruit every month : and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nation (Rev. 2 : 2). (Emphasis added.)

He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man (Psalms 104 : 14).

Rastafarians typically omit the biblical passages which refer to the use of bitter herbs as a form of punishment. It is interesting to note in this regard that the Peyotists use all the biblical passages which mention herbs and roots to support their use of peyote (Slotkin, 1975 : 66).

While the Rastafarians make no mention of roots, the Peyotists never refer to fire, smoke, or burning bushes. Finally, we wish to summarize our remarks here by quoting verbatim from a member of the group that comprises the case study in this thesis, Brother Shibo. Brother Shibo is defending the Rastafarian use of herbs on religious grounds by referring to the Bible, and to the fact that in a so-called democracy, which is based on this very Bible, the Rastafarian use of herbs is condemned :

When you check on the Rastafarian brethren, we smoke herbs religiously under divine inspiration in this sacramental and atoning grace to Jehovah God.

Yet the Bible is in the courthouse, in the state and church government. Under these parliamentary democracies of state and church administration, we have seen Rastafarians going to prison for herbs.

We defend this from the Bible. The Bible defend herbs.

Then, in article 18 and article 19, United Nations charter shows the freedom of movement religiously and the freedom of right in articles 20 and 21. But article 18 shows you freedom of religion, speech, to settle and worship your own God without police interference or without any molestation of the law.

And yet we have deprived and denied this religious freedom in courthouses.

What has happened to the secretary-general? What has happened to the chairman or the top delegates, intellectuals in the United Nations floor as administrators?

Are they getting paid to keep down the truth?

Or are they allowing what seems to be something turning from light to darkness tomorrow to really exist?

You know everything on earth was created by God - God created the cabbages, the callaloes, the lettuce, the garden eggs and the spinach. And you know, everthing.

And you can ask, who created the herbs? God as well.

All things was created for the use of man. That mankind will make service thereof.

And now we have seen people who takes this herbs - which is in no form detrimental to such a people - taking it under this divine concept to God.

And yet for this you goes to prison in a state and church democracy.

Well, there are some of the problems you know, that little people saw big people doing to them. And little people been bearing things for big people for many, many years.

But then this is the time again when the little people tell big people little people is strong - little people is fool no more.

So, they know the answer to that. (Transcribed from tape recording.)

In this chapter we have reviewed some of the literature on the psychological and physiological properties of cannabis in order to determine the range of possible effects. We noted that cannabis is a substance capable of producing subjective experiences that can easily conform to the user's expectations. Therefore, should a group of users prefer to accentuate one or another of its properties, both expectations and setting can be manipulated in such a way as to promote the culturally-desired experience. In the following chapter we shall see that one dimension of the cannabis experience - the unitive state - is particularly valued by the Rastafarians.

We then discussed in detail the Rastafarian use of cannabis in the context of ganja use in Jamaica. While many non-Rastafarians also

use cannabis, we showed that the brethren have developed an elaborate ritual and symbolic procedure designed to foster the attainment of visionary states of consciousness, a goal not shared by non-Rastafarian users. At this point we would like to turn to a detailed examination of the visionary experience among the brethren, and the kinds of activities which accompany it.

Footnotes to Chapter Five

1. Even though one half of Trinidad's population is of East Indian origin, ganja use remains minimal there.
2. I wish to express my thanks to ADARF Executive Director, Mr. D. Archibald and to Research Director, Mr. R.E. Popham for arranging the permit; also to Dr. J. Marshman who conducted the laboratory examinations; and to Ms. S. Jaychuck who kept all parties in touch.
3. Rubin and Comitas suggest a five-fold classification for ganja by including the green and cured states as varieties in themselves (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 42 n.). Jamaicans however, distinguish the stages of the growth cycle from the curing process so that at any point the plant may be used green or cured. Hence ganja is properly thought of as being available in three varieties in either of two states, green or cured. Later we shall see that the Rastas recognize strains of ganja as well.
4. A grity stone is placed in the bottom of the pipe bowl to hold the herbs.
5. Rudies are troublesome teenagers.
6. Rastafarian word for understanding.
7. Comes on means to enter the yard.

Chapter Six

The Healing of the Nation : Religious Experience Among the Rastafarians

In this chapter we want to examine from a cross-cultural perspective the nature of the Rastafarian visionary experience. We hope to show that while the Rastafarian visionary experience shares much in common with similar states in other cultures, the social uses to which it is put are quite distinct. In other words, there are certain communicative activities accompanying the revelatory state that are emphasized by this movement. These are meditation and reasoning, visionary discourse, and drumming and chanting.

The Visionary Experience

While Rastafarians use herbs for all the reasons that non-Rastafarians use ganja - as medicine, as a relaxant, and as a social lubricant - they have in addition extended its use to another activity which in turn has become their primary focus. For the Rastafarians, the use of herbs is central to religious experience. They describe this religious experience as " knowing God ", " gaining divine wisdom ", " having the scales fall from one's eyes ", and " seeing the truth ", to name a few terms. It would be easy for an outsider to refer this description to any number of concepts that are available for categorizing subjective states of inner awareness - commonly called " altered states of consciousness " by contemporary researchers.¹ This problem of classification is made more involved for us because of the Rastafarian use of cannabis to heighten these states of experience.

Thus in order to come to terms with the central role that such religious experiences play among the Rastafarians in both individual and collective situations, we will have to draw upon two areas of research interest. Firstly, there exists an extensive literature on religious experience - such as conversion and mysticism - and altered states of consciousness in general - such as trance and hypnosis. Secondly, there

is a separate but related literature on the specific effects of various substances which appear to alter consciousness in fairly predictable ways. Recently there has been an increasing interest in the way in which socio-cultural factors condition such pharmacologically-induced states and define them as religious experience.

A classic text in the fields just described is William James's The Varieties of Religious Experience in which he discusses both altered states of consciousness and pharmacologically-induced experiences. His review alerts us to the shared dimensions of these experiences. His discussion of mysticism, for example, of particular interest to us, is useful in pointing out general aspects of this phenomenon, but not sufficiently rigorous for detailed discussion. James defines the mystical experience as one characterized by four traits : ineffability, noeticism, transiency, and passivity (James, 1929 : 371 - 372). But these are features of other altered states of consciousness which some researchers classify differently. Thorner, for example, distinguishes between the prophetic and the mystical experience by ascertaining whether the state is publicly or privately oriented respectively (Thorner, 1965). Thus it is clear that we have to differentiate more sharply among some of these experiences.

With the increased use of psychedelic substances in the 1960's and a resurgence of interest in Eastern religious experience and the tradition of mysticism in Christianity, several scholars turned their attention once again to the problem of classifying altered states of consciousness. Arnold Ludwig's contribution is probably the most comprehensive study in this regard (Ludwig, 1966). He includes altered states of awareness produced by all manners of techniques, and attempts to determine the common denominators of these experiences. This article makes the important point that while Western society makes little or no use of ASCs in fact, it tends to adopt an attitude of suspicion towards them - many other societies have incorporated ASCs into their normal activities. In particular, Ludwig singles out as adaptive functions the role of ASCs in healing, in gaining new knowledge or experience, and in promoting social interaction when they occur in a collective setting. It is the second two functions which are of interest to us. Generally speaking, Rastafarians are not directly occupied with the problems of health and

healing, since in their approach to life, health will follow as a corollary to a certain kind of existence.

In discussing his second point, however, Ludwig too is somewhat imprecise and runs together orders of data that could be separated for analytical purposes. He writes :

Man has often sought to induce ASCs in an effort to gain new knowledge, inspiration, or experience. In the realm of religion, intense prayer, passive meditation, revelatory and prophetic states, mystical and transcendental experiences, religious conversion, and divination states have served man in opening new realms of experience, reaffirming moral values, resolving emotional conflicts, and often enabling him to cope better with his human predicament and the world about himThere are also numerous instances of sudden illumination, creative insights, and problem solving, occurring while man has lapsed into such ASCs (Ludwig, 1966 : 233).

For example, for our purposes we would want to know whether the experience of an ASC, defined as a religious experience by the individual(s) in question, either reconfirmed understandings that were already held, or was instrumental in disposing the person(s) to accept beyond a shadow of doubt a new orientation - or whether indeed, the person(s) involved perceived an entirely new method of ordering reality that was outside their group's experience to that point. While these are only three possibilities, it is important nevertheless to distinguish between such ends, particularly in situations where ASCs are sought with specific purposes in mind. Stark has attempted to classify religious experiences according to a four-fold model (Stark, 1965). Our first example above he would term a " confirming experience " which he claims is most common in American society. Here, he argues, the individual or group experiences a sudden intensification of one's convictions, a sudden " knowing " that one's beliefs are true (Stark, 1965 : 100). The second example we provide above - which we would call a " conversion " experience - is not accounted for in Stark's scheme. Conversion as a religious phenomenon is not adequately understood. While it appears to be " sudden " the preparatory events in the life of the individual leading up to it are generally given little attention. Our third example would qualify possibly as a revelatory experience simply on the grounds that something previously unknown has been disclosed. If the nature of this disclosure had important implications for social life we might speak of a prophetic revelation, i.e., one which needs to be communicated urgently. On the other hand, revelation might seem to have

significance for the individual alone, in which case we might more appropriately speak of mysticism. These two orientations, social or individual, are used by Thorner to distinguish between prophetic and mystical experience respectively (Thorner, 1965). While Thorner rightly points out the need to determine whether or not the ASC experience in question has implications for more than the individual subject, his definition of mysticism is based on the assumption that it accepts and supports the traditional order. Thus in his system mysticism cannot have revolutionary implications because no new truths can be revealed that challenge the way things are.

Walter Pahnke undertook a cross-cultural study of mystical experience (whether it was defined as religious by the society involved being ~~considered~~ irrelevant) in order to compare and contrast so-called mystical states with pharmacologically-induced ASC which are commonly described by subjects in similar terms. Having developed a typology of mystical experience, he then conducted a controlled experiment in which a number of subjects were given a psychedelic substance (psilocibin) and careful records were prepared of their experiences. The mystical experience according to his model has several dimensions :

1. the experience of either internal or external undifferentiated unity, being in Pahnke's opinion the most important characteristic of mystical states, as far as he could ascertain from the literature;
2. transcendence of time and space;
3. deeply felt positive mood;
4. sense of sacredness;
5. insightful knowledge experienced on an intuitive non-rational level, gained by direct experience and accompanied by certitude;
6. paradoxicality;
7. alleged ineffability;
8. transiency;
9. persisting positive changes in attitudes and behaviour (Pahnke, 1970 : 150 - 151).

The experience of the experimental subjects was then compared to that of a control group, using double-blind circumstances. The occasion was a specially-arranged Good Friday service. The results indicated that while the experimental group scored far higher in terms of achieving a mystical

experience than the control group, the completeness of their individual experiences varied considerably (Pahnke, 1970 : 56). This raises the question of degree of mystical experience along particular dimensions as opposed to simple categorizations in terms of mystical vs. nonmystical states. Pahnke also concluded that the mystical states produced by the ingestion of psilocibin were sufficiently similar to mystical states described in reports to warrant the study of mystical experiences through the use of psychedelic substances by the researcher (Pahnke, 1970 : 159). Masters and Houston report that similar experiences occur with the use of various kinds of psychedelic substances (Masters and Houston, 1966). On the basis of both laboratory experiments and personal experience, Watts has also demonstrated the similarities between psychedelic states and mysticism. The shared characteristics that he notes are similar to those suggested by James, Pahnke, and others : alteration in time sense, with emphasis on the immediate present; awareness of polarity; awareness of relativity; and awareness of eternal energy (Watts, 1970 : 134 - 137).

In terms of the foregoing work, we would be justified in classifying the cannabis-induced religious experience that the Rastafarians seek as mystical. Probably the most obvious feature of this experience that we have discussed to this point is their insistence upon the primary state of I and I. Here they describe the merging of the individual with all life forces, the realization that all life flows from the same source, and the collapse of the distance between internal and external, subject and object. This the brethren assert with certitude for they say knowledge is power, while mere belief implies doubt. At the same time the brethren have a deep appreciation of paradox and they do not appear to be troubled by apparent contradictions. Rather than distorting reality, they argue, such riddles enrich it. Their extensive use of rhyme and punning, for example, is best understood in Koestler's terms, where the creative act consists of " a momentary fusion between two habitually incompatible matrices " (Koestler, 1971 : 96). The Rastafarian intention is to trigger breakthroughs in understanding by encouraging modes of thought not normally accessible in everyday reality. Finally, they too note that such experiences are all too transient - precious moments, holy time - despite their conscious efforts to prolong the state. In particular, the brethren value especially highly Pahnke's first trait, the experience of undifferentiated unity, in the form of I and I and consciousness.

Having argued that the primary religious experience among the Rastafarians is a mystical one, we still need to take into account Thorner's distinction between the prophet and the mystic. In the case of the Rastafarians we are dealing with a social movement, rather than individual role models, wherein a conscious effort is made to achieve a balance between purely private experience and its public expression. That is, the movement attempts to control the individual experience of this inner space by manipulating socio-cultural factors in a given way. Kenelm Burridge has noted that such mechanisms as the communal trance-dance among the Plains Indians, while appearing as :

a generally human device for seeking inspiration and fresh initiatives, ... is in itself the communal expression and analogue of just that experience whereby a prophet, a lone individual, comes to be inspired with the revelation that others afterwards discover they would like to make their own (Burridge, 1969 : 82 - 83).

Thus while there may be universally valid dimensions to the experience of mystical states which can be described in general terms (e.g., unity, paradoxicality, certitude, transiency, and so on), as anthropologists our role is to determine the effect that socio-cultural influences have on the perception and function of such experiences in a given society.

Pahnke himself raises this issue, although he did not investigate it in any detail (Pahnke, 1970 : 159). In a comparative study of the effects of illicit substances used for pleasure, medicinally prescribed drugs, and involuntary drug use by victims of chemical warfare, Becker illustrates the influence that knowledge (or lack of it) about the substance in question has on the perceived effects, given particular social situations. He concludes :

This analysis suggests that it is useful to look at the role of power and knowledge in those settings, knowledge of how to take the drug and what to expect when one does, and power over distribution of the drug, knowledge about it, and over the decision to take or not to take it. These vary greatly depending on the character of the organization within which the drugs are used (Becker, 1977 : 187).

Becker notes that with most substances a multiplicity of effects is possible, with the society (or subculture) in question selecting what it chooses to emphasize. On an individual level Pahnke's Good Friday experiment points to similar conclusions - that the dimensions of the revelatory state which are highlighted vary from individual to individual.

More recently, Dobkin de Rios, who has conducted extensive research into the cultural patterning of psychedelic experiences in non-Western societies, has attempted to construct a model which interrelates the physiological properties of the substance in question with relevant socio-cultural variables to produce the subsequent effect. She isolates four categories of " antecedent variables " : the biological, psychological, social-interactional, and cultural (Dobkin de Rios, 1975 : 413). In the first groups we would examine such factors as dietary rules and tabus, sexual abstinence, and physical activity. With reference to the Rastafarians, we have already noted the ideal norm of a special I-tal or organic diet, with a prohibition on salt, pork, some other meats, and processed foods generally. We have also noted the emphasis of some brethren on self-control as the ideal manner of birth control, as well as their generally ambivalent attitudes to women in the flesh (as opposed to the ideal role of the female). Here we should also include the type and manner of preparation of the substance involved, though curiously, Dobkin de Rios does not mention this factor. The Rastafarian practice is reasonably complex in this respect, as the previous chapter has shown. It is generally acknowledged that cannabis, while considered a psychedelic substance, similar in its effects to peyote and LSD, does not produce the extreme alterations of sensory perception that the other two do, and thus is far more amenable to long-term use (McGlothlin, 1964, as quoted by Kalant, 1968 : 29; Watts, 1970 : 133 - 134). Moreover, as Aberle has reported, the subjective effects of peyote are such that the individual is socially inaccessible during the height of the experience (Aberle, 1966 : 335).

By psychological factors, Dobkin de Rios is referring to the motivation, mood, personality, attitudes, and past experiences of the individual. While any comprehensive theory of drug effects would have to take these into consideration, this is not the purpose of the present effort. Our intention, rather, is to focus on the social-interactional and cultural dimensions, as described by Dobkin de Rios :

The structure of the group, how this will effect the potentiation of the drug, the relationship of the members present and their role interactions, the ritual performance itself and the presence of a guide skilled in the use of the drug are important factors to consider in any attempt to predict drug effects

A shared symbolic system is indeed crucial to permit the guiding of individuals through a particular drug experience in order to achieve culturally-valued goals. Particular expectations of visionary experiences are often the *raison d'être* for non-Western drug experiences and prior socialization in this area is crucial

Non-verbal accompaniments to drug experience are widely utilized in non-Western societies to expand and fully exploit the drug experience. In particular, ... the vital role of music is worth reemphasizing (Dobkin de Rios, 1975 : 414).

With reference to the Rastafarians, the problem we wish to pursue is the manner in which the brethren are able to maintain a balance between the purely individual act of smoking herbs alone - which may lead to private mystical states - and the ritual use of herbs collectively - which may produce a strong sense of intersubjectivity. How does Rastafarianism as a social movement manage to influence these cannabis-induced ASCs in a way that furthers the ends of the collectivity without detracting from the quality and the intensity of the unitive experience? This problem could be considered in the light of comparative materials.

A major contribution to the ethnographic literature on the cross-cultural use of cannabis is a volume of papers entitled Cannabis and Culture edited by Rubin (1975). Much of the research in the volume was funded by the U.S. National Institute of Mental Health in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Consequently, it is generally of a survey nature. Of the thirty-five papers in the volume, only three are of direct concern to us in that they deal extensively with the use of cannabis, peyote, and tobacco respectively in a religious context (Williams-Garcia, 1975; Myerhoff, 1975 ; Wilbert, 1975). While some of the other papers on cannabis note its use in a religious-ritual context, this is not dealt with in any detail. In fact, the opposite point is frequently made : that the religious use of cannabis is markedly absent (Hutchinson, 1975 : 179 for Brazil; Joseph, 1975 : 190 for Morocco; Khalifa, 1975 : 190 for Egypt; Partridge, 1975 : 161 - 163 for Columbia). The use of cannabis by workers to adjust to their situation is usually emphasized. It is interesting to note the relative absence of cross-cultural material generally on the use of cannabis to promote unitive experience.

The papers which mention the ritual use of cannabis in a religious context all deal with Indian or East Indian use (Hasan, 1975 : 239, on India; Fisher, 1975 : 249, on Nepal; Benoist, 1975 : 229, on East Indians

in Réunion). The one extensive account of the religious use of cannabis is by Williams-Garcia who describes the customs of several small Indian communities on the east coast of Mexico. Here cannabis is called the Sacred Rose, and both male and female priests tend altars and conduct ceremonies in its honour. While the social organization supporting the ritual use of this plant is more complex and permanent than among the Rastafarians, there are some interesting parallels in terms of perceived effects and the manner in which the plant is used.

On an ideological level, both groups ascribe to the plant divine origins. Rastafarians say that herbs is God's gift of love, the healing of the nation. The Santa Rosarians say that the " herb " (they use the same term) represents a small piece of the heart of God. In both societies the herb is the focus of diverse activities. However, while the Rastafarians value highly its collective use, individual smoking also has an important role to play. Among the Santa Rosarians, who eat it rather than smoke it, collective use alone is tolerated (Williams-Garcia, 1975 : 134). This may have something to do with the intensity of effect produced by eating rather than by smoking cannabis. Depending upon the orientation of the individual user, different experiences are promoted. But generally speaking, there are three. The first is the manner in which Santa Rosa stimulates thought and promotes oratory (Williams-Garcia, 1975 : 137). Secondly, there are times when Santa Rosa is ingested in the ritual context of music and sound. Here the Santa Rosarians claim that as the spirits come to life, they wish to dance (Williams-Garcia, 1975 : 137 - 138). Finally, one may eat Santa Rosa and prefer only to think, not to speak, and in the course of one's reflections, one will " see things " (Williams-Garcia, 1975 : 139). While the cultural content of these experiences is determined by Indian beliefs and symbols, the three functions of the herb - speaking, singing and dancing, and seeing - correspond respectively to reasoning, drumming and chanting, and meditation among the Rastafarians. Williams-Garcia's account is very brief, based on the experience of a handful of informants. Unfortunately we are told nothing about the socio-economic environment of these people and their relationship to the larger society. Thus we are not able to set this account in a wider context.

Myerhoff's analysis of the Huichol peyote quest suffers similar limitations. While she presents a well-integrated discussion of the relationship between peyote use and Huichol world view, we are given no insight into the larger socio-economic and political context in which this behaviour occurs. Since the " most significant theme in the peyote hunt is the achievement of total unification, on every level " (Myerhoff, 1975 : 427) we would want to know what the various sources of heterogeneity in the society are. Elsewhere Myerhoff indicates that her intention is to consider Huichol religion and symbolism in their own terms (Myerhoff, 1974 : 21). We are nevertheless left wondering how the peyote hunt complex of behaviours, however well integrated, could be analyzed in the context of the larger socio-economic and political environment. Based on the evidence available it would seem that peyote use in this ritual context functions to perpetuate the status quo. Myerhoff emphasizes the unitive experience in Huichol peyote use which apparently overrides all sources of social division. This is the contention of the Huichol themselves. Since no data are reported to the contrary, we must assume that such behaviour is acceptable from the viewpoint of the larger society and that the Huichol are in no way persecuted for their use of peyote or their efforts to maintain very traditional Indian customs. This situation certainly stands in marked contrast to the problems experienced by members of the Native American Church in the United States. Finally, in her 1975 article, Myerhoff balances her account by mentioning that peyote can also be used in many ways in a secular context. As for the Rastafarians, it is important to note that even where sacred use predominates, there are other occasions in which the " sacred " substance can be used for less than " pure " purposes.

Wilbert's analysis of the magico-religious significance of tobacco among the South American Indians points to the fact that this use predominated over any secular functions until very recently (Wilbert, 1975 : 439); that in the past " secular or hedonistic use continued to be the exception rather than the rule " (Wilbert, 1975 : 441). Smoking is the most common form of ingestion, tobacco sometimes used in combination with hallucinogens such as cocaine (coca datura) or banisteriopsis (aya-huasca). Likewise among the Rastafarians we have seen the combined use of cannabis and tobacco. It is used in initiation rites into shamanism,

rites of passage, healing rituals, ecstatic states, and trance. The power of the shaman is symbolically associated with his breath, reinforced by tobacco smoke (Wilbert, 1975 : 452), and, much as in Rasta, many connections are made between life, breath, and smoke. For example, tobacco smoke is called " life-giving mist " (Wilbert, 1975 : 453). Thus the blowing of tobacco over people or objects in the environment has the purpose of purification. Among the Rastafarians, the blowing of smoke over an individual, in particular over babies, is the equivalent of giving a blessing. Occasionally animals are blown with smoke, though not objects. Tobacco smoking is also equated with fertility and revitalization, with the act of creation, similar to beliefs among the Rastafarians (Wilbert, 1975 : 456). On the other hand, under certain conditions this role can be reversed and tobacco smoke can be blown to kill or to debilitate (Wilbert, 1975 : 453). Among the Rastafarians also we have seen that the pipe can represent either life or death processes. While Rastafarians consider herbs the proper food for the healing of the nations, South American Indians consider tobacco the proper food for the supernatural spirits. With the European emphasis on the secular use of tobacco, Wilbert argues that much of this sacred history was lost, leaving the record on the magico-religious use of tobacco far from systematic (Wilbert, 1975 : 442 - 443).

For several reasons we have chosen to refer to the central religious experience among the Rastafarians as a visionary state. While the several features of the mystical ASC as described by James, Pahnke, Ludwig, and Watts all appear to be present in the Rastafarian visionary state, the use of this term is intended to express what we found to be the predominant concern of the brethren : the search for new insights through sudden illumination. This the brethren call inspiration. Such is the essence of revelation, only one dimension of the mystical experience to be sure, but one which is highly valued and consciously sought by the brethren. We must emphasize that the other aspects of the mystical ASC were common among the brethren and equally valued. But many of these other perceptions seemed to be almost taken for granted, as if they would follow almost automatically if the proper ritual procedures were observed. The use of the term visionary is also intended to reflect the Rastafarian admonition that without a vision, the people perish. This is a direct reference to

Garvey's vision of Africa and the Rastafarian problem of what it means to be an African in Jamaica. The Rastafarian insistence upon African identity and African culture greatly influences the experience of the visionary state.

Our use of the term visionary experience is close to what Mannheim means by the experience of chiliasm. However, where Mannheim emphasizes its presentness, we would want to include a future orientation as well - since the brethren do indeed have a "vision" of a future perfect society. We would like to follow Mannheim in drawing a distinction between the chiliastic/visionary experience itself on the one hand, and the concrete representations of that experience on the other. These concrete representations - culturally embodied in symbols, expressions, and beliefs - have definite effects on the perception of the experience of that state. Mannheim argues that :

If we are to come closer to an understanding of the true substance of Chiliasm, and if we are to make it accessible to scientific comprehension, it is first of all necessary to distinguish from Chiliasm itself the images, symbols, and forms in which the Chiliastic mind thought. For nowhere else is our experience as valid as here, that what is already formed, and the expression things assume, tend to become detached from their origins and to go their own way independently of the motives that prompted them If we use the method of the history of ideas, we tend to put in place of the history of the substance of Chiliasm the history of frames of reference which have already been emptied of content, i.e., the history of mere Chiliastic ideas as such. Likewise, the investigation of the careers of Chiliastic revolutionaries is apt to be misleading, since it is of the nature of the Chiliastic experience to ebb in the course of time and to undergo an unremitting transformation in the course of the person's experience. Hence to adhere closely to the theme of investigation itself, we must seek out a method of research which will give a living view of the material and which will present it as if we were experiencing it ourselves The only true, perhaps the only direct, identifying characteristic of Chiliastic experience is absolute presentness. We always occupy some here and now on the spacial and temporal stage but, from the point of view of Chiliastic experience the position that we occupy is only incidental. For the real Chiliast, the present becomes the breach through which what was previously inward bursts out suddenly, takes hold of the outer world, and transforms it (Mannheim, 1936 : 214 - 215). (Emphasis added)

From this we may draw several conclusions. First, we must distinguish between a state of mind and its contents. By a state of mind is meant a particular mode of being. As pure experience a state of mind is formless. Its content, on the other hand, has form. The experience

of a particular state of mind involves the outer world. But one should be careful to distinguish the experience of a certain state of mind from the symbols or other external forms that arise from it. It may happen that with the passage of time the externalized contents of a state of mind may come to contradict the inner experience that gave them birth. Thus it could be misleading to focus exclusively on the content of a state of mind rather than the state itself. As noted above, Mannheim writes that the expression things assume tends to become detached from their origin and to go their own way independent of the motives that prompted them.

Secondly, the form and organization of the contents of a particular state of mind may appear to contravene normal frames of reference, leading to the assumption that the state itself is abnormal. Hence the label for chiliasm : irrational. For example, to hear a prophet associate names, ideas, and events that ordinarily are unrelated may cause the listener to dismiss it all as gibberish. Yet, another kind of message altogether is perhaps being communicated, originating in a less accessible state of mind. Artists, too, sometimes are criticized for their disregard of conventional forms and styles, although their work may be a product of a state of mind that is experienced as holistic.

In the third place, Mannheim has implied that an analysis of the product of chiliasm that is, utopianism - will seriously inhibit our understanding of what the original chiliastic experience or state of mind was all about. Histories of utopian communities tend to minimize their origins in chiliasm. One of the reasons for this is the need in intentional communities for reliable and directed behaviour. Since chiliasm or the visionary experience by definition lies outside of both society and history, it may be a source of concern for those whose interest lies in generating predictable behaviour. Thus we find attempts to channel the experience of chiliasm and to locate a state of being in a social structure. This presents a dilemma in that eventually one loses access to the energies that were instrumental in moving behaviour in the first place. This can be confusing to the student who may mistake structures and institutions designed to focus chiliasm, for the state itself. Utopian communities, if they recognize the validity of the chiliastic experience at all, conspire to channel access to it along normative lines.

Nor is our use of the term visionary to be interpreted as hallucina-
tory. It is not to be confused with trance or possession states, which
 involve both amnesia and audio-visual distortions.² The Rastafarians
 neither interpret their experience as being due to possession by spirits
 nor attribute it to the soul's journey from the body. We also have to
 distinguish our use of the term visionary from the way in which the word
vision may be used in Jamaica to refer to spirits or "duppies". In
 popular Jamaican use vision may also refer to hallucination, a common dis-
 turbance there among mentally disoriented people. The Rubin and Comitas
 N.I.M.H. report, in trying to elicit subjective responses to the effects
 of cannabis, repeatedly had difficulties with the use of the term vision,
 which Jamaicans took to mean many other things (Rubin, V., Daily Gleaner,
 July 3, and July 9, 1972). In fact, ten of their subjects did report
 seeing " visions " when first using ganja. But the vision in this case
 appears to be a hallucinatory one, and one moreover that is culturally
 standardized : that of a little old dancing lady or man (Rubin, V., Daily
Gleaner, Aug. 8, 1972). Elsewhere Rubin suggests that this vision of
 dancing " appears to represent a collective vision of myth, related to
 initiation into the ganja subculture and perhaps to the introduction of
 ganja use in Jamaica " (Rubin, 1974 : 18). This phenomenon is called
 " micropsia " and is reported cross-culturally in some societies, where
 it is associated with rites of passage involving drugs. At any rate, our
 use of the term visionary is not to be confused with any of these cases.

The brethren's experience of inspiration is also to be distinguished
 from the dream state. As a further source of confusion, most Jamaicans,
 even Rastafarians, will in fact use the term vision in the specific sense
 of dream. One will hear people say " I did vision last night " and then
 continue to describe their dreams. Among many lower-class Jamaicans,
 including Rastafarians, dreams have a special significance. Rastafarians
 use dreams as the subject of meditation and reasoning, in that they attempt
 to interpret their meaning if significant symbols like Selassie, Ethiopia,
 Garvey, etc., are present. But dreams to the Rastafarians are not directly
 experienced as revelation; interpretations are always in order. Dreams
 among the Rastafarians are clearly of secondary importance. In fact, we
 have occasionally heard brethren refer to someone's dream in a derogatory
 manner suggesting that it is a less than conscious experience. This kind

of attitude stands in marked contrast to the central role that dreams play in some religious movements. In Jamaica, for example, dreams are considered to be the critical link between the ordinary world and mawazo or the divine world of the "myth-dream". This is the realm people enter upon death.

Apart from the fact that the dream for Jamaica people serves to connect these two dimensions of experience, it plays a role similar to that of the visionary experience among the Rastafarians. Fabian says that Jamaica people make a distinction between mawazo - which he regards as a "myth dream", although it is a term difficult to translate - and mafundisho. Mawazo seems to correspond to what we have discussed as the general or official level of ideology, the common ideological pool. Of mafundisho Fabian writes :

Mawazo, the 'thoughts guarded by Jamaica people', become mafundisho through the intervening activity of a 'speaker', of someone who selects out of the common pool of orientations certain aspects by formulating them Such a distinction between a 'latent' common pool of orientations and a manifest system of orientations helps to avoid oversimplified ideas as to how a doctrinal system like the teaching of Jamaica is shared by its adherents (Fabian, 1971 : 185).

Rastafarians, on the other hand, consider the visionary experience or inspiration to be the source of divine insight into their daily life and into how Rastafarian teachings would apply in a particular situation. In Jamaica, when an individual feels moved, he will stand up and give a mafundisho or individual instruction on some aspect of Jamaica. Such occasions are regarded with respect, and Fabian describes situations in which mafundisho is used to effect peace in a moment of conflict (Fabian, 1971 : 179). Among the Rastafarians, it is during a reasoning session that a particular brother feeling especially inspired may be moved to hold forth at great length, having gained the respectful attention of his peers. In both cases, the respect accorded is based on a recognition that the individual is divinely moved.

We must also make the point that the Rastafarians themselves emphasize that the subjective effects of cannabis smoking are not in themselves the essence of the visionary experience or inspiration, being only accompaniments to it. As the key to the lock of understanding, herbs is not the wisdom in itself, but rather, the form that God assumes. Accordingly, in their discourse the brethren are not particularly preoccupied with

the subjective effects of cannabis (unlike most North American users of psychedelics). Rather, they are more interested in the kinds of inspiration that can flow from this visionary state.

By inspiration, the Rastafarian brethren mean an experience more intense than the feather touch of the muse. For them, inspiration can have a hammer-like quality. (We too speak of the shock of awareness.) Inspiration can also come in rumination - less dramatic but equally profound. Inspiration is worlds removed from hallucination. Nor does it resemble trance, possession, or speaking in tongues. It would not even be correct to say that inspiration portrays alternative realities. Coming only when the mind is stilled, inspiration is the quality of the moment at which data inputs may be greatly augmented, suddenly reconstructed, or thrust boldly into a novel frame of reference. As we shall discuss in more detail below, the brethren make considerable use of certain techniques such as rhyme, punning, double entendre, paradox, analogy, exaggeration, simplification, interpolation, transposition, and synthesis. Their intention appears to be what Koestler in The Act of Creation describes as the " Eureka act ", or the " creative leap " (Koestler, 1971 : 169). Koestler refers to all such events as bisociative processes, " in order to make a distinction between the routine skills of thinking on a single plane as it were, and the creative act which ... always operates on more than one plane " (Koestler, 1971 : 35). Thus the Rastafarian brethren habitually attempt to perceive situations or ideas in terms of two (or more) incompatible associative contexts. This they claim allows them to conceive of such problems in new and refreshing ways, that may more easily permit of a solution or facilitate understanding. Having made the proper ritual preparations, having smoked the glowing herbs pipe, having meditated and reasoned around a particular subject, the flash of inspiration which illumines the problem only appears to be " sudden "!

The authors of the N.I.M.H. report pay little attention to the visionary experience among the Rastafarians. In their view, Rastafarian metaphysics merely " emphasizes and brings into focus general concepts derived from working-class views of ganja " (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 146). In their opinion, the Rastafarian role is to articulate and systematize folk beliefs surrounding the use of cannabis. In our own view, the visionary experience among the Rastafarians diverges significantly from that of the working class. The use of herbs among the brethren,

while institutionalized as a ritual complex, is nevertheless not intended to reinforce the current state of affairs. For them, it bears the promise of transcendence, and as such, it is considered sacred, nonroutinized, and unpredictable. The smoking groups are drawn from a visionary community that extends beyond the boundaries of the work place and the immediate neighbourhood. For the Rastas, the smoking situation is the primary focus of activity, because it is here that visionary effervescence is most intense. All of this is in sharp contrast to the situation described by Rubin and Comitas for the working class where :

Groups diminish in size and stabilize in membership as choice of smoking companions is deliberately limited to work mates and trusted neighbours. More significantly, the smoking of ganja is no longer the dominant activity of these small networks, as it is for the younger age groups; rather, smoking becomes a natural part of the daily round, an almost standard routine at work parties, meal breaks, evening visits, and the like (Rubin and Comitas, 1975 : 54).

It would not be correct to sharply distinguish between smoking sessions in which inspiration or visionary experiences are sought, and those occasions which are strictly sociable in nature. Here it is a matter of relative emphasis which function predominates. Sometimes brethren will make a point of seeking inspiration consciously because they are looking for an answer to a particular problem; at other times, during a more routine session an individual may have a sudden flash of inspiration and hold forth on it, engaging others in reasoning in an effort to prolong the experience. Rubin and Comitas argue on the other hand that although ganja is a herbal in the tradition of folk-herbals, to which a special complex of pragmatic and mystical beliefs have been ascribed, for the Jamaican worker, the pragmatic properties far outweigh the mystical ones (Rubin, V., Daily Gleaner, Aug. 8, 1972). The opposite applies in the case of the Rastafarians.

Meditation, Reasoning, and Visionary Discourse

Meditation and reasoning, both terms used by the brethren, are the dominant forms of mental activity practised while smoking herbs. While meditation is an inner reflective act, reasoning refers more to a form of dialogue, usually between two or more brethren. However, meditation need not be a purely private act, nor must reasoning always be a social one.

In a social smoking group more than one individual may distance himself spiritually from the group in order to reflect upon his private thoughts. Brethren make a point of respecting the privacy of the person under those circumstances. On the other hand, on such occasions when one smokes herbs alone, one can carry on a reasoning between " I and I ", as a form of inner dialogue. Both meditation and reasoning can lead to inspiration or a visionary experience.

Owens, the only other author who has grasped the significance of reasoning among the Rastafarian brethren, has the following comments to make :

Solid reasoning to one another is the vital activity of all Rastafarians. One might also call it their prime form of worship. Not want to frivol away their leisure time, the brethren spend long hours in 'serious' reasoning sessions, discussing every aspect of the day's news, the wonders of Jah, the hopes of the future. The Rastas exercise a skilled concentration when they are upon a reasoning and express displeasure at being interrupted : "When a man is upon a reasoning and you hear nary a sound coming from behind you or across you, it sort of cut off the straight topic that such a man was upon". Strict discipline, therefore, is displayed during the reasoning sessions, so that the true words are spoken clearly and forcibly.

Reasoning is not just "shooting the breeze", it cannot even be called "serious discussion". More than either of these, it is a sacramental act which makes the Lord himself present and reveals the depth of reality to the brethren. Brethren sit together and reason for Jah say : wherever two or three sit together touching anything according to my name, behold, I am there.

The long reasoning sessions which all brethren participate in almost daily are no doubt responsible for the dialectical richness of Rastafarian discourse. Everyone is allowed to express himself with maximum freedom as regards time, style, and even doctrine. In the course of the reasoning sessions there is free creation of words and symbols, long and intricate argumentation, effusive and spontaneous prayer, sober analyses of local problems and world events. Whenever available, ganja is used in abundance to assist the complicated linkages which keep the reasoning flowing smoothly. The mood can vary from seriousness to humour, from exuberance to melancholy, from cynicism to awe, but always with an awareness of the divine presence.

Such communing in the sight of Jah is naturally a threat to the powers who keep the people in subjection by cultivating their superstition rather than their rationality. While the inert masses seem content with passive ignorance, the Rastafarians use their thought-power to renovate, to re-create, themselves and the world (Owens, 1975 : 230 - 231).

Meditation and reasoning are the two methods whereby the truth of visionary understandings is explored. Truth is revealed as knowledge in

the visionary state - and such revelatory knowledge is to be distinguished from mere belief, which the brethren say implies doubt. Again we will refer to Owens on this matter :

The truths which the Rastafarians enunciate and the way of life which they follow are based securely, they feel, on knowledge, not any lesser mode of comprehension. The brethren use the term 'knowledge' in an unconventional way : knowing is always characterized by a high degree of certainty, by a close relation to the practical, and by an innate presence within man

For centuries, the Rastafarians maintain, the colonial church authorities impressed upon the people the importance of believing, and so long as the people simply accepted passively what the alien pastors said, they had no protection against manipulation and deception. The Rastas have thus insisted that the people must know the deepest truths of religion, not simply believe them

The Rastas delineate their conception of knowledge more precisely by distinguishing it from "hearing", "learning", and "reading". These are all modes of inducing belief, not knowledge, and were used by the colonial masters to enslave the people's minds. The Rastas in this era of liberation demand full knowledge and will be satisfied with nothing less

The Rastafarians are insistent that their religion is not one that has been 'handed down' to them. Without derogating from the role of the community in helping an individual to come to true knowledge of God, the Rastas assert that such knowledge must be gained and experienced by each and every generation, by each and every individual. It is not enough that one generation in the past had a direct experience of God. Every man is called to witness God's glory

The brethren consciously oppose their doctrine in this respect to that of the traditional Christians. They find the traditional account of belief or faith in God to be reducible to a learning process, rather than a direct experience of revelation. "Je-sus Christ is a doubt so long as you believe! The man of today know that His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie, is the Almighty God" (Owens, 1975 : 217 - 218) .

Meditation and reasoning among the brethren we worked with were regarded as absolutely indispensable to the furtherance of the movement. Brother Maskaram's brethren are highly critical of individuals who appear to take up the faith suddenly, without testing out the truth of Rastafarian ideology through meditation and reasoning. Brother Posta commented upon this kind of behaviour : " A fatal error that, to just take on the faith so, and in blind inspiration, rush out and do whatever you feel a do. " This kind of approach, they say, leads to fanaticism and dogmatism. Here they cite the example of some of the younger brethren who come from the middle class and the university. They are also critical of another group of younger brethren whose organizational drive they claim, is

over-proselyting Rastafarianism. It is more conducive to unity, says Brother Maskaram's group, to sit, draw the pipe together, reason with those who have been in the faith longer, and meditate upon how best it would go, this Rasta business. Brother Maskaram frequently pointed out to younger brethren that when one is so convinced that one is right, then there ~~is~~ no time to meditate upon one's own self, yet that ~~is~~ where God dwells.

Dogmatism is considered by Brother Maskaram's group to be a major source of dissension among the brethren because it impedes communication. They argue that reasoning with the meditation of herbs is the surest way of establishing common ground because it assures that all present have access to the one visionary stream, to the condition of I and I consciousness. Reasoning generally occurs subsequent to meditation. It extends and tests understandings already reached subjectively. Reasoning develops as a dialectical discourse in which the logical implications of a given insight are pursued. Two brethren may reason together, each prompting the other on a higher and higher I-ghts, accreting layer upon layer of meaning until a satisfactory view of reality is reached. Or, one brother may begin to reason on his own, using the others present as silent study partners. More rarely, brethren adopt adversary roles to get at the heart of a problem. Reasoning can take several forms for it is invariably a collective affair.

The brethren may seem to speculate in a playful spirit but it is with earnest intent. While they may support an argument analogically, they keep an eye open for adventitious truth values. Koestler writes that :

The essence of discovery is that unlikely marriage of cabbages and kings - of previously unrelated frames of reference of universes of discourse - whose union will solve the previously insoluble problem. The search for the improbable partner involves long and arduous striving (Koestler, 1970 : 202).

While Koestler is writing about scientific discovery through analogy, his observations about the creative act can be applied to the objectives of Rastafarian meditation and reasoning. Although Koestler ascribes much of the creation of the new synthesis to the role of the unconscious, the Rastafarians appear to make every effort to make such creative leaps consciously. They maintain that the simultaneous experience of multiple

realities, far from impairing their grasp on reality, actually enriches it, that it makes I conscious, man.

Finally, Victor Turner's discussion of communitas may help us to set reasoning and meditation in a more comparative framework. Using as his point of departure Buber's notion of I and Thou, wherein two beings confront each other as total and concrete persons, Turner argues that the social result of this relationship, what Buber calls the "essential We", has a liminal quality since "perdurance implies institutionalization and repetition, while community (which roughly equals spontaneous communitas) is always completely unique and hence socially transient" (Turner, 1969 : 137). Thus Turner distinguishes existential or spontaneous communitas from normative communitas, and then both of these are contrasted with ideological communitas, which represents a well-defined world view in support of the experience of communitas. Against spontaneous communitas a liminal state which best arises at the "interstices of the social structure", in which "each person fully experiences the being of the other", Turner posits normative communitas, the structure that arises out of the necessity for social behaviour (Turner, 1969 : 138; 136; 132). In the discussion of his case studies, Turner's problem is how to achieve : ...the appropriate relationship between structure and communitas under the given circumstances of time and place, to accept each modality when it is paramount without rejecting the other, and not to cling to one when its present emphasis is spent (Turner, 1969 : 139; emphasis in the original). We would argue that the Rastafarian act of communion, the ritual support for the activities of meditation and reasoning, amounts to a form of normative communitas, characterized by a simplified social structure accompanied by a rich proliferation of ideological structure (Turner, 1969 : 133). Whether or not the brethren actually experience spontaneous communitas, or the state of I and I consciousness, is left to the quality of the moment. And whether or not the brethren may even continue to achieve normative communitas depends on their successfully safeguarding their religious practices through secular struggle.

We have been arguing in this thesis that in order to fully comprehend the phenomenon of Rastafarianism we need to understand how the historical, cultural, socio-economic, and political influences interact. In particular, we have tried to bring into focus the cultural-historical

dimension of analysis by showing how Rastafarianism as a religious behaviour must be seen against the background of traditional ideology in Jamaica : Christian fundamentalism, the use of the Bible, Ethiopianism and Garveyism. We have tried to set Rastafarianism within the context of the experience of Blacks in the diaspora, and it is in this light that we examined the ideology of Repatriation as a myth-dream. Similarly, in the previous section we discussed the ritual and symbolic complex surrounding the use of cannabis, which is highly valued by the brethren for its ability to facilitate both visionary states and the experience of intersubjectivity or I and I consciousness. These acts take place within the small group setting of meditation and reasoning. The Rastafarian use of cannabis appears to be based upon East Indian cultural practices to some extent. The brethren have incorporated certain East Indian words into their vocabulary, including cuchi for pipe bowl and kali for the highest grade of herbs. However, as far as we can determine, there is no East Indian cultural precedent for the complex ritual and symbolism that the brethren apply to the use of herbs. While it is true that there is a cultural tradition of Hindu mysticism, we have no evidence linking these two traditions together. The Rastafarian development of a conscious visionary state at any rate stands in marked contrast to other West Indian religious groups where trance and spirit possession are practised.³

While it may never be possible to trace exhaustively the cultural influences bearing on the Rastafarian visionary experience, we can certainly fare better when we turn our attention to the collective process of reasoning. Here we are able to set certain practices squarely in the context of communication patterns which have developed among New World Blacks. The Rastafarians have turned some of these techniques to their own ends, but cultural continuities are nevertheless apparent. In this connection we will examine certain speech patterns that have developed among New World Blacks, in order to set the Rastafarians in a wider linguistic community. Rastafarians hold that the King's Tongue is woefully inadequate in rendering the cognitive nuances of inspiration. For this reason they have developed a visionary argot of their own, which combines standard English with Jamaican dialect, and is governed by certain procedures. This code, which they call I-ance undergoes ceaseless elaborations as new situations arise; however, it appears to be

generated by a set of rules which themselves do not change.

The key to this argot is the concept I and I. In the Jamaican creole the first person singular, whether subject or object, is expressed as me, while the first person plural, subject or object, is expressed as we. Contrary to this usage, which the Rastafarians regard as servile, is substituted the expression I and I for both first person singular and plural, subject and object. The context alone makes it clear to whom one is referring. The concept of I and I both reaffirms the identity of the individual as an individual, while at the same time stressing his union with other beings and the forces of life. This is a paradoxical concept that represents the simultaneous recognition and overcoming of the opposites embodied in I and you, self and other. Coupled with this is the elimination of the sound you from the vocabulary, should the brethren want to speak in pure argot. They ask :

Who is you? There is no you. There is only I and I. I is you, I is God, God is I. God is you but there is no you, because you is I. So I and I is God. It's the same God in all of I and I.

The experience of the oneness of life, of the common origin of all creation, is a primordial understanding, which according to the brethren constitutes the source of their spiritual energies. This is the origin of One Love or Love I Man, two common Rasta greetings. This sense of unity is also expressed by the rejection of the use of the plural form of man or woman. Instead, the terms this man or this woman are used. The plural forms are regarded as evil or debasing.

The sound I, which is also associated with the idea of eye or vision, is combined in a number of ways to create word variations. It is often substituted for the sound You or for key syllables in a word. In addition to this variation, the Rastas frequently remodel (Reisman, 1970 : 131 - 2) certain words by substituting one syllable for its opposite which they argue is more meaningful. For example, the term oppression becomes downpression for they argue, how can one be uplifted (up-pressed) while being held down? Other terms created in this manner are as follows :

settle down becomes settle up
understanding becomes overstanding
weak becomes strong
kerosine oil becomes curseblind oil
partake becomes fulltake

everybody becomes everygoody
 cigarette becomes lowgarette or blind
 myself become I-self
 meditation becomes I-ditation
 praises becomes I-ses
 feeling good is I-ly or I-ry
 herbs is Ishensi
 water is I'sfull (eyesfull or tears)

In addition, there are also special usages of certain words. For example, water is also suave, matches is luchis, race is dynasty, history is anciency, beard is precepts. Some of these expressions will appear in examples of Rasta speech used throughout this thesis. This argot, with its innovative scope and Sufi indirection, is not to be taught as such. Like the speech patterns of other Black communities, it is a product of oral culture. One learns it over time as one is initiated in the faith, by smoking and reasoning with the more see-sound (seasoned) brethren. Sooner or later one of these brethren will point out the relationship between the word I and the word high, which he pronounces with a mute h. I/high is the state of inspiration that comes with smoking herbs and praising Jah.

During a reasoning session the brethren attempt to relate, in a meaningful way, their subjective realities to the immediate social and economic realities. Let us consider, for example, the proposition arrived at in meditation and explored during reasoning, that the Pope is the Head of the Mafia. In spite of the factionalism of the movement, this is an almost universally held truth. What would be the implications of such a statement in terms of Rasta understanding of world history?

First, general parallels are drawn between the two organizations. Both are tightly organized hierarchical complexes, international in extent, with headquarters in Italy. It was the Europeans who developed an international slave trade based upon forced Africa labour to build their overseas colonies. Thus, the Rastas argue, that it is these same Europeans today who maintain these peoples in a condition of neocolonial exile. Secondly, they recognize the fact that the Caribbean economies are dependent upon the European imperium. The Rastas see all white men as European, and regard all Europeans as having developed racially and culturally from the decadent Romans, now known as Italians. The Romans are considered descendents of Babylon, the most corrupt society of all.

In fact, the Babylonian identification extends to Europeans and whites in general. Italians are singled out on account of their Ethiopian adventure in 1935, but the refusal of the League of Nations to impose effective sanctions condemned all of Europe in the eye of the Black Man. The Rastas see the invasion of Ethiopia as part of a plot dating back to the schism between the Roman Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church. World War II is held to have begun in Africa, in Ethiopia : Selassie said, strike a match in Ethiopia, and all of Europe will burn.

The Roman Catholic Church is regarded as the de facto government of Italy. It is seen as one of the most effective agents of colonialism, which channels all profits and proceeds back into the mother country, in much the same manner as the Mafia. The Mafia represents international organized crime, supported by the Roman Catholic Church, since most of its members are of this denomination. The Rastas claim that this crime is as necessary to the economic stability of Europe and America as slavery once was, and that in fact, the Church and the Mafia are the same white man. The concept of the Mafia has been extended to include any individuals in government or business who deal in unofficial understandings and who profit financially by corruption.

A reasoning as complex as this, including all the digressions and interruptions, would claim the brethren's attention for several hours. Finally, a consensus is reached. Having applied the notion of Mafia in the widest possible sense, the brothers feel free to go about their separate business. The pipe is sequestered under the house. The same theme will be returned to another day, for no one reasoning session is to be considered absolute in the sense that the truths received in it are thence forward to be unquestionably accepted. On the contrary, the reasoning session is the mechanism whereby each brother can validate these truths or understandings for himself, through the inspiration of the herbs. He can ascertain where they are right, and where they are missing. As a result, reasoning is a continuous process, and new understandings or slight variations on the old, can be incorporated as time goes on. For example, a recent visa agreement between Italy and Jamaica, whereby a citizen of either country can remain for up to three months in the other without a permit, is taken as further evidence of collusion between the brown man's government and Rome. Every brother has access to inspiration

and the visionary experience through the proper use of herbs, and in the final analysis he can know for himself where the truth lies.

While the kind of reasoning discussed above explores the implications of general Rastafarian understandings, another kind of reasoning addresses itself to the solution of more immediate problems. In this kind of dialogue brethren apply Rastafarian principles to practical problems and political issues. While we noted in our discussion of methodology (in chapter four) that it was generally difficult to tape record reasoning sessions, we do have a transcription of a reasoning that took place between Brother Maskaram and Brother Tabbot on one occasion that will serve to illustrate our point. Brother Maskaram had been invited to present the Rastafarian viewpoint on birth control and family planning at a conference which was to be held in Jamaica. One day he requested that a video tape be made of the reasoning between himself and Brother Tabbot on this issue. In the days following, Maskaram took the video equipment and tape around Kingston showing it in the yards of various brethren. This particular reasoning session, which was entirely unrehearsed, is so typical of this style of discourse that we shall discuss it in more detail. (See appendix 4.)

In this reasoning both brethren immediately voiced their opinion that this conference was not designed to solicit public opinion but rather, to publicize government policy about a matter that had already been decided. Proceeding on this assumption, they discussed the implications of Rastafarian's attending such a meeting. Since they agreed that family planning was in fact a form of genocide, it remained for them to illustrate this argument. They accomplished this by adopting various perspectives on the problem. Throughout the reasoning we find many examples of the figurative speech which distinguishes Rastafarian discourse. With reference to ideology as a cultural system, Geertz has made the following point :

It is ... the absence of any analytical framework within which to deal with figurative language that has reduced sociologists to viewing ideologies as elaborate cries of pain. With no notion of how metaphor, analogy, irony, ambiguity, pun, paradox, hyperbole, rhythm, and all the other elements of what we lamely call 'style' operate - even, in a majority of cases, with no recognition that these devices are of any

importance in casting personal attitudes into public form, sociologists lack the symbolic resources out of which to construct a more incisive formulation (Geertz, 1973 : 209).

This reasoning between Maskaram and Tabbot combines political commentary with a cultural form of discourse which was appreciated by listeners for its own merits.

The brethren used some statistics initially to demonstrate that despite the large sums of money poured into the programme, the population has continued to increase. Arguing that the overcrowded ghetto situation in West Kingston is similar to that of the Jews during their forced sojourn in Egypt, Maskaram made a case for using these same funds to repatriate such Africans in exile to Ethiopia. He pointed out that the forms of social control exercised by the government under the circumstances could be considered as acts of genocide. This situation was likened to the tactics used by the Italians in the 1936 invasion of Ethiopia.

Then the reasoning became more international in scope as both Maskaram and Tabbot agreed that such developments in Jamaica were part of an imperialist strategy to prevent Black people and Africans from achieving autonomy. The role of sexual politics in this regard was also discussed, with specific reference to local events and local people. In particular, certain derogatory attitudes towards women were revealed.

Throughout this reasoning the brethren utilized biblical references, metaphor, analogy, and punning in order to make their points. Their intention was to demonstrate how family planning programmes, in their opinion, were another aspect of the oppression of Black people and Africans in general. However serious this message was, though, their style of presentation and the good humour displayed never failed to engage the attention and appreciation of both Rastafarian and non-Rastafarian audiences alike, as subsequent showings of the tape demonstrated. In this regard, while Rastafarian reasoning as a form of communication is highly provocative, it is difficult for those in attendance not to respond.

The Rastafarian form of reasoning shares a number of characteristics in common with the stylized discourse of the other New World Black communities. There is, for example, a generalized tendency to observe the principles of reticence and discretion when people gather to talk (Reisman, 1970 : 136). These qualities are meant to protect the participants from overt personal threat. Two of the techniques used to this end are what Reisman calls masking and remodelling. Masking involves the taking on of forms from the immediate environment to express alternate meanings (Reisman, 1970 : 131). In remodelling, one reshapes " the forms of symbols to resemble as closely as possible, both the historical source and the forms current in the environment " (Reisman, 1970 : 131). Reisman draws instances of remodelling and masking from British Honduras and Antigua, where Creole is spoken, but the transvaluations effected in Rastafarianism are also pertinent. We only need recall such neologisms as head-decay-shun (for education) and curseblind (for kerosene) to see that the same techniques are at work.

There are also points of comparison in the use of rhetorical devices, for New World Blacks in general will make use of hyperbole, rhyming, malapropism (Dillard, 1973 : 249) and haplology⁴ (Reisman, 1970 : 137). The use of the " intrusive I " has been reported on from several localities. This consists in " the repeated and insistent use of the first person singular pronoun " to induce a " strong sense of sympathetic involvement and vicarious identification " (Abrahams, 1970 : 164; Kochman, 1974 : 78).

Likewise, there are parallels in the social dialectic. We can recall the Rastaman's love of word-play and fanciful manipulation of context in Reisman's description of Antiguan discourse :

It is one characteristic of remodelled symbols that they do not force their multiplicity. It is up to the listener to " take " or to " get " the multiple meanings. It is a characteristic of Antiguan conversation, for example, for a word to become popular as a token which is tossed into conversations to see how many meanings the group can give to it by placing it in different contexts The characteristic feature is that the person introducing the word into the conversation does not have to have a clear idea of the meanings he wants it to take on. This is a collective process (Reisman, 1970 : 133).

In its ability to conceal meaning from suspect or third parties Rasta reasoning resembles Black discourse generally. It must be remembered that all these forms of discourse sprang from the exigencies of plantation society, where there was a pressing need to bound one's speech community under the most unfavourable circumstances. Nowadays in groups that do not seek to raise consciousness, these verbal ingenuities may only register an ambiguous acceptance of the status quo. They enliven the colonizer's language, even while undermining it.

For the Rastafarians as for other New World Blacks, the word has power, and whether English or not, it must be respected. There is a heightened appreciation of verbal facilities in this speech community. What makes the Rastafarians distinctive, however, are the uses to which this oral culture is put. At the level of social function, the visionaries of Rastafari have to be distinguished from the other men-of-words distributed throughout the Caribbean and North American regions. Defined as " individuals who are good at using words effectively, " the men-of-words stage contests among themselves as a " community-accepted manner of demonstrating masculinity " (Abrahams, 1970 : 164). Abrahams also speaks of the adolescent practice of rhyming, which involved the playful exchange of inventive invective and hyperbolic abuse. These battles are " recognized simply as boasting, and though the contestants become deeply involved in the proceedings, they seldom regard it as anything but entertainment " (Abrahams, 1970 : 165). Abrahams reports similar forms of stylized banter in the Speech Mas' of Tobago and the Tea Meeting of Nevis. Rapping is another such pattern. It is to be heard in the American ghettos. Again stressing the adversary character of the exchange, Kochman has described rapping as " an instrument to manipulate and control people to get them to give up or to do something " (Kochman, 1974 : 79). He indicates that one raps to rather than with a person. This supports his contention that rapping is to be regarded more as a performance than as verbal exchange (Kochman, 1974 : 78).

This is the critical point, for Rastafarian reasoning is not meant primarily to entertain (though it may well be entertaining), but to elucidate. It is meant to shed new light upon the people's condition, to unveil truth and help the wisdom flow. For this reason the brethren regard the activity as a holy one, requiring ritual and symbolic supports.

This leads to a second distinction. Where the patterns reported by Abrahams and Kochman seem to be generated by the assumption of adversary roles - as in contests and banter - the Rastafarian presumes the essential unity of all the participants. Rapping and rhyming, Speech Mas' and Tea Meetings may be keyed to the " Intrusive I "; but reasoning unfolds in the spirit of the extensive I and I. In political terms this is a crucial departure. No longer will the power of the word be dissipated in safety valve extravagance, which can only aid the oppressor. It becomes instead the ritual basis of collective action.

Chants and Dance With Kali

When there is moonlight enough to see by, or a special occasion to prepare for, the brethren will set out the drums. Maskaram has his own collection but several of the brethren who are considered ritual specialists may bring the small repeaters, or the medium-sized funde along with them. The largest drum, the bass, is too awkward to be portable. Some brethren bring guitars for chording in rhythm. Others have flutes and clarinets. The drums are what are important, though, and the session gains coherence as the drummers start " tuning up. " One brother, not a drummer, takes up a chant. Others join in. The drums adjust to the voices. The red, gold, and green banner of Ethiopia faded in the dusk, now Rasta is known by its sounds.

A chant winds down, a brother whispers : " listen ", and without missing a beat, initiates the next. By the Rivers of Babylon is a meditative chant which allows for an antiphonal effect, with one brother echoing another in staggered measure. This device substitutes for refrains in prolonging the song. In other chants like Angels are Waiting each line is stretched out rallentando. In some we repeat the refrains. Right from the first, people have been dancing. Brother Gabby, who talks the fastest of all, is also the best dancer. This brother is known for the precision with which he can elaborate the drum rhythms. He knows several dozen steps. The Rasta approach to dance is in a spirit altogether different from that of limbo, possession trance, or jump-up. One brother, in striving to explain the difference to me said that : " The Rastaman dance without raising him feet. " Of course, he did not intend this

literally; what he meant was that for the Rasta, dancing did not negate meditation. You can move forwards, sideways, and backwards in a dozen different ways without leaving your spot!

Besides the moon, some illumination also comes from guttering coke bottles, stuffed with kerosene-soaked cotton rags. The brethren drumming have laid beside them spliffs of special kali buds. In the shadows the pipe crackles and sparks fly up. A transition of rhythm is negotiated unhesitatingly by the three drummers.

Just as there are Seven Seals, so there are seven basic rhythms. This is Rasta understanding. But my understanding is that likewise there are seven different pitches - not musical tones, but rather seven distinct ways of moving the spirit. The group articulates that many moods. Thus the session begins with chants that are meant to still the mind and call the brethren to worship. The pace is slow and the tempo even. We might call these mood-setting chants.

1. Angels Are Waiting

Come away
Come away
Come away Haile Selassie I call you

Angels are waiting
Bright
Angels are waiting
Happy
Angels are waiting
To carry the tidings home

Ethiopia is a better land
Ethiopia is a better land
Ethiopia is a better land
Oh, Jah Rastafari, Selah.

2. No Good Down Here

Come with me where the breeze is blowing
Where the milk and honey flowing
Goodbye to sorrow
And goodbye to fear
Come away from the land of the sinking sun
There is no good down here

No good down here
No good down here
Come away from the land of the sinking sun
There is no good down here.

3. Travel With the God of Love

Leave I home and family
To travel with the God of love
Leave I home and family
To travel with the God of love

Leave I home and family
 To travel with the God of love
 Travel, Ethiopians, travel
 Travel, travel,
 Travel with the God of love.

4. Leave Babylon

Leave Babylon
 Leave Babylon
 Leave Babylon
 And come

Don't mind your friends
 For they will laugh you to shame
 When Christ was here
 They have done him the very same
 Look in your life
 Black people
 See how you live
 Leave Babylon
 And come.

5. Here What the Rastaman Say

The time is drawing nigh
 For us to go
 Where we belong
 The time is drawing nigh,
 For us to go
 Where we belong
 To that glorious place
 Our Father's land in Zion

Hear what the Rastaman say now
 Sinners cannot enter there
 Hear what the Nyahman say now
 Sinners cannot enter there.

6. Rastaman Travel by the Wayside

Rastaman travel by the wayside
 Seeking souls to save
 Rastaman travel by the wayside
 Seeking souls to save
 If you want pardon
 If you want peace, If you want pardon
 Come bow at King Rasta feet.

Certain brethren are renowned for their skill in drumming, each one usually specializing on one type of drum. Others are recognized for their ability to lead the others in chanting. There is an art to sensing the spirit of the group, and in selecting chants that are appropriate to the occasion. One has to be sensitive to timing and to know just when to change the pace. In short, one needs to move with the spirit.

A second category of chants are what might be called morale boosters. Whereas the first set has a slower, somewhat reflective pace, that is very effective in orienting people to the occasion and establishing a bond among them, the second group serves the purpose of creating an atmosphere of dedication and militancy. They are chants that raise the spirit and arouse strong emotions. The pace is much faster, the tempo is speeded up, an affirmation of purpose is forthcoming :

1. Come From Zion

Come from Zion
 With me banner in me hand
 Banner in me hand
 Banner in me hand
 Banner in me hand

 Come from Zion
 With me banner in my hand
 And you catch the River Jordan
 No turn back

Rastaman, you soul it no fi turn back
 Rastaman, you soul it no fi turn back
 Rastaman, you soul it no fi turn back
 Now you catch the River Jordan
 No fi turn back.

2. Tell Out King Rasta Doctrine

Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Get your Bible, read it
 Read it with understanding
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world.

3. Babylon Gone Down

Babylon you gone down
 Babylon you gone down
 Babylon you gone
 And your throne gone down

Upon the mountain
 See Rastafari stand
 Out of his mouth
 Come fire and smoke
 I look around him
 As if I were night
 I ask King Rastafari
 To be my guide

For every time I
 Feel the spirit
 Moving in my heart

I pray
 Every time I
 Feel the spirit
 Moving in my heart
 I sing.

4. John Was in the Spirit

John was in the spirit
 On the last day
 Heard a voice from Zion call
 This what him say

I am alpha and omega
 Beginning without end
 Behold I live forever more

Behold I live, Jah lives
 Behold I live, Jah lives
 Behold I live, forever more.

5. Have a Little Light in I

Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Shine, shine, shine, shine

Garvey saw
 Marcus Garvey saw
 Garvey saw the light burning over there.

6. Ethiopians Walk in a Righteous Way

Ethiopians walk in a righteous way
 Ethiopians walk in a righteous way
 The righteous way is to wait and pray
 The righteous way is to wait and pray
 Ethiopians walk in a righteous way.

7. It's the Bible Way

It's the Bible way
 Over hills and valleys
 I will sing God's praises
 Till whole world crumble
 I will plant my feet
 Upon this new foundation
 It's the Bible way.

8. Carnal Mind

Oh, you can't go to Zion
 With a carnal mind
 You can't go to Zion
 With no carnal mind
 Selassie I don't want no carnal mind.

The third category of chants is what I term plaints. In these, the Rastaman bewails his condition, and sets the record straight with reference to the present situation. These chants are only heard now and then :

1. Universal Tribulation

Universal tribulation
Is upon Mankind
There is only one conclusion
We can find

Come together
Sisters, brothers
Time is gliding on
Hear the voice of Ethiopia
Everyone

Enemies of Ethiopia
Must go down in one
There will never be
Another Babylon

This is our Liberation
Let us all unite
Ethiopians, sons and daughters
Lead the fight.

2. Here We Are in These Lands

Here we are in these lands
No one thinks how we stand
The hands are upon us all day
So we cry and we sigh
For we know not their God
So we always be crying in vain

We will rally round the red, black, and green
Away with the red, white, and blue
We going to take down the stars and the stripes
And set up the red, gold, and green.

Our forefathers feel
The pangs of the chains
See the blood running out of his veins
Our slavemaster still provoke our yoke
And he tempt our God in his eyes

The red, white, and blue
Is a cruel false Jew
Who has shed our blood in these lands
And they take it as joke
To provoke our yoke
And to tempt our God in his eyes.

The fourth category is definitely cathartic. Where in the previous set, the Rastaman sets forth his analysis of the situation as he sees it, in this group of chants he proffers a solution. The above chants were slow in pace. In this set the tempo speeds up considerably and they are often accompanied by nyahbingi dancing, in which various brethren, seized by the spirit of Jah, perform very rapid and precise movements, including leaps and high jumps, most gracefully. The other brethren really appreciate it, and one hears cries of encouragement and wonder. This set of chants allows room for individual contributions to the litany, and many hostile-sounding expressions can be heard chorused.

1. Rastaman a Whip Down Babylon

Rastaman a whip down Babylon
 Rastaman a whip down Babylon
 With the earthquake
 Whip down Babylon
 With the lightning
 Beat down Babylon
 With the fireball
 Burn down Babylon.

What keeps up the momentum of this chant is the variation of the refrain and the virtuoso performances on the drums. One can do almost anything to Babylon - whip, beat, burn, strike, crash, etc., - with almost anything - thunder, long guns, lightning, fire, bombs, etc. The brethren show a great deal of enthusiasm for this chant.

2. Me Want to God Home to Me Yard

Me wonder why the white man him no going
 Me want to go home to me yard
 Me wonder why the white man him no going
 Me want to go home to me yard

 Me say, burn them out
 Me say, dash them out,
 Me say, cast them out of Ethiopia land.

Once again, as in the previous chant, one can do almost anything to the white man here.

3. Come Down

Come down, white man, come down
 Come down off a Black Man shoulder
 Come down, white man, come down
 Come down off a Black man shoulder
 Let the power of Selassie - I throw them off
 Come down off a black man shoulder
 Let the power of Selassie - I throw them off
 Come down off a black man shoulder.

In this chant, the term white man is substituted with the names of the various individuals and associations the Rasta feel are a source of oppression. Thus we get : come down Elizabeth; come down Pope Paul; come down Nixon, etc.

4. Rastaman Say Him Just a Come Back

Rastaman say him just a come back
This a one say him just a come back
That a one say him just a come back, etc.

This chant is sung antiphonally, with one group chanting the name of whoever it is who " says ", and the other responding with " say him just a come back. " It is often heard near the climax of a session, because it has a tempo that allows the drums to carry it and build up the intensity.

In a sense, the fifth category of chants are recruitment-oriented.

1. Volunteer Ethiopians

We are volunteer Ethiopians
Agitating for our rights
And we won't stop fight
Until we break down Babylon walls

Come and join Jah army
The army of our God and King
Rastafari is our leader
We must gather round his throne
For Jah is such a leader
Here we are today
Rastafari is a righteous leader
And him sure to win.

2. A Penny a Day

It is a penny a day
In the army of Selassie I
It is a penny a day
In the army of Rastafari
If you start in the morning
If you start at noon
If you even start in the afternoon
It's a penny a day
In the army of Fari.

3. Come and Dine, Rastafari Call You

The brethren chanted this on only a few occasions when I was present and I do not have the words.

4. Inviting You All to Come Along

Inviting you all to come along
We are having a glorious time
Going to the city where the moonlight always shine.

The sixth category of chants are songs of praises to Selassie.

1. Selassie is the Lily of the Valley

Selassie is the lily of the valley
He's the bright and morning star
Selassie is the fairest of ten thousand
Everyone should have known
Who Selassie is.

2. A New Name Him Got

A new name him got
And it terrible among them
The heathen no like Jah name
Me say, a new name Jah got
And it dreadful among them
The heathen no like Jah name

Call him Rastafari
See how they can tremble
The heathen no like Jah name
Call him Rastafari
See how they can tremble
The heathen no like Jah name

If you never chant before
Don't bother to chant again
Destruction Babylon soon come
Join us now or soon too late.

3. Want to see King Rastafari

Want to see King Rastafari
To look upon his face
See the streaks of glory
Shining on his face

Tell all the gentiles them to come
To look upon his face
We are going home, going home
To see King Rastafari

Haile Selassie is the rock of ages
Allelujah
Haile Selassie is the rock of ages
Allelujah
Haile Selassie is the rock of ages
Allelujah, allelujah.

4. Haile Selassie is the Chapel

Haile Selassie is the chapel
The power of the Trinity
Build your mind on this direction
Serve the living God
And live.

Take your troubles to Selassie
 He is the only King of Kings
 The conquering Lion of Judah
 Triumphantly we all must sing.

I search and I search
 This great book of mine
 In the Revelation
 Look what I find

Haile Selassie is the chapel
 All the world should know
 That man is an angel
 And our God the king of kings.

The seventh category of chants concern Zion and Repatriation. But they also warn of the obstacles to Repatriation in this life here and now. In this respect they are perhaps Utopian in the true sense of the word :

1. We Are Only a Visitor Here

We are only a visitor here
 And we have no time to fear
 For when we reach Ethiopia land
 His Majesty gonna take us by the hand
 We are only a visitor here.

2. We Are Going Home

We are going home, we are going home
 We are going home to Ethiopia

If you tarry till you betta
 You will never come at all
 If you tarry till you betta
 You will never come at all
 If you tarry till you betta
 You will never come at all.

3. Zion High

Zion I me want to go
 Zion I me want to go
 Zion high is me Father's home
 Me want to go
 Zion I me want to go.

4. I Want to Go Home

I want to go home
 To that land
 Carry me back home
 To that land
 Carry me back home
 To that land where I am from

For there is joy in my soul
 Peace and happiness in my heart
 Carry me back home
 To that land where I am from.

5. Mount Zion is a Holy Place

Mount Zion is a holy place
 No sin cannot enter there
 Mount Zion is a holy place
 No sin cannot enter there

No sin, no sin at all
 No sin, no sin at all
 No sin cannot enter there.

6. Want to Go Home

Want to go home to Ethiopia land
 Want to go home to Ethiopia land
 Want to go home to Ethiopia land
 Oh Jah Rastafari, oh Selah

See what Babylon do we down here
 See what Babylon do we down here
 See what Babylon do we down here
 Oh what a wicked Babylon

Open the gate make I repatriate
 Open the gate make I repatriate
 Open the gate make I repatriate
 Oh King Rastafari, oh Selah.

7. Zion High

Zion high me want to go
 Zion I me want to go
 Zion high is the Father's home
 Me want to go
 Zion high me want to go

It's the land of the Lion of Judah
 The home of plenty
 And he who dared open the Book
 And break the seven seal.

This last chant by no means exhausts the repertoire. But when the dawn is breaking and the session is nearly over, there is sometimes a movement towards a chant based on the single syllable " I ". Using a motif from Zion High the brethren repeat that sound over and over again, stretching it out through almost two octaves. Knowing the centrality of the I, the Selassie-I, the I and I, we can only call this their chant of one-ness.

The one-ness chant is ultimately short and simple, but all the others are at least relatively so. They can easily be learned by anyone present. It is difficult though, to convey in writing the many variations that can take place on just one theme. They are always repeated several

times, often with different brethren adding their own refrains. There are standardized responses that can be inserted between the words of the chants, so that an antiphonal effect is achieved. In fact, certain chants are paired and sung in this fashion. Since each chant has a different rhythm, corresponding somewhat to its message, there is also an art in knowing when to introduce it. Some chants are used to open meetings, others to close them. Some chants are effective in rousing the spirit of the group, others promote a meditational atmosphere. Between the various chants there are drumming interludes in which the virtuosity of the performers is highlighted.

The last-mentioned chant, Zion High, concludes with reference to the Seven Seals. The seven seals or seven locks play a prominent role in Rasta symbology. They suggest at once the pillars of wisdom or the veils of wisdom; locks are to be worn and locks are to be opened. Adornment and concealment. The image of the seven seals appears to have circulated throughout Asia and Saharan Africa, but the Rasta base their interpretation upon this passage from the Book of Revelation :

And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the backside, sealed with seven seals.

And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice : Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?

And no man in Heaven, nor in earth, was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon.

And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read this book, neither to look thereon.

And one of the elders said unto me, Weep not, behold : the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book and to loose the seals thereof (Rev. 5 : 1 - 5).

John's vision is seminal to Rastafarian thought. They have their seven different drum rhythms; in Amharic there are seven different sounds of silence. Parallelisms of this kind scintillate within the Rastaman's doctrine of signs.

It is usually merely a fanciful exercise to correlate a musical stream with an emotional one, but we can, just the same, discern the Rasta drummers attempting to replicate ideological rhythms through musical tempi. They say theirs is a heart movement and the drum is its heartbeat. To them, drumming is the heart of African culture. For this reason nothing disturbs Babylonians more than the sound of the drums. While they

demoralize the enemy, the different chants and rhythms provide the current for the groundation of Zion. Foundation and electrical grounding are both implied by this term. The brethren say that when they join in chanting, vibrations are sent in whatever direction they wish. They can use the drums to heal or to cause ill-will. Chanting is a form of collective meditation which achieves group unity through a spectrum of mood.

An outsider listening to these chants as religiously-inspired songs might hear tunes and melodies in the style of revival camp meetings. Still some others appear to be heavily influenced by High Church Anglicanism. These two traditions are definitely represented in the above listed chants. However, the drumming accompaniment to these chants represents a unique Rastafarian development, although it is well within the tradition of folk drumming styles in the Caribbean. In both these senses then we can consider Rastafarian chanting and drumming continuous with local and regional cultural traditions. We might also set this behaviour within the larger historical experience of Africans in the diaspora and the culture of slavery.

When we examine the ideological content of these same chants, we also find represented a variety of influences. In the first place, apocalyptic Christian themes are frequently emphasized, which stress a separation of good and evil forces at the last judgement which appears to be imminent, e.g., No Good Down Here; Leave Babylon; The Time is Drawing Nigh; Babylon Gone Down; Universal Tribulation. There is a moral quality implied in many of these chants which stresses the virtues of Rastafarianism, and serves to reinforce their distinct orientation by distinguishing Rastafarians from other groups, which allegedly lead a less virtuous lifestyle. This Christian influence leads to a characterization of Ethiopia/Zion in very idealistic terms : free from sin, error, and problems, e.g., Hear What the Rastaman Say; No Good Down Here; Ethiopians Walk in a Righteous Way; Inviting You All to Come Along; Mount Zion Is A Holy Place.

Another dominant Christian theme is the portrayal of Selassie in a Christ-like manner. This is hardly surprising since many Rastafarians conceive of Selassie as the reincarnation of Jesus Christ. " Travel With the God of Love " emphasizes a theme that early Christians depicted - having to forsake one's family and social life to serve God. This is

still considered a Christian ideal for many clergy. In another chant we are offered salvation if we submit to Selassie/Christ, e.g., Rastaman Travel by the Wayside. " Volunteer Ethiopians " and " A Penny A Day " draw a parallel between service on behalf of Selassie and struggle through battle. This again is a theme emphasized in some Christian denominations. And then, there is an entire category of chants devoted to praising Selassie on account of both his mightiness and his power of love, essentially a combination of Old and New Testament points of view.

In Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches Marvin Harris has argued that there is a strong element of force and aggression in Christianity, contrary to its official image of peace and love (Harris, 1975 : 179 - 203). While Rastafarians ideologically profess " peace and love " we have noted a certain style of communication which they adopt occasionally when dealing with outsiders. Here we refer to their efforts to make others stand in dread by using an aggressive and violent-sounding rhetoric. Frequently we hear these phrases : Blood; Thunder; Lightning; Fire; Dread. In these chants this theme is also apparent, and when being sung to the accompaniment of drums, there is often a very vivid action component present as well, e.g., Rastaman Whip Down Babylon; Me Want to Go Home to Me Yard; Come Down.

On the other hand, there is a plaintive theme throughout some of these chants which suggests salvation through a kind of divine intervention, e.g., Angels Are Waiting; Babylon Gone Down; Volunteer Ethiopians. All of the chants which concern Zion and Repatriation are definitely other-worldly in their emphasis. However, we must emphasize that these chants, which can be analyzed to portray an unrealistic and idealistic world view, are very this-worldly in their intent. Here we refer to the function of these chanting and drumming sessions, which is essentially to promote the unitive intersubjective group experience.

In this chapter we have tried to bring a comparative frame of reference to bear on our understanding of the Rastafarian visionary experience. Our interest lies in the manner in which the Rastafarian movement as a social force influences the experience of the visionary state so as to further collective interests without detracting from the subjective experience of unity. In addition to ideological, ritual,

and symbolic factors which define the context in which this act takes place, we have tried to show that reasoning in a small group situation is a critical social mechanism. While through the process of reasoning the brethren expand, test, and apply ideology, they are also able to achieve a heightened sense of group unity through this act. This in turn strengthens the collective basis of the movement while at the same time reaffirming the individual's creative visionary role within it. We will now turn to a discussion of our case study in order to examine the problem of the relationship between vision, unity, and fission.

Footnotes to Chapter Six

1. See Charles Tart, 1969 for an overview of this field.
2. See Bourguignon, 1973 : 12 and 334 - 336; and J.M. Lewis, 1971 : 44 - 47, for a discussion of these terms. The distinction is obvious.
3. There is another possible influence that bears further research, however. We have already noted in Chapter Two that Joseph Hibbert, an early Rastafarian preacher, was a Master Mason of the Ancient Mystic Order of Ethiopia. We simply do not know what influence Hibbert's mystical and masonic ideas were on the movement.
4. This term refers to the dropping of syllables.

Chapter Seven

As Smoke Drives Them Out :

Visionary Perspectives and Yard Politics

In this chapter we will discuss small group behaviour among the Rastafarian brethren by focusing on Brother Maskaram and his closest associates. Our intention is to examine the social and ideological functioning of the movement on a day-to-day basis. In chapter four we made clear our intention to follow Nigel Harris by treating Brother Maskaram as a particular representative of the movement while remaining mindful of the limitations such an approach entails. Harris has suggested that one check on representativeness is whether or not such figures' arguments carry the day (Harris, 1968 : 50). Thus we will also want to consider, as far as possible, the influence that Maskaram's opinions have.

Harris also argues that in order to understand an ideology we have to approach it from the viewpoint of the kinds of problems it is intended to solve (Harris, 1968 : 53). More specifically, Harris states that we need to appreciate which issues people regard as relevant to know about and to act upon (Harris, 1968 : 58 - 59). He directs our attention to concrete situations in which individuals " believe and act " (Harris, 1968 : 262). The thrust of his argument is that, practically speaking, we have to discuss ideological statements with reference to their social context at some point in our analysis. Thus, from the perspective of Brother Maskaram and his circle of brethren, we intend to examine the kinds of problems that confront individuals on a day-to-day basis as well as issues that concern the movement as a whole.

In this chapter we shall first situate Maskaram within the socio-logical and ideological context of the movement. We will discuss the basis of his authority, the way in which his daily life is organized as both a Rastafarian ideologue and a yard politician, and his relationship to the movement in general. In order to accomplish these objectives, we will refer to several incidents which developed during the period of our

fieldwork, and demonstrate the manner in which Brother Maskaram attempted to deal with them. In the course of this discussion, Maskaram's own ideological orientation within the movement should become clear.

The Social Environment of West Kingston

Before dealing with Brother Maskaram's role within the movement, we shall examine the general social context within which he functions. In particular, we want to discuss the system of yard housing as we found it in West Kingston. West Kingston is important because the highest concentration of Rastafarians in Jamaica is found there. Using the 1960 census statistics Colin Clarke, in a major study of urban development and social change in Kingston Jamaica writes :

The movement was confined to two major zones, on the fringe of the tenements and on the periphery of the city; the heaviest concentrations were recorded on the foreshore in West Kingston, at Back O' Wall and in Trench Town (Clarke, 1975 : 119).

While Brother Maskaram had lived in Trenchtown most of his life, he and his close circle there also maintained a temple in the area known as Back O' Wall or the Dungle, only a couple of miles away from his yard.

Unemployment, poverty, overcrowding, and disease characterize life in West Kingston. In addition to commercial and industrial sites, there are three kinds of housing available : government-sponsored projects, privately-owned yards, and squatter settlements. While the squatter settlements lack services completely, most of the government and privately-owned properties have also deteriorated into slum conditions. Statistics are inadequate to convey a sense of the reality of this situation. However, the following summary was made by Joseph Owens using 1970 census data :

The 1970 census estimated the population of Kingston to be 506,000. About 60% or 300,000 people live in the lower class urban slum areas, where the population density is about 30,000 per square mile. Considering that few two storey dwellings exist, and that a great deal of land is occupied by industrial sites, this would be a minimum estimate at the outside. In Trench Town, the government report estimates the population density to be 96,000 per square mile. The following figures apply :

1. 150 residents per acre
2. average age is 15 years
3. average size of household : 12

4. 2/3 households average three persons per room
5. 80% have no water
6. 75% have no electricity
7. 70% share toilet facilities or do not have them (latrine type toilets)
8. 70% have no bathing facilities
9. 45% household heads are women
10. median income per household per week is \$10.00; average income per person is \$2.50 per week
11. 94% do not own the land they are living on
12. 96% do not belong to any community organization (Owens, 1974 : 43).

Now let us turn our attention to the yard system of housing.

Whether the property is owned privately or by the government, whether we are dealing with a squatter settlement or a housing project, with the exception of apartment complexes, the most common form of housing organization is the yard. A yard is the collective dwelling unit which most lower-class Jamaicans inhabit. Typically it consists of several one-room housing units within a larger spacial complex, with shared latrine and water facilities. Cooking is done on an individual family basis, sometimes on the stoop in front of the room which the family inhabits - called house, not room - sometimes in a general kitchen quarter but on individually owned coal or oil stoves. Yard is a term used in a more general sense, even by middle-class or upper-class Jamaicans to refer to their spacious private dwellings when they want to affect sociable chatter. Yard may also be used to refer to squatter premises, where the housing construction is more dilapidated and facilities very rudimentary if not absent. Squatter settlements, for example usually have to use water stands located at a considerable distance from the home. While a comprehensive study of the yard system is beyond the scope of this paper, it is important to understand some aspects of yard living in order to appreciate the Rastafarian use of herbs. A more detailed study is Erna Brodber's research into Kingston yards where she focuses on their social behaviour and structure (Brodber, 1975).

In addition to yards, we may also find camps in such an urban environment. In a narrow sense the term camp refers to a living site where men tend to gather, to socialize and to smoke together, to listen to music and to talk politics. A camp is generally run by one or more individuals who take responsibility for providing these services, and in return, earn a living from them. While most people who frequent camps do not remain longer than a few hours or a day, it is not uncommon for

individuals to stay for several days at a time. Camps may also provide food, although this is more likely to be the case in peri-urban camps. The term camp or herb-camp may also be used to refer to urban sites which are very much like yards in every respect except for the fact that the above services are provided. A herb-yard on the other hand, is a yard where individuals can buy and smoke cannabis, but where no other facilities are really available. Yards have family groups living in them, and tend to be more placid than camps, which are considered a little rougher, "for men only", so to speak. In actual practice it is difficult sometimes to draw a line between the two, since in the urban areas, in particular, part of a housing area may be run like a yard, while another part may be managed like a camp. Also, occasionally in a herb-yard there may be individuals who push on the definition of the situation and who behave as if they are in a camp. As we will see in our analysis of Brother Markaram's yard, this can be a source of controversy, and even negotiation.

While no two yards are alike, there is an internal layout common to all of them. Most yards are surrounded by fencing, however minimal, that demarcates their boundaries. Government housing yards (subsidized) are more regular in construction and their fencing is generally more apparent and more solid. The other kind of yard is called a tenant yard, a piece of property usually owned by an absentee landlord with an appointed supervisor on the premises. Proprietors frequently reside in the lower middle-class yards which are often located near lower-class housing. Such yards are behaviourally distinct from herb-yards, in that smoking cannabis and other activities considered disruptive are discouraged. While tenant yards are also fenced, their construction may appear to be less regular in terms of materials used. Additions, not of the same style or building materials, may lend an air of heterogeneity. However, all yards tend to arrange their internal space in similar ways.

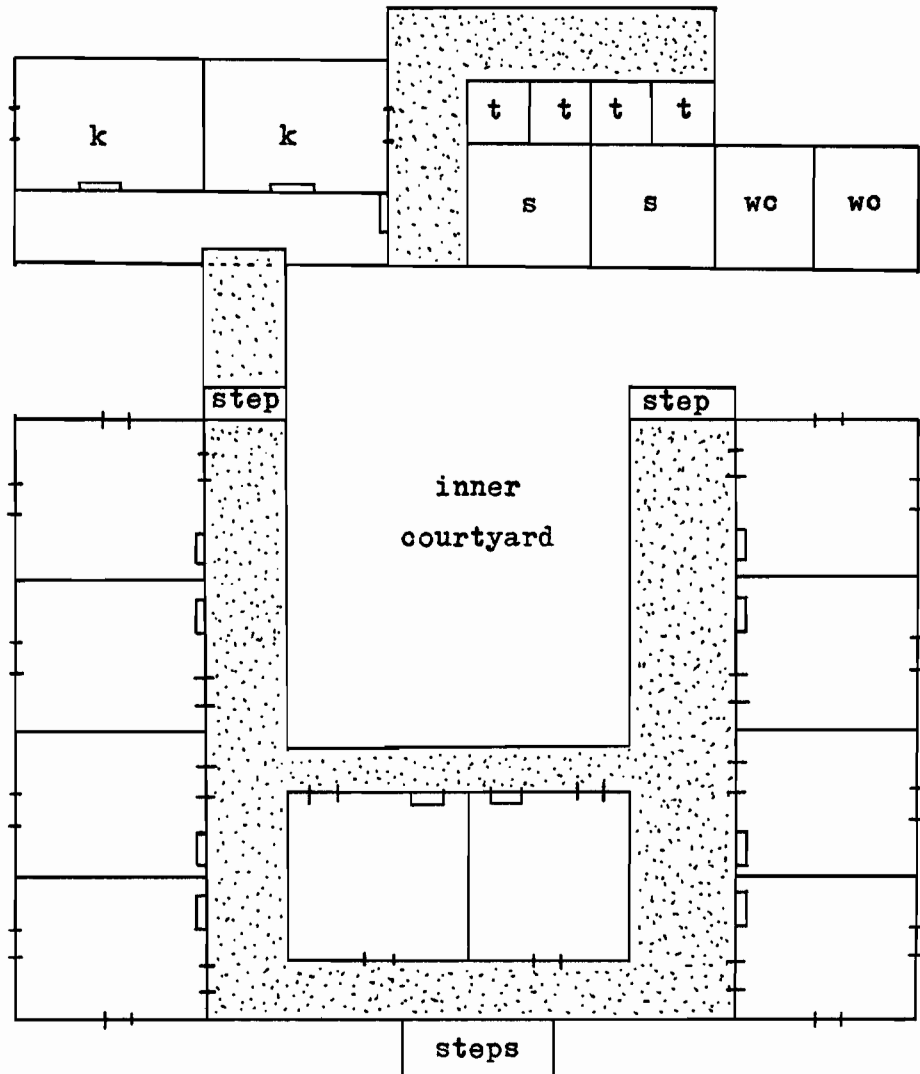
Generally speaking, one gains access to a yard through an outer courtyard which lies next to the fence just off the street. Most of the public, even the police, would have access here. People chat in this area, cars or motor bikes may be repaired here, garbage is piled here for removal. Daily functions are carried on in an inner courtyard, usually a communal area, frequently centred around a water pipe. Women wash clothes, children play, and special tasks, like shelling peas or roasting peanuts,

may be carried on. Finally, there is what we might refer to as the internal courtyard, a niche sequestered from the street and the bustle of life, which is reserved for more sociable activities. Here one can smoke ganja, play dominoes, and reason with brethren. The public has diminishing access to the yard the further one proceeds into it. Map 1 and Map 2, of government housing and tenant yards, respectively, reveal this structure. Map 3 represents a Rastafarian settlement which combines the attributes of both yard and camp.

Generally speaking it is obvious where the Rastafarians group. One can sometimes scan the corrugated metal roofs and leafy green tree tops and spy the red, gold, and green flags of Ethiopia mounted on poles that may be thirty or forty feet high. If it is not apparent from the street which is a Rastafarian yard, it will be so upon entering. Red, gold, and green motifs are ubiquitous. Household items are selected with an eye for this colour combination. Furniture and walls are frequently painted in these colours. Amid this already very colourful setting, one will find paintings and drawings with African themes, for it is the rare Rastafarian who has not tried his hand with an artist's brush. One will see likenesses of the Emperor, often represented as wearing locks, as well as scenes depicting lions bearing flags, African and Ethiopian heroes, events from the period of slavery, Amharic script, and idealized versions of Zion. Often newspaper clippings are pasted on the walls. Rastafarian yards are indistinguishable architecturally from the yards of other poor people. It is more the elaboration of Ethiopian motifs that give such yards their special status, in contrast with the culturally impoverished environments which we have been describing. Brother Maskaram's yard was no exception in this regard. And like most other Rastafarian brethren in West Kingston, because of the housing shortage, he shared yard facilities with several non-Rastafarian families as well. The very fact that brethren find it difficult to segregate themselves from the non-Rastafarian population in these yards serves to keep the movement in touch with a popular social base. At this point we would like to situate Brother Maskaram more precisely within the context of the Rastafarian movement.

concrete wall

internal courtyard



KEY

wo ... toilet

s ... shower

k ... kitchen

t ... watertap

† ... window

p ... door

... concrete porch
(roofed)

outer courtyard

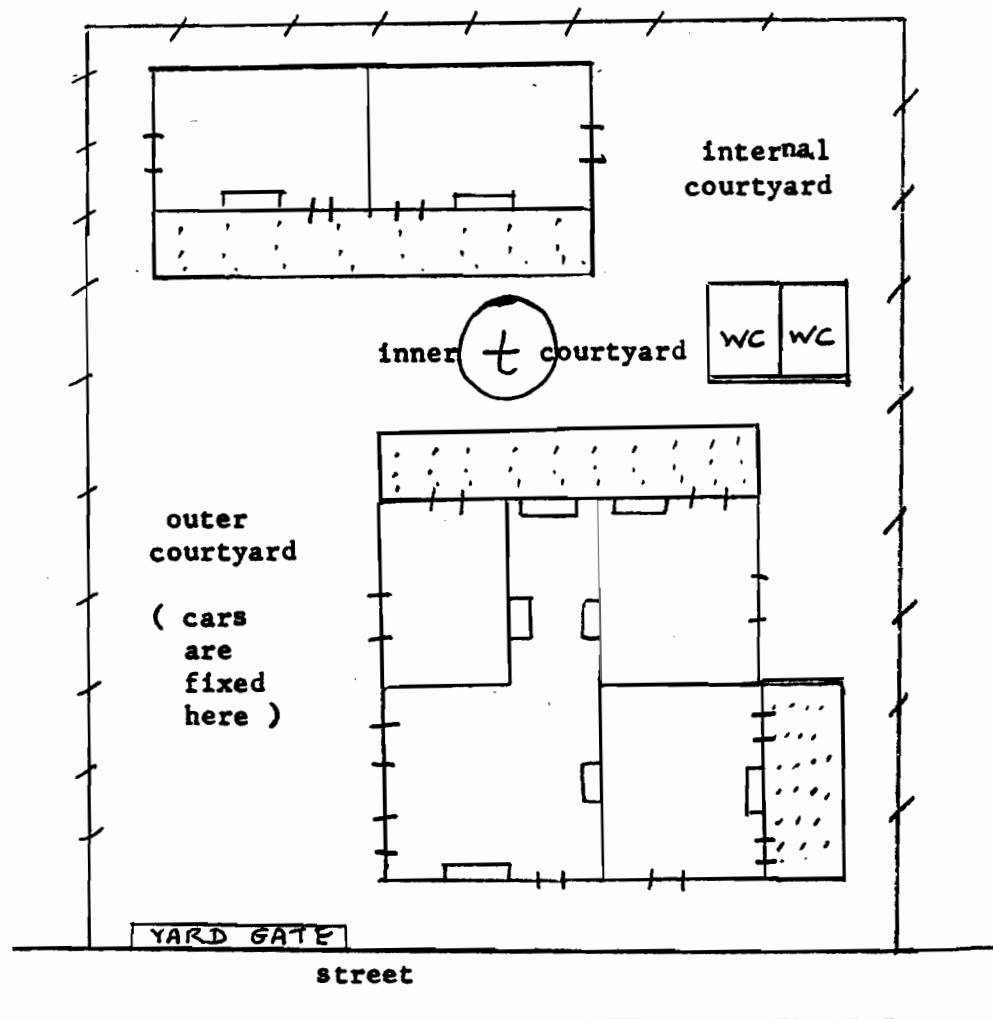
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





MAP 1. An Urban Yard

(Government Housing)

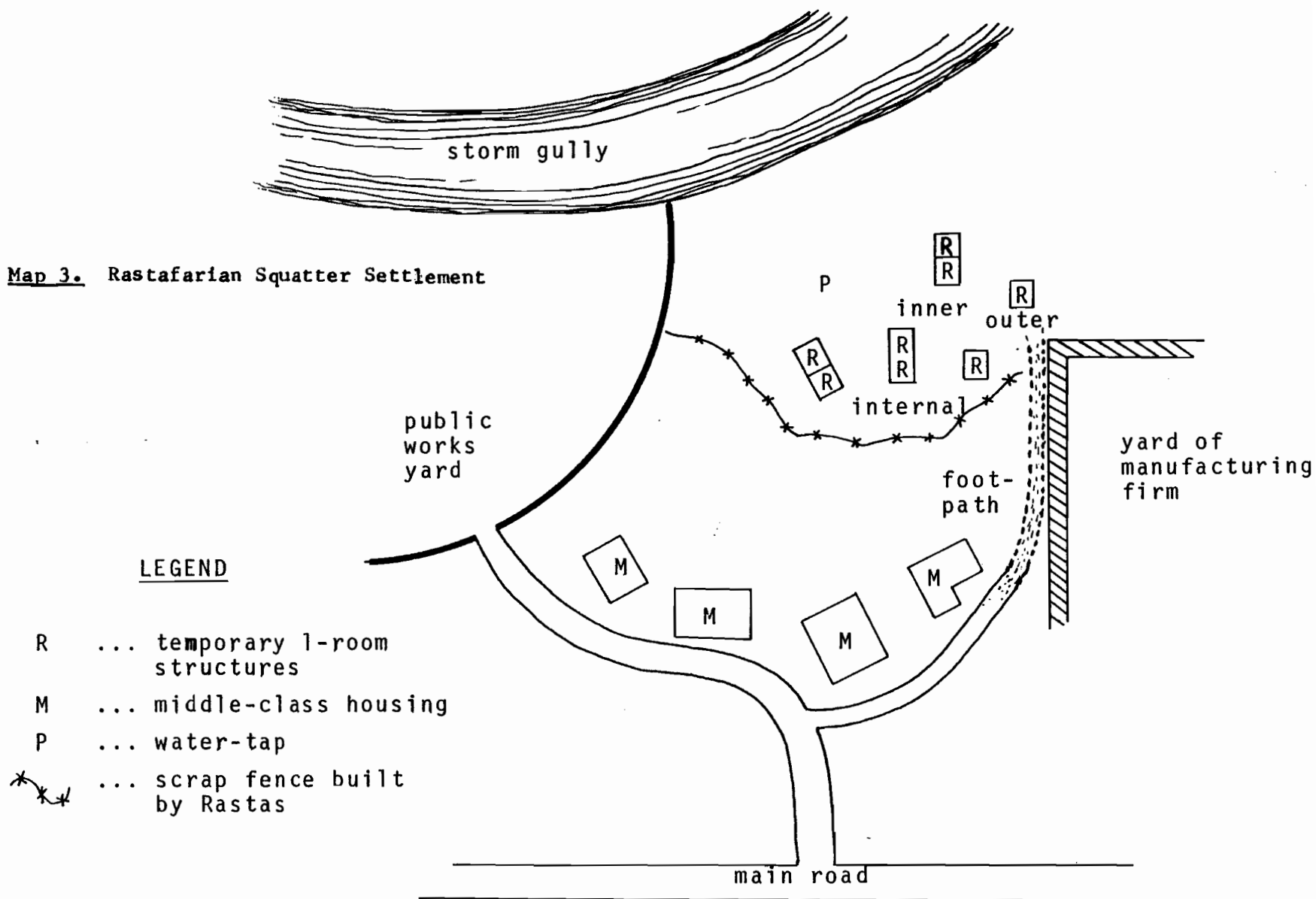
Map 2. An Urban Tenant Yard

(Four families)



- | | | | |
|---|----------------|---|----------------------|
|  | fence |  | tap and washing area |
|  | concrete porch |  | water closet |
|  | roofed | | |
|  | (cooking) | | |
|  | door | | |
|  | window | | |

Map 3. Rastafarian Squatter Settlement



Relationship Between Brother Maskaram and the Rastafarian Movement

In a discussion of conformity and deviance, Nadel has argued that the traditional antithesis assumed to exist between charismatic leaders, whose activities by definition are noninstitutionalized, and other leaders who follow routinized careers, omits an "important intermediary type". Societies may in fact, provide fluid, sketchily defined roles with a small core of "firmly interconnected characteristics" so as

... to accommodate certain unpredictable personalities and more important, in order to sanction and utilize their irregular, unexpected, or revolutionary inspirations. These are once more, developing or unfolding roles; and what their stable 'core' does is to ensure the freedom of this unfolding (Nadel, 1957 : 47).

This is a critical point. From Nadel's perspective we can see that the social order is not wholly under the sway of inertial forces. By legitimizing improbable performances it actually ensures that the avenues of vision remain open. Thus Nadel encourages us to think of certain institutions - which he defines as "standardized modes of co-activity" - as being designed to counteract the tendency to routinize (Nadel, 1951 : 108). Nadel, however, leaves his remarks in the abstract.

While we feel there is value in Nadel's point that such intermediate roles, lying somewhere between purely charismatic leadership and legitimately constituted positions, could be maintained for an indefinite period of time, we would want to emphasize the nature of the exchange between the individual(s) in question and the relevant social groups in order to more clearly assess such a relationship. Such a perspective, at any rate, can help us to understand the situation of Brother Maskaram with reference to both the Rastafarian movement and other social groupings.

This chapter involves the paradox of a strong leader attempting to operate within an egalitarian ideology. Brother Maskaram's prestige is based on two sources. One might say that because of his individual personality and special gifts he is recognized as an exceptional person both within and without the movement. This we could regard as "natural" authority. However, Maskaram has also been accorded a certain amount of social recognition for his role as a leader both within and without the movement. This we could look upon as a form of legitimately constituted authority. What we want to do here is to examine the manner in which

Maskaram balances these divergent tendencies, so that he can provide a form of social and political leadership when necessary, while at the same time maintaining his recognized position as an influential Rastafarian visionary. Maskaram himself would argue that it is the visionary's role that is by far the most important, that ultimately his other commitments are a secondary concern. Nevertheless, as we shall see in this chapter, Maskaram is continually struggling to find ways to communicate the essence of his vision, and as a result is very much involved in what we would consider secular activities. He argues, though, that when vision is brought to them they too become holy.

Even at the physical level Maskaram has gone far in emulating the lion. Solidly muscled, rangey, over six feet tall, with an extraordinarily broad forehead, luminous eyes, and a mane of locks, his posture varies with the occasion. His way of talking can vary from intimate dialogue to flamboyant oratory. At times he calls upon an all too correct version of the King's English to make an ironic point about the hypocrisy of Jamaican middle-class culture which apes British norms. Normally he uses the speech patterns common to West Kingston but he puts them to imaginative ends by using all the linguistic resources available to a man of words.

Physical bearing and personal style aside, only one thing would distinguish Maskaram from most other West Kingston poor - and that is his knitted wool tam which covers his locks. Most Rastafarians wear them, usually of black wool with red, gold, and green motifs. Maskaram generally sports a plain black or dark navy blue tam, without any colours at all. If anything, his dress falls below Rastafarian standards, who contrary to a stereotype value neatness, cleanliness, and simplicity. Maskaram's pants may be baggy and unpressed, his shirt is often spotted and hangs out, sometimes his clothes are left torn and unbuttoned. He may even do without sandals or shoes in walking about. It is important to stress that apart from his tam he wears no other Rastafarian differentiation : no cumberbunds, pompoms, pictures of the Emperor, or buttons. He wears nothing to indicate his centrality to the movement. In terms of his presentation of self in everyday life, Maskaram projects the image of the common man as much as possible.

Maskaram was raised and educated in West Kingston, where he shared the common socialization patterns of other poor youths. He received a

public school education. While already active in the movement in the 1950's, he came to national attention in the early 1960's as a result of the U.W.I. report which recommended that the government send a delegation to several African countries to inquire about the possibilities of re-settlement. Maskaram was one of the three Rastafarian delegates on this mission. Upon his return, Maskaram and the two other brethren authored a minority position paper defending Repatriation, while the official mission report discouraged it. Maskaram engaged in much public speaking as a result of this trip until a serious throat operation was interpreted as a sign to alter his lifestyle. He adopted a yard-centred person-to-person approach based on reasoning, though at the time of this research he was still involved in organizing meetings and cultural affairs from time to time. One other event during the 1960's also served to draw Maskaram into a public role and that was the visit to Jamaica in 1966 of Haile Selassie.¹ Official protocol procedures broke down upon Selassie's arrival and it was necessary for Brother Maskaram to ascend the steps of the airliner at the request of the government, in order to quell the enthusiastic and jubilant crowd of thousands who had swarmed the plane in welcome. Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike were exposed to Maskaram as an influential figure on the national scene.

What does Maskaram do? Unlike most West Kingston poor - indeed, unlike most Rastafarian brethren - Maskaram is an accomplished visionary artist. A friend of his who worked in a printing house once had some business cards made for Maskaram as a joke. They stated his occupation as " poet, playwright, dramatist, and weaver ". While many people attested to Maskaram's ability as a weaver, he never took it up during the period of my fieldwork. In fact, there were no weaving tools then in evidence. Maskaram says weaving was something he did during a period of his life when he lived more like a recluse. However, Maskaram was constantly involved in other kinds of artistic production : oil painting, poetry reading, coaching Rastafarian music groups, producing records, acting stage roles, penning newspaper items, and writing his memoirs (although he was only about forty years old at the time).

Maskaram tends to lead a low income lifestyle. While he owns few possessions and could make use of more tools such as typewriters or tape recorders, Maskaram frequently spends any extra cash gambling on the

horses. Any cash that he does generate is reinvested in Rastafarian cultural activities : purchasing materials, renting sound equipment, printing handbills, and the like. Thus while Maskaram's exceptional artistic talents distinguish him from most others in the community, he follows the life of the common man as much as possible. In matters of clothing, speech, diet, and even some leisure activities, Maskaram is not a dogmatic Rastafarian. We could understand this partly as the result of his interest in relating to as wide a range of people as possible, and partly as a result of his experience as a Rastafarian leader outside his own community.

What is Maskaram's community? We will discuss first his Rastafarian connections; then we will examine his relationships with individuals outside the movement. While Maskaram has a wide range of close friends and associates, during the period of this research we noted that he maintained especially close relationships with a core group of brethren who tended to visit him on a regular basis, whether daily or several times a week. These were the brethren with whom he associated on a day-to-day basis. However, we must note the existence of many other brethren, who once were quite intimate with Maskaram, and upon whom he was able to rely for support at critical times. It appears that there are cycles in yard life, with certain brethren circulating through at one point in time, while others find a focus for their activities elsewhere.

If we were to diagram the distribution of those intimate brethren who frequent Maskaram's yard on a regular basis, we could erect four concentric circles according to geographical proximity. First, there is the yard. Out of the seven or eight adult males living there at any one time, Maskaram was close to four of them who were Rastafarian brethren, none of them Dreadlocks. Secondly, we could note his close associates in Trenchtown, using this area in West Kingston as a particular reference point, since it has acquired the reputation of Jamaica's fiercest slum. During the period of fieldwork there were approximately twelve brethren on our list of close associates who lived in Trenchtown, half of whom were Dreadlocks. Next we could look at West Kingston in general. Approximately twenty-four brethren from the area visited Maskaram regularly; seventeen of these were Dreadlocks. Finally, we would want to include Kingston and its environs in general. Only five or six brethren

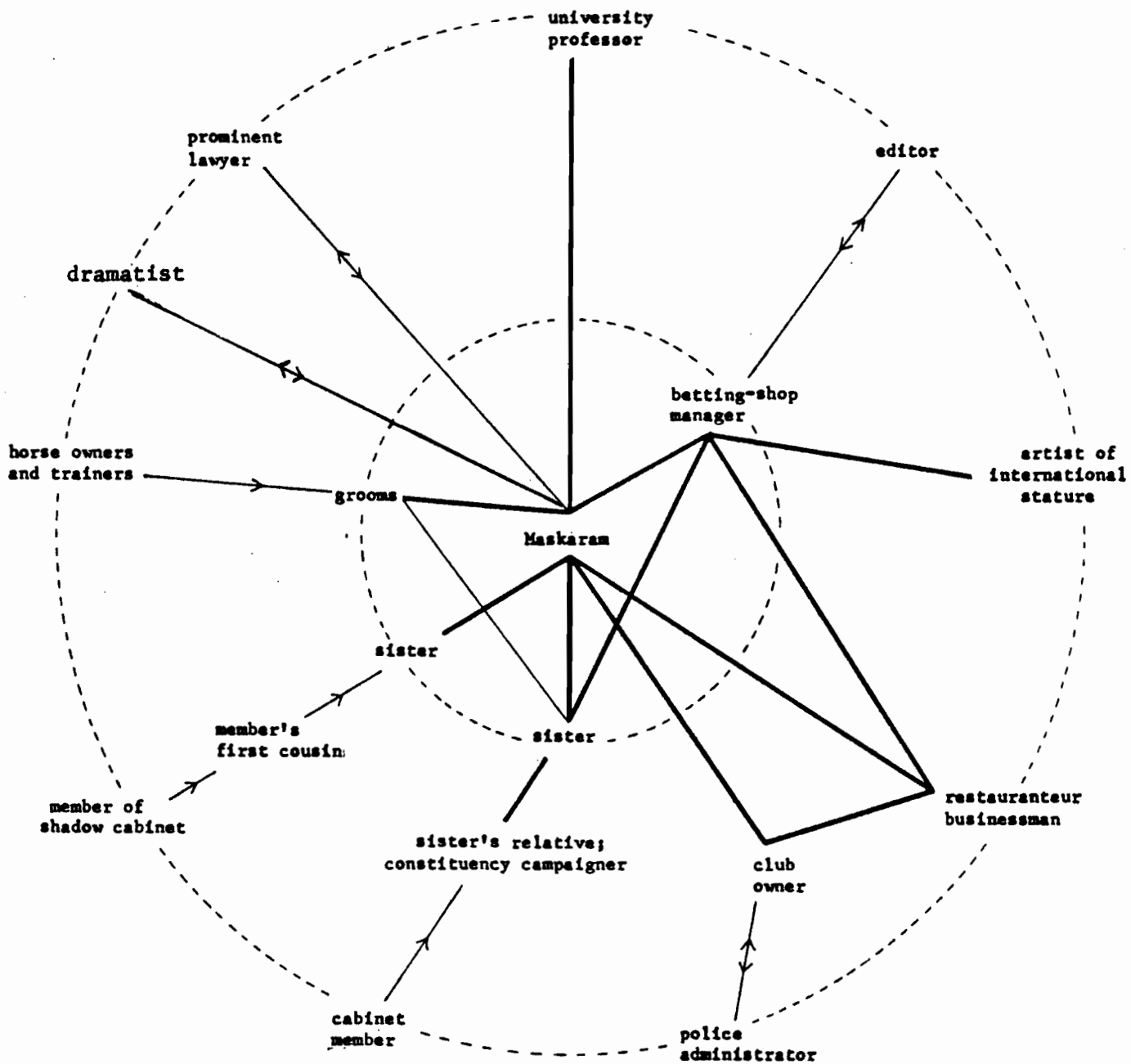
from this region made it to Maskaram's several times a week, and all were Dread.

Thus we note that as we move outward from Maskaram's yard in a series of concentric circles, the proportion of Dreadlocks increases. We might add that Maskaram's rural connections are also predominantly Dread. It is evident that as we move away from the local community, cultural affinity within the Rastafarian movement seems to be an important factor in Maskaram's close relationships : the experience of being Dread. Another interesting observation is that as we move outwards from the yard, the likelihood that Maskaram will visit these brethren's yards increases. To the best of my knowledge, Maskaram does not visit the yards of those close associates who live in Trenchtown. Occasionally he visits the yards of the brethren drawn from the West Kingston circle, while he makes a point of travelling to those who live in greater Kingston and its environs, though it may only be twice a year. Most often his visits take him to the yards of other Rastafarian leaders who entertain different networks, and to the homes or business establishments of non-Rastafarians with whom Maskaram is friendly.

Maskaram maintains an exceptionally high number of relationships with non-Rastafarians in the more well-to-do classes. This is unusual for most Rastafarians, and needless to say, for most West Kingstonians. These relationships are partly the result of the stature Maskaram has achieved as a visionary artist, and partly the result of his role as a Rastafarian representative. Some of these typical relationships are illustrated in the accompanying diagram. Only in some of these cases, though, is the relationship so intimate as to involve smoking and reasoning; and in some cases, connections are maintained only through a third party.

Below we shall give a brief sketch of the kind of communication which takes place between Maskaram and some of these individuals.

1. On several occasions Maskaram had to make use of the services of a prominent Kingston lawyer. Ganja charges were usually the issue at hand. In this case Maskaram initiated the contact by visiting the lawyer's offices himself. When he was thoroughly convinced of the man's integrity, he began referring other brethren to him. This linkage was conducted on a purely professional basis, being only infrequently activated.



KEY:

inner circle: Rastafarians
outer circle: National Elite

Figure 1

Maskaram's Links With the National Elite

2. Maskaram has been friends since childhood with a prominent restaurateur and businessman, and they continue to visit each other on occasion. This restaurateur is constantly confronted by gang pressures in his area; he is also knowledgeable about political manoeuvring in the constituency where his business is located. In their exchanges the visionary often takes the silent role of confessor, offering consolation, sage advice and the millenarian's trump card : let the wicked destroy themselves.
3. Maskaram established contact with a university professor with international credentials in the early 1960's. He admired the fact that, despite this man's professional status, he remained a " rebel ", a nonconformist. For his part this professor valued Maskaram's special perspective on the world. The professor had had experience in prominent American, European and African circles. Maskaram enjoyed interpreting this wealth of personal information from a Rastafarian perspective for this man. In a sense the conventional role of professor and native were here reversed, to their mutual delight.
4. A Rasta artist now establishing an international reputation once lived within easy walking distance of Maskaram. Their friendship developed over several years, with Maskaram providing inspiration, instruction and encouragement. He took special pains to bring this brother up in the faith, and as his talent matured, he undertook to expose him to a variety of influences. After a certain point the intensity of their relationship cooled. Maskaram for one thing preferred to stay close to his base in West Kingston; and there was also some disagreement over the unorthodox elements finding their way into the artist's style. At this point they remain in contact through intermediaries, friends of them both.
5. When Maskaram wanted something of his published, he would work through a close brother who ran a betting shop. This man was based in central Kingston, in the midst of the printing district. The nature of his work brought him in contact with key personnel, with the result that he could approach them directly with the material in question. Even though indirect, this transmission was conceived as personal by Maskaram. He liked the idea of the message moving outside the mails through a brother's hands. In this case the information exchange was

asymmetrical, for the betting shop brother was also friendly with the restaurateur and artist mentioned above, and with a club owner to be discussed below. On this account he could channel messages between Maskaram and these individuals when it was inconvenient for Maskaram to do so directly.

6. Where the race-track is concerned Maskaram does not rely entirely on vision. He knows easily a dozen track employees - grooms, jockeys, and attendants - who come by his yard at frequent intervals. These brothers in turn are in contact with the owners and trainers, and thus they funnel to Maskaram that special form of gossip known as tips. Maskaram lets inspiration play over this information, drawing significance in addition from the names and numbers as they appear on the race-forms. Faithfully once a week he himself goes to the races : of course to bet, but also to make observations. Here, after all, is a cross-section of the society more or less absorbed in the legitimate worship of Mammon.
7. Maskaram has an intimate relationship with a second club-owner. This is also based on a childhood friendship. In this case, moreover, a close brother of Maskaram lives in the back of the club-owner's yard. This club owner is friendly with a highly placed police official. The messages relayed through this club owner to Maskaram concern police activities and strategies , Maskaram's role in return is similar to that described for the restaurateur.
8. Maskaram's contact in the cabinet is at a distance of three steps. The connection is maintained through a Rasta sister whose close relative is a constituency campaigner. As a party supporter this relative is in the relation of client to the minister as patron. The communication is thus predominantly one-way, often taking the form of gossip. This person is also knowledgeable about party activities in the area.
9. Maskaram's second connection with the government, this time with a member of the shadow cabinet, is also at a distance of three steps, is also kin-based, and is also one-way. Again, a Rasta sister serves as the first-order contact. She happens to be living in the yard of a close cousin of the member in question. She and the cousin being good friends, there is consequently an exchange of gossip and chitchat.

10. Maskaram has enjoyed an association with an artist of national reputation who frequently invites Maskaram to participate as a performer in cultural events which involve African themes. Through this connection Maskaram is able to meet other members of the national cultural elite who in turn work with him on various projects. Maskaram freely rejects such offers that he considers not in the best interests of Rasta. Thus he dropped out of a critical role in a full-length motion picture after considerable footage had been shot, because the script was changed in such a way that Rastafarians were projected as having associations with gunmen. The director and producer of this film - which attained international acclaim - even tried to involve the anthropologist in persuading Maskaram to change his mind. But he was not to be compromised. It is obvious that Maskaram uses these links only when he judges it in the best interests of the movement, personal considerations aside.

What we have provided above is an extract of Maskaram's personal network, documenting his direct and indirect linkages with prominent persons in business, artistic, or university careers directly and intimately with only one step. However, it takes him at least two steps to reach key publishing personnel, as well as the police. Finally, concerning persons high in government, Maskaram has regular channels of personal information only at the third step, or more. In these linkages he relies, not only upon contacts made by his brethren but upon kinship ties as well. With both the government and the opposition politician the information was one-way to Maskaram, consisting chiefly of gossip and news about party activities.

In terms simply of these two measures - reachability and directionality - we are presented with a stratified view of the Jamaican upper-class. Maskaram in other words is in closer rapport with some sectors than with others - the government being remotest of all. In general, though, the wealth of linkages maintained by this visionary with prominent persons compels us to relinquish any notions as to his social encapsulation. Not only are there multiple channels linking Babylon with Zion, their very citadels keep in constant touch.

It is important to realize also that different types of information are in circulation between the two sectors. Visionary messages are

evidently best transmitted face-to-face, at the first step; nevertheless they can still be delivered through the hands of a brother, at the second step. At the third step, the government is apparently beyond Maskaram's personal influence; in addition most incoming information from that quarter takes the form of personal gossip, rather than intelligence. Gossip differs from the kind of information that directly informs current adaptive strategies. It more has to do with filed information : hints of scandal, tales of personal corruption, plus vivid examples of idiosyncrasy. Gossip enriches the Rastafarian world view, at the same time providing evidence of the fulfilment of prophecy. In the Rastafarian context it serves millenarian ends.

Thus have we attempted to situate Brother Maskaram sociologically within both the Rastafarian movement and Jamaican society. We have shown that as a Rastafarian, Maskaram is one of the more prominent brethren, both on account of his role as a visionary artist, and because of his political experience on the national and international scene. As a citizen of West Kingston, one of the urban poor, Maskaram maintains considerably more communications with representatives of the various social groups in Jamaican society than his counterparts, though as a person he attempts to project the image of the common man as much as possible.

In chapter three we outlined the common ideological pool of shared understandings which orient brethren in the movement. We did make it clear, however, that their ideological orientations can be interpreted in many ways and thus it appears that Rastafarian brethren espouse a diversity of beliefs. Now it is possible to situate Maskaram generally within that framework, although, as will become clear from the examples of crises and issues we intend to discuss, Maskaram's position on some of these matters is not always clearcut.

With respect to his Ethiopianism, Brother Maskaram is uncompromisingly for Repatriation. Maskaram argues that Repatriation is the one vision never to lose sight of, lest the movement be irretrievably compromised here in Jamaica. We must emphasize that, far from making Maskaram a harmless Utopian, this orientation actually places him squarely in the centre of contention. On several occasions Maskaram has organized public expressions of solidarity with Africa and opposition to racist neo-colonial regimes there. This has brought him in conflict with the

authorities. Within the movement, Maskaram continually chides - even harangues - brethren on the subject of accepting outside assistance for any kind of project. The terms of any arrangement must be absolutely clear, he argues, in order to prevent compromise of the movement. Thus Maskaram's Ethiopianism serves to keep alive the spirit of Repatriation.

The second orientation of Rastafarianism that we discussed was its anti-colonialism. In this regard Brother Maskaram is very direct and outspoken. While he is not a student of Marxism-Leninism or any other kind of leftist political doctrine, much of his perspective on the historical role of colonialism (especially British colonialism) and his current critique of imperialism (particularly American imperialism) sounds similar to such arguments. Maskaram has developed an international viewpoint and he consistently tries to analyze local political and economic developments in this light. In his reasoning Maskaram returns again and again to the historical legacy of British colonialism in the West Indies and Africa, and to the contemporary role of American imperialism in the international arena. Much of the discussion remains at a general level, and is cast in terms of individual personalities - " stooges " of imperialism - whom Maskaram regards as " specially trained to do a job ". The usual kind of terminology and frame of reference one hears in Marxist analysis - such as the working-class struggle, modes of production, relations of production, new productive forces, etc. - are notably absent. More significantly, there is no argument about the tactics and strategy of struggle in the traditional Marxist-Leninist sense. On the other hand, in his discussions with all kinds of people, Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike, Maskaram never misses the opportunity to point out the role of American imperialism in his own terms. When pressed about organizing the struggle, Maskaram replies that the people will develop methods of resistance appropriate to their level of consciousness, that it is simply his role (or the Rastafarian role in general) to point out specific kinds of oppression. As we shall see below, the mode of discourse used by Maskaram in this task is a culturally familiar one.

On the subject of the Bible, Maskaram is also consistent. He constantly makes use of biblical parallels to drive his point home. His use of biblical imagery and style of discourse is instructive in that it is readily comprehensible in the Jamaican setting. In public

speaking Maskaram freely quotes from the Bible, and in reasoning sessions in the yard he frequently encourages other brethren to adopt the role of the biblical expert.

Finally, on the subject of I and I consciousness, we could say that Brother Maskaram accords highest priority to interpersonal relationships based on love. This is a constant theme with him. On the Rastafarian right to use herbs Maskaram stands firm. His chalice is his medium of communication, since it is through meditation and reasoning in his opinion that God comes to one in the form of inspiration and love. Thus Maskaram will always attempt to communicate over a glowing herbs pipe, since this facilitates an open exchange. Otherwise his relationship with others may be strained, especially if they are not from his social background. On the other hand, Maskaram does not make use of the I and I vocabulary, nor do most of his closest associates for that matter. While they comprehend fully any brethren who use the argot fluently, Maskaram and his circle argue that the constant use of argot could serve to get the brethren " off track " by focusing on the vehicle rather than its contents. Moreover, they say, they want to be able to communicate to more people than I-ance specialists.

Most of the brethren who frequent Maskaram's premises share this same orientation. Although many are Dreadlocks brethren, they generally wear tams and do not make a point of being a visible minority within Jamaican society. Nevertheless, they are also uncompromising in their stance as regards Repatriation, anti-imperialism, biblicalism, and I and I consciousness. Here we are referring to Maskaram's close associates. Of course there is a steady stream of brethren who pass through Maskaram's yard just to " make a check ", to consult or reason with him on different issues, brethren who do not as a rule share his particular orientation within the movement but who remain in touch nevertheless.

Later we intend to demonstrate the manner in which Brother Maskaram elaborates his ideological positions continuously during reasoning sessions; here we would like to examine briefly some of his work as a visionary artist. This too will reveal to us his understanding of certain issues. In examining Brother Maskaram's creative works, we shall adopt the perspective that they are products of an on-going effort to come to terms with events and issues from the point of view of his ideological orientation within the Rastafarian movement.

Let us first of all consider Maskaram's art. The very way in which he executes a painting distinguishes him even from many other Rastafarian artists. Working in a public setting, Maskaram makes his canvas the focus of reasoning. He is flexible enough to incorporate suggestions and criticism into his work as a result of reasoning with the brethren about it. This is in contrast to several other Rastafarian artists who worked exclusively in the privacy of their home. Maskaram usually works on large canvasses, two or three feet by three or four feet. When he decides to undertake a work, he usually dispatches people to locate the right material to build the frame and make the board. Everyone is involved. Maskaram carries his equipment around with him, and may go to work in someone else's yard, even in another town, just to get the right kind of inspiration.

In terms of style and content, Maskaram's work represent a distinct tradition within Rastafarianism. He works in acrylics or oils, using bright colours to depict his scenes. He has developed an iconographic form of presentation, actually similar to Ethiopian-style murals which have become popular in some circles in the West. One of the works completed in 1970 illustrated vividly how political and cultural symbols can be reconciled. Approximately one and a half feet by a foot, this painting depicts Selassie and a Dreadlocks Rastaman at the top of the work in a superior position. Selassie is holding a huge lion on a long chain. In the jaws of the lion is Richard Nixon, while in the claws of the lion we find Hugh Shearer, the then P.M., and Michael Manley. The Pope occupies the inferior position in this constellation, being chained by his neck like a slave. A Black Christ is freeing himself from a white cross held in the papal hands.

Another canvas, which Maskaram entitled " Between the Gap ", was completed after Manley was elected Prime Minister. Maskaram's intention was to depict the dilemma in which Jamaica finds herself, dependent upon American imperialism but identifying with African liberation. Counter-balanced across the canvas from each other are the continents of North America and Africa. In the centre top of the picture is Richard Nixon caricatured against a red star of freedom on a white shield. Below him in the centre of the painting is a biblical representation of the seven lean years and the seven fat years - one herd of cattle eating another,

and vultures devouring people. Nixon is shown grasping Jamaica, itself a tripartite representation. Workers are cutting cane and Dreadlocks are looking on as Manley, depicted as a Sagittarian archer, shoots an arrow at Nixon, representing American imperialism. Counterposed to the Jamaican canecutters in the bottom left of the painting, is an army of green berets dressed in battle fatigues. But immediately below them are the figures of Castro, Mao, and an Arab sheik whose policy it is to strangle America by cutting off her oil supply. These three figures are sitting on the continent of Africa. This painting represents Maskaram's perception of global politics and their impact on Jamaica in 1972.

Other works depict purely African events. One entitled " Ladder of Heaven " is a more abstract representation. The subject is a coastal church in Nigeria that was built over catacombs used as a slave dungeon. Here Black female figures dance alluringly below the altar while white priests invite them above by dropping down ladders to them. This is a commentary on the hypocritical behaviour of Christian clergy, which Maskaram distrusts on the same grounds today. Another much larger canvas is a statement on white domination of Africa in this decade. The left side of this three feet by four feet painting is a composite. Three or four dozen African faces are portrayed : peasants, tribespeople, political leaders, the new national elites, Arabs, Africans in suits and neckties. At the upper right hand we find several surgeons conducting an operation; below them we find the figures of Ian Smith, and other white African leaders. Between these two halves of the canvas, we find a hangman's stand and Blacks being killed. While the specific theme is one of using Black hearts in transplant operations, Maskaram is also commenting on how the white race ate out the heart of Africa.

These kinds of subjects are unusual for Rastafarian art. They are much more expressly political than most and encompass events far closer to home. A type of Rastafarian art that is popular with the general public portrays still life scenes from ghetto experience, but without explicitly commenting on the source of these conditions. Another Rastafarian artist who has gained international attention has skilfully executed several pen and ink portraits of Rastafarian people. While depicting the strength and pride of such individuals, despite their generally oppressed status, such work does not challenge the existing

state of affairs by offering political commentary. A form of Rastafarian art popular among the brethren themselves consists of idyllic scenes of Ethiopia, landscapes watched over by impressive representations of the Emperor. In fact, many Rastafarian artists draw nothing but portraits of His Imperial Majesty. Maskaram's artistic content is quite distinctive from these others.

We can only appreciate the significance of Maskaram's activity in this area when we take into account the birth of people's art in the ghetto. West Kingstonians have no access to creative art of any kind at the institutional level. Apart from framed pictures of political leaders, all they can otherwise hope to see are advertisements and road signs. Yard art in this respect is poles apart from garret art.

Maskaram is an accomplished musician as well. An experienced drummer, he rarely performs in public, preferring instead that the younger brethren acquire experience while he directs and produces. Brother Maskaram has been the source of inspiration for several Rastafarian musical groups, which come and go in his yard freely. However, he expends his greatest effort on those groups which perform the traditional kind of Rastafarian drumming and chanting. Maskaram has written songs, arranged recordings, directed musical performances on stage, and produced television shows. The same themes are apparent throughout his work : his Ethiopianism, anti-colonialism, biblical orientation, and I and I sentiments. We have included some of his songs in appendix one. The Rastafarian Prayer and Haile Selassie is the Chapel are almost purely religious and cultural in inspiration, while Bus Dem Shut and Pound Get a Blow refer to the immediate economic and political state at the time they were written. Come Down White Man is, strictly speaking, a traditional style Rastafarian chant.

Appendix two consists of a copy of a script which Brother Maskaram wrote. This was for a fairly ambitious recording project involving narrative and chanting, against a background of drums. His purpose was to reach an international audience. His inspiration for this came suddenly one night in the tea place which he liked to frequent. There Maskaram set about blocking out the composition on a square yard of wrapper. Over a period of three weeks or so he rehearsed every evening with a dozen or so brethren. While only four of five were scheduled to go to the studio,

he used these rehearsals as a basis for consciousness-raising. Thus different brethren took turns reading the narrative which he would ultimately record himself.

An analysis of the content of this script reveals a thorough intermingling of metaphysical and mundane themes. These are arranged more as an assemblage than as a fusion. Maskaram uses the alternation between narrative and chant to switch the direction of thought abruptly. He moves from a dedication to Selassie, to an evocation of Ethiopia, to a mincing satire on the British, to a reflection on slavery, to prophecy. The chants carry the meditation forward in biblical discourse. Under this the drums play continuously, swelling for the group passages, modulating during narrative. Apart from its effective and aesthetic appeal, the production is obviously calculated to proselytize in the millennial mode. Taking the position of true Christians, the brethren warn of an imminent dread judgement for those who do not seek refuge in the Chapel of Selassie.

This discussion of Maskaram's artistic work in the areas of painting and music should provide us with some insight into his ideological orientation within the Rastafarian movement and the manner in which he attempts to communicate the fruit of his reasoning. With respect to both painting and music, it must be emphasized that Maskaram makes such productions as much a collective process as possible. He does not privatize his flow of inspiration but rather exposes his creative act itself to public scrutiny.

Now we can examine what appears to be a major contradiction with regard to Maskaram and Rastafarianism. In an acephalous and decentralized social movement, Maskaram is clearly a leader. This raises several questions. We have been arguing that in general Rastafarianism values highly the visionary experience, in the form of I and I consciousness or intersubjectivity, coupled with the kinds of insights or inspirations that such states are held to generate. Does Maskaram's special status facilitate or impede this process? Again : how does Maskaram, as a Dreadlocks brother, manage to maintain credibility within the movement without violating basic Rastafarian principles, while at the same time being able to function as a national figure? Maskaram continues to argue in favour of Repatriation, support of anti-colonial (or anti-imperial) liberation struggles, and the pursuit of I and I consciousness through the use of herbs.

We noted earlier that for Rastafarians to successfully " assimilate " into Jamaican society, these are the very features of the movement that must be sacrificed. Thus, how can Maskaram continue to be a public figure in light of what he represents? When Maskaram agrees to produce a T.V. show on Rasta music or to coordinate an African dancing and drumming display for a national festival, what motivates him? And what is the intention of the officials who invite his cooperation? Here we must focus squarely on the process of cooptation and the ways in which a social movement either resists it or succumbs to it. What is the balance achieved, what is the trade-off? This brings us back to the issues that Nadel raised about social roles that lie somewhere between pure charisma and outright institutionalization. We would argue that Maskaram has carved out for himself a role as a visionary artist with political clout. However, we would insist that this role is not a guaranteed one, but one that is subject to a continuous process of negotiation and reassessment by all parties concerned.

How does Maskaram counteract the dynamics of institutionalization? For one thing, he optimizes unpredictability. It is never clear what his response in certain situations will be. Maskaram is given to a great deal of conscious role playing, clowning, and self-parody. On one occasion in the middle of the night we were travelling in a waterfront factory and loading district just outside of Kingston near an artificial causeway. The car had a flat tire and we stopped to fix it in a relatively deserted area. As we were pondering our dilemma, two police officers passed us and stopped. Rather than subject ourselves to intense questioning as to why a Dreadlocks Rastaman and a white woman were wandering about this time of night in this particular area, Maskaram very quickly adopted the role of the night watchman at a nearby building who was helping the good lady to repair her car. His performance was convincing enough that the officers helped change the tire and wished me godspeed. I circled around and picked up the brother. On another occasion, though, Maskaram chose to confront the authorities in a more challenging manner. Several brethren, Maskaram, and I were returning from a university event just after midnight. Just off the central square in downtown Kingston we were stopped by a police vehicle. Within seconds a couple more cars arrived with lights flashing and sirens blaring. We were encircled. It looked like a confrontation

was developing. Noting that a police superintendent was also present, Maskaram drew himself up to his full height and demanded to be released, threatening to make an incident of harrassment into a case of political persecution by going over their heads. We were sent on our way wondering about the cause of this stepped-up activity. Most likely there had been a gang action in the area and the police were responding with increased surveillance. In the first example, Maskaram was attempting to play the role of the common man though, in fact, he seemed more like the fool. In the second instance, though, he acted as a majestic Rastafarian representative.

Rastafarians themselves are ambivalent about leadership although they recognize it might be a necessity at times. Outside groups, however, prefer an unambiguous leader. Thus they may err in the direction of perceiving such roles as more crystallized than they really are. Frequently the political character of such roles is overemphasized. For example, I was often told by government and university people that Brother Maskaram was a secular or statical as opposed to churchical Rastafarian. Some even told me he was a Marxist. They had no conception of his central role in the movement as an inspired reasoner, though, and how highly he valued this activity. In reasoning sessions it is important to achieve I and I consciousness. This is not something that can be willed, however, but rather an experience which must be carefully prepared. Thus Maskaram too must behave in such a way as to facilitate this procedure. While he is a central figure in the movement and a major source of inspiration, there remain several mechanisms which have a socially levelling effect on him.

In the first place, as a leader Maskaram has little privacy. People feel free to call upon him at all hours. Even his meditative works - painting, poetry writing, reflection - generally take place in a public atmosphere. When Maskaram is engaged in a creative work of any kind he usually makes it the centre of activity for the duration and gives lessons around his canvas. Maskaram rarely travels anywhere alone. He attempts to involve other brethren in his activities. He says he is trying to broaden their experience by exposing them to different scenes, but this behaviour has the effect of maintaining a constant reference group. Brethren accompany Maskaram to plays, concerts, political meetings,

conferences, and on just plain visits. When foreign visitors or uptown people come to visit Maskaram in his yard, he meets with them in a kind of public arena. Other brethren who are present are not asked to leave; rather, their presence is regarded as highly desirable.

Maskaram prefers not to own a vehicle though it would greatly expedite his activities. Instead, he gets lifts with others, often insisting on motorbikes instead of cars when travelling about town. This can be contrasted with the behaviour of certain Rastafarian leaders who have taken titles and travel in cars decked out with Ethiopian flags like diplomats with chauffeurs. Many brethren ridicule this arrangement. Needless to say, such accommodations are not made by Dreadlocks.

We have already seen that in his own yard Maskaram maintains a lower-class lifestyle in many ways. His cultural activities, which distinguish him from most West Kingstonians, are open to public scrutiny. This deflects any criticism on the grounds of elitism or privatization. We have also noted that as a Rastafarian Maskaram does not sport a lot of symbols. In terms of yard proxemics, there is no special place for Maskaram to occupy, except his bed. And even that often has someone else sleeping on it - a country brother, or a fatigued urban worker. Maskaram also has to share the rudimentary facilities in the yard with everyone else, as there are no special privileges here. Even Maskaram's dinner is not his own - he generally shares it with children in the yard or other brethren.

As a central figure in a social network, Maskaram frequently receives gifts from visiting brethren. Food is cooked and shared, or given away. Other items - materials, pieces of furniture, clothing - are usually redistributed when a need arises. Maskaram frequently gives away possessions he has used in order to make a public point. There is a steady flow of goods through his yard. In fact, he even gives away most of his oil paintings and canvasses, usually unsigned. Although he has painted dozens of works, there are never more than two or three finished products in evidence. Thus while redistribution procedures occasion some kind of debt on the part of the recipient, they also serve to keep Maskaram's living space bare.

While we could regard these social manoeuvres as diplomatic prudence on Maskaram's part, they have the effect of ensuring that he is not isolated from his social milieu, that he remains in touch with the people, Rastafarians and non-Rastafarians alike. Since most of his business is public, brethren are able to observe what offers he accepts and what he refuses, and on what grounds. People trying to engage Maskaram's assistance are also exposed to questioning from his close associates. Finally, if Maskaram does receive any " privileges " as a result of his special role, he always involves other brethren.

Turning our attention to reasoning sessions, we observe that Maskaram generally plays a central role. Indeed, brethren seek him out on account of his ability to reason as an inspired brother. Nevertheless, Maskaram does not pull rank on these occasions to the extent of dominating all the communication. The essence of reasoning is dialogue, a mutual give-and-take kind of exchange, the ultimate goal of which is the achievement of I and I consciousness. Reasonings do not end unless all parties are satisfied. Thus reasoning in itself is a social mechanism whereby individual authority is curtailed. Just as one does not go vexed to prayer, one has to be humble in church. In reasoning sessions the brother who has the inspiration of the moment holds sway, and the others present respect his oratory. In these exchanges, challenges are made, questions are asked, everyone contributes. Rastafarians accept that inspiration is divine in origin, that individuals are mouthpieces of God. This assertion itself tends to minimize the role that the individual ego plays on such occasions. If it does happen to be Maskaram who is receiving inspiration, he still engages other brethren in reasoning until a satisfactory state is reached. Here we are confronted with another paradox. In a sense, to the extent that Maskaram becomes an impersonal channel through which divine inspiration flows - one measure of this being the degree to which those present experience intersubjectivity or I and I consciousness - his personal authority as a visionary increases. Finally, because Maskaram functions as a leader, he is frequently interrupted or called away from reasoning sessions to deal with pressing problems. While brethren do not like to interfere with reasoning, this is sometimes unavoidable. Even if Maskaram had been dominating the stream of inspiration to that point, the reasoning does not stop. Someone simply takes over, and the flow continues.

In summary then, we can see that Maskaram as an influential Rastafarian brother has to balance several divergent tendencies. While he feels it is productive to maintain links with different parties outside the movement, the movement is still central to his existence. Within it, Maskaram cuts an authoritative figure. Still, he must find ways to use his experience to promote the flow of inspiration and the state of I and I consciousness among others, rather than to allow his own accomplishments to hinder such. At this point we would like to turn to a discussion of Maskaram's daily activities, in particular the manner in which he attempts to resolve problems. We want to demonstrate the manner in which reasoning is used as a social forum in which general ideology is applied to specific issues. We will use Maskaram as our representative ideologue, and following Harris, we will attempt to determine his centrality by observing whether or not his arguments carry the day.

Arenas and Rounds

Rarely does Maskaram spend a day entirely in his own yard. His habit, rather, is to circulate through the city, making checks with key brethren. This is his way of keeping in touch with the scene. Most of the brethren have their favourite haunts by which they can make contact with members of their network. However, this is not a privilege shared by the Rastafari sisters, who are expected to remain close to their yards. Maskaram himself distinguishes between those Rasta yards which he can visit with the intention of having a quiet draw and those where public exposure is involved. These we might speak of as backstage and front-stage yards. In Kingston there is also a scattering of commercial establishments - restaurants, bars, nightclubs - which Maskaram is fond of frequenting. These too afford backstage retreats or frontstage exposure.

One such backstage gathering point is a bare earth hollow dug-out beneath a house bottom, protected from public view by a high fence of corrugated tin. Here Maskaram confers with brethren in this constituency. In his encounters with these brethren, Maskaram tends to play a leading role, so that we cannot think of this house bottom merely as a private retreat. Nor is it always secure from police intervention. If Maskaram

wants to go somewhere just to be alone he might visit one of several country brethren. He might spend two or three days at their homes, on the understanding that he did not have to make doctrine. There are also brethren in the city who offer similar opportunities for seclusion, though for shorter periods. Maskaram, for instance, can go to Brother Gannat in Ghost Town and just disappear.

Some of the Rastafari brethren maintain dual premises, having their home and their place of business in separate locations. On the commercial premises they might offer a range of services : a home-made Rasta cuisine, cold drinks, and hot teas, 45 r.p.m.'s and a turntable, knitted wool tams, herbs and a chalice. Those in the proprietor's close network, in addition to making use of his commercial services, will also visit with him in his yard. They can thus engage with the brother both front and backstage. Maskaram knows a handful of such brethren, among whom is Kaboro. In Kaboro's case there is a very complex mixture of entrepreneurial and millenarian elements, for the same brethren that will visit his shop in the course of six days, will assemble in his private yard on the seventh. This is a room, maybe twelve feet by fifteen feet, which Kaboro once lived in but now uses for storage. There are no domestic fittings here apart from a baby's crib. Kaboro has equipped it as a disco. A plyboard lies across the two speakers forming a table. A turntable, amplifier, and the necessities of herbs smoking rest on top. Set against the wall is a very large suru board. On the floor there is a pitcher of water. Pictures of African leaders and African cultural events, Rastafarian symbols and slogans, cover the wall behind the table. In the centre of the table is a solitary kerosene lamp. The table doubles as an altar. On Friday nights the pipe passes unceasingly.

The streets in the ghetto part of Kingston are very narrow and people are forced to treat them like a mall. There is little automobile traffic at night here. The soul sounds float out on the street. Many youths, all in their late teens, enter Kaboro's. They are mostly clean shaven with short hair. Some wear tams, a few sport Rasta buttons. But on the whole they are not distinguishable as Rastafarians. Kaboro himself is a young Dreadlocks, about thirty-five years old, and has a small family. He has lived in Kingston all his life, and in his time he was a restless youth too. He used to hang around street corners, drinking, waiting for a job to do.

Store owners used to pay him to throw stones at their competitors. So he knows what it is like on Fridays at the end of the week, if you are not fortunate enough to earn a few shillings. Or even if you do, maybe you have not much left after paying your bills. On Friday nights people are restless, very restless. Kaboro provides a place for the youth to come, in off the streets. The circle thus established has become a primary source of information for Maskaram concerning youth activities in the city.

There is less opportunity to regulate one's public exposure in those establishments in which non-Rastas are proprietors. This, however, is not altogether to the visionary's disadvantage. Here his information is not preselected, for he has access to a wide spectrum of Kingston's after-hours population. Maskaram usually visits non-Rastas only under the cover of dark when his movements cannot be easily observed.

We shall be mentioning the tea place on several occasions. It is one of Maskaram's favourite nocturnal haunts. He has a friendly relation with the owner but it is not intimate. To the brethren it was of prime significance what changes this establishment underwent in the months preceding the 1972 elections. This two storey hotel, that houses a restaurant and a bar downstairs, was becoming a focal point of gang warfare. The first thing the proprietor did was to block off the rear and side entrance at night with heavy barred doors, thus forcing his customers to enter off the main street. After a few more incidents, he caged off the service area with a heavy wire screen. When even this did not work, he finally sectioned off the eating and drinking areas with the same kind of screening. Now his restaurant looked like a holding pen in a prison. Everybody was behind bars! Maskaram said : " You see how it goes. "

All together there is at least a score of yards and premises offering front and backstage possibilities that Maskaram visits frequently. However, he makes a point of not touring these in any predictable order. This range of social arenas we might think of as institutionalized. They occupy the fixed points on his itinerary. Nevertheless, the way in which Maskaram moves between these points is not institutionalized. It is not routinized in the sense of being predictable. As the following examples will make clear, there are a variety of considerations that inform his movements from moment to moment.

Example One²

At 4:00 a.m. I went to visit Brother Maskaram's yard. A few of his close brethren had decided to operate a catering service for a construction project that was just beginning in Red Hills, a suburb slightly northwest of Kingston. I had agreed to transport them back and forth from the site until they were established. This involved carrying cooking utensils, small stoves, and food back and forth as well. Initially it also included driving them around to some of the markets so they could obtain provisions wholesale. When I arrived at the yard, Maskaram and Zammara were already engaged in reasoning. Shortly afterwards I left to pick up Brother Wadaj at his yard only a few blocks away. As we were loading the car, we heard people shouting that a man had been shot around the corner. Wadaj said that he wanted to "check out the drama" so we went to the scene. A shoopkeeper who had just opened had been murdered by a gunman. We were among the first to arrive at the site. Since the others were afraid to contact the police, Wadaj and I dropped by the station on our way back to Trenchtown.

There we picked up Brother Sabat in his yard. Brother Zammara had already arrived and they were drawing the pipe together. We loaded the car with more goods and drove up to the project in Red Hills. A very large but local construction firm was building a housing development which consisted of two and three storey split level homes, each with several rooms, facilities, and a great deal of yard space. All the labourers working for them were from West Kingston, where quarters were overcrowded and services practically nonexistent. I left the brethren there and returned to Maskaram's yard.

There two brethren from the rural area had just arrived. They were planning to stay in the town for a few days and had decided to camp in Maskaram's kitchen, with his permission. These two brethren were "I-tall", and always brought their own cooking pot and herbs pipe with them. Other brethren present were studying the racing forms and discussing the morning's murder over a herbs pipe. A brother who had been routinely picked up by the police and held in jail overnight arrived. He had been at court that morning and began describing the proceedings. He claimed there had been nine Rastafarians in the line-up. Maskaram said that he did not approve of such doings. He felt that the police were trying to associate Rastafarians with crime in the public mind. Maskaram said that "some brown gal good to point out a Rastaman and say fe him stole her handbag". Maskaram argued that brethren have no need of line-ups since they simply take their chalice and sieve them out. Here he was referring to Babylonians. He said he was glad to hear that Wadaj and I had reported the shooting that morning, since he thought it would help demonstrate that brethren were not afraid of the police. Maskaram and other brethren were concerned about "lackstafari". These were delinquent youth who grew locks, identified with the movement, but engaged in petty crime. More orthodox brethren argued that they lacked any understanding of the spiritual aspects of the movement. Brother Maskaram at this point reasoned that nevertheless, everyone, whether they were Rasta or not, was going to have to grow long hair and take a position, for it was a revolution against the establishment in which they were engaged.

Maskaram continued reasoning. He pointed out that these were very turbulent times which they were passing through. He said that everyone wanted to go to heaven but no one wanted to die. Thus, he said, every man desired peace but no one wanted to make sacrifices for it. He pointed out that if someone wanted peace, they would first have to find it within themselves, that this was the one realization that all men would have to experience. He spoke of some Rastafarian brethren who seemed to become lazy, who just wanted to smoke their herbs and go to Ethiopia. But, Maskaram argued, what they did not realize was that in Ethiopia one would have to "Ethiopianize" fully. There, he said, to call upon the name of Rastafari would be considered a blasphemy. Maskaram wondered when brethren would realize that in Ethiopia they would have to entirely give up the notion that they were Jamaican or even West Indian.

During this reasoning several brethren were passing through the yard - some to have a quick smoke, others to stay and reason. One of the brothers from the country had made some tea and he was serving it. Brother Maskaram went inside to rest and I went about doing some errands.

Later in the afternoon, around 3:30 p.m., I returned to Red Hills. It was pay day, but the workers had not yet received their wages. So we had to wait also, so Wadaj and the others could collect the money owing to them for the lunches they had served. Afterwards we drove directly to Sabat's yard. As soon as we arrived he went to find his pipe. Over a long draw the brethren reasoned about the contradiction of working on this project because those who lived in Trenchtown had no place to live. Soon Brother Wadaj and I left to go to the Spanish Town Market where he said he knew someone who would give him a good price on a quantity of beef. But there was none left, so we had to drive all the way to Linstead to buy our supplies.

When we returned to town it was dark. At Maskaram's yard several brethren were sitting on the front porch. Since it was Friday night, they were preparing to keep each other company as they bleached. They were expecting to witness some intensified police activity because of the murder that morning.

Brother Maskaram claimed to be inspired that evening. He decided to work on a play that he had conceived earlier. At his request I brought the typewriter around to the kitchen, where I copied while he dictated. His play was called "The Tiger and The Lion". It concerned the early life experiences of Marcus Garvey and the manner in which his consciousness of being an African in exile had evolved. But before I began my task, Brother Maskaram asked me to prepare a load for the pipe. He insisted that I needed to find some inspiration in order to better appreciate what he was about to do. The other brethren present pressured me to take double draws in order to become "properly" charged. Finally, Maskaram started to reason about the subject of his play, using the other brethren as an audience. He acted all the parts himself, using a very proper British accent to portray the white minister who kept his daughter and Garvey apart.

At the appropriate points I wrote down the various parts and Maskaram's stage directions. In the course of his composing, Maskaram took advantage of the situation to instruct some of the other brethren

about the life history of Garvey, and the manner in which Maskaram thought Garvey's personal experience of racism had informed his philosophy. In fact, over the weekend this play became the subject of numerous reasoning sessions. Maskaram made a point of involving others as he worked on it. Sometime very early Saturday morning, Maskaram, some of the others, and I went to the tea shop in downtown Kingston for a snack. We returned home and I slept until noon, the hour appointed to drive Maskaram to the race track.

This example gives us some insight into the role of Brother Maskaram in relation to other brethren. One gains an understanding of how his yard is used as a base. The rural brethren, for example, feel comfortable there. Occasionally someone overstays their welcome and it can become a problem. Usually such a situation is handled by Brother Maskaram speaking in a loud voice to a third party about the inconvenience he is suffering. Indirect communication is generally a way of dealing with awkward situations among the brethren. This example also serves to tell us something about the flow of communication through Maskaram's yard. Brethren there share in the experience of those working on the housing site project and the contradictions that involves. It becomes a topic for discussion about the way in which Jamaican workers are exploited. Information is also available about crime and the role of Rastafarians as possible scapegoats. Brethren can be prepared to maintain a low profile under such circumstances.

Daily experiences are used as points of departure for reasoning sessions in which Rastafarian ideology is formulated and expounded. Brethren raise their collective norms around such issues. For example, in light of possible persecution against Rastafarians Brother Maskaram delivered a reasoning about maintaining one's Ethiopian identity in the face of adversity. Later that same day when the brethren had gathered to bleach for the night, Maskaram decided to work on his play about Marcus Garvey, and how his life experiences resulted in a particular kind of consciousness. This definitely had a morale-boosting effect on the brethren over the course of the weekend, a fact reinforced by the experience of intersubjectivity through reasoning about it. Brethren would reason in groups of two and three, identifying strongly with Garvey, and drawing analogies to their own situation, using insights or flashes of understanding derived from their experience of inspiration. They felt free to develop scenarios of their own, and to describe vividly what they assumed the feelings of the parties involved would be.

Example Two

This morning I arrived at Maskaram's yard by 7:00 a.m., where I found him in the kitchen, along with Sister Saffa, and Rajjim, Zimmita, and Irfat. Maskaram was reasoning aloud as he read from the book entitled Who's Who in Jamaica. He says that an Arab came to visit yesterday with the argument that he had to go and fight in the Middle East because the entire Jewish community in Jamaica consisted of imperialist war mongers. As a result Maskaram had decided to trace the international connections of both Arabs and Jews living in Jamaica, through their marriages, education, and business connections, as revealed in Who's Who. It was Maskaram's opinion that when the British created Israel out of Palestine, they encouraged those who had to flee, to come to settle - and to invest - in some of their other British colonies such as Jamaica. So, he reasoned, different interest groups were using the Jamaican economy to make money to support the war effort in the Middle East. But, in fact, this Arab-Israeli conflict was being carried on at the expense of the Black man, the African, the worker. Maskaram made the point that if both the Jews and the Arabs could organize to support their homelands, he could not see why the Africans did not do likewise, and organize to free Africa. Maskaram handed the book to me, and suggested a few names that I might research. In the meantime, Kallad, Shibo, and Posta joined us. The pipe was passed around and I continued to read aloud, with Maskaram filling in the gaps with pieces of information here and there.

We passed two or three hours in this manner. New brothers arrived, others left the yard. Then Brother Yagala came. He appeared to be agitated and to want the company of Maskaram in particular. He was still disturbed by events of the previous week. It seems that Yagala had been frequenting a yard which was also visited regularly by several men who had just been involved in a shoot-out with the police. Yagala complained to Maskaram. He said he was very confused, that he didn't know what was going on, that he was becoming paranoid. Maskaram replied that Yagala did not have to know what the police were thinking, for facts were facts. He said that there were two things in particular he hated : that men are shot, and that men go to prison. Maskaram told Yagala to continue to go to school, to stay at home, and to remain silent. By "going to school" Maskaram meant that Yagala should continue to study and to meditate upon the situation, in particular to examine the way in which he came to associate with Babylonians. Maskaram cited a couple of recent examples of shootings for which he held the police responsible. He told Yagala that one cannot hope to fight jet planes with sling shots, that idle talk of revolution creates problems. He instructed Yagala to find out which camps he could fit into, and which camps were unsuitable for him. As for himself, Maskaram pointed out that he liked to stay in his own yard, where he could control the situation and smoke his pipe in peace. Yagala insisted that the C.I.A. was giving weapons to various factions in Jamaica, but Maskaram cautioned him against being suspicious of his own brethren, arguing that outsiders can use paranoia to weaken the unity of the movement. Yagala was very anxious because he claimed not to know what was happening. Maskaram repeatedly reassured him, telling him not to worry. Yagala left the yard, and I did not see him again for several months, when he started visiting regularly.

The afternoon passed quietly. Children began returning from school and the level of activity rose noticeably. That evening the local paper carried an article entitled " Black Santa, Black Jesus ". This became a subject of reasoning for the next few hours. Maskaram began by saying that we should " come to know " Santa. He went for the dictionary. While I was looking up the term, a few brethren gathered in the kitchen to draw the pipe and to listen. The first definition we read said that the name is a corruption of Saint Nicholas, a bishop of Myra Asia about 300 - 345 A.D. However, this term was found in the middle of a list of words on the same page. The brethren immediately drew significance from this alphabetical clustering. Just above was the term " Nick ", defined as the diminutive of Nicholas, but referring to the Devil, or Old Nick. Below we found the term " Nicene Creed " which had an extended, three-part definition. This provoked discussion among the brethren because of their belief that the only true Christian Church is the one found in Ethiopia. These few ideas were sufficient to stimulate Brother Maskaram to speculate further upon the matter.

He called the Santa Claus myth an example of politics without parties. The giving of gifts with strings attached to little children on Christmas Eve was regarded by Maskaram as a method of training them to accept a role in adult society in which they would play the game of " politricks " with the politicians in the same manner. He argued that Santa Claus was the original politician, if he were to believe the small print clause in the Nicene Creed. His pun on " clause-Claus " provoked hilarious approval from the brethren. Maskaram pointed out the origins of Santa Claus as a bishop of Myra Asia. He argued that the Church trained politicians then as it does now, for, he said, the separation of church and state was only a hypocritical one. In fact, Maskaram said that one could look in both the townhouse and the temple for Santa Claus.

Then he asked where one found little children, making the point that the answer was in their parents' homes of course. He claimed that even one's own parents would not give away something for nothing, for coming right down to it, one's children represented security in old age. Then Maskaram argued that since Santa Claus seemed to be an international figure, he must be a diplomat of the first order. He reasoned that since Santa Claus came down the chimney, his entrance must prevent the smoke from the hearth from rising. As a result, Maskaram surmised, this would create a problem in the home, which would cause the children and the parents to row with each other. As Maskaram put it, the family would " mash up " and its members would have to look to the state for their Christmas present. Continuing in this vein, he claimed that the government does not give one something which one has not given them already. Maskaram mocked the parental authorities by saying that one should just be a good boy until next Christmas, vote for him in the next election, and perhaps he will give him a shilling in the bottom of a stocking. The result of this Christmas activity was debt and more hard work, in Maskaram's opinion.

Then Maskaram continued. Since Santa Claus had to cover the international scene, Maskaram reasoned that he needed help. So Santa called upon the elves, according to Maskaram, to help him economize. At this point Maskaram developed an extended pun on " elf " and " alf " or " half ". He said that to " alf " something was to divide something, and to have

nothing. In his opinion, Santa's " alves " collected taxes from people all year long only to return " alf " of one's contribution in the long run. He argued that the government at Christmas time gives away what it really does not " alve ", for their gift consists mostly of promises. During this particular argument, brethren were shaking their heads in agreement and exclaiming aloud. Finally, Maskaram decided to leave to attend an Ethiopian World Federation meeting.

Several brethren were in the kitchen at the back. I joined them. Zammara and Zimmata who lived in the yard were there, as well as Daba, Sukar, Rajjim, Posta, Kallada, Kalam, and Ababa. One of the brethren from the country asked me to prepare an I-tall chalice for them. When I had finished loading it, he told me that I must also light it, for, as he put it, a good cook always tastes the dinner first. We passed the pipe around to the brethren assembled there. Most were so used to tobacco in their draw that this I-tall pipe caused them to seize up with coughing and sputtering. Still, everyone claimed that they were effectively charged. Some of us went outside to sit in the yard. Brother Dabo had his guitar and Asalfo and Chinkillat, two fine singers, joined us. Brother Chinkillat built spliffs for everyone. Nevertheless, he started to complain that he was not satisfied with this alone and that he wanted a pipe. Rajjim joined the circle saying that the chalice would soon arrive. In the meantime, Daba was playing his guitar while the other brethren began dummering and chanting. The chalice was passed and the session continued for a couple of hours longer. Brother Maskaram returned home and he joined us. Shortly after midnight the brethren dispersed.

This particular example is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates one of the methods whereby the brethren obtain some of the information they need to stimulate and inform their reasoning - that is, the use of Who's Who and the dictionary, both books that are relatively accessible. It also sheds some light on the manner in which significance is drawn out of everyday occurrences - a chance visit by a brother of Arabian descent, or an article in the local newspaper. Secondly, the incident with Brother Yagala is not atypical; I have often seen brethren who may have been associating with questionable characters draw closer to the more orthodox brethren in times of crisis. The brethren take full advantage of these kinds of situations to raise the individual's faith, and to help him get on track. They see this parapolitical gang activity as a suicidal involvement that the establishment promotes as a form of " birth control ". Thirdly, one can see how reasoning over such issues as the myth of Santa Claus can be a form of political education. Other people in the yard, not just those drawing the pipe are also welcome to listen. In this case, there had been a week or ten days of

government public works projects just prior to Christmas. People who had not worked all year, many of them women, were being given make-work tasks by the J.L.P., such as moving stones and whitewashing fences, in order to qualify for their Christmas bonus. The Rastas were very suspicious of the entire public works programme, and kept pointing out to the party members that it was just a form of gift giving with strings attached : work for votes. Finally, the evening session carrying on in the absence of Brother Maskaram is not unusual. Although his presence may tend to dominate some of the activities, other brethren feel comfortable enough in his yard to initiate their own undertakings. Moreover, this chanting and drumming session occurred on a weekday. It is not an activity reserved only for the weekends or ritual meetings. Although it is " sacred ", there is no special " sacred " time reserved for chanting and drumming. If the inspiration flows, this is one of the many forms it may take.

From the point of view of our interest in reasoning, this example affords us several insights. It illustrates how the brethren draw significance from random clusterings and make use of adventitious truth value. For example, they try to relate the term Nick to the Nicene Creed by incorporating both into their reasoning. How cleverly one can make the connection is appreciated. Maskaram is able to weave his thoughts from Santa Claus to politicians to Christmas to the situation of the poor in West Kingston, with various brethren making their own original contributions. A reasoning such as this is not purely entertaining, though it may well be that. What is most highly valued is the state of consciousness that such a process can lead to. When everyone feels that a satisfactory resolution has been achieved, people go their different ways.

Example Three

Since Brother Maskaram generally spends Sundays quietly in his own yard, he often receives many visitors who would find it difficult to be present during the week. Often brethren bring their children with them. On this particular Sunday, I arrived at Maskaram's yard in the afternoon. Shortly afterwards, a young man, who appeared to be about twenty-three or twenty-four years old, arrived at the yard. His name was Mr. Brown. He taught mathematics at a local school and was taking some courses part-time at the university. Since he was writing a paper on the Rastafarian movement for one of them, he had decided to come to interview Brother Maskaram. Several other brethren were also present - Kalam, Posta, Shibo, Doro, Kallada, Zimmita, and Tabbot. Some arrived later. Since it was raining at the time, we all sat indoors, in the kitchen.

Mr. Brown stayed for about three hours. I noticed that during that time a total of two ounces of herbs was smoked in the pipe, and much more consumed in the form of spliffs. Frequently when there was a large assembly, several brethren would smoke spliffs also, in order to ensure that they would become adequately charged. Mr. Brown was also given a spliff of his own to smoke, but he only took a couple of draws before handing it to a brother sitting near him. The brother refused to accept it, telling Mr. Brown that he would have to smoke all of it if he wanted to prove that he was not afraid of herbs.

Later, when the brethren had finished their chalice and when Mr. Brown was obviously charged, the brethren told him that they had decided to interview him. Brother Maskaram began by asking Mr. Brown to work out a mathematics problem, since he claimed to be a teacher of mathematics. Maskaram wanted to know what would be one half percent interest annually on two million pounds from 1832 to 1971. Then he inquired about the interest that would accrue at two and one half percent annually from 1910 to the present on the same amount. Maskaram said that the total would be what Queen Victoria owed to the Africans in Jamaica. Mr. Brown was very confused and unable to do the sums in his head. He asked for paper. But the brethren teased him, asking him what kind of a mathematics professor he was.

Mercifully they decided to drop that particular subject. But they started up on a new topic. They wanted to know why Mr. Brown lived at Taylor Hall on the university campus while he worked in Trenchtown. They asked him to come and join them in the trenches. Then when Mr. Brown referred to those present as "your brethren" Maskaram said that all those present were brethren to each other, only some were called Rasta, and some were called Jamaican. Maskaram pointed out that all were African people. Then Mr. Brown told Maskaram that he wanted to hear about the movement from the horse's mouth. This provoked someone to inquire if Mr. Brown was a stallion. When Mr. Brown said that he intended to visit Canada again, the brethren laughed, asking him if he planned to marry a Canadian girl. They said that he and his Canadian bride could breed like horses and make themselves some "buffer pickneys", a term the brethren use to refer to children of mixed marriages. Then someone else made the point that the brethren were not against planning a family but that they objected to birth control. They told Mr. Brown that he should abstain from sex, because it was more conducive to meditation that way. They inquired if he was able to study when his mind was preoccupied with sex. They told him that such behaviour would lead not to studying but to his being a stud. A number of seamy jokes about sex were made at this point, which emphasized the provocative role of women. Maskaram said that since it was Sunday they should all go to church, and he then proceeded to tell a long story about the virgin birth using biblical references to support his argument. His reinterpretation of this event suggested that the virgin Mary and her female associates were involved in an elaborate scheme to cover up their infidelities.

Then the topic seemed to shift abruptly back to the subject of slavery and Queen Victoria. Mr. Brown made a remark about the British and the Europeans capturing Africa. Brother Maskaram interrupted him. He told Brown that he should not attack the nations themselves but rather that he should hold the system responsible. Maskaram suggested attacking

the British government and the German government, and even the Pope and the Italian government, rather than Mussolini himself.

The reasoning continued until it became dark. Mr. Brown said that his car was parked in the schoolyard and that he had to fetch it before the gates were locked. The brethren insisted that he remain with them, but Mr. Brown wanted to go to his car. The brethren asked him to consider how one night reasoning with them would compare to one night away from his car. They told Mr. Brown that if he wanted to learn, if he wanted to gain some insight into Rasta, that he would have to make sacrifices. But Mr. Brown insisted; he left the yard.

Brother Faka, who was regarded by the others as an excellent cook, made dinner. After eating, some brethren left while the others assembled on the front porch. Brother Chuhat gave me a suru board. Posta put a cuchí which he had just cleared on it. Chawata was holding the pipe. The brethren asked me to prepare a draw, but cautioned me to take my time, for we were going to attend church. This was their way of saying that they wanted to create an especially holy occasion. Everyone helped. Chawata went for the water. Rajjim gauged the pipe but he insisted that I fill the chchi. Posta inserted the cuchí properly into the horn. Finally it was my turn to light the chalice, which, miraculously, I managed to do using only one match. It was not well lit, though, and when it went out again, I passed the pipe to Chuhat. I was completely out of breath. But Maskaram returned the pipe to me, insisting that I take another draw. He asked me if I did not want to black up like the others present. Then he told me that he did not like a rebel, that when he called someone to church, he did not like it if they refused to go. So I joined more enthusiastically in the communion. By the time the pipe was burned, no one was able to move off the porch.

Then Brother Maskaram started to reason. He wanted to know if Canada was becoming involved in an international situation which she did not want. He asked me, as a Canadian, to think about it. Maskaram said that the situation was as simple as the fact that Canada was going to have to fight the United States. He claimed that Canada's independence was really a sham, that behind the scene Britain was using a strategy to put Canada in charge of her former colonies. As a result, Canada was coming into conflict with American interests in former British colonies, such as Jamaica. Maskaram reasoned that since Britain still owed America a substantial amount in war debts, it had made a secret agreement to sell Canada to the Americans in order to pay off the loans. At the same time, Maskaram argued that Britain had tried to protect its own interests by using Canada wherever it was convenient. As a result, Canada traded with countries that were ignored by the United States, such as Cuba and China. Then Maskaram went on to describe how, in his view, every party, every government, had its allies in other countries, and that when one party was in power in one country, it preferred to see its allies in power in other countries, because then they would be able to work together. He called this an international system of the invisible establishment, which was organized to protect the interests of allies. For an example he cited how Heath and his Conservative Party were not very favourable to Trudeau's Liberal Party. Maskaram claimed that Heath tried to test Trudeau's administration by trying to create tension between Quebec and Ottawa. He argued that this was the same as creating tribal warfare in Africa by pitting brother against brother. Maskaram said that the

Separatists in Quebec would cooperate with Heath if they thought it was in their interest. He pointed out that once one understood how such political gangsters operated, it was easy enough to start to be able to make predictions and to keep oneself out of trouble. In fact, Maskaram said, the beauty of such an approach lay in the fact that even unschooled Rastas could make such an analysis. As far as he could see, the object of the game was to survive and not to allow oneself to be used by the system.

Finally Maskaram asked me if I would like to go for a drive in the country in order to visit a certain brother. I refused, saying that it was dark and rain was threatening to fall. Maskaram said that was all right, since he would probably think about the brother in question tonight, and probably by morning he would arrive. I knew that it was not unusual for brethren to attempt to use mental telepathy to contact each other. In fact, this remark prompted some of those present to describe experiences along these lines which they had had. As this reasoning about mental telepathy was taking place on the front porch, a taxi arrived. Out stepped a dapper looking gentleman, wearing a bowler hat, sporting a very trim face and head, and carrying two suitcases. It was Brother Chinkillat, the very person whose name Brother Maskaram had been calling jokingly over the microphone earlier that day when he had been testing some sound equipment which he was intending to use for a recording session. Chinkillat had just been deported from the United States. He had only arrived on the Island an hour earlier and had driven straight to Maskaram's yard. They were old friends from an earlier period when they had recorded several songs together. Everyone present was very excited, though no one seemed really surprised. Maskaram immediately gave Brother Faka some very special herbs to prepare for a pipe of welcome. Faka surued it I-tall, so that everyone present could join in, both those who used tobacco and those who did not. They gave me the pipe to light. After this warm welcome, Chinkillat left his bags in Maskaram's house, and he and I, Maskaram and Kass, went downtown to the tea shop.

There we ordered refreshments and sat near the jukebox. The manager of the shop, who was a friend of Maskaram, gave him the key to the switch mechanism, so that Maskaram could play records at will without paying. Maskaram said that he was really feeling inspired, that he wanted to plan some new musical endeavours. This particular jukebox contained copies of the records that Maskaram and Chinkillat had made together. We stayed at the tea shop for several hours, while the two of them played all their tunes many times over. Maskaram took the trouble to clearly enunciate all the words for my benefit, leaning over close to my ear. Between songs Chinkillat reported on events in America. Dawn was breaking when we finally arrived home at our yards.

This example illustrates the manner in which Maskaram and his brethren receive visitors of very different status: Mr. Brown, a middle-class student of whom they are distinctly suspicious, and Chinkillat, a long absent brother, contacted, apparently, by telepathic means. In the first instance they work on the man, chiding and provoking him.

With Chinkillat, the mood changes immediately. Although he is now "trim and shave", Chinkillat is welcomed unreservedly. This is a typical Sunday in that Maskaram stays close to his yard receiving visitors, only leaving at midnight to travel to the tea place.

This example also sheds some light on the way brethren proselytize. Consistently they avoid the personal sting, by arguing that the system is responsible, not a given individual. It is only as a person comes to consciousness that he can accept responsibility. The brethren are clearly intent on demonstrating the limitations of Mr. Brown's paradigm. No matter how careful and accurate he tries to be, one or another of them will find grounds to take exception. In effect, they are saying : don't overlook this, don't forget about that. The object is to build up a composite view of reality as a mosaic. They also made it clear to Mr. Brown that one has to make sacrifices to gain knowledge. What are minor daily inconveniences compared to the understanding that one is able to have about the nature of the universe and man's place in it? Mr. Brown obviously failed this test by going to recover his car before closing time. He was not to reappear.

In these three examples we can see that reasoning is used as a form in which the brethren construct a composite view of reality. While Maskaram is a central figure in the situations described, reasoning operates in such a way that all brethren have the opportunity to make important contributions and to develop themes on their own initiative. While it is methodologically difficult to reconstruct the flow of a reasoning under these fieldwork conditions, it is possible at least to present a more or less consistent account of Maskaram's arguments. It should be emphasized, however, that the presence of others is critical, since reasoning is a collective process, and the experience of intersubjectivity - a social phenomenon - is highly valued.

During reasoning sessions the brethren attempt to apply their Rastafarian orientation to specific life experiences, in particular, daily events. Let us not lose sight of the fact that when Maskaram reasons he is an influential Dreadlocks leader, as well as a brother in prayer. Those present pay attention to his arguments and respect his opinions. Maskaram builds up a great deal of credibility in such situations, for other brethren regard him as much inspired. When Maskaram turns his

attention to organizing a meeting or coordinating some cultural event to further the interests of the movement, he is able to marshal support. When he makes a decision to work with established interests on some project, people try to understand. When controversial issues arise, brethren from various factions of the movement will consult with him - as well as with other leading brethren. We would maintain that it is in the reasoning sessions that Maskaram establishes the most important basis of his authority. Here his line of thought is accessible to all and open to question. While Maskaram can be characterized as having a particular ideological orientation within the movement, his position on day-to-day matters and events that crop up is worked out on an ad hoc basis during reasoning.

Crises : Fomentation and Resolution

Now we can consider the visionary artist's role as a yard politician. Brother Maskaram is a member of a social movement which has developed an opposition ideology and challenges the status quo in many ways. Radical movements and resistance movements can more easily survive by consciously creating an alternative culture which protects them against the forces of the dominant system. Brother Maskaram is highly active in this regard. He has made and continues to make a considerable contribution to Rastafarian culture. We have also noted that his works contain a strong element of protest and criticism. Thus we would describe his role as a visionary artist not as utopian but as revolutionary.

What is the nature of Maskaram's role as a yard politician? Nadel has already raised the problem of the relationship between certain intermediate roles and the larger society. We have further suggested that the pressures of cooptation need to be resisted. We would like to trace the relationship between vision and action on a day to day basis. Does Maskaram function to maintain the existing state of affairs or does he challenge it? In this section we want to discuss the manner in which Maskaram both resolves and foments social crisis in the interest of what he regards as the greater Rastafarian good.

Example Four

Early one morning, just after sunrise, Maskaram was on his way to the kitchen when he noticed blood on the ground at the back of the yard. This caused him some concern, because to him, blood meant an injury, and

that meant police. He covered the blood with some sand and waited to see what would develop.

Soon afterwards Maskaram heard someone shouting that he should come quickly. A brother who lived next door and who kept goats was cornered in one part of the yard by another man brandishing a machete. The goat-keeper had accused the stranger of stealing and slaughtering one of his animals in the night. The accused was retaliating by attacking the goat-keeper. Maskaram intervened in the row by coming between the two of them. In the fracas the stranger wounded Maskaram with the machete and then ran away from the yard. Although Maskaram's thumb had been badly severed, he refused to seek hospital treatment because he wanted to avoid an investigation. With the help of Sister Saffa, he wrapped the wound with a cloth.

As brief as it was, this incident produced a general feeling of disgruntlement, for the brother whom Maskaram tried to protect never came around for a draw to thank him, even though he lived next door. Maskaram railed against the man's ingratitude. Then he turned his wrath on Brother Doro who was sponging off the brethren, sleeping on a mouse-riddled straw mattress under the kitchen table. Brother Doro, as the brethren would have it, was going through his "period": a life crisis during which he mostly dozed and grew locks. Until he was fully Dread, Doro was abstaining from smoking, but just the same he wanted to stay in the company of Maskaram even though he lived only two blocks away. Maskaram stamped up and down the yard, holding his bloody thumb, denouncing ingratitude. He could not leave the yard, unfortunately, because it was Friday and there were obligations to meet. Eventually he retired to the house.

This incident also illustrates Maskaram's authority as someone having control of his yard. Although a crowd had gathered to watch the disputants, he alone took it upon himself to intervene. We cannot properly speak of this as a visionary resolution. Rather it is a resolution effected by an acknowledged visionary. The next example also concerns a deviant individual, but here the resolution is more a matter of visionary diplomacy.

Example Five

Maskaram was unable to find a certain kitchen knife. He sat down with his pipe, reflecting upon the matter. Finally he raised his voice, saying that he wanted to discuss what was on his mind, that being the issue of responsibility in an open yard situation such as theirs. He asked that if the brethren were not able to cooperate long enough to keep the yard in order, then how would they be able to work together in the

long haul for unity of purpose? Some of the brethren present took up this problem in their reasoning. They concluded : " What's mine is mine, what's yours is yours; if you want mine, just ask and I'll give it to you if I can; if I can't, it's one love just the same." Then they agreed that regardless of whichever brother was personally responsible for a situation, all of them as Rastafarians were responsible. As a result they said that they should train each other in the faith. At this point the reasoning was interrupted by loud noises and confusion coming from around the side of the house.

Brother Maskaram was rowing with Mad Sam. Mad Sam was an itinerant mad man who had never been heard to speak. He was always dressed in rags and tatters, wandering about the community. He slept where he could, and he ate what he could find. Recently he had been loitering about Maskaram's yard. On this occasion Mad Sam had built two little fires in the rubbish heap by the house and he was proceeding to boil some tea in a tin can when Maskaram put a stop to it. Maskaram yelled that in the last two weeks at least two government houses had burned down because their residents were careless about cooking on the porch. The fire safety inspection people had visited all the yards to warn them of the danger. Maskaram ran Mad Sam off the property, cursing him, asking Sam if he thought Maskaram's yard was an asylum.

Later Mad Sam returned. He came into the kitchen where Rajjim, Irfat, and Sister Saffa were. At first they began discussing Sam in an indirect fashion. They discussed how some brethren just do not seem to be able to make a living for themselves and so they must do all manner of things to be able to exist. They said that some will take the lowest jobs in Babylon in order to exist. In this regard they mentioned how some people wash out pork intestines in the slaughter house. They said it was only one step from that condition to losing all of one's dignity, and not wanting to wash oneself or one's clothes. They argued that colonialism caused such developments, and that they had to help each other under the circumstances.

At that point Rajjim went right up to Mad Sam and told him that he must dignify himself, that he must be proud to be a man. Irfat and Rajjim convinced Sam that he should strip right on the spot and take a bath while Saffa washed his clothes.

There are long-term as well as short-term considerations involved in this sequence. The disappearance of the kitchen knife is the occasion for Maskaram to express himself on the question of collective responsibility. Visionary understandings have their practical application to everyday life. Then, as if to drive the point home, Maskaram rousts out Mad Sam and extinguishes the blaze he made. This lesson is picked up by others present who insist that Mad Sam undertake a radical hygiene to dignify himself. In this instance we can see how the visionary's message is elaborated and applied by those around him. Maskaram resolves the short-term crisis by putting out the fire, while the others deal with the long-term aspects.

Where these two examples have involved non-Rastas, the following crises involve only Dreadlocks brethren from Maskaram's close circle. These crises are more complex than the previous ones in the sense that they require diplomacy and arbitration for their resolution. The problem facing Maskaram is no longer simply a matter of breaking up a fight or shooing away a troublesome character. In these examples the unity of the movement is threatened; this at least is how he construes it. In all of this Maskaram has to maintain the sense of the I and I among the parties concerned. He must return them to an awareness of their spiritual oneness. These are visionary resolutions in the strict sense of the term.

Example Six

One morning soon after the children had departed for school, four jockeys arrived at Maskaram's yard. They stayed to visit for a couple of hours, telling hilarious stories about life at the track. Around 10:00 a.m. Brother Shibo arrived on his motorbike. There was blood all over his shirt and he was bleeding from a wound on his face. Everyone moved near him to discover what had happened. I noticed, though, that brethren seemed to take pains not to be overly sympathetic. Perhaps they thought such a reaction would encourage weakness, for I had observed similar reactions in the face of distress before.

Brother Shibo was a Dreadlocks, a self-employed electrician. He had made a considerable financial sacrifice in order to rent some building space so he could manage his own shop. He was able to offer his services to clients at a reasonable rate. More importantly, though, he was willing to both employ and train Rastafarian youth who wanted to learn a trade. His shop was also "open" in that he did not discourage younger brethren from gathering in it. Frequently they used his tools in order to repair items for themselves and for others. Shibo did not charge them for the privilege. Occasionally some took advantage of the situation and Shibo had lost some equipment through theft.

One of the brethren present arrived with a first aid kit which Maskaram used to dress Shibo's wound. In the meantime, Kalam began preparing a load for the pipe. Shibo began to describe what had happened to him. Shibo had been training a young Dreadlocks brother. Apparently, a customer came to the shop a few days previously to have a gadget repaired. The trainee fixed it, took the money, and said nothing to Shibo. But today the same customer had returned, dissatisfied with the job. Shibo was present this time. When Shibo accused the other brethren of deceiving him by pilfering the money, the trainee hit Shibo with a chair. Shibo said that he returned the compliment by charging the other brother. In the ensuing fracas, Shibo received a nasty wound but the other brother escaped uninjured. The trainee went running out of the shop, screaming that he was going to the police. Shibo hopped on his bike at that point and drove straight to Maskaram's yard.

Maskaram said that he was certain of one thing - that he did not want to involve the police. Maskaram was confident that Shibo could handle the situation, but he said that the other brother might be so

unbalanced as to buy an eighty cent machete and two files and seek to take revenge upon Shibo. Maskaram fantasized that on that day the evening paper would carry headlines saying " Dread Murders Dread ". He thought that this would play into the hands of those who wanted to see signs of disunity among the brethren.

Maskaram took a draw with Shibo and they reasoned together. Maskaram once again told Shibo that he was glad that Shibo was the one who sustained the injury. He thought that it did not hurt to shed a little blood now and then, for it made one stop and think. Nevertheless, Maskaram said, life must continue. And he felt that the appropriate step for Shibo to take would be to change his bloodstained shirt and to carry on as usual.

Maskaram pointed out for the benefit of some of those present that Shibo had a wife and two children. He said that Shibo was so committed to his family that he would not think of even spending one night away from them in order to " bleach " (i.e., to stay up all night to smoke and reason) with his brethren. Maskaram knew that Shibo would not want to pursue this affair with the trainee any further if it meant risking his livelihood. He felt that the trainee would soon regret his mistake because he was not the least bit qualified and Shibo would certainly not give him a recommendation. Maskaram speculated that the trainee would find himself hanging around streetcorners again, subject to police observation, wishing that he could be back in the shop working. Shibo thought about the matter for some time. When his attitude started to improve he went home, after having another draw with the brethren.

This is a typical example of the manner in which Maskaram tended to handle disputes between brethren. Knowing Brother Maskaram's position on the subject of unity, one might expect him to ask Brother Shibo to adopt a compassionate attitude towards the other brother. But his disposition does not become clear until the incident occurs. Maskaram and Shibo reason together. I and I consciousness is invoked. Maskaram explains at length what he would do in such a situation. Shibo follows his advice. Not only does Maskaram make a good political point about maintaining a sense of unity within the movement, but the reasoning setting itself conditions one to adopt an intersubjective orientation. Moreover, Maskaram is obviously concerned with the negative impression that factionalism within the movement creates. He is sensitive to the possibility of manipulation of such incidents by the media and therefore counsels Shibo to take a broader perspective on the issue in order to avoid further confrontation.

Example Seven

One day there was an argument between two brethren who resided at the Rastafarian temple. Maskaram arranged to meet with the both of them in a very surprising location. For over a year Maskaram had had access

to what he called " the Big House ", a large spacious home in a fashionable section of Kingston. The home was owned by a famous American singer who periodically visited Jamaica. He and Maskaram's circle had struck up a relationship because of their mutual involvement in reggae music, a form of playing distinctive to Jamaica. The singer has asked Maskaram to provide a reliable watchman for the house which was tantamount to saying that Maskaram could use it whenever he wished.

The two brethren who had fallen into disagreement arrived with me by car after dark at the Big House. Maskaram was waiting for us. We wandered through its two stories, each of them self-contained apartments. We marveled at its triplicate redundancy of bathrooms. We finally assembled in the dining room. We sat around a mahogany table facing out through a large picture window on a panorama of Kingston. We had a pipe in front of us.

The complaint : Timhirt took Zip to task because his wife was used to performing her private functions in public. He claimed that this stood in the way of the temple becoming open to the brethren on a more regular basis. At Maskaram's suggestion, Timhirt had recently initiated Amharic drills on the temple grounds. In his view, the temple should be primarily a Rastafarian gathering place.

Zipo disapproved of all this. He contended that the temple should be used as a retreat, a place to go for quiet meditation. Zipo himself was an artist of some standing and he felt that he needed the privacy to be creative. Neither of the two brethren, though, was short-tempered with the other. Speaking reasonably they smoked together.

Maskaram nevertheless regarded this dispute as a serious threat to Repatriation. He did not want to see the cancellation of the Amharic drills. He began reasoning by saying that he hated to plant a seed that did not grow. He appealed to their identity as oppressed brethren. He told them to look around the Big House in order to get their petty complaints in perspective. He also pointed out to Zipo that he, Maskaram, had helped his art gain recognition.

Although Maskaram continued to reason around the issue, his arbitration drifted unmistakably in the direction of Timhirt's open-door policy. The final resolution however, was effected by nature. Sometime after midnight an earth tremor occurred. We felt the house shake. Everyone became very excited : Earthquake! Selassie I! We piled into the car and drove down into West Kingston. Back on the temple grounds an Amharic language drill was staged with about a dozen brethren present.

In the arbitration between Timhirt and Zipo, more is involved than a simple quarrel. These two brethren, the temple-keepers, are raising basic questions about the social function of sacred spaces. Timhirt for his part does not distinguish between education and religion, particularly where the lesson to be learned is about Africa. Zipo, the artist, stresses the temple's retreat function. In this dispute Maskaram cannot really afford to alienate either brother, but Timhirt is clearly carrying out his own wishes by encouraging language drill. Thus Maskaram relies upon

previous obligations to obtain Zipo's acquiescence in the matter. The language drill they held that night signalled the results of the arbitration. Several weeks later Timhirt tried to accommodate Zipo by moving off the temple grounds.³ This left Zipo with a large private room adjacent to the temple complex.

In this case Maskaram used a Big House⁴ as an instrument of his policy. By radically altering their customary frame of reference, he encouraged the two temple brethren to view their dispute afresh. There is an ambivalence bound up with the site of this reasoning. These outcastes are, after all, now ensconced in one of Babylon's highest citadels, even though it is after midnight and the owner is absent. Reasoning over a glowing herbs pipe has a special piquancy in this environment. The contradiction between the brethren and the Big House lifestyle is readily apparent. In this context the survival of Rastafarian culture takes on added meaning. We know that Brother Maskaram supports Repartriation; his Ethiopianism is strong. Thus we could expect him to want to continue using the temple as a learning centre for Amharic lessons. Still, he took pains not only to reason carefully through his position with the brethren involved, but to do so in a setting which highlighted the points being made. Once again, his advice was followed, but not until an understanding had been reached. We cannot underestimate the significance of the earthquake in this sequence of events. Apparently a random occurrence, it was taken as unequivocal support of Maskaram. Nevertheless, we are still confronted with a situation wherein reasoning is used as the process whereby Maskaram applies his general orientation within the movement to a specific problem that arises.

Now we shall turn our attention to situations in which Brother Maskaram makes a decision to provoke a crisis over an issue which he feels threatens the interests of the movement. Forsaking I and I consciousness in the short run, Maskaram makes a decision to intensify the tensions that have developed between himself and the interests he represents, on the one hand, and a second party on the other hand. In the long run, he argues, such precipitous actions will serve to set things aright.

Example Eight

A poet of some repute arranged for a reading to be held in the evening at his home. Some three dozen people were invited to participate on the understanding that the gathering would be tape recorded. Maskaram was asked to recite one of the poet's longer works. Maskaram had decided to ask Brother Tabbot to accompany him on this occasion. Tabbot frequently served as Maskaram's partner in reasoning, and Maskaram could be confident of Tabbot's cool judgement and critical acumen. He could trust that Tabbot would not be seduced by the surroundings.

We arrived during the pre-recording social, where rum was being consumed. Neither Maskaram nor Tabbot had herbs with him and of course they refused to drink. Brother Tabbot was drawn into an argument with a student from the university, who took the line that violence was the one revolutionary road. Tabbot for his part defended peace and love. The student, who by this point was becoming drunk, challenged Maskaram directly. He said that Black people should not concern themselves with God because it made them passive in the fashion of Ghandi for whom he had no respect. He said that what the world needed now was fighters. Maskaram remained very calm at first. He asked the student if he knew how to make a gun, pointing out the problems involved in securing arms. Thereupon the student denounced Haile Selassie and the Rastafarian movement altogether, claiming that he personally supported the Eritrean secessionist movement.

Suddenly Maskaram lost his patience. He declared that the youth was feisty, that he had not respect for the feelings and beliefs of others. Maskaram said that he could not abide to be in the presence of such an insolent provocateur. This stopped the party. Everyone turned to watch. The poet took to his hammock on the verandah to watch the proceedings.

Maskaram left the house in a huff although Tabbot remained behind. The gathering was uncertain of Maskaram's plans. Would he return or not? In any case, the event was not able to continue for he was one of the key participants. In fact, Maskaram had dropped into one of the nearby ghettos to get some herbs and a chalice. He returned with these to the party. Maskaram, Tabbot, a sympathetic student, and I retired to the poet's bathroom to prepare a pipe. As I adjusted the pipe, the cuchí slipped from my hands and fell on the marble floor. It was broken in two places. Dread judgement upon the house! We took the pipe out into the hallway to use it. We were obliged to hold it on an angle, drawing from half a cuchí. In spite of this omen, the recording session proceeded without a hitch.

Such a situation has to be understood in terms of Rastafarian attitudes in general to middle-class and elite lifestyles. Most of these people's goings-on earn the Rastas' condemnation as "pretensive" and Babylonian. Rastafarians like Maskaram - uncompromising Dreadlocks - have nothing but scorn for the kind of person who claims to love Rasta but not his herbs! Maskaram sensed a general disapproval in the gathering at the poet's house concerning the use of herbs, particularly for the

conspicuous way that Rastafarians use them. Maskaram could have accommodated himself to drawing a spliff out of doors, but the intrusion of the outspoken student was too much. Maskaram felt the entire Rastafarian movement was being insulted. Without acknowledging bourgeois protocol, Maskaram suddenly left. Returning with all his smoking paraphernalia Maskaram asserted his Dreadlocks presence. Only one student joined us though. Nevertheless, the passing of this half-cracked pipe provided Maskaram with an opportunity to deliver a loud discourse. Having fulfilled his conditions for the evening's session, Maskaram joined the others. If he is to function as a visionary artist he finally decided, it had to be on his terms.

In this situation Maskaram also made a political decision. He wanted to expose this Black brother as a possible provocateur even though it meant forsaking I and I consciousness. His grounds were that idle talk of revolution may incite the people prematurely to violence. Maskaram made his point that the most revolutionary act one could commit in that room would be to draw the pipe and not to be pretentious about it.

The next crisis that we shall consider springs from very different concerns. It is strictly a matter of movement business. The issue at stake, however, has its focus on Ethiopia. The background to this crisis is complicated and can only be appreciated in light of the following chapter. One officer in a Rastafarian Repatriation association, who has been living on the land grant in Ethiopia, is suspected of malfeasance. Maskaram has heard he is to return to Jamaica shortly. At the tactical level Maskaram wants to weaken this man's base of support in Jamaica. Strategically, he wants the whole movement to be aware of what principles are at stake. What Maskaram does in this case is to promote short-term disunity in order to heal a serious breach in the long run.

Example Nine

It was Sunday midnight. Maskaram had spread out letters, maps, diagrams, and documents all over the room, just as if he were mounting a campaign. He had just received a letter from Ethiopia that morning which announced that the collective land grant there had been divided up into individual plots among the Rastafarian brethren who had managed to repatriate. This arrangement had left Brother Fezel virtually in charge of the settlement programme there. The letter reported that Brother Fezel was attempting to regularize the process of repatriation whereby both Dreadlocks and other Rastafarian brethren who did not belong to his

organization would be excluded. Having just heard, too, that Brother Fezel would be returning to Jamaica soon for a brief stay, Maskaram decided to send Brother Goradie, a patriarch diplomat, to seek out Fezel's trusted representative in Jamaica, a man by the name of Brother Blatta. Maskaram had not seen Blatta for over seven years, ever since Blatta had signalled his commitment to Fezel's exclusivist faction. We left by car.

Brother Blatta readily agreed to accompany us back to Maskaram's yard when he heard there had been a communication from Ethiopia, even though it was well after midnight by now. Maskaram invited Blatta to sit down amidst the confusion of documents. Blatta declined to draw the pipe with Maskaram, though, arguing apologetically that he had to work the next day. Instead, Blatta rolled some spliffs for himself.

Maskaram broached the subject of the land grant directly. He asked Blatta how the selection of pioneers in Jamaica would go now that the land had been divided. Blatta confirmed Maskaram's worst fears when he said that as far as he understood it, only skilled workers would be considered for repatriation by Fezel's Repatriation Association, which now appeared to have the recognition of the government as the official Repatriation body. Maskaram suddenly pulled off Goradie's white tam revealing the old man's full locks. He challenged Blatta to look at Goradie and to look at him, Maskaram. He said that there were thousands of brethren who were Dreadlocks, who did not belong to the Repatriation Association, but who were still entitled to the land grant, being as they were Black people of the West. Blatta protested that his policy was not an elitist one. But Maskaram interjected that Blatta should be more cautious, because the movement did not need to experience another Claudius Henry affair. By this he was referring to a repatriation swindle that Henry had directed in 1959.

Then Maskaram revealed to Blatta some information about Fezel's activities in Ethiopia about which Blatta was ignorant. Realizing that the situation was more complicated than he had suspected, Blatta told Maskaram the precise arrangements for Fezel's return visit to Jamaica. He also agreed to arrange for a meeting on neutral ground for all the parties concerned.

Example Ten

One of the members of the steering committee of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church was regarded by Maskaram as an obstacle to African unity. As a result this Brother, Angat, avoided any dealings with Maskaram's associates. In Maskaram's opinion, this rift had to be healed before a proposed solidarity conference could be organized. Maskaram decided to make the issue public on Angat's own grounds. He arranged to be at the church following the Sunday evening service. As the congregation was pouring out of the church doors, Maskaram suddenly ran up the church steps, confronting Angat on the balcony. He addressed Brother Angat in a loud voice, asking him if he wanted to engage the whole of the movement in a tribal warfare as a result of going on this way without communicating.

Brother Angat was noncommittal. He tried to evade Maskaram. At this point Maskaram lunged at this throat, bending Angat back over the railing and threatening to choke him with his own necktie if he did not

mend his ways. The confusion that followed was tremendous. Angat regained his composure and promised to cooperate in the future. Back in the car we headed for the tea place. Maskaram was laughing uproariously : was that not a good drama?

Brother Angat in this case proved true to his word. A few weeks later the executive committee of the Church, of which Angat was a member, arranged for Maskaram and his close brethren to meet with the Ethiopian priest. Their encounter is described in the following chapter. More than on the previous two situations, this piece of crisis fomentation had direct consequences for the unity of the movement. Maskaram accounted for the success of his surprise confrontation by saying that it sometimes takes a lick in the head for the truth to be seen.

A crisis could be defined as a problem that has not arisen before in precisely that form so that its solution is not automatic. Millenarian movements address themselves both to cultural crises at a social level, which are insolvable from their point of view, and to domestic or local crises which can be resolved. Much of the literature on millenarianism is concerned with the insolvable kinds of problems. Here, though, we have been discussing the manner in which a visionary uses his ideological orientation to deal with problems more within his immediate range of influence.

Generally speaking the nature of Maskaram's approach is to set problems within a larger context. As a ritual expert he first carries out the appropriate procedure to ensure an inspirational mood. He appeals to brethren's sense of the I and I to show that conflict between two parties may be the result of oppression at the hands of a third. A favourite term of reference is " tribal warfare ". Sometimes he likes to use a novel frame of reference to shed light on a mundane issue by rearranging the customary relationships between people or subjects. He may try to generate a holistic vision, so the individuals concerned understand that personal frictions could be the result of political tensions. Crises sometimes demand improbable solutions, and as a visionary Maskaram has to take this into account. That his judgement is sought and his point of view respected reaffirms our observation that Maskaram can be treated as a representative ideologue within the Rastafarian movement.

In passing we should note that the presence of myself, the anthropologist, generated a situation of chronic crisis. Maskaram had already

acquired a reputation for being highly suspicious of white people as a general principle. His reasons for working closely with me and allowing me to accompany him on his rounds were the subject of continual reasonings, as he worked out his own position on the matter and discussed it with other brethren. This was not a decision made at one point in time and then simply acted upon, but Maskaram and the brethren reevaluated constantly the pros and cons of working with me. Threats were made upon his life and his credibility as a leader was challenged. This was a delicate issue that had to be thoroughly reasoned out in public forum, lest the unity of the movement be threatened.

Our intention in this chapter has been to demonstrate the central role that reasoning plays in the social and ideological dynamics of the Rastafarian movement. We have focused on Brother Maskaram as our representative Rastafarian ideologue, in order to ascertain more clearly the manner in which one moves from a general ideological orientation to a particular interpretation upon which action can be based. This directed us to examine the problem of how a strong leader functions within an avowedly egalitarian social movement. In this regard, we argued that reasoning itself, as a public and a collective process, exerts a check on the development of authoritarian and exclusivist leadership tendencies.

At this point we focused on Maskaram's role as both a ritual expert and a yard politician. We examined the kinds of problems that Rastafarians face on a day-to-day basis and the manner in which they deal with them. This gives us a great deal of insight into the relationship between life experience and ideological formulation. Experiential data are fed back into the system through an ideological filter which reconstitutes even mundane events in ways that have significance for the brethren as Rastafarians. In the case of Maskaram he generally refers this material to his own ideological framework, by finding ways in which he can bring his Ethiopianism, his anti-colonialism, his biblical consciousness, and his sense of I and I to bear upon it.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven

1. The Jamaica Information Service has released a one hour documentary film entitled The Lion of Judah which details the events of H.I.M.'s four-day state visit to Jamaica.
2. The examples used are numbered consecutively throughout this chapter. The days chosen for discussion were ones on which events seemed to be particularly compacted. In this sense alone they are atypical. Unless otherwise indicated, reasoning sessions which are described consist of reconstructed discourse.
3. Timhirt tried squatting by the straw market, but the police kept breaking his tattoo-shack down. After a year of urban nomadism, Timhirt decided to return to the temple to live. Shortly afterwards, though, the entire temple building burnt to the ground.
4. The term Big House is used by the brethren themselves. It has a historical precedent in the use of the same term to refer to the slave plantation owner's mansion.

Chapter Eight

Words Without Works Is Dead : Vision and Action

In the preceding chapter we tried to show how reasoning together in small groups is the focus of activity among a particular group of Rastafarian brethren. Using Brother Maskaram as our Rastafarian representative, we discussed the manner in which he uses reasoning sessions as a social forum in which to work out his position on various issues. Thus we gained some insight into how a member of a social movement applies general ideological understanding to specific problems. We also examined the relationship between a social movement with a strong egalitarian ideology and leaders who arise in its midst. In this regard we noted that the very process of reasoning itself serves to exert a check on the development of authoritarian and elitist leadership.

In this chapter we will continue our discussion of the relationship between Maskaram as a Rastafarian ideologue and other Rastafarian brethren. However, we shall shift our point of reference from the level of yard politics to the movement as a whole. We are still interested in the way in which reasoning and the attainment of I and I consciousness inform Maskaram's perspective as a recognized Rastafarian visionary. In addition to this concern, we want to examine Rastafarianism as a visionary movement. Using Brother Maskaram and his close associates as our case study, we will discuss the various ways in which their vision is communicated to a larger public. In particular, we want to follow the many themes of visionary politics.

The title of this chapter is taken from a Rastafarian admonition similar in spirit to our own locution : all talk, no action. Every brother is charged with the responsibility of making good his words by living his life in a manner compatible with his point of view. Brother Maskaram and his brethren because of their ideological position within the Rastafarian movement stand firm on the question of African unity and Repatriation. They argue that all Black people are Africans, and should work towards the liberation of African people. They conceive of themselves as lions in Babylon, carrying a message of their vision of African freedom.

In this chapter we want to discuss how Maskaram and his brethren communicate this vision both to other Rastafarians and to the larger public. Here we are confronted with another dilemma experienced by such visionary movements. To what extent are organizational structures used to disseminate visionary messages which have their origin in inspiration? At what point do formalized communication channels begin to impede the flow of inspiration? Since Brother Maskaram and his brethren put a premium on inspiration, they prefer to transmit messages and their Rastafarian vision in a way that will perpetuate it. Generally this involves personalization of the channel, even if the medium of communication is itself institutionalized. They strive to communicate their emotional commitment to the message as much as the message itself. Obviously this is a delicate procedure, rather like making jelly without a mold.

What also must be borne in mind is that these communications beyond the yard to a larger public take place in a oppressive situation. We are dealing with people who are marginal to Jamaican society yet who have to find a way of sending their messages up and out. When channels other than face-to-face personal networks are monopolized by the national elite, a struggle is implied. Even communication between Rastafarians themselves is as much hindered by outside forces as it is between Rastafarians and non-Rastas. For example, in the early stage of fieldwork, the police raided Maskaram's yard. Several brethren were taken to the police station and held although they were not found with herbs on them. The police accused them of teaching university students in the yard how to make bombs, for they had confiscated some electrical equipment belonging to Shibo. When this charge could not stick, the police attempted to charge them with holding a meeting without a permit. They had discovered that none of the brethren arrested lived in the yard, and since Maskaram was not present at the time, how could they be visiting with him? All this really amounted to a form of political harassment, for the brethren were released the following day without being charged. Towards the end of the fieldwork, as elections were drawing near, arrests and detentions increasingly became a form of social control. A yard would be raided, the men confined at headquarters, then everyone would be released in the morning. On such occasions, the state clearly exerts friction on the circulation of messages both within and without the movement.

An interest in the communication of visionary understandings and the manner in which Rastafarianism operates as a visionary front leads us directly to the question of proselytization. How are Rastafarians able to maintain their worldview in light of contrastive or disconfirming evidence? How does Maskaram continue to function as a credible Rastafarian visionary when confronted with contradictory data? Even given the framework of the general ideological orientation outlined in chapter three, any Rastafarian's position on a particular subject cannot be predicted automatically. Rather, it has to be reasoned out among the brethren. In reasoning sessions new ideas and new data are tested, speculated about, and incorporated accordingly. Not always is there general agreement across the face of the movement on any particular issues. As we shall see below, the visit of Julius Nyerere of Tanzania to Jamaica provoked a considerable amount of controversy among the brethren as to his status within movement ideology.

Generally speaking, Rastafarianism is a visionary movement which deals with vague apocalyptic predictions about the coming fall of Babylon. At times in the 1950's precise predictions were even made as to when this event would occur. The work of Leon Festinger (1964) has made us sensitive to the fate of such movements so foolhardy as to fix a specific date for the destruction of the world. Where this conviction involves individual commitment to some unalterable course of action, and where there is strong social support for such convictions, then the movement may respond to the disconfirmation of prophecy with increased proselytizing. In order to lessen the cognitive dissonance between itself and the encompassing society, it will set about trying to persuade nonmembers as to the correctness of its apocalyptic beliefs. One aspect of this activity is the making of still more predictions. In these circumstances the wrath of the lord is amenable to rescheduling.

Festinger makes it clear that he is including in this scenario only those movements :

...that specify a date or an interval of time within which the predicted events will occur as well as detailing what is to happen. Sometimes the predicted event is the second coming of Christ and the beginning of Christ's reign on earth; sometimes it is the destruction of the world through a cataclysm (usually with some select group slated for rescue from the diaster); or sometimes the prediction is concerned with particular occurrences that the Messiah or a miracle worker will bring about (Festinger et al., 1964 : 5).

What he means by proselyting remains undefined, beyond the fact that it involves the attempt to persuade nonmembers as to the correctness of the group's millenarian expectations. As a communication event, however, it is apparent that proselyting has two critical components. In the first place the message content is bound up with the belief in imminent doom; secondly, the information flow is one-way. Contrastive or disconfirming evidence is rigorously screened out by the one proselyting.

Now some observers might conclude that the Rastafarians themselves have fallen into the millenarian trap which Festinger has described. This form of analysis might encourage them to treat the movement's elaborate Ethiopianism as a way of coping with the hard reality of disconfirmation. Thus, through the use of distinctive cultural emblemata the Rastafarians have been able to ensure social insularity, while at the same time maintaining social support for an increasingly dissonant belief system. It is also true that the Rasta adage, strike a match in Africa and all of Europe will burn, specifies a definite event as the outcome of a particular action (the sack of Europe) as well as a particular agency of destruction (fire). This prophecy, moreover is taken verbatim from the Emperor's 1936 address to the League of Nations; it comes, in other words, from a man who is variously regarded as a miracle worker or the Living God Himself. In general the Rastaman will argue that the chaos in Africa and the Middle East today is moving prophecy towards fulfilment, and that in the coming holocaust Babylon must fall. On this point his conviction is unshakeable; he will admit no contrary evidence.

Chevannes has found striking evidence in support of Festinger's hypothesis where the so-called Henry affair is concerned (Chevannes, 1976). We have dealt with the case of Claudius Henry in our discussion of movement history in chapter two. While Henry was imprisoned for his part in a major Repatriation fraud, he continued his messianic activity from jail unabated. Upon his release he established a successful community in the Jamaican countryside. Chevannes concludes from this sequence of events that there was an intensification of belief and commitment on the part of Henry's followers, especially among those whose faith was strong (Chevannes, 1976 : 276). However, Festinger's position is not supported on the question of increased proselyting following disconfirmation. In the case of Henry's followers, Chevannes suggests that :

...the reverse might have been the case during the months following, that is to say, the church became more closed, sectarian, and secretive, having up to that point been engaged in active public preaching and pamphleteering (Chevannes, 1976 : 276).

We are not in a position to generalize from this observation to the rest of the movement, for Chevannes does not make clear the relationship between Henry's followers and other Rastafarians.

Our own approach to this question requires that we examine the Rastafarians' public messages in detail, in order to be certain about their prophetic content. We shall also have to see whether their cultural distinctiveness does in fact equate with social insularity. On both points we shall have to take exception to Festinger's model. For one thing, the Rastafarians think of the holocaust not only as imminent but as actually in progress : they are living through it now at this very hour in West Kingston. Again, because it is impossible to abstract the Rastafarian from everyday life in Jamaica, any notion we have as to their social insularity must be considerably qualified.

The Census

The Jamaican government wished to obtain some kind of Rastafarian support for the 1970 census, although Rastafarians traditionally had not supported it. Arguing that they are citizens of Ethiopia, they point out that Ethiopia itself has never taken its own census. On February 22, 1970, some twenty Rastafarian leaders met with government officials to discuss the problem. These brethren had been given permission to hold meetings throughout Jamaica to determine the opinions of others regarding the census.¹ The brethren reported that the reaction of people varied considerably. Some had refused to involve themselves at all, suspecting only the worst of what they regarded as the white man's census, while others felt that they might cooperate if certain conditions were met. They demanded that the government give them some clear indication that it would honour its promises with regard to furthering their Repatriation to Ethiopia.

Brother Maskaram had his own ideas about the census, and decided to take advantage of the situation to hold meetings in the various parishes of Jamaica. He and many of his brethren regard the taking of the census

as one aspect of the birth control/family planning programme. The brethren are sensitive to any interference in their family life, and they regard census figures as powerful fertility symbols. If these are to be manipulated by an external power, beyond the control of the people concerned, then this represents still another facet of oppression. To visit a Western-trained doctor, for example, in order to obtain a means of contraception is regarded simply as the substitution of one form of oppression (ignorance and endless childbearing) for another (dependency upon the institutions of Babylon).

One of the few subjects that Rastafarians agree upon is their opposition to birth control programmes. Many, like Maskaram and his associates, regard census-taking as another form of birth control. They feel that the government will use census data obtained on poverty, overcrowding, unemployment, etc., " to go look a loan from rich nations ". They will use the Rastas as a " borrowing card " to solicit development assistance, and then pocket the money as graft and corruption. Brethren argue that the earth has ample enough resources to sustain the world's peoples if only they were utilized efficiently. The world's problems will be solved, they say, when love is realized as the motor force and not oppression. Since love is to be learned chiefly in the family, why does the government want to interfere with family life? We heard these ideas and variations on them, time and time again in Maskaram's yard, and elsewhere. On one occasion such reasoning was stimulated by the census debate; later, similar reasoning was to be set off by an international family planning conference.

Brother Maskaram mobilized his network for the purposes of these meetings. Not only did he draw upon the resources of brethren in town who used his yard as a base, but he also activated those brethren who formed part of his rural network. Each parish in Jamaica was paired with a province in Ethiopia, and each pair was represented by a letter in the world centralization. For example, the parish of St. Thomas was paired with the province of Eritrea, and this pair corresponded to the letter " T " in centralization. Eritrea is the rebellious province of Ethiopia and St. Thomas is regarded by the brethren as the rebel parish of Jamaica since Paul Bogle, a local revolutionary hero, fought there. The formula² of the brethren's moves² was to visit each parish in turn according to

its representation in this acrostic. This represents only one example of the brethren's interest in para-cabalistic verbal sportiveness.

Only a few of these scheduled meetings were in fact convened. The remainder were cancelled because Maskaram and his co-workers were unable to agree on a proper format. They also had to contend with the police who restricted their activities. Furthermore, the brethren lacked reliable transportation and this became an organizational problem in itself. Because they moved as a group, in privacy, they tended to avoid trains and country buses. Therefore they had to collect funds to hire vans and flat back trucks. They were in contact with a number of private vehicle owners who were regarded as sympathizers.

The brethren took the opportunity to discuss the centralization of the movement at these meetings - that is, centralization in the form of greater cooperation and communication among brethren in various parishes. These meetings had both a private and a public aspect, corresponding to the brethren's distinction between Zion and Babylon. The day was taken up with reasoning and smoking among the brethren, while the evening was devoted to a combination of lectures, and chanting and drumming in the public square. The substance of the public part of these meetings was invariably a criticism of the government, and its policies, in this case, the census. The following handout was distributed at some of these meetings. In it the brethren expressed some of their sentiments with reference to the census :

RASTAFARIANS ATTENTION

1. Every Rastafarian who know that he is a Church and the Church that build upon a hill cannot be hidden! Should take his Census.
2. Many foxes have hole, many birds have nest. The Rastaman many of I an I don't have nowhere to lay his weary head - tell the Census Taker.
3. If I an I is poor or very poor tell the Census Taker.
4. If I an I is not working and cannot get any food, cannot pay rent or lease, tell the Census Taker.
5. Be not afraid to tell the World what you want by telling the Census Taker who you are!
6. Do you have any intention to travel from Jamaica? Do you know that problems will arise if you are not in Jamaica by your Census?
7. Rastafarian, be not like Sounding Brass nor Tinkling Symbol, by failing to give the right people the sources of information which will enable I an I demand can be appropriated.

8. Only those who want to hide do not want to take their Census.
9. The Rich and very Rich will unleash propoganda to prevent people from exposing poverty.
10. Be fair to yourselves, how can the one who make the budget know how to share if he do not know who to share what to?
11. Ethiopia want to know how many Rastafarians want to come to Ethiopia by giving your Census Ethiopia can know fair enough.
12. The U.N.O. want to know what kind of assistance they can offer newly independent countries, but the figures are needed.

This statement clearly reflects support for the census on the grounds that the plight of Jamaica's poor needs to be exposed. Nevertheless, many Rastafarian brethren, Dreadlocks in particular, remained firmly opposed. Brother Maskaram and his associates, however, were able to hold several meetings to discuss the situation of Rastafarians throughout the country in relation to this issue. They started with a meeting at Race Course, a central park in Kingston, on the occasion of Ethiopian Christmas, January 6, 1970. Afterwards, meetings were held in Clarendon, St. Thomas, and Portland every other Sunday. Here we shall discuss the Portland meeting held in Port Antonio, in order to demonstrate the various aspects of proselytization. See appendix 3 for a transcription of this event.

On Sunday, the brethren who wanted to go to the country gathered very early in Brother Maskaram's yard. A very exuberant mood prevailed. Many who ordinarily wore old work clothes during the week, were dressed in their best, and sported Rasta symbols, like buttons, red, gold, and green belts or pompoms, and tams. Brother Maskaram and some of his brethren did not make a point of wearing African robes or dashikis. Although they appreciated things African, they said that in this case as poor people they could not afford all the material that went into the manufacturing of such garments. They regarded the promotion of this fashion as both a commercial enterprise and a way of getting people off-track as to the real nature of African culture. This occasion afforded the opportunity for brethren to renew acquaintances and to catch up on news from the various areas. While they assembled to wait for the transport, they had a draw or two and discussed when they had last visited Portland. Some brethren had their own vehicles and carried others with them. But the majority travelled in a large van-bus. They had agreed to assemble at an abandoned fort on a beach near Port Antonio. Here the

day was passed, renewing acquaintances with brethren in the area, taking swims in the ocean, and gathering inspiration for the evening's meetings. About dusk they assembled in the town square, to play drums and chant, while a couple hundred people gathered. There were about three dozen or four dozen brethren present, and several addressed the gathering. All the while drums played, and between speakers chanting could be heard.

We should note that Port Antonio is located on the North Coast, between the swell of tourism to the west, around Ocho Rios, where we find the Hilton Hotel and the Playboy Club, and newer developments to the east of it. In fact, the most famous tourist resort in Jamaica, Frenchman's Cove, lies just six miles out of town to the east. Port Antonio has a beautiful harbour where private yachts dock, and commercial loading and unloading of vessels takes place. Therefore, Port Antonio is in no sense an isolated town at the end of the road. The question of its future development lies open, with many of the local people being acutely aware that whichever way it goes, it will not likely be in their interests. Therefore, much of what the brethren had to say about ownership of land and the role of foreign capital could be applied directly to their situation.

Brother Gorade, the chairman of this meeting (and of most of the others), is one of the more elderly Rastafarians in Jamaica. He is able to command the respect of most brethren, regardless of differences of opinion. His style of oratory is reminiscent of old-time gospel preaching and probably reflects an early exposure to fundamentalism when he was growing up. Making frequent use of biblical references and gospel stories, he harangued the crowd to create a sense of urgency and a mood of imminent judgement.

Brother Tikur, on the other hand, employed a high percent of specifically Rastafarian content in his address. Personally, his style was more relaxed, more low-key than Gorade's. But his remarks were direct and to the point, without having recourse to biblical metaphor. We should note Tikur's definition of a Rastafarian : someone who is inspired by Rastafari. His role in this meeting was to create a vision of Africa, and to raise the question of what logically follows from the realization that one is an African in Jamaica. One is led by Tikur to

ask how this situation came to pass, and what forces serve to keep the condition of exile unchanged. This necessarily involved a discussion of colonialism, and the conclusion that man a slave still. In terms of crowd psychology, Brother Tikur offered some concrete examples of suffering after Brother Gorade had raised the anxiety level.

Other speakers followed, but I chose to leave the meeting to accompany Brother Marra and Sister Saffa who entered a local shop to get some dinner. A conversation ensued between the two of them and some local residents. The same line of approach and style of reasoning was used as in the public meeting. However, the encounter was much more intense for in such face-to-face relationships responses are demanded of the local people. In fact, a very important aspect of these street meetings was the activity taking place around the margins of the crowd and in the shops. Here and there brethren engaged the bystanders in reasoning and debate, carrying on the line of argument that the speakers were initiating, and further clarifying points to the local residents. Since some brethren, like Marra, for example, do not wish to be public speakers, they feel they have a role to play, nevertheless, in these more private sessions. Their activities are taken as supportive, not as disrespectful.

In this reasoning with the local resident, Marra carried Tikur's line of thought further, in pointing out some of the implications of being an African in Jamaica. He echoed a constant complaint of the brethren, that in spite of their common identity as Africans, Black people have trouble getting along with one another. Marra argued that the slavemaster, using a colonial psychology, had caused Black people to despise one another, and that that represents the greatest obstacle to unity. Haile Selassie, and secondarily Marcus Garvey, are often used as the stepping stones of inspiration, to get a reasoning off on the right track. But here these topics inevitably led to an examination of local conditions, and a demonstration of how most Black people in Jamaica have nothing, own nothing, and are nothing. Being African, rather than demanding a share in the exploitation of Jamaica, Marra argued that they should demand Repatriation to their homeland, Africa. Throughout, Marra made many points with which the local residents could agree and identify,

even though they did not support his reasoning on Repatriation. They consented to Marra's analysis, but balked at his conclusions. The Rastafarian strategy, however, is to imply that all their ideas are correct on the basis of their lucid definition of the situation of poverty in which most Jamaicans find themselves and which they cannot deny.

Sister Saffa supported Brother Marra's line of reasoning. She also introduced some ideas of her own. For example, she drew a parallel between the situation in Jamaica and that of South Africa where segregation is practised. Although Saffa lives in Kingston, on the weekends she goes up to the North Coast where she sells items in a roadside stand near a local market. She has had an opportunity to witness the behaviour of the tourists and the local establishment in protecting the privileges of foreigners. Her complaint, that it is understood that some areas are for Jamaicans only, and some for foreigners, is one that I have often heard repeated, and not only by Rastafarians. Sister Saffa also had some critical remarks to make about the role of the traditional churches and their conception of God, in getting people to defer gratification and their lawful rights until the afterlife. She said that people are not willing to make sacrifices and to work for what they are entitled to. Yet this is one of the implications of the Rastafarian concept of a Living God : God helps those who help themselves. Although Sister Saffa had attended all these census meetings, she had never spoken publicly in any of them, nor had any other sister.

We returned to the meeting where Brother Maskaram was addressing the crowd. His talk was probably the most secular of all the speeches made. In it he dealt with the issues of local politics and the census. He also referred to the theme of Africans in Jamaica and the lack of unity among Black people. He accused the government of using the census to solicit development assistance from abroad, on the basis of all the poor people referred to in the census, but then failing to channel that aid back to the very people in whose interests it was allegedly obtained. During the course of Maskaram's talk, the meeting was interrupted by the Superintendent of Police charging that the brethren were creating a public disturbance. He kept inquiring as to who was in charge of the meeting, but Brother Gorade, in his capacity as chairman, insisted that all those

present were in charge. Finally, when Brother Gorade could not produce a permit for the meeting, the superintendent gave instructions to end it within half an hour. Although the government had given the brethren blanket permission to hold such meetings, the organizers were required to obtain permits from local police authorities ahead of time. These permits, which would not be refused, were still necessary. In this case, no one had done so beforehand, and on that Sunday it proved impossible to find the proper authority who could sign the forms.

Who exactly was being disturbed by these activities? Apart from clearly distinguishable Rastafarian brethren, there were many youths at the meeting who would claim to defend Rasta. This is a term used locally to mean a Rasta sympathizer. One of the brethren who came up from Kingston was making a good business selling copies of Rasta literature, Ethiopian Observers, buttons, pins, and pompoms; and another sister sold out all her red, gold, and green tams. Few of their customers were from town. Most were drawn from the same socio-economic segments as the brethren, and from their country counterparts, so that in this case collateral messages tended to run along class lines. Middle-class Jamaicans, upper-class local elites, and foreign visitors were not present. Those who were present demonstrated sympathy for the message in various ways. They joined in the laughter, and there was no booing or jostling. They made exclamations all the while to underline the points being made, and they participated in the chanting. For many, it was probably the first Rastafarian meeting they had attended, though of course they would be familiar with some aspects of the Rastafarian ideology. In this context, then, it would be difficult to distinguish rigidly between Rasta and non-Rasta, because of the considerable number of sympathizers and defenders present.

There are several features that serve to distinguish the census meetings from Rastafarian groundations, which we noted earlier are cultural and social affairs for the brethren themselves. The former were public events designed to awaken both Rastafarians and non-Rastas alike to the fact of their oppression. In spite of the biblical metaphor and the use of parable, the census meetings clearly had a political thrust. Unlike the groundation, their format was clearly arranged beforehand, although the question of who was to speak remained flexible. At the

census meetings there was also a more distinct alternation between speech on the one hand, and chanting and dancing on the other. At groundations, there tend to be several centres of activity, with speechmaking going on against a background of chanting, drumming, cooking and reasoning. Unlike the census meetings, entire families are often present at groundations. This is because groundations are longer affairs, frequently involving camping out.

These points of distinction have implications for the transmission of visionary messages. At the census meetings there was a tendency for understandings to be confirmed backstage, during the private part of the day's activities, so that consensus can be achieved before meeting the public. But at the groundation, people speak out freely as the spirit moves them, without censoring. In some respects we could consider groundations as very large collective reasoning sessions. And the backstage sessions held before the public part of the census meetings bear some resemblance to groundations themselves. In this manner Brother Maskaram and his associates were able to combine a distinctly Rastafarian format with a more secular kind of communication in order to extend the scope of their message.

Repatriation and the Ethiopian World Federation

In this section we shall turn to a discussion of the relationship between the Ethiopian World Federation and the Rastafarian movement in order to examine the ways in which Rastafarians deal with different visionary orientations among themselves.

The U.W.I. report on the Rastafarian movement (Smith, M. et al., 1968) contains a brief history of the Ethiopian World Federation. It was established by Dr. Malaku Bayen on the authority of Haile Selassie, in New York, 1937. The preamble to its constitution reads as follows :

We, the Black Peoples of the World, in order to effect Unity, Solidarity, Liberty, Freedom and self-determination, to secure Justice and maintain the Integrity of Ethiopia, which is our divine heritage, do hereby establish and ordain this constitution for the Ethiopian World Federation, Inc. (Smith, M. et al., 1968 : 10).

According to the U.W.I. report, Local 17, established by Paul Earlington in 1938, was the first to obtain its charter in Jamaica. The E.W.F. had a shaky history, plagued by internal rifts, emigration, and other problems. In 1955 a visiting New York E.W.F. official inspired sympathizers to establish a score of new locals. The local to which Brother Maskaram and his brethren belong was established during this period. In the same year the Executive Committee of the E.W.F. in New York announced that Emperor Haile Selassie had extended a land grant of 500 acres to "the Black people of the West". This message was expressed as follows :

Ethiopian World Federation
Incorporated,
151 Lennox Avenue,
New York 27, New York.

September 24, 1955

Executive Committee,
Local 31,
71 North Street,
Kingston, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Dear Mr. President, Members of the Executive Committee,

Greetings:

I was instructed by the Executive Council to forward to you, for your guidance, the following information relative to the land grant in Ethiopia.

1. Five hundred acres of very fertile and rich land have been given through the Ethiopian World Federation, Inc. to the Black People of the West who aided Ethiopia during her period of distress.
2. This land is the personal property of His Majesty Haile Selassie I. The land is given on trial basis, the way it is utilized will be the touchstone for additional grants.
3. At present, the Ethiopian government is not prepared for mass migration. For this reason the people who are willing and able to go there to settle on the land must be of pioneer calibre; they must be prepared to forego many of the things to which they are now accustomed.
4. These people must be in groups and have the cooperative spirit of all for one and one for all ... operating in this manner there can be no failure.
5. Carpenters, plumbers, masons, electricians, and other skilled persons should be among these groups, to prepare places for the people to live. People who are going to settle on the land should have knowledge of farming. Doctors, nurses, and teachers and other professional people should look into the possibilities of going to Ethiopia to help in public health and education of our brothers and sisters there and in turn learn from them many things which we do not know.

6. Since the Ethiopian World Federation, Inc., at the present time, is not in a position to assume the financial burden of members who are desirous of going to Ethiopia to settle on the Land Grant, we urge that the Local start a fund raising campaign for the purpose of aiding those members who meet the qualification required.

Be assured that in a very near future a more positive project will be in motion.

Fraternally yours,

George Byron, executive secretary (from Barrett, 1969 : 78 - 79).

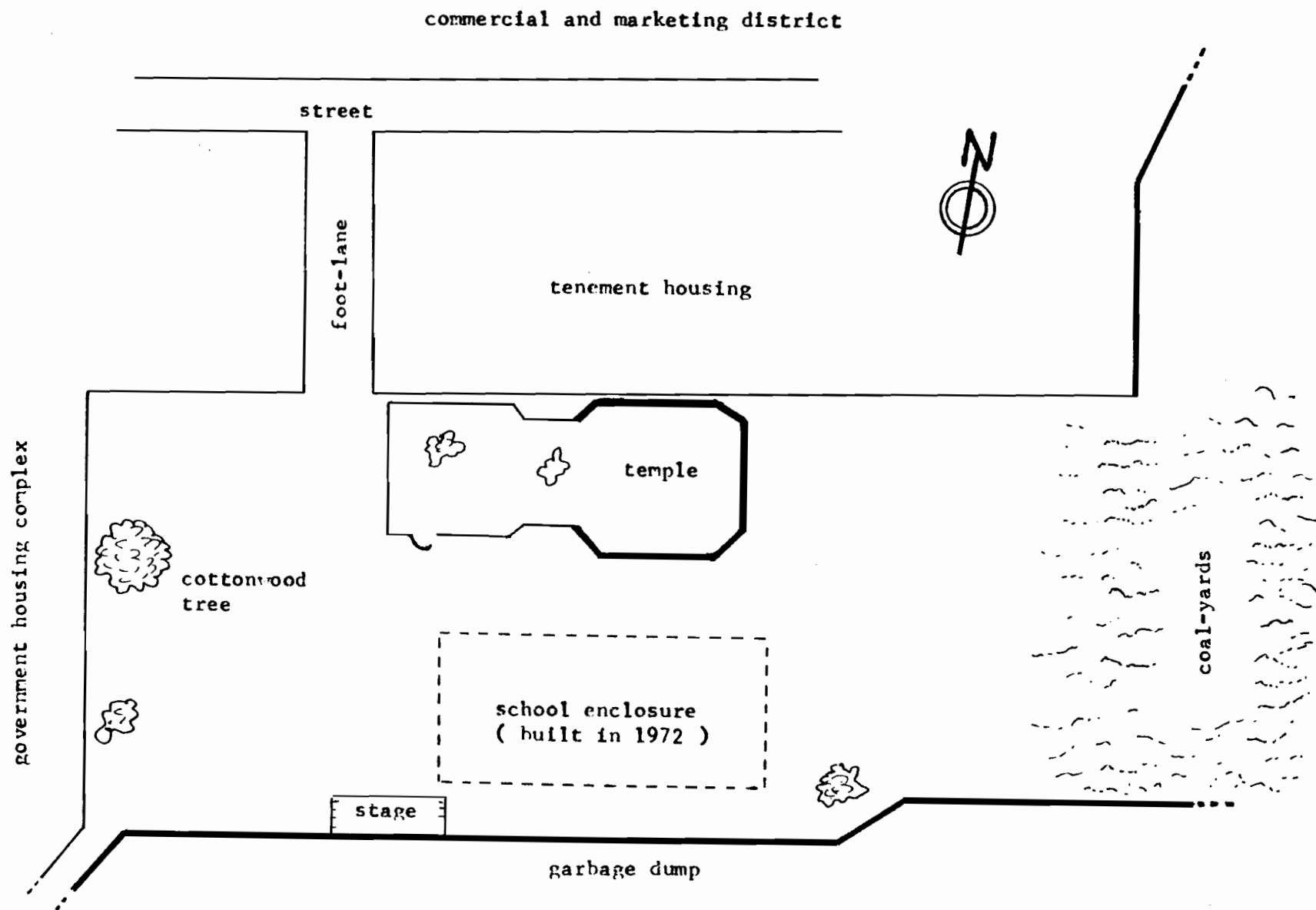
In the following years other grants were made, the most notable one presented in 1967 by Selassie while on tour in the United States. This particular grant was made to the E.W.F. of Chicago, which claims a charter separate from the New York Federation. This grant consists of 10,000 acres. In 1968 and 1969 its executive director Rev. W.G. Evans made trips to England (and some parts of Africa) to explore the possibilities of settlement. These events are reported in African Opinion, a journal published in New York. (See Aug./Sept. 1967 : 5 and Jan./Feb. 1969 : 9.) Both articles stress the fact that these lands of the Chicago E.W.F. will be developed with the assistance of the American International Development Agency. On the other hand, the initial land grant at Shashamane was originally settled by an American Black Jewish couple who were its sole occupants for several years, and had a great deal of financial difficulty in maintaining it. In the 1960's some three or four dozen Rastafarian settlers arrived from Britain, United States, and Jamaica. But many of them having financed their own way to Ethiopia had few resources when they arrived. Most were not supported by any locals of the E.W.F. at home. Those who were assisted financially adopted an elitist position, arguing that if such and such a local of the E.W.F. helped develop the land grant, why should others - in particular Rastafarians who do not belong to the E.W.F. - be able to take advantage of it? As to the question of government assistance, many Jamaican brethren regarded the AID programme as an extension of American imperialism. They argued that it was America's method of having a strategic location in Ethiopia in case of an Arab-Israeli war. Regarding assistance from the Jamaican government or political parties, they expressed a great deal of suspicion. They felt that the brethren themselves should support the land grant development, if only they could operate collectively, as spelled out in the E.W.F. letter announcing the grant.

The whole issue of the land grant is a sensitive one among the brethren. They exercise discretion in discussing it in order not to undermine the unity of the movement. The Ethiopian World Federation consists of many brethren, including some Dreadlocks. However, the majority of Rastafarians do not belong to the Ethiopian World Federation. Barrett conceives of the difference between the two in the following manner :

Even though these two movements seem to have worked closely together from their inception, their beliefs and philosophies have always been different : The E.W.F., Inc., is more culturally oriented towards Ethiopia; the Rastafarians are more religious. Both groups honour the King of Ethiopia. While the Rastafarians see him as god-figure, the E.W.F., Inc., honour him as spiritual head, and both aspire to returning to Ethiopia, although in different waysIn short, to the E.W.F., Inc., the Back-to-Africa movement means migration; to the Rastafarians, repatriation. The two movements continue to exist in Jamaica, each receiving inspiration from the other. In some cases there appear to be no differences between the movements. Mortimo Planno, who was a leading Rastafarian up to 1962, has now gone over to the E.W.F. His followers call themselves Rastafarians although claiming to be members of the E.W.F. (Barrett, 1969 : 80).

Barrett is so bent on distinguishing Federationists from Rastafarians that he ignores the many points of overlap between them. He speaks, for example, of one Rastafarian as having " gone over " to the E.W.F., thereby implying that the two bodies are mutually exclusive. The Brethren themselves do not look at it this way. Even such uncompromising Dreadlocks as Maskaram and his close circle regard membership in the E.W.F. as one of the most appropriate steps in the direction of Repatriation. They maintain ties at once with members of the E.W.F. and with Rastafarians outside of the organization. From their point of view there is no contradiction here. Outsiders have observed in this connection that " bearded-men " (i.e., Rastafarians) as presidents of E.W.F. locals show the greatest vitality and democratic spirit in an organization which otherwise tends to hierarchy and authoritarianism (Smith, M . et al., 1968 : 32).

These Rastafarian locals, however, represented a threat to the hegemony of the New York headquarters of the E.W.F. For one thing, there were more locals in Jamaica than in the United States. Moreover, the political views of the Rastafarians who belonged to the E.W.F. locals in Jamaica caused them to be highly suspicious of anything American. Following the first Jamaican government mission to Africa in 1961, which included three Rastafarians, some of the Jamaican locals decided to pull



Map 4. The Temple Complex

out of the New York Headquarters while other locals accepted its leadership. Here we refer to locals 7, 25, and 37 which consisted mainly of Rastafarians. However, they still acknowledged the validity of the E.W.F. as an instrument of Repatriation. In 1964 three Rastafarians who visited Ethiopia returned and claimed that the E.W.F. was defunct. Their argument was not accepted by the independent E.W.F. locals in Jamaica which then asked the E.W.F. at the Shashamane land grant to become their headquarters. Its directors rejected this idea on the grounds that any Rastafarians wanting to repatriate, whether they were members of the E.W.F. or not, would have to deal directly with the Ethiopian government.

This sequence highlights the conflict between those E.W.F. members who are Rastafarians and those who are not. In fact, the small settlement in Shashamane appears to represent the Back-to-Africa movement in microcosm, for the same factions are found within it. Since settlers started coming in the 1960's there have been several allegations that the original administrators mismanaged its affairs. This has been the source of a number of intrigues. Secondly, Rastafarian brethren, in particular the Dreadlocks, felt discriminated against by the others. Thirdly, one of the early settlers had a white wife. This fact was a source of concern for racial purists. Fourthly, those who do belong to locals of the E.W.F. had differences among themselves. Moreover, there were difficulties because of the country of origin of the settlers, who came from the United States, Britain, and Jamaica. Finally, there appear to have been cultural problems involved in settling in. In particular, many were not able to speak Amharic, the official Ethiopian language, and this created misunderstandings in their relations with local people. Many Ethiopians do not own land, while these settlers have been given the use of fertile tracts. In fact, some of the Shashamane residents have rented some of their land to the local Ethiopians.

In late 1969 the then Prime Minister of Jamaica, Hugh Shearer, made a trip to Africa, which included a visit to Shashamane to try to determine in what ways his government could assist the project. This was on September 28th. Shortly afterwards, the leader of the opposition, Michael Manely, paid the settlement a visit on October 11th. Finally, on October 18th Haile Selassie himself made a trip to Shashamane. In 1970

Jamaica finally established a full embassy in Ethiopia. All these events were followed quite closely in the local papers in Jamaica, although many brethren interpreted the first two visits as attempts to influence the Rastafarians and sympathizers favourably in the coming elections.

The entire affair came to a head in mid-1970 when it was learned in Jamaica that the various settlers in Shashamane, unable to settle their differences among themselves, had decided to make a petition to Haile Selassie asking him to distribute parcels of land among them individually. This was interpreted by many in Jamaica as an admission of failure to cooperate and to work collectively, a step backwards that would undermine the unity and credibility of Black people everywhere.³ On the other hand, it was very difficult for these settlers to generate capital since many were not receiving any assistance from home. The following is an excerpt from the Daily Gleaner, September 21, 1970, which relates the way in which the land was finally divided :

SETTLERS GET LAND IN ETHIOPIA Mr. Douglas Manley now in Ethiopia has sent the following information on recent developments in Ethiopia to the Gleaner.

After 17 years of stalemate on the Ethiopian World Federation Land Grant in Shashamane, a settlement has been achieved under the sponsorship of Local 43, Jamaica Branch of E.W.F.

As a result of repeated representation made to the Minister of the Imperial Court of Ethiopia, by Mr. Solomon Wolfe, President of Local 43, and other Brethren living on the land, a committee of seven high ranking officials held a meeting on June 30th, at the Grand Palace under the chairmanship of the Minister of the Imperial Court of Ethiopia. On this occasion the committee deliberated and ordered that each person on the land should be given ten hectares of land (25 acres).

As the following up on the decision of August 13, total of three gashas (300 acres) of land for twelve persons was officially delivered over by the Administrative Secretary General and Surveyor of the local administration.

The names of the twelve recipients are in the following order to plan number : Gerald Brissett, Solomon Wolfe, Desmond Christie, Clifton Baugh, Carmen Clarke, Noel Dyer, Gladstone Robinson, Vincent Beckford, Sepha Malcolm, Landford Baugh, Uriah Brown, Willie Hillman.

Ten of the settlers are Jamaicans and two Americans. After receiving plots of ten hectares, the twelve settlers formed a development committee and elected seven officers to manage the committee affairs.

The immediate responsibility of the committee is to set up a responsible administration on the land to foster a spirit of brotherhood and to create means by which the three gashas of land may be mechanically cultivated. The committee pledged to work in close cooperation with the Imperial Ethiopian Government in all areas of planning and development.

The problem became the focus of much meditation and reasoning among brethren in Jamaica. According to Maskaram and his immediate circle both the problem of the land grant in Ethiopia and the role of the E.W.F. in Repatriation, are related to a much larger issue, that being African unity. One of the moves they decided to make was to promote African unity and the unity of the Rastafarian movement, by emphasizing their common African heritage on several of the festive occasions that arose during the course of the year. (See table 1.) All Africa Day was the first case in point. They decided to hold a meeting down at the temple. Although All Africa Day officially was April 25, they celebrated their occasion on April 14th and 15th so as not to interfere with the plans of other brethren for the 25th. Their intention was circulated by flyers and word of mouth.

This celebration, organized around themes of Repatriation and African consciousness, reveals much about Rastafarian methods of mobilization. It therefore merits analysis in some depth.

The site of the temple at which this meeting was to be held is known as the Dungle or the Dung-Hill. The Dungle has acquired an almost mythical aura in the minds of some. There are brethren alive today who can remember Marcus Garvey and other important Black leaders speaking there. Then, as now, the Dungle was a refuge for criminals and brethren alike. The temple itself, which has its own set of sacred coordinates serving to guide one to it, is reached by a maze of narrow lanes and footpaths. (See map 4.) Imagine that you are sitting under the great cotton tree in the courtyard. You are facing eastwards towards a mound of black coal. Coal dust is perpetually settling on everything, so that the hands and faces of the people working there are covered in soot. This is the " Coal Yard " where poor people come with their buckets to collect firestuff. To the south, on the far side of a high concrete wall, is a hummocked expanse of municipal garbage that smoulders away day in and day out. Poor people can be seen at all hours picking through this mass for objects with some vestige of usefulness that might earn them a few pennies. Immediately to the west, beyond a line of squatter shacks, lies a semifortified area of government housing units. Access to this housing development depends upon how successfully one curried patronage with a MP in the previous administration. Some of the youth

gangs take refuge here from their gun-brandishing missions and terrorizing forays into the surrounding area. The brethren who keep their temple here are in constant conflict with these local gang elements. Finally, to the north of the temple lies a band of tenement housing which grades into a commercial district whose focal point is Coronation Market. In this Market it is not unusual to find members of the middle and aspiring classes doing their shopping. Sometimes you even see tourists there. But south of the Market, in the direction of the temple, there is a sudden and dramatic change in the complexion of life. The Market in a sense constitutes neutral ground in what is otherwise a Dread zone. The temple complex consists of a stage twenty feet long mounted on oil drums flush with the south wall; in addition there is the temple proper. It is some sixty feet long and it parallels the north fence. Between the temple and the stage is a courtyard of cinder. The courtyard can easily hold several hundred people. In its structure the temple is three-chambered, non-lineal and ramshackle. Its walls are wowed and bowed because they are made of corrugated tin and wood scraps. Its interior is organized into small areas. The outer chamber, which houses a roofed-over cooking area, has a tree growing up through it. The second chamber is fully enclosed and serves as a storage area. Expressly sacred activities are reserved for the third chamber, the largest of all. It is semi-subterranean and has a dirt floor. The walls are totally illuminated with photographs and paintings. The beams, the wall trim and the metal chairs are all painted a sea-blue.

Especially for All-Africa Day the temple was festooned with red, gold, and green flags and banners strung criss-cross from the ceiling beams. For this occasion a few brethren had driven out to Chuhat's country yard to get some four dozen saplings for flagpoles. The sisters spent a couple of days making African flags out of brightly coloured pieces of cloth. There was one for every free African nation, and for each liberation movement, copied from designs found in a magazine. They also made black flags for all the colonized states of Africa.

On the day of April 14th, the brethren began hanging up red, gold, and green streamers all about the open area in front of the temple. They repaired a decrepit stage and put a huge sign over it, printed on sheeting. In two-foot high letters it read : Centralization Then Repatriation. They made sure the public address system was working, and put out lots of chairs

in the yard. Around evening they held a party for the local children, maybe a hundred of them. After dinner the brethren began to gather. Some came from distant parts of the island, others from nearby. This evening they did not bring their families with them, though. About midnight, they started chanting and drumming. Brother Maskaram arrived, bringing with him all the flags and flagpoles. By the light of a huge bonfire the brethren held a ceremony.

Maskaram led the prayers and the chanting and directed the others in their roles. Each brother had a flag and a flagpole. There was a ritual procession as all these banners were set up on one side of the stage, under a very large flag of Ethiopia. On the other side, the black flags, representing the unfree states of Africa, were set up under a large Union Jack. After this ceremony, the brethren entered the temple where most spent the night chanting and drumming.

The next evening there was a meeting that was much more public in nature. This time many sisters and children of the brethren came. On this occasion they made use of the stage to address the people. Brother Gorade was chairman and the format followed along the lines of the Port Antonio meeting which is described above in this chapter. As usual a lot of activity took place around the margins of the crowd, brethren engaging each other in reasoning, others retiring to the temple to have a pipe drawn. Outside people felt free to draw their spliffs, chanting and dancing to the drums. Towards midnight, the speakers had finished.

The chanting and drumming out of doors continued. The tempo accelerated, the pace increased, until the drums were pounding like a heart. To the accompaniment of Me wonder why the white man he no going, me want to return to me yard some brethren who were dancing around the fire, pipe in hand, started to pick up the black flags and the Union Jack, and to throw them in the fire, one by one, shouting: "Fire! Burn! Lightning! Dread!" The task complete, the brethren assembled in the temple while many of the sisters left to carry home the children. On both these occasions there was absolutely no harassment from the police, unlike the census meetings described above. Maskaram's meetings were held in the inner recesses of West Kingston, in an area which no one but Rastas and thieves are supposed to frequent. This setting fell short of the authorities' definition of "going public".

If one examines the list of celebrations in the year 1970-71 (see table 1) one will notice that some were held in the yard, some at the temple, some in Central Kingston (at Race Course), and some further afield.

Table 1. Ritual Activity of Brother Maskaram and his Circle, 1970-71

| <u>FESTIVAL</u> | <u>DATE</u> | <u>LOCATION</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------|--|
| | <u>1970</u> | |
| Ethiopian Orthodox Christmas | January 6 | Race Course Park |
| All Africa Day | April 14-15 | Trenchtown Temple |
| Ethiopian Liberation Day | May 5 | Trenchtown Temple |
| Emperor's Brithday | August 3 | Trenchtown Temple |
| Ethiopian New Year | September 11 | Race Course Park |
| | <u>1971</u> | |
| Ethiopian Orthodox Christmas | January 6 | Savannah-la-Mar groundation West Jamaica |
| All Africa Day | April 25 | yard |
| Ethiopian Liberation | May 5 | Race Course Park, and a 4-day groundation 9 miles east of Kingston |
| Emperor's Birthday | August 3 | yard; clean-up of burnt temple |

Much depended upon the issues involved and what the brethren hoped to accomplish. Often several kinds of messages were communicated. The over-all purpose was African Unity and Repatriation. As the issue of the land grant threatened the unity of the movement more and more, and began to undermine the credibility of Repatriation, Brother Maskaram decided to take a more active role in bringing the brethren together. As a result he started to visit other brethren, to call meetings and to project the theme of African unity at groundations. His vision of African Unity was his one guiding imperative.

One day a letter from Africa arrived reporting that the land grant had been divided among the individual settlers. Brother Maskaram decided to make a chronic problem acute in the hope of resolving it. He felt that it was important to learn the lesson that history had to teach,

for the same patterns repeat themselves, since mankind refuses to learn. Among the brethren there is an extended meditation upon 400 years of colonial history and biblical events. In both reasoning and meditation extensive parallels are drawn between contemporary happenings and historical times. The task is to determine how biblical events can be applied to the solution of a current problem. Referring to the tactic he adopted here, Brother Maskaram later said his guiding image was that of Solomon.

During all these years several of the brethren in Shashamane had been corresponding from time to time with Maskaram, yet apparently without the knowledge that others were also writing him. Maskaram had saved all their letters and had some idea of the discord that was creating confusion. When a copy of the petition arrived, it was regarded as highly significant that the transliteration of the original settler's name was : Gams Viper. In other words, a viper playing games. One Friday night Maskaram decided to bleach, to draw his pipe, and to meditate upon the matter. Finally he resolved on a suitable tactic to get the issue out. A few other brethren were present. His initial reason went as follows :

There's a new kind of Rasta coming up - one who will lean on me or even you for that matter - for support and subsistence. Take Dread-I for example. Look how many times he begs you a draw - demands you a draw.

Well, politricks is, you create a need, and then offer to fill it.

Rasta supposed to be passive resistance through non-cooperation but economic pressure is forcing some to compromise with politicians. That's one kind of Rasta.

The other set is those who try achieve their end by going between two parties and bargaining. But parties love part people.

Now we reach to, who is a Rasta and who is an Ethiopian?

First is easy to answer - anyone can be a Rasta, all you even - but second question more psychological. For Ethiopian a more exclusive category.

Whether you serve Rastafari, Humanity, God, or Mankind you must do what is right. War will never cease to be until man conscience set him free. You know what is right. Right is right, wrong is wrong, right and wrong is wrong.

When you serve truth, when you do what is right, then there is nothing called prison, nothing called death - for man's mind is free to overcome.

The government would gladly genocide us Rasta but we are too prominent now.

We are refugees, we are Ethiopians, want go Africa. We will create an embarrassment to government they will gladly send us there.

But the land grant, man, the land grant mash up.

Look what happen to Muslims in America. Remember when Brother Omar came? Him say the brethren there being forced underground. Muslims like Rasta, them ranks very open you know.

Like Rasta them split among themselves. Some want fight like Panther. Some want build liberated zone in America. But look what whiteman do them in Alabama where them have one community. Kill them cows, and things, drive them off the land. Muslim being forced to extremes.

40 million black man in America and hardly any want go Africa. Soon them see them must. Economic pressure, man, them soon feel it.

American must fear even one million Black man go Africa. The issue coming to a head and people taking sides. (Discourse reconstructed from fieldnotes.)

It was early morning now, the time when we usually went to the teashop.

Maskaram asked me to read to him from a recent issue of Ethiopian Observer so he could get some inspiration. Another brother brought a pipe.

Maskaram took a long draw and said that he had been meditating :

He Rasta has a right to live. Don't you think so? You must answer yes.

Well, if Rasta have a right to live, Rasta must have a right to demand them rights. What happen if you buy goods on time and don't pay debts? Company must come collect its goods.

Is so Jamaica sell out her people and Europe come collect. Africa must protect her right too. Radical action necessary to deal with this Ethiopia situation.

All for one, one for all, operating in this manner there can be no failure. That's what the Emperor did, you know. (Discourse reconstructed from fieldnotes.)

In the interests of unity Maskaram had planned a course of action. He would make enough sets of photocopies of all the letters that each brother had sent him over the years from Shashamane. Then he would send every brother a complete copy of all this correspondence. Everyone would see what the others said about him. Maskaram would also include a statement of his analysis of the situation. Of course, he would also make sets for several brethren here in Jamaica too. That way each one would know that he was no better, no worse, than any other. His final inspiration was to send the following letter with each package :

Beloved Brethren, Tena Yistillin.⁴ This is to inform you of the steps taken into the matter of confusion and disunity among Brethren in Shashamane, that these letters has created in the minds of us.

We are very much ashamed to hear of the unsettled state of mind of Brethren.

We trust that the Realities of self-expression may be taken into better consideration, viewing the International Repercussions.

We therefore ask all concerned to unite for the sake of Unity of Purpose.

This issue continued to be an on-going meditation for several days afterwards, and the subject of several reasonings, both in Maskaram's yards, and in others that he visited. Out of this he wrote a "position paper" on the situation, the entire text of which has been reproduced in appendix 6. It is written in the spirit of unity, harmony, and reconciliation. Brother Maskaram's tactic was to confront the issue directly, and in a burst of inspiration, he sat down one day and penned his statement. In the months to follow several developments occurred which supported Brother Maskaram's position and convinced him of the correctness of his judgement, in the spirit of Solomon.

Brother Maskaram continued to work steadily for African unity. In the spring of 1971 his E.W.F. local invited an Ethiopian history professor from Harvard to come to Jamaica to participate in Ethiopian Liberation Day celebrations. These were to be held on May 5th, at Race Course as before. During his four day-visit, Professor Ephraim Isaac spoke at the groundation, addressed a capacity audience at the Institute of Jamaica, held a private consultation with Rastafarian and E.W.F. leaders at his hotel, and chaired a panel discussion at the Extra Mural Department of the U.W.I. on the subject of E.W.F./Rastafarian solidarity. On this last occasion, with Professor Isaac sitting beside him, Maskaram spoke at length regarding the need for cooperation among the Brethren. In the course of his address he claimed, among other things, that Rastafarianism was a scientific movement controlled by His Imperial Majesty through spiritual means and by telepathy.

This four-day visit was significant because of the cooperation Brother Maskaram received from various branches of the movement in arranging meetings, both public and private, in announcing public lectures and debates, in press coverage, and most importantly, in participation. The only notable exception in most of these events was official representation from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, but that conflict is one we shall discuss in the following section. During the professor's visit Brother Maskaram was most concerned with promoting communication among the various members of the movement on issues that affected them all.

Immediately following this visit, the Rastafari Movement Association, a loose coalition of Rastafarian interest groups, held a four-day grounda-tion on the beach at Bull Bay, nine miles east of Kingston. Brother Maskaram and many of his brethren attended on a few evenings. Several hundred brethren from all over the island were present, and many camped out there for the duration. There was a great deal of excitement and enthusiasm following the visit of the Ethiopian professor, and those attending had an opportunity for further reasoning on this issue of Re-patriation and the unity of the movement.

Early in June, 1971, followed an announcement by the Jamaican government (in the Daily Gleaner, June 9, 1971) that their ambassador in Ethiopia, in conjunction with the Ethiopian government, would be providing financial assistance to Shashamane. At Maskaram's urging, brethren in Jamaica formed an E.W.F. Land Grant Steering Committee in order to provide financial assistance to the settlers in Shashamane, and to avoid relying on what might be politically motivated gifts. The following letter announcing their intentions was forwarded to the Land Grant Development Committee in Shashamane :

June 10, 1971

The Land Grant Development Committee
Shashamane.

To the committee :

Tena Yistillin, Igzahaber Yimmasagan.

Re : Communication has been received and was discussed at length with the Archimandrate Ethiopian Orthodox priest that in charge of the western hemisphere circuit. He is considered one of the ambassadors referred to in our last letter. It is important to note that the Shashamane land grant is a political subject of discussion in Ethiopia. This coincides with your own realization which is on record from all concerned is given to the priest for problematic studies.⁵

We are advised to inform you the committee to consider the palace decision of granting own administration to proportional sections of the said land grant. Discuss amongst yourselves the possibility of appropriate development on an individual basis. The priest is also concerned about the remaining portions of lands that come under the administration which is for the E.W.F.

This Back-to-Africa movement is somewhat complicated and misunderstood, by many of these Back-to-Africa leaders. No one knows for sure how much people want to come to Africa and where in Africa. The E.W.F., Inc., as an organization is somewhat responsible for resettling the people in Ethiopia. If the lands are developed on an individual basis there is not

much hope for members of the organization to come and settle. Therefore this steering committee in Jamaica is advised to direct you of certain structural reorganization of the E.W.F.

The headquarters of the E.W.F., Inc. in New York is now moved up to the Bronx. The priest is in possession of all the legitimate documents of the Federation. You have seemed to have misunderstood what we meant by building an E.W.F. headquarters in Ethiopia. Each local of the organization requires their own headquarters. That is, an office to operate from, a building to house people, for communal settings. So you can organize along these lines to prepare a community development programme :

1. the construction of a school
2. the construction of church
3. housing units
4. bond houses
5. commercial centre
6. trade shop
7. industrial centre
8. medical centre
9. community centre

A warning to the committee : beware of Greeks bearing gifts. We are to safeguard the E.W.F., Inc. and prepare against infiltration, subversion, and other acts of sabotage. We are to be one people, Loyal Ethiopians. Thinking of H.I.M. motto to the land grant : All for One and One for All, Operating in this manner there can be no failure.

Igzahaber Yimmasagan

We remain Land Grant Steering Committee E.W.F. Inc.

Shortly afterwards, Brother Maskaram and his local sent over a one hundred dollar contribution to their representatives in Shashamane. Other correspondences and contributions followed, with a plea to work collectively for the reorganization of the E.W.F. and a less exclusivist policy.

In this sequence Maskaram used his office in his local of the E.W.F. to influence events in Ethiopia. His tactic was to impose I and I consciousness at a distance, by suddenly flooding that remote settlement with duplicates of the residents' private correspondence. His E.W.F. local did not hold meetings on a regular basis. Although it was successful in collecting funds for target projects, minutes and other records were not kept consistently. In fact, Maskaram's local of the E.W.F. was activated mostly on ritual and crisis occasions, particularly when the motifs of African unity and Repatriation were sounded.

4. The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the Rastafarian Movement

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is wholly independent of the E.W.F. in terms of its charter. However, in Jamaica, several of the key roles in both organizations are held by the same individuals. An accredited branch of the Church was established in Jamaica in May, 1970. Later in that same month, 750 new members were baptized. One year later, the number of baptized members had quadrupled; there was even a greater number of non-baptized members (Mandefro, 1976 : 32). Of all these numbers " the majority are from the Rastafarian community whose dream is always Ethiopia " (Mandefro, 1976 : 32). These figures bear witness to the brethren's organizational drive, and they also explain why acceptance or rejection of the Church by the brethren became such a critical issue.

Many of the brethren regarded the Church as a secular form of organizational structure that in itself was unnecessary because of the Rastafarian view that man is the temple of God and therefore no place of worship is required. Some rejected it on the grounds that the priest would not baptize in the name of Rastafari, but would do so only in the name of Jesus Christ. Many thought the Church was a good idea, but were alienated from it because they felt church members discriminated against locksmen, the use of herbs, and their cultural traditions, such as the playing of drums. Others felt that the local steering committee of the church was manipulating the non-resident priest and his ministry from abroad towards their own ends. Still others felt that, despite the limitations of the Church, it was still an Ethiopian cultural organization, and one should never spurn anything Ethiopian. They argued that, whereas some brethren, because of their petty-petty interests, wished to use the Church to divide the movement, others should try to use the Church to unify the movement. They felt that perhaps certain brethren could be reached only through the Church. Others argued that the Church was African and, as such, needed to be protected. It might be added here that the Church had the total support of the Jamaica Council of Churches and the government. There is little doubt that the elite sector regarded the Church as one possible way of institutionalizing relations between some Rastafarian brethren and themselves.

Brother Maskaram and his brethren who devoted many reasoning sessions to this issue, did not seem to harbour any illusions about the role of the Church. They could see the problematic issues that the Church and the question of membership would raise. But their position has always been to cooperate with anything African, to make sacrifices for unity - but without denying possible implications. They were aware, for example, of the government's and the Jamaica Council of Churches' sponsorship of the Church. They felt that this was necessary from a diplomatic point of view, but argued that the brethren should not request the establishment in Jamaica to support the Church materially, through land grants, financial assistance, etc. They felt that this would compromise the members of the Church, and the Rastafarians, far beyond their own interests. Maskaram objected to this as strongly as he objected to the Sashamane settlement seeking governmental assistance in development. He always argued that the Rastafarians themselves should support each other, and any African project.

The Rastafarians were also in fundamental agreement with the Church's theology. They too were Monophysites, knowing that Christ was of one nature, a perfect fusion of body and spirit. This creed was articulated by the Ethiopian Church as early as the Council of Chalcedonia, 451 A.D. This doctrine of indivisibility was at complete odds with the Roman Church which viewed the body as vehicle for spirit. The Rastas orient their meditation according to the understanding that : God is a Living Man. Man and God are One.

In spite of these cultural and spiritual affinities, strains rapidly began to develop between the Dreadlocks Rasta and baptized brethren. The most immediate point of contention was this : some brethren in Shashamane who were seeking government development assistance were members of locals of the E.W.F. from Jamaica, whose leadership also served in an official capacity in the administration of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church locally. Both these particular locals and these brethren were somewhat prejudiced against the Dreadlocks brethren. In the early 1970's the number of Dreads was increasing rapidly as more and more youths were alienated from the society and could not obtain employment. Discrimination against the youth would only serve to drive them into the camps of the juvenile delinquents to become fair game for the political

gangs. Many of the older Dreads, as opposed to these younger roots,⁶ were concerned that they find a place within the movement, and its cultural associations such as the E.O.C. Moreover, simply because they cooperated with a secular form did not imply that they accepted the limitations of the organization. This in no way contradicted their position, they felt, for they would still be able to carry on in their own style. The object was African unity - to reach others through whatever means necessary, but to avoid exclusive reliance on any one means. In other words, the aim was to move on all fronts, inspired by the vision of Africa.

The Archimandrite of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Abba L. Mandefro, made his first visit to Jamaica in May, 1970. At this time, it was his intention to baptize the followers who had been recruited, and to conduct for them the first communion services to be held in one of the Roman Catholic churches which was borrowed for the occasion. At this point, a good deal of controversy described above became public. "The Ethiopians", a popular local musical group, made the following recording which summarized the position of those Rastafarians who were opposed to the Church :

No Baptism

Nyah don't want no baptism
 Nyah don't want no baptism
 To know is to know
 To know is to know.

Knowing about Africa
 I can only speak of Ethiopia
 What was hidden from the wise and prudent
 Now revealed to the babe and suckling
 What was hidden from the wise and prudent
 Now revealed to the babe and suckling.

As mentioned before, the Church issue was the subject of much passionate reasoning in Brother Maskaram's yard. The brethren took their time before coming to any decision, although some were more sure of themselves than others. Once again, decision making proceeds by consensus only, and no collective and binding position is taken on any issue. Therefore, several brethren from Brother Maskaram's network decided to be baptized the Saturday on which the services were held. Some, including Maskaram himself, deferred for a year or two. Others decided to attend services and to study the Church before making any commitments.

Over seven hundred people were welcomed into the Church on Baptismal Day, and that evening it was announced that there would be a general meeting at Ebenezer Church in West Kingston, not far from the Rastafarian temple in the Dungle. When the Abba was not in Jamaica the local administrative body held its own services at Ebenezer Church. Several of the brethren from Maskaram's yard decided to familiarize themselves with the workings of the Church. Most of the day had been spent reasoning and smoking, in meditation upon these issues. Brethren who had been baptized had been passing through the yard all afternoon, describing their experiences most enthusiastically. As a result, the brethren were anticipating the evening's activities. But when we finally arrived we found the entire meeting in disruption and disarray. As we were leaving our car, we caught a glimpse of Abba Mandefro being quickly hurried away in a small crowd of brethren and hustled into a waiting car, that promptly sped off in a cloud of dust. I went into the church yard with Brother Chuhat and Sister Saffa, to discover the source of this contention. Brother Maskaram in the meantime left in complete disgust.

Several hundred people had convened for the meeting - so many in fact that they spilled over into the churchyard. More were arriving even after the Abba left. It seems that shortly after the meeting began, some man cried out that the Ethiopian Orthodox Church should baptize in the name of Selassie, and not Jesus Christ. The chairman of the meeting, Brother Ahiya, spoke to this person in an insulting manner. This interchange sparked off a controversy that threatened to get out of hand. As a result, Brother Ahiya and his clique carried Abba Mandefro away. When we arrived, everyone was shouting and arguing. Brother Chuhat quickly sized up the situation and addressed the throng from the Church steps (see appendix 7).

We have reproduced the complete text of this address for several reasons. Brother Chuhat is a close brother of Maskaram; in fact, he acts as Maskaram's secretary. He is well known as a close associate of Maskaram, and has been his representative on certain occasions. In this situation, Chuhat was not designated by Maskaram to behave in a certain fashion. His outburst was completely spontaneous. However, Chuhat and Maskaram had been reasoning about this issue for several weeks, and shared certain understandings about the unity among the brethren. It is

important to note that under certain circumstances, any brother can be the channel of inspiration, and not only the one who is delegated leader. Much of the content of Chuhat's address represents the consensus arrived at in the course of several reasonings among the brethren.

We have already indicated that Maskaram and his brethren have been instrumental in promoting a concrete image of Ethiopia. Thus it is not surprising to hear Chuhat talking about the role of the Church in Ethiopian life, and the use of the Amharic language. Brother Chuhat conceived of his involvement as educational - he came to the church to learn more from the priest about Ethiopia and what happened but the brethren mashed up the meeting! In his analysis he held everyone responsible. He charged that, regardless of the feeling among some brethren that the Church compromises their interests, they should allow those who support it to proceed with their affairs. He said that to behave so childishly would only undermine the credibility of the movement in the eyes of the Church, the Jamaican public and the Ethiopian authorities. Moreover, he argued such behaviour is a threat to African unity - he said that regardless of whomever is in charge of the Abba when he is in Jamaica, Selassie is in charge of everyone. Chuhat made reference to several factions within the movement - Dreadlocks, combs brethren, and clean-shaven face.⁷ He also referred to warriors and men of peace, suggesting that if Ethiopia could accommodate this kind of diversity, surely the brethren in Jamaica could tolerate each other.

One of the canniest arguments (one repeated many times by other brethren) was that Ethiopians are diplomats and that as diplomats they work sub rosa as well as out front in the service of Selassie. Ethiopians are thought to be exceptionally subtle in the way they use innuendo to express their opinions indirectly. They encompass extremes, being known to have a taste for both raw beef and raw honey. Accordingly the brethren believe that the speech of an Ethiopian can be interpreted in many ways. We have seen that the Rastas themselves use ambiguity and the communication context to imply additional meanings. Now, from a diplomatic point of view, there was no necessary contradiction between the Rastafarian's holding Selassie to be God, and the priest baptizing in the name of Jesus Christ. The Ethiopian Church can accommodate Rastafarian ideology in many ways. For example, the Rastas say that God is a Living Man, while

I really sorry sah, is from morning that I wait specially for that you know.

Me love Ethiopia more than show, and me want go to meeting, through me never hear the Church buisness. Me want to get an understanding of it, see how it go. For me don't know nothing about it.

Pure disturbance. You have a clique of Rasta whe down by the gate there, down at the bottom side there, saying rasclot man is a batty man, many, they say.

Me just look upon them and if looks could kill, me could a cut them dead.

You have some locksman who say if you no locks, you no Rasta. Me say you a fight with yourself.

Do you serve God? And you say Rastafaria and you no locks? And you a serve him?

FAKA: Black people have a unite. Black people have a unite. Them get suspicious and them look upon this, and them talk about white people, and white people and white people. Oh God man, just look at yourself if you want to talk about other people. Look upon yourself, man, for once, and leave other people alone now, man.

SAFFA: He says love, sister Saffa. You can tell me peace and love every time you buck me up⁹ and in your heart you hate sister Saffa like poison, and you tell me about love.

CHUHAT: Me no feel good. Priest him is an Ethiopian. Different if him was a raw American, but him is an Ethiopian. And look upon the greeting we give him. In a Church too, you know, in a building.

SAFFA: Them must behave them public self, and come out of Ethiopia if them go there go beat down the Ethiopian Church.

That's why the psychiatrists say we is made people for the way them go on them all say them is mad people.

FAKA: Yeh man, for only mad people go on so.

SAFFA: Them confuse themself, them confuse you about it, them confuse everybody. Me see Rasta fight against Rasta.

CHUHAT: Chow man, don't tell me no Rasta no fight against Rasta. Saffa, is pure tribal warfare that.

Rasta man try fight down what him say, but he is no colonial man, he is an Ethiopian, and Ethiopian live exclusive outside of the world.

For Ethiopians way differ from the Western world, talk to you different from the Western world, vex different from the Western world, speak different from the Western world, deal with God different from the Western world, understand and everything different from the Western world.

Rasta man must realize that. And them can't realize that.

So him not going to reach nowhere. He can't identify himself, or present himself as an Ethiopian.

I sorry fe him. (Transcription from a tape recording.)

Here we see that despite Chuhat's aggressive attack on Ahiya, he was willing to concede that in some respects it was provoked. For one of those present had insulted the Abba with a reference which locally is most disparaging. Under the circumstances, Ahiya's only recourse may have been to cancel the meeting, and Chuhat seems to have been more personally disappointed that it did not continue, than ideologically dismayed. Both these examples highlight certain aspects of the movement. The brethren who were responsible for the priest were not Dreadlocks. West Kingston does have a large percentage of Dreadlocks, many of whom are indeed highly suspicious of any form of organization whatsoever. However, to hold a meeting at Ebenezer Church would inevitably draw upon this constituency.

It is evident from Chuhat's remarks that he considered the Dreadlocks to be the most responsible faction of the movement, drawing the analogy between Dreadlocks warriors in Ethiopia, and Dreadlocks in Jamaica, whom he charged with the protection of the movement and the preservation of its unity. Therefore, the behaviour of certain Dreadlocks at this particular meeting, who had rejected the Abba and insulted him, was held by Chuhat (and by many other Dreads) to be most irresponsible and a disservice to the Dreads in the movement whose behaviour was beyond reproach. In fact, Chuhat and Faka regarded such actions as playing directly into the hands of the local administrators of the Church, who had been maintaining that the Dreadlocks were a disreputable element. The problem here was that certain locals of the E.W.F. which were considered by the others to be " radical " were actually composed of a high percentage of Dreadlocks. Brother Maskaram's local had such a reputation. In using the behaviour of certain unenlightened Dreads as an example, the local administration of the church was able to undermine the credibility of other Dread brethren.

In both examples it is also apparent that Chuhat, Saffa, and others from this particular network wanted to promote a more realistic idea of Ethiopia's history, social organizations, and cultural traditions. Reference was also made by Chuhat to the Amharic language. Much of his

material was drawn from Sylvia Pankhurst's Ethiopia, A Cultural History, a 740-page volume second only to the Bible in its popularity among the brethren. They use this information freely to illustrate their analysis of the contemporary Jamaican situation.

The Dreadlocks in Maskaram's circle agreed to venerate the Church on spiritual and cultural grounds, but it was not until December, 1970 that Maskaram and the Abba had an opportunity to clarify their relationship. In that month the executive committee of the Church arranged for them to meet, along with several other Dreadlocks brethren who had felt ostracized up to that point. On this occasion the priest brought an assistant who filmed the entire proceedings. The meeting got under way with the Abba leading the brethren in an Amharic language drill. They went through its phonetics antiphonally. The priest said he was amazed to see how much they had accomplished on their own, and congratulated Maskaram for his pedagogic efforts. Then he began to discuss the mutual obligations between themselves and the Church :

ABBA: Very good, you follow it good. I believe that you have really progressed in the subject and I pray for you. And I shall try to see if anything can be done. And I have the hope and believe also, that if the Church is to be established here, the only two one can help you with the education, the language, and the culture, is the Church.

No professor, no teacher can help you. Of course the Church will help because the Church has a great responsibility and power also. A permanent priest will be here. And he will teach you everything, because that will be part of his responsibility, along with religious life.

Through the Church I believe you will be able to progress. If anything can be done through the arrangement of the government, if they can do what you were saying to me before, they can get together and be able to cover the finance of that person, it is very easy to send you a teacher. It will not take two or three months to get an Amharic teacher from Ethiopia, Ethiopian born. I'm assuring you this but it takes great effort to do this.

It takes a great effort to get all the brethren together, and to have them understanding and to have them in a line, and they will contribute everyman something.

There must be a chairman, secretary, and so forth, for this. It must be organized very well. I myself, my personal opinion is, it would be very good to do it, to organize through the Church because the Church has almost 700 people baptized.

And this seven hundred people are almost together now. I was so happy to see the number of people at the Webster Memorial Church Sunday, during communion. I was so happy. I did not expect them to come back like that. In six months, you know, I had doubts.

But they are together now, and we are going to baptize more people. Maybe this time it will altogether be 1,000 or more that will be members of the Church, active members of the Church. And these people need the Amharic and the culture to give their children.

And they are going to get together, I know, and they going to organize. And I spoke to the Women's Council of Churches, and the National Council of Churches in New York, the Department of Latin America. And they told me they were going to help build a church, a religious centre, and the culture.

And it's going to be really something that you will appreciate.

But what you need is to come together, and to help us develop and to build the Church. The Church is the greatest foundation down here that we have. And the Ethiopian World Federation is good, as it was the first. And the Church new become the moral perspective to get all the brothers and sisters together.

So we have to try to support also the Church, knowing that you will be able to receive your culture and history and your identity through the Church.

I myself am also in charge of the Church. I ask to come back in another six or twelve months. Don't know, I am not sure. I was here six months ago, and I am here now, this is my second visit. Another permanent priest will be here. If he is here I don't have to come back much. I can come maybe once a year.

MASKARAM: Does the Church get the land yet to build a church?

ABBA: Not yet. We are going to different offices and different places to check about granting land. You know, if they can grant us land.

MASKARAM: Then we can't buy our own land, and build our own church? So that members can support themselves - a self-supporting church? We expecting someone to give us land?

ABBA: That's excellent if we can do that. Can you do that?

MASKARAM: But we must can do that. Can we build our own church? We can't build our own church? We have to go to Webster church?

ABBA: You will have to wake up. Don't be lazy. How long we going to be late? Wake up and work for yourselves. Be able to build your own house. A small bird in the river, in the forest, she work hard, to build her nest, a place to live. The ant, they carry everything, they kill themselves.

Every creature is working hard to do something. So remember, man is the head of all these animals. So how far should man go then? In comparison to the small insects? So wake up and get together.

They don't have to be separate to build it. They need unity. Unity and desire. Unity and ability. Try to do it.

Because you are doing very well. What I witness, the language, I appreciate it. The language that you are learning without any teacher - this is a great, great miracle, believe me. I have been in Europe and New York a long time. There are people who learn Amharic, who write Amharic, but not like you. And they had Amharic from Ethiopia. I appreciate what you are doing, believe me.

MASKARAM: Anywhere we can concentrate the unity, then the unity will follow.

ABBA: Yes.

MASKARAM: And if the Church can so concentrate the unity, then we will cater to the unity of the Church.

ABBA: The people's life depends upon individual efforts. If I am a peaceful man, whatever I do, no difficulty. I will be able to openly associate with them, drink with them, eat with them. Happy praying and come back home, you know what I mean?

But if my own conduct is different I will never be able to get along with none. This is the problem. Try each of you to be peacemaker. Don't expect Brother Stephan to be humble and love you so, and not say anything against what you say. Expect also your own self to be humble.

MASKARAM: I want the Abba to hear the antiphonal drumming records from Ethiopia. See, I don't like hear the Baptist church and Pocomania business go on in the Ethiopian Church. So please recommend that the Ethiopia Church play in the Ethiopia Church.

ABBA: What is this?

MASKARAM: This is Ethiopia music, recording of Ethiopian Coptic Church.

ABBA: Ah, yes, I know what it is.

MASKARAM: But we play it in the Church and them say they don't want it.

ABBA: Do you have a player?

MASKARAM: Yes.

ABBA: Well, let me hear it.

MASKARAM: Well, I giving you the recording. I am not taking it back. Abba say that him want them hear it.

ABBA: Thank you very much. (Transcribed from a tape recording of the meeting.)

The two men expressed themselves here on the matter of their mutual obligations. The Abba began by saying that it is through the Church that the brethren will be able to progress further. He suggested that they might receive a native teacher of Amharic through its channels. He noted the success of the Church's organizational drive. He praised the brethren's

response to the Church but stressed the need for unity and organization. Maskaram at that point inquired if the Church had acquired land yet; Abba confirmed that a search was in progress. Maskaram inquired sharply about the question of ownership : will the Church be self-supporting? Abba was noncommittal on that question, but he stressed the need for work and cooperation. He underscored the virtue of peacefulness. Could this have been an allusion to Maskaram's treatment of Brother Angat on the church steps? In any case, Maskaram responded by asserting his network's cultural purity, and asked the priest to purge Baptist and Pocomania contamination from the service. He gave the Abba a recording of an Ethiopian Church service. He refused to take it back even though the Abba suggested that the Dreadlocks keep it for their own instruction.

Thus in their first meeting Maskaram and Abba spoke mostly about practical matters and questions of morale. In another context, however, the priest addressed himself directly to the problem of national allegiance. The occasion was the ninth anniversary of Jamaican Independence (August 7, 1971). That year the Ethiopian Orthodox Church conducted a service of thanksgiving which was attended by dignitaries from the other major Churches, as well as Jamaica's Governor-General who had just consented to become Patron of the Church's fund raising committee. Here indeed was evidence of the Ethiopian's fabled diplomacy, for it was the Abba's task to depict the Rastaman's conflict of loyalties as a positive boon. In a number of ways he sought to show how they could reconcile their country of aspiration with their country of residence, how Ethiopia and Jamaica might cohere :

... Jamaica must preserve what God first gave to them and what their fathers fought to secure for them. Ethiopia has been a lighthouse for freedom throughout Africa and Jamaica was the first to gain Independence in the British West Indies countries. You are the lighthouse for freedom here in the West. It is our hope that your light and our light will help to keep the darkness of captivity from the earth. Light is ever moving and when our lights meet, Ethiopia's being the ancient light and Jamaica's the modern light, the whole world shall see it and know that freedom is firstly good and that the desire to be free is not Eastern or Western but Universal

This is my fourth visit to the island and I am still unable to distinguish any difference between Jamaicans and Ethiopians. We are one people, sons and daughters of Africa our common Fatherland. It has been a long time since we have been separated and the effort must now be made to be re-organized. You have learnt many things since that separation. Africa

has kept all that you may have forgotten. Africa wants to know you and you must get to know Africa. We must communicate as brothers and not as political or national entities. Every means of communication should be thoroughly exploited by both countries. What concerns Ethiopia should be Jamaica's concern. Students from this country could come to Ethiopia to study and we to the University of West Indies. There can be a mutual exchange of Drummers, Dancers and Singers. Doubtless the two countries need cultural exchanges where the people will learn the traditions, customs and language of one another. The Rastafarians are unique and special attention should be paid to them in this area. What I mean is the true Rastas that had from a long while dreamed of Ethiopia. Today, with constant communications and cooperation between the two countries, they can realize their dream. However my personal suggestion to them is that they must try to obtain complete understanding of what they are going to do, and also, very importantly they must recognize their citizenship and harness the responsibility of being a citizen of this land (Mandefro, 1975 : 25 - 26).

The position the priest took in this speech reflected the enhanced status of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Jamaica. It had won approbation from all sectors of the establishment : from the Governor-General, its financial patron, to the Lebanese Consul who served as its legal advisor. The Roman Catholic and Methodist Churches lent it building facilities, while the City of Kingston leased it land on a long-term basis. The heads of all the established churches in Jamaica had also volunteered to be members of its building fund drive committee. Thus the Abba was under some pressure to localize the Rastafarians' aspirations. He urged them to be responsible citizens while in Jamaica just as he expected them to become Ethiopians once in Africa. He wanted the Rastafarians to institutionalize in Jamaica without losing their African vision.

5. President Nyerere's Visit

In 1974 President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania was invited to visit Jamaica. The party in power, the P.N.P., asked President Nyerere to address their annual convention, in addition to the other functions he would attend while in Jamaica. The opposition party, the J.L.P., regarded this as a political act and declared its intention to boycott all the functions surrounding Nyerere's visit. The event became a partisan affair, and it was in conjunction with Nyerere's speech at the party conference that Prime Minister Manley took the opportunity to declare his party's

intention of adopting a " socialist " policy. Since the J.L.P. and their supporters had decided to boycott the Nyerere visit, it was crucial to gain support from other sectors for the public functions. Although the Rastafarians are non-political in the sense that they do not vote, the majority of the brethren decided to welcome Nyerere as a " Son of Africa " and to participate wholeheartedly in the activities. They stated that Nyerere could be seen as the fruit of Selassie's initiative in the 1930's : as the tree has roots, it also has branches.

This decision was arrived at not without considerable discussion and reasoning among the brethren. Certain groups of Rastas, although in the minority, nevertheless sent Nyerere a telegram admonishing him not to come; they even printed handbills to the effect that he should be boycotted. On the other hand, such groups as the Rastafari Movement Association posted notices stating their support of his visit. Brother Maskaram and his associates printed the following handbill which was posted all over town :

A WARNING!

Beware of Capitalistical INSPIRED BOYCOTTING of Your AFRICAN PRESIDENT

In a Society where 90% of the Population is of AFRICAN ORIGIN - Capitalist Orientated Politician have lost their Vision of Nationhood, and what the VISIT of an AFRICAN PRESIDENT mean to BLACK PEOPLE in a LAND where part Politics have devided BLACK PEOPLE making BLACK PEOPLE lost their love for each other making BLACK PEOPLE lost their Self Respect :

Beware of BROWN and WHITE POLITICAL USURPATION OF BLACK DIGNATARIES.

Beware you fall into the Hands of Black Nationalism.

AFRICAN Produces Excellant BLACK POLITICAL LEADERS with Good Political Ideas of Uniting BLACK PEOPLE with purpose.

We are calling on ALL BLACK PEOPLE not to boycott the proposed visit of President Dr. Julius NYERERE M. WALALIMO.

Tell your Political Misleaders : We have to take part in our own Story Making History of the AFRICAN is being Re-written.

Secure answer for the Question - Your Children must ask You about NYERERE'S VISIT

COME OUR AND MEET YOUR BLACK PRESIDENT

LOVE UHURU (As in original)

Brother Maskaram and all those in his network joined hundreds of other brethren at the airport to welcome President Nyerere. With them they carried their drums and several placards. The previous evening the

the local P.N.P. organizer had come around the yard and dropped off several large posters and some small handbills with the photographs of President Nyerere and his wife. It was most revealing to see the brethren immediately paste the smaller ones all over their red, gold, and green drums. The larger ones they pasted on cardboard placards alongside such slogans as : " A Change is Coming - Why Scare? "; " Haile President Nyerere "; " Why U R scare of Uhuru? "; " Uhuru catches Africans for Africa "; " Uhuru "; " Hail the Man ". Some brethren also pinned the small handbills with Nyerere's photo on their clothes. When we arrived at the airport, several other Rastafarian groups were already present, carrying large red, gold, and green banners, welcoming Nyerere. The Rastafarians were able to accommodate most easily the symbolism of Tanzania, the ideas of Uhuru and Ujamaa, into their Ethiopian-oriented symbol system. This is a most striking example of the resiliency of the Rastafarian movement and the kind of open-endedness we have been describing in this thesis.

The Nyerere visit occurred just a few days after the arrest and imprisonment of Emperor Haile Selassie by the Ethiopian Government on Ethiopian New Year. Maskaram's brethren celebrated that occasion as usual, and the events in Ethiopia did not disturb their peace of mind. In fact, they quoted many passages from the Bible to the effect that trouble shall occur in Ethiopia as well, that Ethiopians shall be smitten, and so on. They were of course reluctant to accept the news and insisted that it was all propaganda and that they would reserve judgement. They pointed out that Christ himself was crucified, that sometimes these mundane events could only be understood by a higher form of logic which few comprehended - the idea that God works in mysterious ways. In general their position seemed to be that all things were happening in the proper order, that one should watch and wait. Let us recall the Rasta chant that the righteous way is to wait and pray. Many told me the world situation in general would become worse, for bread must turn to stone before man can be free.

The government had scheduled a mass rally and gala spectacular at the national arena in honour of President Nyerere to be held the day after the P.N.P. annual conference. There were thousands of participants

involved. One feature on the programme was to be the dancing out of the word UHURU by a thousand school children clad in African gowns. The central U of the word UHURU was to consist of approximately 100 Rastafarian drummers dressed as warriors, who were to provide the musical accompaniment for this number. Brother Maskaram and his brethren once again were very much involved. They felt that it was of great significance that the Rastafarians played the key role in this part of the programme, and that their vision of Africa, which they had worked so hard to maintain over the years in spite of persecution, was finally bearing fruit.

It is also possible to discuss this situation from the point of view of cooptation. With many brethren participating enthusiastically in this event, could it be interpreted as a sign of tacit support for Manley's policies? The brethren defended themselves against that charge by arguing that their vision of Africa could not be compromised, and that they would take advantage of this opportunity to publicize their support, not for Manley, but for the liberation of African peoples. Brother Maskaram was also able to secure the cooperation of several factions of the movement for this event, and thus his vision of unity and centralization was realized.

In the preceding sections we have used four problems that arose during the period of research, to indicate the manner in which the brethren communicate among themselves at the organizational level. We have focused on Brother Maskaram and his brethren in order to show how they responded to these issues. As is consistent with a visionary movement approach, their strategy was to adopt several different methods of communication, using various arenas, to reach different sections of the Rastafarian population. They held meetings, gave groundations, organized cultural activities, visited each other, distributed flyers and handbills, made paintings, invited guests to speak, and made public speeches. The most significant method of communication, though, is drawing the pipe together and reasoning. It is not our intention to document all the backstage scenarios that accompanied the public incidents described above. Suffice it to say that every drama has its rehearsal.

A great deal of the reasoning during the period of fieldwork centred around the issues described in the foregoing section. As we have tried to explain, the brethren prefer to reach their decisions by consensus in an informal atmosphere. All these meetings in actual fact did not dominate the day-to-day life of the brethren. In general their lifestyle was yardbound, peacefully sitting and reasoning among themselves. We have chosen to elaborate upon the above issues in order to demonstrate how visionary messages are transmitted along collateral lines. In a sense, the problems remained unresolved. No final solutions were reached during the period of fieldwork, and from correspondence and a follow-up visit it seems that the dialogue surrounding these and related issues is still continuing. That too is characteristic of the Rastafarian movement, its openendedness and earnest on-going dialogue.

The four issues that were of most concern to the brethren in 1970 did elicit a number of distinct organizational strategies. In the case of the Census, an opportunity arose for the brethren to hold meetings all over the island. To this end they created an ad hoc union based upon the parish division of Jamaica. This moreover had a mystical character in that it was supposed to be isomorphic with the territorial divisions of Ethiopia itself. This union had no offices or treasury; it was intended mainly as a rallying instrument, specifically for the occasion of the Census.

The dissension at Shashamane demanded a different organizational strategy altogether. In order to adjudicate that dispute, Maskaram drew upon the fact that he held office in one local chapter of the Ethiopian World Federation, which had been responsible for the Ethiopian venture to that point. Maskaram makes periodic use of this organization when it suits his purposes. In this sense it has a latent character. There are no regular meetings, no dues collection and no minutes kept consistently by his local. There are elected offices, but the duties connected with these are left undefined. Although the local does have a permanent address and its own letterhead, no clear distinction is made between personal and movement business. In short, this particular local of the Federation is activated only when certain issues demand it; among these brethren it has no existence for its own sake.

A third strategy is involved in the matter of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The Dreadlocks redefined their role in this organization along cultural lines, arguing that it could provide them with an opportunity to learn about Ethiopia. Membership in it would help them prepare for Repatriation, at which time they would cease to be Rastas. Until that eventually was achieved, however, they insisted on maintaining their Rasta tradition alive, and they made their membership in the Church contingent upon the body allowing them their visionary practices without interference. They held that, because this Church was of Ethiopia, it should be itself regarded as a source of inspiration. Accordingly, they would work actively against the routinizing tendencies within it.

If we are fully to appreciate the activities of the Dread segment of the movement, we will have to conclude, however, that organization strategies are only one aspect of its political involvement. Most of the visionaries' contacts are not made within institutional frameworks at all, but through personal networks. These networks suffice in resolving most day-to-day crises; however, when issues affecting the movement as a whole arise, then the brethren are likely to call upon one or another of its affiliated organizations. At other times the relevance of organization may become an issue in itself. The provisional way in which Rastas treat organization resembles the situation on Dry Tortuga as described by Robert Dirks (Dirks, 1972). There, cyclic economic variables seemed to determine whether one affiliated with Church organization or pursued a round based on personal networks. Among the Rastas, however, it is not economic variables that are primary in determining which of these strategic avenues will be adopted. What motivates their decision, rather, is how best to reconcile continued inspiration with the imperative of Repatriation.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight

1. This could be regarded as a major concession on the part of the government. Since the general strikes and riots surrounding the banning of Walter Rodney from Jamaica in October, 1968, there have been severe limitations placed on public assembly. Rodney was a Guyanese historian, teaching at the University of West Indies, Mona, who was outspoken in his criticism of the Jamaican government, and who had made the friendship of many Rastafarian brethren in the course of talks he gave to them.
2. Terms used by the brethren themselves.
3. Several authors have commented upon the lack of unity among members of African Independency movements. Hostilities between various groups are perpetuated despite their only superficial differences. Some attribute this to the persistence of tribalism and tribal identities (D.B. Barrett, 1968 : 60 - 61 and Sundkler, 1964 : 168) while others have argued that this state of affairs is due to traditional competition among Africans for leadership, particularly since in situations like South Africa valid political activity is denied Blacks (Dubb, 1962 : 117). Dubb has also commented upon the problem of language barriers between people of different tribal backgrounds living in the towns (Dubb, 1962 : 113 - 114). The Lumpa Movement of Alice Lenshina has attempted to correct this problem by emphasizing the role of the sung word as the most important medium of communication (Oosthuizen, 1968 : 42).
4. An Amharic greeting.
5. A reference to the set of letters Maskaram had typed and reproduced.
6. Roots is the local terms used for incipient Dreadlocks, whose hair is just beginning to grow into locks.
7. All these terms refer to personal grooming styles.
8. Batty is a local term meaning buttocks. A batty man is a homosexual.
9. To buck up on someone is to meet him.

Chapter Nine

What The Locust Leave : Summary and Conclusion

At this point we would like to review our argument and to assess its implications for our understanding of both millenarism and social movements. We feel that this research has implications for several concerns which bear further investigation.

We began by setting our study of Rastafarianism within the larger context of the literature on millenarian movements. We were dissatisfied with it for several reasons. Firstly, we felt that many of the studies subscribe to a reductionist approach, emphasizing one-factor explanations at the expense of a comprehensive understanding of millenarism. Secondly, we felt that many approaches oversimplified the complex nature of the societal context of millenarism by focusing more on the historical relationship of the movement vis-à-vis the larger society, than on the day-to-day life activities of millenarists themselves. Thirdly, we argued that some of the terminology and concepts of millenarian theory were inadequate to convey a realistic sense of modern millenarism. We suggested that our own experience of Rastafarianism led us to conceive of it as a visionary movement.

This term was intended to convey both the importance to Rastafarian ideology of its central vision, the liberation of all Black people as Africans, and the critical role that visionary states of consciousness play in the social life of the movement. Using this approach, we hoped to show how those with a millenarian orientation manifested their vision in the social realm. But first we had to provide a general discussion of both Rastafarian ideology and social organization in order to develop a framework for our study. Our intention was to demonstrate that not only was the movement itself a very heterogeneous social phenomenon, but also that the specific group within it which we researched was itself capable of employing a variety of means to accomplish its visionary ends.

We argued that while Rastafarianism shares much in common with other social movements with respect to its social and ideological

functioning, its specific nature is conditioned by the historical, cultural (religious), social, economic, and political experience of Blacks in Jamaica. A complex of characteristics which generally comprises Rastafarianism is readily intelligible in terms of our understanding of Jamaican society. The movement's Ethiopianism can be seen against the historical experience of Blacks in the New World. Its emphasis on Repatriation could be regarded as a manifestation of a type of myth-dream, an expression of a people discovering themselves in exile. Certainly there was a concrete historical precedent for Rastafarianism in Garveyism. We attempted to relate the movement's anti-colonialism/-anti-imperialism to Jamaica's social and economic plight, the direct result of overseas exploitation. Given the class/colour stratified nature of Jamaican society, we are in a better position to appreciate the movement's racial ideology, and to regard it as one of the critical elements in its political struggle against racism. We argued that the movement's biblical fundamentalism can also be understood in light of Jamaican culture. Historically, African slaves were deemed unworthy of Christian education, so that it was considered a victory in their struggle to be recognized as human beings when missionaries were permitted to teach them. While we do not deny that the Bible has been used as a repressive force, we have to recognize that as a powerful symbol it can be adapted to other ends as well. Certainly, Rastafarians find precedents for their prophetic and visionary undertakings almost solely in this Scripture.

Finally, we argued that the Rastafarian pursuit of I and I consciousness through the use of cannabis and the experience of the unitive state can be related not only to the Bible, but to the East Indian use of ganja. Here again we find some cultural precedents for conceiving of this experience as they do. Thus the various elements which comprise Rastafarian ideology on a general level - Ethiopianism, anti-colonialism, biblical fundamentalism, and I and I consciousness - can be seen in the context of our understanding of Jamaican society. Our interest in this thesis was to determine how individual members of the Rastafarian movement were able to apply these principles in everyday life.

Operating on a general level of analysis we could obtain some understanding of Rastafarianism within the context of both millenarian

movements and social movements. However, we noted that some problems do arise when we turn our attention to local manifestations of those broader movements. What is the relationship of the part to the whole? We set for ourselves the problem as to how the individual members of a visionary social movement - which is characterized by both a general ideological orientation and a decentralized, reticulate, polycephalous social structure - work out the relationship between belief and action on a day-to-day basis. In the case of the Rastafarians, this process is made more problematic by the fact that traditionally the movement has been regarded with hostility by the established authorities, while its central ritual act - the smoking of cannabis - has been declared illegal.

We reviewed the existing literature on Rastafarianism, noting several inadequacies. With regard to theory, most studies of Rastafarianism attempt to fit the movement into a "cult" framework without satisfactorily explaining their grounds for doing so. This tends to perpetuate an unrealistic stereotype of the movement as escapist, fanatical, and isolated. With regard to data, most studies of Rastafarianism are not based on prolonged fieldwork. As a result they are ethnographically weak in terms of presenting a detailed picture of certain aspects of Rastafarian life. In particular, with the exception of Joseph Owens's work (1976), none of them note the centrality of smoking cannabis, reasoning, and meditation to the social and ideological dynamics of the movement. Unfortunately, Owens, while appreciating the role of reasoning, does not relate it to the overall social nature of the movement. On the other hand, while the work of both Nettleford and Barrett has gone far in extending our understanding of Rastafarianism as a social force on the Jamaican scene, they give us little insight into the daily round of Rastafarian activity.

We began with the intention of investigating two theoretical issues. We wanted to examine in a general sense how Rastafarianism functioned as a visionary movement and we wanted to clarify the relationship between the general and the particular levels of ideology. We also had to contend with the inadequacies in the already existing literature on the movement. We decided to narrow our focus considerably by centering our discussion on one group of Rastafarian brethren. Following the advice of Nigel Harris, we selected one of them as our representative

Rastafarian visionary. While Brother Maskaram was by no means a typical Rastafarian, he did serve to represent the Rastafarian point of view in the sense that Harris had intended, by providing a guide to the group's ideology (Harris, 1968 : 49 - 50). Using the work of Johannes Fabian as our model, we decided to analyze the role of reasoning sessions among the brethren as central to the ideological and social dynamics of the movement. We felt this procedure would allow us to shed light on the problem areas discussed above.

We argued that, in order to understand the significance of reasoning amongst the Rastafarians and the role that it plays within the movement as a whole, we would have to understand something about the nature of cannabis as a psychedelic substance. We first of all discussed it in cross-cultural perspective. We noted that while there exist many accounts of its use for secular ends, there are hardly any studies available which deal in detail with its use for religious or visionary purposes. In order to extend our understanding of the visionary experience produced by cannabis, we incorporated into our account some of the literature on the use of other psychedelic substances in religious contexts such as peyote and mescaline. The purpose of this discussion was to document the nature of the altered state of consciousness that can be produced by the ingestion of cannabis, in order to lay a baseline for the Rastafarian cultural and ideological perspective on what happens. We concluded that while the Rastafarian use of cannabis is significantly different from the way in which other Jamaicans use it, the Rasta experience of the visionary state has much in common with accounts of such experiences drawn from the literature. In particular, we argued that the Rastafarians have chosen to emphasize certain aspects of this experience (the unitive state, intersubjectivity, or I and I consciousness) which correspond with certain ideological values that are accorded a high priority in this social movement (love, egalitarianism, peace, nonviolence). In this respect, the Rastafarian's use of cannabis reinforces their ideological orientation and social perceptions.

Following an extended discussion of the Rastafarian use of cannabis in a ritual setting, we concluded that the state of mind produced by the ingestion of cannabis could, under certain conditions, facilitate the form of communication between brethren called reasoning. We also argued

that it was this very process which exerted a check on the development of authoritarian and hierarchical tendencies within the movement, particularly with regard to leadership.

At this point we focused on the daily activities of our visionary representative - Brother Maskaram - and his intimate circle of brethren. Having situated them within the movement both sociologically and ideologically, we first discussed what to us appeared to be a central dilemma of Rastafarianism : the role of strong leaders in a social movement professing an egalitarian ideology. We examined the basis of Maskaram's authority in the society and the mechanisms which exert a countervailing effect upon it. Secondly, we looked at Maskaram's daily rounds and the kinds of problems and issues which arise within his immediate circle. Here we examined his role as a yard politician. Our intention was to demonstrate the manner in which reasoning is used as a social forum in which questions of belief and action are handled collectively. Using Brother Maskaram as our case study, we hoped to show how a Rastafarian ideologue moved from a general ideological orientation to a particular ideological position on specific issues.

At this point we broadened the scope of our discussion to include an analysis of the way in which this group of Dreadlocks brethren functioned within the movement as a whole. Specifically, we were interested in how they communicated their visionary perspective both to other brethren and to the larger society. This problem returned us to our central notion of the visionary movement. By analyzing several public issues which arose during the course of fieldwork, we hoped to show that a wide variety of strategies were employed by Brother Maskaram and his associates to communicate their point of view. Not only did they make use of various kinds of media in a creative way but the brethren were also able to mobilize themselves organizationally as a social force to protect their interests. Thus we concluded that it is possible to maintain and perpetuate a visionary orientation over a period of time in a way that is both ideologically and sociologically credible, to the extent that the movement in question continues to grow and thrive, without compromising the essential nature of the vision.

We feel that this analysis of Rastafarianism as a visionary front has implications for our understanding of contemporary millenarism.

No longer is it possible to refer indiscriminately such social phenomena to cult analysis. Such a point of view makes certain assumptions about the nature of millenarism which are unwarranted in the case of Rastafarianism. It presumes a social insularity, a doctrinal inflexibility, a cultural homogeneity - in short, a closed system - which simply does not hold true for our case study. On the contrary, we have demonstrated that Rastafarianism exists in a dialectical relationship with other social groups. This perspective could profitably be applied to a host of social movements emerging in North America generally called "the new religious movements". Because of the threat that such groups are posing to traditional religious authority, a great deal of consternation has been generated by them. Their relationship with the larger society seems similar to that between Rastafarianism and Jamaican vested interests. A systematic comparison may be worth pursuing.

This work also has implications for our understanding of social movements generally. Gerlach and Hine's work on Pentecostalism and Black Power demonstrates that these two diverse movements share much in common with the way in which Rastafarianism operates. A systematic comparison would likely reveal that the counter-culture movement and feminism share similar social and ideological dynamics. Thus we are led to ask ourselves under what circumstances such a response is appropriate as a means of effectively challenging the dominant culture and social order.

If the social movements we are concerned with are regarded as resistance or revolutionary movements, then the manner in which Rastafarianism operates can tell us something about the role of developing a distinct culture as an integral part of the struggle. Moreover, the mechanisms whereby Rastafarianism continues to be open to new sources of data and is able to incorporate new perspectives should give us some insight into the viability of all cultural movements. Clearly such movements have to be responsive to changing conditions if they are to continue to provide a meaningful orientation for their followers. Here we might simply note that Rastafarianism is growing very quickly, even outside the confines of Jamaica.

We have concluded that it is impossible for opposition movements to survive unless they create a distinct culture for themselves. In the case of the Rastafarians they have organized themselves around a sense

of racial oppression rather than in the work-place. This has direct implication for the Marxist literature on revolutionary movements and the working class struggle. Already theories of class are being re-worked to shift the emphasis in analysis from the site of production to the area of reproduction (home, private life, education, science). With regard to feminism and class analysis, for example, rather than " fit " women into the existing working-class model, attempts are now being made to redefine that model. There is a growing literature on the new working class which proposes to de-emphasize the separation between work activities and activities outside work. Here youth, especially students, would be given far more attention as a force for change. While these efforts are being directed to an understanding of the advanced or postindustrial stage of capitalism in Europe and North America, and the new levels of struggle being expressed against it, we feel that possibly a reassessment of traditional class analysis in underdeveloped countries is also necessary.

Finally, this thesis has implications for the debate on the culture of poverty and for our understanding of the urban poor. Recently Janice Perlman in The Myth of Marginality has successfully challenged many of the stereotypes that we hold of the urban poor, the unemployed and the underemployed living in shantytowns and ghettoes. While a systematic comparison of her findings with our data on West Kingston is beyond the scope of the present work, we support her contention that we have to reassess radically the potential of such " declassed " groups. No longer can we afford to ignore this mass of people on ideological grounds, but rather, we need to attend to how they actually go about organizing themselves against oppressive forces in the contemporary period.

Appendix 11. Rastafarian Prayer - no label (orthodox)

Princes has come out of Egypt

Ethiopians now stretches forth their hands unto God

Oh God of Ethiopia, our divine majesty

Thy strength has come into our hearts to dwell in the path of righteousness
Lead us

Help us to forgive that we must be forgiven

Teach us love, loyalty, on earth as it must be in Zion

Endure us with thy wisdom, knowledge and understanding

To do Thy will.

My belssing to you

That the hungry be fed

The naked be clothed

The sick nourished

The age protected

And the infants cared for

Deliver us from the hands of our enemies

That we may prove fruitful in these last days

When our enemies are past and decayed

In the depths of the sea

In the depths of the earth

Or in the bowels of a beast

Oh give us all a place in Thy kingdom for ever. Selah.

Let the words of our mouth and the meditations of our heart be acceptable
in thy sight, oh Jah,

Thou art our strength and our redeemer

That liveth and reigneth in the hearts of man forever. Selah.

2. Pound Get a Blow (popular)

This devaluation

(pound get a blow)

It gonna cause an eruption

(pound get a blow)

Oh, what a destruction

(pound get a blow)

So prepare for starvation

(pound get a blow)

Cost of living high

(pound get a blow)

Thank Jah, I'm on the right side

Thank Jah, I'm on the right side

Thank Jah, I'm on the right side

Repatriation is a must

Repatriation is a must

Repatriation is a must

3. Come Down

Come down white man
 Come down off Black man shoulder,
 Let the power of Selassie I throw them down,
 Throw them off Black man shoulders.

4. Bus Dem Shut - Skully and the Wailers (popular)

Life is for man to live
 Let man live
 Bread is for man to eat
 Let man eat bread.

Cut down Piaca*
 Cut down Piaca
 Everything you run run come
 Everything you run run come
 Everything you run run come.

Come let we go reason now
 Come let we go reason now
 Come let we go reason now.

You know say
 A bus dem shut
 Right now

Cut down Piaca
 Cut down Piaca
 Woman feel the pain, man suffer lord
 Woman feel the pain, man suffer lord
 Woman feel the pain, man suffer lord.

Come let we go reason now
 Come let we go reason now
 Come let we go reason now.

*Piaca is Rasta term for American.

Appendix 2

Brother Maskaram's script : The Earth's Most Strangest Man

(Note : The chants are in small type; the narrative in large type.)

Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Take your Bible and read it, read it with understanding
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world

THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF THE EARTH'S MOST STRANGEST MAN, THE RASTAFARIAN.

Rastaman say him just a come back
 Rastaman say him just a come back
 This ya one say him just a come back
 That da one say him just a come back

MAN'S IMMORTALITY LIVES IN HIS PROGENY.
 MEMORIES, THEY ARE LIKE ECHOES, ALWAYS COME BACK.

I AND I BEING INTERWOVEN INSIDE THE INNER SEAL OF THE LOINS
 OF I AND I FIRST FATHER RASTAFARI
 I AND I EXPLAIN IN PLAIN TRUTH THE TWO PASSAGE WHERE ETHIOPIAN WERE
 STOLEN.

THEREFORE, THE SENTIMENT, BECAUSE ETHIOPIA MAINTAINED 3000 YEARS OF
 CULTURAL HISTORY.

ETHIOPIAN WAS NOT TAKEN AWAY FROM ETHIOPIA.

HERE IT COME BACK IN I AND I SONG.

Our forefathers were taken away
 Our forefathers were taken away
 Our forefathers were taken away
 Our forefathers were taken away
 Oh yes, Rastafari, oh yes.

I AND I TRY TO KEEP THE LIGHT OF RASTAFARI BURNING.
 I AND I APPEAR AS THE BASE THINGS OF THE EARTH.
 I AND I BRETHREN LIVE IN RUBBISH DUMP, DUNGLES, GHETTOES.
 WE MOVE AND HAD TO MOVE.

I AND I HAS A HOUSEHOLD AND A FAMILY.
 I AND I FEEL THE SPIRIT MOVE IN I AND I SONG.

Leave I home and family to travel with the God of Love
 Leave I home and family to travel with the God of Love
 Travel, Travel, Travel, Travel, Travel with the God of Love

ONE NOTICEABLE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE BRITISH I AND I SLAVEMASTER
 NOT LONG AGO THE HISTORY WRITTEN OF EARTH AS GREAT BRITAIN
 NOW IS MERE ENGLAND AND SOON RETAIN THE NAME OF ANGLO SAXON
 THE ECONOMY OF BRITAIN HAS BEEN FALLING SO FAST UNTIL I AND I
 ASK THAT IT FALL A LITTLE FASTER IN THIS SONG

Babylon you gone and your throne gone down.

THESE FEW LINES REPRESENT THE FINES AND REFINES IN TRADING WITH ANOTHER
 NATION FOR SUCH TRADE ENTAILED THE SLAVE TRADE.
 THE TIME MUST COME AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING
 WHEN THE ENTIRE CREATION COME UNDER THE KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.
 IF YOU BOW TO FORCE GOD AND HISTORY WILL RECORD YOUR JUDGEMENT.
 THESE WARNINGS WENT UNHEEDED. WHAT HAPPENED?
 GOD AND HISTORY RECORDED THE JUDGEMENT OF EUROPE.
 I AND I WATCHMAN UPON THE WALLS OF ZION.
 I AND I FEEL IT IN THIS SONG.

The Good Lord send me from Zion.
 The Good Lord He send me down.

WHEN THE WARNING OF GOD GO UNHEEDED THEN THE VISITATION OF HIS WRATH
 KINDLED, LIKENED UNTO A FIRE EVER BURNING.
 SLAVES FROM ETHIOPIA ALWAYS FEEL DEEP INSIDE THE SPIRIT OF THE AFRICAN
 MOVEMENTS AND MOVE TO IT IN SONGS.

AS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE PSALMS OF DAVID,
 TO EVERY SONG THERE IS A SING
 AND I AND I ALWAYS SING THE SONG OF THE SIGNS OF THE TIME.

Run away, run away, run away
 Haile Selassie I a call you
 Bright angels are waiting
 Bright angels are waiting
 Bright angels are waiting
 To carry the tidings home.

NOTHING MORE TRUE THAN THE SPIRIT OF THE RASTAFARIAN MOVEMENT.
 TO MOVE AWAY FROM JAMAICA OR ANY OTHER LAND TO ETHIOPIA
 FOR I AND I SINGS :

Ethiopia is a better land
 Ethiopia is a better land
 Ethiopia is a better land
 Oh yes, Rastafari, oh yes.

BORDER GUARDS WAS SENT TO DRIVE AWAY FOREIGN TRADERS
 WHO INDULGES IN STEALING HUMAN CARGO.
 I AND I HAD TO LOOK FOR I AND I CATTLE.
 IT LIKENED UNTO THOSE WHOSE LOT WAS CAST AND THROUGH THE HEART
 VOLUNTEER TO BE CAST INTO BABYLON, TO FULFIL THIS PART OF THE
 RASTAFARIAN CHRISTIAN DISCOVERY :

We are volunteer Ethiopians
 Agitating for our rights
 And we never stop fight
 Until we break down Babylon walls
 Come and join the army
 The army of our God and King
 He is our leader
 Come rally round his throne.
 He's such a leader here we are today
 Haile Selassie is a rightful leader
 And we all must win.

LOOK, WE TOOK THE LONG WALK
ACROSS THIS PASSAGE WITH OUR HANDS AND FEET IN CHAINS,
WITH FASTENERS TO OUR NECKS AND ANKLES.
SO WE ALL CAME DOWN HERE.

Here we are in these lands.
No one knows where we stand
The Hands are upon us all day
So we cry and we sigh
For they know not their God.

THESE ARE THE WORDS OF CONSCIOUSNESS
THAT LEADS I AND I TO KNOW THAT ONLY RASTAFARI KNOW I AND I
THE EARTH'S MOST STRANGEST MAN.

Our forefathers feel the pangs of the chains
See his blood running out of his veins
Our slavemaster still provoke our yoke
And still tempt our God in his eyes,

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN WRITTEN WITH PRIDE AND INTEGRITY
OF A PEOPLE SO PROUD OF CHEATING AND DECEIVING OTHER PEOPLE
UNTIL THEY FIND GLORY IN DECEIVING THEMSELVES
WHICH IN I AND I SCHOOL OF THOUGHT
I AND I ANALYZES IT AS DELUSION.

Now we know the truth
You find out who wearing the boot
Of taking people business on their head
Might as well be dead, dead, dead.

THE BRITISH PRODUCES AN ANGLICAN CHURCH ORDER.
THE ROMAN A CATHOLIC CHURCH ORDER.
OTHER DENOMINATIONS SPRANG FROM THESE TWO COLONIAL POWERS.
BABYLON AND THE DAUGHTER OF BABYLON BOTH HARLOTS
WHO HAS POLLUTED THE EARTH WITH THE WINES OF FORNICATION
CHECK WITH THE VIEWS OF I AND I AND THE BIBLE AND THE GEOGRAPHY
OF THE EARTH
DIVIDE IT BY TIME, MULTIPLY IT BY EVENTS, AND TELL I AND I THE ANSWER -
BE WAR OR PEACE?
LEARN THE SONG OF ZION :

Was will never cease to be
Till man conscience set him free.

IN THE CHURCHES I AND I LEARN THAT GOD HAS MANY NAMES.
THE REPRESENTATION OF GOD BY THE MAN CHRIST HAS CAUSED THE INSTITUTION
OF LEARNING TO BE ON A REVOLTING.
I AND I WAS ONLY ALLOWED TO USE THE NAME THAT SATISFY THE CHURCH.
THERE IS A DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH WHICH SAID :
" MY NAME SHALL BE TERRIBLE AND DREADFUL AMONGST HEATHEN. "
I AND I CHANT THIS CHANT IN THIS TIME TO FULFIL THIS LINE :

A new name Him got and it dreadful among them
The heathen no like Him name
A new name Him got and it dreadful among them
The heathen no like Him name.

SUCH NAME I AND I SAY
SHOUT IT OUT IF YOU ARE NOT A HEATHEN :
RASTAFARI, RASTAFARI
GIRMAVI KADAMAWI HYLASE.

Haile Selassie is the chapel
The power of the Trinity
Build your mind on this direction
Serve the Living God and live.

Take your troubles to Selassie
He is the only King of Kings
The conquering Lion of Judah
Triumphantly we all must sing.

I search and I search
This great book of mine
In the Revelation
Look what I find.

Haile Selassie is the chapel
All the world should know
That man is an angel
And our God the King of Kings.

Appendix 3Rastafarian Public Meeting, April 26, 1970 at Port Antonio

OPENING WITH CHANTING AND DRUMMING :

Angels are waiting
 Angels are waiting
 Angels are waiting
 To carry the tidings home

Come away
 Come away
 Come away
 Haile Selassie I call you
 Angels are waiting
 To carry the tidings home.

Ethiopians walk in a righteous way
 Ethiopians walk in a righteous way
 The righteous way is to wait and pray
 The righteous way is to wait and pray
 Ethiopians walk in a righteous way.

Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Have a little light in I
 I am going to make it shine
 Shine, shine, shine, shine.

Garvey saw
 Marcus Garvey saw
 Garvey saw the light burning over there.

Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Tell out King Rasta doctrine around the whole world
 Get your Bible and read it
 Read it with understanding
 Tell our King Rasta doctrine around the whole world.

Leave Babylon
 Leave Babylon
 Leave Babylon
 And come
 Don't mind your friends
 For they will laugh you to shame
 When Christ was here
 They have done him the very same
 Look in your life
 See how you live
 Leave Babylon and come.

THE CHAIRMAN OPENS THE MEETING - BROTHER GORADE :

People of Port Antonio, Greetings.

Tonight we have come all the way from Kingston to deliver a message to all you church members of Black people - all you Roman Catholics, Church of England, Baptist, Methodist, Pocomania.

The Rastaman come to Port Antonio tonight to tell you that Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God, is on the scene of action now in the body of Rastafari in Ethiopia.

We are telling you about a Jesus that come from a Black woman's womb. Virgin Mary, this Black woman, who bear this boy Jesus Christ, is Black.

Brethren, let me freely speak unto you this evening of the Patriarch David, what dead and bury, and his sepulchre what goes on to this very day - check Acts of Apostles, Second, 29.

Being a prophet God swore unto David that according to the fruit of your line Christ would raise up to sit upon the throne.

Jesus Christ return back to earth now to judge every nation according to their wicked deeds. Whether you know it or not, this is Armageddon.

This is the prophet Ezekial talking the battle of Gog and Maggog.

This is the time when the Black man must be alive unto himself. Do not be fooled by your parsons or by your elders. Nyahman¹ says read ye the Scripture for within the Bible you shall find right.

The Rastaman says can't dead. Why the Rastaman says can't dead? The Bible says the wages of sin is death but the gift of God is eternal life.

Rastafari, the Black man's God, is Black. Jeremiah, 8, verse 21 : I am Black, Black!

All of we are Black. Because you, the Black man is Black, nobody look at you. You the Black woman, nobody look at you. Regardless of your education ability. Regardless you JLP or PNP, with all your GSR'er's² exams and all, you don't get nothing if you Black. You only becomes the doormat of the earth.

You Israel, I know you. You have I chosen, the Black people. We are the Israelites, we are the children of Moses, we are the children of Chalem and Joshua.

The Black man time has come. Whether you know it or not, it is your time.

All today shall turn and overturn. Black man was first ruler of the earth.

Whence cometh the white man? Check Kings Two, chapter 5. Maaman, captain of the King of Assyria went to the prophet Elisha to be cured of leprosy. When this was done, Elisha the prophet says go your way with your money and your rainments.

But the servant of Elisha meets Naaman and says my master does send me for the money and rainments. The servant returned to the house of God wherein Elisha says where art thou?

The servant says I was a hungry devil, I take the money and raiments of Naaman.

Behold, says Elisha, the leprosy of Naaman shall cleave unto you and your children's children. Until the white man we now have.

And if the Bible isn't right, then the policeman don't kiss it in the courthouse.

1619 the devil, which is the white man, bring the children of God to hell, which is Black man in Jamaica. We don't come fe tell you turn Rasta. We come fe tell you say, understand yourself - for you already in Armageddon.

Look in Trinidad, look in Russia, look in Angola, look in Vietnam. What is happening. You are not blind. He that sleepeth, take your bed and walk, man.

Understand what the Black man, the Rastaman say. Look man, whether you be police or private, arise and shine for your light has come.

We are not going to be late with you tonight. It is an urgent message, the time is come. To give judgement in Port Antonio. We come here in 1953, all land dead. We come back, see headless coconut trees in Portland.³

Black man, the time has come, man, to love one another. We will call the first speaker of the night in the person of Brother Tikur, to speak to this holy meeting.

DRUMS AND CHANTING : Have a little light in we
Going to make it shine
Have a little light in we
Going to make it shine
Shine, shine, shine, shine.

BROTHER TIKUR : Perfect Love.

Tonight we are delivering a message. For the past twenty-five years the brethren have been teaching you of the returned messiah, his Imperial Majesty, Haile Selassie.

Many of you are not conscious of your history. Your history involves your past periods, your relationship with your abductors. Your slavemasters who brought our foreparents into the Western world in 1619. Many of our people today are not capable of equating themselves with the African Heritage.

In the days of colonialism we learn to appreciate Jesus Christ. We was taught Jesus Christ in the person of a white individual, to transform the true knowledge from the original colour and concept, so as to induce an inferior sense of view of the Ethiopian people.

Now, being a Rastafari brethren - that means inspired by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I - we are here tonight to revitalize your understanding and your memory of the past. No leader, whether it be prime minister or religious, wants you, the Africans stuck in the Western world, to realize that Ethiopia is calling you home.

I and I, the Rastafari brethren, want you to develop a sense of pride and integrity within yourselves, to feel and to know that your heritage, your history, is of noblest origin of mankind today.

We don't want you to feel as if you are inferior to any other person. Your God, His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie, is dignified. And you Black people must always maintain a sense of pride knowing that the Rastafari brethren is related to you.

What the Rastafari brethren teaches is love, perfect peace, brotherhood, to all people. We are not discriminating against any race of people by their colour, but we have to remind you about the past - about those who cause us to be here.

Most of you accept yourself as a Jamaican. Originally you are not a Jamaican. All Black people are Africans. The true Jamaican people originally were the Arawak Indians who Columbus came and saw here.

Britain in 1655 fought against Spain, conquered Jamaica, set up their capital in Spanish Town, and from that day until now, we, the African people, become subject to slavery and all manner of abuse.

Our forefathers was taken away from Africa, not because they desired to be taken away but because they were brought here as a noble people. As it is said in the prophecies, princes and princesses was thrown out amongst slaves. Many of us here is of noble origin.

We are not to be mindful of other people. We are to be mindful of ourselves, to reculture ourselves so we can have a sense of pride without adopting the Europeans' way of living.

We are a people that is possessed with the true worship of the Almighty God. We are not showing you Jesus is an illusion. But we are showing you the Returned Messiah, who is seated upon the throne of David, in the person of His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I.

Many of you scorn the Rastafari brethren because of the false doctrine handed down to your grandparents. Your grandparents hand down the same false doctrine and false worship to you. You in turn, pass on the same false doctrine to your children.

The Almighty God has said I will pour out my spirit unto all flesh. Your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams. The visions that the old man see is the things which we, the young man today, is interpreting. What we are interpreting to you is for you to realize that His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I whether know it or not, is your keeper, your strength, your pride, and your personal belonging.

Most of us want wealth. There cannot be any wealth without land possession.

Most of the land that is owned in this country is not owned by you, the African people.

Because your foreparents was a victim of enslavement, and because they labour in the plantations getting no financial benefit, many of us today becomes the victim of poverty.

You have children and you cannot sustain them.

The government welcomes privilege through the sacrifice of people like Paul Bogle, Marcus Garvey, William Gordon, and other African leaders here in Jamaica who stood up for you, the Black people.

The government today becomes privileged on account of them. They declare themselves prime minister of an independent country. But the true purposes of these sacrifices for you, your ancient and cultural rights, are denied you.

Now His Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie comes to break oppression and his servants will be freed to roll away oppression and to rule with an equality.

Now, if you want, and you don't have, you steal.

Yet by the Bible, the Ten Commandments, thou shall not steal.

You having no land possessions, having your children, working for them to raise their life and suffering, but having no position - your children grow up hooligans.

Yet we the African people, we are gifted, we are endowed with wisdom, knowledge, and understanding. We have all the tales and the history of mankind. The Ethiopians were the first people to teach right from wrong.

We the Rastafari brethren, we are denied our mother and our father, and our sister and our brother, and our financial position, to take unto this your reawakening of spirit. To enlighten you, the Black people where you are coming from.

Haile Selassie I exercise good morality among all European nations in 1936. His Majesty exercises self respect and decency whereby your offspring can be proud.

This is what we want you to realize.

Land as I said before, constitute all the wealth of the earth. Most of the land today is owned by the slavemasters' children who cause our fore-parents to labour without pay.

The wealth and riches that our parents should have today so we children benefit from it. All that wealth goes right back into the hands of the slavemaster children. Today you are a victim of circumstances, having nowhere to lay your head.

BROTHER GORADE

Yes, beloved, that was Brother Tikur who speak to you very frankly of his opinion towards the Black philosophy to you, the Black people. Everything is possible if you only believe when that trumpet sounds you shall truly be there. There is no mistaking when me say Rastafari is the Living God.

AS MEETING CONTINUES OUTSIDE IN TOWN CENTRE, SCENE SHIFTS TO CONVERSATION IN A LOCAL SHOP ...

BROTHER MARRA (FROM KINGSTON) :

That is a drawing of paradise. (POINTING TO A PICTURE IN ETHIOPIAN OBSERVER) Ethiopia's a paradise, you know. Jamaica's a jungle.

So when you see we come down, we come to tell all people of King Rastafari and about the slavemaster, what the teacher never did give we.

For we know the Almighty God power does rise you up and we come to you. Is a work no one can do, only the almighty God, Emperor Haile Selassie.

This is a jungle, here, Jamaica. The highest man in the world come from Africa. The highest man in the world that. (POINTING AT A PICTURE OF THE EMPEROR).

If you no want say him Almighty God, the man a show you him is the highest man. No man, you can't find a power higher than this man.

If you can find one now, tell me of him. Yes, now man, te ras, tell me of him if you can find one at this moment. His majesty man, Emperor Haile Selassie I, man, this is the man, man, God returned, the Christ, that sitteth upon David throne in Ethiopia.

This man a here, see, him a preach a whole world, to remind them of them dynasty, them heritage, the same African blood stream, you know. A royal blood stream.

Is that how it come to pass to do a work. But we na a get pay from no one. We don't have a paymaster there.

Her what the man I say now. Solomon wise man family, yes, man. So is we who's going to bring back these East man here.

Marcus Garvey did tell we of our parents, we never take it in.

We have to bring back the people into the Marcus Garvey thought. Fe him prophecy when a king is crowned in Abyssinia, the time is near.

True Jamaican only Red Indian, Arawaks. That mean you came in a chain as slave. Chain around the neck you know, and hands. Right? A slave, seen?

Is the Almighty God now come to beat the salvemaster for I and I fe bring him down. To bring Him dow so I and I save. I and I have no power for that. Him one man can do it, bring down the noble at his feet.

You no see it? I and I see it.

LOCAL RESIDENT :

So them slow?

MARRA :

So this is the time now man, to stop look upon your brother and criticize.

LOCAL :

But I never do such thing yet.

RASTAFARI SISTER :

You no do it man, but how you know other man, how him stay? As Africans we shouldn't criticize one another.

MARRA :

This is the time to wake up, stop sleeping. Have to wake up to the call of Africa.

Can't continue to look up in the sky for Jesus to come here. By the time Him come your neck crimp.

Jamaica is a little island, right?

Them say out of all the parishes one parish is the garden parish, right? A St. Ann's that, right?

Well, you a go into St. Ann's now and see the whole of it dig up. Come like shell hit it. Dig up from bauxite, man.

That means, if you had a garden, and dig it down to dust man, can any more fruit bear there?

LOCAL :

No, I have to lose.

MARRA :

Good, you have to lose.

Look upon it now, who, who, WHO, in charge of all those things there?

Who are the managing people or the people who organize these things?

The slavemaster man, that is an American firm, I want you to understand that.

That's why, when them ready, them send up some men from America, they pull the chain from we hand and foot, but we slaves same way.

We still have chain on we same way, right?

So look now. Seeing as all these things is going on - for God says musn't notice sky, you know, notice what go on around you, right? - seeing as all these things going on, if you were a garden and can't bear no fruit, what kind of fruits do you have down here?

So you see, is every day you wake up and more sufferation. This couldn't be your home then. This is for you to realize, Black man, this isn't your home, you know.

Because you don't have it.

RASTAFARI SISTER :

You can't walk now in some certain streets here now. What happens when them done develop it up, when American people come take it over? Can't walk on a little more from this when them done develop it up, hear them : No walk there! Have to keep one side like South Africa.

MARRA :

You look now at the best part of the highlands of Jamaica. Is occuppied by who?

The slavemaster man, which is foreigners them as it be you want to call them.

LOCAL :

Me have no land.

MARRA :

Where the place them put we to live now? City. Babylon.

No tree, ever see a tree? No tree no de de, you know. No tree no de de. Them call it the city.

That pretty tree you know, take away bad elements within the air from man, you know. So your temper be cool and you meditations nice, right?

Well, it come now, the air out of trucks, bus, car, everything that we have with we now, regardless of the people them who destroy the tree to help us.

Woe be unto them that destroy man.

For not one stone what? Shall be left upon the other. So look upon it good.

Is this thing go on now. Confusion around the world, right?

Everytime you see another building go up, more pressure come down upon you to do the backbuilding.

LOCALS :

Yes, yes, yes ...

MARRA :

That means things rise so much, and it na upset them, you know.

LOCALS :

Poor people get the lick all the while!

MARRA :

All the while! cause we are the masses.

Look man, if we the masses put down one cent every minute, you know how much money that? We the masses, you know, come give them one cent every minute, you know how much money that?

Look here, man, we'll fight, you know. (POUNDING TABLE WITH FIST)

We the masses, you know, of Jamaica. One cent, one cent, one cent - you know how much money that, brother?

So you see, the slavemaster plan them things - like me and you - bring them one cent all the while. Them, man, them. You no see it?

Thus we did have four hundred years!

And we can't show we a think more than in a prison!

Hear how the land develop here now

Through the wickedness of the people - fertilizer.

And you know say anytime them a put fertilizer upon land and they keep put it upon land, food can't come.

You only put it one time. Keep on putting it and food can't come.

That mean the population a gone down.

Me see them plan this word birth control.

Them control usual behaviour, you know. Them control your own family.

One must look upon all them kind of thing there, right? Cause Marcus Garvey say this is the last days.

Black people, read the Gleaner, every magazine you can get, the Bible.

Is now the interpretation of the Bible come up, you know, because the parson tell you of a man name Jesus.

Jesus, a white man, you know, white and blue eyes. You see what the white man do him, right? So God couldn't be a white man.

We come to preach that man know himself. Cause any kind of man what know him culture, know him God.

But confusion here. You see it, you see it, you see it, to rotted.

Coolie born a Jamaica and say him is Indian; Chiny born a Jamaica and say him is Chiny; but Black born a Jamaica no say him is African - him say him a Jamaican.

Jamaica mean doorstep if you look in a dictionary. Don't mean a thing.

Everybody else have a home where them come from.

LOCAL :

A Black man, African, true, true.

MARRA :

We never want no Rastaman call you a Rasta. Are you of Israel?

We as disciples see it, and if you no want to accept it ...

RASTAFARI SISTER :

Na the long hair we a deal with but the rights of Black people.

We na deal with the long hair and all them things but you watch - if you live in your parents' house right now, and you say God and you na deal with Jesus, and a talk your rights, and why Africa you come from, and things like that - first thing your mother will tell you is say you is a Rasta.

Your mother say you turn Rasta pon me - you a turn Rasta pon me because you a talk about Africa.

Them no know what Rasta mean. Rasta a title. It mean prince. The call him family Tafari and true Ras mean prince, them call him Ras Tafari.

As you start say is Africa you come from, nobody don't say nothing, for a India him come from.

We no come from nowhere. We a nowhereian.

MARRA :

But you know this time man should wake up. Tell your brethren. Make them know.

LOCAL :

But them call that preaching a Rasta. ...

SISTER :

No, them have the bad wine, full up with bad wine, full up with bad wine.

So when them need new wine now, them drunk already with the bad wine.

Them need a whole heap of things to clean them out.

Foolishness, that. How people stand up look up in the sky and hear them trumpet blow up in the sky.

And as them see a man a come out there, them run away like them see duppy⁴ a come. Jesus couldn't catch one of them.

For them say you have to dead to go to heaven.

Everyone wanna go heaven, but no one wanna dead.

God a tell you say, me a God of the living. Him rise Lazarus and tell you say, you can't a praises me in the grave. A live man God a deal with.

MARRA :

Do dead men ever get up?

LOCAL :

None at all.

MARRA :

Then what kind of doctrine the parson come tell you say when you dead, you alive?

When Black people done come to the realization what is going on?

ACTION SHIFTS OUTSIDE. DRUMS AND CHANTING AGAIN.

Babylon you gone down
Babylon you gone down
Babylon you gone
Babylon you gone
Babylon you gone
And your throne gone down

Upon the mountain see Rastafari stand
Out of his mouth come fire and smoke
I look around him as if I were night
I ask King Rastafari to be my guide

For everytime I feel the spirit
Moving in my heart
I pray
For everytime I feel the spirit
Moving in my heart
I sing

Rastaman a whip
Whip down
Rastaman a whip
Whip down

Rastaman a whip down Babylon
 With your fireball
 Burn down Babylon
 With your long tooth drum
 Beat down Babylon
 With the lightning bolt
 Strike down Babylon

I wanna go home a Ethiopia land
 Rasta wanna go home a Ethiopia land
 Wanna go home a Ethiopia land
 Oh Jah Rastafari oh Selah

Open the gate make I repatriate
 Open the gate make I repatriate
 Open the gate make I repatriate
 Oh Jah Rastafari oh Selah

BROTHER MASKARAM :

1970 is a year that all governments of the world is asked by the United Nations to present a census. Now, you people don't understand Rasta, so try and understand we. Not even we understand ourselves.

Learn this : of all the countries that asked to present census, no country facing the problem like Jamaica. Hear what them have to say about Jamaica in Time magazine, one of the most informational magazine. Them say a Jamaica Rasta believe head counting forbidden by scriptures.

People who calculates people's speech, calculate sedition. And I don't know what I'm going to say - it might be calculated sedition.

Now, you people might not understand what is constitution and constitutional change, and government and authority, and admin and law.

You only claim you are a civil lave, and yet the police come and say don do this, and don do that. You have a right to challenge what the police say. But you learn this after Rastafarian.

We are the most dynamic force in the entire world. Why? Because we have a tongue that unleash truth, that don't want expose. Truth hurts more than ganja.

If I start ask any questions, you won't answer or you can't answer.

Make I ask you : you carry African slaves from Africa come here?

Yes, you must answer yes.

And if you carry African slaves come here, and you find the people them in Jamaica want go Africa, don't challenge that. For you a dunce then.

These African people are not only in Jamaica. Anywhere you go see Black people, they are African.

African is the most confused set of people. Jamaica become an assylum.

We have seen the Black man quarrelling, warring among himself. Him call for freedom. What count for freedom, I don't know.

What if me say you're dumb, and can't talk, and you're free? Your tongue glued and you can't talk.

Me don't want to free dumb to talk fuckery.

This Black man didn't even understand that him dumb when him a call for freedom. It's true him want him tongue loose fe talk.

Well, how you gonna free me speech and you didn't teach me how to speak?

The British slavemaster, is fe him tongue you use now.

That is the holy communion of the slavemaster : beat out my tongue and put in king tongue and call me dumb. That is why we want free dumb.

I want my own tongue when I call for freedom!

It surprises slavemaster to see how much we accept him tongue. It cause great contention and confusion among ourselves. It causes slavemaster to sit and laugh.

You said Biafra, and yet it's Nigeria. You said Congolese, and yet it's Congo. You said Vietnamese, and yet it's Vietcong. That is Colonial people attitude.

The government of Jamaica ask us Rasta to go around Jamaica as a group of us and to influence brethren to respond to questions asked by people who will be starting census next week.

I didn't have to ask them why them want to take people's census. All those things add up to government administration and operation. You have governments who come to power who don't want to know a damn about nobody. They don't want nothing more than you register in police station if you dead.

But Jamaica becomes an international community. Not just the British Isles anymore.

Then the Minister of Government have to be going to foreign countries who claim that him people more retarded and underdeveloped. Have to ask them for assistance.

Them go a Canada, them go America, them use me, Rasta, as a borrowing card. Rasta, poor Rasta - Rasta don't even know how build himself a tatoo. Rasta don't have no work for himself. Everybody to them's a Rasta.

You might don't know we Rasta don't afraid to criticize the prime minister for we not impressed.

Why?

We have associated ourselves with a revolution, a social revolution.

A revolution is a system, and our revolution is to break away from a system ...

NOISE :

Hold on, man, hold on.

SUPERINTENDENT OF POLICE :

If you are going to keep a meeting here you must get my permission. You must get my permission. I have not given my permission. Who is responsible?

BROTHER GORADE :

Well, all of we, all of we.

POLICE :

I am the superintendent here you see. We have not given you permission.

GORADE :

You see, it is not a religious or a political meeting. It is a divine meeting, and no law can apply. What's the difference now. Here we are, we have a meeting.

POLICE :

You can't hold a meeting without permission. I mean, if you had applied for permission, I would have got permission...

GORADE :

Hold on, tell me something. A divine meeting, we must have a permit for a divine meeting? It's not a political meeting, using a sound system.

POLICE :

Yes, yes. You should have a permit. Whatever meeting you're going to keep, you should have a permit.

GORADE :

A divine meeting?

POLICE :

Whatever meeting you're going to keep, you should ...

GORADE :

Me, personal? Rastafari?

POLICE :

No, not especially just the Rastafari. I have known more Rastafari than you.

GORADE :

Well, just allow we to disperse one another ...

POLICE :

How long you going to take?

GORADE :

We just want to bring our meeting to a close.

POLICE :

Who is going to talk?

GORADE :

I am going to talk. It's not just a lecture, it's bringing our meeting to a close.

POLICE :

Don't take longer than fifteen minutes. Just write a letter in future asking permission.

CRIES OF TUNE UP THE DRUMS, TUNE UP THE DRUMS.

DRUMS BEGIN AND CHANTING OF PEACE AND LOVE :

Peace and love
Peace and love
Peace and love
I leave with you
Peace and love

If your mother won't come
If your father won't come
If your brother won't come
Peace and love
I leave with you
Peace and Love

BROTHER GORADE CALLS OUT EACH LINE OF THE ETHIOPIAN NATIONAL ANTHEM AS THE CROWD SINGS IT AFTER HIM :

Ethiopia the land of our fathers
The land where our God loves to be
As storm clouds at night swiftly gathers
God's children are gathered to thee.

With our red, gold, and green blowing over us
With our Emperor to shield us from wrong
With our God and our future before us
We hail and we shout and we sound :

God is our Negus Negus I
Who keeps Ethiopia free
To advance - to advance
With truth and right
Truth and right
To advance - to advance
With love and light
Love and Light

With righteousness be
We hailed to our God and King
United we'll be
One God for us all.

DISPERSION OF PEOPLE.

Appendix 4

The following is a transcription of a reasoning session between Brother Maskaram and Brother Tabbot :

Brother Maskaram : These birth control people want Rastafarian participation in the family planning. Is a conference them holding at university.

Brother Tabbot : Well, the first point we make is that we are unalterably opposed to family planning.

Maskaram : Is not really family planning but is birth control.

Tabbot : Seen, for the term family planning is really a misnomer. In fact, there is evidence that support this, because the intention of the family planning people this time is to make the programme wider, much more comprehensive.

Maskaram : For instance, the last programme they had, from the last family planning conference they keep down at St. Ann's Bay, you will notice that them were largely from the church, ministers of religion and things like that. But this one incorporate now doctors and scientists, ministers of government and politicians in general. But one thing struck me at that - them come to a conclusion already, already come to a conclusion that they intend more a genocide. For the Minister of Housing, one who should really deal with a family, isn't invited at the conference. This arose my suspicions that these people not seeking any advice or ultimatum what to do. They already decide what to do.

Tabbot : True, true. In getting this man's opinion - this man who oppose that programme - in getting this man's opinion and in giving him as much time as the Minister of Health or the Minister of Finance, maybe they even plan to get certain information from you so that they can, I mean, stop up some gap.

Maskaram : One thing struck me again, Why them have to be inviting specialists from U.K. and United States and all the Caribbean Islands?

Tabbot : Is an international thing. And we have been advised all along by foreigners. We have been advised that this programme is good for us by foreigners and so we adopt it.

Maskaram : Seen. And like how Jamaica facing an austerity programme now, would birth control really be the best for Jamaica at a time like now? For it is a provoking situation asking people to kill them children, and kill wife and kill husband at the same time with the same method. Dealing with a destitute family and at the same time asking them to cooperate in a welfare programme. So we would like to bring out now wherein regulating this population situation to a media where them say we must follow Europe for instance, Britain, with 53 million and a 20 per thousand birth rate. They say that we in the West Indies, Jamaica in particular, having over 26 per thousand birth.

Tabbot : Right now?

Maskaram : Yes, and they would like to bring it down now to 20 per thousand within the next 7 years. Still, by quoting for instance 65,000 baby born each year, and the population is 2 million now, and if they allow the average birth of 65,000 babies, then within the next 7 years we will have close to two and a half million people. And they going to make a virtue of stamping out births, wherein they might be suggesting to kill at least 980 out of every thousand of the 65,000, by only bringing 1,000 baby out of the 65,000. And is Dr. _____ from the children hospital who make such a suggestion. Now, what they would want Rastafarians to come and say in a conference like this, where is a moral situation, is a total demoralizing issue to ask a Rastaman with his high sounding concepts to even sit in a conference and discuss among Klu Klux Klan industrialization and development, for that is all it called for. You recommend birth control system wherein one can go even to free clinic and get treatment.

Tabbot : What kind of treatment?

Maskaram : I mean taking the oral contraceptive. This is a government subsidy, with government subsidized money, which is a racket, a medical racket.

Tabbot : So it is easier to get attention at the clinic dealing with birth control than say even normal medical services. It is since publicized that you have a whole lot of clinics - there is not a parish, not a little village where you don't have a family planning clinic. Whereas, I mean, the clinic where you can get medical services not so widespread.

Maskaram : Well, these people who invite us to this conference give us a pattern where that we should review the birth control situation in Jamaica since Jamaica accept it. Good.

Tabbot : When you say Jamaica accept it, we really mean that some Jamaican in position accept it. I don't think it is accepted by the population as such. It is shown that it is necessary for birth control.

Maskaram : As it is accepted by a cross section of the population, for some people do accept it, you realize.

Tabbot : Seen.

Maskaram : Good. For they have figures to show how much development. How much clinics for instance over the last seven years. They started with a mere 6,000 pounds and one grant is 600,000.

Tabbot : Yes, well them always have money for to do that, you know.

Maskaram : But the money don't really come from us according to them, but from the United Nations. Now this is a United Nations programme.

Tabbot : United Nations?

Maskaram : Yes, United Nations actually give them 67,000 the first time the first year. The second time the first year they went out seeking money United Nations give them 67,000 pounds, for it was the time of pounds.

- Tabbot : Seen. And I think we were the first ones to get a loan from the World Bank to programme for our family planning programme.
- Maskaram : Make we look at it you see. Who them really referring to as family? What composition, what category of this family they are really dealing with. If is an immediate household family...
- Tabbot : You mean race? Racial family?
- Maskaram : I mean, which family them really want to plan for? I mean who them count as family? What category?
- Tabbot : The people most affected by this programme are the members of the lowest income groups in Jamaica which comprise the majority of Black people. So generally, although them might deny it, the programme will be aimed, and the programme is aimed at the majority of lack people in Jamaica. So we have to see it as the Black family. And the people who are planning are by and large not Black. The people who are steering this thing and implementing it and showing that it is necessary for several different reasons that they put forward, they belong to a different family than the people who are going to be affected by the programme. So we have to see it as a similar thing that happened in Moses's time, and the captivity situation, and the necessity to control a captive people. At least so that they don't become a threat to your situation.
- Maskaram : At present these captive people are a threat to the situation. For one of the strongest points of them argument in this overpopulation business is there is 203,000 unemployed. And out of that overpopulation, there is an element which is suffering, unable to go to school because of economic difficulties and things like that. And out of that said population these elements will ignite into various pockets of violence, even being violent upon them own selves. And that also is a situation them ask us to remove.
- Tabbot : Yes, but I mean the scientists, as many as have come in to view this programme, at least the psychologists, they should see the relationship between captive people. In other words, is understandable already, in terms of psychology, why people in captivity fight among themselves rather than their direct enemy. So rather than regard this as violence against society, that they should take the type of police action against, what we really need is sociologists and psychologists to understand this problem. Maybe we have to be the psychologists and sociologists.
- Maskaram : In the behaviour pattern of government, with them understandings - for instance some governments - they might be Black, them personally - might believe within themself that they honestly intend to contribute something to the Black race. Take _____ himself that being a part of the colonial administration he is serving his people with his whole heart in representation and bargaining, and what have you, to help his people honestly. But when him find out that there is an invisible establishment, that envelop even his honesty, then his honest intention becomes a threat to his own conscience, to agree with them.

Something like Psalm 2, "Take counsel against the Lord and against his anointed." For if we are to blind our eyes to the moral issue of this birth control aspect, and leave the situation to the scientists, where if we ever review the situation and see how the scientists out of subsidies build up government grants ... American government don't give a damn if you eat, but we must make such grants for the scientists to make these experiments and tests, going to the moon, and studying how to get rid of ecology, and things like that. This capitalism create this money in the science market where in the scientists will say for instance, that God is even dead. For Him the scientist can create an atmosphere wherein is like you can't see God appear.

Tabbot : Seen, but we know who our God is.

Maskaram : No doubt about that.

Tabbot : This is 1972. Well, 1936 our King experience a similar situation. 1936 witness the attempt to treat Ethiopia as how we see them now attempt to treat the whole non-white group, as far as family planning or birth control is concerned. In other words, the efforts of Mussolini 1936 are fairly well known in Ethiopia, are duplicated over except much more people are involved. Internationally the family planning and birth control programme is directed at non-whites throughout the world. This is a type of the same thing Ethiopia pass through 36 years ago. And the same thing is true, that morality, international morality, is at stake in this time.

Maskaram : This present issue?

Tabbot : Yes.

Maskaram : Well, I want to know how if we should be able to raise the issue through migration. For instance, one of the causes of this need for birth control is through migration.

Tabbot : Seen.

Maskaram : Well, we want to know for instance, if we could use this conference as a stepping stone of making an international declaration of Repatriation.

Tabbot : Is logical.

Maskaram : I mean, if we to be set upon in captivity, then we need to come out of captivity then, more than to take this austere measure of genocide. For you bring it to us now - we must decide with you whether we should have children or not. And whether one should really be born to create the confusion at times, you see.

Tabbot : Another little penny that - nonsense.

Maskaram : Yes, half a cent. A one cent word. A mini-cent. Well, I intend, speaking for Rastafarians on the whole, to ask the churches to separate themselves from these immoral concepts or principles of birth control in all its form, whether it's oral contraceptives or whatsoever contraceptives ... from birth control in general.

- Tabbot : Do they have biblical basis to do this? Do they have support from Bible? I mean, to disassociate themselves from this attempt to limit births ... or control births.
- Maskaram : Possibly, possibly. But, for instance, there is a hypocritical psychology about clergy, pharisees, and scribes and everyone, to take counsel against the Lord and his appointed. So regardless of who they really is at this time, them going to really come and take counsel against the Lord's appointed. No matter how they might disguise or wash or brainwash to try to brainwash anyone about it, what we see happening in Jamaica now, there intend to be a mercy killing.
- Tabbot : Euthanasia.
- Maskaram : Euthanasia. Is like calling in the Rasta to ask him if him agree with such. I mean it might not their intention. They might just want to know your opinion : say what we shall do other than this.
- Tabbot : Other than to say, well, Rasta was there and had an opportunity to say what him want.
- Maskaram : Seen. Well, I feel what the best thing them can do is accept what the good King Haile Selassie do long ago. Have the far-sightedness 50 years ago to say that these people going to use the pretext of pushing you off in one corner, and look at you all now, and say well, you are overpopulated, and the only thing must I do now is gas you.
- Tabbot : No, not gas. They have more insidious methods of birth control.
- Maskaram : Them have all methods, all methods of birth control.
- Tabbot : Them use gas in Ethiopia in 1936, but in 1972 them can use the sterile gene.
- Maskaram : Oh, that is a more scientific method than the germ warfare. But them use all police baton and all dummy bullet that fatal, with alibi that you draw something.
- Tabbot : You draw your breath.
- Maskaram : You see what I mean. For is really fe stop this Black man. If we look upon it in a more intricate part - make we go look with a little Rasta science. For the world might not know that the Rasta situation together is a science. But comparing what we have found in our affairs of reason in this world, the Chiny man make a big impact in this industrial revolution, and per person the Chiny population is much larger that putting all the white man population together. Now that is where this white industrial market feel the blow already. For this Black man intend to buy from the Eastern industrial market.
- So is really to make the water troubled that it call for these technical bridge builders from the white world now to build the bridges over the troubled waters, that East Europe and Africa can't trade in the industrial revolution, these big industries. You see the science of technology that developed

in the east, the waters there is being troubled, that you the black man can't get any development help from the east. And the western world is using a strategy wherein they show, oh, we can be your friend by even advising you, and advising you to kill in itself.

But make we check again. Europe - we have seen where the British and the French have lost in the last World War male. In Britain and in Europe you have this dog-brain society. For their men went to war. Hitler the Nazis kill them out and the bulldog had to fuck their women for them. So they have this dog mentality, the British and the French have this dog mentality, no joke about it.

Tabbot : Dog eat dog.

Maskaram : Yes! And after a period now to get back male to administrate in these foreign occupied territories - Grance occupying 20 African states, Britain occupying 18, and things like that ...

Tabbot : You need a whole heap of manpower ...

Maskaram : Them need male. And them don't need foreigner male. Them need them own native male.

Tabbot : Seen.

Maskaram : So under a that condition now, them going out pussycratzing. Them jazz a pussy. Them go about all over - seven seas and all over - to drop a pickiney and get the male to come. A pussy market. Well, after a while them get too much male.

Tabbot : France or Britain?

Maskaram : Both France and Britain for them get back control. So when the little girl in France can't have a child, or the little girl in Britain can't have a child, you find them overseas males, living in the tropics, have dozens of pickinney. And have male, them all adopt male in them family and carry home male, as what some rich Renchman is doing all now.

Tabbot : Or join the French Foreign Legion.

Maskaram : To go around and look male.

Tabbot : Exporting friendship.

Maskaram : Well, we have seen such.

Tabbot : But still all the same France still encourage her population to increase. In other words a Frenchman gets a certain amount of money for fathering a child, first one and second one ...

Maskaram : That's why them still need territory!

Tabbot : Australia still want a whole heap of population. Australia not practising birth control.

Maskaram : No, for Australia use a method already to get rid of the blacks that were in Australia, to depopularize Australia.

Tabbot : Them kill them out already? The Aborigines? Blackman? Wool hair types?

Maskaram : Uhmm. Yes. Yes.

Tabbot : Seen. A professor of U - Blind a tell me one time, dealing with Rodney '68, say that most of the Aborigines look like him - and him was an Englishman - him say them look more like him than them look like I - man. So him still regard it as ...

Maskaram : A white man gullible you see. But what I was really coming to, you see, is how style and fashion, how Europe proposes style and fashion ...

Tabbot : You mean like mini-skirts?

Maskaram : Yes, and it's being adopted by the eyes of passion.

Tabbot : The eyes of passion?

Maskaram : Yes, these people is very passionate to these things, you know. I mean, they becomes pussycratic, man. When you look at these girls' bati,⁵ how they're bumbo erratic, man ...

Tabbot : True, true. Seen. And the one _____ proposing want to cut manhood now. He is a doctor, Dr. _____ and he propose castration for rape to the council. Me don't understand it, he wasn't elected.

Maskaram : No, no, no, no.

Tabbot : But where this idea come from in Dr. _____'s mind, one can never tell.

Maskaram : He is married to an Australian woman.

Tabbot : A white? Who, Dr. _____?

Maskaram : Yes.

Tabbot : But Dr. _____ Black like I man.

Maskaram : Oh shit, man.

Tabbot : That's just his outside skin. He's white, he's a whitey. He's white inside.

Maskaram : His whole heart.

Tabbot : And he's the one who suggest castration? Now, you see, if they can't get in sterilization in their normal family planning, they say that the rape incidence is so high that they sneak in castration, and you don't know where castration can lead from there. In other words, they might decide to castrate more, not only people who rape.

Maskaram : What causes rape?

Tabbot : That it, we come right back to the mini-skirt.

Maskaram : Oh, so the adoption of this pussycratic fasion in the isle of passion cause a whole heap of confusion and commotion too.

It is it cause right now the raping.

Tabbot : These girls expose too much of their bumbo.⁶

Maskaram : Yes, for you see it is from the mini-skirt to this little pants business, this hot pants ...

Tabbot : Temptation!

Maskaram : And yes, them bumbo erotic, them have to put it in a straight jacket - it sweet Brother _____ man, for you see, it is a tropical country, Jamaica, and sometime man, the sun hot like hell - 96 or 97. And you shouldn't even have on any drawers, and to see girls in silk panty and girdle and hot pants. Now, I say a bumbo like that erratic. You have to put it in a straight jacket, the girdle, and tie it down.

Tabbot : Seen, seen. But you can unlock it ... and then cock it ... and rock it ... and sock it. That is what is going on.

Maskaram : That is what they would like to go on when you have a bumbo-cratic society. That the bumbo cannot contaminate, it can't breed back, it is not a fertile ground any more.

Tabbot : No, not fertile at all.

Maskaram : Do you remember when you was a kid, Jamaica used to have a lot more trees, like coolie plum tree, mango tree, orange tree, all the fruit trees, for the land was fertile. Now you cut down these trees and get a concrete jungle, and still now there is no fertility and you don't want no fertility, so much reproduction. You wasn't afraid of population growth. But the fruit, the fertility from the land, get the people fertile, that soon these people as in captivity, eating good, eating the fruits, these berries, these nuts. Oh, your mother giving you pepper pot soup in those times. And the fruits and these things, make you live until you're 92. Now these fertilizers nothing make you die from before you even conceive, you understand.

Appendix 5

The following is an address made by Brother Maskaram to the Family Planning Conference, held in Kingston, Jamaica, December 15-16, 1972 :

Mr. Chairman, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, Love. You may not respond to love but family planning really enhances love. We are opposing birth control in all its forms - Rastafarian I mean, when I say that - but we are in a season where one remembers birth control for we are entering this time when Christian people - all of us celebrate Christmas, and it tells a story where lowly people are born and become great. The Rastafarians consider abortion an action that is perpetrated upon colonial people, as we observe it.

We were asked to review birth control and family planning in Jamaica and I come to give a talk - our opinion. It is known that Rastafarians are against these things and as I have said, propoganda is completely unnecessary. No one who accepts human dignity and the vast potential of man, no man who understands what human beings can achieve through science and technology would set out to impose a limit upon the number of human beings that can exist upon the earth.

The Jamaican society, in fact, the whole Caribbean complex, is composed mainly of children of captivity - an African family. Man's immortality lives in his progeny. And reaching here this afternoon, this is my toy for Christmas. This is a piece of artwork that I brought from Africa the other day, the only piece of art. It is called a fertility doll. It is the Ashanti people's way of living. We should respect our womanhood, for in Jamaica today we don't have any respect for each other, but this is a symbol for the Ashanti people that our women must be fertile.

Our upbringing is deeply responsible for our rejection of anything trying to be put upon us as Rastafarians. The Birth Control and Family Planning Association always say that the world is over populated and becoming a mini-world.

Now, I should have told you that Rastafarians are the earth's most strangest man and you will find some very strange things of us. We have a way of thinking far, far into things that happen. One of thoughts is how a family like the Jacobs become so attached to family planning in Jamaica, and then when we research we find that in Exodus that Jacot - I will help share that laugh but I don't agree it is a joke for yesterday Mr. Seaga said that it needs a magic to bring about certain things to this situation here. Now, when I refer to Jacob, I am asking all of you whether you are pagan or what, just try and look back on this and tell us something deep and tell us about this Jacob family in Jamaica - they weren't the government of Jamaica, and they from 1931 to now, are carrying on a programme helping the government. Listen to what Mr. Seaga says yesterday, it needs a magic.

Now, is it the foresightedness of the family of Jacob or the inheritance of the Jacob family? If you remember the story how it went, that Joseph, one of Jacob's sons, was sold by his brother, his family, like how a hypocritical psychology has been set up to sell ourselves.
" Oh, I would give an abortion to a particular case where a woman was

raped but I was at the mercy of the law." Now, it is how this programme, this conditioning is coming to us, people who say we are free people and we are a family.

Now, as we Rastafarians check the word. We are not very much educated but we check the word "family" and see "family" means "servant", and professional people are really the family of this present generation, the whole world's family. They are who are serving people who are incapable of serving themselves - the professional people. Now, here we are in a theatre. We are playing a drama that people can come and sit and listen. The bishop says that Jamaica is a Christian country and one can consider the Christian upbringing of the society where we hear our bishops, priests say "Thou shall not kill", "thou shall love the Lord thy God", "suffer little children to come unto me and forbid them not". Now there is abortion of what is considered by some to be a life - abortion which goes beyond the stage of just a mere foetus. Well, that leaves it to professional people to start whether it is life or not.

Racial colonialism has given birth to a monstrous and bloody thing like an invisible colonial establishment. We mean by that, even the same Jacob experienced in Egypt a Pharaoh type treatment that Joseph experienced. What we call in Jamaica over-population, for instance and famine and what distress over-population will bring. He advised his brothers to bring the whole family but he was going to use a trick. The trick was to trick Benjamin to come to Egypt and then frame him for larceny and then get Jacob - Mr. and Mrs. Jacob now - to come and work this magic. Now, when Jacob went to Egypt he found one thing - that it was his family for whom the table was set.

Now, this is the cultural aspect of the Rastafarian rejection of this thing. People are trying to change one's beliefs. We experience what we are experiencing throughout the whole world today - crime and violence and things. If family means a servant and it also means a household and it means a programme of what we are doing here now, talking to each other, asking each other to understand the problems of how a family should be brought up, whether a mother or father is satisfied that they have brought up their children or child or what they have, then we here, the other part of the society, are saying they should give a little more to the have-nots. Then we feel more or less that might be the scare that over-population will bring the haves to near the have-nots, and he might lose all. So I believe in life because crime and violence brings things like that.

The scare of the society of the family coming too close together, by this we have done ourselves much harm, classifying society, have a class bracket where we have a middle class, a lower middle class, a middle middle class, an upper middle class, and you might find out you are lost trying to find the last class. But out of this house of Jacob a birth came that is very much to this birth control business - the birth of Moses. But before Moses was born this same family planning discussion went on and Pharaoh called all of the midwives, who were Hebrews of course, and said all male children born must be killed. Well, Hebrew midwives couldn't do that and when Pharaoh heard that male children were born he said: "Midwife, would you do that? Why you trick us into that?" She said: "No, the Hebrew woman is more lively

than the Egyptian woman and every time she calls she is delivered. " And he said : " No, I am going to make it a law. All Hebrew women who have male children should throw them in the river. " I mean, that was save the girl.

Well, yesterday Mr. Seaga showed us a very scientific way of exporting our population, by exporting the women. I don't know why he should export only women you know, for the Rastafarian is Jamaica, in this society, we are the first people that show that people can be emigrated, by calling for a wholesale Repatriation to Africa. People say we are trying to escape from reality. That is not so. We are only trying to hold on to what is not completely lost - our culture. For it was said by a prime minister of Singapore is a country who suffer the same type of colonialism as Jamaica but they were able to keep their Chinese language somehow, and the prime minister of Singapore say the people in the Caribbean are deculturized.

It is very shameful and painful to say but it is true for we are enveloped with this colonial establishment which is invisible, not being realized by some of us. These grant-in-aid become a social matter that will cause people to want to go to England, America, Canada, to go look for something to help the poor family as the invisible people call the whole programme. Poverty breeds overpopulation. Overpopulation breeds other contempt where poor people are coming to the rich people and therefore we must use a programme to get them off. It happens in all colonial territories and we oppose birth control but not family planning.

We thank Mr. Jacob and Mrs. Jacob for including us in the Jacob family which you know, Moses was saved actually and brought up in Pharaoh's house, a similar circumstance as Jacob's.

Now they are looking for another Moses, someone who can bring something to what they are anticipating will become of the nation later on - population explosion. Presently we do not see any population explosion. We are only asking you people who have too much to share to share before the population gets too near.

(Source : Minutes of U.J.I.N. Conference, December 15 - 16, 1972, Kingston, Jamaica, pp. 80 - 83).

Appendix 6

Position paper by Brother Maskaram on the state of the Rastafarian movement, July, 1970 :

The Rastafarian Movement must be credited to maintain under assiduous circumstances the purposes of the foundation of the movement which is :

- 1) To accept the Truth and Logic of the manifestation of the Living God sitting upon the Throne of King David in the Person of H.I.M. Haile Selassie I.
- 2) The Rastafarian Movement found and built its tenets by the interpretation of the Scriptures. Therefore, classify the Rastafarian Movement to that of a religious movement who advocate Peace and Love, Unity and Reorientation of a lost Race of People through Slavery, Redemption and Repatriation back to our forefathers' land.
- 3) The Rastafarian Movement advocate a non-violence and a non-political policy uses the media of passive resistance through a non cooperative system.
- 4) The Rastafarian Movement manage to establish its claim to the Jamaica Govt., for a Repatriation to a land grant in Ethiopia which was graciously granted by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I to Ethiopians abroad, " Black People of the Western World ".
- 5) It was established that the Rastafarian Movement was infiltrated by a militant element who try to force the Rastafarian Movement to adopt a military approach of a govt. overthrow in 1960.
- 6) A Government attack on the movement with false accusation of subversive activities brought forth some Consciencious thought of Reality to the Movement.
- 7) The Govt. send to Africa, a delegation to find out the facts of a land grant in Ethiopia and other parts of Africa for the Rastafarian Movement wanted to go to Africa, so we all said then, when we were under attack.
- 8) The Rastafarian Movement began to fail when they failed to accept direction from one amongst us. Fail in recognizing leadership.
- 9) The Rastafarian Movement began to fail when they failed to recognize the land grant gift as a reality and failed to cooperate with the occupiers of the said land grant, under pretext of organizational name and the assumed right of ownership of the said land grant.
- 10) The Rastafarian Movement is subjected to petty strifes and jealousies and misunderstandings, amongst each other and a lack of qualified British Intelligence.
- 11) The Rastafarian Movement is without a stable objective united for the Rastafarian Movement.
- 12) The Rastafarian Movement needs to identify itself as a unique movement to be effective in an international venture of Repatriation without Problem.

The Rastafarian Movement should bear in mind these natural facts of the Rastafarian Movement. Let's not try to fool ourselves or anyone else about what the Rastafarians want : Who is a Rastafarian? The question who is a Rastafarian can be answered by everyone who accepts the King of Kings of Ethiopia as the " Messiah ". But who is an Ethiopian? is a far different question and a more unique answer. An Ethiopian cannot change his skin. This is a skin Identification. H.I.M. attribute it to Blood Brothers, not Soul Brothers. Our Blood must be thicker than our Souls, it's more real and can be seen run through the veins and down the drains when we are slain. Now, let's take a really good look at what is taking place since we all make it known that we all want to go to Ethiopia.

THE FACT IS :

- 1) The land grant at Shashamane was given to the " E.W.F. Inc. " but this organization was an institution of Black People. (Ethiopians Abroad)
- 2) The Rastafarian Movement was an established movement before the E.W.F. but the Rastafarian Movement is not an organization while the E.W.F. is an organization.
- 3) The administration of the E.W.F. Inc. H/Q base in America and the administration of the land grant through the E.W.F. H/Q in N.Y. was responsible for getting people on the land grant.
- 4) Rastafarian Brothers become members of the E.W.F., pay many years dues and subscribe to rallies and various functions only to be insulted by brethren of the E.W.F. who are not Rastafarians.
- 5) Brethren become an opposition to the E.W.F. through these tendencies which does not add good to our endeavour.
- 6) Rastafarians made representation through their ambassadors 1964 - 1965 to the Imperial Ethiopian Govt. for separate lands because they see no possible way of cooperating with the administrators because they are Jewish, and do not share the faith of the Rastafarian Representatives.
- 7) This brings about a controversy since the Ambassadors left Ethiopia back to Jamaica and develop more hope in the Rastafarian Movement of making Representation for separate land grant for the Rastafarian Movement.
- 8) Brethren from the same Ambassadorial Establishment, the African Repatriation Committee of 782 Quincy St., Brooklyn, New York, took the initiative to travel to Jamaica, and was able to get the idea of the Maladministration of the land grant known and understood, and the importance of sending people to secure the land grant because the E.W.F. Inc. in America refuse to cooperate with the Administrators of the land grant.

- 9) Seven members of Local 43 left for New York in 1965 to see if they could go to Ethiopia from there to occupy the land grant. None of the seven went there but six had to be deported from America while Robinson of New York, the President of the A.R.C., went to Ethiopia.
- 10) After H.I.M.'s visit to Jamaica in 1966, it gave more Brethren the urge to go to Ethiopia, so in 1968, Thompson, Baughs and Williams went. Letters began to come saying man has reached Heaven and welcome everyone. In 1969 seven more went from Jamaica. Before the 1969 batch left for Jamaica we heard of the troubles of the land grant.
- 11) Mr. Carney and Dr. Eaton came from Ethiopia with a report of the conditions in Ethiopia and the sufferage the Brethren are undergoing which aroused the attention of the Emperor of Ethiopia who considered it so grave that He set up a commission to investigate the situation.
- 12) By then several other brethren reached the Land Grant and immediately they enter into the fight of Administration of the land. This move was given E.W.F. Inc. support to E.W.F. Inc. Establishment, who does not prepare to represent the Rastafarian Movement.
- 13) The administrator sent us communication to the effect that the Imperial Ethiopian Government be solely responsible for the Rastafarian Movement.
- 14) The Commission the H.I.M. set up made a report of the findings with its recommendations.
- 15) The Prime Minister went to Ethiopia on a rush to see the Rastafarian family living at Shashamane. It was reported that after meeting with H.I.M. Haile Selassie I, the Prime Minister Shearer, made a second visit to Shashamane and made a newspaper report to the effect.
- 16) The Parliamentary Opposition, Mr. Michael Manley, went to Ethiopia, visited the Rastafarian Brethren at Shashamane and reported that he had made certain steps to secure long term loans and secure arrangements with the ministers to assist the Brethren with certain farming equipment so they can farm until their loan is secure.
- 17) Then a flow of communication coming from Ethiopia explaining the plight of the Brethren and the dissatisfaction of some of the Brethren, while some asking for personal assistance to develop lands which they had to secure. From the result of their petition to H.I.M. and the report of the Commissioner.
- 18) While Prime Minister Shearer propose to commit Jamaica Govt. to the task of jointly with the Ethiopian Govt. settle the Brethren on other land grant.
- 19) More letters came saying victory has been won and each Brethren gets 10 acres of land with documents attached.
- 20) Then Douglas Manley, in a communiqué from Ethiopia sent this message which openly disassociate the Rastafarian Movement from the Struggle of Repatriation to this land grant, and now poses a very large problem.

Wisdom build houses while folly break them down. If we the Rastafarian have Repatriation as our major objective then what is being said by each one needed to be discussed. We do not want to come in no more contrast with our own people through misunderstanding of organizational terminology (names) of organizations when we all suppose to have the same objective. How must we contribute to a development project of this nature with these Brethren approach to the situation? We now are aware of Brethren with what they call political objective which cannot be decry, but that do not mean the Movement is Political, neither must we believe that it is not the Politicians' intention to get us more politically minded by getting us more economical depress. If the Rastafarian Movement do not start to think to let us meet each other and start to discuss our own home affairs, then someone will have to be doing our own thing for us. Unity is my call. One and all. And let us now arrange a Rastafarian and Ethiopian World Federation Solidarity Conference. We may be able to deliberate and develop our own interest and do not leave it to the Jamaican Politician.

Appendix 7Brother Chuhat Addresses the Crown at Ebenezer Church, May 5, 1970

Hear me now, man, you can't go on in Africa with what you go on in Jamaica. Them hang you up in the square.

A meeting or a dance or a church, it have to keep order. It want discipline and order here right now.

Them people who bust up this thing here are the same people who sell off Black people three hundred years aback. They hunt them and sell them to white man.

This principle should always be extended and exercised within the congregation. If you find one who step out of the way, if you find all step out of the way, what results you gonna get?

Hear me now man. Ethiopia and her church come to Jamaica. If a man don't accept it him is a nowhereian.

And we permit our own little dirty mind and thought to mash up this thing here which His Majesty inspire.

Ethiopians are diplomats, you know. If you talk about Jesus, you and him can meet around here so and him discuss to you.

Ethiopians a diplomat. It isn't nothing direct. Them no talk along lines where them just a tell you so. You have to listen to them and understand them. What them a say and what them a mean, two different things.

In Ethiopia you know, you have the Catholic Church. You think you can go there and beat down the Catholic Church? His Majesty did tell them say, make every Italian stay in Ethiopia, and don't kill no more.

And Italy do Ethiopia terrible things, you know. Kill off every one of his intellectuals and people them who run the country. And Italians there in Ethiopia right now, the Catholic Church.

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church make the sign of the cross and genuflect. Who you think the Catholic get it from? The Catholic copy it from the Ethiopians.

Ethiopian Church talk about Jesus Christ, for He was the first Christian.

But in the name of confusion, Selassie I hear them call Jesus. For if them call His Majesty Jesus, the whole world would be in a puzzle.

But God did tell them say, when I coming you gonna see signs. And me Rasta, see God sitting on David's throne and rule creation. From Him the Rastaman get his inspiration and conception. Knowing His Majesty will return and tell you say, you have to tell it consciously, without any madness.

For if you see Ethiopian come here, your own brother, in a the form of the Church, and you gonna run him out and go on them kind a way, is pure madness, that.

Me say, Ethiopians them in the throne room, and them don't know say His Majesty a God.

But Him Majesty say, if you want to know who I am, just a come down in a Jamaica and you know who I am.

I won't tell you who I am. Just a come down in Jamaica and you hear who I am.

Well, it's synonymous to what a go on here now. The Ethiopian priest come and you no make him talk what him want talk, and get knowledge from what him a say.

And me know Ethiopian no idiot. Ethiopians are very technical people. And they watch you, you know. For Ethiopia bar off from the rest of the world.

The Ethiopian Church bar off from the rest of the churches all over the world. For in 47 AD the churches them did have a conference to find out how them see God.

Well, the Ethiopians say you couldn't deal with God but through the flesh.⁷ And the other rest of churches, them a deal with the spirit. So the Ethiopia cut off from the other rest of the churches.

The Ethiopia Orthodox Church is exceptional from all the rest of churches in the world, with them conception of movement.

Ethiopia a only come to the world, you know, when His Majesty get Ethiopia modernized. You see, all these five years road cut in Ethiopia now, for Ethiopia a lead that ancient Christian life for thousands of years, you understand.

And if man, if Rasta down here, who come to the true realization that colonialism and all kinds of isms are illustrations in them own brains - including a baptism - them can stop these kind of thing here from go on.

When we look at it, our own things just kind a mash up. Regardless of what you defend, you can't leave other people to just say anything about we, Black people.

You must get a beating, you bound to get a beating, whole heap of beating for disobedience.

Me say, His Majesty no partial you know. You get a beating for right now is confusion in Ethiopia, you know. Right now, with the brethren who did stay in Jamaica and did leave, go live in Ethiopia. Why? Their understanding differ. Brethren in Ethiopia cause a whole heap of confusion. And one of them is from I yard.

You have to train yourself from here so when you go a Ethiopia it don't come hard for you to live the way Ethiopians live. You understand. Start train yourself from here that when you reach Ethiopia you can live, you fit in, as one of the Ethiopians brothers and sisters.

You can't go Ethiopia and pass no remarks. You can't go there a do what His Majesty don't want you fe do, and feel say His Majesty going to look upon you and say alright, you and you Rasta. No man, His Majesty going to put judgement upon you.

Any Rasta man who feel say him going to fight Selassie, him can't fight Selassie and love Rasta. Him can't fight Selassie, him fight himself.

What the man say? Him fight himself.

So me'd a like all here, every man here, just as Rasta, to come to the understanding fe know say if you see the Ethiopian brother come, regardless of its a bald head man did in charge of him, or a comb head man did in charge of him, it's His Majesty did in charge of we all, you understand.

But these things only happen, for His Majesty do things how as be it, to just sit and make man do things you know. To just sit and make everyone say what him going to do, you know.

For when this Ethiopian priest come here tonight, mark you, Rasta say and Rasta know the church is the heart where God dwell, but make we mean it.

We know done say God dwell in the hearts of man already. And His name anyone call Him. Suppose you want to call him even Jesus. For the Dreadlocks may a say Jesus and them fight him down, you understand.

But hear what go on now, hear what go on now. The understanding of man differ, you know.

For we should a fully sit down here tonight and a hear what the Ethiopian priest say, you understand.

Well according to how most Rastaman learn it on here, you understand him only see His Majesty when them say Rastafari. But for instance, if an Ethiopian come on here, him will just sum up and him will listen to you. And if true you sound, him will still just keep everything inside. That's how Ethiopians stay, you know.

So is you who must move wisely as a man, who say you a deal with God. You a deal with God as a man, and know how God a administrate His work.

Not to think every man a say Haile Selassie is God.

But is to understand.

For Christ is a man born from woman. His Majesty is a man born from woman. Yet that infinite power whe no man else have, him a have that in a that structure there. In a that fleshy structure there, whe no other man have.

And Jesus Christ same way there. The priest even come say Jesus Christ, and all you have fe say is : Selassie I, give praises.

One thing me tell you say, Rasta, if you a continue this way, we never a leave Jamaica. Me say, Rasta want to centralize himself. Come together all Rasta, whether, you is in a cave hole or under a tree.

ONLOOKER : Yeh, whether you have money or not, come together.

CHUHAT : A no money we deal with, you know, sah.

ONLOOKER : But is money you must if you have none.

CHUHAT : Is a common understanding I look, culture I a deal with.

Look, is Amharic the Ethiopians speak, and English is a second language in Ethiopia.

You have to use Amharic. You can't use English in a no diversity at all a way. Don't use no rasclott form a way, whether pigsticks or them kind a talk in a English. You have to speak Amharic fluently, like how His Majesty come here.

Me say, Rasta man, is a natural thing Rasta good a vex with you fe hear you talk them kind a way there, through you don't want come to the true realization.

You must deal with how Ethiopia want you to deal, if you want go Ethiopia. You have to live like Ethiopians before you go to Ethiopia a live.

Some say Jesus, some say Negus. Me say, the men them sit down there in them camp and smoke too much rasclott green ganja and get them delirious. Can't smoke ganja hungry, it get you delirious, you know.

Rasta man a have fe realize man, whether them locks long and kick him in him heel back, or it short and uh uh uh uh ...

ONLOOKER : Or him head bald ...

CHUHAT : Ah, good, or him head bald, him goin a have fe realize no mash up your things, man. No mash up your own things, man.

A what the bloodclot do you? Because your beard long or your locks long or something, and man's afraid of you? You have fe show more warmth, more love, by accepting your own self. You hate your own self, you start a fire a Ethiopia.

Alright, you in a church but you a warrier? For His Majesty say all kinds of people save. You a warrier, you no deal with the church, alright. You no can rest in your warrier self and leave the church Ethiopians fe go on pray?

While Italians invade Ethiopia, some a pray, the warrier a fight. Some pray that His Majesty a guide those on the battlefield, right?

For Mussolini did go one morning, ring the bell in Ethiopia fe get the people them coming out of them houses and them dwelling place to go into the church. When all Ethiopians hear the bell is them custom, you know, at that certain time them run out grab boots, all boots at doorway, go into them church barefoot, and gone a pray.

Chow, that's how Mussolini gather whole heap and get a mass killing in Ethiopia.

So me want them a understand the history of Ethiopia. Probable if them sit down, reason it good, and understand the more how Ethiopia go, them wouldn't make so much fight and row among themselves.

For this Ethiopian priest must have a report go back on the Rastafarians.

ONLOOKER : You remember the sounds I did give you onetime, Brother Chuhat? Never see a boxer fight himself yet? The boxer fight himself right there now.

CHUHAT : These brethren definitely come to make a tribal warfare. Oh you could a dread, oh you could a locks, is tribal warfare that, you know.

A man not gonna stand up and hear them remarks, you know. An Ethiopian guest come, you have certain responsibilities about him.

GENERAL CONFUSION IN CROWD AS THEY DISCUSS ORIGIN OF ROW :

WOMAN : Me a Rasta and me a baptize under the name of Jesus Christ.

MAN : How you gonna know the true one? Me have on my locks and you have on your locks? And me say Rastafari is God?

WOMAN : Me say, Rasta want some blood clot licks a kill him, is that me say. Watch the man and listen what a go on.

CHUHAT : Understand man, you soon see what I mean. Me is a different Rasta from most Rasta. That's why most Rasta don't like me.

CHUHAT LEAVES THE MEETING.

Footnotes to Appendices

1. Another local term for Rastaman. Deriving from the International Order of Nyahbingi, allegedly a secret organization established by Selassie.
2. General common Entrance Examination.
3. A blight destroyed several cocoanut trees which were left standing.
4. Jamaican term for ghost or spirit.
5. Bati or batty is a local term referring to buttocks.
6. Bumbo is a local term referring to the female pubic region.
7. A reference to the fact that the Ethiopian Church holds that the divine and human in Christ are indivisible, completely absorbed into nature, while the Roman Church maintains that Christ has two distinct natures.

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