

MARCUS GARVEY'S VIEWS OF FASCISM AS THEY RELATE  
TO THE BLACK STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL RIGHTS: AN  
ANALYSIS OF COMMENTARIES FROM *THE BLACK MAN*, 1935-1939

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Marcus Garvey was one of the best known black nationalist leaders in the United States during the 1920s. His opinions on black power and Pan Africanism are well known. Nevertheless, there is a dearth of information and analysis concerning his comments and criticisms of Fascism as they related to the universal human rights struggle of blacks. The analysis presented here is based on an examination of *The Black Man*, a magazine edited and published intermittently by Garvey from 1933-1939. It concludes that Marcus Garvey abhorred Fascism and wanted blacks in the United States and abroad to collectively organize against the movement. More specifically, he thought that, as an internationally known leader of the black race, he was responsible for alerting blacks to what he perceived as the dangers of Fascism.

Much of Marcus Garvey's adult life was dedicated to social activism. Around 1919, he toured the Caribbean and observed the oppressive socio-economic conditions of black people.<sup>1</sup> As a result, Garvey tried to improve the quality of black life there. In Jamaica, he established an agricultural school patterned after Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute. However, Garvey's endeavor did not succeed due to lack of popular and financial support. He traveled to the United States in 1914 to visit Tuskegee Institute and met several black leaders, including W.E.B. DuBois. Around 1916, Garvey organized the Universal Negro Improvement Association in the United States. Through his speeches and publications he advanced a basic philosophy of black pride and dignity, encouraging blacks to build and foster a strong nation in Africa. The organization had over thirty branches by 1919 and reached its peak in the 1920s when it claimed millions of followers.<sup>2</sup> Garvey's decline occurred in 1923 as a result of a financial crisis involving the Black Star Line, his independent steamship fleet.<sup>3</sup> He was tried and convicted in federal court of using the mails to defraud. President Calvin Coolidge paroled and deported him in 1927. Garvey later took refuge in London, England, where he attempted to breathe life back into the UNIA.<sup>4</sup> In 1933, he began to publish *The Black Man*, a news and propaganda medium through which he attacked the rise of Fascism in Europe. Garvey died in 1940 on the eve of World War II.

Fascism emerged in Europe after World War I. Its major tenets were as follows:

1. Totalitarianism, which denoted total control of society by the state.
2. Nationalism, the idea that there can never be harmony among two or

- more distinct peoples.
3. Authoritarianism, the basic premise that citizens have no rights, only duties to the state.
  4. Militarism, the assumption that if a state does not expand it will eventually die.<sup>5</sup>

Fascism triumphed in Italy and Germany. Its leader in Italy was Benito Mussolini, an ex-journalist. In Germany its guiding spirit was Adolf Hitler, an ex-soldier. Both countries suffered political and economic chaos after World War I.<sup>6</sup> Mussolini and Hitler gained the trust and respect of the people in their respective native lands by promulgating Fascism as a solution to the post World War I conditions and thereby helped initiate the Second World War.

Marcus Garvey initially admired Mussolini and Hitler. He seemingly was unaware of the depth of racist philosophy inherent in Fascism and even boasted that Mussolini had copied Fascism from the UNIA's program. Garvey's early commentaries about Mussolini and Hitler suggested that he underestimated their political influence. In an editorial published during June, 1935, he seemed convinced that the two European leaders were only headliners for "propaganda of the press."<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, he described them as harmless and took the position that talk about a possible war was a prefabrication of the newspapers.<sup>8</sup> In another editorial comment, Garvey praised Hitler's virtues. He considered the "German Chancellor a patriot."<sup>9</sup> He did not realize that if Hitler hated the Jews, he also probably hated the black man. Garvey declared: "We admire him as a German Nationalist . . . Hitler stands for a greater Germany, which is right and the Negro should stand for a greater Africa which is also right. Hats off to . . . Hitler, the German Nazi, and hats off to the new spirit of the Negro."<sup>10</sup> Garvey even went so far as to compare Hitler to Charlemagne, Caesar, and Napoleon.<sup>11</sup> He then insisted that blacks also should pursue imperialistic goals: "If colonization is good for the white man, then it is good for the black man . . . The American [sic] Negro and all the Negroes of the Western Hemisphere should think about the schemes of colonization."<sup>12</sup> So Garvey thought it proper for blacks to emulate Hitler and Mussolini's colonization schemes, nationalistic spirit, and imperialistic goals.

As late as 1936, Garvey remained naive concerning the threat Fascism posed for the world and particularly the continent of Africa. In an article entitled, "Hitler's Dream," he stated that Hitler was only dreaming of conquering the world: "Herr Hitler, the German dictator, is having his usual daydreams about Germany and its colonies. The Germans would like to rule the universe . . . Kaiser had some dreams and failed . . . Hitler is still dreaming."<sup>13</sup>



Garvey however, did criticize Hitler when the latter attacked Jews in Germany. The black nationalist wrote in 1935 that Hitler was still brutalizing the Jews and planned to eliminate them. Yet Garvey was confident the Jews would survive: "If they withstood the Inquisition and the subsequent persecution in Spain, they will be able to withstand Hitler's onslaught against them . . . Hitler is making a fool of himself."<sup>14</sup>

In another editorial entitled, "Hitler and the Jew," the black editorialist stated he was convinced the "Jews will destroy Germany . . . Jewish capitalists can destroy men and nations . . . Hitler and his gang will disappear in Germany."<sup>15</sup> Although Garvey admittedly held stereotypical ideas about Jews controlling the international banking system, he consistently emphasized that blacks "are in sympathy with Jews because they are an oppressed minority."<sup>16</sup> Thus, Garvey concluded that Hitler's persecution of Jews was unjustified: "They [Jews] naturally discovered that finance or money was the greatest power in the world and so they attached themselves to money. Because they have done this to a highly organized degree Germans and others are against them."<sup>17</sup> At the same time, Garvey did not support the Jewish people without reservation. An editorial entitled, "The Jews in Palestine," stated: "If they [Jews] had . . . the ideal of a nation centuries ago, they would have been able today to protect their wealth and force of that very nation . . . After piling up tremendous wealth in Germany, the envy of the Germans has driven them from pillar to post."<sup>18</sup> Rather than taking a moral position, Garvey viewed the Jews' problems in practical terms by writing that blacks should learn from their plight. Blacks, he concluded, needed a strong nation to avoid being threatened with annihilation. He declared: "Let the Negro profit by the sad experience of the Jew today."<sup>19</sup> Thus, by late 1936, Garvey was beginning to realize the seriousness of Hitler's intentions of establishing the Nordic race as supreme.

During the mid-1930s, France and England followed a policy of appeasement. They were determined to pacify Hitler. The German Chancellor, on the other hand, appealed to the League of Nations to restore his nation's African colonies that were confiscated as a result of the Peace Treaty of Versailles which ended World War I. Garvey thought such action would be detrimental to blacks in Africa and a threat to world stability. He attacked Hitler's speech to the Reichstag on the matter in May of 1935. "His speech was calculated to appease the world . . . The Negro knows Hitler's intentions toward African colonies."<sup>20</sup> Garvey emphasized that the Negro was depending on the League of Nations to ignore any claim Hitler made for restoration of his country's African colonies. He contended that the return of Germany's African colonies would strengthen an "aggressive Nazi regime" by providing it with raw materials and strategic bases for armed forces if any conflict threatened.<sup>21</sup> The concerned journalist further wrote that the "return of the colonies will not only

be suicidal for the democracies, it will also mean for the transferred population an inhuman lowering of their already miserable standards."<sup>22</sup> The same position emerged in another editorial when Garvey wrote: "We hope they (The League of Nations) appreciate the fact that the Negro is looking on, that he is watching how other people, in their strength, are disposing of him because he is temporarily weak. Germans must expect to reap what they have sowed."<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, Garvey emphatically stated that "the colonies should be turned over to competent black administrators."<sup>24</sup> He predicted that ". . . Negroes all over the world will raise their united voice of protest and condemnation against the scheme."<sup>25</sup>

When Hitler attacked Czechoslovakia in 1938, Garvey said that it was "practically handed to Germany."<sup>26</sup> His realism reappeared when he stated that the territory was taken away because Czechoslovakia was too small to win against an overwhelming power. This led Garvey to conclude that "whatever blacks get from England or any other country must . . . be . . . on their ability to assume the position of strength, and to be always ready to maintain their position because of that strength . . . . Morals and sympathies are things of the past."<sup>27</sup>

Since Hitler was methodically scheming his way to victory, Garvey finally realized the perniciousness of the Hun's actions. His attempts to regain colonies in Africa frightened Garvey who pleaded with blacks to take a stand against Hitler and Fascism, and build a strong black nation. The black activist, nevertheless, continued to believe as late as 1939 that Hitler's and Mussolini's program was similar to that of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. In February of that year, he even said their system stood on "loftier grounds." The Italians and Germans were residents of their own countries. "Fascism and Nazism," he stated, "have forced their way to recognition."<sup>28</sup> Garvey contended that "blacks need to amend the ways of their program, to [the] ultimate end, of establishing a black nation."<sup>29</sup> He also emphasized that the downfall of blacks was their consistent infighting. Marcus Garvey seemed to have known intuitively as early as 1936 that Mussolini and Hitler would destroy the political fabric of Europe and that it would take years to repair the damage.<sup>30</sup> With Europe in a weakened state, the black nationalist thought his race could make strides toward nationalistic goals. "The Negroes of the world," he asserted, "may look hopefully to the future."<sup>31</sup>

Garvey's hostility toward Mussolini did not appear until Italy attacked Ethiopia in the fall of 1935. Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, asked the League of Nations to intervene in the conflict. The Security Council branded Italy an aggressor and applied economic sanctions, but no really effective action was taken. France and England wanted to secure Italy as a friend against Hitler, and they were afraid the United States would not support substantive sanctions.



Therefore, both countries continued to sell oil and petroleum products to Italy for its mechanized army.<sup>32</sup> These concessions were very upsetting to Garvey. He responded with a vicious attack against Mussolini. His editorial column declared the "white race gone mad . . . . Mussolini supposedly is representative of the white race . . . . Mussolini, in every fibre, acts like a barbarian."<sup>33</sup> Garvey also accuses the Italian leader of being a mediocre statesman: "We know what preparation Mussolini had before he became Italy's Dictator, but like Hitler, we understand he came from nowhere . . . . He should educate himself in Roman and Italian history . . . before playing disastrous games."<sup>34</sup> Garvey also charged "Il Duce" of committing war crimes. He stated that Mussolini would be remembered as a "brute god who plagued the 20th century with his inhumanity."<sup>35</sup> Moreover, Garvey contended that the Italian leader's crimes were numerous. "He has bombed and gassed innocent women and children of the civil population of Ethiopia . . . hired black soldiers to fight against their own people."<sup>36</sup> The enraged journalist concluded by declaring: "Mussolini is wrong to conquer the black Empire of Ethiopia."<sup>37</sup>

In the initial stages of the Ethiopian war, Garvey thought the African nation could win with the help of friends. He stated that "Abyssinia (Ethiopia) has friends . . . broadminded and liberal Englishmen . . . millions of Western Negroes who would make 'minced meat' of the Italians in Abyssinia, if the esteemed powers would allow them."<sup>38</sup> In order to rescue Ethiopia, the black crusader thought blacks should forget about being outraged by the war. He wrote that "Blacks' 'passions' are stirred but what can we achieve through more passion?"<sup>39</sup> Garvey stipulated blacks should organize in order to bring about change. Blacks should pressure "President Franklin Roosevelt and the Congress to give help to Abyssinia."<sup>40</sup> He further asserted: ". . . there are fifteen million Negroes in the United States and it would be rather surprising if they were to remain quiet in America and allow a bastard European nation like Italy to overturn the last bit of independent territory claimed by Negroes in the motherland."<sup>41</sup> He finally demanded such support from blacks in the United States.<sup>42</sup>

At the same time that Garvey sought the support of blacks in the United States, he realized they were handicapped to a certain extent. In an editorial entitled, "The American Mind and the War," he contended that Roosevelt wanted to be re-elected, but feared the Italian American vote supported the invasion of Ethiopia. Therefore, the President found it difficult to stop America's oil supply to Italy. Garvey concluded that blacks could not bring as much pressure to bear as Italian Americans.<sup>43</sup> In July of 1935, Garvey went so far as to plead with the United States to aid the Emperor of Ethiopia. Under the Kellogg Pact, he wrote, "a treaty was signed by more than sixty nations to protect the sovereignty of each nation against others."<sup>44</sup> This plea fell on deaf

ears because Roosevelt had chosen to remain neutral.<sup>45</sup> In an editorial printed late in March 1936, a disappointed Garvey told blacks to prepare for war. "War seems necessary because mad men head European nations and nations profit from war."<sup>46</sup> The editorialist initially thought Haile Selassie was a pawn in the European power struggle; a misfortunate human being. He related that "his school of diplomacy is quite different to that of the European school . . . . His diplomacy is honest and unselfish . . . Europe crooked and brutal . . . ."<sup>47</sup> Garvey believed Haile Selassie was not prepared to fight with sophisticated weapons. Furthermore, he contended that the European nations of the world would not fight for Haile Selassie, a black man. At this time, Garvey did not blame the Emperor for the backwardness of his country. He believed Selassie's attempts at reform had been hindered by Mussolini. In late October of 1935, Garvey supported the Ethiopian ruler in criticizing the United States. The Emperor claimed that slavery was not as bad in Ethiopia as lynchings were in America. Garvey reported that "since no one has attempted to conquer America and to dominate the country because lynching goes on . . . . No justification for Italy."<sup>48</sup> Garvey knew that conquering Italy under the guise of liberating blacks was a farce.

After Ethiopia lost the war with Italy in 1936 and Haile Selassie was exiled the following year, Garvey became very critical of the Emperor. The journalist declared that the "Emperor has thrown away the country and left the people leaderless . . . [and that the] Emperor was incompetent and never ruled the country properly."<sup>49</sup> He believed "Haile Selassie should have done something about slavery and conditions of the masses of people in Ethiopia."<sup>50</sup> In addition, Garvey took the position that when the people needed him "he [Selassie] ran out of the country."<sup>51</sup> Interestingly enough, the editorialist claimed that Haile Selassie lost the war because he was too proud of his Jewish heritage. He added definition to this statement by writing that "He [Selassie] must recognize the Negro Abyssinian. The new Negro doesn't give two pence about the line of Solomon. Solomon has been long dead. Solomon was a Jew. The Negro is no Jew. The Negro has a racial origin running from Sheba to the present . . . ."<sup>52</sup>

Garvey also faulted the Emperor for not identifying with the masses of people in Ethiopia. He believed that Selassie lost the war because he attempted to identify with Jews and therefore was disposed to pray for his enemy. Garvey caustically theorized that this "method does not win wars in modern days . . . ."<sup>53</sup> In a corollary train of thought, the patriots of Ethiopia were praised in an editorial during August, 1936. Garvey was happy that their leaders, Ras Seyoum, were still in Ethiopia. He praised their subversive activities against the Italian government, saying that Haile Selassie did not have "the guts that goes to make a warrior."<sup>54</sup> In another attack on the deposed ruler, an editorial in *The*



*Black Man* stated: "As an emperor of trust presiding over the destiny of a race and country, he has openly betrayed a trust."<sup>55</sup>

Marcus Garvey found the Ethiopian exile guilty of other shortcomings. For example, he stated that "Haile Selassie should have had embassies in countries where there were large black populations."<sup>56</sup> In that manner, he could have had direct contact with other blacks around the world. Unfortunately, the fact was that the emperor did not have embassies in America, Liberia, nor Haiti. Certain that Selassie's military defeat was due to his lack of skillfulness as a leader, Garvey lost respect for the Emperor of Ethiopia as the journalist's editorials in *The Black Man* expounded on the implications of the war.

It should be noted, however, that Garvey was not only angry with the Emperor. He was also disgusted with his people in general. Blacks, he reported, "though they could win the war with radical speeches and printed newspaper articles."<sup>57</sup> The crusading black nationalist was thoroughly dismayed by the inactivity and weakness of the black struggle in general. He believed blacks should have a strong defensive military compatibility, but saw that the consciousness level of black people restricted their efforts to mere articulation of wishes. In an editorial in July-August, 1936, Garvey defined his position: "Barkum, like Ethiopia, shall stretch forth her hands, and other sentimental clap-trappery did not keep the invading armies from reaching Addis Ababa . . . only strong defenses are deterrents to any invasion."<sup>58</sup> Garvey gave further clarity to his ideas when he insisted that all physical, moral, and educational resources be utilized for the uplift of the race. More specifically, he believed increasingly that black nationalism and a strong defense were the black man's only salvation.

Several of Garvey's editorials emphasized the need for preparation. They originated with the realization that blacks had wanted to help Ethiopia, but were not in a position to do so. *The Black Man's* editor thought "Italy would not have struck if blacks had been prepared to help"<sup>59</sup> He realized his people would be defeated if they remained unorganized. For example, Garvey was convinced that blacks needed "machine guns, tanks, aeroplanes, and other instruments of destruction to eliminate enemies such as Mussolini."<sup>60</sup> He concluded that a crime had been committed by blacks when they failed to defeat Mussolini. He said the defeat suffered by blacks was "the fault of the Negro himself. The overall lesson for Blacks . . . is that the Negro must cast off his superstitious sentimentality and emotionalism . . . men depend upon the organized force and strengths as the great factors of protection . . . He must match might with might, force with force, power with power."<sup>61</sup> In Garvey's last editorial comment on the loss of Ethiopia, he stated that the Negro in America "is the natural leader of all Negroes of the World."<sup>62</sup> If blacks were to survive, Negro Americans needed to "avoid narrowness and take leadership in

the international struggle for black liberation."<sup>63</sup>

From the discussion and analysis of Marcus Garvey's comments on and criticisms of Fascism, it is clear that the black activist was also a devoted black nationalistic leader who fought for his people's human rights until his death. Perceiving Fascism as a threat to the international freedom of his race, Garvey attacked the movement with great zeal. Critically evaluating the black editor's treatment of Fascism from 1935 through 1939 is a more difficult task. During Fascism's initial stage in Europe, Garvey praised Hitler and Mussolini. He clearly misunderstood the movement's ramifications for blacks in Africa and in other parts of the world. Until the emergence of Fascism, Garvey believed all nationalistic movements were good. After Hitler's genocidal attack on the Jews in the 1930s, he realized the fanaticism of the movement and the depths of its racist foundation. At that point, the black editorialist became very critical of Hitler and Mussolini and pleaded for the League of Nations to control their imperialistic efforts. He realized that to return Germany's former African colonies to Hitler's regime would be detrimental to Africa and the world because such action would only boost Fascism's wealth and power.

Although Garvey initially admired Hitler, he disliked Mussolini almost immediately. "Il Duce's" attack against Africa where Garvey hoped a black empire would eventually emerge explained the black nationalist's response. He not only called Mussolini a brute and threat to civilization, but pleaded with blacks to organize and aid Haile Selassie in defeating the Italian leader. When Ethiopia was finally defeated, Garvey discredited its Emperor by implying he was a coward and had too much confidence in the altruism of European nations. Furthermore, he viciously attacked blacks for not being prepared to protect a black nation with tanks and machine guns in addition to mere emotional interest. From Garvey's perspective, blacks failed to halt the menace of Fascism. The lesson learned from the rise of Fascism was that blacks should build a nation and prepare themselves to defend it successfully or else face international extermination.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>John Henrik Clark, ed. *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of America* (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 3-4; David Cronon, *Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955), pp. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup>Clark, *Marcus Garvey*. 7-13; Wilson, J. Moses, "Marcus Garvey: Reappraisal," *Black Scholar* 4, November-December, 1972, 38-49; Siki Sunidata, "A Portrait of Marcus Garvey," *Black Scholar* 2, September-October, 1970, 7-12.



<sup>3</sup>Cronon, *Black Moses*, p.78; Amy Jacques Garvey, *Garvey and Garveyism*, with an Introduction by John Henrik Clark (New York: Strauss and Giroux, 1978), pp. 84-89.

<sup>4</sup>Cronon, *Black Moses*, pp. 139-146.

<sup>5</sup>Carl Cohen, ed., *Communism, Fascism, and Democracy: Theoretical Foundations*, (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 261-264; Leon Trotsky, *The Struggle Against Fascism*, with an Introduction by Ernest Mandel, (New York: Pathfinder Press, Inc.), 1971, pp. 9-39, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup>Norman Kogan, *Italy and the Allies*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1956, pp. 1-2; Arthur Rosenberg, *A History of the German Republic*, Trans. Ian F.D. Morrow and L. Marie Sieveking, (New York: Russel and Russel, Inc.), 1965, pp. 317-319.

<sup>7</sup>Cronon, *Black Moses*, pp. 198-199.

<sup>8</sup>Marcus Garvey, "War Scares," *The Black Man* 1, June, 1835, 2.

<sup>9</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The World as It Is," *The Black Man* 1, December, 1933, 2-3.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Adolf Hitler," *The Black Man* 1, March-April, 1934, 2-3.

<sup>12</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The Negro as Colonizer," *The Black Man* 1, March-April, 1934, 16.

<sup>13</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Hitler's Dream," *The Black Man* 2, September-October, 1936, 1.

<sup>14</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Hitler and the Jews," *The Black Man* 1, July, 1935, 9.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Jews in Congress," *The Black Man* 1, August-September, 1935, 10.

<sup>18</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The Jews in Palestine," *The Black Man* 2, July-August, 1936, 3.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Hitler's Speech," *The Black Man* 1, June, 1935, 8.

<sup>21</sup>Marcus Garvey, "No Colonies for Hitler," *The Black Man* 4, June, 1939, 1.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

- <sup>23</sup>Marcus Garvey, "German Colonies in Africa," *The Black Man* 2, July-August, 1936, 20.
- <sup>24</sup>Garvey, "Hitler's Speech," 8.
- <sup>25</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Germany Wants Colonies," *The Black Man* 1, March, 1936, 2.
- <sup>26</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Europe in Format," *The Black Man* 3, November, 1938, 1-2.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Mussolini and Hitler," *The Black Man* 4, February, 1939, 5.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Fascism and Communism," *The Black Man* 2, September-October, 1936, 1.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup>Alan Cassels, *Mussolini's Early Diplomacy*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 288-289; John Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press), 1972, pp. 287-312.
- <sup>33</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Gone Mad," *The Black Man* 1, June, 1935, 7.
- <sup>34</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The World as It Is," *The Black Man* 1, June, 1935, 7.
- <sup>35</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Crimes of Mussolini," *The Black Man* 1, October, 1935, 1-2.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>38</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Mussolini and Ras Tafari," *The Black Man* 1, June, 1935, 16-17.
- <sup>39</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Lest We Forget," *The Black Man* 1, October, 1935, 4.
- <sup>40</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The American Mind and the War," *The Black Man* 1, December, 1935, 1-2.
- <sup>41</sup>Marcus Garvey, "America and Abyssinia," *The Black Man* 1, July, 1935, 2.
- <sup>42</sup>Ibid., 1-2.



- <sup>43</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The American Mind and the War," *The Black Man* 1, December, 1935, 1-2.
- <sup>44</sup>Garvey, "America and Abyssinia," 1.
- <sup>45</sup>Ibid., 1.
- <sup>46</sup>Marcus Garvey, "War Threatens the World," *The Black Man* 1, March, 1936, 4.
- <sup>47</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The March on the Rhine," *The Black Man* 2, May-June, 1936, 2.
- <sup>48</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Barbarism in America," *The Black Man* 1, October, 1935, 1.
- <sup>49</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Fighting in Abyssinia--The Emperor Runs," *The Black Man* 2, January, 1937, 1-2.
- <sup>50</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Haile Selassie and Benito Mussolini," *The Black Man* 2, March-April, 1937, 1.
- <sup>51</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Italy's Conquest," *The Black Man* 1, July-August, 1936, 5.
- <sup>53</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The Patriots of Abyssinia," *The Black Man* 1, July-August, 1936, 20.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>55</sup>Garvey, "Selassie and Mussolini," 1.
- <sup>56</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Unpreparedness a Crime: The Negro is Guilty," *The Black Man* 1, March, 1936, 8.
- <sup>57</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The War in Abyssinia," *The Black Man* 1, May-June, 1936, 1.
- <sup>58</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Abyssinia and After," *The Black Man* 2, July-August, 1936, 6-7.
- <sup>59</sup>Marcus Garvey, "Lest We Forget," *The Black Man* 1, October, 1935, 4.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>61</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The Loss in Abyssinia," *The Black Man* 2, August, 1937, 7.
- <sup>62</sup>Marcus Garvey, "The American Negro," *The Black Man* 3, November, 1938, 20.
- <sup>63</sup>Ibid.