BARON ROMAN PROCHÁZKA

ABYSSINIA:

THE POWDER BARREL

A BOOK ON THE MOST BURNING QUESTION OF THE DAY

The author of this book was a lawyer in Addis-Ababa up to 1934, pleading before the mixed international courts and the consular tribunals of the European states. His disclosures concerning the internal administration of Abyssinia and the possibilities of war furnish a rich fund of fact partly taken from official sources. What the author here says has been confirmed by recent happenings, and what he says about the future is therefore worthy of careful consideration.

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ABYSSINIA:

THE POWDER BARREL

BY

BARON ROMAN PROCHÁZKA

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FOREWORD

The present book will be felt by many readers to be antagonistic to Abyssinia. The author is fully conscious of this fact, but is convinced of the necessity for opposing the tendency of the pro-Abyssinian publications that have been appearing recently. However desirable it may be as an ideal to regard all nations as invested with equal rights as members of the Council of Nations, it must nevertheless be emphasized again and again, that the present Ethiopian Empire is not fit and will presumably for many decades to come not be fit to develop or follow a policy of its own; and that to allow it to attempt to do so would be counter to the interests of all civilised nations and would seriously andanger the peace of the world. Moreover, the opponents of Imperialism should bear in mind that the numerous non-Amharic native tribes in Ethiopia, and these constitute by far the greater part of the total population of the empire, are themselves the victims of *Abyssinian imperialism*. It is therefore utterly mistaken to represent the Abyssinian usurpers as being in any way oppressed and worthy of protection.

What the author said in the first edition which appeared in German in July 1935 has been confirmed by the actual course of events since then, so that he feels justified in claiming that what he predicts for the future is at least worthy of consideration.

The African Menace

The lamentable deficiencies in the administration of the Ethiopian Empire have hitherto proved a bar to the cultural and economic development of the country.

The animosity of the ruling Abyssinian tribe, the Amhars, towards foreigners, which has been growing steadily in recent years, is becoming evidenced to a most threatening extent in all relations and dealings with foreign powers and their citizens. The contradictory assurances issued from time to time, and the declarations published in foreign countries with a view to diverting public opinion are being constantly shown up and disproved by the open and fanatical efforts to repress and as soon as possible to get rid of the European institutions which were developed, to the equal benefit both of the natives and of the white population, under the Italian protectorate and later on under the rule of the eminently able Emperor Menelik II.

The numerous peoples and tribes which inhabit the territory of the Ethiopian state, and which differ in race, language, culture, and religion from the ruling minority of the Abyssinians proper, would long ago have thrown off the Abyssinian yoke if they had been given the right of self-determination. Instead, they are being forcibly kept cut off from European influences and from the advantages that progressive colonization could confer upon the country.

But the Abyssinians are planning to go much further than this, and the final aim of their policy of antagonism to the

white races, in which they are relying on the co-operation of Japan, is nothing less than to act as the champions of all the coloured peoples of Africa. The Abyssinian people are on the verge of a plunge into the wildest adventures, without being capable either of grasping the consequences of their action or of carrying the responsibility for it.

The Abyssinian Emperor Hailé-Selassie I, the "King of the Kings of Ethiopia", in a speech held to his powerful and numerous tribal chiefs assembled at Harrar at the beginning of June 1935, uttered the following challenge: —

"I am the only African Emperor, and the Leader of all Negro peoples, including those still under foreign sway, ... We must regard all Europeans not only as foreigners but as enemies!"

And a few days later, in an interview accorded to the reporter of the French newspaper "Le Matin", the Negus laid stress on his good relations with Yemen, Hejaz, and the Egyptians, and said: —

"Mohammed says in the Koran that the Ethiopians had shown him hospitality. *All Moslems must therefore come to the aid of the Ethiopians* in case of need."

These proclamations, issued by the supreme authority in Abyssinia, are a sign to all the native peoples, including those beyond the borders of Abyssinia itself, to look upon the Negus as their leader in the coming fight with the white races, and to gather under his banner. Utterances of such official significance amount to grave interference in the established conditions of rulership in the neighbouring countries, and a danger to the existence of the European colonies in Africa.

The Abyssinians at the Parting of the Ways

The leaders of the Ethiopian Empire are faced with the necessity of taking a decision which is destined to leave its mark on the history of the world. They now have to choose between either at last fitting in with the system of European influence in Africa, willingly serving cultural progress and civilisation by loyal co-operation with the white peoples, or — urged on by senseless resentment and racial mania — carrying to extremes a disastrous policy which can merely exaggerate all the causes of antagonism between the coloured and the white peoples and thus lead to a poisoning of the international atmosphere, to the serious detriment of civilized and peaceable progress in the world.

It is the purpose of this study to draw attention to the threat involved in the growing prevalence of acts of animosity perpetrated against members of the white races, and at the eleventh hour to give a warning borne out by documentary evidence.

For two years I occupied a post, which was not without its dangers, as a barrister pleading before the Mixed Special Tribunal and the Consular Courts of the foreign powers in the Ethiopian capital, in which capacity I represented to the best of my powers the rightful interests of some hundred white people of almost all nationalities, and defended them against the arbitrariness of the Abyssinian government and unlawful acts of violence on the parts of native authorities.

Some measure of success that I had in this fight, and the fact that I adopted the principle of keeping all the diplomatic and consular missions established at Addis Ababa and also the Secretariat of the League of Nations at Geneva informed as to the constantly multiplying grievances and as to the growing precariousness of the position of the white people in Ethiopia (both politically and economically) caused the Imperial Ethiopian government to expel me from the country in February 1934 on the ground that what I was doing was "prejudicial to the internal and *external* safety of the State". In very fact, this measure may be regarded as a recognition of my success in the fight I had been putting up for the rights of the white people in Abyssinia, but at the same time it is cogent testimony of the attitude and intentions of the native rulers who will stick at nothing to prevent dissemination of facts concerning the incredible conditions obtaining in Ethiopia. The coercive administrative measure of expulsion from the country was intended to put an end to my activities as an advocate for the white people in Ethiopia and as a political writer in Europe.

It is incumbent on the competent authorities, and more particularly on the Legations of the civilized nations in Abyssinia, which can spread the truth without running the risks incurred by a private individual and can stand up for the rights of their subjects and those under their protection openly and unchecked, it is incumbent on these authorities to open the eyes of their governments and to make it clear that it is high time to take a definite stand, before a movement takes final shape under the leadership of pseudo-emancipated coloured people *with the aim of attacking and destroying western culture and civilization in its entirety!*

In the following pages a detailed account will be given of these happenings which it has hitherto been the custom to regard too lightly as being far distant and of no import for us white people in Europe and America. But to avoid any charge of one-sidedness or personal prejudice this account will be preceded by a selection of opinions on Abyssinia by writers of various nationalities and more particularly by native leaders.

The Literature dealing with Abyssinia

One of the main obstacles to an understanding of the Abyssinian problem consists of the inadequate and unreliable reports on the conditions in Abyssinia by writers who are biassed by personal connections or associations or who are reluctant to stir up a wasp's nest.

The members of modern expeditions and well-to-do travellers very often pay literally a flying visit to the various countries on their programme and, like the members of the diplomatic and christian missions living in "splendid isolation", never get to know the actual conditions and political movements. Real insight into the prevailing conditions can only be gained by those who know the language of the natives and have been obliged to share their life with them.

It was one of the few but all the more valuable advantages of travelling in the "good old days" that the explorers, who later on sat down to write heavy tomes on the countries they visited, did not rush through these countries but were compelled, through lack of the modern means of rapid transportation (railway and airplane) to spend months or years among the natives, to learn their language, and to become acquainted with their true mentality and customs.

This explains why it is that the older writers often give much truer accounts of the attitude of the natives to the white races. The following citations from the older literature on Ethiopia are characteristic and deal cogently with the points at issue.

In his book "Travels in Abyssinia in the Year 1836" (Cotta, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1838). A. von Katte writes: — "If

these (my views) be calculated to destroy certain bright hopes which are entertained in regard to the people of Abyssinia this is not my fault."

"The white people are hated and feared. They are held to be of finer stuff, but for this very reason they are not liked. It is hardly possible to imagine a more unhappy situation for a white man than to have to live under the oppression of an Abyssinian grandee. Everyone then feels entitled to look down on him and to treat him as they like, and he finally sinks to a condition of moral abjectness, robbed even of despair — the last source of strength left to a human being. There are Greeks and Armenians that have been living for a long time in Abyssinia in this hopeless condition, a picture of utter misery to the human observer."

"My contempt of this people, of whom I have seen nothing but evil and depravity, began to strike root in my being, and my experiences in the course of my journeyings were unfortunately not calculated to eradicate it . . . . . The disgust, which gradually took possession of me, became later on so intense that I finally started on the return journey thankful to turn by back on a country inhabited by the most base and detestable people I had yet met. —"

These few sentences roughly coincide with the considered opinion of the white observer of to-day after spending more than a fortnight in Ethiopia. It is a significant fact that neither in the past nor at the present time have the Abyssinians succeeded in gaining the sympathy of even a few independent foreigners, including the Japanese and the American negroes, who have spent any length of time on Abyssinian territory and been in a position to express their opinion freely and without incurring danger of a personal, economic, or political nature.

The Abyssinian Leaders' Opinion of their people

In his work "Abyssinia, the Alpine Country of the Tropics" (pub. Spamer, Leipzig, 1869, page 94), Dr. R. Andree wrote as follows: —

"Turning to the character of the Abyssinians we meet with very conflicting opinions, but speaking generally it can be said that their character is by no means commendable according to European conceptions. Thus for instance while Munzinger and Heuglin are more lenient in their judgment, the opinions expressed by Bruce, Rüppel, Krapf, and Isenberg are couched in much stronger terms, *and in the country itself there are enough people who join in the chorus of condemnation.*"

"Chief among these latter are King *Theodoros II* himself and the *Abuna* (Archbishop) who died in 1867 . . . . . (This) highest dignitary of the Church in the country . . . . . wrote in 1843 to Isenberg:

> "The Abyssinians are a people without desire for knowledge or love of learning, and incapable of comprehending that what you are trying to do is for their good. What they want is a share of your possessions, and nothing else!"

Rüppel writes: "The chief traits of the moral character of the Abyssinians are indolence, drunkenness, irresponsibility, a high degree of dissoluteness, perfidy, a thieving tendency, superstition, stupidly-proud selfishness, great skill in deception,

ingratitude, impudence in demanding gratuities, and a degree of mendacity worthy of becoming proverbial."

James Bruce, one of the earliest scientific explorers of Africa, also notes that the Abyssinians are "for the most part great liars" [1]). A perusal of the voluminous and varied literature on Abyssinia cited in the very up-to-date bibliography published in 1928 in France as an Appendix to the thesis entitled "Ytiopia" presented by an Egyptian Doctor of Philosophy shows that the complaints as to the intrigues, hatred of foreigners, mendacity, and perfidy of the Abyssinians are recurring [2]).

The rulers of Ethiopia, descendants of the so-called Dynasty of Solomon, knew only too well the faults of character peculiar to their people. King *Sachlé-Selassie* of Schoa, the grandfather of Menelik II summarized his opinion in the words "Mine is a bad people!" spoken to the diplomatist Harris ("Ambassadorial Journey to Schoa and Sojourn in Southern Abyssinia 1841—43", Cotta, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1845, Vol. II, page 342).

The great Emperor *Menelik II*, realizing the necessity for drastic methods of punishment, often opposed the intervention

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[1]) "Travels into the Interior of Africa, to Abyssinia at the Sources of the Nile."

[2]) Cf. the accounts by G. K. Rein and the well-informed brothers d'Abbadie ("Douze ans dans la haute Ethiopie"), in the political memoirs of the German diplomatic agents Zintgraff ("The dying lion of Judah") and Arnold Holtz ("At the Gate of Tears", pub. G. Stilke, Berlin 1929), and also in the English collection "Modern Abyssinia" by Wight-Wilde, and in the French historical works and diaries of Borelli ("L'Ethiopie méridionale avant 1900") and of Emm. Delat ("L'histoire extérieure de l'Ethiopie jusqu'à la rentrée de l'Ethiopie à la S. D. N.", reproduced in manuscripe).

of foreign powers which led, among other things, to the abolition of the cutting off of hands as a punishment for thieves, and gave as the reason for his opposition "I know my people and I know what my people needs!" He was aware that *the Abyssinians are not fit for freedom and self-government* and can only be induced to respect the rights of others by the threat of the strictest measures of enforcement and punishment.

And if a writer ever tears the veil from the secrets and ill-doings of the Abyssinian magnates and unfolds a clear picture of the mentality and absolutely anti-European attitude of the Abyssinians (as is done for example by the Frenchman *Armandi* in his brochure entitled "Une désagréable partie de campagne", Paris 1931) then a ban is immediately put on the importation of his book into Ethiopia and the possession of a copy by an Abyssinian made a severely punishable offence.

Favourable opinions are to be found in the books and other publications which in any case give biassed accounts either out of mere business interest or for the sake of cheap sensation, and in publications inspired, unofficially at least, from the Abyssinian side.

Thus the book "Land without Hunger, Land without Time" by *E. H. Schrenzel* conjures up a picture of Ethiopia as a paradise for white people, as if it were a country in which nothing but milk and honey, and never the blood of white men, flows. Similarly entertaining reading is furnished by the French book "L'empire des nègres blancs" which is packed full of mere products of imagination and untruths. The hopelessly inadequate knowledge of the actual conditions in Abyssinia betrayed in these works is only outdone by that of the writers of the many articles appearing in the European daily papers on the occasion

of the recent events in Ethiopia, in which (for instance in the leading articles of the "Journal de Génève", 1934/35) among other things the long since deceased Emperor Menelik II is spoken of as being the present ruler of Abyssinia.

In spite of the proved aggressive attitude of the Abyssinians, amiable traveller-authors, like Alfred von *Rot-Rösthof* in his work "Ba Menelik! Personal Experiences with Abyssinian Planters, Negroes, Princes, and Gold-diggers", write of the "pro German Ehtiopian Empire", and *Paul Broszio*, in an article crammed full of misrepresentations that appeared in a widely read Central European paper in April 1934, put forward the theory (misleading for all Europeans likely to be interested in Abyssinia) that "the government and people of Ethiopia are by no means hostile towards Europeans". A film produced with the aid of the Swiss aviator *Walter Mittelholzer*, and containing for the most part specially set pictures, is being shown by capable business people in the European capitals and big towns. This film is made up solely with a view to serving as propaganda for Abyssinia, and is supposed to show the foreigner the high level of culture attained by the Abyssinians. In very truth, faked displays of this nature are not calculated to ease the lot of the white people living in Abyssinia or to aid them in their struggle for existence.

A sigh of relief went through the whole European colony in Addis-Ababa when a long article entitled "L'Italie at l'Abyssinie", and signed "P. G.", appeared in the "Temps" [1]), the semi-official organ of the French Foreign Ministry at Paris, following the famous speech by General *De Bono*, at that time Italian colonial minister, and now High-Commissioner for

[1]) No. 26409 for 18. XII. 1933.

Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, on Italy's colonial aims and his article in the review "Rassegna Italiana". This article in the "Temps" at last called things by their right names, and made the following precise and clear statements:

Subsequent to Ethiopia's pact with Japan, the tendency of the Imperial Ethiopian government to oppose the economic penetration of Abyssinia by the European powers is becoming constantly more hostile in character, and there is therefore no time to be lost in taking the necessary steps to bring Abyssinia to reason again. If necessary, Italy would have to adopt energetic measures, in which case it would act on its own responsibility, but only after consultation with the other two signataries of the London Convention of 1906.

The political situation, the article continues, *has undergone a fundamental change*, since Ethiopia is now opposing the very States that voted for its election to membership of the League of Nations. In spite of the inner political disturbances attendant on the flight of the ex-Emperor Lij Yassu in 1932 and in spite of the continuance of slavery, these States had not yet intervened, but in view of the grave danger to their interests they would now have to decide on a final settlement of this question, and if necessary put Abyssinia under the protection of Italy.

In a leading article entitled "Abyssinia and the European powers" in the "Berliner Lokalanzeiger" for 11th December 1934, I pointed out that the Ethiopian Empire had become changed in recent years from the ordered, unified, and firmly ruled State accessible to European penetration that it had been under the Emperor Menelik II, to an inwardly disrupted and in every respect unsafe country which is definitely hostile to Europe. I went on to show that the government of this country

is systematically thwarting the fulfilment of the obligations entered into under international contracts and agreements, and that its population, inspired by their officially approved hatred of foreigners and by excessive national consciousness, are forming themselves into the core of a new Ethiopian movement for the organisation of a battle front of all coloured peoples under Abyssinian leadership for a general attack against the white race.

II.

A "Black Book" of the Abyssinian Assaults

As soon as he sets foot in the last sovereign native state of Africa, the foreigner realizes that he is not treated as an esteemed or welcome guest. In the country of the "Conquering Lion of Judah" the white man is looked upon merely as a tolerated alien. He is being looked upon with less and less regard as time goes on, — not without a measure of blame being due to the various white inhabitants of Abyssinia.

Even in the train which takes him from Jibuti in French Somaliland to Addis-Ababa, and for which, as for the use of the omnibuses running from Addis-Ababa to other places, he has to pay the highest prices and a multiple of the fare charged to the natives, the newcomer is made to feel, often in a literally physical sense, that the Abyssinian grandees, who spread them-

selves out in an overbearing manner with their often filthy and vermin-ridden clothing in the first and second classes, are the lords in the land, and that there can be no question of the foreigner having equal rights with the native, still less of his being in any way entitled to preferential treatment.

Under Abyssinian law, a white man is not allowed to acquire property in real estate but remains entirely at the mercy of the arbitrariness and usual chicanery of the landlord or house owner whose property he is obliged to lease or rent. In his dealings with his servants, the European may not in any respect make the same claims or apply the same very necessary punishments, as the native.

Although the white people have rights as subjects and denizens of the States which have concluded international treaties of peace and friendship with Ethiopia under the so-called most-favoured-nation clause, they have to put up with such treatment, in consequence of lack of support from the Legations and Consulates and for want of united action on the part of the European powers concerned, and thus become gradually degraded to objects of exploitation for the Abyssinians.

How matters stand as regards equality of rights from the point of view of public and civil law, and more particularly as regards the observance of the so-called capitulations, will be discussed later on in greater detail. What it is desired to make clear at this stage is that the attitude of the native population towards white people is expressed in openly insulting behaviour towards Europeans, and that this was not the case in earlier times, under the rulership of Menelik II.

It is becoming constantly more common for natives to utter invectives at passing white men and women without the slightest reason and generally with impunity. The words "Koshasha" and

"Ferenji usha" or "Netsh usha" ("dirty dog" and "dog of a foreigner" or "white dog") are often the first words of the Amharic language a foreign traveller hears. Among the Abyssinians the word "netsh" meaning "white" is a common term of abuse. The reason being probably that the white face is in some way associated with the painful white light of the glaring tropical sun and is therefore instinctively an object of dislike.

The prevalence of this contemptuous invective is characteristic of the mentality and attitude of the natives who, partly out of nebulous ideas about their alleged descent from the ancient Egyptians and Israelites, and partly out of the feelings of animosity towards foreigners which are promoted and fostered by the government and the Abyssinian grandees and authorities, imagine themselves to be infinitely superior to white people who positively have to work for their country and government. In Ethiopia work has always been looked down on, as being a thing to be ashamed of.

The following anecdote, the truth of which I can vouch for, will serve to illustrate the stupendous conceit of this slothful Amharic "race of lords". Seeing an aeroplane circling over Addis-Ababa, an Ethiopian Gerasmatsh (corresponding say to a Major in the army) asked: „Have you white people got anything to compare with that in your Europe?"

Every Abyssinian also has a deep-rooted conviction of the superiority of the Abyssinian soldier and army over the armies of the European colonizing powers of whose importance, size, and population the average Abyssinian has but the vaguest conceptions; and this conviction is strengthened of course by the memory of the Battle of Adowa (1896).

The governments of the white countries are mainly to blame though for the way in which the swelled-headedness of the Am-

hars has increased to an incredible pitch in recent times. Misled by respect for the outstanding personality and fine character of the deceased Emperor Menelik, the Great Powers actually went to the length of sending *special representatives and envoys* to the coronation of his successor who only came to the throne by getting rid of the legitimate Emperor. This ill-placed diplomatic courtesy was naturally calculated to increase the arrogance of the Abyssinians. Incidentally it is worth mentioning that some of these representatives and envoys were not even provided with sleeping quarters which could be regarded as fulfilling the most modest requirements.

While the Duke of Gloucester, a son of the King of England, Maréchal Franchet d'Esperey, and other European Princes and Generals stood in the heat and the dust among coloured people of all classes the previous Prince-Regent Ras Tefferi Makonnen was crowned King of the Kings of Ethiopia under the name of "Hailé-Selassie I". He then drove through the streets of Addis-Ababa, between the rows of white people stiffened into "veneration" and standing with their heads uncovered in the blazing sun, in a carriage of state that once belonged to the German Emperor Wilhelm II, with the Czech Konvalinka, a one-time Austrian cavalry sergeant, sitting on the box. In spite of his contract, Konvalinka was not paid, and only obtained his money after much trouble and dispute, while other Europeans have to this day received no salary for their services in connection with the *Imperial Coronation*.

The members of the Imperial family strode in the festive procession with crowns of gold on their heads and their woolly hair greased with rancid butter. My friend Count H. succeeded in taking a snap-shot of one of the "Excellencies" from among the crowd of ministers who went bare-foot but arrayed in uni-

forms that were resplendent with gold. His Excellency was in the act of lifting up his richly embroidered frock coat to dispel the attacks of little disturbers of the peace in the less accessible parts of his person.

To a farce of this nature the European states sent special envoys of the highest rank. How can the respect of primitive natives for the foreign powers and their representatives be maintained when they are allowed to look on (and this applies more particularly to the people of Abyssinia who attach great importance to externals and official formalities) and see how the representatives of the proudest ruling houses and of the culturally most advanced states *kowtow* before a ruler whom they do not at heart regard as their legitimate monarch?

A Series of Encounters

What the ill-advised application of the social customs of civilized countries to the barbaric countries of Africa will lead to was shown by the still generally remembered assault on the United States Minister in the streets of Addis-Ababa some four years ago. The Minister, who was driving in a car bearing the flag of the U. S. A. and who was on exterritorial ground according to international law, was dragged out of the car by Ethiopian policemen and flogged. The satisfaction obtained, after wearisome diplomatic negociations, — an equivocal apology was made at the scene of the outrage accompanied by marks of respect paid to the American flag —, merely awoke the mirth of the natives present, and afforded another of the always welcome opportunities of abusing "the whites".

Other members of the diplomatic corps have often been insulted, and their exterritorial rights infringed. Even the wife of the German Minister Exz. Weiss was beaten and vilified by Ethiopian policemen and civilians. Quite recently the diplomatic courier attached to the Italian legation at Addis-Ababa was held up by force and his luggage ransacked [1]).

[1]) The following incident which took place on 18th June 1935 is characteristic of the unbridled fanaticism of the Ethiopian *officials* and their lack of discipline in their behaviour towards the representatives of foreign countries. On the evening of this day an Abyssinian flying officer, in a fit of rage, tore the Italian flag from the car of the Italian secretary of legation Mombelli while it was parked in front of a cinema theatre in Addis-Ababa.

The growing frequency of assaults by Abyssinians on Europeans caused a large part of the German Colony at the end of 1932 to send in a petition to the Foreign Office at Berlin, asking the Chancellor, General von Schleicher, as the final authority over the consular tribunals, to direct the Legation to take measures to ensure more effective protection in the future.

I myself, in my capacity as legal representative and counsel to a considerable number of clients of almost every nationality in Addis-Ababa, submitted to the Secretariat-General of the League of Nations at Geneva and to the diplomatic and independent consular respresentatives in Addis-Ababa on 20th December 1932 an "aide-mémoire" giving a chronologically arranged list of the more serious incidents, and pointing out that the Ethiopian police were a growing danger to public order and security, that in the many deplorable events of the preceding months the police had either acted arbitrarily and illegally towards white people in contempt of the existing regulations of jurisdiction by consular tribunals, even going to the length of attacking and injuring them, or had stood by and looked on at assaults and even disregarded the insulting of white women and girls in the streets of the town. I also recommended the institution of a *body of international police* — on the lines for instance of the English police force at Cairo.

The *Doyen* of the Diplomatic Corps at Addis-Ababa, the French Minister Exc. Paul Verchère de Reffye, responded in a communication dated 10th January 1933 to the effect that the numerous incidents had not escaped the notice of the diplomatic corps and were being carefully looked into.

I then completed the abovementioned list, bringing it up to date, and again submitted it to the *Doyen* of the diplomatic corps on 23rd January 1933. In a protest addressed to the Im-

perial Ethiopian Minister of the Interior, Dejamatch Makonnen, in February 1934, I submitted with the greatest emphasis that it was the *inadequate and undisciplined Abyssinian police themselves that were disturbing public peace and order by their arbitrary and lawless behaviour*. Finally, a Memorandum submitted by me in January 1935 to the Secretariat of the League of Nations, to the authorities concerned, and to the European press, contained a detailed account of the threatening condition of the country.

In the remainder of this chapter a summary account is given of a selection of the numerous incidents which occurred in the years 1932—1934. It should be noted that the incidents here mentioned represent only a fraction of the recorded cases of outrage, and that there are a number of serious affairs which can not be discussed openly, in the interests of those concerned, but which are known to the Governments of the countries to which the latter belong.

At the beginning of the period covered by this account, on 29th May 1932, a number of Frenchmen, officials of the Franco-Ethiopian railway, accompanied by their wives and children were attacked by the Abyssinian municipal police at Dire-Dowa and gravely maltreated. This was followed up by a mob demonstration against the Europeans in the town, some of whom succeeded in taking refuge in their houses. Here they were besieged, overpowered, and again mishandled. In response to the energetic intervention of the French Minister de Reffye, who went in person to Dire-Dowa, followed by a strike of the European employees of the railway lasting from 30th May to 3rd June 1932, some sort of amends were made by the Ethiopian government.

In the summer of 1932 the German citizens F. H. and G. U.

were attacked by natives in front of their house, and could only regain their freedom after the intervention of an official of the German legation. About the same time, in complete disregard of the existing legal regulations and capitulation conditions governing consular jurisdiction, an Abyssinian "danya" (lower court judge) accompanied by his "zabanyas" (armed policemen) broke into the property of the German miller M. L. P. and assaulted him.

On 20th August 1932, the Hungarian planter B. H., one of the subjects under the protection of the Italian authorities, was siezed at the station of Mojou by Abyssinian soldiers under the orders of the Ethiopian "shum" (district judge and Governor of the town) Gabre-Georgis, and dragged before this official, in spite of his protest that he could only be brought before the Italian consul. The Shum's officials insulted him, calling him a "koshasha Talian" ("filthy Italian"), knocked him down with the butt-ends of their rifles, belaboured him with sticks, robbed him of what he had about him, and dragged him across the railway lines with his head downwards. He was only saved from further torture by the resolute intervention of the Arabian station-master. The telephone to the Italian legation at Addis-Ababa was "out of order". In spite of the fact that the culprits were ascertained beyond any shadow of doubt, the Imperial Ethiopian government has to this day made no amends and given no satisfaction of any kind.

On 14th October 1932, in the evening, the Czechoslovakian journalist A. B. v. B., a French protégé, was attacked in the Ras-Makonnen Street at Addis-Ababa by a pack of natives, and flogged with sticks until he was seriously injured. Immediately opposite, about 4 yards away, an Abyssinian police patrol, posted in a watchman's house, looked on without coming to the

assistance of the European, and when asked why they did not do anything replied with a grin that they had to look after some "injura" (native bread) that was put out for sale in baskets. It was not until 4th May 1933, after innumerable adjournments, that I was able to obtain a sentence from the Mixed Tribunal (Tribunal Spécial), finding breach of duty on the part of the police and ordering the municipal administration to pay the ridiculous indemnity of 200 Maria Theresa thalers, i. e. about £ 8. The sentence was never enforced, and the municipality has to this day not paid a penny.

The Greek confectioner M. C., who has since died, had his shop in the same street of Addis-Ababa. At the end of November and beginning of December 1932 a native who was perfectly well known to the police, but who like many of the natives had no regular name, repeatedly entered his shop, threatened him with a large knife, and hurled invective at him, saying that there was no harm in killing a white man. The police refused to intervene. The *Tribunal Spécial* refused to issue an order for arrest, in spite of the imminent danger of a capital offence, on the grounds that the name of the accused must be furnished. A complaint lodged with the Greek Ministry for Foreign Affairs at Athens produced no result.

In October 1932 the Armenian H., a French protégé, was dragged out of his house in the Ras-Makonnen Street by native policemen and only with difficulty saved from being lynched. In spite of the regulations in force, the French consul received no notification from the police.

On 7th December 1932 the German dye-worker E. H. F. was attacked in the Gullali Street by some 20 Ethiopian policemen, who were egged on by a German protégé named A. A., Manager of the Franco-Abyssinian trading company "Société Nationale

d'Ethiopie", knocked down with the butt-ends of their muskets, and badly injured. (A dispute between the two people concerned could only legally come within the jurisdiction of the German consul.) In this case again the native policemen were never called to account, in spite of having committed a grave breach of responsibility and perpetrated acts of violence against a European who was put outside their sphere of action by the treaties establishing the consular tribunals. The injured man has to this day received no satisfaction of any kind.

On 11th and 18th December 1932 the semi-official representative for Czechoslovakian affairs attached to the Legation of the French Republic at Addis-Ababa, C. L. K., and his nephew J. K. were attacked by natives near the St. George Brewery, and stoned. No policeman came to their assistance. A protest was entered, and the "Public Safety Authorities" replied with excuses, such as that the leader of the police patrol called in belonged to another "beat".

Likewise on 18th December 1932, towards evening, a group of Belgian ladies and gentlemen, including the Belgian Vice-Consul, who were sitting in the "Mavrikos" Restaurant in Addis-Ababa, were offensively insulted and driven out of the restaurant by a number of Young-Abbyssinians in European clothing accompanied by the usual crowd of natives, with the entire acquiescence of the police. All the white women were grossly abused and called prostitutes, and the threat was heard on every side that all the white people in Abyssinia should be killed.

In the same month an Italian was beaten and injured by natives near the Ford tanking station at Addis-Ababa, without the police stirring a finger to help him. And on the last day of the year an aged Greek was knocked down and robbed near the

station, without the police doing anything to save him, in spire of his calls for help.

Characteristic of the mentality of the Ethiopian police is the following incident. About the turn of the year 1932, zabanyas (native policemen) forcibly entered the property of an Armenian. When told that they had no business on the property of a foreigner who was answerable only to his Consul they laughed, and said with triumphant gestures, "Yes, in the past, but all that's changed now!"

It is notorious, though, that the police of Addis-Ababa will stand no comparison with responsible and decently trained European police. A mere glance at their exterior, with their ragged uniforms, is sufficient. Their corruptibility is proverbial, as also their begging propensities, and their readiness to practise blackmail on inexperienced and less energetic white people, on all possible occasions, in connection with street accidents for example, at night, and when they are conducting inquiries or levying taxes.

To what lengths their barbarism will go is shown by an article published in the "Courrier d'Ethiopie" of 30th December 1932. This article describes, under the mild title "Le zabanya sans coeur", how an Abyssinian policeman, in contravention of the regulations, and for the sake of coveted ransom, seized and "confiscated" not only the native servant but also the horse of a little white child whom he then left standing alone in the street.

On the morning of 22nd January 1933, on the platform of the station at Addis-Ababa, in the presence of a number of witnesses, a Frenchman was struck across the face with a horse-whip by the Ethiopian police officer on duty, in the course of a disagreement.

On 12th February 1933, near the post-office, following an exchange of words, the German baker E. A. G. was chased by a whole pack of native Guragi, a native worker tribe, attacked, and beaten till he bled. He managed to drag himself in a half-dead state into the "German House" where he was saved from further ill-treatment.

On 26th March 1933, the Armenian photographer Ch. and his young wife, who was *enceinte* at the time, were grossly abused and injured by thrown stones as they stood on the steps leading up to their house in front of the "Majestic Hotel". Once more, the Abyssinian policeman who was standing on duty a few yards away did not lift a finger.

At the end of May 1933 a Greek taxi-chauffeur, on asking for payment from his passengers, an Abyssinian grandee and his attendants, was given a flogging instead of his fare and had his car damaged and the windows broken.

About the same time, in the early summer of 1933, in the Arussi territory, the 16 years old daughter of the German farmer E. was robbed by an Abyssinian grandee and kept prisoner in his house. It was only in response to the intervention of the Emperor's son-in-law, Ras Desta Damptu, who happened to be travelling through the distrit, that the kidnapper released his victim.

About the end of May 1933, the elderly wife of the former Russian General D. was dragged to and fro on the square in front of the Georgis Church at Addis-Ababa, and beaten, by the zabanyas, for an alleged breach of the traffic rules which in actual fact had been misunderstood by the zabanyas themselves.

On 28th July 1933, the Czech coffee-planter J. F., a French protégé, after an interview with the Abyssinian district court judge Kenyasmatch Goshimi, about a claim for damages against

some natives who had driven their live-stock on to his plantations and done serious harm, was induced by false representations to come out to the gate of his property and there assaulted and knocked down with rifle-butts by a crowd of about 60 natives who were given a sign by the "official". His wife, who rushed to the scene, was also beaten and kicked in the abdomen with such violence that a muscle was torn. Their little daughter was also mishandled. While this was going on the representative of the Ethiopian government kept vociferating that the Europeans were robbers and blackguards. They only desisted when they saw that their victim was lying unconscious on the ground. Neither the case brought before the "Tribunal Spécial" at Addis-Ababa by the French legation nor a petition addressed to Dr. Benes, the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister, was successful in obtaining adequate reparation and satisfaction for the victims of this outrage, especially the unfortunate woman who is injured for life.

In October 1933, American negroes, who were taking part in a "Fantasia" at Mojou on the occasion of a harvest festival, also got a taste of Abyssinian brutality. As one of the attacked attempted to defend himself with a pistol he was so maltreated that his life was only saved by weeks of hospital treatment and the amputation of one of his legs.

In the autumn of 1933, in the interior of the country, an American missionary and his wife were attacked by natives, injured, and robbed of everything but the shirts they had on. The Legation of the United States demanded satisfaction of the Negus at Addis-Ababa. The "King of Kings" responded with a refusal accompanied by the question: what happens in America when a negro is attacked and robbed of his belongings! A request for advice addressed to the Department of State at Washington

brought the remarkable answer that it would be best to let the matter drop.

The disunited foreign representatives in Addis-Ababa, who often vie with each other, at the expense of those committed to their care, in gaining the favour of the Ethiopian government for reasons of private interest, have merely encouraged the insolence of the native authorities by their toleration and ignoring of acts of violence perpetrated by Abyssinians against white people. The weakness shown by the legations and Consuls is well-known among the population and is much spoken of. The result is that the natives get the impression that they are truly the unquestioned lords of the country and can do as they like with the white people.

This is the only possible explanation for the occurence of scenes like the following which took place on 8th October 1933 between a number of white people and officials of the Ethiopian state police at Coronation Monument Square in Addis-Ababa[1]). A military band composed of Shankalla negroes from the western provinces was to give a concert under the direction of the Swiss band-master. Instead of arriving at the appointed time at six o'clock, the corps turned up a quarter of an hour earlier with the result that the native police entrusted with the maintainance of order got into a hopeless muddle. Their Belgian commanders and istructors had not yet arrived but were fortunately already on their way to the place of the concert. All those present, without distinction of colour, insofar as they were standing on the roadway, were roughly pushed back by the police. It was originally planned that the foreigners should take up their position on the flagged pavement next to the monument

[1]) Cf. the article entitled "La police du concert" that appeared in the "Courier d'Ethiopie" for 13. X. 1933.

while the natives stood on the opposite side. In the general crush some of the white people found themselves at the extreme edge of the pavement and unable to work their way back through the mass of natives. Thereupon the excited zabanyas appeared, beating wildly about them with their whips, and pushed back the front row of the on-lookers, which included a number of white women, in the roughest possible manner. Policeman No. 208 laid hold of a white woman by the breasts and attempted to force her into the crowd behind. The German G. U., maddened by this insolence, flung himself at the zabanya. This was the signal for a wild scrimmage in the course of which some 20 native policemen went for the European and struck him down, and robbed him of his hat, riding-whip, and money. Only the timely arrival of the Belgian police officers put an end to the ruffianly behaviour of the Ethiopian police and prevented still worse excesses.

On 10th October 1933, the German engine fitter E. P. was forcibly arrested in Station Road by the Abyssinian policeman No. 223 for alleged breach of the traffic regulations. According to the custom of his country, the zabanya picked up stones to throw at him, while insulting and abusing him vilely. He then struck the German three times across the upper part of the body and the arms. To save the policeman from punishment, the native officials of the police headquarters intercepted the notices sent to the victim of this piece of blackguardliness. And when he appeared in person they found one excuse after another for preventing his access to the persons competent to deal with his case, so as to keep the matter dark and protect the culprit.

I now come to deal with the events in connection with the organized assault on the "Tabaries" Bar at Addis-Ababa which took place in the last days of October 1933, and which shows

up particularly clearly the state of tension between the white and the coloured people in Abyssinia. On the evening of 22nd October some ten Young-Abyssinians, in European clothes and a good deal the worse for drink, came into the bar and began rough-housing and molesting the Europeans present, for which reason the French manager made them leave the premises. They went away threatening that they would come back armed, and would compel all the white women to dance with them; they were the masters in the country. If they met with any resistance they would make use of their weapons at once, for "it is a matter of no consequence if a white man gets killed — in Europe this is happening every day — and the Legations do nothing anyway, as everyone knows from previous occasions!"

On the Sunday after, 29th October 1933, in the morning, there was a meeting of Young-Abyssinians at the house of Georges Herouy, son of the Imperial Ethiopian Minister for Foreign Affairs, to draw up a plan of campaign for the assault to be made that evening, which worked out as follows. One detachment of the Young-Abyssinians waited, in readiness to reinforce the attacking party, in the hall of the "Majestic" Hotel, which lies opposite the "Tabaries" Bar; while another detachment, armed with pistols and large knives, drove up to the Bar in a grey car deprived of its number-plates by way of precaution, and got out. A crowd of Ashkaris, armed with rifles, was posted as "reserve" in a narrow side street near the Bar. Care was taken to avoid making any fuss. After all, ordinary Abyssinians in native clothing are not allowed to go out in the streets after o'clock in the evening without a pass!

Towards 10 o'clock the Corsican manager, who kept quite cool and took his stand upon his rights, began to parley with the Young-Abyssinians who were becoming more and more

threatening in their behaviour. It took more than an hour after they had been called before police and a representative of the municipal authorities put in an appearance. Twice the police had to turn the Young-Abyssinians out of the premises. Contrary to the existing regulations, and without even the consent of the French consul being obtained, the Bar was then closed by the police and kept invested for days with an armed force. The Young-Abyssinians in the meantime made the most of their victory, and worked up a violent agitation against the white people all over the town. The natives who were guilty of breach of the peace, endangering the public safety, restriction of personal freedom, and other offences went unpunished. They even saw to it that the conscientous and plucky manager of the Bar left the country at once. The European proprietors of the Bar had to foot the bill, and all the white people in Addis-Ababa were insulted and terrorized.

Invariable Prejudicial Treatment of Foreigners

It is a principle that is universally observed in Abyssinia, to mete out judgment with two different measures. Natives who assault white people generally go unpunished, and many of them "escape". But if ever a foreigner makes use of the right accorded to him by law to administer corporal punishment to his Abyssinian employees who cannot be kept in hand for long by patient treatment and warnings alone, he is at once hailed before the court.

Thus the Egyptian physician Dr. I. B., who is married to a German, was sentenced to a heavy fine by the mixed "Tribunal Spécial". He caught one of his boys, who had been entrusted to him by his relatives expressly to be trained, for the third time in the act of stealing in his house, and gave him a whipping. Since the doctor refused to recognize the sentence he was expelled from the country.

If a European rider or an automobile with white occupants even touches a native, to say nothing of knocking him down or hurting him, a frightful fuss ensues. A big crowd gathers and hurls execrations at the foreigner. His horse or car is immediately "confiscated" by the insolent and overbearing zabanyas, with a view to extorting money later on in return for giving him back his property. The injured native writhes on the ground with cries of "I am dead! I have been murdered!". He is then carried off in triumph as a fresh proof of the abysmal

depravity of all white people, while the foreigner is sentenced to heavy fines out of all proportion to the damage done. In this way, for example, the German merchant H. W. B. was sentenced to a fine of 500 thalers.

However, when the lithographer K. L., now a planter in the interior, was run over more than three years ago in Addis-Ababa while walking at the edge of the pavement in front of the Majestic Hotel by a drunk chauffeur driving one of the Imperial cars without lights or number, it took months before the Abyssinian chaffeur was brought to trial, and no sentence has been passed to this day.

On 23rd November 1933, at the request of certain European protégés, who were said to feel threatened, domiciliary visits were carried out by the Ethiopian police in the houses of several Europeans. Since this was a matter between foreigners it should by rights have been reserved solely for the competency of consular jurisdiction. However, the consuls concerned did not hesitate to waive their rights. On the contrary, they actually attended — partly in person and partly trough deputies — the according to Abyssinian conceptions ignominious procedure conducted by bare-footed, coloured policemen in the houses of white people, even in the women's bedrooms.

I also had to put up with a visitation by natives, in spite of the clear terms of the capitulations, since I had been accused of being the leader of a fascist organisation and terrorist group of racially fanatical Europeans in Addis-Ababa.

On 6th December 1933 the German cabinet makers G. S. and F. H. were besieged in their house in Gullali Street in Addis-Ababa by a crowd of Abyssinians who had been engaged for the purpose. The whole property was covered with a hail of stones, both Europeans were injured, and material damage was

done. It was not until the natives had been attacking the closed door for some half an hour that the police turned up. They then made a show of arresting the leader of the crowd, and he was allowed to escape by Zabanya No. 983 on the way to the Town-Hall. In the case for damages brought against the Ethiopian government the Mixed Tribunal first declared itself not competent! On the intervention of the Legation a hearing is at last appointed, but is then repeatedly adjourned: once on account of one of the (alas, so numerous) Abyssinian holidays, another time on account of "illness of the Judge", and finally on account of the rains!

At the end of 1933 the wife of the Pole A. employed in the Ethiopian Ministry of Public Works was robbed of a hand-bag by two Abyssinians, as she was crossing Ras-Makonnen Street with her little girl. The zabanyas standing by did not comply with her request to go after the thieves. They did the same when in the middle of the day at almost exactly the same spot two Armenian merchants were deliberately jostled and tripped up, and robbed of the money-bags they were carrying in their hands.

On 15th January 1934, according to a carefully prepared plan, the Europeans frequenting a Café at the Star of Haile-Selassie Square in Addis-Ababa were provoked in the following manner. A well-known native rowdy stood at the door of the Café and greeted the white people as they entered with the words: "Cochons (pigs)! Foreigners have nothing to say here, and have got to hold their tongues!" After a time the *agent provocateur* went up into the upper rooms of the establishment and passed from table to table making insulting remarks and grinning maliciously. On being told by the proprietor to quit the premises, the Abyssinian seized a billiard-cue from the wall

and began belabouring the old man with it. The Europeans present went to the help of the assaulted proprietor, whereupon a group of Young-Abyssinians, who had been lying in wait below, came rushing up. A fight ensued in which, as is all too seldom the case, the white people won, although stones were flung through the windows from the street below and a big crowd of natives collected in front of the house and threatened the Europeans. The fact that there was no sign of a policeman to be seen throughout the whole of this rough-and-tumble, in spite of its comparatively long duration, and in spite of the shouting and the shattering of window-panes, points to the assumption that the whole affair was a put-up show, intended to give various Europeans a "reminder" or if possible to provoke them into using their weapons.

It is one of the methods practised by the Abyssinians, to aggravate the Europeans by constant vexation and chicanery to such a pitch that they come out of their reserve and are led to take steps which then apparently give individual natives or the Ethiopian government the right to take action "legally" against the white people.

This is more particularly the case in connection with leases and concession contracts with Europeans. The quarrel, which has now been going on for years, about the mica slate concession of the Greek A. B. S. is an example of this. S. negociated with the present Emperor who was at that time still Prince-Regent. After conclusion of the contract 263 days elapsed before any official notification was received by the Ethiopian authorities for the district in which the territory to be exploited lies. Permission to import the necessary explosives was also deferred for months. Nevertheless, all taxes and dues were levied immediately, and even payment required for the expenses of officially

appointed inspectors who in actual fact never arrived on the scene. The machines required for the work were distrained without interpellation of the Greek consul. All complaints, petitions, and calls for redress which the Greek entered were of no avail. S. did not even succed in obtaining an answer from the other party to the contract, the Emperor.

But it is also impossible to sue this party to the contract, the present sovereign, before the Mixed Tribunal, for fulfilment of the terms of the contract, since Article VII of the "Klobukowski Treaty" regulates merely the jurisdiction in litigation between foreigners and subjects of the Emperor ("sujets de l'empereur") of Ethiopia.

In practice, therefore, the European partner or party to a contract cannot be certain of having his rights recognized and enforced, since in all cases of dispute the Abyssinian government is opposed to arbitration on principle.

If arbitration be provided for in contracts concluded by the Ethiopian government the work of the arbitrators will be baulked with great skill and perseverence. In the case of the German physician Dr. O. Sch., for instance, who worked for years as the director of a hospital in the eastern provinces of Abyssinia, treated with nothing but chicanery by the central government, without to this day receiving his salary from the Ministry of the Interior at Addis-Ababa, it was stated quite openly to the German legation that I would not be tolerated as the physician's representative in a court of arbitration on the ground that my anti-Abyssian attitude was well known. This conduct was directly contradictory to the fundamental idea underlying the principle of arbitration embodied in the contracts.

In general, the Abyssinians are extremely skilful at exploiting the Europeans under the most various pretexts, at cheating

them of their wages or at tormenting them until they lose patience and do something rash which gives the natives an excuse to bring up a charge of breach of contract and to deny the validity of all financial claims on them. As already pointed out, the Abyssinians regard themselves as the exclusive lords of the land, and they consequently do as they please.

Or to give another example. When the German blacksmith P. U. asked for payment of his account for the shoeing of the horses belonging to the Imperial stable, not only did the various court officials deny all responsibility and systematically obstruct settlement, but the government proceeded to „punish" him by refusing to take delivery of a large wrought iron gate the order for which had been given before witnesses, and which had cost a great deal of painstaking work to make. As a European, he was a defenceless prey to this high-handed dealing.

The official representatives of the government are not ashamed to admit quite openly that it is their principle to repudiate troublesome obligations towards white people. At the hearing of the case brought, at the turn of the year 1933, by the Austrian engineer H. F. against the the Imperial Ethiopian Ministry for Public Works for payment of the salary he had not received for years past the official representative of the Ministry concerned remarked disdainfully: "And even if we are sentenced we shall not pay!"

Administration of justice on these lines regularly gives rise to difficulties in the suits for damages brought in by the Europeans and leaders of caravans who are robbed in the interior of the country. If a foreigner should ever succeed in obtaining execution of a sentence found against Abyssinians he will from that time on be looked upon by the natives as their sworn enemy and will live in constant danger of his life.

The case commented on at the time in all the European papers, of the Imperial Ethiopian court physician who had to take flight to save his life will still be fresh in most people's memory. The treacherous attempt on the life of a white woman made in 1933 by revengeful Abyssinian "lords" is less well known. The former music-hall artiste P. F. from Slovakia, aged 60, had long been entrusted with the joint management, together with a Greek, of the Imperial kitchen. Since she often had differences with the Abyssinian court officials, who treated her in an incredible manner, called her "slave", and knocked her about in the presence of her own subordinates, and since she occasionally raised a protest and even got a chauffeur reprimanded for assaulting her, the natives conceived such hatred of her that they smuggled one of the customary poisons of the country into her food. It was a mere matter of chance that as the slow-working poison began to take effect, a renewed dispute caused the Abyssinian *chef* to forget himself so far as to tell her that she had brought it on herself anyway and that it was to be hoped that she would soon die of the poison they had given her. She was at once admitted to the French hospital and recovered after six weeks of treatment. Needless to say, she did not return to her post, and had to be glad to get her pay for the time she had actually worked.

It takes a person who has actually worked in Abyssinian service, even if only for a short time, to realize how the natives can torment and harass a European. For even service in the Imperial palace gives no protection! The Czechoslovakian fitter J. D., who has been looking after the electric plant and installation in the "Ghibi" of the Negus for years past, was stopped and knocked off his motor-bicycle, together with his two grown-up sons, for attempting to drive past a detachment

of Abyssinian soldiers at the end of April 1935. All three white men were seriously injured.

A trying experience, attended with serious losses, fell to the lot of the Hungarian physician Dr. K. M. who in 1925 was given a post under contract by Ras Hajlu of Gojjam but passed over later into the service of the Imperial Ethiopian War Ministry.

In Gojjam he was not given adequate quarters either for his personal use or for the purpose of his medical practice, but merely a half roofed-over, stable-like space situated between stinking civet-cat cages and equipped with nothing but a table. His salary was not paid. On the occasion of various festivals he was subjected to the ignominious treatment and assaults of several of the magnate's officials. Contrary to the terms of his contract, he was not even refunded the expenses of the caravan journey from Addis-Ababa to Gojjam. To save himself from complete ruin, Dr. M. was compelled to leave his animals, apparatus, and weapons behind him and to return to Addis-Ababa. He obtained no redress. After all, it is a recognized rule, and has been stated in as many words by the Abyssinians themselves, that "an Abyssinian Ras need never pay"!

Although Dr. M. had done outstanding service in the campaign of 1930 against the Galla insurrection, and had been decorated with the Order of the Star of Ethiopia, the treatment he received in the succeeding years as physician in the service of the War Ministry during the military operations in Ogaden in 1931/1932 was such as to warn any white man for all time not to accepe any offer however attractive from Abyssinians.

Dr. M. had been assured of treatment fitting to his rank, and provisioning on European lines. However, in accordance

with the orders of the commanding General, Gabre-Maryam, he was sent forward with a vanguard detachment, without water or tinned food. The whole of his baggage was kept back with the transport section, and Dr. M. was compelled to march for weeks through the desert with practically no clothing and short of food. He only saved his life by crossing the frontier into Italian Somaliland. In the meantime, to crown it all, Gerasmatch Bezabyech-Silleshi had his boxes broken open in the market-place of Legadamo, and stole more than 500 silver thalers which he apropriated for his own use.

After his return to Addis-Ababa, it took months of negociating before Dr. M. got back a part of his property. The greater part of his photographic material and apparatus and his surgical instruments had becoone entirely spoilt in the storage at Ogaden. In the actions for damages, the Abyssinians adopted their usual delaying tactics. The *Kantiba* in charge of the case, the present Minister of the Interior Dejasmatch Makonnen, adjourned the hearing no less than thirty times, and actually never allowed it to take place, although he was on three occasions odered to do so by the Emperor personally in the presence of the plaintiff.

The above-mentioned Gerasmatch Bezabyech-Silleshi is a particularly remarkable personage. He stands in great favour in the highest places, and the most delicate missions are entrusted to him unofficially. This also explains why it proved impossible to bring this man to book for his scandalous and criminal behaviour towards Dr. M. at Legadamo.

Incidentally, *the Abyssinian military operations in Ogaden at that time must definitely be regarded as a systematic preparation for their subsequent attacks on Italian Somaliland.* It is more than remarkable that in the succeeding months of

the years 1932/33 that very Gerasmatch Bezabyech-Silleshi was conducting negociations, at Addis-Ababa and at the new residence of the Emperor's son-in-law in the interior of the country, with the Jewish dealers in armaments, Katzengold and Nebenzahl, from Belgium. These negociations are of course officially denied by the Imperial Ethiopian War Ministry.

The Abyssinian officers and high officials do business with a motley crowd of shady dealers in arms and material of war, ostensibly of course "on their own account", but in actual fact for the Ethiopian army. With the support of the native chiefs, but without the consent or knowledge of the neighbouring colonial powers, they then smuggle the purchased material into the country. The arms are generally landed at night near the port of Assab, where the Italian colony of Eritrea is narrowest, and then smuggled through to the Ethiopian frontier on camels [1]).

The covert arming of the Abyssinians, and the open attacks of their military formations on foreign territory are the best proofs of the hostile intentions of the present regime in Ethiopia towards the European powers.

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[1]) The smuggling of arms by this route has now been barred, and is now mainly conducted over the frontiers of the British colonies and of the Sudan. The declared importation of arms, munition, and other material of war, is regulated by a *Treaty signed at Paris on 25th August 1930* between Ethiopia, Italy, France, and Great Britain, and is subject to the control of the three Great Powers. In the first half of 1935 Abyssinia imported through Jibuti merely 16.000 rifles, 600 machine-guns, and 3.500.000 rounds of ammunition from Belgium and Czechoslovakia, and 2 anti-aircraft guns of Swiss origin. Application has also been made for permission to import the following: 1400 rifles, 2850 carbines, 7 million rounds of ammunition, 9 cases of chemicals from Hamburg weighing 900 lbs., and 2 containers of poison gas.

The Abyssinian Attacks on Foreign Countries

The present international complications resulted from a long series of raids conducted by armed Ethiopian formations in bordering colonial possessions of Great Britain, France, and Italy.

As far back as the year 1932, at the time of the above-mentioned military operations in Ogaden, Ethiopian soldiers attacked the military escort of the British District-Commissioner of Archisa and killed British subjects, at Pastorahi on the border of British Somaliland.

On 26th February 1933, the Sultan of Owssa, the Province of Abyssinia which borders on French Somaliland to the south-west, invaded the French colony with a force of more than 5000 men, and demanded in the name of the Emperor of Ethiopia the surrender of Fort Dikkil.

At the beginning of November 1933, the Abyssinian tribe of the Anauks made a sortie into the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, burned down several villages, killed a number of Sudanese, and carried off 73 women and children and large herds of cattle. All that the British government succeeded in getting from the Negus was the giving back of 67 women and the payment of a fine.

In the first half of the month of November 1934, in the night, armed Abyssinians carried out a well-planned attack on the exterritorial property of the Italian Consulate at Goodar. The attack was repulsed after a hard fight in the course of which one man was killed and two were wounded on the Italian side. In response to the official protest raised by the Italian government, the Governor of Gondar had to make an apology, the police commander of the town was removed from

his post, and a detachment of Ethiopian troops presented arms, bare-headed, before the Italian flag. The originators of the attack, who had been taken "pro forma" into custody, were let out by the Abyssinian government a short time after, thus documenting the real attitude of the Abyssinians.

On 23rd November 1934, the British-Ethiopian frontier regulating Commission came upon an Italian outpost who refused to allow the armed Abyssinian troops accompanying the Commission to advance on to the territory of Italian Somaliland. The Abyssinians obtained reinforcements from the neighbourhood of Gerlogubi, and opened the attack on the Italians on 5th December under the command of General Fitaorari Alemayo. In the ensuing skirmish at Wal-Wal the Italian losses were heavy: 40 killed and 400 wounded.

In connection with this encounter at Wal-Wal it must in fairness be stated, as was done by Sir John Simon on 17th December 1934 in the House of Commons, that the frontier between Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland has not as yet been defined. The explanations given by the Abyssinian government are therefore inadmissible, as also the arguments put forward in an official statement issued by the Imperial Ethiopian Consulate-General at Berlin in December 1934, which is composed of contradictory contentions. This declaration tries to make out on the one hand that the encounter was occasioned by the work of the frontier commission, and on the other hand maintains that it took place "well within Ethiopian territory", which contentions are of course incompatible with each other.

On 21st January 1935 Abyssinian border tribes from the province of Dankali invaded the territory of French Somaliland near Lake Abbhè. They massacred 88 Somali natives, and in the course of the ensuing fighting killed the Administrator

M. Bernard, who commanded the French military detachment engaged, and 18 Senegalese riflemen belonging to the colonial troops stationed at Jibuti. As always, the Ethiopian government repudiated all responsibility. It was only after the general situation had turned against Abyssinia that the government of the French Republic obtained at least an assurance from Addis Ababa that the Abyssinian government was willing to discuss what measures should be adopted in the future to prevent the recurrence of such incidents. What a success and what satisfaction in return for the destruction of 107 human lives!

On 29th January 1935 Abyssinians again attacked Italian frontier outposts in the vicinity of Afdub. This renewed onslaught of Ethiopian troops in the territory of Italian Somaliland tried the patience of the Italians too far, and they mobilized several divisions as an answer to the growing aggressiveness of the Abyssinians towards the neighbouring colonies.

On 20th March 1935 armed Abyssinians made a raid into Italian Somaliland between Elbeir and Agable. They surprised Italian camel-riders, stole about 100 camels, and returned with them into Abyssinia. The pursuit of the robbers, which was taken up at once by a flying detachment of the frontier troops, had to be given up, to avoid complications.

In the night of 23rd of the same month an Italian frontier patrol led by a non-commissioned officer of the Carabinieri was fired on by a group of armed Abyssinians who had advanced some 300 yards over the Italian frontier. One of the Italians was seriously wounded. The Italian Minister at Addis Ababa was instructed to raise a protest with the Abyssinian government against this breach of international law, and to enter a claim for damages.

On 10th April 1935 Italian caravans were again attacked and

plundered, thus plainly showing that the Abyssinians were planning their attacks systematically. About the same time the natives were being incited to further raids into Italian Somaliland by the concentration of Abyssinian troops between Faf and the river Foka in the territory of Shef Marodi.

On 4th May 1935 a soldier belonging to the small Italian frontier-guard at Gogula (in Eritrea) was killed by Abyssinians who stole his arms.

On 31st May 1935 there occurred two encounters, one in Eritrea and the other in Somaliland. In the Danakil territory Abyssinians attacked an Italian outpost, killing some 30 native Italian subjects and stealing about 2000 head of cattle. At the same time in the neighbourhood of Mustahil on the Webi-Shebeli about 20 armed Abyssinians set about crossing the Italian lines, and opened fire in spite of a warning.

About the turn of the month of June, 1935, armed Ethiopian frontier tribes attacked some soldiers of the regular army in the Sudan. According to the report of the incident given in the Egyptian paper "Mussauar" in Cairo, the Abyssinians had to be driven back by British military aeroplanes with the use of machine-gun fire and bombs.

On 6th June 1935 the Italian consul at Harrar, who was on his way to Dire-Dowa in a car, collided with an Abyssinian cavalry detachment coming towards him on the same road. The Abyssinian troops took up a threatening attitude towards the consul, attempted to arrest him, and insulted him grossly.

On the same day, the native *kawass* of the Italian consulate at Harrar, while on his way to the post, was attacked by some twenty Abyssinians including members of the town police and soldiers in uniform who threw stones at him, stopped him, surrounded him, and injured him with sticks.

At the end of July 1935, the Special Correspondent of the Times brought the news, which has not yet been officially confirmed, that in the neighbourhood of Walkeit or Dalkeit (?) in North-West Abyssinia (that is to say behind Gondar on the frontier of Eritrea) an Ethiopian force had encountered Italian troops camping on a river. The Abyssinians had diverted the water and attacked the Italians at night. Forty Italians and twenty Ethiopians were said to have been killed.

Considering the long and uninterrupted succession of Abyssinian assaults, in which the vital interests and rights of white people and European powers have been flaunted and infringed time and time again, the effrontery is stupendous with which the Abyssinians try to make out that they are the attacked and the aggrieved. It has been impossible as yet to obtain any sort of satisfaction for the outrages already committed, or adequate guarantees for the prevention of the further growth of hostility and breach of contract in the future.

On the contrary, it is definitely to be feared that the anti-European policy pursued by the Abyssinian government will be intensified as time goes on. The government is hardly capable of keeping the masses of the population in check, even if they wanted to.

The cause of peace is being badly served by hesitancy in the eradication of this plague-spot in East Africa. The more time is lost the greater the danger becomes that the neighbouring countries and territories will become infected with the poison of the Ethiopian anti-European movement.

Are we really going to wait until all the white people in Abyssinia have been slaughtered before at last deciding to clear up the Abyssinian question once and for all?

III.

Abyssinia and the World

Is there any justification for the hope that the Abyssinians will become more amenable to the rightful aims and wishes of the white races in the near future?

Is the Imperial Ethiopian government capable of curbing the masses of the population which they have for years been training to insolence and hatred towards all that is European? Can they build up a state fit to live on equal terms with other civilized states?

Before these questions can be answered some account must be given of the Abyssinian institutions, and of the achievements and resources of the Abyssinian government.

1.

The Foundations of the Ethiopian Empire

In an article in the "Evening Standard" (London, February 1935) Evelyn Waugh asks with what right Europeans interfere in the affairs of Abyssinia, and gives as the answer that in the greater part of the territory of the so-called "Ethiopian Empire" the *Abyssinians* are just as much foreigners as are the Italians. The empire of the Negus had been built up by conquest and forcible annexation. Emperor Menelik established his rule over peoples and tribes differing entirely from each other in race, religion, and history. The Italians thus had just as much right to the rulership of Ethiopia as the Abyssinians. The administration of Abyssinia by Italians would above all, though, be to the advantage of Ethiopia and the whole of East Africa...

It was only by his political genius that Menelik succeeded in bringing all the nations covered by his subsequent empire under his own sway, and in holding them together. By virtue of his authority, his success in war, and the spell cast by the fact of his descent from the dynasty of Solomon, he succeeded in shaking off the Italian Protectorate over Abyssinia established by the Treaty of Uccialli dating from the year 1889. It was only as long as he kept the reins of government in his powerful hands that Abyssinia looked like developing into a full-fledged sovereign state.

The *Convention* concluded in London in 1906 by Grey, Cambon, and San-Giuliano in the names of Great Britain,

France, and Italian bound the contracting parties to respect the neutrality of the country as long as the "*status quo*" lasted, that is to say as long as Ethiopia remained in an ordered state and on friendly terms with the European powers; in the event of internal upheaval or other disturbance of the established conditions in Abyssinia, the parties to the Convention were to take concerted action.

The country was partitioned into the following spheres of interest:

British: Lake Tana with the whole of the country containing the sources of the Blue Nile, and the western part of Abyssinia.

French: The country behind the French colony of Somaliland (i. e. the Sultanate of Aussa and the district of Harrar), and the Franco-Ethiopian railway including a belt of country on each side of the track.

Italian: The whole of the territory behind the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland, and the country to the west of Addis-Ababa connecting these two territories [1]).

Through the rash admission of Ethiopia into the League of Nations this institution is now finding itself in the uncomfortable position of an adoptive father who suddenly becomes aware of all the inherited but hitherto latent passions and vices of his adopted child, the consequences of which he is now compelled to put up with.

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[1]) See the outline map of Ethiopia on page 94. and based on Carlo Rossetti, "Storia diplomatica della Etiopia", Turin, 1910.

2.

Abyssinia and the League of Nations

In order that at least the most modest requirements that could be expected of a State be fulfilled, Ethiopia was required, on admission into the League of Nations, to pledge itself to do all in its power to maintain public order and safety within its boundaries, to provide the basis for guaranteeing the fulfilment of its international obligations by declaring its state budget, to attend to the demarcation of such parts of its frontiers as had not yet been defined, and finally to take the necessary steps to abolish slavery.

That the central executive at Addis-Ababa is not capable of performing its police function in all the provinces ostensibly belonging to the Ethiopian Empire is notorious, and is demonstrated clearly enough by the incidents recounted in the preceding chapter. This all-important deficiency will be further dealt with in the present chapter. At all events, neither the natives nor the foreigners in Abyssinia are assured either of personal safety or of the possibility of peaceful development.

As regards the uncertainty of the frontier, the Ethiopian government was extremely reluctant to do its part in appointing frontier commissions, and then showed great aptitude for delaying and thwarting their work.

Slavery is still as wide-spread as ever in Abyssinia. Up to the present no steps have been taken to deal with even the

worst aspects of this sorry question, namely slave traffic and slave hunting.

In her book on slavery in Abyssinia, which appeared in 1934, Lady Kathleen Simon, the wife of the British foreign Minister, estimates the number of natives still living in slavery to be at least two million. The atrocity of slave hunting is still being practised by avaricious Abyssinian slave traders. The miserable victims are treated worse than cattle as they are herded and driven throught the country in chains. In view of the abundance of their goods ("black ivory"), the leaders of the slave caravans can afford to ignore those who collapse from hunger or exhaustion, and leave them by the way-side to die of starvation or to fall a prey to wild beasts. And this picture is reality today, more than ten years after the government of the Ethiopian Empire undertook solemnly, as a condition of its admission into the League of Nations, to suppress *every* form of slavery.

Barbarity of this description puts the country outside the pale of self-respecting States. And it is the merest equivocation to begin talking about the hardships of the "unemployed freed slaves". Understanding and sympathy are due in the first place to the white people in Abyssinia many of whom have had to put up with the barbarity of the natives foe years past, and not a few of whom have literally been leading a slave's life. And then the children robbed from their villages and sold into Arabia, after unspeakable treatment, by the Abyssinian slave-traders should surely be thought of before the adult slaves who can be relied on to fend for themselves in this anything but impoverished country.

A wholly mistaken course is that of sending disguised commissions of enquiry consisting of a few private individuals, as was done in 1932 by the English Society for the Combatting

of Slavery which also submitted a report on its work to the League of Nations. Lord N. Buxton spent some weeks with his relative Count A. B. and the Dutchman J. N. in the interior of Abyssinia, without knowing one of the native languages. He merely made himself ridiculous by his invariable question of "Is that a slave?" while he jerkily pointed a finger. Every white man who has lived any length of time in Ethiopia, or even merely travelled in the western provinces, is better informed than his lordship.

There can be no peace in East Africa, where peaceful peoples are in danger from the assaults and raids of uncivilized hordes which still follow the tradition of castrating the enemies they capture, until an adequate military force, trained and equipped on European lines, has been established to keep order.

At all events, there should be no room in the League of Nations for peoples among whom such customs and practices are possible, and which use the *red cross* as a sign on the door curtains of their public brothels, as is done in the case of the Abyssinian "Tetchbiets".

3.

Ethiopia and the Foreign Powers

It has already been mentioned that the Ethiopian government has been adopting a hostile attitude in recent times precisely towards those powers that were in favour of the admission of Ethiopia into the League of Nations.

Contrary to the principle hitherto observed by the Abyssinians, of not permitting the leasing to foreigners of continuous tracts of land of any appreciable area, especially near the frontiers, Ethiopia has placed 4½ million acres of land at the disposal of Japanese colonists and planters, in pursuance of the (partly secret) agreements made between the Abyssinian foreign minister and the Japanese government. Here the Japanese colonists are allowed to plant cotton, and, according to an American report [1]), opium.

The former of these two concessions means a serious rebuff to the European powers, while the second should never have been granted in a country which is still a member of the League of Nations which officially combats the planting of opium.

The prejudicial treatment of European powers and their subjects by Abyssinia, in contravention of the contractual rights accruing to them from the principle of most-favoured-nation treatment, also extends to other fields. A number of Japanese are now to be given posts in the Ethiopian customs and postal

[1]) "Columbia", Winona-Milwaukee-St. Louis, No. 52 (Dec. 1933).

services, and in other branches of the civil service. A commission of Japanese engineers has been entrusted with carrying out the preparations for the laying out of aerodromes. Negociations are perpetually in progress for the purchasing of armaments on a large scale from Japan.

The European powers have resisted to the utmost of their capacity the noticeable growth of Japanese imports to all parts of Abyssinia, and have called the attention of the whole world to the Japanese encroachments on the trade in European and American goods in Abyssinia. They have demanded the employment of the strictest possible measures to combat the methods adopted by the Abyssinians with the obvious aim of dislodging all white people from Abyssinia. And in spite of all this, the Abyssinian government did not hesitate, in the spring of 1934, without consulting the diplomatic missions of the interested European powers, to bring in a new customs tariff, covering 20 typewritten pages, by which preferential treatment on an extensive scale was again granted to goods imported from Japan.

Hand in hand with this economic understanding between Ethiopia and Japan plans have been made for the effecting of mixed marriages between the eligible Japanese settlers (estimated at about 2000 in number) and native Abyssinian women. The declared policy which is intended to produce a new race of leaders in the united revolt of the coloured peoples against the white races, was to have been inaugurated by the marriage of Princess Masako, a daughter of the Japanese prince Kuroda to the Ethiopian prince Lij Ayalé. It is said that Italy succeeded at the last moment in preventing this alliance.

In every direction, the present Abyssinian government under Emperor Hailé Selassie I is getting rid of the tutelage of the

hitherto indispensable European advisers and experts and appointing Japanese in their place. Not only are the Japanese less expensive on account of their lower standard of living, but they are naturally more trusted by the Abyssinians who feel united to them by the bond of common enmity towards the white races.

The question of filling the posts of advisers and experts in the Ethiopian civil service, which have hitherto been occupied exclusively by Europeans and Americans, has always been one of particular difficulty. The Abyssinian government has followed the principle of appointing as few representatives as possible of the three great powers England, France, and Italy that have possessions adjacent its frontiers, and has shown a preference for members of the smaller European states.

Thus, the organisation of military instruction was entrusted first to Swiss, then to Belgians, and finally to Swedes [1]). The Belgians also re-organized the police force.

One of the keys to an understanding of the appointment of the Swedish military mission to Abyssinia is the personal friendship between the Emperor and the Swedish consul Dr. Carl Hanner. The consul was in Sweden in 1933, and certainly sounded the question of the Swedish instructors under the leadership of General Virgin, as also that of the much discussed visit of the Crown Prince. This visit of the Swedish crown prince of course gave the Abyssinians another welcome opportunity to air their grievances, to give themselves a good pat on the back, and to work up material for their propaganda to dupe public opinion.

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[1]) Dr. Kolmodin, the Swedish adviser to the Foreign Office at Addis-Ababa, who died in 1933, was replaced by the American Prof. Ernest Work who also represented Ethiopia in the League of Nations.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that the personal relations between the various foreign representatives and the Abyssinians are of more decisive importance in Addis-Ababa than elsewhere. Although, for example, the Greek consul-general and chargé d'affaires Dr. Zervos is physician in waiting to the Emperor, the conclusion should not be drawn from this fact, that Greeks who have suffered wrong at the hands of Abyssinians can not rely on him to stand up for their interests.

Generally speaking, it is unfortunately those entrusted to the protection of the foreign powers who have to bear the consequences of the all too "good footing" on which their legations and consulates stand with the Abyssinians. The good relations are kept up at the expense of the white people whose cause is by no means adequately supported in litigation with the Abyssinians. Everywhere in the offices of the legations there are to be found old-established factotums of doubtful racial origin who have been for years the only permanent elements in the changing tide of events, and who consequently tend to bevome the real chargés d'affaires and interpreters in all intercourse between their diplomatists and the Abyssinian government. In consequence of their knowledge of local things, people, and languages these individuals are often even deputed to represent the consuls in the Mixed Court. Thus, a white man, who has been sued by a native purely out of malice or chicanery, can find himself in the position of having his case tried before a court consisting of an Ethiopian chairman and an Asiatic assessor.

Under these circumstances can it be wondered at that all Europeans in Abyssinia are longing for decent administration and jurisdiction, for the maintainance of law and order, and for the establishing of a European protectorate over Abyssinia?

The diplomatic corps has always adopted a passive attitude

towards purely Abyssinian affairs. The disunity of the European powers has prevented united and determined action, and has made "laisser faire, laisser passer" the political axiom of the diplomatic corps.

The legations and consulates in Addis-Ababa are now earning the fruits of their sins of omission and their complaisance in the past years. Several Italian consulates in the interior of the country, being devoid of all security, were given up in the course of the summer 1935, and the fate of the foreign legations and consulates in the capital is more than doubtful in the event of the outbreak of hostilities between Abyssinia and a European power. For although the Ethiopian government, as a special act of courtesy, consented to the reinforcement of the guard attached to the British legation by 150 Indian soldiers, it turned down all similar requests made by the other legations, and at the same time refused to accept any formal responsibility for their protection! "Caveant consules . . ."

4.

The Imperial Dynasty of Solomon and the Principle of Legitimacy

The principle of non-interference which is observed by the foreign powers from lack of concord, and which is also followed when existing contracts give the right to interfere, also accounts for the undisputed recognition of Hailé Selassie's accession to the Imperial throne of Ethiopia. The legitimate occupant, Lij Yassu, has been kept imprisoned for years past after having been deposed during the reign of Empress Zowditu, who succeeded her father Menelik II, with the aid of the then Prince-Regent Ras Tefferi-Makonnen and his long-sighted intrigues.

Emperor Lij Yassu, a son of Ras Mikael of Vollo-Galla, who claimed descent from a side line of the stock of the Imams of Muskat in Eastern Arabia, but who went over from Islam to the monophysitic Abyssinian Church, and of the younger daughter of Emperor Menelik named Shoa-Regash, was proclaimed, with full legal force and validity, heir to the throne on 15th July 1908 by his imperial grandfather, and ruled as Emperor from 14th February 1910 until 27th September 1916.

He was married several times, one of his wives being a daughter of Ras Hylou of Gojjam, and he has a son who is

now about 16 and a little daughter, both of whom are living in exile.

But even if the whole of this line had died out, the next legitimate heirs to the throne would be the descendants of Meredasmatch Hailé-Mikael, a younger brother of King Hailé-Malekott of Shoa (the father of Menelik II), who are living in the south-western part of the country [1]).

Ras-Makonnen (Imperial Governor of Harrar), the father of the usurper Tefferi-Makonnen, the present Emperor Hailé-Selassie I, was a son of Volde-Mikael Gudessa, who was Bal-Abat ("hereditary lord") of Doba, and was only descended from the so-called Dynasty of Solomon on the female side, through his mother Voyzero Tennenye-Work who was a sister of King Hailé Malekott and of Meredasmatch Hailé-Mikael.

The legend of the descent of the Ethiopian imperial house from King Solomon of Judah and the Queen of Sheba (King Menelik I, the traditional ancestor of the old Kings of Axum, is said to have sprung from this union) is traceable to ancient times. But this descent can not be substantiated by documents or from original sources. All that can be proved with certainty is continuity of descent of the present ruling house from about the middle of the 16th century onwards, so that there is no real historical foundation for the old legend, or for the feelings of pride and reverence which the Abyssinians entertain for "their august forbears, the ancient Israelites" of which the President of the Senate, Bitwoted Voldé-Tsaddik, so pointedly spoke at the opening of Parliament.

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[1]) Cf. my article entitled "The Genealogy of the Ethiopian Imperial Dynasty" in Rivista Araldica, Rome 1933, and the article on Abyssinia, revised by myself, in the Gotha Almanach. 1934.

The journey to Jerusalem undertaken in September 1933 by Voyzero Menen, the present Empress, had for its object to put new life into these legends and traditions linked up with the names of Solomon and Sheba.

The nations and tribes peopling the Ethiopian Empire, irrespective of their religious confession, are perfectly aware of these facts, and therefore do not look upon the present Emperor as the "anointed of the Lord", which the aged Menelik definitely was for them. On the contrary, with their deep-rooted sense of a vassal's fealty which is alive in every section of the population, they regard him as an accursed offender against the will of Emperor Menelik II, and as a felonous law-breaker.

For these reasons, the peoples dwelling in the more distant parts of the country still adhere to their traditional tribal chiefs, irrespective of whether these latter have been deprived of the greater part of their rights as rulers by the appointment of Imperial officials in their provinces (as in the case of the family of the Sultan Abbat-Jifar of Jimma, who died early in 1935, and whose province has been forcibly put under the governorship of Ras Desta-Damptu, the son-in-law of the Negus, in the face of Italy's protest) or of whether the Emperor has actually deposed and imprisoned them, as in the case of Ras Hylou of Gojjam.

The most noteworthy fact in connection with this forcible conversion of the old Abyssinian feudal state into a centrally administered, or rather exploited, state, is the fact that the present ruler, Emperor Hailé-Selassie, has not dared for practically twenty years to have either the ligitimate wearer of the crown, Lij Yatsu, or the hereditary chief Ras Hylou of

Gojjam put to death, either to order or "by chance" [1]). Although this was done in the case of a number of other Abyssianian chiefs, who may even have helped the Negus in carrying out his coup d'état, in the interests of "preserving the unity of the Empire", and also because of the useful private fortunes that could in this way be made to drop into the Emperor's hand.

At all events, noone who is acquainted with the conditions in Ethiopia can deny that the dominion of Emperor Hailé-Selassie I is not anchored either in the laws of heredity or in the hearts of the Abyssinians.

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[1]) Henri de Monfreid, one of the best informed writers on the secrets of Abyssinian politics, reports that Emperor Lij Yassu, who was last known to be living in Gara-Mulata, is said to have been put to death about the turn of the year 1934 by the administration of carefully dosed narcotics and vegetable poisons. However according to the most recent rumours the state captive was secretly taken, some months ago, to Addis-Alem, a place about 35 miles west of Addis-Ababa.

5.

The Problems of the Unitary State and Internal Administration

The territory claimed by Addis-Ababa is populated by some 12 million people of which about 40% belong to the Christian Abyssinian Church, about 40% to Islam, while 15% are heathen. The remainder belong to the Jewish, the Roman Catholic, and the Protestant Churches.

From the point of view of race, the Amharic ruling people includes the Abyssinians proper (occupying the central part of the country), the Gallas, the Gojjams, and the Kushites of Tigré. The Danakils and the Somalis, which people the eastern provinces, are Hamites. The dwellers in the western and southernmost regions are negroes or of mixed race. The negroid element becomes more and more pronounced towards the west.

Each people constitutes a commonwealth the area of which generally coincides with that in which its language is spoken. These entities are ruled by hereditary native chiefs, and constitute the component parts of the Ethiopian federal state. The tribal chiefs of the Christian areas (for example of Axum and Gondar), and also of the heathen Kaffas, used to be known and still are in part known by the royal titles of "Negus" and "Ras", meaning Prince. The mohamedan princedoms (for example Harrar, Jimma, Owssa, Beneshangull)

are sultanates. The remaining regions are granted in fee by the Emperor to governors with the title of "Dejasmatch".

The internal administration of the individual districts varies from one to the other, but is more or less built up on the feudal system. The chiefs are lieutenant-governors and miltary commandants in one person. They in their turn pass on civil offices and military posts to their friends, relations, and Abyssinian grandees who have their orders carried out by their servants. Latterly the central government has been beginning to establish police stations at least in the larger places in the interior of the country, to combat the plundering and robbery that is rife everywhere.

This decentralization of administration has of course led to a very considerable want of uniformity in all branches of public life. The maintainance of order and security, and the enforcement of laws and regulations in the whole country can not be guaranteed from Addis-Ababa.

That the central government has no effective hold or authority over the provincial districts is adequately proved by the fact that a foreigner, before travelling into the interior of the country, has to obtain a special passport which is issued by the Ethiopian Ministry of the *Exterior* at Addis-Ababa (as if he were going to foreign countries) and bearing the great imperial seal. This document is a confession that the central government at Addis-Ababa has no executive power in the distant provinces of the Empire, but is dependent on the goodwill of the local authorities to whom it commends the foreign traveller.

Every white man in Abyssinia knows that this passport is of no great value. For about 20 miles round the capital and on both sides of the railway the local officials salute at the

sight of the seal. But soon after that, presentation of the imperial passport will produce a smile and some such remark as this: "Hailé-Selassie? Dont know him! Kindly be good enough to tell me the name of his lord!" [1])

The same experience is met with in the law-courts. In the courts at Salali, for example, the only form of oath that is recognized is "Ba Kassa-i moot" ("by the death of Kassa"), calling on the name of Ras Kassa, the chief of the province, and not on that of the Emperor. At the words "Ba Hailé Selassie moot" the whole assembly will burst into laughter.

The Emperor's authority is in fact often maintained only by the use of drastic measures of enforcement. It is intentional misrepresentation, when the Ethiopian government announces to the world, in flowery language, that "the Abyssinian people are *as one man* in their resistance to subjugation". A clearer proof of the disunity of Ethiopia could hardly be imagined than that afforded by the assault on the imperor's court train by thousands of natives at Afden, in the heart of Abyssinia, at the beginning of June 1935.

Actually, *there is no such thing as a unified Abyssinian people*, but merely an Amharic minority amounting to about 20% of the total population, which nominally rules all the peoples living in the Ethiopian empire, keeping them under its yoke, as far as its strength and influence allow, and in a state of slavery. The greater part of the non-Christian tribes in Abyssinia have no more burning desire than to be freed from the tyranny of the Amhars. If they could vote freely, they would certainly prefer a European protectorate, with the

[1]) Count Ludwig Huyn, "Wandering through Abyssinia. Concerning Steppes, Primeval Forest, Men, and Animals". Prachatice 1934. Page 51. (Four day trips inland from Addis-Ababa.)

prospect of progress under ordered and settled conditions, to their present life under the oppression of harsh and universally hated extortioners and slave-drivers.

The numerous insurrections of recent years, such as those of the Galla in 1930 and of the Gojamis in 1932, and those which took place in 1932 at the time the legitimate emperor Lidj Yassu fled from Fitché in the province of Salali, are sufficient proof of the precarious internal condition of the so-called empire of Ethiopia. This country is cracking at all its joints, and has only been kept together up to the present by methods of ruthless coercion.

The chiefs who were faithful to their oaths of allegiance, and were taken prisoner with the legitimate emperor in the last rising, were strung up to the gallows in front of the gates of Addis-Ababa like common malefactors, in defiance of martial law.

But those who were capable of this action are incapable of preventing armed hordes of thousands of Abyssinian subjects from carrying out raids over the frontier, and murdering and pillaging in foreign territory. The political events of the years 1933—1935 are full of proofs of this sorry fact.

If follows, therefore, that *the Ethiopian Empire lacks entirely the indispensable basis for a sovereign state, namely executive power in its internal administration.*

6.

The Mixed "Tribunal Spécial" and Jurisdiction by Consular Tribunals

The hopeless conditions obtaining in the administration of justice in Ethiopia should in itself be sufficient to deprive this country of any claim to equality of rights. The prevailing uncertainty has grown even worse during recent years through the general negligence in executing sentences and the corruptibility and partiality of the native judges.

By the so-called Klobukowski Agreement, concluded in 1908, jurisdiction by consular tribunals was granted for the subjects and denizens in the first instance of France, and then, by virtue of the most favoured nation clause, of all other states in diplomatic relations with Abyssinia, until such time as the administration of justice in Ethiopia has become conformed, by codification of its laws and training of its officials, to Europeans standards. After having been abolished in China and Iraq, jurisdiction by consular tribunals does not exist anywhere else but in the Empire of the Negus.

The capitulation conditions contained in Article VII of the said Agreement lay down that all civil and criminal actions involving only subjects or denizens of the foreign states in question are to be tried before the Consul of the defendant or accused, while in cases of litigation between foreigners and subjects of the Emperor of Ethiopia a special court, the

"Tribunal Spécial", is to be set up at Addis-Ababa, consisting of a president appointed by the Emperor and the foreigner's consul or his debuty as assessor.

The Ethiopian police have the right to arrest a foreigner when caught in the act of breaking the law, but it is their duty at once to notify the consul of the country to which the culprit belongs.

For years efforts have been made to arrive at a settled court procedure and the enactment of an organization statute for the "Tribunal Spécial", but with no success, since the Abyssinian government does not want these special courts to function properly, and generally succeeds in thwarting the execution of the sentence if ever judgment is found against an Abyssinian. As a protest against such interference by the Ethiopian government, the foreign legations have repeatedly refused to send their representatives as assessors and thus compelled the courts to close.

Innumerable holidays and endless adjournment protect the Abyssinian greatnesses from over-severe treatment. The long rigmaroles brought forward by the natives (in the official Amharic language and in many other dialects) are not interpreted, or what interpretation there is is highly questionable. Witnesses for the white people are not admitted for one excuse or another, such as by demanding an exact addres as a precondition for summoning a desired witness. Only a few of the main streets of Addis-Ababa have any definite names, and the houses are not numbered for the most part. The inhabitants are almost all illiterate. Albeit the natives know every European and American well, and how to find him quickly in their own interest.

Members of widely different tribes, who either take the oath with the mental reservation that the evidence they are compelled to give in an action against white people is invalid anyway, or who only swear by corn or by the soil, are required to take an oath on the Book of the Gospels or the Koran! It is absolutely monstrous to what consequences the principle of regarding the evidence of natives as being on a level with that of white people will lead. If necessary, a "witness" will be brought straight from prison into court, and the consular assessor has got to have all his wits about him to show up such a "witness" in cross-examination and have him excluded.

The hearings in court are never public, and are generally conducted behind closed doors. The police on duty fling upon the doors and bow low to every Abyssinian grandee, but shut them in the face of any European who would like to be present at the hearing.

In other respects also the unequal treatment of white people and natives before the courts in Addis-Ababa is becoming more and more pronounced. Whereas, for example, the superior servants or stewards of the Abyssinian magnates are allowed to accompany their masters at hearings and even to represent them, the same treatment is not accorded to white people in respect of their friends and legal advisers. This was how F. A., the former Hungarian member of parliament, and I were treated in a case against Bitvotted Voldé-Tsaddik, the president of the Senate, on 17th August 1933.

The *inadequate translation* of legal terms and European designations into the Amharic language, and the frequent impossibility of such translation, is also a constant source of difficulty leading to prejudicial treatment of white people.

The difficulty involved is sometimes insurmountable, as for instance in the case of the word "equivalent" (e. g. in regard to a particularly favourable position for a kiosk), and gives the court an excuse, in the case of doubt, to decide in favour of the Abyssinian plaintiff according to customary or Ethiopian law.

Finally, even quite clear cases are often held up by the opposition of Abyssinian officials. However clearly a European may be in the right, the Ethiopian official has the right to say "I protest". Unless the plaintiff has influence with the Minister with whom the deciding of the appeal lies he may then just as well give up all hope of ever seeing judgment enforced. On account of the expression "Ayshi, naga!" (meaning "yes, yes, to-morrow!") constantly used by the Abyssinians, the typical practice of delaying and adjourning matters has come to be known as the "policy of Ayshinaga".

Enough has already been said as to the actual value of the jurisdiction by consular tribunals in Abyssinia and its deficiencies as an instrument of justice in dealing with cases in which white people are the wronged. It will be clear that the conditions under which justice is administered in Abyssinia are calculated to heighten rather than to reduce the tension and ill-feeling between white people and natives.

7.

Abyssinia's Defensive Forces and Ability to Make War

The bearer of the idea of an active offensive against the inroads of the hated white peoples in Ethiopia is the army of the Emperor.

For a long time Fitaorari Birru stood at the head of this army. Since 1935 Ras Mulugeta has been General-in-command of the army and War Minister. As such he presides over cabinet meetings, and, according to the constitution, takes the place of the Emperor, and is invested with all his rights and honours, during the ruler's absence.

He has under his command the regular Ethiopian army the strength of which is uncertain but does not exceed a quarter of a million. Only about four regiments of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and a few detachments of artillery are equipped and uniformed on European lines, and trained by the above-mentioned foreign military missions. These forces have at their disposal some 200 guns of various calibre and type, of all makes ranging from the most antiquated to the most up-to-date, and about 250 machine-guns. The army also possesses one tank, which was presented by the Italians to the Emperor for his own defence, and about ten aircraft including six French Potez bombers and a Junkers machine that was overhauled and put in order two years ago.

The Abyssinians are feverishly at work modernising their equipment and adding to their stocks of material. There can be no doubt that they have also succeeded in importing arms secretly, since the Abyssinian government have shown great skill in getting into touch, through middlemen who prefer to keep in the dark, with the smartest international dealers in armaments in Addis-Ababa. The government have even had recourse to the dodge of confiscating machine-guns submitted as samples at their own request, on the ground of "evasion of import duty", although they know perfectly well that these models were brought in under false declaration.

This is the only possible explanation also for the fact that in the spring of 1935 *Japanese rifles and Japanese ammunition* were detected at Makalle in North Abyssinia, for as yet it has officially neither been admitted nor denied at Tokio that munitions have been supplied to Abyssinia.

Since in Ethiopia every free man, and also every servant of a "great lord" has a fire-arm, and wears round his middle a more or less magnificent belt studded with cartridges (not always of the right size for his blunderbuss) there can be no doubt that for war purposes the army could be increased to at least 750.000 men, by calling up all reserves. These troops though would form a motley crowd brought together from all parts of the empire. And there would be an equal lack of uniformity in their equipment and fighting efficiency.

By nature, the Abyssinians are admittedly extremely war-like and courageous. But only a small minority of them have had any experience in the proper handling of fire-arms and can use a rifle to useful effect. It is a typical feature of the usual pictures to be seen in the country of Abyssinians in

martial pose, that the marksman has his aiming eye closed. Certainly three-quarters of the Abyssinians just shoot blindly without taking any aim at all. The more the racket and the louder the shouting the better they are pleased, and the whole of their ammunition is soon fired away.

If it be borne in mind that the Abyssinians manufacture cartridges in a careless fashion in their own country, that in the event of war Abyssinia, being an inland country, could be completely cut off from all supplies from the outside and ought therefore to be very careful with its ammunition, it will be appreciated that lack of musketry training is likely to prove the most serious handicap to the Abyssinian army.

The native certainly has the one advantage over European colonial troops, who are not used to the climate, lack of water, and unvarying diet, that he can keep on the march for days with a minimum of nourishment (a few handfulls of dry grain) and with hardly any clothing, and makes light of the great fluctuations in altitude and climatic conditions. Foreign troops can only make very slow progress in the deserts and mountainous country unless they are furnished with special equipment and provisioning. And the danger of pestilence is great, both for men and animals.

Tanks and heavy guns encounter the same difficulties in the shape of sandy trackless country, as in Marocco. Aircraft are useless except for reconnoitring and for preventing concentration of troops. It is purposeless to bombard the native mud huts, since no appreciable damage would be done.

In view of these unusual circumstances the prospects of a campaign in Abyssinia are very differently estimated by the individual experts. One thing can be said with certainty, and

that is that it would be risky to push forward a rapid advance into Ethiopian territory, and that to be successful it would be absolutely necessary to penetrate gradually, fortifying the conquered positions at once, and establishing the necessary connections (roads, railways, bridges, telephone lines, and water supply pipes) with the colonial hinter-land.

The task of opening up the country could be accomplished not so much by military operations as by constant efforts towards establishing a friendly understanding with the border tribes and by proclaiming development, free of all barbaric oppression, under the rule of the native chiefs.

For it should always be remembered that the majority of the peoples constituting the population of Ethiopia are themselves *the oppressed*, while the ruling Amharic Abyssinians are the oppressors. The question heard and read on all sides, "Will there be a war in Abyssinia?" is therefore wrongly put. Italy will spare man and material, and the occupation of the country (which could be compared to the occupation of Bosnia and Hertsegovina) will have for its sole object *to bring about the definite pacification of the country and to render it accessible to European development and civilizing influences*. As recent history has abundantly proved, the native government at Addis-Ababa is neither able nor willing to do this. All their proclamations and promises are directly contrary to the actual state of things; and it was no less a piece of hyprocrisy on the part of the Ethiopian envoy Ato *Tekle Hawariat* to make an appeal to humanity, as he did on 11th September 1935 befoee the Assembly of the League of Nations, "not to tolerate the reddening of the soil of Africa with the blood of their human brethren". for too much blood has already been shed *by the Abyssinians*, and it is high time to

put an end once and for all to the irresponsible anarchic conditions in Ethiopia.

The apprehensively inclined should remember the words of that wise French minister Klobukowski, with his profound knowledge of the subject, *"Abyssinia will not be conquered, it will be bought!"*.

8.

The Land of Boundless Impossibilities

It cannot be repeated often enough that the European can hardly form a true conception of the conditions in Ethiopia, and that the white man comes up against things that he would never have thought possible.

He is made to realize at every turn that the coloured people do not look upon the white people as their teachers and protectors, much less as their superiors. This is especially true of the *so-called Young-Abyssinians*, who have acquired a dangerous partial education in doubtful quarters of the European capitals and at schools where they are unfortunately treated with ill-placed leniency and indulgence. They then come home, and stir up trouble and animosity against the white races [1]).

[1]) An extraordinary example of how difficult it is to instil even the rudiments of European morality into the "élite" of the Young Abyssinian movement is furnished by the incident that came to light in a case which was tried at the end of June 1935 before the French court of appeal at Chambéry, against the Abyssinian Prince Araya-Haïlé-Selassie. This nephew of the Emperor of Ethiopia was studying law at Geneva, and there got to know Janila Glaiary, the daughter of the Director of the "Tribune d'Orient".

Since the young lady rejected his advances, he *bit off her nose and swallowed it*, in the street! The mild sentence pronounced by the first court was increased to one year's imprisonment.

This incident is mentioned to show that a relapse of an atavistic nature is possible in an Abyssinian personage who is treated with particular discretion in Europe, for political reasons.

These young natives, who are mostly brought up in France, are obtaining constantly growing influence, with the aid of their relations, over the policy of the Abyssinian government. It should be a warning signal that it is precisely Georges Hérouy, the son of the Abyssinian foreign Minister Blatin-Géta Herouy, who is at the head of the executive committee of the Young-Abyssinian Association.

This association also includes a number of young officials of the postal and telegraph services. What they are aiming at is to get Young-Abyssinians appointed to all posts in the civil service, and gradually to eliminate all Old-Abyssinians who are friendly to Europe and still have respect for the white man. However, since the Young-Abyssinians are often not fit for their posts, either as regards ability or character, there are constant dismissals and other troubles, which are always made use of by the Young-Abyssinians to air their hatred for the whites. That the Post-office Minister can write nothing but his name and draws a salary of 500 thalers a month, while the ordinary subordinate officials, who are acquainted with the Amharic, Latin, Greek, and Arabic languages and characters, have to work for a wage beginning, literally, at 15 thalers a month, is characteristic of the conditions in Abyssinia.

Still more disquieting are the open declarations of the employees of the "American Hospital" at Gullalé near Addis-Ababa, that the undertaking is an American foundation for the benefit of the coloured people, and that a European would only be admitted as a favour. European achievement in Africa has thus reached a point at which blacks are nursed and doctored at the expense of white people, while the whites themselves can go to the dogs!

A great deal is written about the reforms carried out by

the Abyssinian government. In actual fact, however, this government has not even abolished the worst abuses. The carcasses of dead animals, gnawed to skeletons by hyenas or dogs, lie about in the main streets of Addis-Ababa in the middle of the day. In the heart of the town, round about the Georgis Church, lie innumerable invalids, afflicted with the most loathsome diseases. Extremities swollen with elephantiasis, half eaten away, and covered with flies, are stretched out towards the passer-by to move him to give alms. Even lepers, with their face more or less covered and generally with a bell as a signal of their approach, beg and know how to make use of the terror they inspire to extort gifts.

From a sanitary point of view, the manner in which the poorer Abyssinians dispose of the bodies of their dead is more than objectionable. The relatives are too lazy to dig a hole. Instead, they lay the corpse down at the cemetery wall and cover it with a little sand and some stones. In the heat of the tropical sun the most dangerous bacteria of course develop, and it really is high time, in view of the growth of the town, that these abuses were abolished under European guidance, before playing with things like traffic regulation which are in any case beyond the comprehension of the natives and only lead to confusion.

That the prevailing conditions are no better in the establishments directly intended to serve hygienic purposes is adequately shown by the report entitled "Les Thermes d'Addis-Abéba" and published on 23rd December 1933 (on page 5 of issue No. 77 of "Ethiopie Commerciale"). In this "bathing establishment" I myself saw lavatories and closets used as stables for mules, dirty Abyssinian servants sleeping surrepti-

tiously in beds intended for the use of the guests, and many other things past belief.

It is a pity that in the European press the bad conditions in Abyssinia are often covered over with a veil of romance. Rather should care now be taken to open the eyes of the civilized world as to the necessity of interference by the European powers in the affairs of Ethiopia.

Even the "Osservatore Romano", which is otherwise so conscious of its responsibility, published a truly fantastically optimistic and tolerant article as to the religious conditions and the monophysitic Abyssinian Church and its servants. Noone who has ever seen the unclean and more or less illiterate Abyssinian congregations at their barbaric dances made up of a mixture of heathenish and fair-like customs can understand how a "Church" of this nature can be mentioned in the same breath as a religious community in a European sense.

The Abyssinians are all the more intolerant though towards all undertakings of the white people. Their mean intelligence sees in everything that the "ferenshi" does a source of evil and a danger to the "habesha mangest", i. e. to the Abyssinian régime.

If a European ever takes a stand against insufferable behaviour on the part of Ethiopian policemen, customs officers, or other native officials there is at once hue and a cry, and the white man is accused of opposing the "habesha mangest". But if the Ethiopian authorities make a blunder, the "habesha mangest" will be found to have disappeared like a cloud of smoke, and the government "accepts no responsibility".

This is so not only in politics but also in daily life. If a donkey gets run over, the injured native is on the spot in a

twinkling. But if whole herds of live-stock completely block the road for a European's car there will be no "owner" or other responsible Abyssinian far and wide. Woe to him though who does not stop but drives into the herd! According to the methods that have been pratised at Addis-Ababa in recent times, he can be certain of a taste of lynching.

In the interior of the country also, the natives do all they can to impede and thwart the work of the whites. In the year 1933 the members of an American anthropological expedition armed with the Imperial inland passport, who wanted to take cranial measurements in various villages, were prevented by force of arms from carrying out the examinations they had set out to make. They had to leave with empty hands.

9.

Coloured *versus* white all the World over!

All efforts to raise coloured people suddenly to a higher level of culture are bound to fail. The Christian missionaries know this best of all. It is a matter of universal experience that no amount of education and training in schools will fit coloured people (with very few exceptions) to fill positions occupied by white people.

The "open letter" addressed in 1933 by the negro Joseph Sukari, in the name of his race, to General Tilkens, the governor of Belgian Congo, which caused so much stir at the time, and in which he asked for appointments and honours on the ground that he was "educated", was aptly answered by a letter entitled "Le bon Négre" which appeared in the "Neptune" (Brussels, 4th October 1933). The writer compared the negro petitioner to an animal which had been shown a magic lantern by a monkey, and which "could indeed see something, but without much power of discrimination!"

The hankering for emancipation on the part of some of the more capable natives is not calculated, as experience has also shown, to bring themselves or their race any appreciable help or progress, since the mass of the natives tend to mistrust and to look down on members of their race who have been educated in Europe, and whom they regard as being in some way freakish. They also charge them with contempt of their native

customs and traditions, and suspect them of secret alliance with the white man for selfish ends.

Nothing but the dominion of white races can maintain order and security in Africa, and ensure progress and development in the native population. To establish and to strengthen this dominion is work done in the service of world peace. *The threatening signs of a coloured rising* in all parts of Africa call urgently for decisive action.

In the summer of 1933, the Belgian government of the Congo State had to keep Mbaku, the king of the Anyotas, for months in chains. This king had given his subjects the order to "exterminate the whole of the white race", and in spite of all measures of detention had managed to keep in touch with his "leopard men" who were unabating in their attacks on Europeans.

In the British crown colony of Kenya the farmer Alexander Somini, who originally came from Malta, and his wife were attacked by Lumbwa niggers on 15th June 1934. The man died in hospital at Nairobi from the injuries he received. On 19th July 1934 the "Times" reported that the "East African Women's League" in Kenya had sent a petition to the Governor asking for "the strictest possible measures to compel the natives in the colony to respect the white people and to maintain law and order, and to put an end to the present series of crimes, before it is too late!"

Even the liberal writer Emil Ludwig, in his essay "Goldstadt" ("Neue Rundschau", 13, pp. 517 et seq.), admits that one of the reasons for the annually increasing number of assaults made by negroes on white women in Africa is that the perpetrators of these crimes are punished too mildly.

When the native chief Tchekkedi in Bechuanaland had the British subject Mac Intosh brought before his court and flogged, the British admiral Evans was entrusted with the examination of the affair (since the High Commissioner and Governor of the Protectorate, Sir Herbert Standley, was on leave at the time) and avenged this grave outrage.

The observations on this incident in the French periodical "Je suis par tout" (Paris, 7th October 1933), to the effect that "after all, even in London to-day boys are still whipped for misdemeanour" miss the mark entirely. It is ridiculous to compare the flogging of a British subject at the order of a native court in Africa to the administering of corporal punishment to recalcitrant boys by their own instructors.

A very good judge of Africa, the deceased French Marshall Lyautey, knew very well the dangers of excessive tolerance towards coloured people. When General Weygand wanted to station larger detachments of black troops in France he stigmatized this as a grave mistake ("Matin", 3rd November 1933) and pointed to the danger this would mean to the whole of western civilization.

The growing frequency of acts of hostility and revolts by the natives against the French administration in the whole of northern Africa shows that the Marshall was right. The consequences of their policy of granting their coloured subjects all the rights of a French citizen are now being brought home to the French by bitter experience. More than anything else, it is the *pan-islamic agitation* proceeding from Damascus and Cairo and calling for the active co-operation of all Mohamedans in the European colonies which is stirring up hatred and instigating revolts against the white people. A "League of the Coloured Peoples against Oppresion and Imperialism" has been

holding its Congresses since the year 1927. A Committee of Action which spans the whole world, with a membership covering all ranks and races from the Arabian Bey at Tunis to the nigger saxaphone player in the Berlin night club, is feverishly at work uniting all forces for the final struggle with the white races.

Parallel with this movement there is the *pan-Asiatic* propaganda. In August 1934 the Shimbun-Rengo news agency repoerted the founding of a "League for Uniting Great Asia", in Tokio, to which leading personages in political and business circles in Japan, Manchuria, and Mongolia beloeng. Away back at the time of the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Japanese agents in French Indo-China distributed leaflets and pictures glorifying the coming victory of the Japanese, and showing how the hosts of Tenno would deal with all European intruders in future.

The aggressive Japanese proaganda under the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics" carried out among the natives in the Dutch East Indies showed its effects on the occasion of the negociations conducted in the summer of 1934 in Batavia preparatory to the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the Dutch East Indies and Japan. The unequivocal demands contained in the political testament of the well-known Baron Tanaka and addressed to the Emperor of Japan, requiring Japan to turn its back on Europe and America, to *take the leadership of the coloured races*, and to establish their predominance throughout Asia, are rapidly becoming the creed of the natives in all the colonial areas.

In an open letter to the "Times", Lord Lothian wrote in February 1935 that Japan intends to put the world before a *fait accompli* and wants China to give up her membership of the League of Nations, to dismiss her European and American

advisers, and to enter into an east-Asian union with Japan. And he went on to say that there is a great difference between a policy of resignation to what is apparently inevitable and a policy making determined use of the power and influence now possessed by the white peoples.

It cannot be repeated too often that it is high time the western powers realized the threat to their existence resulting from the unity of purpose of the coloured peoples in their hostility to the white races.

On all hands, in East Asia as well as in Africa, the natives are joining forces to undermine and overthrow the predominancy of the white peoples! Starting from Abyssinia, the newly awak Ethiopian movement is to unite all the coloured people in Africa under its leadership. It is becoming constantly plainer as time goes on: Economic co-operation of Ethiopia with Japan as the basis of the political union, the community of interests between Abyssinia and Egypt whose surplus of graduated and qualified men is admirably suited, on account of similarity of religious belief, for the educating and training of the new generation [1]), and the political movement in favour of the Abyssinians that is being worked up among the negroes in the United States who are volonteering for service in the Abyssinian army and have even offered to give aeroplanes.

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[1]) The Abyssinio-Egyptian community of interest also has economic roots in the joint utilisation of the water power of the Nile by the building of dams in the region of Lake Tana. The present Metropolitan of the Abyssinian Church, Abuna Cyrillos, who is himself descended from Egyptians, is a great proponent of this policy of alliance. The friendship between Abyssinia and Egypt is also extolled in an instructive article by the journalist Decio Wolinsky which appeared in the paper "Liberté" early in 1934.

The Japanese terrorist organisation "Ryohei Uchida" ("Black Dragon") has been sending threatening telegrams to the head of the Italian government, in India, *Ghandi* has been organizing national collections to raise funds for the support of Abyssinia, and the Hindu delegate *Giri* has brought in a vote of protest in the Parliament of Delhi against Italy's action towards coloured peoples.

The opinion held in England, that there is danger in the rush of events in Abyssinia, and that the tribes in the various protectorates and colonies abutting on the Abyssinian borders could become taken with the anti-alien fever [2]), is right.

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[2]) Cf. „Morning Post" 19. II. 1935. special correspondent's report from Dire-Dowa in Abyssinia.

10.

Summary

It is time a collective step were taken by the civilized countries to prevent the spread of these tendencies. The Imperial Ethiopan government at Addi-Ababa is not capable, even if it really wanted to, to maintain law and order, to have its decrees respected, and to check independent acts of hostility by its subjects against the white people in Abyssinia and against the European colonial powers in Africa.

On account of the lack of executive power over the whole empire, and of adequate authority and recognition, this government is in momentary danger of losing the last of its significance in a sudden flaming up of the Ethiopian movement. What must be done therefore is to work for the peaceful penetration of the country, to open up the bordering territories by the building of roads, and to take the government of the country firmly in hand. Under these conditions, the rudder could be put over, and the situation saved at the last minute [1]).

[1]) At the eleventh hour, Lieutenant-General Gustav *Heilebronth* von Tinzabeö, writes, in "Pester Lloyd" for 11th September 1935:

. . . . . the question is though, whether the maintainance of a native state and the development of a race of champions for the black movement which this implies, is the right way to avert the . . . black peril. The black peril, which raised its head once in the Sudan, was that time turned aside by the crushing victory of the white race at *Omdurman*. It thus looks as though the renewed stirring of the black race due to the employment of black troops in the European war would be better suppressed at the outset in a similar manner, by a decisive demonstration of force by the white race (as planned by *Mussolini*), than by demonstrating the disunity of the white race . . ."

"Africa is the continent", said the Italian Marshall of the Air-Force, Balbo, on his appointment to the Governorship of Lybia "in which the great nations of the world have got to prove their right to priority! Europe is set the historic task of re-shaping and turning these vast regions to account, of combatting the inertia of centuries, of conquering the deserts, of bringing light everywhere, — in a word, of making a world!"

And the great ethnologist Dr. Felix von Luschan, at the German Congress of Anthropologists at Weimar in 1912, spoke the followings words: "It is not a case of developing the negroes to a higher level through generation after generation, but of preserving our own people. Thus can the State be served! The main thing is, not that others should come up, but *that we should not go down!*"

OUTLINE MAP
OF ABYSSINIA AND
THE NEIGHBOURING TERRITORIES



•••••• Boundaries of the *Spheres of Interest* established by the Convention of London, 1906

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