

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST TRIANGLE

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(YEKATIT 12)

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**MEMORIES OF THE ITALIAN
FASCIST**

OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA

1935-1941:

REMEMBERING

THE INFAMY OF THE FEBRUARY

19

(YEKATIT 12) 1937

INDISCRIMINATE

MASS MASSACRE

OF CIVILIANS IN ADDIS ABEBA

BY THE ITALIAN

FASCIST OCCUPATION FORCES

**THIS SPECIAL FEBRUARY 19 ISSUE OF THE ANTI-
IMPERIALIST TRIANGLE IS DEDICATED:**

**(1) IN MEMORY OF THOSE ETHIOPIANS WHO WERE
MASSACRED INDISCRIMINATELY IN ADDIS ABEBA BETWEEN
FEBRUARY 19 AND 22, 1937 BY THE ITALIAN FASCIST
OCCUPIERS AS WELL AS THE THOUSANDS WHO WERE**

MARTYRED IN DEFENSE OF ETHIOPIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN THE COURSE OF THE **FIVE-YEAR-LONG PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE** AGAINST ITALIAN **FASCIST** OCCUPATION BETWEEN 1935 AND 1941.

(2) IN ORDER TO PAY OUR TRIBUTE, AND HONOR THE MEMORY, IN PARTICULAR, OF THE TWO UNFORGETTABLE HEROES, THE ERITREAN-ETHIOPIANS, **ABRHA DEBOCH** AND **MOGUS ASGEDOM** FOR THE EXCEPTIONAL VALOR THEY EXHIBITED AND FOR THEIR INDOMITABLE PATRIOTIC SPIRIT IN DEFYING ITALIAN FASCIST/RACIST ARROGANCE BY STRIKING A BLOW AGAINST THE UGLY SYMBOL OF ITALIAN FASCISM ON ETHIOPIAN SOIL, THE BRUTAL AND BRUTISH FASCIST SCOUNDREL, **GENERAL GRAZIANI**. IT IS THE FIRM CONVICTION OF THE **ALL-ETHIOPIAN COMMUNIST LEAGUE** THAT A **NEW POLITICAL ORDER** IN **POST-WOYANE ETHIOPIA** OUGHT TO **ERECT MONUMENTS** TO, AMONG OTHERS, **ABRAHA DEBOTCH** AND **MOGUS ASGEDOM** AT AN APPROPRIATE SPOT IN THE VERY ETHIOPIAN CAPITAL WHERE THE TWO HEROES TAUGHT THE UGLY FASCIST BRUTES A DEFIANT LESSON.

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HOW THE EARLY "SEEDS"

OF

BENITO MUSSOLINI'S

FASCIST AMBITION

FOR THE COLONIZATION OF

ETHIOPIA

"GERMINATED" GRADUALLY

"In the year 1896, when Mussolini was THIRTEEN years of age, the ITALIAN Army SUFFERED a resounding DEFEAT at the hands of the Emperor Menilik of Abyssinia [Ethiopia]. Six THOUSAND dead were LEFT on the field of ADOWA while the REMINDER of the Italian ARMY retreated in DISORDER over the FRONTIER. Other EUROPEAN powers had PREVIOUSLY suffered colonial REVERSES, but in due course they had usually been ABLE to take steps to RESTORE the POSITION [they held] and NO LASTING damage had been done to their PRESTIGE. In ITALY, however, the DISASTER, which had deeply IMPRESSED the YOUNG Benito, not only remained UN-AVENGED but CAUSED a powerful and long-lived reaction AGAINST any COLONIAL adventure WHATSOEVER. It was a FAILURE which RANKLED in the HEARTS of many ITALIANS, not LEAST that of MUSSOLINI."

(Excerpt from: Ivone Kirkpatrick, Mussolini: A Study in POWER, New York, Avon Books, 1964, at p.294)

"The ORIGINAL entry of ITALY into AFRICA had only been made POSSIBLE by an INITIATIVE of the BRITISH government. The OPENING of the SUEZ CANAL [in 1869] had given the RED SEA a new IMPORTANCE; and in order to DIMINISH French INFLUENCE in the AREA, the BRITISH government in 1884 invited ITALY to OCCUPY the PORT of MASSAWA, on the RED SEA. In 1889 the Italians captured ASMARA [the current CAPITAL of the Secessionist ENCLAVE of ERITREA], and SIX MONTHS later, the COLONY of ERITREA was CONSTITUTED by [Italian] ROYAL decree [It should be added that the latter TERRITORY was in fact CARVED, by FORCE, out of Northern ETHIOPIA]. In 1895, the ITALIANS began to ADVANCE into the TIGRE Province of ABYSSINIA [ETHIOPIA] with a few thousand men and in six weeks reached Lake ASHENGEE, 200 miles from their base. At this point, [Ethiopian Emperor] Menelik moved AGAINST them with vastly SUPERIOR FORCES, DROVE them BACK step by step, and eventually DEFEATED them at ADOWA. Fortunately for ITALY, [Menelik] also SUFFERED severe LOSSES in the ENGAGEMENT, and was NOT disposed to FOLLOW UP his VICTORY. Peace was signed in 1897 and ITALY was LEFT in POSSESSION of her newly-won [Eritrean] COLONY."

(Excerpt from: Ivone Kirkpatrick cited above, at p.294)



*"There is no doubt Mussolini was moved by a desire to WIPE OUT this STAIN [of Defeat at **ADOWA**] on Italian ARMS, but MINGLED with this PRIMITIVE itch for VENGEANCE was the AMBITION to EXTEND Italy's overseas POSSESSIONS. The MIRAGE of a modern ROMAN EMPIRE beckoned; and if he was to MATCH the position of **BRITAIN** and **FRANCE** in the WORLD, he must also POSSESS OVERSEAS TERRITORIES, from which, so he argued, he could draw RAW MATERIALS and to which he could EXPORT his SURPLUS population. It is, incidentally remarkable that both **MUSSOLINI** and **HITLER** should have entertained the **DELUSION** that in the TWENTIETH century RAW MATERIALS were READILY available **ONLY** to the COLONIAL powers, and that SIGNIFICANT numbers of EUROPEANS could be PLANTED in AFRICA. However this may be, **Mussolini** began very EARLY in his CAREER to cast COVETOUS eyes on Abyssinia [ETHIOPIA]. In this [colonial] ENTERPRISE [**Mussolini**] displayed the qualities (???) and defects of his CHARACTER. On the **TACTICAL** side, from the point of view of SHORT-TERM success, his CONDUCT of the OPERATIONS could not have been bettered. Elasticity, opportunism, energy, resolution, and an ACCURATE assessment of the OPPOSITION immediately CONFRONTING him, all enabled him to CELEBRATE a veritable ROMAN triumph. BUT [**and that is a big BUT**] **STRATEGICALLY** he was COMPLETELY at sea. **IGNORANCE, VANITY, and EGOTISM** blinded him to the **CONSEQUENCES** of his acts. Had he been able to FORESEE the cruel **DILEMMA** in which his POLICY would place him FOUR years later, it is certain that he would have CHOSEN the path of CONCILIATION. It will be seen that **BRITAIN** and **FRANCE** were EQUALLY at **FAULT**, but a POLITICIAN who claims to be a great STATESMAN cannot legitimately RELY on the WISDOM of FOREIGN powers to RESCUE*

him from the CONSEQUENCES of his OWN folly."

(Excerpt from: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at pp.294-295).

**THE WORLD OF CONTRASTS IN
ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE
ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR**

**THE POLITICAL CONTINUUM FROM LEFT TO
FAR RIGHT**

**COMMUNISTS - SOCIALISTS - LIBERALS - APPEASERS--
FASCISTS**

" ... there is NO ONE here [at the forum of the League of Nations] who

feels SYMPATHY with the INTERNAL regime of ETHIOPIA [Ethiopian FEUDALISM and DOMESTIC slavery] as it is DESCRIBED in the DOCUMENTS submitted ... NOTHING in the Covenant of the League of Nations entitles us, however, to DISCRIMINATE between MEMBERS of the League as to their INTERNAL regime, the COLOR of their SKIN, their RACIAL distinctions or the STAGE of their CIVILIZATION, nor accordingly to DEPRIVE some of them the PRIVILEGES which they ENJOY [by] virtue of their MEMBERSHIP of the League, and, in the first place, of their INALIENABLE right to INTEGRITY and INDEPENDENCE. "

(Excerpt from the famous Speech delivered by Soviet Foreign Minister, MAXIM LITVINOV, on September 5, 1935, at the League of Nations, REBUFFING the arrogant and racist argument put forward by the representative of FASCIST Government of Italy in order to JUSTIFY its impending plan of INVASION of Ethiopia by the fascist legions of Benito Mussolini; Speech quoted in: Arthur Upham Pope, Maxim Litvinoff : A Biography (New York: L. B. Fischer, 1943) p.362)

" ... the first lesson that the WORKERS not only of FRANCE but also of all CAPITALIST countries will draw from the TERRORIST attack on Leon Blum is the following: the PARTIES and ORGANIZATIONS of

*the **COMMUNIST** and **SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALS** must UNITE their FORCES as SPEEDILY as possible on a NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL scale for a most STUBBORN [and] SYSTEMATIC struggle against FASCISM, against TERRORIST gangs; yesterday the ASSASSINS of **Minister Barthou** [French Foreign Minister before **Pierre Laval**], today the KIDNAPERS of **ANTI-FASCISTS** on the territory of FOREIGN POWERS; yesterday the ASSAILANTS of **Blum**, today the ACCUSERS of **Kisch**, fighter of the **HUNGARIAN** labor movement, as a SPY of a FOREIGN power; yesterday the MURDERERS of the **ITALIAN** communist, **SOZZI**; today the **BUTCHERS** of the peaceful **ETHIOPIAN** population by aerial **BOMBARDMENT**; who yesterday seized hold of **MANCHURIA**, and today of **Northern CHINA**, preparing to ATTACK the **MONGOLIAN People's Republic** and insolently provoking the great land of **SOVIETS** on its Eastern borders. In the struggle against this FASCIST plague which menaces the WORKING CLASS, all Working people, the WHOLE of MANKIND, those active in the LABOR Movement cannot but address the question to all honest people considering themselves to be democrats, supporters of liberty and peace, as to where they stand? Whether with those who have made methods of INDIVIDUAL TERROR their chief weapon of struggle, who now ROAM various parts of the globe ARMED with BOMB and REVOLVER, with the lighted torch of War - or with those FIGHTERS of the LABOR movement who, defending the rights of the masses, fighting for their open organization, strive by organized MASS ACTION to bar the way to fascist BARBARISM and WAR? Whether with those who TRAMPLE human CULTURE under FOOT, who BURN the works of HUMAN GENIUS in BONFIRES - or with the NEW CIVILIZATION coming into being in the land of victorious SOCIALISM, with the NEW proletarian DEMOCRACY, the real MULTI-NATIONAL People's DEMOCRACY that is being realized in the **Soviet Union**? Only a wide ANTI-FASCIST*

front that UNITES the efforts of the international WORKING CLASS will win the sympathy and active support of ALL working people, will prove to be a sufficiently effective means of putting a straightjacket on the pangs of FASCIST violators. And the sooner this international UNITED working class ACTION is achieved, the less difficult, the less agonizing and the less drawn out will be the struggle of the masses of the people against FASCISM. Every day of DELAY places an awful responsibility on those who reject this unity. The GERMAN working class is paying with its BLOOD to this day for the CAPITULATORY policy of [the right wing] German [Social-Democrats]."

*(Extract from: Georgi Dimitroff, "Silence Is Impossible - Action is Wanted", February 16, 1936, in: Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front: The Struggle Against fascism and War*, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, pp. 165-166. Georgi Dimitroff was, at the time, the General Secretary of the Communist International and ALL the SPEECHES and WRITINGS we quote here were the OFFICIAL and AUTHORITATIVE views of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL with which ALL individual COMMUNIST PARTIES the world over were politically ASSOCIATED and organizationally AFFILIATED).*

"Bitterly anti-communist, the DOMINANT section of the British RULING CLASS was behind a policy of striving for agreement with the FASCIST DICTATORS and of making CONCESSIONS to them in the hope that the armed forces of Hitler Germany, in particular, would be launched towards the EAST in a 'crusade' against the SOVIET UNION. That policy was given most shameful and dramatic expression in the MUNICH betrayal of CZECHOSLOVAKIA, but it also ensured the equally infamous betrayal of the SPANISH Republic. The second factor was the attitude of the RIGHT WING leadership of the [British] Labor Party and the Trade Union Congress, which PREVENTED the MOBILIZATION of a great UNITED Movement, led by the WORKING CLASS, of such strength that the REACTIONARIES would have been compelled to give way before it."

(Academy of Science of the USSR, The Institute of The International Working Class Movement, Soviet War Veterans' Committee, International Solidarity with the Spanish Republic: 1936-1939, Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1974, "Britain", p.61)

THE EARLY ENCOUNTER BETWEEN

SAMUEL HOARE

OF BRITISH MILITARY INTELLIGENCE AND

THE ROWDY DEMAGOGUE

BENITO MUSSOLINI,

1915-22 :

BRITISH "FINANCIAL SUBSIDY"

AGAINST

THE ANTI-SOCIALIST (AGAINST THE ANTI-WAR)

SEGMENT OF ITALIAN SOCIETY

AND IN FAVOR OF (AND "NURSING")

THE EARLY EMERGENCE AND

"CRYSTALLIZATION" OF

PRO-WAR ITALIAN FASCISM

*"The first prominent **ENGLISHMAN** to come across **MUSSOLINI** was **Sir SAMUEL HOARE**, who was **SERVING** as a **STAFF OFFICER** in charge of certain **BRANCHES** of **Military INTELLIGENCE** in the **BRITISH** forces dispatched to the **ITALIAN Front** [**during the first IMPERIALIST World War**] under **Lord Cavan**. [**That was long before Samuel Hoare, the notorious APPEASER of Italian FASCISM, became British FOREIGN SECRETARY under the Prime Minister-ship of Stanley Baldwin**]. **Hoare** was appalled at the sight of the broken,*

RETREATING Italian Army and the growing ASCENDANCY of the DEFEATISTS and the PRO-GERMANS in Rome; and he was advised by a number of his staff to turn to the EDITOR of the POPOLO d'ITALIA who might HELP to ARREST the DEBACE [i.e. the LACK of WILL to fight by Italian SOLDIERS partly due to the ANTI-WAR agitation of Italian SOCIALISTS and PACIFISTS]. 'Who is this Benito Mussolini?' was Hoare's question and the answer was that he was a powerful MOB LEADER in MILAN, who had HELPED to bring ITALY into the WAR and was then HESITATING on which SIDE of the BARRICADES to FIGHT. Hoare accordingly obtained SANCTION [Permission] from the DIRECTOR of MILITARY INTELLIGENCE in LONDON to APPROACH the unknown AGITATOR, and MONEY was made AVAILABLE with which to FINANCE propaganda FOR the WAR. 'Leave it to me' was MUSSOLINI'S reply to the INTERMEDIARY; and he was GOOD as his WORD [in keeping his promise to his British HANDLERS], for the FASCI DI COMBATTIMENTO [i.e., the fascist THUGS which later WRECKED trade Union meetings and TERRORIZED Italian SOCIALISTS] soon made SHORT WORK of the Milanese PACIFISTS. Mussolini was NOT in the least EMBARRASSED when, nearly TWENTY years later, Sir SAMUEL HOARE, brought to his RECOLLECTION this INCIDENT in his [Mussolini's] CAREER."

(Excerpt from: Ivone Kirkpatrick, MUSSOLINI: A Study in POWER, New York: Avon Books, 1964, p. 77).



MUSSOLINI'S EARLY SERVICE AS A "PAWN"
IN THE LARGER AND "GRANDER" SCHEMES OF
PERFIDIOUS BRITISH IMPERIALISM
1915-1919 :
A DIPLOMATIC "DRESS REHEARSAL"
FOR SUBSEQUENT
"ANGLO-ITALIAN" BACK-STAGE "DEALS"
AGAINST THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF
ETHIOPIA.

"Under the Treaty of 1882, ITALY was entitled to claim from AUSTRIA some COMPENSATION for her DISTURBING of the PREVIOUSLY existing BALANCE in the BALKANS. This the ITALIAN government DID , but the NEGOTIATIONS proved ABORTIVE. Accordingly, the CONVERSATIONS were BROKEN OFF and on March 3, 1915, the Italian Ambassador in LONDON was instructed to open SECRET negotiations for an AGREEMENT with POWERS of the ENTENTE. The OUTCOME was the SIGNATURE in the following week of the TREATY of LONDON which DEFINED the PRICE to be PAID by the

ALLIES for ITALY'S entry into the WAR [i.e. the First INTER-Imperialist WORLD WAR] : South Tyrol, Triest, Gorizia, Gradisca, Istria and the islands of Cherso and Lussiu, Dalmatia to Cape Planka, Valona, Rhodes and the Dodecanese group, a ZONE of INFLUENCE in ASIA MINOR [Turkey] with eventually a SHARE in its PARTITION, and a LOAN of FIFTY MILLION pounds. Had Baron Sonnino, the Italian Foreign Minister, not believed that the WAR would be SHORT, a LARGER loan would certainly have been DEMANDED [by Italy]. Once the TREATY had been SIGNED, events moved FAST. The [Italian] King asked GIOLITTI to resign and SALANDRA was appointed in his place. On May 24, 1915, ITALY declared WAR [to fight on the British side]. The ENTRY of ITALY into the WAS represented a PERSONAL success which MUSSOLINI proceeded systematically to EXPLOIT. For this PURPOSE, he had a ready INSTRUMENT in the [fascist Newspaper] POPOLO d'ITALIA, which exerted itself DURING the WAR YEARS, not without success, to CREATE a MUSSOLINI myth."

(Excerpt from: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at p.71).

CHURCHILL'S OPPOSITION TO

ETHIOPIA'S ADMISSION

TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: 1922-23

" ... the character of the **Ethiopian** Government and the conditions prevailing in that wild land of *tyranny, slavery, and tribal war* were not consonant with membership of the League of Nations."

(Excerpt from: **Winston Churchill**, **Gathering Storm**, p. 149, cited in **Margaret George** above, at p. 79; **It should be NOTED** that the central issue, here, is **NOT** Ethiopia's economic **BACKWARDNESS** or the **FEUDAL** character of its **internal** political system, regarding which, incidentally, there is no **DISPUTE**; the real issue was **CHURCHILL'S racist deviousness** in **USING** that fact to **EXCLUDE** Ethiopia from the **LEAGUE**, and then **JUSTIFY** the making of **ETHIOPIA** "available" for **BARTER** between **territory-grabbing EUROPEAN** imperialist **POWERS**, including **IMPERIALIST Britain**; In the early 1920s, **British Aristocrat Winston Churchill** was **PRETENDING** to be a "fighter" against "feudal bondage" **INSIDE** the Ethiopia of 1922-23, the better to **LAY** the **GROUND** for **FACILITATING** the "administering" of a **WORST** form of **BONDAGE** on the Ethiopian people, namely, **COLONIZATION** by an alien **EUROPEAN** power. In effect, Churchill was saying **COLONIZATION** by an alien **EUROPEAN** power was a "preferable bondage" than **SUBJECTION** under Ethiopian "feudalism"!!!! Therein, lay, the **racist DEVIOUSNESS** of **British aristocrat, Winston Churchill**. Moreover, if having **FEUDAL** institutions were to be a **BAR** against admission to the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS**, the **PERSISTENCE** of the **ANTIQUATED** *relics* of the **Middle Ages** in the then **existent** **FEUDAL** institutions of **twentieth century** **BRITAIN** itself, of which **Churchill** was its very "personification", and particularly, its **hereditary** (anti-democratic) **MONARCHY**, its archaic **ARISTOCRACY** as represented in its so-called "**House of LORDS**", etc, ought to have also "disqualified" Churchill's **BRITAIN** from the **LEAGUE OF NATIONS!!!** Therein, lay, the

ABSURDITY of Churchill's devious argument; still ANOTHER point should be noted about Churchill's "pretension" of ANTIPATHY towards "tribalism". Anyone who is FAMILIAR with the "philosophy" and "architecture" of BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY, especially with that SPECIFIC feature which DISTINGUISHED it from OTHER "colonial models" BEFORE it (the SPANISH and the PORTUGUESE) and those which operated contemporaneously "along side it" (DUTCH, FRENCH, GERMAN, BELGIAN, ITALIAN, etc) knows (and a "historical visit" into BRITISH WEST AFRICA would help in that regard) that "maintaining" and "keeping intact" "tribalism" "tribal institutions" and "tribal chiefs" OVER the local colonized POPULATION and "administering" that POPULATION "indirectly" VIA or THROUGH those "tribal chiefs" was, and has been, STANDARD British colonial POLICY and PRACTICE, and that by the way, REGARDLESS of the developmentally ARRESTING and RETARDING impact of the said POLICY on the local POPULATION. Now, then, how can British aristocrat, WINSTON CHURCHILL, have the temerity to tell us that HE who was once COLONIAL SECRETARY and HE who "presided over" TRIBAL rule as WELL as SLAVERY in the BRITISH COLONIES (SUDAN, SIERRA LEONE) and HONG KONG where Chinese CHILDREN were widely "trafficked" under the British FLAG, how can this HYPOCRITICAL British ARISTOCRAT have the temerity to tell us that "tribalism" in the ETHIOPIA of the 1920s was such an ANATHEMA before the eyes of the "cream" of British ARISTOCRACY that the existence of the PRACTICE "justified" the BARRING of ETHIOPIA from MEMBERSHIP in the LEAGUE of NATIONS!!! But then, again, a wide GAP between the "moralizing words" of British ARISTOCRATS and their actual and concrete DEEDS is not unusual !!!)



" ... it was ridiculous to pretend that THAT BACKWARD DESERT LAND [ETHIOPIA] was a 'fit, worthy, and equal member of a league of CIVILIZED nations.' "

(Excerpt from a quotation of conceited racist British aristocrat, Winston Churchill, in: Keith Feiling, Neville Chamberlain, p.264, cited in Margaret George above, at p.79)

"At first [i.e. shortly after the Fascists came to POWER and when they did NOT yet CONSOLIDATE their POWER within Italy], Mussolini sought MERELY to ACQUIRE a SPECIAL POSITION in ABYSSINIA; in 1923 he joined FRANCE in SPONSORING the APPLICATION of the [Ethiopian] Emperor for ADMISSION into the League of Nations. The APPLICATION aroused the ANTI-SLAVERY and ABORIGINES PROTECTION SOCIETY, which DISCOVERED, among other things, that the BRITISH [Ambassador's] BUTLER was MAINTAINING a large number of SLAVES in the [British] LEGATION compound at Addis Abeba. When Lord Curzon called Sir Charles Russell to put an END to the SCANDAL, he [Russell] REPLIED that the SLAVES represented his BUTLER'S life's SAVINGS, and that he was NOT disposed to STRIP him of THEM." [It is important to NOTE that, in raising the genuine ISSUE of DOMESTIC SLAVERY in the ETHIOPIA of 1922-23, the ANTI-SLAVERY Society was SEEKING, unlike British Aristocrat Winston Churchill, ACCELERATED internal LEGISLATIVE and

ADMINISTRATIVE reform within **INDEPENDENT and SOVEREIGN Ethiopia**, to help **ABOLISH slavery**, and by no means to **USE and EXPLOIT** the obvious predicament of the **SLAVES** for **PREVENTING Ethiopia's ADMISSION** into the **LEAGUE of NATIONS**. While, to be sure, the said **HUMANITARIAN Society USED** (and why not) the "discussion" and "publicity" associated with the **ISSUE** to "pressure" **HAILE SELASSIE** to **PUSH** for **SPEEDY internal REFORM** if he **WANTED** Ethiopian **ADMISSION** to the **LEAGUE of NATIONS** (*the Society, by the way, DID in fact SUCCEED*), it was not the **INTENSION** of the **Anti-Slavery Society** to **PREVENT** Ethiopia's **ADMISSION** to the **League**. It was, by the way, this same **DISTINCTION** that also led **Maxim Litvinov, the strong-willed COMMUNIST and INTERNATIONALIST** to **ABHOR** and **DISAPPROVE** (and he said so openly and candidly) the **INTERNAL Ethiopian feudal SYSTEM**, while still **OPPOSING** Italy's **ATTEMPT** to use and manipulate that controversial **ISSUE** in order to **JUSTIFY** Ethiopia's **COLONIZATION** by fascist Italy. Coming back to **WINSTON CHURCHILL'S "moralizing words"** about Ethiopian **DOMESTIC SLAVERY**, is it not indeed "amusing" to observe a comical **SCENE** where **CHURCHILL** was **PRETENDING** to be a "champion" of Ethiopian "Slaves" in 1923, while at the very same time the **BRITISH** Ambassador accredited to the Ethiopian **CAPITAL**, Addis Abeba, **CHARLES RUSSELL**, was **INSISTING** to "**Lord**" **CURZON** that, far from putting an **END** to "slavery" in the **British Embassy COMPOUND** in Addis Abeba, he (**RUSSELL**) would in fact **LET** his **BUTLER** "keep" his (the **BUTLER'S**) "slaves" because, *to the "frugal" "protestant" and the "worshiper" of the GOD of "private property"*, **CHARLES RUSSELL**, the **MONETARY "value"** of the **Butler's SLAVES** represented his "life's savings"???? That, by the way, was in spite of the fact that **HOLDING** slaves in a **British Embassy Compound** was then **ILLEGAL** under **BRITISH** Slavery Abolition **LAW**,

and the latter APPLIED in this CASE by reason of the fact that the Embassy COMPOUND could have been TREATED 'technically' as PART of BRITISH 'territory' by force international LEGAL "FICTION" or LEGAL "CONSTRUCTION" in the manner in which domestic LEGAL "fiction" TREATS a COMPANY entity as a LEGAL "person". Legalities aside, the SCENARIO in the above CONTRADICTIONARY British imperialist "posturing" was both IRONIC and COMICAL. Yes, the ARISTOCRAT WINSTON CHURCHILL "defending" Ethiopian SLAVES, and the BOURGEOIS-BUREAUCRAT, the BRITISH AMBASSADOR, CHARLES RUSSELL, "defending vehemently" the "finances" of his BUTLER, the Ethiopian "Slave Master" and "Slave owner!!! HOW COMICAL!!!].

(Excerpt from: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at p.295).

THE AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN - MUSSOLINI

BARTER

OVER ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGN TERRITORY -

1925

"Great Britain had Italy's backing in her claims against TURKEY. A PRICE for this SUPPORT was DEMANDED by the restless ... Benito

Mussolini and was quietly PAID by Sir Austen [in the form of British concession to Italy of certain ECONOMIC PRIVILEGES in ETHIOPIA]."

(Excerpt from : A. G. C. Johnson, Anthony Eden, at p.128; the latter Biographer of Anthony Aden was, according to Margaret George, "a man who had been [at one time] Private Parliamentary Secretary to Austen Chamberlain", the British Foreign Secretary of the day; See Margaret George, The HOLLOW Men: An Examination of British Foreign Policy between the Years 1933-1939, London: Lislle Frewin, 1965, at p.79)

>>>>>

"... in return for Italian support for a barrage on Lake Tana [in Ethiopia], so vital for the WATER of EGYPT, Britain would assist Italy to OBTAIN a RAILWAY concession [from Ethiopia] connecting her TWO colonies [Eritrea and Italian Somaliland] [through Ethiopian territory] and admit her EXCLUSIVE economic INFLUENCE in WESTERN ETHIOPIA."

(Excerpt from: Keith Feiling, Neville Chamberlain, cited in Margaret George above, at p.79; by the way, Keith Feiling, the biographer of notorious APPEASER of FASCISM, Neville Chamberlain, was here referring to the Austin Chamberlain-Mussolini "deal" of 1925 over ETHIOPIA, a DEAL regarding which ETHIOPIA was not, of course, "consulted").



*"The friendship of **Sir Austen Chamberlain** was not only balm to **Mussolini's** EGOISTICAL soul, but brought SOLID ADVANTAGES in its train. The CESSION to ITALY of **JUBALAND** had been effected in 1924 by the LABOR government, and NOW, in 1925, there was a SETTLEMENT of the ITALO-EGYPTIAN frontier problem under British auspices and an AGREEMENT whereby BRITAIN undertook to SUPPORT Italy in ACQUIRING a CONCESSION to construct a RAILWAY across **ETHIOPIAN** territory from **ERITREA** to Italian **SOMALILAND**. In this CLIMATE, Anglo-Italian RELATIONS remained for many years UNCLOUDED by any DIFFERENCE."*

*(Excerpt from: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at pp. 244-245).*



THE WARMING UP

OF CHURCHILL TO MUSSOLINI - 1927:

THE BRITISH ARISTOCRAT

"in bed"

with ITALIAN FASCISM

"... **Churchill** was attracted for rather a long time by the FASCIST siren SONG from the Mediterranean: in Rome in 1927 he CONGRATULATED the [Italian FASCISTS] on their 'triumphant struggle against the BESTIAL appetites and passions of **LENINISM**', which [struggle] had 'rendered a SERVICE to the WHOLE WORLD'; '**Italy**', [Churchill] added, 'has shown that there is a way of FIGHTING the SUBVERSIVE forces which can rally the MASSES of the PEOPLE, properly led, to value and wish to DEFEND the HONOR and STABILITY of CIVILIZED society. She [Fascist Italy] PROVIDED the necessary ANTIDOTE to the Russian POISON. Here after, no great nation will go UN-PROVIDED with the ULTIMATE means of PROTECTION against the CANCEROUS growth of **BOLSHEVISM**.' "

(Excerpt from: **Margaret George**, **The HOLLOW Men: An examination of British Foreign Policy between the Years 1933-1939**, London: Leslie Frewin, 1965, pp.48-49; For a similar exposure of the LIE that the ultra-conservative and reactionary British aristocrat **Winston Churchill** was the "opponent" of APPEASING fascism, See also: **Frederick L. Shuman's Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad**, at p.283. For the View that Churchill was so HATEFUL towards SOCIALISM that he was WILLING, like the rest of the APPEASERS, "to go to bed" with FASCISM, see the candid opinion of a CHURCHILL political look-alike and British ultra-conservative, in: **Stanley Salvidge**, **Salvidge of Liverpool: Behind the**

Political Scene, 1890-1928, at pp.270-272).

FROM MANCHURIA TO ETHIOPIA:

**FROM TOLERATING JAPANESE MILITARIST
AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA IN 1931 TO
TOLERATING ITALIAN FASCIST AGGRESSION
AGAINST ETHIOPIA IN 1935**

"There was another distinguishable element [in the RETREAT of the British Conservatives] before the FIRST THRUST of FOREIGN AGGRESSION. Since the 1920s, Tory interest in the League of Nations, Tory FAITH in the PRINCIPLES of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, had been FEEBLE at best. Into the COVENANT of the League had been written the understanding that ALL member-nations were PLEDGED to MAINTAIN international PEACE, they they would JOIN in MILITARY action or in ECONOMIC SANCTIONS against any AGGRESSOR, in any part of the WORLD. The typical Conservative attitude was [expressed in Feiling's biography of Neville Chamberlain] in [the following] paraphrase [regarding] the League Promise: 'If the Covenant meant what it said, we [in Britain] were pledged to keep by force the FRONTIER of every existing State, and to protect an INDIVISIBLE peace by making every war universal; as if the DEFENSE of a vast vulnerable empire were not enough for FORTY million Britons. Now it was, and had always been, certain that NO British Government would fulfill such COMMITMENTS'. That was as plain as words could make it; in ACTION, the [attitude of the British Conservatives towards] the COVENANT pledge was CLEAR as early as 1931, when JAPANESE

troops overran MANCHURIA, a blatant AGGRESSION against CHINA. At this initial test, the COVENANT pledge had been conveniently SHELVED. War against JAPAN ... on [grounds of Covenant violation]? The very thought, to the British leaders, was an ABSURDITY. At any rate, JAPAN had assured the British of an 'open door' trading policy in MANCHURIA; and perhaps it was a NEAT solution to the CHAOTIC social conditions of the FAR EAST to have the JAPANESE at once BRING ORDER to revolutionary CHINA and PATROL the ASIAN BORDERS of the pariah SOVIET UNION. Japanese AGGRESSION helped the British set a PATTERN for the FUTURE; hereafter, it was EASIER to BYPASS the League [of Nations], to JUDGE each FOREIGN problem on its INDIVIDUAL merits, [and] to DEFINE with narrow care the VITAL areas of concern for BRITAIN and the COMMONWEALTH."

(Excerpt from: Margaret George cited above, at pp.74-75)

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" ... in the early 1930s, the COVENANT [of the League of Nations] stood, to [British] Conservative leaders, [as] an IRRITATING relic of DIPLOMATIC NONSENSE - or worse, [a] DANGEROUS device by which BRITAIN might be PULLED into an impossible European TRAP From Conservative sources, then, there came an undercurrent of INSISTENCE that the COVENANT of the League be CHANGED, 'revised' in the euphoristic word of the day, which meant that the ANTI-AGGRESSION clauses be ELIMINATED, that the organization be REDUCED to a properly UN-OBTRUSIVE role."

(Excerpt from: **Margaret George** cited above, at p.75)

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" ... consider the matter of the Italian CONQUEST of ETHIOPIA, an episode in which a great many things were CLARIFIED, not least among them the attitude of BRITISH Conservative leaders towards WAR, RE-ARMAMENT, and the LEAGUE of NATIONS. Clarified, too, was the wholesale INCOMPETENCE of the Baldwin-led Government, although illumination of this point occurred only after the Tory victory in the election of 1935. ... Mussolini's move against Ethiopia, the Italian AGGRESSION against the FEEBLE forces of Emperor Haile Selassie, presented a DILEMMA for the Tories from the start. As the issue developed in mid-summer of 1935, Conservative reaction was a broad SYMPATHY for ITALIAN interests and DESIGNS in North Africa. There was long PRECEDENT for this READY understanding, dating from the turn of the century, when the BRITISH had SHARED with ITALY and FRANCE spheres of influence in and encircling ETHIOPIA; the last British word had been given in 1925 by AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN, then Foreign Secretary, who had pledged British SUPPORT to Mussolini's attempts to acquire ECONOMIC RIGHTS in Ethiopia - a gentlemen's AGREEMENT that was surely made with the AWARENESS that the ITALIANS might [resort] to MILITARY METHODS to GET THEIR WAY with the ETHIOPIAN government. To the Conservatives, this was a COLONIAL era, to be so treated; they stoutly PROTESTED the French-draft INVITATION that made ETHIOPIA a member of the League of Nations - as Churchill put it, it was RIDICULOUS to PRETEND that that backward desert land was a

'fit, worthy, and equal member of the League of CIVILIZED nations'. Why hedge this country with the protection of proper communities; why deny EUROPEAN nations - have not nations- [like Italy] the OPPORTUNITY to SATISFY their TERRITORIAL AMBITIONS in such places (dreary wastes) as ETHIOPIA? Thus, conservatives understood, even shared, Mussolini's annoyance with the Ethiopian RESISTANCE to his DEMANDS for ECONOMIC PRIVILEGES; as Duff Cooper said, 'Italy had GOOD GROUND for COMPLAINT against ABYSSINIA.' On the other hand, if conservative leaders felt a bond with Italian EXPANSION in Africa - and hoped to remain Mussolini's FRIENDS - it was quickly apparent that the AFFAIR in ETHIOPIA was not a traditional, reasonable (???) use of IMPERIALISM. Mussolini was seized with a most unreasonable kind of TRUCULENCE: he seemed to have forgotten the RECIPROCAL nature of the Agreement of 1925 with Austen Chamberlain, the understanding that the PRICE of British SUPPORT for his AFRICAN AMBITIONS was his SCRUPULOUS REGARD for British PREROGATIVES, 'special interests', in the area; moreover, his INVASION of ETHIOPIA was unnecessarily BRUTAL, the irresponsible act of a deliberate troublemaker. And the whole affair truly became an accursed matter when Haile Selassie, ruler of the Ethiopians, dumped it into the lap of the League of Nations ... charging the Italians with willful AGGRESSION against a SOVEREIGN member-nation and demanding the application of the anti-aggression clauses of the COVENANT.'

(Excerpt from: Margaret George cited above, at pp.78-80)



THE LAVAL-MUSSOLINI

BACK-DOOR AND BACK-STABBING

"DEAL"

AGAINST ETHIOPIA:

JANUARY 1935

*"In October 1934, the **French** Foreign Minister **Luis Barthou** was ASSASSINATED by CROATS in Marseilles at the side of King Alexander of YUGOSLAVIA. Mussolini was SUSPECTED in some quarters of COMPLICITY, but his closest associates are convinced that he had no part in the CRIME.... **Barthou** was REPLACED by **PIERRE LAVAL**, who at once set about the task of improving Franco-Italian relation. After some preparatory work LAVAL came to ROME for FOUR days in JANUARY 1935. It was an important VISIT which has given rise much [controversy]. The FRENCHMAN and the ITALIAN were pursuing TWO quite different AIMS. LAVAL was concerned to MAINTAIN the wobbly UNITED FRONT against GERMANY, and in the process, to SACRIFICE no substantial FRENCH interests. MUSSOLINI, while he was PREPARED to JOIN France and Britain in protecting AUSTRIA and required SOME French CONCESSIONS to DISPLAY to his people, ATTACHED prime IMPORTANCE to OBTAINING from LAVAL an ASSURANCE that FRANCE would ACQUIESCE in the Italian CONQUEST of ABYSSINIA. On January 7,*

1935, a series of AGREEMENTS were signed. In discharge of her obligations under the Treaty of London of 1915, FRANCE ceded to Italy a TRACT of desert territory on the borders of Libya, a STRIP of French SOMALILAND [today's Djibouti], and an island in the RED SEA. In addition, ITALY secured SOME SHARES in the Djibouti-Addis Abeba RAILWAY and a PROLONGATION of the SPECIAL RIGHTS of the ITALIAN community in TUNIS. As regards AUSTRIA, the two governments undertook to CONSULT one another and other governments in the event of a threat to AUSTRIAN independence. A general DECLARATION affirmed that the matters in dispute between the two countries were settled and that the governments intended to develop their traditional friendly relations. Italian public opinion, which resented GERMAN conduct in AUSTRIA, welcomed the AGREEMENTS. But they represented a MEAGER harvest for Italy and ITALIAN officials were dismayed at the extent of Mussolini's COMPLAISANCE. He had, however, unknown to most of them, SECURED from LAVAL a SECRET and VERBAL undertaking that FRANCE would DISINTEREST herself in ABYSSINIA [ETHIOPIA]. The exact TERMS of this UNDERTAKING will never be KNOWN since there was NO WITNESS and both PRINCIPALS are DEAD. According to certain Italian VERSIONS, Laval in conversation spoke of a FREE HAND of ITALY and there was TALK of an Italian PROTECTORATE [over Ethiopia] on the Moroccan MODEL. But LAVAL claimed subsequently that the French PLEDGE to SUPPORT Italy in ABYSSINIA related ONLY to ECONOMIC questions and did NOT cover WAR-LIKE operations."

(Excerpt from: Ivone Kirkpatrick cited above, at pp.288-289).



THE ANGLO-ITALIAN

BACK-STAGE AND DIRTY

"DEAL"

AGAINST ETHIOPIA:

JANUARY-JUNE, 1935

"Mussolini, having settled with Laval, lost little time in approaching BRITAIN. On January 29, 1935, Signor Vitetti, the Italian Charge d'Affaires in LONDON, officially INFORMED the [British] Foreign Secretary of the Franco-Italian AGREEMENT and conveyed the wish of the Italian Government to HARMONIZE British and Italian interests in ABYSSINIA. This was, and recognized as, a polite intimation that BRITISH interests would be SAFEGUARDED, if Italy were GIVEN a FREE HAND. No indignant nor immediate answer was given to this COMMUNICATION. Sir John Simon [the then British Foreign Secretary] merely PROMISED to look into the matter and to REPLY in due course. An interdepartmental COMMITTEE, appointed under the CHAIRMANSHIP of Sir John Maffey, reported FIVE MONTHS later

that , **'there were no vital British interests in Abyssinia or adjoining countries such as to NECESSITATE British RESISTANCE to an Italian CONQUEST of ABYSSINIA.'** This DOCUMENT was purloined from the British embassy in ROME and confirmed Mussolini in the view which he formed at STRESA that Britain was NOT really interested in ABYSSINIA. More than ever he was resolved to PUSH AHEAD, and he RHYTHM of his MILITARY preparations [for the INVASION of **ETHIOPIA**] was ACCELERATED."

(Excerpt from: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at pp.299-300).

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

AND THE ITALIAN INVASION

AND OCCUPATION OF **ETHIOPIA**

"The League's tardy action in the **ETHIOPIAN** case was due to the **FRENCH** and **BRITISH** governments. In **FRANCE**, powerful politicians headed by **Pierre Laval** were **PRO-MUSSOLINI**, and against **SANCTIONS**. French **PUBLIC OPINION** was **ANTI-MUSSOLINI**, and that did NOT interest or deter **LAVAL** and his friends. **LAVAL**, with cynical **DISREGARD** of **France's** **OBLIGATIONS** under the

COVENANT of the League, had personally promised **MUSSOLINI** that he would do everything to see that he had a **FREE HAND** to do **WHATEVER** he [**Mussolini**] wished in **ABYSSINIA** and, **with the peculiar brand of honor that holds among thieves**, **LAVAL** felt **CONSTRAINED** to keep his **PROMISE**. In **England**, matters were somewhat more complicated. **Stanley Baldwin** and his Foreign Minister, **Sir Samuel Hoare** would also have liked to **FORGET** sanctions, but **PUBLIC OPINION** [in **Britain** at the time] was very [**STRONGLY**], [indeed] almost ... [unanimously], [in favor of] **SANCTIONS**, and the general **ELECTIONS** scheduled for **NOVEMBER 14** [1935] **CONSTRAINED** them to proceed **PRUDENTLY**. The **CONSERVATIVE** party [headed by **Neville Chamberlain**] **WON** the [British] elections by a **SMALL MARGIN** of votes but with a large **MAJORITY** in **PARLIAMENT**, and **BALDWIN** and **HOARE** therefore felt **FREE** to **EMBARK** immediately on an **ANTI-SANCTION** policy. On December 9, **HOARE** went to **PARIS** for a conference with **PIERRE LAVAL**. **LAVAL** is said to have told **HOARE** [in a deliberately **ALARMIST** and **TWISTED** tone] that **MUSSOLINI** was in a **DESPERATE** situation, and if the League of Nations should **PROHIBIT** the **EXPORT** of **FUEL OIL** to **Italy**, Mussolini would have to **ATTACK** the **British NAVY** in the **Mediterranean**. The **French NAVY**, **Laval** is supposed to have **EXPLAINED**, could **NOT** possibly **PARTICIPATE** in less than **EIGHTEEN DAYS**, which in this case, would be much **TOO LATE**. The **British NAVY**, as **LAVAL** probably **KNEW** or **GUESSED**, was **NOT** properly **EQUIPPED** for [immediate] **BATTLE**, and it was widely rumored in 'informed circles' that there was **NOT** enough **AMMUNITION** for for more than a **FEW minutes'** **FIRING** with the **BIG GUNS**. Subsequent events have proved, however, that a **FEW minutes** [of firing] **MIGHT** have been **ENOUGH** [to neutralize the **Italian Naval THREAT** in the **Mediterranean**]. Whether or not [**Samuel**] **HOARE** was convinced [by **Laval's** deliberately alarmist

SCARE], he and Laval **PREVENTED** [yes, **PREVENTED**] **Litvinoff** and other **REPRESENTATIVES** in **GENEVA** from including **OIL** in the **SANCTIONS** [regime]. By the Middle of December there were rumors of **SCRAPPING SANCTIONS** entirely. **CHAMBERLAIN** had already remarked that the **CONTINUATION** of **SANCTIONS** was but 'a mid-summer's madness.' The **Hoare-Laval Pact** which ... was Munich-like, to be **IMPOSED** on a **CRIPPLED ABYSSINIA**, proposed a plain **CONNIVANCE** with international [fascist] **BANDITRY**. The **PACT** did **PERMIT ABYSSINIA** access to the **SEA** by a **NARROW CORRIDOR** on which **RAILROAD** construction was explicitly **PROHIBITED**. It was the occasion for a superb and memorable **EDITORIAL** entitled '**A Corridor for Camels**' in the London **TIMES** in which the **DISHONESTY** of the **PACT** was ruthlessly **EXPOSED**. It evoked **FLAMING** and **UNANIMOUS RESENTMENT**, and in **ENGLAND** popular **EXCITEMENT** rose to such **HEIGHTS** that **BALDWIN** was reluctantly **FORCED** to **ARRANGE** for **Sir Samuel HOARE'S** resignation. He [**Hoare**] made a **LAME** defense in the [British] House [of Commons] and **LEFT** in **TEARS** [**DISGUSTING indeed!!!**]. **Liberal** [public] **OPINION** in **FRANCE** was also **OUTRAGED**. A Young man, ... **Captain Anthony Eden**, ...was [subsequently] sent to Geneva as **Hoare's** successor. He came out immediately for **OIL SANCTIONS**, as **Litvinoff** had [proposed] **ALL ALONG**. But, by that time, it was **TOO LATE**. Had **England** and **France** [i.e. their **GOVERNMENTS**] taken **FIRM** and **CONSISTENT ACTION**, **Mussolini** would **NOT** have **DARED** go on with his **ETHIOPIAN** adventure, but the **WESTERN** [imperialist] **POWERS** were **NOT** prepared to make a **DECISIVE** stand. The **CLOSING** of the **SUEZ CANAL** [for Italian **SHIPPING**] and the **STOPPAGE** of **OIL IMPORTS** to Italy or the **CUTTING OFF** of the **SHIPMENTS** of **WATER** from [British-controlled] **ADEN** to the Italian **FORCES** in **ERITREA** would have **FORCED** [Mussolini's] Italy to **DESIST** [from its impending **INVASION** plan against **ETHIOPIA**]."

(Excerpt from: **Arthur Upham Pope, Maxim Litvinoff: A Biography**, New York: L. B. Fischer, 1943, pp.366-368)

"In May 1937, Neville Chamberlain replaced Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister [of Britain], and APPEASEMENT of the DICTATORS [Hitler and Mussolini] became the OFFICIAL British POLICY. [In Canada, it] had no stronger BOOSTER than Mackenzie King [the then Prime Minister]. In London for the Imperial Conference that spring, he resolved to make a 'strenuous effort to understand Nazi Germany', and before sailing home, visited Berlin. According to Newspaper reports, he had a long talk with Hitler, which he found 'most interesting and most valuable,' and spent an enjoyable evening at the opera with GOERING. On his return, he assured the CANADIAN people that Germany did NOT want War any more than ENGLAND did. Perhaps [Mackenzie] king was PREDISPOSED to find Hitler AMIABLE, since his GOVERNMENT had just SIGNED a trade Agreement with Nazi Germany"

(Excerpt from: **Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties**, Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978, p. 101)

"It is wholly in the logic of things that the international SOCIALIST, DEMOCRATIC, LIBERAL, MASONIC, and BOLSHEVIST world should be furiously ANTI-FASCIST."

(Remark of **Benito Mussolini** quoted in: **Ivone Kirkpatrick** cited above, at p. 164)

CHURCHILL'S "ADMIRATION"

FOR MUSSOLINI'S MILITARY "TRIUMPH"

AND HIS

RACIST CONTEMPT

FOR THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA

"To cast an ARMY of NEARLY a quarter MILLION men, embodying the FLOWER of Italian MANHOOD upon a BARREN SHORE two THOUSAND miles from HOME against the GOOD WILL of the WHOLE WORLD and without COMMAND of the Sea, and then in this position embark on what may well be a series of CAMPAIGNS against a

PEOPLE and in REGIONS which NO conqueror in FOUR THOUSAND YEARS ever thought it WORTH WHILE TO SUBDUE is to give hostages to fortune UNPARALLELED in all history."

(Remark by British Aristocrat, Winston Churchill, The Second World War, vol. I, London: 1948, p.135, cited in: Ivone Kirkpatrick, p.320;

The above conceited RACIST remark of British aristocrat, Winston Churchill, is quite "amusing" for two reasons. First, like ALL racists, CHURCHILL manifested palpable IGNORANCE, in this case, his IGNORANCE of HISTORY. Anyone FAMILIAR with ETHIOPIAN history would "laugh" at the above remark of Winston Churchill. Churchill seemed to have NO CLUE as to the NUMBER and VARIETY of "would-be-Conquerors" who "knocked" at the "door" of ETHIOPIA through out its long and tortured history, and the MANY occasions when those "would-be-conquerors" were, to their grief and disappointment, "rebuffed" at the DOOR, and that, whether they came to CONQUER by ARMS or by "guile" and "trickery" alone. Secondly, CHURCHILL was saying that ETHIOPIA was not "subdued" until 1935 because there was NOTHING "worth while to subdue" FOR. Both Ethiopian MILITARY history as well as DIPLOMATIC history REFUTES Churchill's shallow assertion. Ethiopia's relations with the ROMAN EMPIRE, the PERSIAN EMPIRE, the OTTOMAN EMPIRE, and the PORTUGUESE Empire, speaks differently. That the many THREATS from the "parvenu" "would-be-conquerors", namely, the BRITISH, FRENCH, and ITALIAN colonial powers and their ABORTIVE forays over Ethiopian territory in the 19th and the first half 20th centuries were in fact FRUSTRATED on many occasions, find their vivid TESTIMONY in the MASSIVE "volumes of Documentation" "inhabiting" the THICK ARCHIVES of the BRITISH FOREIGN AND COLONIAL OFFICE itself. Churchill's superficially-informed "conclusions" are "akin" to someone saying the following: the fact

that Mr. X's house was not "visited" by "a burglar" so far is BECAUSE "there was nothing worthwhile" to WARRANT "such a visit" at Mr. X's house ; that, among others, the "visit" by the burglar may have been "deterred" by a ferocious DOG which Mr. X keeps at the entrance of his house; or that the "burglar" may have been "too busy" with other "visits" elsewhere; etc. does not seem to enter the mind of PSEUDO "historical observers" like CHURCHILL. Besides, just as "burglars" often "discover" what is AVAILABLE in the HOUSE they "break into" mostly AFTER they "pay the visit", "would-be-Conquerors" also do so with a view to "discovering" whatever is "worth while" to LOOT only AFTER they LANDED and SETTLED comfortably in someone else's TERRITORY. Despite his "career background" as a British "colonial bureaucrat", Winston Churchill still lacked the requisite "cerebral substance" to "process" the FACT that, COLONIALISTS "subdued" other peoples, not always for ONE single MOTIVATION alone; that a MULTIPLE set of REASONS could and did motivate the impetus to "conquer" other people's TERRITORIES. The reason that "attracted" the SPANISH colonialists to early LATIN AMERICA are not, for example, the SAME as those that "attracted" the BRITISH to ADEN, EGYPT, MALTA, or SINGAPORE. In some cases, the MAIN driving attraction was STRATEGIC LOCATION in RELATION to OTHER interests; in other CASES the attraction may very well be the TYPE of "natural resource" CONTAINED in the SUB-SOIL of the TERRITORY "coveted". The British imperialists were ATTRACTED by OIL in SAUDI ARABIA at the turn of the 20th century, by LOCATION to ADEN, SUEZ, HONG KONG, or SINGAPORE. In some cases, TRADE "inlet" and "outlet" and not the AVAILABILITY of "gold" "oil" or "iron ore" tended to "attract" the would-be-conqueror. The British, the German, and the Dutch imperialists were, for example, attracted to Shanghai in the 19th

century, not by what Shanghai itself might have possessed in its "sub soil", but rather by reason of the fact that its "location" at the "mouth" of CHINA provided "access" to the HINTERLAND of MAINLAND CHINA for the "good" of the COMMERCIAL interest of Europe. The British imperialists were not interested in GIBRALTAR for the same reason that they sought a foothold in HONG KONG. The history of ANGLO-ETHIOPIAN relations, alone, bears witness to the fact that, long before the ETHIOPIAN feudal rulers were "interested" in BRITAIN, for example, the latter "sought out" ETHIOPIA, and when that "seeking" "evolved" from sheer "curiosity" "sight seeing" and sheer "adventure seeking" to much "larger purposes", it did so for REASONS well KNOWN to the BRITISH Foreign and Colonial OFFICE. If Ethiopia possessed, as Churchill said, "nothing worth while" to SUBDUE for, how come there was an INTENSE triangular STRUGGLE between the UPSTART European imperialist powers (the BRITISH, the FRENCH, and the ITALIAN) over ETHIOPIA, particularly since the opening of the SUEZ Canal in 1869 and long before 1935? Contrary to Churchill's assertions, the fact that THREE QUARTER of the WATERS (and what RESOURCE is MORE PRECIOUS than WATER?) of the NILE originated from the MOUNTAINS of ETHIOPIA rendered British "colonial ownership" of the DOWN-STREAM countries of EGYPT and SUDAN strategically DEPENDANT on ETHIOPIA for sure "counted" MORE THAN "something" "worth while" to the British imperialists, whose COTTON farms and plantations along the NILE delta in both Sudan and Egypt for the PRODUCTION of the CHEAP raw material NEEDED for the British TEXTILE mills of the DAY was as VITAL as anything could be. An OIL or DIAMOND "find" in Ethiopia may not have been a factor in BRITISH imperialist interest in ETHIOPIA (because there was NO such "find"), but ETHIOPIA'S

"ownership" of the "lion's share" of the WATERS of the NILE indeed was. That being the case, NONE of the known historical FACTS either support or corroborate Winton Churchill's DISMISSIVE assertions.

But that is NOT the only "prejudice" that the CONCEITED British aristocrat had "unleashed" in his myopic "view" of ETHIOPIA. Winston Churchill was also "fond" of CALLING some nations (including his own) "civilized" and others "un-civilized", thereby openly implying that the former ought to be the "masters" of the latter. Proceeding from that kind of racist, "Anglo-centric" and aristocratic vantage point, he had asserted in 1923 that, as a "non-civilized" country, ETHIOPIA should NOT be admitted to the League of Nations. Aristocratic Neanderthals like Churchill never understood that "civilization" is not only RELATIVE, but that it is also so VARIED (in its INTERNAL COMPOSITION and TEXTURE) from one PEOPLE to another on PLANET EARTH that there are few "agreed" STANDARD PARAMETERS by which to "measure" one TYPE of "civilization" against ANOTHER; Not only are the civilizations of various PEOPLES "different" and "DIFFERENTIATED" from each other (each one "rich" in its OWN way and in its OWN right, but that THESE differences between civilizations NEED NOT also be (as the DUMB racists suggest) an insurmountable OBSTACLE against MUTUAL RESPECT and MUTUAL ACCOMMODATION between PEOPLES. Moreover, there can be, and there often is, "un-evenness" of "civilization" even WITHIN one SINGLE country at any ONE particular time. At the time when the great American writer JACK LONDON visited EAST LONDON and wrote his CLASSIC piece on the POOR of London, the "civilization" within which the British aristocrats "circulated" in WEST LONDON was, for example, patently ABSENT in those EASTERN QUARTERS of the single CITY of LONDON within

which the POOR "circulated", and that the TWO social groups (despite their outward "one-ness" in their "British-ness") did NOT even "share" "one" COMMON "English language", although, generically speaking, ENGLISH was/is, for both, their "mother tongue"!!!

As regards the question of whether the ETHIOPIANS were "civilized enough" to be ADMITTED to the League of NATIONS of 1923 (which was, by the way, a colorful "GATHERING" that INCLUDED, among others, "representatives" of EUROPEAN "AMBASSADORS of BRIGANDS" and "THIEVING STATESMEN"), the answer is a matter of KNOWING what "civilization" is. It is not, of course, for IGNORANT and VACUOUS aristocrats like Winston Churchill to say which PEOPLE is or is not a REPOSITORY of "civilization". This is not ALSO a matter, solely, of WHAT the Ethiopians THINK or SAY about THEMSELVES either. Since this is a MATTER, above all, of ARCHAEOLOGY and CULTURAL history, it is the OBJECTIVE and INFORMED judgment of knowledgeable SCHOLARS (as opposed to the myopic views of IGNORANT and DUMB aristocrats) that COUNTS in the end as to whether or not the ETHIOPIANS, have a CIVILIZATION of their own, and whether that particular CIVILIZATION constitutes a DISTINCT contribution to the larger STOCK of HUMAN CIVILIZATION, along side the CIVILIZATIONS of OTHER peoples. Going by the OPINION (then as well as since) of informed and knowledgeable SCHOLARS and SPECIALISTS (including British ones), it is beyond dispute that the ETHIOPIANS have an ancient CIVILIZATION, a civilization which is a repository of, among others, a distinct ALPHABET and distinct WRITTEN LANGUAGE, as well as a distinct CALENDAR. If CIVILIZATIONS like that of ETHIOPIA are LEAST appreciated TODAY and are not known widely, it is NOT

necessarily by reason of their "depreciated value" to HUMANKIND, but because they are NOT yet STUDIED thoroughly ENOUGH with SCIENTIFIC rigor, and are not made ACCESSIBLE to a wider connoisseur of CULTURE.

The Ethiopian people are, of course, CONSCIOUS of the fact that, HAVING an ALPHABET and a WRITTEN LANGUAGE is NOT by ITSELF "sufficient" to PROGRESS fully; that the MAJORITY of the PEOPLE ought to be able to USE it for READING, WRITING, and KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION; that OTHER missing FACTORS should be also be SATISFIED as well; that, in order to do all that, forward-looking Ethiopians are more than READY and WILLING to LEARN from OTHER peoples (including, from the non-aristocratic segment of BRITISH society itself) to IMPROVE upon what their own civilization ALREADY has. The ETHIOPIAN people were NOT able to DO the latter SO FAR, because of CIRCUMSTANCES (both internal and external) which OTHER peoples ALSO encountered as OBSTACLES that tended to "arrest" their natural PROGRESS, and these "retardants" have NOTHING to do (as racist DUMMIES like Winston Churchill try to suggest) with "racial deficiency". The EXTERNAL "retardants" that kept early Ethiopian CIVILIZATION from PROGRESSING naturally, are NOT unique to Ethiopia either; While in EUROPE the resurgence of LONG DISTANCE Trade played (as knowledgeable Medievalist Scholars maintain) a KEY role (both in the early "Mediterranean-Centered" as well as the later "Atlantic-centered" PHASES of LONG DISTANCE trade) as a "catalyst" in PUSHING Europe out of its DARK and MIDDLE AGES by ACCELERATING the "disintegration" of European FEUDALISM within and by helping the BIRTH of new and DYNAMIC anti-feudal social CLASSES as initiators and leaders of social TRANSFORMATION, in Ethiopia (by contrast) the LOSS of its MARITIME outlet on the RED SEA due to OTTOMAN

encroachment; the RESTRICTION placed on EXTENSIVE commercial CONTACT with the CENTERS of WORLD TRADE by the INTERJECTION of the OTTOMAN WALL between Ethiopia and the then thriving "Centers" and "hubs" of the WORLD Economy (initially around the MEDITERRANEAN and later around the ATLANTIC-CENTERED trading centers) due to the Ottoman capture of CONSTANTINOPLE; the BY-PASSING of the MAIN World trade routes from the ATLANTIC-CENTERED trading CENTER to the FAR EAST via the CAPE of GOOD HOPE "away from" the RED SEA region, played a KEY role in ARRESTING the PROGRESS of Ethiopian CIVILIZATION by WEAKENING (substantially) the opportunities for LONG DISTANCE trade, whose "absence" DEPRIVED Ethiopia the forceful ECONOMIC "catalyst" necessary to ACCELERATE the early "disintegration" of the "fossilized" Ethiopian FEUDALISM; it meant, unlike the EUROPEAN historical experience, the further OSSIFICATION and PROLONGATION of the "life" of Ethiopian FEUDALISM; On top of that, the EMERGENCE of modern IMPERIALISM in the from the 1870s onwards brought, in its wake, an ADDITIONAL external "retardant" by helping "reinforce" the PROLONGATION of Ethiopian "feudalism" and by SUBORDINATING the NEEDS of local PROGRESS to the NEEDS of the DOMINANT external WORLD-WIDE "event managers"; While, in the ECONOMIC sphere, the EXPANSION of TRADE in the epoch of IMPERIALISM had a "salutary" INFLUENCE in "undermining" Ethiopian FEUDALISM, the POLITICS of IMPERIALISM had the exact OPPOSITE and CONTRADICTIONARY influence, where the PARTNERSHIP between the LOCAL "feudal barons" and "change arresters" and their FOREIGN imperialist MASTERS meant the further PERPETUATION of the "rule" of Ethiopian FEUDALISM, a mutually-reinforcing "retardant", contributing (NEGATIVELY) to

the continuous **STAGNATION** of Ethiopian **CIVILIZATION**. The point here is that, it is **NOT** (as **Churchill** claims) the "absence" of **CIVILIZATION** per se, but rather one of **OVERCOMING** the formidable **OBSTACLES** (both **INTERNAL** as well as **EXTERNAL** to Ethiopia) that **PREVENTED** the Ethiopian people from "building on" and "cultivating fully" (to a "higher" and "deeper" **LEVEL**) what Ethiopia **ALREADY** possessed thanks to the considerable **LEGACY** left from the **HEYDAYS** of its **EARLY** civilization, a civilization which was, according to the informed and objective **OPINION** of real **SCHOLARS** and genuine **SPECIALISTS** (as opposed to pretenders like **CHURCHILL**) in many respects "comparable" to its **CONTEMPORARIES** in **ANY** other **CIVILIZATION** anywhere. The ignorant views of racist **CLOWNS** like Winston Churchill aside, **NO** single people on **EARTH** has had a **MONOPOLY** of "high civilization" that **LASTED** indefinitely and without an "up-and-down" "**INTERRUPTION**", "**INTERREGNUM**", and "oscillation". The **GERMANIC TRIBES** who came to inhabit what later became **BRITAIN** were, for example, initially "backward" in **MANY** respects **COMPARED** to the Axumite **ETHIOPIANS** of the same period. The **CHINESE** people were by far **CIVILIZED** than the **EUROPEANS** at a certain time in history, lost that "leading edge" at a much later stage due to **FACTORS** that have very little to do with "racial deficiency", and are **NOW** "surging ahead" with the prospect of **OVERTAKING** aspects of **EUROPEAN** "civilization" in due time. Besides, contrary to the un-stated "assumption" underlying the myopic and racist ideas of **Winston Churchill**, **NO** civilization on earth was so "hermetically sealed" from **OTHER** adjacent **CIVILIZATIONS** that it can **CLAIM** to have "evolved" totally **FREE** from "positive influences" from the **REST**. Recent **SCHOLARSHIP** on the matter has, for example, already **DEBUNKED** many of the "Euro-centric" theories and assumptions

underlying many of the RACIST "pillars" about the SUPERIORITY of one CIVILIZATION over the REST, irrespective of TIME and LOCATIONAL circumstance. Nearly all CIVILIZATIONS have "evolved" through a PROCESS of "cross-fertilization" and by "inter-penetration" SO MUCH SO that no single CIVILIZATION can claim that its "system of ideas" "techniques" and "institutions" are totally FREE from "borrowing" from OUTSIDE, or that EVERYTHING in its CIVILIZATION is "entirely home made". The British chauvinist ARISTOCRATS who are as "alien" to the INHERENT feature of MODERN bourgeois "democracy" as ANYTHING can be (and the original notion of "demo-cracy" is, by the way, the invention of HELLENIC civilization), "brag" that BRITAIN is the "mother" of modern (post-Hellenic) DEMOCRACY, on the FALSE supposition that a CHARTER (the Magna Charta), which was BORN out of a CLASS STRUGGLE between two PATRICIAN groups, namely, the landed NOBILITY and the super-aristocratic MONARCHY (none of which side was PLEBIAN), "gave" the WORLD the RUDIMENTS of MODERN (post-Hellenic) "democracy"; DENY contemptuously that BRITAIN, in fact, "borrowed" (at least John Locke did) SOME of the essential IDEAS of BOURGEOIS "democracy" from the DUTCH (along with the "art and technique" of modern "banking"). There is, of course, no mystery as to WHY that HAD to be so. The DUTCH were, by reason of their ADVANCED COMMERCE in the 17th century (relative to the British), the "mother" of an "earlier" "embryo" BOURGEOISIE in continental EUROPE which was BORN from the "womb" of then DUTCH society following the relative DECLINE of the "Mediterranean-centered" WORLD ECONOMY (which in turn was "eclipsed" and CUT OFF from its EASTERN commercial LIFE LINE by the rise of the OTTOMANS after the FALL of CONSTANTINOPLE in mid-15th century), the SHIFT in the

CENTRE of GRAVITY of the WORLD ECONOMY towards the "low countries" (first Belgium, and later the Netherlands), and consequently, the NETHERLANDS was the IDEAL earlier "crucible" for the GERMINATION and EMERGENCE of "notions" of (post-Hellenic) BOURGEOIS "democracy", just as the DUTCH were, for the same reason, the "earlier inheritors" of the "know how" of modern BANKING from the "merchant-BANKERS" of the Italian CITY STATES of the RENAISSANCE. The BRITISH were relative "late comers" and "learners" from OTHER peoples in still OTHER intellectual DOMAINS as well. The history of SCIENCE and TECHNOLOGY alone shows, for example, that CHINESE, ARAB, and INDIAN civilizations had much to CONTRIBUTE to what "used to be" regarded, by biased and self-serving EURO-CENTRIC scholarship, as an exclusively "home grown" EUROPEAN intellectual "domain"; it is by no means TRUE to say that EUROPE alone was the "father" of "rational/scientific thinking" and the EAST alone the "mother" of "mystical/meta-physical/non-scientific thinking". The TOOLS of KNOWLEDGE available TODAY do NOT permit the wanton "thievery" of the CONTRIBUTION of MANY civilizations to the "storehouse of knowledge" of the entire HUMANKIND, and then PRETEND (as in the past) that this POOL of KNOWLEDGE is the "exclusive cerebral product" of the INTELLIGENTSIA of a "select group" of nations merely by tricky MIS-APPROPRIATION. The British ARISTOCRATS, who are NOT distinguished by their own "cerebral strength", foisted their RACIST theory of CIVILIZATIONS by "feasting" abundantly on the PRECEDING era of "intellectual thievery" and "knowledge mis-appropriation". Winston Churchill is not, of course, the "sole carrier" of myopic and racist PREJUDICES about "civilized" and "non civilized" peoples. Ten years AFTER the RUSSIAN Revolution "leveled", by LAW and POLICY, the custom-sanctioned GENDER GAP in Tsarist Russia,

"HIGH SOCIETY" in the then [1929] "civilized" CANADA was still "debating", in its bourgeois LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, whether or not WOMEN ought to be regarded as "chattels" and "moving things" as opposed to "humans" (for the purpose of "assigning" to them civil and political rights), and yet, if in 1929 someone like TIM BUCK, the then pre-eminent Canadian COMMUNIST, tried to SHAME the Anglo-Canadian IMITATORS and ADMIRERS of Winston Churchill by telling them that, in the MATTER of WOMEN'S rights as well as ACCESS to HEALTH CARE, the CANADA of 1929 was by far "less civilized" than, and "way behind", the NEW CIVILIZATION that was being built in SOVIET RUSSIA, they would have no doubt OBJECTED "vehemently" for "even the thought" of being "COMPARED" with the "Slavic" RUSSIANS of their prejudice-laden "IMAGINATION". Likewise, the American right wing JINGOIST racists would have been "furious" at the suggestion that their racist MIS-TREATMENT of African-Americans placed THEM, on the eve of 1965 (the year of the enactment of the Voting Rights Act), WAY BEHIND the SOVIET RUSSIA of 1918 where the enactment of the LAW on the FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF THE SOVIET CITIZEN in the NEW SOVIET CIVILIZATION made legal INEQUALITY between CITIZENS a thing of the past, and that this FACT alone made the United States "less civilized" than the NEW RUSSIA already by the year 1918. The British ARISTOCRATS used to "rule" the AMERICAN colonies from a DISTANCE and with feudal CONDESCENDING arrogance until 1776, they used to "tutor" the "parvenu" American IMPERIALISTS before 1914 on the "know how" of SUBDUING other PEOPLES, and in the year 2003 (the invasion of IRAQ) the "humbled" British ARISTOCRATS and their "Blair-like Statesmen" are taking their INSTRUCTIONS from WASHINGTON. That is HOW "history" PROGRESSES!!! The BRITISH imperialists, their pompous and

sonorous ARISTOCRATS, as well as their RACIST propagandists (a la Kipling) , used to SEE themselves (until the "sun" began to "set" on the one time far-flung British EMPIRE) the "masters" of the INDIANS by virtue of their supposed "superior civilization" until the mid-20th century, but who can tell WHERE the INDIANS would be 50 years HENCE relative to the BRITISH. Only DUMB racists would INSIST on "seeing" an otherwise DYNAMIC social "universe" from the vantage point of a "fixed" and "prejudice-laden" pedestal. And Winston Churchill, who obviously saw himself as the "cream of the cream" in British ARISTOCRATIC circles, was one such DUMB and NEANDERTHAL racist.

THE ADDIS ABABA

FASCIST MASS MASSACRE

OF FEBRUARY 19 (YEKATIT 12)

1937

THE BACKGROUND LEADING TO THE MASSACRE

"[Fascist General] Graziani was driven to such a pitch of fury by the activities of the [Ethiopian Guerrilla] insurgents that he embarked on a [country-wide] REIGN OF TERROR Driven beyond endurance by Graziani's REPRESSIVE measures, SOME of the Ethiopians PLOTTED to ASSASSINATE him [Graziani]. To celebrate the birth of the Prince of Naples, Graziani had decided to distribute THALERS [the local currency] to the neediest inhabitants of the [Ethiopian] capital. The ceremony took place on 19th February 1937, in the compound of Haile Selassie's old Palace, and was attended by almost all the TOP RANKING Italian AUTHORITIES in the capital, the Abuna Kyril, and a large number of Ethiopian Notables. At Midday, the poor, of whom there were some 3000, had just begun to file past the long white table on which the THALERS were piled, when a HAND GRENADE hurled by someone hidden in the crowd EXPLODED just above the gate of the Palace. A second later, ANOTHER BOMB burst in the midst of the Italian Group and Graziani FELL, WOUNDED in the BACK. In the next few minutes, SEVEN MORE [Grenades] were thrown, injuring General Liotta, Guido Cortese, the [fascist] MAYOR of Addis Ababa and another THIRTY or so people."

(Colonel A.J. Barker cited above, at pp.141-144)

ITALIAN FASCIST RETALIATION

AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION OF ADDIS

ABEBA

IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT

"The *Carabinieri* [the fascist Police], convinced that many MORE missiles would be flung by conspirators lurking in the dense throng, lost their heads and **OPENED FIRE** immediately. The **FIRING** went on for **THREE HOURS** and when it stopped the compound was **LITTERED** with **BODIES**. But the **WORST** was **YET** to **COME**. Late that afternoon **HUNDREDS** of **Black-shirts** and **Libyan ASKARIES** [mercenaries/bandas] gathered outside the Palace and then made for the **NATIVE QUARTER** of **Addis Abeba**. There they embarked on a **SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE**, drenching the **tukuls** [huts/homes] with **PETROL**, setting them **ALIGHT** and **SHOOTING** the **INHABITANTS** as they emerged from the **BLAZING HUTS**. While this **HATE** ran riot, the **POLICE** kept out of sight, and the **MASSACRE** went on for *three days*. Then on the morning of **22nd February** notices were put up bearing the signature of the Italian Mayor **Guido Cotese** and ordering **REPRISALS** to cease at noon. The fact that the authorities issued these **NOTICES** was a mute **TESTIMONY** to their tacit **ACQUIESCENCE** in the **MASSACRE**. Meanwhile, [General] **Graziani**, unable to trace his would-be **ASSASSINS**, took advantage of the occasion to **LIQUIDATE** the **ENTIRE** Ethiopian **INTELLIGENTSIA** and **ALL** the prominent **YOUNG** Ethiopians who had **NOT** shown active **SYMPATHY** towards the **FASCIST OCCUPATION**. Italian Newspapers published accounts of the **REPRISALS** without any attempt to gloss over the details. In the *Gazetta del Popolo* for **22nd February 1937**, one report stated that '**... a number of quarters in Addis Ababa suspected for harboring seditious elements have been cleaned up by the Squadristi ...**' And two days later, 'of

*the 2, 000 Ethiopians taken into custody after the attempt on the life of **General Graziani**, several hundred were able to prove their innocence and have been set free. All those Ethiopians found to be **armed** or in whose tukuls **arms** were found, have been **EXECUTED**. The rest of the prisoners were awaiting trial.' "*

*(**Colonel A. J. Barker** cited above, at p.144-145)*

*"After the attempt on his life, **Graziani** regarded ALL Ethiopians with the blackest **SUSPICION** and his **CRUELTY** undoubtedly led to even **MORE** widespread **REBELLION**, and finally, to his own **REMOVAL** [from Occupied Ethiopia]. Obsessed with **HATRED**, **Graziani** saw **ENEMIES** and would-be **ASSASSINS** whenever he looked and the story of his Vice-regency is one of witch-hunts and murder. ... In Rome, the conviction was steadily growing that even if **Graziani** had never uttered his [notorious] phrase: '**The Duce shall have Ethiopia, with or without the Ethiopians, just as he pleases**', he was putting the second of these **ALTERNATIVES** into **PRACTICE** with highly **UNDESIRABLE** results. **Petrified** with **FEAR**, **Graziani** rarely emerged from behind the **barbed wire entanglements** of the **heavily-guarded Governor's Palace**, and it was obvious that a man in his state could not continue as **Viceroy of Ethiopia**. Thus it was to the **RELIEF** of all, particularly the Ethiopians, that **Graziani** was **REPLACED** by a very **DIFFERENT** (????) character, the ... **Duke of Aosta**. By way of compensation, **Graziani** was created Duke of Neghelli, and he left Addis Ababa a **NERVOUS WRECK**, lamenting bitterly that he had been unable to trail the conspirators who had attempted to assassinate him."*

*(**Colonel A. J. Barker** cited above, at p.145)*

NUMBER OF PEOPLE MASSACRED

*"How many **Ethiopians** were **KILLED** in this particular **BLOOD-BATH** will never be known. The **Ethiopians** themselves put the number as high as **30,000**. **English, French and American** newspapers of the day gave figures which oscillate between **1,400** and **6,000**, while the **Italians** said that the total was about **800**. But if this figure is closer to the truth (?????) than the exaggerated (?????) number of the **Ethiopians**, it is certain it does **NOT** include the **HUNDREDS** of **COPTIC PRIESTS** and **MONKS** executed on **Graziani's** orders in the **succeeding months**."*

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.145)

ETHIOPIAN FEUDALISM

VERSUS

ITALIAN FASCIST IMPERIALISM

AN OVERVIEW

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR OF 1935-1941 WAS A MULTI-FACETED STRUGGLE. IT WAS INTER-LACED WITH MULTIPLE SUB-STRUGGLES, AND ONE SUCH SUB-STRUGGLE WAS BETWEEN ITALIAN IMPERIALISM ON THE ONE HAND AND ETHIOPIAN FEUDALISM ON THE OTHER, WHERE THE PEOPLE BOTH ON THE ITALIAN AS WELL AS THE ETHIOPIAN SIDE WERE "HISTORICAL PAWNS" OF THE "LEADING ACTORS" AT PLAY.

THE SETBACKS EXPERIENCED BY THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA IN THEIR CONFRONTATION WITH ITALIAN FASCIST COLONIAL AGGRANDIZEMENT BETWEEN 1935 AND 1941 WERE, IN NO SMALL PART, DUE TO THE SYSTEMIC AND ALL-ROUNDED (POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, TECHNICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL) INEPTNESS OF ETHIOPIAN FEUDALISM IN THE FACE OF AN EXTERNAL AND HIGHLY ORGANIZED FASCIST/IMPERIALIST ONSLAUGHT.

THE LESSONS OF THAT MULTI-FACETED STRUGGLE (FROM WITHIN AND FROM WITHOUT) OUGHT TO REST ANCHORED ON THE CONSCIOUS RECOGNITION OF THIS FUNDAMENTAL HISTORICAL FACT. THAT IS ONE MORE REASON WHY THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE HAD TO REBUFF ITALIAN FASCIST IMPERIALISM "FROM WITH OUT", AND HAD TO DISMANTLE AND BURY (AT A MUCH LATER STAGE) THE DOMESTIC SCOURGE OF ETHIOPIAN FEUDALISM AND ITS UGLY VESTIGES "FROM WITHIN".

WHILE THE MILITARY, POLITICAL, AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PRECEDENT ESTABLISHED BY THE BATTLE OF ADOWA IN 1896 SHOWED THAT THE SETBACK OF 1935-41 WAS BY NO MEANS A "FATALISTICALLY INEVITABLE" AND "PRE-DETERMINED OUTCOME" GIVEN ETHIOPIA'S "FEUDALISM", THERE CAN BE LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE SETBACK HAD, NEVERTHELESS, ITS ROOTS (IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS) IN THE SYSTEMIC WEAKNESS OF THE THEN PREVAILING FEUDALISM. WHILE A DIFFERENT "OUTCOME" WOULD HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE FOR ETHIOPIA AT THE TIME IN QUESTION, THAT IT DID NOT IN FACT "HAPPEN" POINTS, IN NO SMALL MEASURE, TO THE COMPLACENCY, INCOMPETENCE, AND INEPTNESS OF HAILE SELASSIE'S FATALLY-FLAWED "MIS-LEADERSHIP".

THE ROOTS OF

ETHIOPIA'S TRAGEDY

ON THE EVE OF, AND DURING

THE

COURSE OF, THE ANTI-FASCIST

RESISTANCE

AN INCOMPETENT,

COMPLACENT,

IGNORANT, AND BACKWARD

FEUDAL LEADERSHIP

SHACKED BY A CHILD-LIKE

"UNDERSTANDING" OF WORLD

POLITICS AND STEEPED IN A

CORROSIVELY DEFEATIST

MENTALITY FROM WITHIN

(ON THE ONE HAND)

LETTING DOWN

A VALOROUS BUT LARGELY

"LEADERLESS" SOLDIERY,

POSSESSING

HIGH FIGHTING MORALE,

BACKED

FROM BEHIND BY A HIGHLY

PATRIOTIC

POPULATION (ON THE OTHER

HAND)

FACING

**A REVANCHIST, WELL-
PREPARED, WELL-ARMED,
AND
BRUTAL FASCIST
OCCUPATION
FORCE BENT ON A VINDICTIVE
CAMPAIGN OF RE-CONQUEST
OUT TO "UN-DO"
FRANCISCO CRISP'S 1896
"SHAME, HUMILIATION, AND
IGNOMINY"
AT THE EPIC BATTLE OF**

ADAWA

**PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF
THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR
OF 1935-1941**

**THE ITALIAN FASCIST
ATTITUDE TOWARDS
ETHIOPIA**

AND

ETHIOPIANS

*"Concerning internal affairs, the burning question of the moment is the **RACIAL** problem. In this sphere, we shall adopt the necessary **SOLUTIONS**. ... The **RACIAL** problem has not broken out suddenly, as those ... who are accustomed to long, sluggish slumbers [think]. It is related to the **CONQUEST** of the **EMPIRE**; for **HISTORY** teaches that **EMPIRES** are **WON** by **ARMS**, but **HELD** by **PRESTIGE**. And **PRESTIGE** demands a clear-cut **RACIAL CONSCIOUSNESS** which is based not only on **DIFFERENCE**, but on the most definite **SUPERIORITY**."*

(Extract from a Speech delivered by Fascist Monster **Benito Mussolini** at **Trieste** on September 18, 1938; Speech explaining and justifying the **RACIST** policy of **FASCIST** Italy both **WITHIN** Italy proper as well as in its **CONQUERED** Territories outside Europe, including in temporarily **OCCUPIED** **ETHIOPIA**;
Cited in: **Monica Curtis** (ed.), **Documents of International Affairs: 1938** (London: Oxford University Press, 1943) vol. II pp.239-240; also in: **S. William Halperin**, **Mussolini and Italian Fascism** (New York: Van Nostrand, 1964), Document No. 24 :

"Mussolini On Racialism: Speech of September 18, 1938", p.174)

"The Duce [Mussolini] shall have ETHIOPIA, with or without the ETHIOPIANS, just as he pleases"

(Remark attributed to Italian Fascist Viceroy of Ethiopia, General Rudolfo Graziani; that was the very fascist MONSTER on whose "head" a half dozen HAND GRENADES were hurled by the two Ethiopian heroes, Abraha Deboch and Mogus Asgedom, on February 19, 1937, following which the Italian fascists carried out a brutal orgy of indiscriminate MASS MASSACRE of Ethiopian CIVILIANS between February 19 and 22, 1937; quoted in: Colonel A. J. Barker, The Rape of Ethiopia 1936, New York: Ballantine Books, 1971 pp.69)

"All [Ethiopian] rebels captured are to be shot."

(Instructional Message cabled on June 6, 1936 from fascist Monster **Benito Mussolini** to his Viceroy in Occupied Ethiopia, **General Graziani**; quoted in: **A. J. Barker** cited above, at p.135)

"It took us SEVEN MONTHS to CONQUER the Empire. But to OCCUPY and PACIFY it will take us far LESS time. At this moment our troops are marching hundreds of miles into the FERTILE regions of the Great Lakes in the heart of Equatorial Africa, while a column of our men is on its way westward to GORE, the seat of the PUPPET (???) Government."

(The boasting words of Fascist Clown **Benito Mussolini** in a Speech delivered on October 24, 1936, a year after the Italian Invasion of Ethiopia; quoted in: **Colonel A. J. Barker** cited above, at pp.135-137)

"We must continue with the work of total DESTRUCTION. If a region

[in Occupied Ethiopia] is not accessible to TROOPS, the AIR FORCE will CLEAR it, BOMBING it daily and using ALL the MEANS at its disposal, [including] essential attack with ASPHYXIATING [poison] GASES"

(General Graziani wiring General Pirzio Biroli; quoted in Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.141)

"... all [meaning, among others, the WEAPONS of WAR available to ETHIOPIANS] but the HUMAN element can be DISCOUNTED. The Ethiopian SOLDIER needs LITTLE, is TOUGH and ZEALOUS of his HONOR. He is such a FANATICAL FIGHTER that, in the heat of BATTLE, he is utterly oblivious of DEATH."

(Commando Superiore A. O. Stato Maggiore, Ufficio Informazioni, "Riservato", Etiopia Guida Pratica per l' Ufficiale Destinato in Africa Orientale; A 'Confidential' Italian Politico-Military MANUAL distributed at the time by the Fascist Occupation Forces in INSURGENT Ethiopia; quoted in: Colonel A. J. Barker, cited above at p. 27)

THE VATICAN'S SUPPORT FOR MUSSOLINI'S CAMPAIGN OF EMPIRE-BUILDING

*"The **Church** [the Vatican Hierarchy] gave the **FASCISTS**' fair return for the **FAVORS** it continued to **RECEIVE** by **SUPPORTING** Mussolini's **Ethiopian VENTURE** and **ENDORISING** his **INTERVENTION** in the Spanish **CIVIL WAR**."*

(S. William Halperin, cited above: "Church and State", at p.71)

SAMPLES OF PRO-FASCIST "JOURNALISM" IN ITALY: UNRESTRAINED AND SADISTIC "GLEE" EXPRESSED BY PRO- FASCIST ITALIAN JOURNALISTS AT THE SIGHT OF THE BRUTAL EXECUTION OF ETHIOPIAN PATRIOTS BY FASCIST FIRING SQUADS

*"...the Crack of the **firing squad**'s rifles was a burst of defiant **FASCIST LAUGHTER** at the **WORLD** that so **SANCTIMONIOUSLY** condemns us, a shot of **DEFIANCE** to the **POWERS** who **IMPOSED** **SANCTIONS** on us. What a true **SQUADRISTI** **SLAP** in the face ... has been administered to that raddled **OLD HARLOT GENEVA** [referring to the **League of Nations**]."*

(Excerpt taken from an "editorial" published in the Italian Newspaper, Gazetta del Popolo; cited in :

Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.137-141)

THE COMPLACENCY,
INCOMPETENCE, NAIVITE,
IGNORANCE, AND DEFEATISM
OF HAILE SELASSIE AND
HIS TOP QUISLING ASSOCIATES
WERE MAJOR FACTORS FOR
THE TRAGIC

SETBACK SUFFERED BY ETHIOPIA

BOTH ON THE EVE AS WELL AS

DURING THE COURSE OF THE
ITALO-

ETHIOPIAN WAR OF 1935-1941

"We did not even contemplate (!!!!) fighting a European-style war ... Moreover, it would have been IMPOSSIBLE (?????) as what we had in the way of artillery, even machine guns, was laughable."

(**Incompetent** and **Defeatist** feudal chieftain **Emperor Haile Selassie** "reminiscing" about the War he **RAN AWAY** from; quoted in: **Colonel A. J. Barker**, cited above.pp-27-29; **Incidentally, one would assume that a "leader" who DID NOT "contemplate" putting up a FIGHT in the MANNER of a CONVENTIONAL "European-style war", would have PREPARED, PLANNED, and ORGANIZED an ALTERNATIVE non-conventional GUERRILLA Resistance. But Haile**

Selassie did NEITHER. Later he tried to "preside" OVER what other PATRIOTS improvised SPONTANEOUSLY and on their OWN, INDEPENDENT of the "input" of QUISLING Haile Selassie. And to this day, there are many right wing IDIOTS and monarchist SYCOPHANTS who fraudulently bestow undeserved "credit" on him as the "father" of the heroic and indigenous Ethiopian Anti-Fascist Patriotic Movement between 1935-41)

**OPINION BY NON-ITALIAN
FOREIGN OBSERVERS OF THE
ETHIOPIAN SCENE**

*"[In Conventional Warfare against the Occupation Fascist Forces, the **COURAGE** alone of the Ethiopian SOLDIERS] proved to be pitifully **INADEQUATE** [to COMPENSATE] against the WEIGHT of 10 [Italian] Divisions, equipped with modern arms and commanded by modern tactical experts, supported by an excellent air force and artillery as well as by flamethrowers, and - as if this was not enough - by **[poison] GAS.**"*

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.27)

>>>>>

*"The Italians estimated (overestimated, according to the Ethiopians) that on the eve of hostilities, the ENEMY (meaning, the Ethiopian side] had an army of 350,000 men (of whom only a QUARTER had had any kind of MILITARY TRAINING); 400,000 rifles of every type and in every kind of condition; 200 antiquated pieces of artillery mounted on rigid gun carriages; about 50 light and heavy ant-aircraft guns, Oerlikons, 75 Schneiders and Vickers; a mixed batch of Ford and Fiat 3000 armoured cars. The regulars of the [Ethiopian] Imperial Guard were fitted out in the greenish khaki uniforms of the BELGIAN army, but their berets had been made in JAPAN; the rest of the troops wore the WHITE [and hence very visible] shamma (the Ethiopian cotton cloak), and an excellent TARGET it proved to be. Modest and ill-equipped as this [Ethiopian] army was, the Negus [Haile Selassie] **WAITED** until 28th September [1935] BEFORE giving the ORDER to MOBILIZE. He could **NOT** bring himself to give up HOPE that the DISPUTE [with Italy] would be SETTLED peacefully, and he had a **PATHETIC FAITH** in the **LEAGUE OF NATIONS** as well as in the SYMPATHY extended to him by the PRO-ETHIOPIAN [solidarity] Committees that*

had been set up in countries ALL OVER THE WORLD as a PROTEST against Italy's BELLIGERENT attitude."

(Colonel A. J. Barker, cited above at p.29)

THE WAR FEVER ON THE EVE OF THE CONFLICT

"In Italy, regimental colors were being BLESSED with 'holy water from the Plave', a 'Fascist Sabbath' had been introduced to work up [Jingoistic] fervor. [On the Ethiopian side] the Emperor's broadcasts had a similar effect on Ethiopians, and an orgy of PATRIOTIC speeches and displays developed. In Harar, Weizero (Lady) Abebech Cherkos, the daughter of a wealthy landowner, organized a 'Battalion of Death', and was photographed in uniform clutching a rifle to her stomach. Another Wieizero [Lady] told the Correspondent of Britain's Daily Express in Addis Abeba that she had recruited a 'Legion of Amazons', and had already enrolled 3, 000 recruits. A redoubtable OLD WOMAN, [Felekech] (???) who, forty years earlier, had FOUGHT against the Italians at [the battle of] ADOWA, posed in front of the press cameras AIMING a PISTOL at the invisible ENEMY."

(Colonel A. J. Barker, at 31)



*"Three days after the Occupation of Addis Abeba ... the city began to return to life. ... But the War was NOT over, and the 10,000 strong garrison of **Italian** and **Eritrean** (BANDA/MERCENARY) troops faced some 50,000 ARMED but LEADERLESS Ethiopian SOLDIERS. In fact, **Mussolini's** empire was only NOMINALLY under Italian DOMINATION. About **two-thirds** of the country was still under the control of Ethiopian [feudal] nobles, and SIZEABLE FORCES still loyal to Haile Selassie were concentrated in the Provinces of **GOJJAM**, **SHOA**, **JIMMA**, **Galla-Sidamo** [an Italian regional administrative appellation], and **Hararge**."*

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.135)



*"On 22nd May [1936], when [the head of the Italian Occupation Forces in Ethiopia] **Badoglio** returned to Italy at his own request, [**General**] **Graziani**, the very last man suited to carry out the difficult task of PACIFYING the country, was appointed Viceroy of Ethiopia. The **Duce** [**Benito Mussolini**], knowing him as he did, should have advised **Graziani** to act with MODERATION, instead he cabled on 6th June [1936] : '**All rebels captured are to be shot.**' This gave the new Viceroy all the power he needed , and an edict was [subsequently] issued announcing that every Ethiopian who RESISTED the Italian OCCUPATION would be regarded as a BRIGAND. 300 Cadets of the **Holeta Academy** who killed **Air-Marshal Magliocco** and ELEVEN of his OFFICERS when they rashly landed their THREE PLANES at **Lekemti***

on 27th June [1936] to STIR up the PRO-ITALIAN Galla [Correction: the local pro-Italian Oromo BALABATS/CHIEFTAINS were the ones that were RECEPTIVE to DIVISIVE fascist propaganda, and NOT the Oromo POPULATION at large] against the pro-Haile Selassie Shoans (???) were declared BRIGANDS. So were the PATRIOTS who repeatedly sabotaged the Addis-Jibouti Railway Line ..."

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at. p.135)



"At dawn on 28th July, when Addis Abeba was shrouded by a curtain of torrential rain, a few thousand Ethiopians led by two of Ras Kassa's sons, swooped down from the mountains, surrounded the capital and infiltrated the outlying districts of KIRKOS, BOLE, and GULLALE. The Italian troops beat them back almost immediately, but on the following day they attacked again, once more without success. Believing that these attacks had been INSPIRED by the COPTIC PRIESTHOOD, the Italians seized the Bishop Abuna Petros and summarily EXECUTED him in the Addis Ababa market place. [General] Grazini then launched a SERIES of REPRESSIVE operations, ambiguously described as 'operations of great colonial policy.' To dispel suspicions about the true nature of these operations, Mussolini spoke up in Rome on 24th October [1936]. 'It took us SEVEN MONTHS to CONQUER the Empire', he declared. 'But to OCCUPY and PACIFY it will take us far LESS time. At this moment our troops are marching hundreds of miles into the FERTILE regions of the Great Lakes in the heart of Equatorial Africa, while a column of our men is on its way westward to GORE, the seat of the PUPPET (???) Government'. The Duce IGNORED the fact that

almost SEVEN MONTHS had elapsed since the OCCUPATION of Addis Abeba, and did not MENTION that during October 1936 [alone] 173 Italians were KILLED or wounded; in November, the CASUALTY list was 156, in December 134."

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at pp.135-137)

"If the situation was precarious for the Italian troops, it was desperate for the Ethiopian PATRIOTS, who were COMPELLED to LIVE OFF the land, who had NO MEDICAL SUPPLIES, and whose AMMUNITION SUPPLIES were RUNNING LOW. Ras Imiru with 1,200 men was cut off trying to fight his way back to the Sudan border. Some of his men were wounded, many were sick, and he had only a few rounds of ammunition when he decided to surrender [CORRECTION: the circumstances of the SURRENDER were quite different. Other MORE authentic historical sources in fact indicate that the Imiru-led Patriotic forces in the Gore-Jimma military THEATER were TRICKED and TRAPPED as a result of the INTRIGUES of well known pro-Italian local COLLABORATORS, COLLABORATORS which included key members of the QUISLING Aba jiffar-Abba Jobir Jimma Oromo (muslim) feudal ARISTOCRACY; Incidentally, readers interested on the Imiru-led WING of the Ethiopian Patriotic Movement which operated, at different times, on the North Western, Western, and South-Western corners of Ethiopia from the Tekeze Front in the North to the Gore-Jimma Theater in the South can consult, among others, Kebede Tessema's account in YETARIK MASTAWOSHA or KERRIN GEREMEW, and Paulos Gnogno's YeEthiopiaana YeItalia

Torinet] **Imiru's** life was **SPARED** but he was **DEPORTED** to Italy to spend **SEVEN** long years in **PRISON**. But when the **TWO SONS** of **Ras Desta** responsible for the attacks on Addis Ababa were captured, **Graziani** did not show them ... magnanimity. Both were **SHOT** in the town square at **Fiche**. A few days earlier, **Ras Kassa's** **THIRD SON** [was] captured in the highlands of **Tekkaze** region, and he too had been summarily **EXECUTED**. The only notables still holding out were **Ras Desta** and his two chiefs -**MERID** and **Maryam** - three men who were as **SLIPPERY** as **EELS**, and who managed to **ELUDE** thousands of Italian and Eritrean Soldiers until **February 1937**. From the end of **October 1936** when the trail of **Desta's** columns was picked up, they and their followers were **HOUNDED** and **HARASSED** around the great lakes of **JAMJAMO** country, where **MARSH-LAND** alternated with **DENSE FORESTS**. To avoid being surrounded **Desta** decided to make for his native province near Addis Ababa but on **19th February** he was **INTERCEPTED** by an Italian force. During the ensuing engagement, **MARYAM** was killed, **MERID** was **WOUNDED**, taken **PRISONER** and **SHOT** with **SEVERAL OTHER CHIEFS** and **a number of ERITREANS who had GONE OVER to the ETHIOPIANS**. **Ras Desta** himself managed to **ESCAPE**, but five days later, the Italians tracked him down to the tiny village of **EYA**, and he was **CAPTURED**. The Italians lost no time in arraigning the forty-three year old nobleman before a hastily improvised **TRIBUNAL**, which duly **SENTENCED** him to **DEATH**. The **EXECUTION** by **FIRING SQUAD** was carried out immediately after this sentence had been pronounced, and the Italian **NEWSPAPERS** printed the **NEWS** in huge **HEADLINES**. In the **GAZETTA del POPOLO**, the editor wrote: 'the Crack of the firing squad's rifles was a burst of defiant **FASCIST LAUGHTER** at the **WORLD** that so **SANCTIMONIOUSLY** condemns **US**, a shot of **DEFIANCE** to the **POWERS** who **IMPOSED SANCTIONS** on **US**. What a true **SQUADRISTI** **SLAP** in the face ... has been administered

to that raddled **OLD HARLOT GENEVA** [referring to the *League of Nations*].' **But the EXECUTION of Ras Desta did NOT bring the [Ethiopian] GUERRILLA WAR to an END, and as the OLD LEADERS were KILLED OFF, other UNKNOWN MEN TOOK THEIR PLACES."**

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.137-141; incidentally, it is interesting to note that, as the major feudal QUISLING collaborators were closely INTEGRATED into the FASCIST occupation camp and as the NUMBER of the PATRICIAN and ARISTOCRATIC "feudal chiefs" who LED the Ethiopian anti-fascist PATRIOTIC Movement during the EARLY phase of the RESISTANCE was "substantially-reduced" by the Italian fascist policy of ruthless and brutal EXECUTIONS, the Ethiopian National PATRIOTIC movement EVOLVED for the BETTER and produced, FROM its valiant RANKS, superb PLEBIAN Guerrilla LEADERS such as Belai Zeleke (Gojam), Abeba Aregayi (Northern and Central Shoa), Haile Mariam Mamo (the Sheno-Debre Berhan GUERRILLA Theater of operation), Geresu Duki (Southern and Central Shoa), Bekele Woya (Central Shoa), Gebre Hiwot (Tigray), etc, along side those outstanding WOMEN guerrilla LEADERS from "well-established pre-war families" such as SHEWA-

**REGED GEDLE, ABEBECH CHERKOS,
ZEWDITU GIZAW, etc.)**

**THE HUMAN AND ECONOMIC COST
OF THE WAR ON BOTH SIDES**

*"Mussolini preferred to face the world with a **fait accompli** of the occupation of Ethiopia; at last he had his [fledgling] Empire, but at a very high cost. Between 1934 and 1937, the COST of [Mussolini's] **African Adventure** was about 40, 000,000,000 lire. From 1936 to 1940 one US dollar averaged 5.60 lire, consequently, the price of the Italian conquest of **Ethiopia** was equivalent to US \$7,142,857,142. If the Italian Dictator were to conquer Ethiopia today, he would have to spend close to \$40 billion. In the Ethiopian war , **almost 15,000 Italians DIED and over 200,000 were CRIPPLED and WOUNDED. Ethiopian sources estimate their War LOSSES at 275, 000 DEAD.**"*

(Alberto Sbacchi, at p.33)



**THE ITALIAN FASCIST POLICY
OF
"DIVIDE AND CONQUER" AND
THE
ROLE OF NOTORIOUS LOCAL
QUISLINGS/BANDAS IN THE
SERVICE OF ITALIAN
IMPERIALISM
AND THEIR TREACHEROUS
CONTRIBUTION TO THE
TRAGIC
SETBACK EXPERIENCED BY**

**ETHIOPIA DURING THE
ITALO-ETHIOPIAN
MILITARY CONFRONTATION
OF 1935-1941:**

**SHEDDING LIGHT ON SOME OF
THE
KEY NATIONAL TRAITORS
WHO
CONSTITUTED THE PRO-
ITALIAN
TREACHEROUS**

'FIFTH COLUMN WITHIN'

"Before the conquest of Ethiopia, the Italians had courted Ethiopian [feudal] Chiefs and encouraged their independence from the CENTRAL government. They had also played on the MUTUAL DISTRUST and JEALOUSIES of the Great Chiefs, finding EAGER LISTENERS in several Ethiopian [feudal] NOBLES who had [competing] claims to the THRONE of Ethiopia."

*(Alberto Sbacchi, **Ethiopia Under Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial experience**, London: Zed Books, 1985, at 129-130; Incidentally, this book should be read with extreme CAUTION because, along with a lot of TRUTHFUL accounts in it, there are also SPRINKLED "doses" of insidious LIES and DISTORTIONS about events and personalities which could very well be DELIBERATE; no Ethiopian should be FOOL enough and TRUSTING enough to take, wholesale, Sbacchi to be a DISINTERESTED "educator" of the most SENSITIVE episode of Ethiopian HISTORY, without first CROSS-CHECKING his "facts" and "claims" against OTHER more believable SOURCES; Let it be*

noted, therefore, that we are quoting *Sbacchi* here ONLY on matters of LEAST historical dispute);

"Italy capitalized on the aspirations, ambitions, traditional hatred and rivalry of the Ethiopian [feudal] ARISTOCRACY and their desire to improve and advance materially. FEW were MOTIVATED to improve the conditions of the Ethiopian PEOPLE. Ethiopian [feudal] CHIEFS [NOT all of them !!!! Some were in fact genuine PATRIOTS and their "feudal titles" ought NOT diminish their STATURE in Ethiopian history] co-operated with Italy because of GREED and PERSONAL INTERESTS. Italy DANGLED before them a MIRAGE of HONORS and MATERIAL COMPENSATION"

(Alberto Sbacchi, at p.133)

"The most influential feudal LORDS, Ras Gugsa [Tigray], Ras Seyoum [Tigray], Ras Hailu [Gojjam], Dejazmach Ayalew Birru [Begemidir], Abba Jifar [Jimma/keffa], and the Sultan of Aussa [Afar], received SPECIAL attention from the Italians. They all SHARED the hope of INDEPENDENCE from Addis Abeba and SOME of them had CLAIM to the THRONE of Ethiopia."

(Alberto Sbacchi, at p.130)



GALLERY OF QUISLINGS

[Incidentally, today's RETROGRADE petty bourgeois NARROW NATIONALIST "leaders" of the WOYANE as well as the OLF variety, who subscribe to the sick and sickly PROJECT of the ethnic BANTUSTANIZATION of Ethiopia, SHARE an awful lot with yesterday's feudo-aristocratic FEDERALISTS of the PRE-WAR era in that their bankrupt DREAM is ALSO to CREATE, PERPETUATE, and DEFEND their respective ethno-regional "FIEFDOMS" for the unfettered EXERCISE of a NEW BRAND of localized bourgeois EXPLOITATION over the WORKING PEOPLE "below" THEM, thereby PREVENTING the cross-ethnic CLASS UNITY of the WORKERS, PEASANTS, and HERD-KEEPERS of ETHIOPIA, as well as OBSTRUCTING the BUILDING of a NEW, STRONG, DEMOCRATIC, and coherently-INTEGRATED UNITARY State COMPOSED of, AND CONTROLLED by, NONE other than the WORKING AND TOILING PEOPLE of ETHIOPIA]

"Ras Gugsa Araya was the SON of Ras Araya, elder SON of Emperor Yohannes IV, and therefore had a direct claim to the imperial TITLE. Instead, he was only in charge of the SOUTHERN PART of Tigre, while the WESTERN PART was given to Ras Seyoum. In hopes of SECURING his position, Ras Gugsa Araya arranged for the MARRIAGE of his SON, Dejazmash Haile Selassie Gugsa to Haile Selassie's DAUGHTER, Princess Zenebework; when she died in 1933

all hopes for an ALLIANCE with Haile Selassie ended. Ras Gugsa had a long history of RELATIONS with the Italians from whom he received MEDICAL CARE, but he too died in 1933. He was FAVORABLE to Italian rule of Ethiopia and anticipated regaining his grandfather's THRONE with Italian SUPPORT. The Ras INFLUENCED his SON, Dejazmatch Haile Selassie Gugsa to MAINTAIN FRIENDSHIP with Italy, from whom he thought his HOUSE and his [???] people would benefit. In 1934, aware of the ITALO-PHILIA of Dejazmatch Gugsa, Haile Selassie made Ras Seyoum PARAMOUNT COMMANDER of ALL of Tigre and ADDED to his WESTERN Tigre FIEFDOM southern TERRITORIES taken away from Dejazmach Haile Selassie Gugsa, among which was the important Holy City of AXUM. In so doing, Haile Selassie attempted to EXPLOIT the differences between Dejazmatch Gugsa and Ras Seyoum and WEAKEN them BOTH. In an attempt to REGAIN his lost TERRITORIES, Dejazmatch Haile Selassie Gugsa put his troops at the DISPOSAL of Italy."

(Alberto Sbacchi, at pp130-131)

"Gugsa's cousin, Ras Seyoum Mengesha [the father of Ras Megesha Seyoum, the Tigrean aristocrat and later-day HEAD of the Tigrean 'fraction' of the feudal-monarchist counter-revolutionary political organization, the so-called EDU] was also a direct descendant of Emperor Yohannes IV; his father Ras Mengesha, was the second SON of Yohannes. Seyoum in his youth rebelled against Menelik II and married the daughter of Negus Michael of Wollo, a sister of Lij Eyassu. When [Negus] Michael rebelled against Haile Selassie, Seyoum remained NEUTRAL. To come CLOSER to the RULING family of Haile Selassie, Seyoum married his DAUGHTER, Wolete-Israel, to the

heir [of] the THRONE of Ethiopia, Asfaw Wossen. As the ruler of WESTERN Tigre he was IMPORTANT to the ITALIANS. He maintained FRIENDLY and CORRECT(???) relations with them, although he was accused by Ethiopian nationalists of GIVING IN TOO MUCH to the Italians. To the Italians, he APPEARED a MILD person; others [saw] him as TIMID, FEARFUL, and UN-WARLIKE. He was PREOCCUPIED with RETAINING his FEUDAL territories. The Ethiopians believed that Seyoum had SOLD Tigre to the Italians, and felt that any moment the Ras MIGHT side with the Italians. Instead, when the war came, Ras Seyoum did fight the Italians, but SURRENDERED to them WITHOUT TOO MUCH OPPOSITION once he had been defeated."

(Alberto Sbacchi, at p.131)



"Another Ethiopian [feudal Chieftain] was Ras Hailu, the third son of Negus Tekle Haymanot of Gojam, who aspired to govern his father's lands without any imperial check. Ras Hailu opposed Haile Selassie's rise to power and used the political differences between the Regent, Ras Teferi [Haile Selassie] ... and Empress Zewditu for his own purposes. Haile Selassie, afraid of being overthrown, held an inquest which found Hailu guilty of participating in Ras Gugsa's plot against the State. For this reason he was heavily fined and the AGAWMIDIR region [part of his former feudal FIEFDOM] was TAKEN AWAY from him in 1932. To take REVENGE against Haile selassie, Hailu CONSPIRED with Lij Eyassu [the throne contender], who was held prisoner at Fiche, and cemented their ALLIANCE by giving him his daughter, Seble Wengel,

as a wife. ... Ras Hailu's relations with the Italians were FRIENDLY. He favored Italian commerce and requested an Italian medical STATION in 1929 and a school in his capital of Debre Markos. It is alleged that relations [with the Italians] became CLOSER when Ras Hailu received ARMS from ROME in pursuit of his INDEPENDENCE from Addis Abeba. ... When the Italians advanced in Gojan in 1936, they met with HARDLY ANY OPPOSITION, and after the Italian victory, MOST of the Gojjam [feudal] chiefs RETAINED [by fascist fiat and 'benevolence'] their POSITION. In 1936, Ras Hailu surrendered to Graziani."

(Alberto Sbacchi at pp.131-132)



*"Another dissatisfied and ambitious Ethiopian personality was **Dejazmach Ayalew Birru**, a relative and protege of Empress Taitu. He demonstrated his MILITARY SKILLS when he captured Lij Eyasu in 1916. In COMPENSATION for his DEVOTION and help to the EMPRESS he received a number of feudal [FIEFDOMS] such as WPLKAIT, TSEGEDE, WOGGERA, and part of SEMIEN. In the early 1930s when there were a number of UPRISINGS, he put his MILITARY SKILLS at the DISPOSAL of the imperial Government to PUT DOWN the REBELLIONS. Dejazmach Ayalew, however, did NOT feel he had been fully COMPENSATED for his HELP to the CENTRAL government. He remained DISCONTENTED, and the Italian USED this to DRAW HIM to THEIR SIDE with TEMPTING PROMISES of making him Ras. ... Ayalew maintained CLOSE relations with DI LAURO, the Italian CONSUL at Gonder. He promised to FACILITATE*

Italian COMMERCIAL PENETRATION in Ethiopia and ACTIVATE communication and trade between [his Begemidir Fiefdom] and [Italian-controlled] Eritrea. Senator Jacopo Gasparini WON HIM OVER to Italy, and he did NOT oppose the Italian advance towards the South."

(Alberto Sbacchi at p.132)

*"A less political figure was **Ras Kebede Mengesha**, Governor of Agawmidir, Wollo, Pator (???), Yejju, and Wadla. Being the paramount chief of the warlike Oromo people, he tacitly allowed raids by the Yejju against the Danakils. Perhaps because of this, Haile Selassie, Haile Selassie RELEGATED him to ILLIBABOR [in 1930] as Governor and, later, to the unimportant regions of GIDIM, Ephrata, and Antosha. The Italians FELT that as a former CHIEF of the Wollo Oromo, he could be USED against Haile Selassie and, with Italian HELP, conquer DANKALIA, which he knew well. He COULD easily be brought UNDER Italian INFLUENCE because he was in DISGRACE with Haile Selassie."*

(Alberto Sbacchi at p.132)

*"The leader of the **Oromo Muslims** [of Jimma], [feudal Chieftain] **Abba Jobir Abdullah**, and his uncle, **Abba Jiffar**, had managed to KEEP [their feudal] State of Jimma AUTONOMOUS by paying to Addia abeba an*

*annunal [feudal] tribute of 100,000 Theresa dollars. Although **Abba Jiffar** was an old man he was endowed with political ability [The reader should note here that **Alberto sabacchi** is consciously or unconsciously REPEATING, as a fact, the deliberate and politically-motivated FLATTERY showered on the latter QUISLING by the Italian fascist INTRIGUERS and their dirty fascist SPIES] and had great ascendancy over the Muslim Oromos. It is alleged that in 1879 he sent a DECLARATION [of capitulation] to the Italian Government by which he ACCEPTED Italian SOVEREIGNTY [protectorate] over his [Jimma] Kingdom. **Abba Jobir**, his nephew, opposed the introduction of Amhara Soldiers and the payment of new taxes. [Lest the reader may be tempted to take **Abba Jobir** to be a 'true liberator' of his FIEFDOM from 'Amhara soldiers', it is important to keep in mind that, during the period in question, **Abba Jobir HIMSELF** and his aristocratic household were local SLAVE-OWNING and SERF-DRIVING class PARASITES who were COMPELLED to RELINQUISH a PORTION their feudal EXPLOITS from the local TOILER population and SHARE it with their SUPER-PARASITIC feudal overlords in ADDIS ABEBA. As for the so-called 'Amhara Soldiers' **Abba Jobir OPPOSED**, they were to the then FEUDAL Ethiopia what the modern-day Ethiopian SOLDIER is to the Woyane-controlled Regime in Addis Abeba, the only key DIFFERENCE being that the FORMER soldier was "paid in kind" i.e., via feudal tribute from the PEASANT in exchange for SOLDIERING service to the CENTRAL government in the universal manner of FEUDALISM anywhere, and the latter modern day SOLDIER is "paid in cash" for his SERVICE to the WOYANE/OPDO regime. But both are vital to the RUNNING of the SYSTEM. While the former SOLDIER was (Amhara or not) indeed a CURSE to the WELL BEING of the Southern PEASANTRY (READ : **Gebre Hiyot Bayikedagn's Mengistina Yehizb Astedader**, to know about the PLIGHT of the PEASANTRY in pre-War Ethiopia!!!), he was NEVERTHELESS "a blessing in disguise" to the*

Abba Jobir-type local feudal and PARASITIC ARISTOCRATS for the simple reason that their local SYSTEM of brutal and brutish EXPLOITATION over the Southern PEASANTRY was DEFENDED from internal PLEBIAN REBELLION as well as EXTERNAL FOREIGN threat by the "bayonet" of that same "hated" "Amhara" SOLDIERY who is, incidentally, himself an UPROOTED northern EX-PEASANT in a "colorless soldier's garb"!!!]. He [Abba Jobir was consequently] IMPRISONED in Addis Abeba. Once FREE [incidentally, Haile Selassie treated the QUISLING with 'kid gloves' on SEVERAL occasions out of self-serving political calculation!!!], he SUBMITTED to Graziani, formed an ARMY of Oromo Muslims, took part in the [Italian military Campaign to OCCUPY] Jimma and fought AGAINST [the Ethiopian anti-fascist PATRIOTIC forces led by] Ras Imiru. He greatly CONTRIBUTED to the PACIFICATION and SUBMISSION of [the local] Oromo, and for his LOYALTY to Italy, ... he was regarded as one of the MOST IMPORTANT Muslim [Quisling] leaders of the Italian EMPIRE."

(Alberto Sbacchi at pp.132-133)

NB: The reader should take note that today's ETHIOPIA-HATING imperialist agent and Woyane QUISLING Meles Zenawi shares the same base and TREACHEROUS PSYCHOLOGY that led to the infamous career of TREASON of his notorious predecessors, the fascist-loving "boot lickers" Haile

Selassie Gugssa of Tigray and Abba Jobir Abdullah of Jimma.

DIPLOMATIC TREACHERY

AGAINST ETHIOPIA:

THE HOARE-LAVAL

DIRTY DIPLOMATIC SCHEMERS

AND THEIR DUPLICITOUS

BACK-DOOR AND BACK-STABBING

DEALS AGAINST

ETHIOPIA

HISTORICAL FACTS

TO KEEP IN MIND

THE BRITISH AND FRENCH GOVERNMENTS OF THE DAY (THE APPEASERS OF FASCISM) AS WELL AS THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES (WHICH CALLED ITSELF "NEUTRAL" IN THE FACE OF FASCIST AGGRESSION) STABBED ETHIOPIA IN THE BACK BY THEIR DASTARDLY ACTS OF OMISSION AS WELL AS COMMISSION, BUT (BY CONTRAST) THE BEST ELEMENTS FROM AMONG THE PEOPLE OF BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND THE UNITED STATES STOOD BY ETHIOPIA IN HER HOUR OF NEED. THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT RESTS ON THAT DICHOTOMY BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THOSE COUNTRIES ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE SCHEMING BOURGEOIS GOVERNMENTS OF THE DAY ON THE OTHER .

SIMILARLY, JUST AS THE ITALIAN FASCISTS PROVED TO BE THE MORTAL ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA, BY CONTRAST THE BEST SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF ITALY, NAMELY, ITALIAN COMMUNISTS, BRAVE ITALIAN SOCIALISTS,

AND PEACE-LOVING ITALIAN DEMOCRATS STOOD BY THE SIDE OF THE ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE THROUGH OUT THE LATTER'S HOUR OF TRIAL, THEREBY PROVING, BY THEIR DEEDS, THAT THEY (THE ITALIAN PEOPLE) HAD NO ENMITY TOWARDS THE PEOPLE OF ETHIOPIA. THE CURRENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS OF ETHIOPIANS SHOULD ALWAYS KEEP IN MIND (ON THE DAY OF THE COMMEMORATION OF THE FEBRUARY 19, 1937 MASS MASSACRE OF ETHIOPIANS) THIS VERY IMPORTANT DICHOTOMY BETWEEN UGLY ITALIAN FASCISM ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE PEOPLE OF ITALY ON THE OTHER HAND. THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT IS PREDICATED ON THAT DICHOTOMY.

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The Second International Let-Down ***of***

Ethiopia:

Memorandum of Protest Against

UN Interference in ***ERITREA***

PART - I

1. THE HOPES and DISAPPOINTMENTS of WEAK States and DEFENSELESS Peoples in the NORMS of International Relations

1.1 In the domain of inter-State relations, it is not uncommon to find that those who enter into a relationship of AMITY, COMITY, and COMMUNITY with others with an almost child-like belief in FAIR PLAY and whose behavior towards others in that community is, on that

account, guided by total GOOD FAITH are apt to experience a rude DISAPPOINTMENT along the way when they DISCOVER, to their dismay and contrary to their innocent EXPECTATION, that the rules of FAIR PLAY do not after all GUIDE the behavior of the REST of the ACTORS in that COMMUNITY, and that in a COMMUNITY dominated by CYNICAL and UNSCRUPULOUS practitioners of Machiavellian REALPOLITIK, the reward for child-like BELIEF in the "Sacro-Sanctity" of the rules of FAIR PLAY has been (more often than not) the unpleasant PREDICAMENT of finding oneself at the RECEIVING END of BACK-STABBING duplicity.

*1.2 The history of inter-State relations is, of course, replete with numerous REVOLTING instances of TREACHERY and BACK-STABBING, in the last 200 years of IMPERIALIST world HEGEMONY alone, SMALL States as well as WEAK and INTERNALLY-DIVIDED Peoples have had to "harvest" plenty of harrowing SORROW as a consequence of placing TOO LITTLE thrust in THEMSELVES and TOO MUCH trust in the moral PLATITUDES of THIRD PARTIES who in the end proved to be the past-masters of DOUBLE TALK and the practitioners of BACK-STABBING **realpolitik**.*

1.3 The ETHIOPIAN people have been one of the MANY such VICTIMS of ill-placed HOPES, and who, in the past, "harvested" agonizing SORROW thanks, not only to their EXTERNAL imperialist ADVERSARIES, but also the COMMISSIONS and OMISSIONS of their IGNORANT, FRACTIOUS, and VENAL feudal RULERS and the latter's ANTI-PEOPLE successors.

1.4 In this CENTURY alone, the PEOPLE of ETHIOPIA suffered an AGONIZING and traumatic LET-DOWN, first at the hand of the LEAGUE of NATIONS in 1935 and 1936, and again, they are about to SUFFER yet ANOTHER major LET-DOW in April 1993, this time at

the hand of the UNITED NATIONS. The first, by way international PASSIVITY, INACTION, and COMPLICITY in the face of Italian AGGRESSION and OCCUPATION, and the second by way of the active PROMOTION of Ethiopia's DISMEMBERMENT and the DIVISION of its BROTHERLY peoples

2. The Moral BANKRUPTCY of International Relations Up Until the FORMATION of the UNITED NATIONS

2.1 The bleak RECORD of international relations particularly since the CONGRESS of VIENNA (1814) has been such that TREACHERY and BACK-STABBING continued to be TYPICAL norms of inter-State BEHAVIOR which GOOD FAITH and FAIR PLAY constituted rare EXCEPTIONS and FLICKERS of LIGHT in an otherwise DARK diplomatic LANDSCAPE.

2.2 Ever since out-bound EXPANSION and territorial AGGRANDIZEMENT by a SMALL CLUB of FEUDO-mercantile WEST EUROPEAN States (representing the INTEREST of a MINORITY comprising of FEUDAL serf-drivers and MERCANTILE oligarchs) was inaugurated by the "blessing" of the ROMAN CHURCH in the PAPAL BULL of 1493 and the subsequent "legalization" of the HEMISPHERIC DIVISION of the extra-European WORLD between the MONARCHIAL domains of SPAIN (Castile) and PORTUGAL by the notorious TREATY of TORDESILLAS of June 7, 1494 (by virtue of which, incidentally, PORTUGUESE Monarchs thereafter assumed the HONORIFIC title of : "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of ETHIOPIA, INDIA, ARABIA, and PERSIA"), International relations has been STAMPED markedly by what was to , by an large, the characteristic HALLMARK of the last 400 years,

namely:

- the FEW and HANDFUL within the DOMESTIC arena of State entities (either FEUDAL or CAPITALIST) DETERMINING the fate of the MANY by sheer USURPATION backed with brute FORCE;

- the FEW from among STATES in the INTERNATIONAL arena DECIDING the FATE of the MAJORITY of the HUMAN RACE either by way of SPURIOUS claims of "racial superiority" or by DINT of the HISTORICAL ACCIDENT of a certain degree of :head start" in TECHNOLOGICAL advancement;

- the STRONG determining, by sheer force of MIGHT alone and regardless of legitimate RIGHT, the FATE of the WEAK;

- the CUNNING and CYNICAL use of HIGH and NOBLE principles as a convenient COVER and CAMOUFLAGE for the pursuit of otherwise naked PREDATORY aims.

2.3 Long before the UNITED NATIONS came formally into existence upon the signing of the CHARTER at San Francisco (California, USA) back on the 26th of JUNE 1945, and long before its infamous PRECURSOR, the so-called LEAGUE of NATIONS, came to "life" and subsequently DIED an ignominious DEATH, international RELATIONS was (for the most part) already DISFIGURED by those BASE and MEAN characteristic FEATURES which are still with us to this very day.

2.4 Even a fleeting acquaintance with the nature of international RELATIONS during the last 320 odd years between the signing of the

TREATY of TORDESILLAS of **June 7, 1494** (which **LEGALIZED** the **HEMISPHERIC DIVISION** of the **WORLD** by the **IBERIAN Monarchies**) and the **CONVENING** of the so-called **CONGRESS** of **VIENNA** in 1814, the process of **DECISION-MAKING** in international relations **AFFECTING** the entire **HUMAN RACE** (black, brown, yellow, and white peoples of **ALL** continents) has been **HANDLED** (by dint of **SPURIOUS** claims backed with brute **FORCE**) as if it were the "exclusive preserve" of a **SMALL CLUB** of **WEST EUROPEAN** States.

2.5 What went under the **GENERAL** name of **International RELATIONS** during those 320 turbulent years of **BLOOD, TEARS, and SORROW** for the **MAJORITY** of the **HUMAN RACE** (both **WITHIN** the State entities of **WESTERN EUROPE** as well as **OUTSIDE** Europe) comprised of, for the most part, **TREACHEROUS** dealings among the **HIRELINGS** of the **FEW** who took it upon themselves to enter into "common understandings" and "compacts" over the **AFFAIRS** of **OTHERS** in the manner highway **ROBBERS**:

- for **FACILITATING** the **DIVISION** and **RE-DIVISION** of other people's **TERRITORIES**, which were conveniently deemed **TERRA NULLIUS** for the purpose of legitimizing **SEIZURE** and **OCCUPATION** by their adventure-seeking **SOLDIERS** and **ADMIRALS** and the **MISCHIEF-MAKING** activities of their **PRIESTS** and **MISSIONARIES**;

- for **PLUNDERING** either **SEPARATELY** or in **UNISON** the **NATIONAL PATRIMONY** and **RESOURCES** of other **PEOPLES**;

- for **TRAFFICKING** in fellow **HUMAN BEINGS** across **CONTINENTS** and **OCEANS** for **GAIN** and **PROFIT**;

- for WAGING a series of WARS of EXTERMINATION against INNOCENT and helpless INDIGENOUS peoples, etc.

2.6 Fueled by the INTERNAL dynamics of DISINTEGRATING West European FEUDALISM and rising CAPITALISM; driven by the insatiable APPETITE of a DECAYING, DECADENT, and cash-starved ARISTOCRACY and GENTRY caste ready to sell MONOPOLISTIC privileges and FRANCHISES for CASH; pushed from behind by the AVARICE and CUPIDITY of the PROFIT-HUNTING drive of a MERCANTILE oligarchy, the international RELATIONS of the PERIOD was one where temporary PEACE cemented by "Compacts" of mutual ACCOMMODATION among the principal SHARKS (i.e., the SPANISH, PORTUGUESE, DUTCH, ENGLISH, and FRENCH feudo-mercantile BARONS) were often INTERRUPTED by spates of PROLONGED and bloody ARMED CONFLICTS and WARS in which the CHILDREN of the POOR on both sides KILLED each other and MAIMED each other for the "national glory" of the WAR MONGERS so as to make, in the process, the World SAFE and COMFORTABLE for the PARASITIC CLASSES of do-nothing ARISTOCRATS, historically redundant GENTRY elements, and PROFIT-HUNTING mercantile TYCOONS.

2.7 The TYPICAL features of international RELATIONS in the period in question was such that PREDATORY "peace" INTERRUPTED, for very short INTERVALS, an otherwise UN-ENDING series of WARS of CARNAGE which were fought out for assuring the VICTORS with compensating SPOILS at the EXPENSE of the VANQUISHED.

2.8 Such has been the SICK "legacy" of the international RELATIONS of the said EPOCH that there is NO SINGLE burning issue of OUR TIME (be it the problem of MAINTAINING international PEACE and SECURITY or the problem of alleviating POVERTY and

BACKWARDNESS, or the ELIMINATION of RACIAL BIGOTRY and DISCRIMINATION, etc) that does not OWE its ORIGIN to the BURDEN left by the "living and un-dying" SPIRIT of the said EPOCH.

2.9 If, for example, we were to turn our attention to the ABSENCE of PEACE in the World TODAY, it is not far to seek FROM where AROSE those INJUSTICES which FUEL the social and political COMMOTION in racist SOUTH AFRICA or the URBAN GHETTOES and INNER CITIES of the "free land" of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, or the "native reserves" of CANADA or the SHANTY TOWNS straddling alongside Comprador-controlled LIMA.

2.10 Again, if we were to speak of the SCOURGE of POVERTY that is playing HAVOC with the lives of the MAJORITY of the HUMAN RACE today, it is not far to seek from WHERE the ARRESTED "development" of UNDER-DOG countries issued historically so as to make that gnawing POVERTY of the BROAD masses of the PEOPLE possible.

2.11 It is indeed a historic IRONY that the great epoch-making FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1789 which, by making a definite PUSH towards CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, and POLITICAL PROGRESS, heralded a marked WATERSHED between the OLD (feudal) and the NEW (post-feudal) age had to be finally "plugged" by the all-enveloping VESTIGE of CONSERVATIVE backlash which found a desperate ECHO in the CONVENING of the so-called CONGRESS of VIENNA by a SMALL CLUB West European States headed by SCARED and desperate TYRANTS.

2.12 Coming as it did at the at the CONCLUSION of the NAPOLEONIC Wars, the CONGRESS of VIENNA (the PRECURSOR, in a way, of both the LEAGUE of NATIONS and the UNITED NATIONS) which was CONVENED by European PRINCES,

EMPERORS and TSARS, opened its overt AGENDA with ponderous PLATITUDES of "curbing aggression" and establishing a European "balance of power", but in the end CONCLUDED its REAL and hidden AGENDA by FACILITATING the "re-division" of FRANCE'S territorial SPOILS among the VICTORS and by "putting a lid" of "containment" on the highly CONTAGIOUS influence of the SOCIAL and POLITICAL battle cries of the FRENCH REVOLUTION of 1789.

2.13 In as much as EVERY "system" of international RELATIONS and its attendant NORMATIVE order rested, in the final analysis, NOT on this or that LEGALISTIC "compact" or the AD HOC or regular INSTITUTIONAL machinery in place to render it OPERATIVE and FUNCTIONAL, but rather on the UNDERLYING dynamics of ECONOMIC forces that SHAPE, MOULD, and ORIENT it, so also the SYSTEM of international RELATIONS of the PERIOD immediately FOLLOWING the CLOSURE of the DELIBERATIONS of the CONGRESS of VIENNA (1814-1815) had to be so ORIENTED as to be IN TUNE with the ECONOMIC imperatives of the ensuing EPOCH.

2.14 Coming on the HEELS of the CONGRESS of VIENNA and partly PROVOKED by the POLITICAL as well as territorial SHACKLES, the European SOCIAL and NATIONAL Resolutions of 1830 and 1848 FACILITATED (with varying degrees of success) the piece-by-piece BREAK-UP of the MORASS of OBSTACLES placed by the CONGRESS of European TYRANTS to order to "contain" and "suppress" the progressive CULTURAL, ECONOMIC, and POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS brought forth by the FRENCH Revolution of 1789.

2.15 With the EMERGENCE and CONSOLIDATION of essentially CAPITALIST State entities headed, NOT by FEUDAL tyrants as in the days of the CONGRESS of VIENNA, but an entirely NEW and

NASCENT BOURGEOISIE, the NORMATIVE system of internal RELATIONS underwent a COMMENSURATE "change" in the SERVICE of the NEW MASTERS without, however, DEVIATING from the BASENESS and MEANNESS of its AIMS as well as MODUS OPERANDI.

2.16 While still remaining a system SHAPED in the main to SERVE the FEW against the interest of MANY, the NORMATIVE system of international RELATIONS both in matters of WAR as well as in matters of PEACE was so ORIENTED to meet the pressing NEEDS of a SMALL CLUB of nascent CAPITALIST States whose FOREIGN and COLONIAL policies SUBORDINATED everything to the CALL of the day, namely, fundamental AGRARIAN TRANSFORMATION and rapid INDUSTRIALIZATION at HOME at the EXPENSE of the MASS of the WORKERS and PEASANTS from within, and the WORKING peoples of the COLONIES and SEMI-COLONIES from without.

2.17 To those who were at the RECEIVING END of the ROUGH and CUTTING edges of the NEW SYSTEM of international RELATIONS, especially to those in the COLONIES and SEMI-COLONIES, predatory MILKING became the order of the day.

2.18 The Inter-European WRANGLING of this period over the CONSOLIDATION of territories OCCUPIED during the earlier EPOCH and their systematic EXPLOITATION; the attempt by the UNITED STATES to keep (by means of the MONROE DOCTRINE of 1823) the new LATIN AMERICAN Republics (just relieved from the SHACKLES of Spanish COLONIALISM) under its EXCLUSIVE "wings" (free from COMPETITIVE European MEDDLING) are but SOME of the glaring INSTANCES showing HOW the dominant NASCENT CAPITALIST States were trying to conduct GLOBAL international relations SOLELY on "their own terms" and "tailored" to

SERVE their exclusive NEEDS.

2.19 With the gradual economic TRANSFORMATION of the hitherto NASCENT CAPITALIST States into full-fledged IMPERIALIST powers (some EARLIER and OTHERS still later) from the 1870s onwards, the NORMATIVE system of international RELATIONS again UNDERWENT through CORRESPONDING changes IN LINE WITH the economic DICTATES of the TIMES.

2.20 The SHRINKING of the LOCAL MARKET due to the POVERTY of, and consequently, the UNDER-CONSUMPTION by, the broad MASSES of the PEOPLE in the IMPERIALIST countries; the restrictive LIMITS placed on international MARKET ACCESS by defensive TARIFF WALLS; coupled, simultaneously, with the phenomenon of OVER-PRODUCTION resulting from NEW ADVANCES in the TECHNIQUES of PRODUCTION, all meant the INEVITABILITY, particularly from the 1880s onwards, a SHARP inter-imperialist STRUGGLE for MARKETS, PROFITABLE investment OUTLETS, CHEAP as well as abundant SUPPLIES of RAW MATERIALS, and SOURCES of CHEAP LABOR, which LED to a new SCRAMBLE for the DIVISION and RE-DIVISION of the REST of the WORLD.

2.21 It was this latter ECONOMIC drive which found an ECHO in the PROPAGATION of HEGEMONIC, CHAUVINIST, and openly RACIST ideas which gradually TRANSLATED themselves into an IMPERIALIST diplomacy of INTRIGUES, of SECRET Treaties, and feverish PREPARATIONS for AGGRESSIVE WARS (initially REGIONAL and then GLOBAL) aimed at WEAK States and DEFENSELESS Peoples.

2.22 This was an EPOCH in which the DOMINANT and

FASHIONABLE ideas in **ENGLAND** were, for example, those of **BRITISH** Parliamentary and imperialist ideologue, **Charles Wentworth Dilke**, who maintained in **1869** that the **ANGLO-SAXONS**, being the **FOREMOST** among the **RACES**, are the **PRE-DESTINED** masters of the entire **INHABITANTS** of the **EARTH**; those of **John Seely** who exalted in **1883** the **MORAL** mission of the "English **RACE**" for "unbound territorial extension" on the **ROAD** to **REALIZING** what he called "Teutonic Liberty"; those of **James Anthony Froude** who saw the **ENGLISH RACE** as one **BURDENED** by the **MORAL** mission to **UPLIFT** "lower civilizations" and reap **PROFIT** in the process of pursuing a vigorous policy of **EXPANSION**. It was those **HEGEMONIC, CHAUVINIST, and RACIST** imperialist **IDEAS** which "armed" in the domain of actual **PRACTICE**, the notorious **BRITISH** Empire builders of the epoch, **Cecil Rhodes, Curzon, Alfred Milner, Cromer, Frederick Lugard, and Allenby**.

2.23 In **FRANCE**, likewise, the **EPOCH** was one where the **GUIDING** ideas were those of **Paul Leroy-Beaulieu**, a **RACIST CHAUVINIST** imperialist **IDEOLOGUE**, who maintained as far back as **1874**, that the **GRABBING** of **COLONIES** would not only ensure **MARKETS** for home **PRODUCTION** and **INVESTMENT** outlet for domestic **CAPITAL**, but that was also a **MORAL** blessing for **EUROPEANS** to the degree that it would **SPREAD** superior European **CIVILIZATION** among **INFERIOR** races.

2.24 Similarly, in **GERMANY**, the **DOMINANT** and **INFLUENTIAL** ideas of the **EPOCH** were those of **Frederick Fabri** (an obscure **FUNCTIONARY** of a **CATHOLIC MISSIONARY** establishment in the **Rhineland**) who maintained in **1879** that, while the other **PRINCIPAL POWERS** had acquired adequate **SPACE** for their **DEVELOPMENT**, Germany, "the most expansive, fast growing, and most capable of developing colonies", had unfortunately, no **BREATHING SPACE**;

that, because of OVER-POPULATION at HOME relative to AVAILABLE space, GERMANY was LOSING though the outward EMIGRATION of German LABOR worth 300 million Marks per year; that, moreover, this DEMOGRAPHIC "congestion" CONTRIBUTED to domestic DISCONTENT, and posed (to the "powers that be") the THREAT of SOCIALISM; and that, therefore, the SOLUTION to these PROBLEMS lay in a vigorous GERMAN policy of outward EXPANSION.

2.25 In Italy, the PREVAILING European CHAUVINIST and RACIST ideas of the EPOCH inspired a LOCAL VARIANT which found its reflection in the BELIEFS and PRACTICAL activities of the EARLY advocates of Italian IMPERIALISM, principally, Gabriele D'Annunzio (the poet), Piero Foscari (the spokesperson of the Venetian contingent of Italian IMPERIALISM), Leopoldo Franchetti (the inspirer of Italian COLONIAL-AGRARIAN settlement abroad), Agostino Depretis and Francesco Crispi (the earliest Statesmen who GUIDED Italian COLONIAL adventures in AFRICA), and Di San Giuliano, one of the the vigorous advocates of the THEORY that IMPERIALIST expansion was sole SOLUTION for Italy's DEMOGRAPHIC problems, for providing external OUTLET to local PEASANT DISCONTENT, and as a SAFETY VALVE against SOCIAL REVOLUTION. Later still, those THEORIES found strong ARTICULATION by a new CROP of CHAUVINIST and RACIST ideologues, principally, Corrado Gini, Alfredo Rocco, and Dino Grandi. It was from the latter SORT of "schooling" that the Italian BOURGEOISIE later CONJURED UP, as its "savior", the "Avanti" RENEGADE and Fascist MONSTER, BENITO MUSSOLINI.

2.26 In the United States, the early advocates of CHAUVINIST and RACIST ideas of IMPERIALISM were not only INFLUENCED by the PRINCIPAL European IDEOLOGUES, but they themselves also

developed **LOCAL VARIANTS** that were the **PROPELLING** force behind the **PRINCIPAL** US imperialist **ADVENTURES** abroad during the said **EPOCH**. Prominent among those local **IDEOLOGUES** of US **IMPERIALISM** in the **EARLY** part of the said **EPOCH** were **Josiah Strong** and **Alfred Thayer Mahan**. The former (an obscure **CLERGYMAN**) maintained that the **CONQUEST** of **LATIN AMERICA**, the **PACIFIC AREA**, and **AFRICA** by Anglo-Saxon America was **IMPERATIVE** because it was **GOD'S WILL**, and the latter advocated the **BUILDING** of **MARITIME POWER** as a means of assuring American **WORLD HEGEMONY**. The same epoch also brought to the forefront such vigorous advocates of **IMPERIALISM** as **John Fiske** who propounded the **IDEAS** of American "Manifest Destiny" to **DOMINATE** other **PEOPLES**. Similarly, the **HEGEMONIC**, **CHAUVINIST**, and **RACIST** ideas of **Charles Henry Pearson** and **Benjamin Kidd** provided a further **PROPELLANT** for US imperialist **ADVENTURES** during the said **EPOCH**.

2.27 It was, therefore, in this **GENERAL CONTEXT** and under the **DRIVING IMPULSE** of the above **ECONOMIC dynamics** and its **PROPELLING ideas** that the new **NORMATIVE** system of international **RELATIONS** began to **EVOLVE** between the 1870s and the break-out of the **FIRST INTER-IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR** which culminated, as if by a spell of **INEXORABLE LOGIC**, into a **BLOODY** confrontation involving **TWO** competing **IMPERIALIST** camps of international **ROBBERS**.

2.28 During the **PRELUDE** to that **WAR**, the **NEW** system of international **RELATIONS** which was **DOVETAILED** to the **NEEDS** of the **DOMINANT** imperialist **POWER** was marked by numerous **HEGEMONIC** exercises of "jockeying" for **CONTROL** over various **REGIONS** of the world, and of those **HEGEMONIC** exercises, the **MAJOR** ones included, among others, the **CONVENING** of the the

notorious **BERLIN CONFERENCE** of **1884** to ARRANGE and ACCOMMODATION among the PRINCIPAL West European imperialist ROBBERS in their STRUGGLE over the territorial RE-DIVISION of the CONTINENT of AFRICA at the EXPENSE of the of the LOCAL population; the SPANISH-AMERICAN struggle over the CONTROL of **CUBA** and the **PHILIPPINES**; the SUBTLE and NOT-SO-SUBTLE diplomatic STRUGGLE to FACILITATE (step by step) the eventual "succession" to the "legacy" of the "**Sick Man of Europe**" (namely, the **OTTOMAN** Empire) which culminated in the CONCLUSION of the **Anglo-Turkish CONVENTION of 1878**. Of these, the FIRST and the LAST hegemonic EXERCISES posed a DIRECT as well as INDIRECT external THREAT against the TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY of **ETHIOPIA**, its SOVEREIGNTY, and its NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

2.29 Just as the **CONGRESS of VIENNA** which was convened 70 years earlier WRAPPED its HIDDEN AGENDA under the COVER of NOBLE principles, the notorious **BERLIN CONFERENCE (1884)** opened is fraudulent AGENDA (just, as in our day, a sham MORAL crusade is being WAGED in the NAME of "respect for Human Rights" by the notorious VIOLATORS of HUMAN RIGHTS at HOME as well as ABROAD) with the moral PLATITUDE of "protecting NATIVES in their MORAL and MATERIAL well being", "the suppression of SLAVERY and the SLAVE TRADE", and the carrying out of the self-assumed BURDEN of "civilizing natives", but CONCLUDED its REAL agenda by APPROVING the notorious **FINAL ACT** which **RE-DIVIDED the CONTINENT of AFRICA** (its **TERRITORIES, RESOURCES, and PEOPLES**) AMONG the DOMINANT European practitioners of **REALPOLITIK**.

2.30 The **BLOTTING** marks of that notorious Conference were so IMPRESSED in the SUBSEQUENT political FATE of the ENTIRE

Continent of AFRICA that it was largely as a direct RESULT of that SICK legacy that we STILL have TODAY, among others, what is called the "Eritrean Problem", a PROBLEM which ISSUED, in effect, from a DIPLOMATIC "green light" given to ITALY by the REST of the EUROPEAN POWERS to CARVE OUT a SHARE for ITSELF from the NORTHERN part of ETHIOPIA.

2.31 If the BERLIN Conference and its FINAL ACT set the STAGE for ETHIOPIA'S gradual colonial ENCIRCLEMENT and its DISMEMBERMENT, the Anglo-Turkish CYPRUS Convention of 1878 placed BRITAIN in a PREPONDERANT position to supplant OTTOMAN power over EGYPT, the ARABIAN peninsula, and the EASTERN SHORES of the RED SEA thereby COMPLETING the "chocking up" ETHIOPIA on ALL sides.

2.32 The fact that the VORACIOUS appetite of the "land grabbers" was WETTED by the DIVISION of SPOILS made possible by the FINAL ACT of the BERLIN Conference, and that it could not be SATIATED for good, inevitably led, 30 years later, to the FIRST INTER-IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR.

2.33 The VICTORS and their War FINANCIERS who presided over the PARIS CONFERENCE of 1919 at the conclusion of that gruesome INTER-IMPERIALIST World War once again PONTIFICATED aloud about "curbing aggression" only to ensure, by way of the TREATY of VERSAILLES (with GERMANY), the TREATY of St. GERMAINE (with AUSTRIA), and the TREATY of SEVRES (with TURKEY), the "RE-DIVISION" of the SPOILS of WAR by GRABBING territories from GERMANY, the disintegrating AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN as well as the OTTOMAN Empires.

2.34 Those who had already SECURED within their FINGERS

numerous "egg laying" COLONIES and millions of SUBJECT peoples under their "heels" (including the United States, then headed by the AUTHOR of the so-called 14 POINTS of the **PARIS Peace Conference of 1919, Woodrow Wilson**), had even the GALL to bandy around the PRINCIPLE of SELF-DETERMINATION, only to RESTRICT its APPLICATION solely to those PEOPLES formerly under the **AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN** and **OTTOMAN** rule, the better to place the peoples so "liberated" by the **TREATY of VERSAILLES**, the **TREATY of St. GERMAINE**, and the **TREATY of SEVRES** under the CLUTCHES of a NEW set of IMPERIALIST masters in the ensuing INTER-WAR years.

2.35 As everybody knows, the so-called "independent" States of EASTERN and SOUTH-EASTERN Europe whose "birth" was inaugurated with the accompaniment of high-sounding Wilsonian pronouncements of "Self-determination" on the eve of the **PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE of 1919** ended up being, in the ensuing Inter-War years and in due course, mere CLIENT states headed by PUPPET regimes SUBSERVIENT to the dominant Western IMPERIALIST Powers, thereby, clearly exhibiting what the CARICATURED distortion of the PRINCIPLE of SELF-DETERMINATION was bound to be like when self-appointed IMPERIALIST powers try to ACT (as they now do in **ERITREA**) as "accoucheurs" of FEEBLE-LEGGED "Mini States" and "Banana" Republics.

2.36 As in **EASTERN Europe** and the **BALKANS**, the "liberation" (by the the Treaty of SEVRES) of the EX-OTTOMAN territories in North Africa and the Middle East likewise amounted, in due course, to the SUBSTITUTION of one ALIEN OVERLORD by ANOTHER imperialist OVERLORD, namely, that of **BRITAIN** over **EGYPT**, **TRANS-JORDAN**, and **IRAQ**, and that of **FRANCE** over **SYRIA**.

2.37 While the principal VICTORS of the FIRST INTER-

IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR were **CONTENT** with their **SPOILS**, the **ITALIAN** imperialists felt "un-rewarded" by the **PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE** of 1919 and the resultant terms of the **TREATY** of **VERSAILLES**, and in the ensuing years, they persistently **DEMANDED** to be "compensated" **ELSEWHERE**, and that **DEMAND** included among others, a **REWARD** in the form of allowing **ITALY** a "free hand" over further **SLICES** of **ETHIOPIA**.

2.38 The establishment of the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS** in response to the circumstances that led to the **FIRST INTER-IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR** and the alluring promises of "collective security" against **AGGRESSION**, the provision of **INSTITUTIONAL** mechanisms for the **PEACEFUL** settlement of inter-State disputes, the commitment to bring about **DISARMAMENT**, etc, no doubt raised the **HOPES** and **EXPECTATIONS** particularly of **WEAK** States until the emergence of **FASCIST** States and the **TREACHEROUS** course of the **APPEASERS** made it plainly clear that, despite its pretensions, the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS** was, in the last analysis, a **HOLLOW** "shell" succumbing to the **DICTATES** of the **DOMINANT** imperialist **ROBBERS** who **BARGAINED** over the "life" and **DEATH** of **WEAKER** States.

2.39 Apart from the **GUARANTEES** of **PROTECTION** promised to **WEAK** States under the "Collective Security" **UMBRELLA** of the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS**, the **LOFTY** principle re-iterated in the so-called "**Kellog-Briand**" **Pact** of **1927** which **OUTLAWED** the use of **FORCE** as an **INSTRUMENT** for resolving **DISPUTES** and had the assent of many States no doubt instilled an **ILLUSORY HOPE** among **WEAK** States and **DEFENSELESS** peoples, and yet those **HOPES** were dashed even long before the break out of the **Second WORLD WAR**.

2.40 The various "dress rehearsals" preceding the **WAR**, particularly, **JAPANESE** un-provoked **AGGRESSION** resulting in the occupation of

MANCHURIA (1931), the **WAL WAL** incident of 1934 and finally the 1935 **ITALIAN** full-fledged **AGGRESSION** against **ETHIOPIA**, the **AXIS** intervention against the **SPANISH** Republic in 1936, and the **MUNICH** betrayal of **CZECHOSLOVAKIA** in 1938, etc, all pointed in no uncertain terms that the **NORMS** of international **BEHAVIOR** laid down both by the **COVENANT** of the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS** as well as the so-called **Kellog-Briand Pact** amounted, in the last analysis, to **EMPTY DECLARATIONS** put together to conceal **HYPOCRISY** and **TREACHERY**. As we will show in a moment, the Ethiopian people one of first **VICTIMS** to be sacrificed by the **CYNICAL** practitioners of the latter kind of **HYPOCRISY**, **TREACHERY**, and unprincipled **REALPOLITIK**.

2.41 The in-built **SEVERITY** of the **TERMS** of the **PARIS PEACE TREATIES** of 1919 and 1920, the **INJUSTICES** which resulted from the inter-War **STATUS QUO** that was fashioned to suit the interest of the **VICTORS** as well as the deep-seated **JEALOUSY** felt by **SOME** over the **DISTRIBUTION** of **SOILS** of the **FIRST INTER-IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR** naturally provided the impetus for both **REAL** as well as **FANCIED GRIEVANCES** which formed the **CASUS BELLI** to the **Second World War**.

2.42 The establishment of the **UNITED NATIONS** organization following the conclusion of the last gruesome World War and on the **ASHES** of the **DISCREDITED LEAGUE** of **NATIONS** as well as the new organization's fresh and renewed commitment **NOT** to **REPEAT** the tragic **MISTAKES** of the **LEAGUE** once again **RAISED** immense **EXPECTATIONS** and instilled a high degree of optimistic **FAITH** particularly among **WEAK** States which understandably **HOPED** that the new organization would live up to its grand **DECLARATIONS** and **PROMISES** if 1945.

2.43 *Just as in the the days of the LEAGUE, however, the hallowed PROMISES implicit in the UNITED NATIONS Charter could not AUTOMATICALLY acquire the FORCE of PRACTICALITY and EFFICACY merely by the fact that numerous lofty PRINCIPLES were ENSHRINED in the organization's Charter.*

2.44 *In the past (1945-1989), the United Nations was able to command (despite its inherent WEAKNESS as an organization composed of HETEROGENEOUS members) a certain degree of RESPECT particularly among WEAK States and DEFENSELESS peoples, not only because of the the WIDE breadth of REPRESENTATION which its DELIBERATIVE bodies ALLOWED (a fact unparalleled in what used to be a "Euro-centric" system of international relations), but also and primarily by reason of the fact that the "balance of forces" among the "conflicting blocs" represented within the Organization ensured (until recently) that no particular BAND of imperialist ROBBERS could "gang up" (as they NOW do in the post-1989) among themselves and with their SUBSERVIENT client States and "manipulate" the UN in a DIRECTION entirely INIMICAL to the interests of WEAK States and DEFENSELESS peoples.*

2.45 *Since its creation in 1945 and up until recently, what LENT a respectable degree of CREDIBILITY to the UN in the eyes of WEAK States and DEFENSELESS peoples was the fact that that the UN was built on a definite REALITY in the post-War international "balance of forces" where the HEGEMONIC craze of a band of Western imperialist ROBBERS headed by US imperialism was considerably CHECKED by a SOCIALIST BLOC, where the mere EXISTENCE of the latter objectively AFFORDED a "breathing space" to the NEWLY-INDEPENDENT States and their Peoples.*

2.46 *Ever since 1989, however, the "balance of forces" which*

FORMED the very **FOUNDATION** on which the **UNITED NATIONS** was **BUILT** has been **ERODED** substantially, and consequently, the post-1989 United Nations is gradually "veering" in the **DIRECTION** of, and **SLIDING** gradually towards, the **SLIPPERY** path of its notorious precursor, the **LEAGUE** of **NATIONS**.

2.47 Today (more than ever before) the United Nations is increasingly **BECOMING** a totally **PLIANT TOOL** of the Western **IMPERIALIST** Powers headed by the United States. During the recent **GULF** conflict, for example, the **UN** lent its hallowed **NAME** as a **LEGITIMATE** "cover" for a **US-instigated and US-controlled War of EXCESSIVE RETALIATION** against the **DEFENSELESS PEOPLE** of **IRAQ** deep inside Iraqi territory, a **WAR** waged mainly for the control of **Middle Eastern OIL**, a deliberately **WIDENED and EXPANDED** way beyond the necessity of **EJECTING** Iraqi troops from illegally-occupied **KUWAIT**. Likewise, the severe and unwarranted measures of **ECONOMIC SANCTION** imposed against the **PEOPLE** of **IRAQ** (in connection of the **GULF WAR**) and that of **LIBYA** at the instigation of the **ISRAELI ZIONISM** and the Western **IMPERIALIST** powers; the cowardly **REVERSAL** of an **EARLIER UN Resolution** characterizing **ZIONISM** as **RACISM**; the purely **NOMINAL** "gesture of disapproval" shown by the **UN** towards the **SAVAGE** policy of economic **EMBARGO** and aggressive **PROVOCATION** being perpetrated **AGAINST** the **PEOPLE** of **CUBA** by the **US imperialist WAR MONGERS**; the astonishing **LAXITY** shown by the **UN** in treating successive **ISRAELI Governments** with "kid gloves" **DESPITE** the towering **CRIMES** of Israel's **CHAUVINIST and RACIST Zionist LEADERS** against the defenseless **PALESTINIAN** population in the **OCCUPIED Territories**; the **DIVISIVE** political role which the **UN** is made to play for **FACILITATING** the **DISINTEGRATION** of **YUGOSLAVIA** (for the benefit of **US** and **GERMAN** imperialism and their local agents) by going way beyond the coordination of the purely **HUMANITARIAN**

task of alleviating the HARDSHIP of the defenseless POPULATION victimized by the senseless CIVIL WAR in that country, etc, are SOME of the CONCRETE and GLARING examples illustrating how, in the post-1989 period, the UN is increasingly LOSING its former CREDIBILITY in the eyes of WEAK States and DEFENSELESS Peoples the world over.

2.48 And lastly, through the unwarranted action of none other than its Secretary General , the United Nations is being invited to commit the highest TREASON imaginable against its very Charter by being a CONNIVING Party in an international IMPERIALIST diplomatic INTRIGUE aimed at the DESTRUCTION of a CONSTITUENT and FOUNDING member of the UNITED NATIONS, namely, ETHIOPIA.

PART - II

3. The First LET-DOWN of ETHIOPIA by the LEAGUE of NATIONS

3.1 Having remained ISOLATED for centuries from healthy ECONOMIC and CULTURAL intercourse with ADVANCED currents elsewhere by the forced LOSS of its RED SEA Maritime OUTLET thanks to external OTTOMAN aggression, and vegetating INTERNALLY from the ensuing INERTIA of STAGNATION, Ethiopia made (as part of the forging of a wider "window of contact" with the Outside World) a rather SHY and HESITANT attempt to ENTER, as an

EQUAL and SOVEREIGN participant, in the WORLD COUNCIL of States by APPLYING for MEMBERSHIP into the then newly-formed LEAGUE of NATIONS in 1923.

3.2 In applying for membership into the LEAGUE of NATIONS one year after Mussolini's FASCIST **coup d'etat** of 1922 which followed his notorious **MARCH on ROME** and the subsequent UN-VEILING of Italy's hidden REVANCHIST agenda in relation to what REMAINED of ETHIOPIA, the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA and their FOREIGN ADVISERS were BANKING on the HOPE that, in addition to their unbridled "faith in God", ADMISSION into the LEAGUE of NATIONS, would (in and by itself) somehow GUARANTEE Ethiopia's NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and SOVEREIGNTY from EXTERNAL threat.

3.3 Blinded by an age-old IGNORANCE regarding the INTRICACIES of the prevailing ECONOMIC and POLITICAL forces at play and the VILENESS of the DIPLOMATIC INTRIGUES at work; totally COMPLACENT into utter NON-VIGILANCE by the LAURELS of Ethiopia's early MILITARY, POLITICAL, and PSYCHOLOGICAL victory at ADOWA (1896); OVER-CONFIDENT in their LOCAL "expertise" in INTERNAL feudal INTRIGUE among their fellow FEUDAL look-alikes but CHILD-LIKE beyond measure when it came to COMPREHENDING the actual WORKINGS of the WORLD ORDER outside ETHIOPIA; MISLED and MISGUIDED by MOST of the MERCENARY foreign ADVISORS who (surreptitiously serving, for the most part, the HIDDEN AGENDA of the RULING CIRCLES of their own countries of ORIGIN) had no serious LOYALTY or COMMITMENT to the genuine INTEREST of ETHIOPIA and its HELPLESS people; GUIDED by a crude EXPECTATION of ARISTOCRATIC and CHRISTIAN (religious) SOLIDARITY from their counter-parts in EUROPE and hence, placing CHILD-LIKE

TRUST in the "friendship" of ENGLISH and ITALIAN ROYALTIES and ARISTOCRATS as well as VATICAN Prelates, the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA knocked at the door of the LEAGUE of NATIONS believing, not only that ADMISSION would be EASY, but that, once ADMITTED, ETHIOPIA would acquire the GUARANTEES of "assured" SECURITY and SOVEREIGN EQUALITY it DESERVED as a FREE and INDEPENDENT State whose EXISTENCE pre-dated even MANY of the EUROPEAN as well as NON-EUROPEAN members of the LEAGUE of NATIONS.

3.4 Contrary to the high EXPECTATIONS and HOPES of the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA, many were indeed the DELIBERATE and initial HURDLES that were PLACED against, not only the ENTRY of ETHIOPIA into the LEAGUE of NATIONS, but also against ACCEPTANCE of the implicit POLITICAL, DIPLOMATIC, and JURIDICAL CONSEQUENCES of such ENTRY, namely, the according of RECOGNITION to, and RESPECT for, ETHIOPIA'S State INDEPENDENCE and SOVEREIGNTY by EVERYONE in the WORLD COUNCIL of NATIONS.

3.5 The very EUROPEAN POWERS which subjected other NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLES under the COLONIAL yoke, and the very IMPERIALIST powers in whose COLONIES and so-called PROTECTORATES rampant SLAVERY was then WIDELY practiced (wit: the case of British-controlled SIERRA LEONE; that of British-Dominated SUDAN; that of British-Dominated ARABIAN Peninsula on the Eastern Shores of the RED SEA; the case of the British colonial enclave of HONG KONG in which, right under the nose of the then COLONIAL SECRETARY, Winston Churchill, rampant TRAFFIC in Chinese CHILDREN was going on) had the TEMERITY to RAISE the vexatious ISSUE of the existence of DOMESTIC SLAVERY in ETHIOPIA, not out of an ALTRUISTIC concern for the well-being and

FREEDOM of the victims of DOMESTIC SLAVERY in FEUDAL Ethiopia, but in order to BAR Ethiopia (under that pretext) from MEMBERSHIP in the LEAGUE of NATIONS, so that ETHIOPIA could be SUB-DIVIDED with IMPUNITY by the EUROPEAN POWERS and in order that its PEOPLES could be placed under the CRUSHING HEELS of ARROGANT and RACIST EUROPEAN COLONIALISM. It was during those times, for example, that ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE British ARISTOCRATS like Winston Churchill joined the chorus of British OPPOSITION to Ethiopia's ADMISSION to the LEAGUE of NATIONS by arrogantly SCOFFING at the idea and asserting that it was ABSURD to consider ETHIOPIA "a fit, worthy, and equal member of the League of CIVILIZED Nations", because "the conditions prevailing in that WILD LAND ... were not CONSONANT with MEMBERSHIP of the League". It was, incidentally, to HONOR this same WINSTON CHURCHILL that the late Ethiopian FEUDAL tyrant Emperor Haile Selassie (the "Duvalier" of Africa) named after him one of the principal BOULEVARDS in the middle of Addis Abeba.

3.6 Just as in our times today where those who, like the RULING CIRCLES of US imperialism, commit gross violations of HUMAN RIGHTS within their own borders against a SECTION of their OWN citizens (of which the recent RACE riots in several US cities by Afro-Americans tell the true story of American "liberty") have the temerity to sound "indignant" about Human Right violations ELSEWHERE the better to JUSTIFY meddling and interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, so also in the EARLY days of the LEAGUE of Nations too, there were those European powers like IMPERIALIST Britain which MISUSED the issue of DOMESTIC SLAVERY in ETHIOPIA in order to PREVENT Ethiopia's ADMISSION into the League of Nations and to FACILITATE the TURNING of the entire ETHIOPIAN people into COLONIZED slaves.

3.7 Having OVERCOME with immense DIFFICULTY those "artificial" diplomatic OBSTACLES by a way of a reluctant PLEDGE, on the part of the FEUDAL rulers of the country, to introduce subsequent REFORMS regarding DOMESTIC SLAVERY, ETHIOPIA was finally and begrudgingly ADMITTED into the LEAGUE of NATIONS in September 1923 on the basis of the SUPPORT of SOME (like the French rulers) who DEMANDED and received "a pound of Ethiopian flesh" in EXCHANGE for the DIPLOMATIC "favor" they tendered to ETHIOPIA.

3.8 Contrary to the high HOPES and EXPECTATIONS of the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA, however, ADMISSION into the LEAGUE of NATIONS did NOT in and of itself make ETHIOPIA (as those rulers DISCOVERED soon) SAFE and SECURE from the THREAT posed by the EMERGENCE of FASCISM in EUROPE in general and that of Italian aggressive REVANCHISM in particular.

3.9 Not long after Ethiopia's admission into the League, the self-serving mechanisms of "arms control" that were in place both WITHIN as well as OUTSIDE the framework of the LEAGUE of NATIONS at the instigation of a FEW dominant and domineering European Powers (the better to ensure the MONOPOLY of MODERN ARMS in their hands and to PREVENT non-European PEOPLES from ACQUIRING the necessary ARMS to DEFEND themselves against outside AGGRESSION, brought fascist-threatened ETHIOPIA into head-on DIPLOMATIC CONFLICT with the OVERLORDS of the League of Nations. The British, French, and Italian imperialists INVOKED the so-called **TRIPARTITE Treaty of 1906 as well as the **Arms Traffic Convention of 1919** and GANGED UP in order to RESTRICT Ethiopia's SOVEREIGN right to ARM itself for national SELF-DEFENSE against external AGGRESSION. Despite the fact that the**

RIGHT to ARM itself the better to DEFEND its INDEPENDENCE was INHERENT in its SOVEREIGNTY, ETHIOPIA (like the then sisterly Sate of PERSIA) had to go into an INVOLVED and PROTRACTED diplomatic STRUGGLE to have that fundamental COROLLARY to STATEHOOD recognized by the OVERLORDS of the League of Nations. Even when Ethiopia's RIGHT to ARM itself was (unlike that of PERSIA) finally and begrudgingly accepted in WORDS, the legitimate EXERCISE of that RIGHT was INUNDATED with so many CONDITIONS by the OVERLORDS of the LEAGUE that it was PARTLY the said ARMS RESTRICTION both BEFORE and AFTER Ethiopia's ADMISSION to the LEAGUE which ultimately FACILITATED Ethiopia's subsequent RAPE by fascist Italy in 1935.

3.10 Despite the FORE-WARNING of that kind of INFORMATIVE "schooling" in the DUPLICITY and diplomatic INTRIGUE of the OVERLORDS of the League of Nations, the "supreme faith" of the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA both in the ABILITY and WILLINGNESS of the LEAGUE to GUARANTEE Ethiopia's INDEPENDENCE and INTEGRITY from the IMPENDING fascist REMAINED un-shaken (to the ultimate misfortune of Ethiopia) up until the hopelessly LAST moment.

3.11 Just as the FEUDAL rulers of ETHIOPIA believed (in their child-like naivete) that MERE admission into the League was in and by itself the ultimate GUARANTEE of "assured" SECURITY; just as they BELIEVED that the LOFTY principles enshrined in the COVENANT of the League were in and by themselves an INSURANCE against unprovoked AGGRESSION, they were equally keen not only to ACCEDE to the so-called Kellog-Briand Pact (which outlawed WAR as an instrument of Foreign Policy) but also to conclude the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Arbitration of 1928, out of a similarly NAIVE spirit and towards accomplishing the same end of "assured" SECURITY.

What was WRONG in all THESE diplomatic efforts was NOT that Ethiopia SOUGHT to JOIN the League, or that its FEUDAL rulers were keen to CONCLUDE (or accede to) the latter Treaties. Instead, what was deadly WRONG was the COMPLACENCY and LACK of VIGILANCE accompanying those DIPLOMATIC efforts.

3.12 Totally DISARMED by their "supreme faith in GOD" and MESMERIZED to a child-like degree by the "collective Security" PLEDGES enshrined in the COVENANT of the LEAGUE of NATIONS, the FEUDAL rulers of Ethiopia SQUANDERED away the PRECIOUS "breathing space" afforded by the crucial period between 1923 and 1935, within which time a HERCULEAN effort of PREPARATORY measures of national SELF-HELP and national SELF-DEFENSE ought to have been LAUNCHED to ARM and TRAIN the Ethiopian PEOPLE in order to WARD OFF (on their own) the impending THREAT hovering over their heads. By contrast and in the meantime, FASCIST-CONTROLLED Italy was RE-ARMING and RE-BUILDING its War-making CAPACITY at a break-neck SPEED between 1925 and 1935, while cunningly paying LIP SERVICE all along (in the rue vein of an UPSTART imperialist Power) to the LOFTY principles enshrined in the COVENANT of the League.

3.13 Far from PLACING the country in a high pitch of national PREPAREDNESS, far from instilling VIGILANCE in the population, far from PRODUCING and ECONOMIZING for national SURVIVAL and national SELF-DEFENSE, the FRACTIOUS and IGNORANT feudal rulers of Ethiopia SQUANDERED away the slender RESOURCES of the ETHIOPIAN people for LAVISH "Coronation" Parties; for BUILDING "Palaces" and "CHURCHES"; for the EXTRAVAGANT purchase of "modern trinkets" in a GREEDY craze for "conspicuous consumption", etc.

3.14 Far from paying careful ATTENTION to the INTRICACIES and SUBTLETIES of the international DIPLOMATIC struggle involving a broad SPECTRUM of States from one end of the World to the other; far from keenly IDENTIFYING and make USE of those HELPFUL "sinews" in the then PREVAILING "balance of forces" favoring Ethiopia's national interest, the FEUDAL rulers of Ethiopia, ignorant and bewildered as always, "fixed" their FAITH on the "coat-tails" of Italo-British ARISTOCRATS as well as the SLIPPERY "goodwill" of DIPLOMATS of a "selected" CAMP, totally OBLIVIOUS (all the while) to the POSSIBILITY of EXPLOITING all available OPTIONS and AVENUES in the CREATION of ALLIANCES and the CULTIVATION of FRIENDSHIPS with one OVERRIDING and PARAMOUNT consideration in mind, namely, the VITAL need of ASSURING, by ALL means necessary, Ethiopia's national SURVIVAL.

3.15 Shackled by a naive EXPECTATION of ARISTOCRATIC class SOLIDARITY and CHRISTIAN religious FRATERNITY from their WESTERN counter-parts, ignorant beyond measure of the actual workings of the diplomacy of the period in question, and full of FEUDAL antipathy towards other potentially HELPFUL and reliable ANTIFASCIST forces in the rest of the world, the FEUDAL rulers of Ethiopia discovered TOO LATE and to the DISMAY of the HELPLESS Ethiopian PEOPLE that, given the manner of their prejudice-laden and ill-equipped diplomatic DISPOSITION, they allowed to themselves very little ROOM for maneuver in that their Anglo-Italian ARISTOCRATS and ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE European counterparts and "would-be-friends", far from being SYMPATHETIC towards Ethiopia's interests, were contrarily DISPOSED to be EITHER outright APPEASERS of NAKED and BRAZEN aggression (as in England) or enthusiastic INSTIGATORS of foreign adventures of EXPANSIONISM and AGGRANDIZEMENT (as in the case of the "House of Savoy" in Italy).

3.16 Being INCAPABLE of "reading" the CONCRETE international situation, and not REALIZING (in time) that the League of Nations was, after all, only as good as or as bad as its KEY European OVERLORDS, and that it did not and could not possess an OVERRIDING "Supra-National" WILL of its own OTHER THAN that of its DOMINANT and DOMINEERING imperialist OVERLORDS, the FEUDAL rulers of Ethiopia not only UNDERESTIMATED the THREAT posed by the EMERGENCE of Italian fascist REVANCHISM as early as 1922, but they also miserably FAILED to understand the necessary LINK between the League's LACK of "effectiveness" as a GUARDIAN of "Collective Security" on the one hand, and the THRUST (on the other hand) in the FOREIGN policy ORIENTATION of EACH of the DOMINANT powers inside the LEAGUE.

3.17 Had the FEUDAL rulers of Ethiopia understood MUCH EARLIER that, League or no League, the VITAL interests of WEAK non-European States like ETHIOPIA was bound (given the nature of things) to be "sacrificed" to meet the OVERRIDING diplomatic needs of maintaining the "balance of power" in EUROPE, they would not have naively PLACED their "supreme faith" in the League of Nations and FAR TOO LITTLE CONFIDENCE in the CAPACITY and PATRIOTIC RESOLVE of the Ethiopian PEOPLE themselves.

3.18 It is, of course, all the more clear TODAY (with the obvious benefit of hindsight) that the ROOT CAUSES to Ethiopia's BETRAYAL by the League of NATIONS are TRACEABLE to EVENTS which arose much earlier than what made Italy's actual aggressive INVASION of Ethiopia a crucial test of the VIABILITY of the League of Nations.

3.19 Long before the League of Nations itself came to BETRAY the TRUST placed on it by WEAK States like Ethiopia, the SEEDS of BETRAYAL were SLOWLY "germinating" in the course of the

EVOLUTION of the DIVERGENT reactions of the key European players to the emergence of FASCISM in Italy in 1922 and that of NAZISM in Germany in 1933.

3.20 The EMERGENCE of international FASCISM arrayed States (both MEMBERS as well as NON-MEMBERS of the League of NATIONS) into at least 5 broad GROUPINGS and CAMPS. In the FIRST grouping were the newly-emergent aggressive FASCIST States themselves (namely, Italy, Germany, and Japan) which had set as their long term AGENDA the ALTERING of (by all means necessary and in their exclusive favor) the then PREVAILING international ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, and TERRITORIAL status quo both INSIDE Europe as well as OUTSIDE Europe. In the SECOND grouping were WEAK non-European States like ETHIOPIA which were slotted to be to be the TARGETS of AGGRESSION, and whose "life" and "death" formed the OBJECT of a whole array of "secret" and "not-so-secret" DIPLOMATIC "bargains" between the CAMP of the AGGRESSORS on the one hand, and the CAMP of their APPEASERS on the other. Then, there were the THIRD grouping of States (such as England and France) whose RULING CLASSES and their diplomats stood for a CONSCIOUS and DELIBERATE policy of APPEASEMENT vis-a-vis the FASCIST aggressors, appeasers who were ready to "bargain" with the FASCIST and aggressive States on the DESTINY of the VICTIM States, thereby HOPING that, by doing so, they THEMSELVES could be "spared" and come out "un-scathed" by SACRIFICING the VICTIM States in EXCHANGE for their own PRESUMED "safety" and "security". Then, in the FOURTH grouping, there were the so-called "neutrals" which (like the United States) initially CHOSE to play the ROLE of the "fence seater" in the face of impending aggression by "hiding their head in the sand" and by tendering the flag of "neutrality". The RULING CIRCLES in the United States did so because they FELT that the American

OLIGARCHY which they were ***HIRED*** to ***SERVE*** could ***PROFIT*** most from "***letting others***" be in the ***FRAY*** and ***WATCHING*** from a ***DISTANCE***. Then, there were, right from the beginning and at the ***OPPOSITE*** pole, the resolutely ***COMMITTED ANTI-FASCISTS*** and the ***EARLIEST*** and genuine ***UPHOLDERS*** of the ***CARDINAL*** principle of ***COLLECTIVE SECURITY*** against ***FASCIST*** aggression. The latter international ***ANTI-FASCIST*** camp was represented in the League of Nations by the then ***SOVIET UNION***, and associated with the latter ***OUTSIDE*** the League were ***COMMUNISTS*** of every land as well as ***PEACE-LOVING*** and conscientious ***ANTI-FASCIST*** private ***CITIZENS*** of ***ALL*** colors and varied nationalities across the span of ***ALL*** continents (including, we should add, ***ITALIAN*** citizens of ***NOBLE*** and ***HONORABLE*** disposition).

3.21 As every serious student of recent diplomatic history knows fully well, the ***BETRAYAL*** of ***WEAK*** and ***VICTIM*** States like ***ETHIOPIA*** and the subsequent ***COLLAPSE*** of the ***LEAGUE*** of ***NATIONS*** was the ***LOGICAL*** and ***COMBINED*** result of the ***TREACHERY*** and ***MISCHIEF*** of the ***CAMP*** of the ***APPEASERS*** as well as the ***CAMP*** of the so-called "***neutrals***". Hadn't the ***FASCIST*** States received (on the one hand) the ***ACTIVE ASSISTANCE*** of the ***APPEASERS*** and hadn't the ***AGGRESSORS*** banked on the ***PASSIVITY*** and ***INACTION*** (on the other hand) of the ***NEUTRALS***, countries like Ethiopia would not have been ***SACRIFICED*** and the League of Nations would not have ultimately ***COLLAPSED*** by the weight of its own ***IMPOTENCE***. Had the early ***WARNINGS*** of the genuine international ***ANTI-FASCIST*** camp been ***HEEDED*** on time, the final ***COLLAPSE*** of the League of Nations would have been ***AVERTED*** and the ***NEFARIOUS*** ***AMBITION*** of the ***FASCIST*** States would have been ***THWARTED***.

3.23 The seeds to Ethiopia's ***LET-DOWN*** by the League of Nations were sown ***FIRST*** and ***FOREMOST*** by the diplomatic ***TREACHERY*** of the

APPEASERS of **AGGRESSION**, of whom the successive British Governments of **Ramsay Macdonald**, **Stanley Baldwin**, and later, **Neville Chamberlain** were the principal **SPEAR-HEADS**. The first two (Macdonald and Baldwin) did so by giving (from the outset) indirect **ENCOURAGEMENT** and a "free hand" to **FASCIST Italy** to **GRAB** and **GOBBLE Ethiopia**, and later by **BUSTING** and **SABOTAGING** (immediately following the **INVASION** and during the early stages of Italian **OCCUPATION** of Ethiopia) the already **TOOTH-LESS** economic **SANCTION** nominally imposed by the League of Nations against the Italian **FASCIST** aggressors. The last (Neville Chamberlain) did so by endorsing the policy of **de jure** **RECOGNITION** to Italian "Sovereignty" over illegally-occupied Ethiopia in order to **APPEASE** and **BEFRIEND** Mussolini> Although the same cannot be said of the **FEUDAL** rulers of Ethiopia, the **PEOPLE** of Ethiopia **LEARNED** the better **LESSON** (through all these) as to what British **IMPERIALISM** and its "honored" **STATESMEN** from **DISRAELI** (the instigator of the **Mekdela** Military expedition of 1868 against Ethiopia), both the **Macdonald-Baldwin-Lloyd George National COALITION** Government (**LABOR-CONSERVATIVE-LIBERAL**) as well as the successive **Conservative Governments** of **Stanley Baldwin** and later **Neville Chamberlain**, being un-abashing **APPEASERS** of Italian **FASCISM**, conducted (both through the League as well as outside the League) a series of "secret" and "not-so-secret" diplomatic **BARGAINING** with Italy over the very **INTEGRITY** of Ethiopia. Using their servants and tools in the **DIRTY** diplomacy of **APPEASEMENT**, namely, **John Simons** (Foreign Secretary), **Samuel Hoare** (Foreign Secretary after John Simons), and **Anthony Eden** (initially Cabinet member in charge of League of Nations Affairs and later Foreign Secretary), the successive British Governments Spearheaded, particularly after the ascendancy to power of the Nazis in Germany in 1933, a policy of treating **ETHIOPIA** and its vital interests as a "bargaining chip" to "win" the

FRIENDSHIP of the Italian FASCISTS "away from" a possible alliance with Nazi Germany. Ethiopia and its vital interests became, in utter DISREGARD for the VOICE and ASPIRATION of its own people, an OBJECT of diplomatic BARGAINING between two European imperialist powers in which, successive British governments tried to SUBMIT, on to the Italian platter, Ethiopia's integrity as a "sacrificial lamb" in exchange for, among other territorial swaps, the "prevention" of Italy's feared COLLUSION with Nazi German in the latter's AGENDA of CHANGING the "balance of power" in Europe as well as outside Europe against so-called Pax-Britannia.

3.24 To this dastardly British imperialist scheme, further WEIGHT was ADDED on the road to UNDERMINING the COVENANT of the League of nations by the emergence, in treacherous FRENCH imperialist diplomacy, of the FLANDIN-PIERRE LAVAL band of fascist APPEASERS. As everyone knows, it was this treacherous FRENCH policy of APPEASEMENT towards FASCIST Italy which culminated later in January 1935 in the notorious LAVAL-MUSSOLINI "secret understanding" which, in effect, gave Italy a "free hand" in Ethiopia subject to Italian RESPECT for France's own "share" over SLICES of Ethiopia's "flesh".

3.25 It was, therefore, thanks to this DIRTY diplomatic INTRIGUE in Anglo-French APPEASEMENT policy that fascist Italy was finally EMBOLDENED to launch the totally UN-PROVOKED armed ATTACK of Ethiopia by way of an aggressive incursion inside Ethiopian territory during the WOL WOL incident of December 1934.

3.26 Apart from giving Italy an indirect ENCOURAGEMENT to GRAB and GOBBLE Ethiopia, the Anglo-French imperialist band of COLLUDING APPEASERS tried to use and abuse their influence within the League of Nations to PREVENT Ethiopia from

PRESENTING the incident of its wanton victimization at WOL WOL before the tribune of World Public Opinion through the fora of the League of Nations. Openly **SIDING** with the **Fulvio Suvich-Pompeo Aloisi** team of Italian diplomats, the **Eden-Laval** team of Anglo-French **APPEASERS** placed numerous artificial obstacles to **BLOCK** and **MUZZLE** Ethiopia from **PRESENTING** its **CASE** against Italy before the League of Nations. Despite the obviousness of Italy's brazen **AGGRESSION** at WOL WOL, in December 1934, the Anglo-French imperialist **OVERLORDS** of the League of Nations saw to it that fascist Italy was **SPARED** from an open **CONDEMNATION** and **CENSURE** by the **COUNCIL** of the League of Nations for its brazen **AGGRESSION** at WOL WOL. Instead, by the "arm twisting" of the **FEUDAL** rulers of Ethiopia, the Anglo-French **APPEASERS** of fascist Italy managed to "side track" the Italo-Ethiopian WOL WOL dispute (that is to say, Italy's "dress rehearsal" to outright occupation of Ethiopia) into the **DEAD-END** of a **STERILE** and entirely "de-politicized" scheme of International "Arbitration" whose final **OUTCOME** was **ANTI-ETHIOPIAN** as its initial design.

3.27 With the indirect **BLESSING** of support they got for their aggressive **AGENDA** from the Anglo-French **APPEASERS** during the WOL WOL "dress rehearsal", the Italian fascists **ACCELERATED** their **Military PREPARATIONS** for a total **INVASION** of Ethiopia under the the **FULL GAZE** of the League of Nations.

3.28 The fact that the so-called "neutral" United States remained **OUTSIDE** the League and on the **SIDE LINES**; the fact that both **GERMANY** and **JAPAN** had already pulled out from the League in order nor to be **RESTRAINED** by it; the fact that the **SOVIET UNION** became a member of the League only later; the fact that **FASCIST** Italy was increasingly **THREATENING** to **LEAVE** the League **UNLESS** the League "steered clear" from the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, etc, meant that

imperialist BRITAIN and imperialist FRANCE held (together with their respective CLIENT states) virtual SWAY over League affairs, in which case, the League of Nations was, already on the eve of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, an indirect instrument of Anglo-French APPEASEMENT towards the Fascist States. The League's subsequent IMPOTENCE in the face of Italy's actual full-fledged AGGRESSION against Ethiopia was, therefore, in large part the direct CONSEQUENCE of the Anglo-French BETRAYAL of Ethiopia.

3.29 When fascist Italy finally invaded Ethiopia in October 1935, it had already BEHIND IT the indirect SUPPORT of the Anglo-French imperialist band of APPEASERS within the League and the PASSIVE COMPLICITY (outside the League) of the so-called "neutrals" then headed by United States Imperialism.

3.30 When the Italian invasion of Ethiopia did come, even the APPEASERS and the "neutrals" were, of course FORCED (by the sweeping torrent of anti-fascist PUBLIC OPINION and the POPULAR and GRASS-ROOT expression of SYMPATHY for Ethiopia the World Over) to put on a totally EMPTY and totally HYPOCRITICAL "show of disapproval" against Italian Aggression. but the COVENANT of the League of Nations demanded MORE than an EMPTY show of VERBAL "diapproval" of fascist Italian aggression, that is to say, something more FORCEFUL than a TOKEN show of VERBAL "disapproval" merely to SOOTHE indignant World PUBLIC OPINION.

3.31 Immediately following Italian fascist aggression, the League of Nations became an OPEN diplomatic ARENA for "testing" the anti-aggression RESOLVE of SOME of its members as against the PRETENSIONS and HYPOCRISY of still others. Once again in that diplomatic arena, the members of the League of Nations were openly DIVIDED, the APPEASERS lining up on one side, and the genuine

ANTI-FASCISTS lining up on the OPPOSITE side; the true ENEMIES of FASCISM on one side, and the disguised FRIENDS of the FASCISTS on the other side; the GENUINE friends and SYMPATHIZERS of the Ethiopian people on one side, and the BACK-STABBERS on the opposite side. That division became all the more clear, not only during the SANCTION debates in the various fora of the League, but also in the course of ACTION leading towards concrete Sanction IMPLEMENTATION. During both stages, the APPEASERS in the League of Nations led by the Laval-Eden band of BACK-STABBERS did everything in their power to TORPEDO and SABOTAGE the path leading to the practical IMPLEMENTATION of forceful measures of economic SANCTION against fascist Italian aggression.

3.32 Shortly after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the Anglo-French APPEASERS came up with the notorious "Hoare-Laval" formula in which they sought to "win" an ILLUSIVE European "peace" at Ethiopia's EXPENSE by trying to lure Benito Mussolini "away from" Nazi Germany by way of a gift in the form of a substantial SLICE of ETHIOPIA.

3.33 In total contrast to the TREACHEROUS "Hoare-Laval" diplomatic INTRIGUE, the then SOVIET UNION took not only a PRINCIPLED position in line with the COVENANT of the League of Nations, but it also DEFENDED Ethiopia and CONDEMNED Italy throughout the Italo-Ethiopian conflict both BEFORE and AFTER the actual INVASION. In a famous Speech delivered on September 5, 1935 (almost a month BEFORE Italy's INVASION of Ethiopia, the then Soviet Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, pointed out that the Soviet Government "cannot agree" with the arguments of the Italian representative, Baron Aloisi, that the INTERNAL state of Affairs in Ethiopia gave Italy a RIGHT to INVADE and OCCUPY Ethiopia; that

while "there is no one here who feels sympathy for the INTERNAL regime of Ethiopia as it is described in the documents submitted" (i.e. FEUDALISM and domestic SLAVERY) NOTHING "in the Covenant [still] entitles us ... to discriminate between members of the League as to their INTERNAL REGIME, the COLOR of their SKIN, their RACIAL DISTINCTIONS or the STAGE of their CIVILIZATION nor accordingly to deprive them of privileges which they enjoy [by] virtue of their membership of the League, and in the first place, of their inalienable right to INTEGRITY and INDEPENDENCE". Again during the debate over sanctions following Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, Maxim Litvinov pointed out in another Speech before the SANCTION CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE of the League of Nations on October 19, 1935, that it was a "matter of regret" that "mild as the present sanctions are, they have not been accepted with the UNANIMITY for which the Committee had been entitled to hope"; that although his "own country" (the USSR) "has... no special interest in the present case" and despite the fact that "by agreeing to economic sanctions, the Soviet Union is exposing itself to [economic] losses" in view of the fact that Italy was, at the time, "one of her best customers", the USSR was, nevertheless, "prepared ... to submit to these [economic] losses"; that it was willing to do so "for reasons of solidarity and because of the desire to maintain peace and fulfil all the obligations it has accepted under the COVENANT." hence, the Soviet Union not only firmly OPPOSED Italian AGGRESSION before the actual invasion and fully supported (through the League) SANCTIONS against Italy immediately following the invasion, but it also issued (on its own initiative) a number of LOCAL DECREES directed towards the actual IMPLEMENTATION of SANCTIONS against Italy. That was, of course, apart from and in addition to the EXTENSIVE world-wide CAMPAIGN of SOLIDARITY it helped ORGANIZE (particularly through the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL and in close COLLABORATION with the Italian

COMMUNIST PARTY) in support of Ethiopia and against fascist Italy during the entire span of Ethiopia's OCCUPATION.

3.34 No serious student of the LIFE and DEATH of the League of Nations would overlook the historic significance of the PRINCIPLED position which the then SOVIET UNION took in the course of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. And no one would forget the SINCERITY as well as the ELOQUENCE in which the then Soviet Foreign Minister, Maxim Litvinov, articulated the PRINCIPLE of the INDIVISIBILITY of World Peace and his government's resolute DEFENSE of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, principled pronouncements which provided a background CANVAS against which the DIRTY diplomatic SCHEMING of the Anglo-French fascist APPEASERS was all the more EXPOSED before World Public Opinion.

3.35 If, in the end, the half-hearted SANCTIONS that were put in place by the League of Nations against the Italian fascist aggressors failed to be forceful and effective; that was in large part because those measures were torpedoed by the APPEASERS of fascism inside the League as well as the so-called "neutrals" OUTSIDE the League, a treacherous SABOTAGE which made it IMPOSSIBLE to bring about COLLECTIVE and UNITED compliance. Once again, the Ethiopian people were BETRAYED and the fascist aggressors were "rewarded" by the sanction-busting activities of the APPEASERS as well as the so-called "neutrals".

3.36 That, then, was the FIRST major International LET-DOWN of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people. That was also the "test case" for the League of Nations itself, a "test case" which proved to be, in the end, its own mortal UN-DOING. That is, incidentally, why for PEOPLES of WEAK States VICTIMIZED by a wanton practice of international AMORALITY, historically-informed OPINION about the now

DEFUNCT League of Nations still SERVES (even FIVE and HALF decades AFTER that shameful event) as an ENLIGHTENING background for a proper UNDERSTANDING of the DANGEROUS trend towards which the UNITED NATIONS (the successor to the League) is increasingly SLIDING in front of our eyes since 1989.



INTERNATIONAL

SOLIDARITY

IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE

OF

FASCIST-OCCUPIED ETHIOPIA.

VOICES OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH ETHIOPIA AND AGAINST FASCIST ITALY

"Most of the EUROPEAN countries other than Italy [Correction: In Italy too, communists and socialists in particular had in fact organized anti-fascist and pro-Ethiopian Solidarity groups] had active PROTEST groups; that in LONDON was organized by SYLVIA PANKHURST who devoted herself tirelessly to the [Ethiopian] cause. But the most vehement outbursts of indignation provoked by Italy's threatening attitude towards Ethiopia came from the Cities where there was an ELITE of EDUCATED AFRICANS from the United States, the Caribbean, and the capitals of the British dominions in AFRICA. To the COLORED people of the world, ETHIOPIA was the last FREE BASTION of African culture - a kind of BLACK ZION - whose INDEPENDENCE had to be maintained at all COSTS."

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.29)



*"In **BRITAIN** 3000 young men volunteered to fight for [Ethiopia], in **NEW YORK**, 9000 Americans- **white** and **black** alike - staged a rally in **Madison square Garden** and tore a huge effigy of **Mussolini** to shreds. In **BERLIN**, cinemas were showing '**Ethiopia 1935**', a film through which ran an **ANTI-ITALIAN** theme, while in **LONDON** long queues formed in **Coventry Street** to see: '**The Truth about Abyssinia**' at the **Rialto**. In **CAIRO**, the [Muslim] **MUEZZIN** called the **FAITHFUL** to pray to **ALLAH** [so] that **ETHIOPIA** might be spared."*

(Colonel A. J. Barker cited above, at p.31)

PAN-AFRICANIST

FREEDOM FIGHTER

KWAME NKRUMAH

STANDING IN SOLIDARITY WITH

THE PEOPLE OF FASCIST- OCCUPIED ETHIOPIA

"Early in 1935 I realized that more decisive efforts would be needed if I was ever to get to the United States ...

Some months before, I had successfully applied to Lincoln University [in the United States] for admission, but only one or two close friends with whom I stayed knew of my plans. Now I strove to complete my arrangements. As there was no American Consul in the Gold Coast [what came to be modern Ghana, that is] at the time, I should have to travel first to the United Kingdom to obtain a U.S. visa. Thanks to my kinsman's generosity I had one hundred pounds. To this, the Chief of Nsaeum, another relative, added fifty pounds, out of which I paid for a third-class passage from Takoradi to Liverpool

The following Morning, I packed my few possessions into the Canoe which was to take me across the Ankobra river on the first stage of my journey to Takoradi

I boarded the motor vessel Apapa at Takoradi and was shown into a third-class cabin

On arrival at Liverpool I was met by the [representative] of George Grant [later the "father of Gold Coast Politics

" and "President of the **United Gold Coast Convention**"], a timber merchant [at the time] in **Nzima**. I stayed in the hotel for the first week, then I traveled up to **London** in order to have my passport visa-ed for the **United States**. Bewildered and very much out of my depth, I began to wonder if it would not be better to give the whole thing up and return home. But just as I was feeling particularly depressed about the future, I heard an excited **newspaper boy** shouting something unintelligible as he grabbed a bundle of the latest editions from a motor van, and on the placard I read: **'MUSSOLINI INVADES ETHIOPIA'**. That was **all** I needed. **At that point, it was almost as if the WHOLE of London had suddenly declared WAR on me PERSONALLY. For the next few minutes, I could do nothing but glare at each impassive face, wondering if those people could possibly realize the WICKEDNESS of COLONIALISM, and praying that the day might come when I could play my part in BRINGING about the DOWNFALL of such a SYSTEM. "** [Incidentally, he **DID** indeed **CONTRIBUTE** to the **DOWNFALL** of that **ODIOUS** system]

The above sentiments were those of the young Ghanaian Patriot (then a little over 25 years old) **Kwame Nkrumah** . Those sentiments (which were expressed in the pages of the 1959 edition of **Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah**) illustrate, in no un-mistakable candor, the young **Pan-Africanist's** heart-felt **SYMPATHY** for fascist-occupied **ETHIOPIA** back in October 1935. The above sentiment shows that, already at the tender age of 25, **Kwame Nkrumah** was politically **BIG** enough to **SEE** beyond the **GOLD COAST** (GHANA) and **REALIZE** that the **ANTI-COLONIAL** striving of his generation in his **OWN** country was **INTER-TWINED** with the **FATE** of **ANOTHER** African Country (**Ethiopia**) and **MANIFESTED** his **PAN-AFRICAN** sentiment in **SOLIDARITY** with the **PEOPLE** of **ETHIOPIA** at their **hour of trial** back in 1935. The then 25 years old **Kwame Nkrumah** was

(already by then) politically **MATURE** and **ENLIGHTENED** enough to SEE that **an INJURY to one** AFRICAN country, namely, **Ethiopia** (then an **inspiring beacon** of State **Independence** and State **Sovereignty** to THOSE who were **engaged** in their own **local ANTI-COLONIAL** struggle in an African political **LANDSCAPE** then dominated by COLONIAL enslavement) was **an INJURY to ALL** Africans.

SOURCE: The above **pro-Ethiopian** sentiment was expressed by the Young Pan-Africanist **Kwame Nkrumah**, see: **Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah** (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1959) pp.20-22.; also **REPRODUCED** in: "Captivity to Formalism without Substance", **North of Mereb** (Specialized Publication of the **ALL-ETHIOPIAN COMMUNIST LEAGUE**), May/June Issue, 2003; Readers should note that **Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's** Pan-Africanist **SENTIMENT** was **SHAPED** by **THREE** major influences, namely, the **THOUGHTS** and **STRUGGLES** of **Marcus Garvey** and **George Padmore** (both from the **Caribbean**) and that of the renowned African-American scholar and Civil rights fighter **Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS** from the **United States**. Identification with **ETHIOPIA** was an important and common **INGREDIENT** in **ALL** of those **THREE** influences. That was what gave **PAN-AFRICANISM** a **TRIANGULAR** (Caribbean-AMERICAN-African) thread and interconnection. Readers interested on the **EARLY** influences on the pan-Africanist **THINKING** of **Dr. Kwame Nkrumah** can consult: **Marcus Garvey**, "The Resurrection of The Negro", Speech Delivered at

Liberty Hall, New York City, During the Second International Convention of Negroes, August 1921, in: *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, vol. I*, New York, 1926, pp.93-97; *Marcus Garvey*, Sermon Delivered at Liberty Hall, New York city on April 16, 1922, in; *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, vol. I*, New York, 1923, pp.87-92; *Marcus Garvey*, "What We Believe" (January 1, 1924), in: *Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, vol. II*, New York, 1926, p.81; See also: *Edie Kedourie* (ed.), *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, Chicago: Meridian, 1970, pp.283-293; *W. E. B. DuBois*, "The Pan-African Movement", in: *Edie Kedourie* (ed.), *Nationalism in Asia and Africa*, Chicago: Meridian, 1970, pp.372-387; *George Padmore* (ed.), *Colonial and Colored Unity*

THE COMMUNIST

INTERNATIONAL

RALLYING BEHIND

ETHIOPIA

AND AGAINST

FASCIST ITALIAN AGGRESSION.

-I-

"Fascism has wreaked bestial vengeance upon the best fighters of the revolutionary YOUTH. At the same time, it is making every effort to adopt its putrid demagogy to the moods of the wide mass of the YOUTH, and to take advantage of the growing MILITANT activity of the YOUTH for its own REACTIONARY ends, in order to convert it into a prop of dying CAPITALISM. Depriving the YOUNG generation of WORKING people of all rights, the FASCIST governments MILITARIZE the entire YOUTH, and try to TRAIN from their ranks obedient SLAVES of FINANCE CAPITAL in CIVIL as well as IMPERIALIST War. What can we place in OPPOSITION to FASCISM and the THREAT of IMPERIALIST War, which has become particularly acute in view of the PREPARATIONS being made by ITALIAN fascism to attack ETHIOPIA and the growing AGGRESSION of GERMAN fascism. We can and must place in OPPOSITION to it the UNION of ALL ANTI-FASCIST forces and, first and foremost, the UNION of ALL the forces of the YOUNG generation of WORKING people, at the same time enhancing a THOUSAND-FOLD the ROLE and ACTIVITY of the YOUTH in the struggle of the WORKING

CLASS for its OWN interests, for its OWN cause. Let the entire activity of the CONGRESS of the YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL be devoted to the attainment of this IMMEDIATE and PRINCIPAL goal."

*(Excerpt from: Georgi Dimitroff, "Youth Against Fascism: Speech at the Opening of the Sixth Congress of the Young Communist International, September 25, 1935", in: Georgi Dimitroff, **The United Front: The Struggle Against fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, p.149. Georgi Dimitroff was, at the time, the General Secretary of the Communist International and ALL the SPEECHES and WRITINGS we quote here were the OFFICIAL and AUTHORITATIVE views of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL of the period 1935 to 1937 with which ALL individual COMMUNIST PARTIES the world over were politically ASSOCIATED and organizationally AFFILIATED).*

-II-

" ... the first lesson that the WORKERS not only of FRANCE but also of all CAPITALIST countries will draw from the TERRORIST attack on Leon Blum is the following: the PARTIES and ORGANIZATIONS of

*the **COMMUNIST** and **SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALS** must UNITE their FORCES as SPEEDILY as possible on a NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL scale for a most STUBBORN [and] SYSTEMATIC struggle against FASCISM, against TERRORIST gangs; yesterday the ASSASSINS of Minister Barthou, today the KIDNAPERS of ANTI-FASCISTS on the territory of FOREIGN POWERS; yesterday the ASSAILANTS of Blum, today the ACCUSERS of Kisch, fighter of the HUNGARIAN labor movement, as a SPY of a FOREIGN power; yesterday the MURDERERS of the ITALIAN communist, SOZZI; today the BUTCHERS of the peaceful ETHIOPIAN population by aerial BOMBARDMENT; who yesterday seized hold of MANCHURIA, and today of Northern CHINA, preparing to ATTACK the MONGOLIAN People's Republic and insolently provoking the great land of SOVIETS on its Eastern borders. In the struggle against this FASCIST plague which menaces the WORKING CLASS, all Working people, the WHOLE of MANKIND, those active in the LABOR Movement cannot but address the question to all honest people considering themselves to be democrats, supporters of liberty and peace, as to where they stand? Whether with those who have made methods of INDIVIDUAL TERROR their chief weapon of struggle, who now ROAM various parts of the globe ARMED with BOMB and REVOLVER, with the lighted torch of War - or with those FIGHTERS of the LABOR movement who, defending the rights of the masses, fighting for their open organization, strive by organized MASS ACTION to bar the way to fascist BARBARISM and WAR? Whether with those who TRAMPLE human CULTURE under FOOT, who BURN the works of HUMAN GENIUS in BONFIRES - or with the NEW CIVILIZATION coming into being in the land of victorious SOCIALISM, with the NEW proletarian DEMOCRACY, the real MULTI-NATIONAL People's DEMOCRACY that is being realized in the Soviet Union? Only a wide ANTI-FASCIST front that UNITES the efforts of the international WORKING CLASS*

will win the sympathy and active support of ALL working people, will prove to be a sufficiently effective means of putting a straightjacket on the pangs of FASCIST violators. And the sooner this international UNITED working class ACTION is achieved, the less difficult, the less agonizing and the less drawn out will be the struggle of the masses of the people against FASCISM. Every day of DELAY places an awful responsibility on those who reject this unity. The GERMAN working class is paying with its BLOOD to this day for the CAPITULATORY policy of [the right wing] German [Social-Democrats]."

(Extract from: Georgi Dimitroff, "Silence Is Impossible - Action is Wanted", February 16, 1936, in: Georgi Dimitroff cited above, at pp.165-166).

-III-

"The War danger has become extremely MENACING for the further reason that the FASCIST aggressor has been ALLOWED to enjoy a position of IMPUNITY. The War PREPARATIONS of GERMAN fascism (the introduction of UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE, the AIR and NAVAL armaments) were carried out with systematic CONNIVANCE of CAPITALIST powers and the direct ASSISTANCE of the BRITISH ruling CIRCLES. The PASSIVITY and WAVERING of the LEAGUE of NATIONS in regard to the JAPANESE attack of CHINA and the ITALIAN aggression in ETHIOPIA encouraged the IMPUDENCE of the

AGGRESSOR. *But the growth in the AGGRESSIVENESS of GERMAN fascism and of the JAPANESE military CLIQUE is first and foremost the result of the fact that the international proletariat did not succeed in acting unanimously with all the power of its gigantic forces, did not rally around itself all the working people and all the friends of peace into a mighty front against War. The resistance of the REACTIONARY section of the leaders of the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL and the International Federation of Trade Unions to the UNITED FRONT of struggle has NOT yet been BROKEN, But the REFUSAL of these REACTIONARY leaders (supporting the IMPERIALIST policy of THEIR own BOURGEOISIE) to undertake UNITED ... proletarian ACTION against WAR, LULLING the MASSES to SLEEP with the ILLUSION that the LEAGUE of NATIONS would do EVERYTHING necessary for the MAINTENANCE of PEACE - this has HINDERED the struggle of the PROLETARIAT against WAR and PARALYZED its PRESSURE on the CAPITALIST governments."*

>>>>>

"The PEACE which exists at PRESENT is a BAD peace. But in any case this BAD peace is BETTER than WAR. And every consistent SUPPORTER of PEACE will understand at once the need to SUPPORT all measures which ASSIST in MAINTAINING it, including the MEASURES of the LEAGUE of NATIONS, particularly SANCTIONS. SANCTIONS can be made into an EFFECTIVE means against an AGGRESSOR. If the SANCTIONS undertaken by the LEAGUE of NATIONS did NOT prevent ITALY [from] continuing the WAR against ETHIOPIA, this is NOT an argument AGAINST sanctions but AGAINST the POWERS [the APPEASERS] which FRUSTRATED their [IMPLEMENTATION]. And if GERMAN fascism today is throwing out a CHALLENGE to the PEOPLES of the WHOLE

*WORLD, this precisely because it RECKONS on FREEDOM from PUNISHMENT, because SANCTIONS were NOT applied to JAPAN, because the SANCTIONS against ITALY were FRUSTRATED by the CAPITALIST States, because, finally, when HITLER sent his TROOPS to the FRONTIERS of FRANCE and BELGIUM he was CONVINCED in advance that SANCTIONS against him would be FRUSTRATED [i. e. SABOTAGED] by the BRITISH bourgeoisie. It is said that the APPLICATION of SANCTIONS increases the WAR DANGER, and will LEAD to WAR. This is NOT true. It is just the OPPOSITE, the IMPUNITY of the AGGRESSOR increases the DANGER of WAR. The more RESOLUTELY sanctions of an ECONOMIC and FINANCIAL character are APPLIED to a FASCIST AGGRESSOR (complete refusal of CREDITS, stopping commerce and the supply of RAW MATERIAL), the LESS will GERMAN fascism be INCLINED to BEGIN a WAR, because the GREATER will be the RISK to it. The League of NATIONS must be ruthlessly CRITICIZED for its IRRESOLUTENESS, ASSIVITY, INCONSISTENCY. **The WORKING CLASS wages an IRRECONCILABLE struggle AGAINST the GOVERNMENTS of those IMPERIALIST countries, MEMBERS of the LEAGUE of NATIOS, which HELP the AGGRESSORS for the SAKE of their own SELFISH interests, DISRUPT measures for PRSERVING peace and SACRIFICE the INTESREST of SMALL NATIONS [like ETHIOPIA] to the INTERESTS of the BIG imperialist POWERS.** But it does not follow that we should in genera take up a NEGATIVE position toward the LEAGUE of NATIONS. What interest has the PROLETARIAT in PLAYING into the HANDS of the WAR-MONGERS, all of whom are at present AGAINST the LEAGUE of NATIONS? The League of Nations has been DESERTED by the CHIEF INSTIGATORS of War, GERMANY and JAPAN. **The LEAGUE of NATIONS includes the SOVIET UNION, which throws ALL of ITS INTERNATIONAL WEIGHT into the scales on the SIDE of PEACE and COLLECTIVE***

SECURITY. *In the LEAGUE of NATIONS there are also OTHER States that do NOT want to give the FASCIST aggressors an OPPORTUNITY to ATTACK other peoples. Those who cannot DISTINGUISH between the LEAGUE of NATIONS in the PAST and the LEAGUE of NATIONS at PRESENT, those who cannot VARY their APPROACH to the DIFFERENT members of the LEAGUE of NATIONS, those who REFUSE to bring MASS PRESSURE to BEAR on the LEAGUE of NATIONS and the various CAPITALIST governments to SECURE the ADOPTION of MEASURES to MAINTAIN peace, such people are WINDBAGS and NOT revolutionaries [i.e. the TROTSKYITE wreckers] or Proletarian politicians [i.e., the REACTIONARY leaders of the TRADE UNIONS as well as the RIGHT-WING European Social-democrat LEADERS].*

The WORKING CLASS must support those MEASURES of the LEAGUE of NATIONS and various States which are really DIRECTED toward the MAINTENANCE of PEACE (non-aggression PACTS, PACTS of MUTUAL AID against the AGGRESSOR, PACTS of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, FINANCIAL and ECONOMIC sanctions). And not only must it SUPPORT these measures, but by a a mighty MASS anti-war MOVEMENT, it must FORCE the LEAGUE of NATIONS and the GOVERNMENTS of the various CAPITALIST States to take SERIOUS STEPS in DEFENSE of PEACE. It is NOT true that the POLICY of constantly YIELDING to the DEMANDS of the fascist WAR-MONGERS by the LEAGUE of NATIONS and by various countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, etc) can HELP maintain PEACE. The WORKERS have NOT forgotten that PREVIOUSLY in the INTERNAL policy of GERMANY, it was precisely the CONCESSIONS and CAPITULATION to ATTACKING fascism which PAVED the latter's WAY to POWER. In the INTERNATIONAL arena, a similar CAPITULATORY policy FREES the HANDS of MILITANT fascism for ATTACK. It is also NOT true that the CAUSE of PEACE will GAIN

from attempting at the present moment to RAISE the question of a REDISTRIBUTION of the SOURCES of RAW MATERIAL, COLONIES, and MANDATED TERRITORIES, as the REACTIONARY Social Democratic LEADERS are doing. In reality this is done with the AIM of DISTRACTING the ATTENTION of the MASSES from a CONCRETE struggle AGAINST the WAR-MONGERS. On the other hand, such proposals CONCEAL the DESIRE to GIVE colonies GERMAN fascism, which is bound to STRENGTHEN still more the MILITARY position of GERMAN fascism. It is NOT the BUSINESS of the PROLETARIAT to ADVOCATE any particular DIVISION of COLONIES and MANDATES among the IMPERIALISTS. Its TASK is to SUPPORT the STRUGGLE of the COLONIAL peoples for THEIR interests and THEIR rights and for their FINAL LIBERATION from the IMPERIALIST yoke."

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"While demanding effective measures from the League of Nations and the BOURGEOIS governments against the AGGRESSIVENESS of the FASCIST firebrands, the PROLETARIAT must not OVERLOOK for a moment that the chief, fundamental and decisive thing in the maintenance of peace is the INDEPENDENT ACTION of the masses in DEFENSE of PEACE against the actual WAR incendiaries. There cannot be the slightest doubt that if the international PROLETARIAT, with its MASS organizations, especially the TRADE UNIONS, had acted in UNISON and by STRIKES and other measures had PREVENTED a SINGLE SHIP or a SINGLE TRAIN going to or from ITALY, Italian FASCISM would long since have been FORCED to STOP this WAR of PLUNDER against the ETHIOPIAN people. But the formation of a really wide PEOPLE'S FRONT for peace, strong enough to carry on a

struggle against military FASCISM, is possible only if there exists UNITY of ACTION of the PROLETARIAT itself. It was precisely the establishment of the UNITY of ACTION of the WORKING CLASS which made it possible for the FRENCH and SPANISH proletariat to build up a mighty ANTI-FASCIST People's Front. Torn by internal contradictions, the LONDON Conference of the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL and the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, under the pressure of the REACTIONARY wing, EVADED the question of the NECESSITY for immediately bringing about UNITY of ACTION of the PROLETARIAT on a NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL scale. This CONFERENCE did NOT call upon the WORKING MASSES for INDEPENDENT ACTION, but LIMITED itself to an APPEAL to rely WHOLLY on the LEAGUE of NATIONS. It did not take a stand in DEFENSE of the CHINESE people, who are being ATTACKED by JAPAN. It did not CONDEMN in the slightest degree those LABOR LEADERS and SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LEADERS who DEFEND the AGGRESSIVE policy of GERMAN fascism ... A decisive STEP at present toward the establishment of UNITY of ACTION of the INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT against the WAR-MONGERS is for the COMMUNIST PARTIES of each separate country to develop in ALL fields of SOCIAL and POLITICAL life the most ACTIVE, PERSISTENT, EXTENSIVE campaign for the MAINTENANCE of PEACE."

(Excerpt from: **Georgi Dimitroff**, "The Struggle for Peace", May 1, 1936, in: **Georgi Dimitroff**, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, pp.173-174; 180-182; 182-185).

-IV-

"It is impossible without a feeling of deep indignation to read the telegram about the TRIAL of the ... Trotsky-Zinoviev [FACTIONALIST center] sent in such HASTE to the SOVIET government by the OFFICIAL representatives of the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL and the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, signed by de BROUCKERE, ADLER, CITRINE and SCHEVENELS. Did these REACTIONARY LEADERS act with the same ALACRITY when the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL proposed to the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL that JOINT ASSISTANCE be given to the ASTURIAN MINERS when they were FIGHTING, with WEAPONS in hand, in October 1934? Did they HASTEN to REPLY to the REPEATED appeals for JOINT ACTION made by the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL for the PROTECTION of the ETHIOPIAN people when it was ATTACKED by ITALIAN fascism? Not at all. One recalls that they STATED, at the time, that they were NOT COMPETENT to enter into NEGOTIATIONS on this QUESTION, and that it was necessary to WAIT for a session of the EXECUTIVE of the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL. But at THAT time it was a question of a really JUST and HONEST matter, the DEFENSE of the VITAL interests, not only of the SPANISH but of the INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT, and of the fight AGAINST a most UNJUST, DISGRACEFUL WAR OF CONQUEST [by Italian FASCISM]. But NOW they show THEMSELVES fully COMPETENT, on their own account - without CONSULTING their ORGANIZATION - to take under their PROTECTION the ACCUSED

[Trotsky-Zinoviev counter-revolutionary factionalists] who had raised their CRIMINAL hands against ... SOVIET POWER. It has always been so. When the Proletariat COURT in the SOVIET UNION wielded its AVENGING SWORD against SABOTEURS, who SCATTERED glass SPLINTERS in the WORKERS' FOOD, POISONED COLLECTIVE FARM CATTLE and SPOILT [DAMAGED] MACHINES, or AGAINST SPIES and MILITARY SABOTEURS, AGENTS of FASCISM who DESTROYED RAILWAY TRACKS, and CAUSED EXPLOSIONS, such [European] REACTIONARY leaders as CITRINE and ADLER invariably came FORWARD to PROTECT and INTERCEDE for this COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY gang of RUFFIANS. And it often happened that when the APPARATUS of [SOVIET POWER] caught AGENTS of FOREIGN FASCISM in the act of PREPARING ATTACKS on the LEADERS of the land of SOCIALISM, the SYMPATHY of the REACTIONARY leaders of the LABOR and SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL and the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION of TRADE UNIONS was NOT on the SIDE of the WORKERS and COLLECTIVE FARMERS of the SOVIET UNION, but on the SIDE of their bitterest ENEMIES. ... It is all the more SCANDALOUS that, just at THIS time, when around the heroically fighting SPANISH people a real international UNITED FRONT of struggle is being CREATED against the REBEL [fascist] GENERALS [in Spain], and against GERMAN and ITALIAN fascism, for the PROTECTION of the [SPANISH] Republic and of DEMOCRACY, CITRINE and [Company] come FORWARD with their HOSTILE [anti Soviet] DEMONSTRATION against the land of SOCIALISM, the most solid and unshakable BULWARK of the LIBERTIES of the [WORKING] PEOPLE." [Yes, SOLID and UNSHAKABLE in 1936 when Dimitroff's words were uttered on the EVE of the NAZI military onslaught against the USSR; YES, SOLID and UNSHAKABLE in 1945 after SMASHING to pieces the massive and Barbaric Nazi INVASION from outside and by WITHSTANDING victoriously that ferocious foreign INVASION ; Yes SOLID and UN-

SHAKABLE until, very much later in 1989, the insidious "**ENEMY from WITHIN**" managed to **DESTROY** it. The latter tragic **SETBACK** in the **USSR** illustrates the unusual **FORESIGHT** and **FAR-SIGHTEDNESS** of **JOSEPH STALIN** who often **WARNED** of the insidiousness and the **DANGER** posed to **SOCIALISM** by the "**ENEMY from within**", far **MORE** than the "**ENEMY from without**", and **WHY** a **RESOLUTE** measure was **NEEDED** to **PURGE** it in the **BUD.**]

(Excerpt from: *Georgi Dimitroff*, "The Second International and the Trial of the Terrorists", October 1936, in: *Georgi Dimitroff*, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.186-187).

-V-

" It is now clear to **ALL** that the **FASCISTS**, and first and foremost the **FASCISTS** of **GERMANY** and **ITALY** who have raised the **REVOLT**, with the **SPANISH GENERALS** as their cat's-paws, counted upon the young **SPANISH Republican Government** not offering them any **SERIOUS RESISTANCE**; they expected that it would **NOT** be difficult for them to subject the country and take over its **NATURAL WEALTH** and the **ISLANDS** having **STRATEGIC** importance. In resorting to **MILITARY ACTION** in **SPAIN** the [German and Italian] **FASCISTS** had before them the **EXAMPLES** of the **RECENT** past, when their **CRIMINAL ACTS** had been **ALLOWED** to go **UNPUNISHED**. The **INTRODUCTION** of **COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE** in **GERMANY**, the **MILITARIZATION** of the **RHINELAND**, **the SEIZURE of ETHIOPIA** by

ITALY and the EARLIER seizure of CHINA by JAPAN, which took place with the CONNIVANCE of the BOURGEOIS [CAPITALIST] countries and the LEAGUE of NATIONS, have whetted the appetites of the FASCIST BULLIES and ENCOURAGED them to attempt a new ROBBER RAID. The FASCISTS would never have DARED to KINDLE the FLAMES of CIVIL WAR in OTHER countries, to send ARMS, AIRPLANES, TANKS, FLOTILLAS of WARSHIPS and, lastly, ARMY UNITS, had they been PROMPTLY and FIRMLY CHECKED. They would have been COMPELLED to RETREAT if, at the very beginning of the FASCIST REBELLION in SPAIN, they had ENCOUNTERED the MIGHTY FORCE of the INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT marching in a UNITED FRONT, if they had ENCOUNTERED [timely] RESISTANCE on the part of the [rest of] the BOURGEOIS [CAPITALIST] Governments, if these GOVERNMENTS had NOT supported the BLOCKADE of the SPANISH REPUBLIC by their FRAUDULENT policy of NON-INTERVENTION."

(Excerpt from: **Georgi Dimitroff**, "The People's Front", December, 1936, in: **Georgi Dimitroff**, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.206-207).

-VI-

"Stato Operaio, the THEORETICAL organ of the COMMUNIST PARTY of ITALY, began to appear ten years ago at a time of EXCEPTIONALLY

*great DIFFICULTY for the WORKING CLASS and COMMUNIST Movements of ITALY, at a time when FASCISM had driven the COMMUNIST PARTY deeply UNDERGROUND, organized the most FEROCIOUS TERROR against it, and DESTROYED all the INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONS and REMNANTS of the LIBERTIES of the ITALIAN working people. At that time, the Italian COMMUNISTS were faced with very DIFFICULT and COMPLICATED tasks. This did not only consist in holding HIGH the BANNER of the Party before the WORKING CLASS and all WORKING PEOPLE in Italy, while COURAGEOUSLY facing PERSECUTION, EXILE, PRISON, TORTURE, and DEATH. The TASKS facing the COMMUNIST PARTY at that time consisted first and foremost in PREVENTING fascism from ISOLATING the COMMUNIST VANGUARD from the WORKING PEOPLE, in PRESERVING, EXTENDING, and STRENGTHENING the CONNECTIONS between the COMMUNIST organizations and the URBAN and RURAL WORKERS and the PEASANTS. The Party had to EXERT all its EFFORTS so as to MARCH at the HEAD of the DAILY struggle of the WORKING PEOPLE for BREAD and their RIGHTS, so as to DIRECT this struggle TOWARD the OVERTHROW of the BLOODY DICTATORSHIP of FASCISM. ... The COMMUNIST Party as a whole did NOT immediately UNDERSTAND all these TASKS. It failed to CHANGE its SLOGANS, its METHODS of work, and FORMS of ORGANIZATION with the necessary RAPIDITY. This TARDINESS was UTILIZED by FASCISM and COST the Party HEAVY LOSSES. But the MERIT of the Italian COMMUNISTS, who were the FIRST to have to WORK and FIGHT under CONDITIONS of FASCIST DICTATORSHIP, lies in the fact that in a SITUATION fraught with the GREATEST DIFFICULTIES, and in spite of LOSSES sustained and MISTAKES committed, they NEVER lost COURAGE in the face of BRUTALITY of FASCISM, but conducted an INCESSANT struggle under the LEADERSHIP of the **COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL** to CONVERT their Party into a true **BOLSHEVIK***

Party ... **Stato Operaio** was one of the CHIEF WEAPONS of this STRUGGLE. Striving to EDUCATE the Party's CADRES in the SPIRIT of Marxism-Leninism, the Magazine helped to provide the WHOLE of the WORKING CLASS of Italy with this EDUCATION and REVOLUTIONARY orientation. While conducting an incessant IDEOLOGICAL struggle against FASCISM, the Magazine at the same time became one of the factors in RALLYING all the ANTI-FASCIST forces in the country. ... **The policy of Italian FASCISM today is a CRIMINAL policy of AGGRESSION and WAR. Having DESTROYED the INDEPENDENCE of the ETHIOPIAN people in BLOOD and FLAME, Mussolini is now engaged in ARMED INTERVENTION against the SPANISH people, which is UNWILLING to SUBMIT to FASCIST DICTATORSHIP, and is conducting a HEROIC struggle in DEFENSE of its LIBERTY and NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.** This policy of of furious MILITARY AGGRESSION pursued by Italian FASCISM, which is resulting in a continuous DECLINE of the ECONOMIC POSITION of Italy and the IMPOVERISHMENT of the Italian WORKING PEOPLE, is in contradictions to the VITAL INTERESTS, not only of the WORKING CLASS, but of the WHOLE Italia people. This policy, which is being pursued in CLOSE ALLIANCE with GERMAN fascism, is actually making the destiny of the Italian People DEPENDENT upon the FASCIST RULERS of GERMANY who are THRUSTING the PEOPLES of EUROPE into a BLOODY CATASTROPHE. This policy is in glaring contradiction to the DEMOCRATIC-REVOLUTIONARY traditions embodied in the immortal figure of GARIBALDI, hero of the ITALIAN people, to the TRADITIONS which are the inalienable INHERITANCE of the ITALIAN people. This has been understood by the Italian SOLDIERS sent by the FASCISTS to SPAIN who have GONE OVER to the ranks of the [Spanish] Republican troops. The Italian WORKERS and PEASANTS who have contributed glorious pages to the history of the INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT, to the history of the struggle for

BREAD, FREEDOM, and PEACE among the peoples, today have the PRIMARY TASK of putting an END to the CRIMINAL INTERVENTION of Italian FASCISM in SPAIN, by putting an END to Mussolini's MILITARY AGGRESSION, which is a MENACE to the PEOPLES of the WHOLE WORLD. The EXAMPLE set by the VOLUNTEERS of the GARIBALDI BATTALION, who are HEROICALLY fighting in the RANKS of the Peoples Republican ARMY of SPAIN, should call forth in Italy a WAVE of ENTHUSIASM and the WILL to STRUGGLE. It is precisely in ITALY itself that the CHAINS of fascist OPPRESSION must and will be BROKEN once and for all by the DAILY struggle of the WORKERS and FARM LABORERS, PEASANTS, ARTISANS, YOUNG people, PROGRESSIVE INTELLECTUALS and ALL working people. One of the necessary CONDITIONS for bringing this about is the TASK of UNMASKING, holding up to SHAME and DRIVING OUT of the ranks of the WORKING PEOPLE the TROTSKYITE agents of FASCISM - this GANG, without IDEALS or PRINCIPLE, of DIVERSIONISTS, SPIES and TERRORISTS, who organize TERRORIST ACTS against the LEADERS of the great land of SOCIALISM, and do their utmost to PREVENT the establishment of working class UNITY and the DEVELOPMENT of the PEOPLE'S FRONT movement against FASCISM and WAR."

(Excerpt from: Georgi Dimitroff, "The Tenth Anniversary of Stato Operaio", May 1937, in: Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War*, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.221-223).

-VII-

"It is no secret that the helplessness of the League of Nations in the face of the seizure of Ethiopia, and the continual concessions made by the biggest Western states to the German and Italian interventionists in SPAIN, encouraged and still encourage the brazen AGGRESSIVENESS of the Governments of BERLIN and ROME. And what the FASCIST bosses in BERLIN and ROME are counting on is that the international WORKING CLASS movement will NOT be in a position to MUSTER its SCATTERED forces for a VICTORIOUS struggle against FASCIST aggression. It is well known that the fascist BEASTS, cowardly and HYSTERICAL as they actually are, fear nothing so much as that their AGGRESSION and ACTS of PROVOCATION should meet with courageous and resolute RESISTANCE from the UNITED working class and the WHOLE of PROGRESSIVE mankind."

(Excerpt from: Georgi Dimitroff, "The Lessons of Almeira", July 1937, in: Georgi Dimitroff, The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.221-22. pp.240-241).

-VIII-

"Two years ago, in August 1935, the Seventh Congress of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, in analyzing the international situation, and seeking ways and means whereby the working class could carry on the struggle against the offensive of FASCISM, pointed to the indissoluble connection between the struggle against FASCISM and the struggle for PEACE. Fascism is WAR, declared the CONGRESS. Coming to POWER against the will and interests of its own countrymen, FASCISM seeks a WAY out of its growing DOMESTIC difficulties in AGGRESSION against OTHER countries and peoples, in a new RE-DIVISION of the GLOBE by unleashing WORLD WAR. As far as FASCISM is concerned, PEACE is certain RUIN. The PRESERVATION of international PEACE renders it possible for the ENSLAVED masses in the FASCIST countries to GATHER their forces TOGETHER and to PREPARE for the OVERTHROW of the HATED fascist DICTATORSHIP, and to ENABLE the international proletariat to win TIME for the establishment of UNITY in its RANKS, to rally TOGETHER the SUPPORTERS of PEACE, and to establish an insurmountable BARRIER in the way of the OUTBREAK of WAR. When the SEVENTH CONGRESS characterized FASCISM as the FIREBRAND of WAR and the NEED for establishing a powerful UNITED fighting FRONT against FASCISM, there were very FEW people even in the LABOR MOVEMENT who did not hesitate to ACCUSE us COMMUNISTS of deliberately and for purely propagandist purposes ascribing this role to FASCISM, and of EXAGGERATING the War DANGER. Some people did this CONSCIOUSLY, in the interests of the RULING CLASSES, while OTHERS did so out of their political SHORT-SIGHTEDNESS. The past TWO YEARS, however, have provided a sufficiently clear DEMONSTRATION of the complete ABSURDITY of such ACCUSATIONS. Now both the FRIENDS and FOES of PEACE are openly speaking of the MENACE of a new WORLD WAR which has

come upon us. And it would also be difficult to find serious-minded people who at all doubt that it is precisely the FASCIST governments that are FOREMOST in the DESIRE for WAR. In actual fact, WAR is ALREADY going on in VARIOUS countries. For one year already, both the ITALIAN and the GERMAN interventionists have been CARRYING on a WAR against the SPANISH people before the eyes of the whole world. After having accomplished the SEIZURE of MANCHURIA, the JAPANESE fascist MILITARISTS are now again ATTACKING the CHINESE people and are carrying on a NEW WAR in North CHINA. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain, North China - these are not ISOLATED acts."

(Excerpt from: **Georgi Dimitroff**, "Fascism Is War", August 1937, in: **Georgi Dimitroff**, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.262-263).

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"Without officially declaring War, JAPAN opened MILITARY operations against CHINA and seized MANCHURIA, ITALY attacked the ETHIOPIAN people and SEIZED Ethiopia, and GERMANY and ITALY are WAGING a War against the SPANISH Republic. It is well known that the PEOPLE have no desire for WAR, and that a number of NON-FASCIST States are, in the present, interested in MAINTAINING Peace. On what, then, do the Fascist WAR-MAKERS base their CALCULATIONS? The entire experience following the ROBBER

DRIVE by the JAPANESE imperialists into MANCHURIA and by ITALIAN fascism into ETHIOPIA shows, unquestionably that the BANDIT BLOC of the RULERS of GERMANY, JAPAN, and ITALY, in order to carry out their MILITARY PLANS in practice, are STRIVING first of all to hinder UNITED ACTION by the States interested in the MAINTENANCE of PEACE; secondly, to prevent UNITY of ACTION by the international LABOR MOVEMENT, the establishment of a mighty UNITED world FRONT against FASCISM and WAR; thirdly, to carry on UNDERMINING, DIVERSIONIST, and ESPIONAGE WORK in the SOVIET UNION, which is the most important BUTTRESS of PEACE. It is [chiefly on these] that the fascists BASE their CALCULATIONS. ... The FASCIST States LEFT the League of Nations to get a FREE HAND for their AGGRESSION. They TERRORIZE the WEAK States by THREATENING attacks from OUTSIDE, and by organizing CONSPIRACIES and REBELLIONS within THESE States. The Fascist WAR-MONGERS make USE of TRAITORS, and particularly of the TROTSKYITES, to carry on DISRUPTIVE, DISORGANIZING work in the RANKS of the LABOR MOVEMENT, to DISRUPT the PEOPLE'S FRONT in SPAIN and FRANCE. The recent PUTSCH in BARCELONA gave a particularly clear DEMONSTRATION of HOW the FASCISTS make USE of TROTSKYITE organizations to STAB the PEOPLE'S FRONT in the back. The FASCISTS also make splendid USE of the work of the OPPONENTS of international PROLETARIAN UNITY in the RANKS of the SECOND INTERNATIONAL and the INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, and assiduously RECRUIT their AGENTS everywhere. ... The EXPOSURE ... of fascist AGENTS, terrorist WRECKERS, and SPIES in the land of SOCIALISM strengthen its ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, and MILITARY might, BREAK UP the SINISTER plans of the fascist SCOUNDRELS, and thereby HELP to STRENGTHEN peace."

(Except from: **Georgi Dimitroff**, "Fascism Is War", August 1937, in: **Georgi Dimitroff**, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp. 264-265).

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"... While the Fascist AGGRESSORS meet with necessary REBUFFS from the SOVIET UNION, which is acting in the INTERESTS not ONLY of the SOVIET PEOPLE but ALSO of the WHOLE of toiling MANKIND, this CANNOT be said of the COUNTRIES of BOURGEOIS democracy. Here, as is being demonstrated with particular CLEARNESS by the examples of SPAIN and CHINA, we meet with the overt and concealed assistance being given to the fascist bloc by the ruling circles of the the most important western non-fascist States. Was it not support for the FASCISTS when the seizure of MANCHURIA by the JAPANESE militarists was met with TOLERATION? Was not the LACK of RESOLUTE RESISTANCE to the BLOODY campaign of Mussolini against the PEOPLE of ETHIOPIA encouragement to the fascist AGGRESSOR? Take the entire FARCE of NON-INTERVENTION in SPANISH affairs which has already been carried on for a year under the LEADERSHIP of the BRITISH government, and the negotiations going on regarding the RECOGNITION of FRANCO as a 'belligerent' - are they not in fact ENCOURAGEMENT to the WAR being WAGED by the FASCIST States AGAINST the SPANISH republic? Is it not present COMPLACENT attitude towards the brazen MARAUDERS in NORTH

CHINA the most scandalous **ENCOURAGEMENT** to unbridled **JAPANESE** militarists, who wish to **ENSLAVE** the great **CHINESE** people? How can the **PEOPLE** of **Great Britain, France**, and the United States and the **PEOPLE** of the **OTHER NON-FASCIST** countries **LOOK ON CALMLY** at these things? How can they **PUT UP** with this systematic **TOLERATION** and **ENCOURAGEMENT** of fascist **AGGRESSION**, which **FACILITATES** the **FOUL** work of the **FASCIST** firebrands of a new **WORLD WAR**? In the face of these things, it becomes still **CLEARER** how **GREAT** the historic **RESPONSIBILITY** which lies on those **CIRCLES** and **LEADERS** of the **LABOR** and **SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL** and the **INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS** which are stubbornly **RESISTING** the establishment of **UNITED ACTION** by the international **PROLETARIAT**, of **ACTION** by its organization on the basis of a **UNITED, AGREED-UPON** policy **AGAINST** the fascist **WAR-MAKERS** of the establishment of a **MIGHTY** international **FRONT** of **PEACE**. **When the JAPANESE militarists seized MANCHURIA, there were PEOPLE claiming to be LEADING LIGHTS of the LABOR MOVEMENT who ASSURED the WORKERS in their organization that MANCHURIA was a LONG WAY OFF and the JAPANESE invasion did NOT TOUCH on the INTERESTS of the International LABOR Movement. When Mussolini's FASCIST hordes CRUSHED the ETHIOPIAN people, these INDIVIDUALS asserted that the EVENTS in ETHIOPIA were a LOCAL colonial CONFLICT, and that the international PROLETARIAT ought NOT to INTERFERE. When later on the FASCIST aggressors brazenly ATTACKED the SPANISH Republic and began a WAR within EUROPE itself, it was only AFTER many MONTHS of tormenting VACILLATIONS that the LEADERS of the SECOND INTERNATIONAL agreed to a JOINT conference with the DELEGATION of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL at ANNEMASSE, and yet NOT for the purpose of ACTUALLY bringing**

about UNITED ACTION between the international WORKERS' organizations, but only to RECOGNIZE the ADVISABILITY of JOINT ACTION 'Where it is Possible'. Since then the FASCIST intervention in SPAIN has been considerably INTENSIFIED. And now there has been ADDED the NEW AGGRESSION of the JAPANESE militarists in Northern CHINA, which, according to JAPANESE plans, is to become a second MANCHUKUO and the basis for FURTHER seizure of CHINA. Is it not CLEAR that at THIS moment, when the SPANISH people are EXERTING all their efforts to BEAT OFF the ONSLAUGHT of the FASCIST interventionists, when the CHINESE people are RISING UP against the JAPANESE militarists who have ATTACKED them, the international WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS should at least UNITE their EFFORTS and come to the DEFENSE of international PEACE, resolutely and fully PREPARED for ACTION?"

*(Excerpt from: Georgi Dimitroff, "Fascism Is War", August 1937, in: Georgi Dimitroff, **The United Front: The Struggle Against Fascism and War**, San Francisco, Proletarian Publishers, 1975, at pp.266-267)*

SOVIET COMMUNISTS

AND INTERNATIONALISTS

CONDEMNED

ITALIAN FASCIST AGGRESSION

AND DEFENDED

ETHIOPIA'S

NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE:

THE PRINCIPLED STAND TAKEN

ON THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN

WAR OF 1935-1941 BY THE

COMMUNIST PARTY OF

SOVIET UNION

HEADED BY

JOSEPH STALIN

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-I-

Soviet Foreign Minister MAXIM LITVINOV'S

Speech of September 5, 1935;

Speech made on behalf of the SOVIET UNION

at the 88th Session of the Council of the

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"It is with deep regret that we have listened to the communication of the representatives of the United Kingdom and France on the failure of their attempt to settle completely the conflict between Italy and ETHIOPIA which would have allowed us to DISMISS the QUESTION from the

AGENDA and saved each of us the unpleasant duty of passing our individual judgment. This duty is the more unpleasant for me, as one of the parties to the CONFLICT is a State with which the Soviet Union has been maintaining friendly relations for more than ten years; with which it sincerely desires to continue these relations; to which it would least of all wish to cause any harm; collaboration with which, both in the League of Nations and outside it, for the maintenance of peace in Europe we highly appreciate; and finally, a nation which enjoys in my country the deepest respect and sympathy.

Like the great majority of my colleagues, I have to make on this occasion a statement on a QUESTION [the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict] which does not DIRECTLY affect the interest of our countries, but which may have the greatest CONSEQUENCES for the WHOLE of international life, for the FATE of the League of Nations, for the CAUSE of general PEACE, and consequently, sooner or later, for our OWN countries. That is why I am bound to declare with regret my INABILITY to AGREE with the ATTITUDE which the representative of ITALY wishes to adopt. It is true that HE made NO proposals, but the PURPORT of HIS statement amounts to an INVITATION to the Council [of the League] to DECLARE its DIS-INTERESTEDNESS in the CONFLICT, its INDIFFERENCE, and to PASS IT BY, sanctioning the FREEDOM OF ACTION which HE requires for HIS government; but in this way, while basing this proposal on the NON-OBSERVANCE and the VIOLATION of its international OBLIGATIONS, to DISREGARD the COVENANT of the League of NATIONS on which, in no little degree, DEPENDS the whole EDIFICE of International PEACE and the SECURITY of NATIONS ...

We are faced by the direct THREAT of impending MILITARY operations between TWO members of the League, by a THREAT of AGGRESSION, which is not only DENIED but, on the contrary, CONFIRMED by the representative of ITALY himself. Can we IGNORE this THREAT and

FORGET the existence of Articles 10, 11 and 15 of the COVENANT of the League? Would [not] that be a flagrant VIOLATION of the COVENANT, would not its VIOLATION by the WHOLE Council mean the complete REPUDIATION and NEGATION of the Covenant?

*I may be reminded of a PRECEDENT when the Council of the League did NOT take ALL necessary measures for the PREVENTION of a CONFLICT between TWO members of the League. But this is EXACTLY a thing to be REMEMBERED now, for we all still feel in what measure that case WEAKENED the League of Nations, DIMINISHED its authority, and CONTRIBUTED to the creation of the politically UNSTABLE, MENACING situation in which the WORLD finds itself and even, may be, to the RISE of the present CONFLICT. The REPETITION of the PRECEDENT would certainly have a CUMULATIVE effect and, in its turn, would STIMULATE new CONFLICTS more DIRECTLY affecting the WHOLE of EUROPE. The THESIS of the the **INDIVISIBILITY of PEACE** [this important THESIS, incidentally, can be called the **LITVINOV doctrine on INTERNATIONAL Peace**] is, fortunately, gaining more and more RECOGNITION. It has now become clear to the WHOLE world that EACH WAR is the CREATION of a PRECEDING WAR and the GENERATOR of NEW present or FUTURE Wars.*

*I am sorry to say that I CANNOT agree with the way of arguing of the REPRESENTATIVE of ITALY. **I am certain that there is NO ONE here who feels SYMPATHY with the INTERNAL regime of ETHIOPIA [Ethiopian FEUDALISM and DOMESTIC slavery] as it is DESCRIBED in the DOCUMENTS submitted NOTHING in the Covenant of the League of Nations entitles us, however, to DISCRIMINATE between MEMBERS of the League as to their INTERNAL regime, the COLOR of their SKIN, their RACIAL distinctions or the STAGE of their CIVILIZATION, nor accordingly to DEPRIVE some of them the PRIVILEGES which they ENJOY [by] virtue of their MEMBERSHIP of the League, and, in the first***

*place, of their **INALIENABLE** right to **INTEGRITY** and **INDEPENDENCE**.... At any attempt of **AGGRESSION**, similar or other justifications [which might] be put forward. *In my mind, the League of Nations should **STAND FIRM** on the **PRINCIPLE** that there **CANNOT** be **JUSTIFICATION** for **MILITARY** operations **EXCEPT** in **SELF-DEFENSE**, in the same way as **NO** such **JUSTIFICATION** is admitted by the **Briand-Kellog Pact** forbidding War as an **INSTRUMENT** of National policy.**

*My observations are of a **GENERAL** character of **PRINCIPLE** and are directed, if I may say so, against the unknown **AGGRESSOR**. ...*

*The State I represent entered the League but a year ago, with the sole purpose and with the sole promise to collaborate in every possible way with other nations in the maintenance of **INDIVISIBLE** peace. It is this purpose and this promise only that are guiding me today when I propose to the Council not to stop short in any efforts or decisions which may avert an **ARMED** conflict between two members of the League, thus, accomplishing a task which is the *raison d'etre* of the League itself."*

*(Excerpt from: **Arthur Upham Pope, Maxim Litvinoff: A Biography**, New York: L. B. Fischer, 1943 pp.361-363)*

-II-

Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov's

Speech of September 14, 1935;

Speech delivered on behalf of the Government of the USSR

before the Assembly of the League of Nations

*"The ANXIETY which has been TORMENTING the WORLD for the last THREE YEARS is far from DECREASING, but, on the contrary, is GROWING. It is not ONLY the ETHIOPIAN QUESTION that matters or that matters much; there are OTHER OMINOUS DANGERS facing EUROPE and the WHOLE W WORLD. We owe it, fortunately, to this ANXIETY that ALL peaceful COUNTRIES, ALL sincere FRIENDS of PEACE, have convinced themselves of **the INDIVISIBILITY of PEACE** and of **the NECESSITY of COLLECTIVE SECURITY**. But COLLECTIVE SECURITY afforded by the Covenant of the League of Nations is NOT sufficient. Of this we become more and more convinced with every attempt at the application of the Covenant. Hence the necessity for individual States, or rather groups of States, to take additional measure od SECURITY based on the Covenant. Such measures have found their universally recognized expression in regional pacts of mutual assistance*

We know of another conception that is FIGHTING the idea of COLLECTIVE SECURITY and advocating BILATERAL PACTS, ... but only between States ARBITRARILY CHOSEN for this purpose. This conception can have NOTHING in COMMON with PEACEFUL intensions. Not every pact of NON-AGGRESSION is concluded by the Soviet Union with its neighbors include a special clause for suspending the pact in cases of

AGGRESSION committed by one of the parties against any THIRD STATE, we know of other pacts of NON-AGGRESSION which have no such clause. This means that a State which has secured by such a pact of NON-AGGRESSION its rear or its flank, obtains the facility of attacking with IMPUNITY third States ...

I might now finish my statement, but I feel that many in this Assembly may wonder why I have not spoken on the question which is worrying and exciting them most - the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. I preferred to dwell on general questions because this conflict does not shut out for me the whole international horizon with other dangers looming beyond it. I preferred to state general principles applicable to individual cases. You may be assured that, if all efforts for CONCILIATION fail and the Italo-Ethiopian CONFLICT comes before the Council again and before the Assembly, the Soviet delegation will pass its judgment with IMPARTIALITY and also with COURAGE, that it will NOT be SHAKEN by INTIMIDATION by way of ABUSES and ATTACKS of the PRESS or by any other method

As you know, the SOVIET Government is, in principle, OPPOSED to the SYSTEM of COLONIES, to the policy of SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, and of MANDATES, to anything pertaining to IMPERIALIST aims. For the SOVIET delegation, there is ONLY one question of DEFENDING the Covenant of the League as an INSTRUMENT of PEACE. This instrument has already been somewhat DAMAGED by previous attempts, and we CANNOT allow a NEW ATTEMPT which would put it completely OUT OF WORK. We may need it more than once and probably on still more serious occasions"

(Excerpt from: Arthur Upham Pope, cited above, at pp.363-364)

-III-**Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov's****Speech of October 19, 1935;****Speech delivered on behalf of the Soviet Government
before the Sanction Co-ordination Committee of the
League of Nations.**

*"Mild as the present **SANCTIONS** are, they have **NOT** been accepted with the **unanimity** for which the [**Sanction**] **COMMITTEE** had been entitled to **hope**; this is a matter of **regret** My own country, as I have stated on many occasions, has no quarrel with **Italy** and **NO special interest** in the present case. By agreeing to **ECONOMIC SANCTIONS** the **SOVIET UNION** is **EXPOSING** itself to **LOSSES**, **Italy** having been one of her best **CUSTOMERS** It is **PREPARED**, nevertheless, to **SUBMIT** to these **LOSSES** It does so for reasons of **SOLIDARITY** and because of its desire to maintain **PEACE** and to **FULFILL** all the **OBLIGATIONS** it has **ACCEPTED** under the **COVENANT**. But these **OBLIGATIONS** hold good ... only so long as they are **MAINTAINED** and **FULFILLED** by other members of the **LEAGUE**. **PEACE** can **NOT** be based on [**OPTIONAL**] contributions: it must be based on specific **OBLIGATIONS** undertaken by **ALL** nations. That is the true **SPIRIT** of the League."*

(Excerpt from: *Arthur Upham Pope's Biography of Maxim Litvinov* cited above, at pp.365-366)

Commentary

"[In his major Speech on the Italo-Ethiopian War reproduced below] **Litvinoff** pronounced a FUNERAL ORATION on the MURDERED COUNTRY [**ETHIOPIA**], in which he set FORTH the PRINCIPLES which had guided [the POLICY of the USSR] throughout the whole MELANCHOLY incident, gave a very specific and frank DIAGNOSIS of the WEAKNESS of the League, DERIDED quack REMEDIES - or those ...[approaches] which tried to solve difficulties by RUNNING AWAY from them - and ended with an APPEAL to STAND COURAGEOUSLY by the League's BASIC PRINCIPLES and thus make the League REALLY WORK."

(Summation by **Litvinov's** biographer, **Arthur Upham Pope** cited above, at p.369)

-IV-

Soviet Foreign Minister Maxim Litvinov's

Last Major Speech of June 1936 on the

ETHIOPIAN QUESTION

Before the League of Nations

"We are gathered here to close a page in the history of the League of Nations, the history of International life, which it will be impossible to read without a feeling of bitterness, we must terminate an action commenced in the performance of our duties as members of the League for the purpose of guaranteeing the independence of one of our co-members, but not carried through to the end. Each one of us must feel his degree of responsibility and guilt, which is not that same for all and depends not only on what each of us has actually done, but also on the degree of his readiness to support any common action that that circumstances required.

While expressing this opinion I must State that the Government I represent did from the outset of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict adopt a perfectly clear and firm standpoint, issuing by no means from its own interests or its mutual relations with the belligerents, but exclusively from its understanding of the Principle of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY, the LEAGUE COVENANT, and the duties made incumbent upon it by this Covenant.

The peoples of the SOVIET UNION have nothing but high esteem and regard for the Italian PEOPLE. They are interested in an uninterrupted development and reinforcement of the existing political, economic, and

cultural relations with Italy. Nevertheless, the Soviet Government expressed its readiness to take part in common international action against Italy, in defense of a country [ETHIOPIA] with which it did NOT even have any relations - either formal or actual. ... international solidarity, the principle of collective security, upon which peace at present reposes, loyalty to international obligations, must [strengthen] our hearts to the voice of friendship. Since then, at all stages of the discussion of the Italo-Abyssinian conflict, my government has declared that it will take part in all actions provided for by the COVENANT, accepted and jointly undertaken by the REST of the League members. All the decisions of the Co-ordination Committee have been [implemented] by my government without exception and with the utmost fidelity.

However, sooner than might have been expected, the moment arrived when it became perfectly clear that the measures adopted at Geneva had to be REVISED from the point of view of their further expedience - namely, when the RESISTANCE of the gallant Abyssinian troops was BROKEN [Litvinov is referring, here, to the initial SETBACK suffered by the CONVENTIONAL Ethiopian ARMY], when the EMPEROR and the GOVERNMENT of Abyssinia LEFT the country [i.e. immediately before the actual entry of the Fascist Occupation Army in Addis Abeba on the 5th of May 1936], and a CONSIDERABLE PORTION of the territory was OCCUPIED by the Italian Army. It transpired beyond doubt that by ECONOMIC SANCTIONS alone there was was NO possibility of OUSTING the Italian ARMY from ABYSSINIA and RESTORING the latter's INDEPENDENCE, and that this AIM could be ACHIEVED only by MORE DRASTIC sanctions, MILITARY included. The question of such SUCH [additional] MEASURES could have been raised only in case one or several States could be found which, by virtue of their geographical position and special interests, would agree to bear the brunt of a military clash. No such States were to be found among us, and there

there been any, the REST of the States, before venturing to take any part in these SERIOUS MEASURES, would have demanded GUARANTEES that when other cases of SUPPRESSING an AGGRESSOR came up they could RELY on similar COMMON ACTION being taken. These GUARANTEES were the more necessary since certain moves and actions of a certain European State, whose AGGRESSIVE intensions are quite beyond doubt and are even announced by the State itself, indicated that AGGRESSION was being prepared at an accelerating rate in more than one direction. The attitude which certain States adopted to these actions and their gracious treatment of the authors shook the belief that the GUARANTEES I have mentioned would be immediately forthcoming. In these circumstances, even during the MAY [1936] Session of the League Council, I came to the conclusion that it was USELESS to apply economic sanctions against Italy any longer and that it was IMPOSSIBLE to give Abyssinia any PRACTICAL help by THIS METHOD. Apparently, practically all the League members have come to this conclusion.

I say that every member of the League must now realize [its] individual RESPONSIBILITY for the FAILURE of the COMMON ACTION in DEFENSE of the INDEPENDENCE of a co-member of the LEAGUE, because there have been noticeable attempts in and outside the League to ATTRIBUTE this FAILURE to the League COVENANT, its IMPERFECTIONS, and the present MEMBERSHIP of the League. Hence far-reaching CONCLUSIONS are being made which may have the result that the League itself will be BURIED together with the INDEPENDENCE of Abyssinia. Such attempts and conclusions must be vigorously REBUTTED. [Here, Litvinov is ALLUDING to the necessity of STRENGTHENING the League in light of the "brewing" AGGRESSION threatened by NAZI GERMANY, and that, despite the League's FAILURE with respect to ETHIOPIA]

We have to face the fact that the League of nations has not been able to

secure territorial INTEGRITY and political INDEPENDENCE for one of its co-members [ETHIOPIA] in accordance with Article X of the Covenant, and is now only in a position to express its PLATONIC sympathy. We cannot PASS BY this OUTRAGEOUS fact QUIETLY and INDIFFERENTLY. We must analyze it and draw the necessary LESSONS from it in order to PREVENT such cases in the FUTURE. Some, however, propose a too simple remedy, saying: Do away with Article X [of the COVENANT of the League] completely. RELEASE yourselves from the OBLIGATION to GUARANTEE members of the League territorial INTEGRITY and INDEPENDENCE, and then it will be IMPOSSIBLE ever to ACCUSE the League of Nations of BANKRUPTCY. They also consider it a MISTAKE that the League tries to stop AGGRESSION and PROTECT its MEMBERS at all. Such an argument can be put forward only by people who are against COLLECTIVE SECURITY on principle, who DECRY the MAIN FUNCTION of the League COVENANT as an INSTRUMENT of PEACE, could ATTACK the COVENANT only in case they could prove that either the COVENANT doe NOT provide sufficiently EFFECTIVE measures for the SUPPORT of Article X or that all such measures in the present SPECIFIC case has been used to the FULL and have nevertheless failed to achieve their AIM. But they cannot PROVE it.

I maintain that Article XVI has provided the League of Nations with such a powerful weapon that any AGGRESSION could be broken if it were brought into FULL PLAY. Furthermore, the very belief that it may be brought into PLAY may DISCOURAGE the AGGRESSOR from putting his CRIMINAL LANS into EFFECT. Least of all does the SAD experience of the Italo-Abyssinian War contradict this statement. In the present case, either because this was the first experiment in applying collective measures, or because some people thought that this case had specific features, or because it coincided with the preparation for a more serious aggression elsewhere, to which EUROPE had to pay special

attention, or because of other reasons, the fact remains that not only was the formidable machinery of Article XVI *not* brought into play, but the tendency to keep to **MINIMUM MEASURES** was *displayed* from the outset. And even in this **LIMITED** scope, the **SANCTIONS** were **NOT** applied by **ALL** members of the League.

FOUR members of the League **REFUSED**, from the outset, to **APPLY** any **SANCTIONS** whatever. **ONE** member of the League, contiguous with Italy, **REFUSED** to **APPLY** the **MOST SERIOUS** **SANCTIONS**, I mean the **EMBARGO** on **IMPORTS** from Italy. And of those countries which made **NO OBJECTIONS** to **SANCTIONS** on principle, **SOME** actually did **NOT** apply **ALL** the **SANCTIONS**, but **PLEADED** [the **EXCUSE** of domestic] **CONSTITUTIONAL** obstacles, the need to **STUDY** the **PROBLEM**, etc [i.e. to **EVAD**E their obligation]. Thus, even the **EMBARGO ON ARMS** was **NOT** applied by **SEVEN** members of the League, the **FINANCIAL MEASURES** were **NOT** applied by **EIGHT** countries, the **EMBARGO** on **EXPORTS** to Italy by **TEN** countries, the **EMBARGO** on **IMPORTS** from Italy by **THIRTEEN** countries - in other words, **25 per cent** of the **TOTAL** membership of the League. It may be said that, with **FEW** exceptions, the Countries of Latin America did **NOT** really **APPLY** the more **EFFECTIVE** sanctions. I say this by no means in reproach of anybody, but the sole purpose of clinching my argument. Further, the **PROPOSAL** that certain non-members of the League should be deprived of, or **LIMITED** in, the **OPPORTUNITY** to **COUNTER-ACT** **SANCTIONS** - a practical proposal - was **NOT** approved by the [Sanction] Coordinating Committee.

With all these **LIMITATIONS**, the **SANCTIONS** could have taken **EFFECT** only in case their application had been more **PROLONGED** and [if] they had been **COMBINED** with the **MILITARY RESISTANCE** of **ABYSSINIA** herself. The latter, however, was **BROKEN** much **SOONER** than our best-informed advisors expected. [Here, again,

Litvinov was referring to the initial SETBACK suffered by the CONVENTIONAL Ethiopian ARMY, particularly in the NORTHERN Front. It is important to note that *Maxim Litvinov* SOUNDED like a genuinely DISAPPOINTED well-wisher who had HOPED for a BETTER performance from the CONVENTIONAL Ethiopian ARMY, and his genuine SYMPATHY for, and IDENTIFICATION with, the Ethiopian UNDERDOG is un-mistakable]. In these circumstances, we might say that, for one reason or another, the MEMBERS of the League did NOT wish to bring Article XVI into FULL PLAY, which by no means signifies that Article XVI itself has proved BANKRUPT.

Some are inclined to explain the FAILURE of the action of the League as due to its inadequate UNIVERSALITY, to the ABSENCE of CERTAIN countries from it. We see, however, that NOT all MEMBERS of the League took part in the SANCTIONS. There are NO grounds to EXPECT that those States which LEFT the League because they are AGAINST the PRINCIPLES of the League and the [inclusion] of Articles X and XVI in the COVENANT would have JOINED IN the SANCTIONS. Their PRESENCE in the League would have LED only to GREATER CONFUSION in our ranks and would have had a DEMORALIZING effect rather than ANYTHING else. On the other hand, we have seen in the example of the U.S.A. that, in the application of of Article XVI, the League of Nations can SOMETIMES count on the co-operation non-members of the League and may do so the more confidently the more ENERGETICALLY [the League itself] ACTS. So, we see it is NOT in the [IMPERFECTION] of the League COVENANT nor in the ABSENCE of UNIVERSALITY that we must seek for the REASONS of the INADEQUATE assistance given to ABYSSINIA.

We have heard another argument in Geneva, too. Well, people say, let us admit that the League is quite FLAWLESS, that the BLAME does rest on MEMBERS of the League, on CERTAIN persons. Doesn't this show that

*there is a DISSONANCE between the COVENANT and the frame of mind of those who are SUPPOSED to [respect] it, and for this reason alone, should not the COVENANT be ACCOMMODATED to that frame of mind, or, as some say, to 'reality'? But this argument holds no water either. The fact is that people VARY, too, and even in ONE and the SAME country, NOT all statesmen are of the SAME MIND on this score. To WHOSE frame of mind must the COVENANT be ACCOMMODATED? Those who hold the standpoint of CONSISTENT defense of COLLECTIVE SECURITY; who see the BEST interests of ALL peoples in the PRESERVATION of WORLD PEACE; who consider that, in the last analysis, the interests of EACH State require it, and that it can be PRESERVED **only** if temporary INDIVIDUAL interests be SACRIFICED to the [paramount interest of the] COMMUNITY of nations, and who are ready even to put PART of their own ARMED FORCES at the DISPOSAL of this COMMUNITY? **Or** those who, [in words], SWEAR by the PRINCIPLE of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, but in PRACTICE are READY to CARRY IT OUT **only** when it COINCIDES with the INTERESTS of their OWN country? Or those who deny COLLECTIVE SECURITY on principle, who substitute for international SOLIDARITY the slogan, 'Every man for himself,' preach the LOCALIZATION of WAR and declare that WAR itself is the highest manifestation of the human spirit? I am afraid that those who argue about the need for the adaptation, or, as I should put it, the degradation of the COVENANT, have in mind this category of people, for they support this argument of theirs by pointing out that the members who have left the League might come back if this were done. We are told to get back into the League at all costs THOSE STATES which LEFT it just because they regarded the COVENANT, Article X and XVI, and SANCTIONS, as OBSTACLES to their AGGRESSIVE plans. And so we hear it said: 'Let us throw Article X out of the COVENANT, let us throw out Article XVI, lest us renounce SANCTIONS, let us reject COLLECTIVE SECURITY,*

and then the EX-MEMBERS of the League might RETURN to our FELLOWSHIP and the League will become UNIVERSAL.' In other words, let us make the League SAFE for AGGRESSORS. I say we do NOT want a League that is SAFE for AGGRESSORS. We do NOT want THAT KIND of League, even if is UNIVERSAL, because it would become the very OPPOSITE of an INSTRUMENT of PEACE. At best, if we relieved the League from the functions of COLLECTIVE DEFENSE, we would make it a DEBATING society, a PHILANTHROPIC institution; nor WORTH calling a League of Nations; nor WORTH its UPKEEP, and at ODDS with the ASPIRATIONS and HOPES which are pinned on it.

On my part, I would propose that the COVENANT be adapted NOT to the frame of mind of ONE or ANOTHER category of people, ONE or ANOTHER group of Statement, ONE or ANOTHER group of TEMPORARY rulers, but to the frame of mind of MILLIONS, the MASSES of ALL countries and continents, those who are rightly called 'mankind' and demand that PEACE be PRESERVED at all costs and defended with all means.

We must EDUCATE and RAISE people up to its LOFTY IDEALS, not DEGRADE the League. We must seek to make the League UNIVERSAL, but we must NOT by any means make it SAFE for the AGGRESSOR to this end. On the contrary, all NEW members and all EX-MEMBERS wishing to RETURN must READ on its PORTALS: 'Abandon all hope of AGGRESSION and its IMPUNITY, all ye who ENTER here.'

Let be frank. The League is now experiencing by no means its REVERSE. There have been CASES of MILITARY ATTACKS no less but more FLAGRANT made by CERTAIN members of the League against OTHERS where the League did NOT react in the the SLIGHTEST and LEFT the VICTIM of AGGRESSION to face the AGGRESSOR alone in an UN-EQUAL battle. However, the question of

the UN-FITNESS of the COVENANT or its REVISION was NOT raised then. If there were NO grounds for it then, there are even LESS now. As for myself, I would rather have a League of Nations that TRIES to RENDER at least SOME assistance (even if it proves INEFFECTIVE) to a VICTIM of AGGRESSION, than a League of Nations that CLOSES its eyes to AGGRESSION and LETS it pass UNPERTURBED.

I consider that when, instead of doing NOTHING but BANDYING the DISCUSSION of the CONFLICT from COMMITTEE to SUB-COMMITTEE and SENDING committees of investigation as in other cases, the overwhelming majority of its members, undeterred by great material sacrifices, rendered assistance, though unavailing, to a co-member who had been attacked, the present League made a huge STEP FORWARD in COMPARISON with the PAST. In other words, as compared with the CASES I have mentioned, the frame of mind of the members of the League MOVED a few steps HIGHER. This permits us to HOPE that in the NEXT case, the frame of mind of the MEMBERS of the League will RISE to the HIGH water-mark, the HIGHEST IDEAL of the League, and the VICTIM will be RESCUED wholly from the CLUTCHES of the AGGRESSOR.

I am far from IDEALIZING the COVENANT. Its IMPERFECTIONS lie NOT so much in its ARTICLES as in its RESERVATIONS and OBSCURITIES. Therefore, the thing [to do] is NOT to talk of REFORMING the COVENANT, but of making it EXPLICIT and STRONGER. Where the COVENANT is DEFICIENT, I think, is in its OMISSION of a DEFINITION of AGGRESSION, which in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict made it EASY for SOME members of the League to REFUSE to take part in the SANCTIONS from the very outset. There is no CLARITY in the question as to WHICH of the BODIES of the League is to CERTIFY [whether or not an incident constitutes] AGGRESSION. There is no CLARITY in the question as to whether

League DECISIONS are BINDING in matters of SANCTIONS. An END must be put to the situation wherein pleas of SOVEREIGNTY and constitutional FORMALITIES are [invoked as] an OBSTACLE to the PERFORMANCE of international OBLIGATIONS. [It is important to note that any objective JURIST who READS this [1936] speech of Litvinov's would be STRUCK by the SENSE that, if anyone could CLAIM to be the "intellectual father" of the UN CHARTER 10 years later, it would be (indisputably) Maxim Litvinov, for the simple reason that, his detailed DIAGNOSIS of the WEAKNESS of the LEAGUE of NATIONS and his AMELIORATIVE proposals provided the basis for the very IMPROVEMENTS which were later built into the CHARTER of the UNITED NATIONS, and that the wanton VICTIM-HOOD of Ethiopia in the face of the League's IMPOTENCE in 1935, became, in the process, the CLINICAL "guinea pig" for Litvinov's far-sighted DIAGNOSIS and PROGNOSIS for transforming the "battered spirit" of the League into what became the "re-invigorated hope" behind the formation, 10 years later, of the UNITED NATIONS on the ashes of the League of Nations.]

Article XVI must remain intact. ECONOMIC sanctions must continue to be OBLIGATORY for ALL members of the League. Only if SANCTIONS are OBLIGATORY will there be an END to MISTRUST, an END to the FEARS that if SOME States not affected directly by the conflict make considerable SACRIFICES in one case, OTHER unaffected States will act LESS idealistically in ANOTHER case. Assurance is needed that in ALL cases of AGGRESSION, irrespective of the degree of concern in the conflict, SANCTIONS will be APPLIED by ALL, and this can be ACHIEVED only if SANCTIONS are made OBLIGATORY. In my opinion, this circumstance is the MAIN reason why the League has FAILED in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. We can imagine particular cases - rare, it is true - when AGGRESSION could be STOPPED by ECONOMIC SANCTIONS alone, but I think in MOST cases

ECONOMIC SANCTION must run PARALLEL with MILITARY sanctions. In an ideal League of Nations, MILITARY sanctions, too, should be OBLIGATORY for ALL. But if we are yet unable to rise to such heights of international SOLIDARITY, we should make it our concern to have ALL continents and, for a start, at least all Europe covered with a system of regional pacts, on the strength of which groups of States would undertake to protect particular sectors from AGGRESSION; and the PERFORMANCE of these REGIONAL obligations should be deemed equivalent to the PERFORMANCE of the Covenanted OBLIGATIONS and should enjoy the full support of all members of the League of Nations. These regional pacts should not supercede the League Covenant, but supplement it, otherwise they would be nothing but pre-War groups of alliances. It is along these lines that I conceive the perfecting and strengthening of the League of Nations, and the Soviet Government is prepared fully to co-operate with the other members of the League. I welcome the programme unfolded here by the French Premier, with which my comments to a large extent coincide.

If I say all this in the interests of strengthening PEACE, I cannot do otherwise than mention the measure which the Soviet Union has always considered the maximum guarantee of PEACE, I mean complete DISARMAMENT. I would like to believe that MANKIND will not have to undergo yet another ARMAGEDDON and that all peoples have come to the same conclusion. But while this radical measure is in abeyance, all we can do is to strengthen the League of Nations as an instrument of peace. To strengthen the League of Nations is to abide by the principle of COLLECTIVE SECURITY, which is by no means a product of idealism, but is a practical measure towards the security of all peoples, to abide by the principle that PEACE is INDIVISIBLE!!! We must recognize that at the present time there is not one state, large or small, that is not open to aggression, and that even if the next War spares one State or another she

must, sooner or later, attract the longing eyes of the victorious aggressor.

If these ideas be reinforced, broadened to the full and acted upon, we shall be spared new disappointments like those which are now our experience, new life will be put into the League of Nations and it will become equal to the great tasks which confront it. Now, more than ever before, the League of Nations is an international NECESSITY. It must live. It must be STRONGER than ever."

(Excerpt from: Arthur Upham Pope cited above, at pp.369-377)

COMMENTARY

"Litvinoff's position on the Italo-Ethiopian problem was absolutely unambiguous; ETHIOPIA was so FAR AWAY from RUSSIA that the Italian AGGRESSION could NOT possibly be INTERPRETED as a THREAT to any RUSSIAN interest. Clearly, his PROTESTS were based on PRINCIPLE; first, the INDIVISIBILITY of PEACE; second, the UNJUSTIFIABILITY of IMPERIALISTIC War."

(Commentary by Litvinov's Biographer, Arthur Upham pope , on the essence of Litvinov's Speeches at the League of Nations; see p.364)

*"The League of Nations had [finally] DECREED sanctions, but TOO LITTLE and TOO LATE. From the beginning, it had acted against AGGRESSION, [but] only HALF-HEARTEDLY. Consequently, it had **not** PREVENTED War."*

*(Excerpt from a commentary by **Arthur Upham Pope**, at p.360)*

*[The **Molotov** Speech of January 10, 1936 which we reproduce below reflected the DISPLEASURE of the **USSR** with the WEAKNESS of the League as highlighted in the above **FORCEFUL** and **PASSIONATE** Speeches of **Maxim Litvinov**]*

-V-

**Soviet Prime Minister Viacheslav Mihailovich
Molotov's**

Speech of January 10, 1936;

Speech Delivered before the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government

*"In the **Italo-Abyssinian War**, only the **USSR** took an attitude different in principle, alien to the notion of **IMPERIALISM** and devoid of any intention of **COLONIAL** conquest. Only the **SOVIET UNION** declared **OPENLY** that it took for its **STARTING** point the **PRINCIPLE** of [the] **EQUALITY** and **INDEPENDENCE** of **ABYSSINIA** which, a propos, is a **MEMBER** of the **League**, [just like the] individual **CAPITALIST** country [Italy] intending to **DESTROY** this **INDEPENDENCE** and **EQUALITY**."*

*(Excerpt quoted in: **Arthur Upham Pope** cited above, at p.365)*

MORE FROM

MOLOTOV'S

SPEECH OF JANUARY 10, 1936

*"The League may and should be criticized for **NOT** always taking **SUFFICIENT** measures, for instance, in connection with the **ITALO-***

ABYSSINIAN War. ... It must also be admitted that the League did NOTHING to PREVENT this War. However, the fact cannot be overlooked that, in this instance, the League was [trying to HINDER] not those who were for PEACE, but those who wanted to HELP the AGGRESSOR [i.e. the APPEASERS of FASCISM]. It is from this STANDPOINT that the PARTICIPATION of the USSR in the LEAGUE must be EVALUATED, this being particularly so in regard to the ECONOMIC SANCTIONS against Italy, which was recognized by [the League] as the AGGRESSOR."

(Excerpt reproduced in: **Arthur Upham Pope** cited above, at p.366)

-VI-

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ENACTED

**FOUR DOMESTIC DECREES (TWO ON
SEPTEMBER 14,**

**1935, AND ANOTHER TWO ON NOVEMBER 14,
1935)**

IMPOSING ECONOMIC SANCTIONS ON ITALY IN

A

NUMBER OF SPECIFIED AREAS

"Four Decrees by the Council of People's Commissars, two issued on September 14,[1935] and two on November 14 [1935], prohibited the EXPORT of War materials to Italy, provided for the application of financial sanctions against Italy, limited the importation of goods from Italy (gold, printed matter, musical publications), and extended the embargo on exports to certain additional articles which could be used for War."

(Excerpt from: **Arthur Upham Pope** cited above, at p.365)

COMMENTARY

RELATIVE TO LEAGUE SANCTIONS

*"The Council of the League of Nations had resolved unanimously on October 7, 1935 - Italy did not take part in this vote - that Italy was the **AGGRESSOR**. Two days later the Assembly concurred with with the*

Council, *Austria, Hungary, and Albania* dissenting. On November 18 (1935), *five weeks AFTER Soviet Russia* and inaugurated its own sanctions against Italy, the League of Nations also formally voted that it would apply sanctions. On December 12 [1935], **FIFTY-THREE** nations had decided that they would NOT extend LOANS to Italy; **FIFTY** had declared that they would send her NO goods; only **FOUR** States - *Austria, Hungary, Albania and Paraguay* - decided that they would NOT take part in any sanctions; *Switzerland, Uruguay, Iran, and Peru* made RESERVATIONS and SUGGESTIONS."

(Excerpt from: *Arthur Upham Pope* cited above, at p.365)

KEY LESSON

We can, of course, draw SEVERAL lessons from the forceful and principled DIPLOMATIC advocacy carried out by *Maxim Litvinov* at the League of Nations as an articulate VOICE of the then SOVIET Government led by the **COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION**. In this issue, however, we will HIGHLIGHT only ONE lesson and leave the REST for another appropriate occasion. *That one key LESSON is the IMPORTANCE of INTERNATIONALISM, and its COROLLARY, the vital role of international SOLIDARITY between PEOPLES.* Reading through *Maxim Litvinov's* remarkable speeches of

1935 and 1936 (and they are indeed REMARKABLE, especially when they are CONTRASTED against the "discourse" of the SONOROUS and POMPOUS bourgeois "professional diplomats" of the day) what strikes particularly the current generation of ETHIOPIANS is that, Maxim Litvinov (and the Government behind him) DID, for the DEFENSE of Ethiopia's TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY and NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, way MORE than WHAT any Ethiopian FOREIGN Minister of the DAY or SPOKESMAN was able to DO in the international DIPLOMATIC arena; that Maxim Litvinov was, in effect, (by default of the Ethiopian side as it were) "doubling" as an "ETHIOPIAN" foreign MINISTER, in addition to, and on top of, his OFFICIAL duty as the diplomatic REPRESENTATIVE of the SOVIET government of the day. From the candid, forceful, and passionate SPEECHES Litvinov has LEFT us Ethiopians, there emerges a key REMINDER that Ethiopia's TRAGEDY between 1934 (i.e. the WOL WOL incident of December 1934, namely, the "dress rehearsal" to Italian Fascist full-fledged INVASION of Ethiopia in October 1935) and May 1941 (the DEFEAT and EXPULSION of the FASCIST occupiers from Ethiopian soil) was IMPUTABLE (in part) to the fact that the Ethiopian FEUDAL government of the day, not only proved to be INCAPABLE of PROVIDING the KIND of LEADERSHIP demanded by the serious and grave TASK at hand, but that its FEUDAL character also HINDERED and OBSTRUCTED (and that is the GIST of ONE of the many LESSONS we learn from Litvinov's remarkable SPEECHES of the day) the POSSIBILITY of HARNESSING "to the full" the OPPORTUNITIES of FULL SCALE and ALL-ROUND support (technical and material MILITARY support as well as extensive POLITICAL and DIPLOMATIC support) available to the valiant ETHIOPIAN people THANKS to the positive and vast (global) GOODWILL of INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY ready to HELP. In that regard, it is abundantly clear that the TRAGEDY of ETHIOPIA

stemmed (in part) from the fact that the FEUDAL government of the day was "allergic" (as it were) to CLOSER "association with" the TWO most RELIABLE international FORCES which were READY to HELP, namely, the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT on the one hand (and Litvinov's SPEECHES manifest that all too clearly) and the PRO-ETHIOPIAN sentiment of BLACK people (on the other) throughout the ENTIRE world, namely, in the English-speaking as well as the French and SPANISH-speaking CARIBBEAN (Marcus GARVEY and George Padmore were only the "iceberg" of a BROAD, GRASS-ROOT "pool" of pro-Ethiopian sympathy), in NORTH AMERICA (in the United States in particular), in SOUTH AMERICA (among the BLACK population of BRAZIL, COLOMBIA, GUYANA, VENEZUELA, etc), and CLOSER to HOME, in the broad CONTINENT of COLONIZED (and yet "internally-fermenting") AFRICA as well as among BLACK people in the COSMOPOLITAN "Diaspora" (of whom, incidentally, the then young KWAME NKRUMAH was an illustrative example). The Ethiopian FEUDAL government of the day in GENERAL and INCOMPETENT nincompoop HAILE SELASSIE in particular were "too disdainful" and "too suspicious" to ASSOCIATE "closely" with the INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT which was then READY to HELP the Ethiopian UNDERDOG, just as Haile Selassie was (as we will SHOW fully in ANOTHER issue of our publication) "too haughty", "too arrogant", and "too dismissive" to work "closely" with the MOST influential PROPAGANDISTS, AGITATORS, and ORGANIZERS of the BLACK people of MANY continents (including and particularly the highly CHARISMATIC and RESOURCEFUL agitator of the day, Marcus Garvey, the "Dr. Martin Luther King" of the 1920s and 1930s). That the Ethiopian PEOPLE were DEPRIVED of those two-pronged and key SOURCES of external SUPPORT was DUE largely to the FEUDAL character of the Ethiopian GOVERNMENT of the day in general and the INCOMPETENT and "prejudice-laden"

"PERSONALITY" of Haile Selassie in particular. The sole **EXCEPTION** to all that **VOID** was, of course, the least **APPRECIATED** and yet far sighted **SOLIDARITY mobilization WORK** carried **ABROAD** (in the **United States** in particular) by the highly **RESOURCEFUL** Ethiopian **INTELLECTUAL** and **PATRIOT Melaku Beyane** (See the short biographical Note on **Melaku Beyane** in **Paulos Gnogno's YeEthiopiaana YeItalia Torinet**, p.68-69). But the latter was an **INDIVIDUAL** effort by a highly-motivated and resourceful Ethiopian Intellectual, and was therefore, of **LIMITED** impact. What was **MISSING** was a **CONCERTED, SYSTEMATIC, and Nationally-orchestrated foreign SOLIDARITY-MOBILIZATION effort**, and far from Providing "leadership" for such an **EFFORT**, and far from being its **FACILITATOR**, the inept and incompetent Haile Selassie proved to be an **OBSTACLE** and **SABOTEUR** of even the limited **EFFORT** tried resourcefully by patriotic individuals like **MELAKU BEYANE**. Haile Selassie (the political exile of the thirties) was such a "pathetic figure" on the **INTERNATIONAL** scene who, between 1936 and 1940, was still "knocking at the door" of **BRITISH** racist "aristocrats", **HOPING** (against **HOPE**) that a **ROTTEN** and **PARASITIC class** of **FASCIST APPEASERS** would "somehow" **HELP** "him" **LIBERATE** fascist-occupied **ETHIOPIA**, while at the same time "turning his back" at the **TWO** most **IMPORTANT** and the **TWO** most **RELIABLE** potential "pool" of **BACKERS** of the **ETHIOPIAN cause**, namely, the **INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT** on the one hand, and the **RACIALLY DOWN-TRODDEN Black PEOPLE** of **SEVERAL continents** on the other. **IMAGINE**, if you may, what **MIRACULOUS** feat could have been **ACHIEVED** if the **VALOR** of the local **GUERRILLA fighters** and **PATRIOTS** of Ethiopia was "combined" with the **TANGIBLE** and **ALL-ROUNDED** external **HELP** and "know how" of the **TWO** potent international **FORCES** mentioned, and had that "combination" been **FULLY** harnessed to **ETHIOPIA'S advantage!!!**

Just IMAGINE what "could have been" ACHIEVED !!! But alas, that which was POSSIBLE then, could NOT "be" REALIZED, thanks to inept, incompetent, and "prejudice-laden" HAILE SELASSIE. That, precisely, is ONE of the informative and KEY lessons which we NEED to DRAW from the DISAPPOINTMENTS (of a well-wisher) expressed in the remarkable PRO-ETHIOPIAN speeches of MAXIM LITVINOV and the un-mistakable sentiment of the principled Soviet COMMUNIST PARTY and Soviet GOVERNMENT which was behind Litvinov. Incidentally, and in the process, we wish to REMIND the Ethiopian right-wing IGNORAMUSES, IDIOTS and COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES that they SHOULD be ASHAMED of themselves in "buying into" and "peddling around" the FILTHY SLANDER (CONCOCTED by the ENEMIES of the WORKING CLASS and "swallowed" by WISHY-WASHY opportunists) that is being SPREAD about ETHIOPIA'S genuine FRIENDS of the 1930s, the Soviet COMMUNISTS of the day and their exemplary LEADERS, and particularly JOSEPH STALIN, and those other CO-LEADERS of the then militant and iron-willed COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE USSR (including Litvinov and Molotov) who were (deservedly) PROUD to call themselves STALIN-ISTS (i.e. PART of the STALIN TEAM)

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS

IN DEFENSE OF

ETHIOPIA

AND AGAINST THE

FASCIST CLOWN, BENITO

MUSSOLINI

"Italy's War with Abyssinia [Ethiopia] ended FORMALLY [as opposed to ACTUALLY] in May 1936 with the CAPTURE of Addis Abeba. This was a ... TRIUMPH for FASCISM, not so much MILITARILY as POLITICALLY. The FASCIST leaders presented their African ADVENTURE to the MASSES as a campaign undertaken by Italy, wrongly DEPRIVED, in order to ensure a reasonable standard of living for its PEOPLE. This PROPAGANDA device ...was no NEW one. It had been used in 1911, not without a certain degree of success, during Italy's War with TURKEY over LIBYA. At that time, the effect of this IMPERIALIST slogan on the MASSES was WEAKENED, thanks to ANTI-MILITARIST DEMONSTRATIONS by [Italian] PROLETARIAN organizations. In 1935-36, the propaganda efforts of the FASCIST leaders and their War of ANNEXATION with ABYSSINIA [Ethiopia] were SUPPORTED by the HYPOCRITICAL policies of the LEAGUE OF NATIONS and the Government of the United States. The 'sanctions' against the AGGRESSOR announced by

the Western Powers did not, in fact, IMPEDE the conduct of the War in any way whatever; strategic WAR MATERIAL continued to be SOLD to the Italian Government, and Italian TRANSPORT SHIPS carrying TROOPS AND ARMS [heading towards Ethiopia] crossed the SUEZ CANAL, as did the SHIPS of the Italian NAVY to the coast of AFRICA, freely. Moreover, the declarations of PROTEST from the GOVERNMENTS of the Western 'Great Powers' against Italy's INVASION of ETHIOPIA in NO WAY affected the FRIENDLY relations between them and the Italian FASCIST state. Surrounded by the aura of MILITARY victories and SUCCESS in FOREIGN POLICY fascist demagogic PROPAGANDA assumed vast proportions in Italy. The HARSHIP of the [Italian] PEOPLE, made more acute by the economic CRISIS of 1931-32, was used by Mussolini to DECEIVE the MASSES with PROMISES of the future PROSPERITY of a great FASCIST EMPIRE. The policy of AGGRESSION pursued by Italian FASCISM was SUPPORTED by the TOP HIERARCHY of the CATHOLIC CHURCH, the PETTY BOURGEOIS elements, and also by the REPRESENTATIVES of the LEADING pre-fascist POLITICAL CIRCLES. Only the VANGUARD of the WORKING CLASS [Italian COMMUNISTS] and a FEW [non-communist] political Groups HOSTILE to the FASCIST regime were not TAKEN IN by the NATIONALIST slogans. An APPEAL by the Italian COMMUNIST PARTY published in its central organ Lo Stato Operaio in October 1935 stated that 'one of the most TRAGIC aspects of the situation which has arisen in Italy is that the PEOPLE do NOT know the true state of Affairs and REAL course of events'. Nevertheless, in spite of the fascist PROPAGANDA and TERROR which reigned in Italy in THOSE years, 1936 HERALDED the BEGINNING of an UPSURGE in the ANTI-FASCIST Movement in Italy. 'The great wave of Renovation', to quote Palmiro Togliati, which the Seventh Congress of the COMINTERN injected into the international Working Class and COMMUNIST

MOVEMENT, stimulated the **Italian Communist Party** to take the **INITIATIVE** in **APPLYING** the **TACTICS** of the **UNITED FRONT**. **Unity of Action** between Italian emigre **Communists** and **Socialists** was **STRENGTHENED**. One **RESULT** of this [anti-fascist] **UNITED ACTION** was the **CONVENING** of a **CONGRESS of Italians** in **BRUSSELS** on **October 12 and 13, 1935**, attended by **371 delegates from EUROPE and AMERICA**, the representatives of all **ANTI-FASCIST GROUPS** regardless of political and religious persuasions. The Congress's **APPEAL** to the **WORKERS** of the **WORLD** ended with the **DEMAND: IMMEDIATE PEACE WITH ABYSSINIA !!! DOWN WITH MUSSOLINI !!!**

(Academy of Sciences of the USSR, The Institute of the International Working Class Movement, Soviet War Veterans Committee, **International Solidarity with the Spanish Republic: 1936-1939**, Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974, **"Italy"**, pp.205-206)

"In 1938, a former COMMISSAR of the GARIBALDI BATTALION [in Spain], Ilio Barontini, left Spain for ABYSSINIA [Ethiopia] where, together with TWO other GARIBALDI men, Bruno Rolla and Anton Uchmar (Oghen), HELPED to ORGANIZE the Abyssinian People's STRUGGLE for FREEDOM against the Italian FASCISTS. Returning to Europe, all **THREE** took part in the **RESISTANCE** Movement in **FRANCE** and **ITALY**. Barontini and Oghen organized **ARMED UPRISINGS** in **SOUTH** of **FRANCE**, in particular, in **MARSEILLES**. Bruno Rolla, who **REMAINED** in an Italian **PRISON** until the end of 1943, became one of the **ORGANIZERS** of **GUERRILLA WARFARE** in

the ABRUZZO HILLS. Later ALL of them and many other GARIBALDIS led the ARMED RESISTANCE against Italian FASCISM and German OCCUPATION. In 1943-45, Luigi Longo commanded Garibaldi units which numerically formed more than TWO-THIRDS of the whole 400,000 strong ARMY of Italian GUERRILLAS. Former brigaders, Giuseppe Albergani, Ilio Barontini, Rafaele Pieragostini, Anton Uchmar, Carlo Farini, Aldo Lampredi, Antonio Roasio, Francesco Leone and Alecsandro Vaia who were MEMBERS of the SEVEN regional LEADING [Guerrilla] GROUPS in the NORTH and CENTRE of Italy became recognized LEADERS of the GENERAL UPRISING, in which many other Italian VOLUNTEERS of the Spanish Republican Army took part. After the LIBERATION of Italy from FASCISM, the Garibaldis began to play an important role in the SOCIAL and POLITICAL life of their country. Their NAMES can now be found among [Communist] PARTY and TRADE UNION leaders of the Italian REPUBLIC."

(Soviet War Veterans Committee, **International Solidarity with the Spanish Republic: 1936-1939, cited above, p.223)**

AMERICAN COMMUNISTS

BACKING

ETHIOPIA

AND CONDEMNING

ITALIAN FASCIST AGGRESSION

*"The **Hitler-nazi** takeover in Germany, 1933, presaged new AGGRESSION, a threat of World War. Imperialist rivalry continued, but a qualitatively new element was added which threatened the SECURITY of all HUMANITY. Although [the] IMPERIALIST powers courted Hitler's favor, they soon were engulfed in a War which endangered the existence of every European nation - and finally the WHOLE world. In October 1935, the FASCIST brigand **Benito Mussolini**, who destroyed the Italian republic [at home], was EMBOLDENED to INVADE Ethiopia. The BOMBING of densely populated centers, a hallmark of fascist aggression, was used against the Ethiopian people. The League of Nations, never decisive, ... found itself PARALYZED by REFUSING to MEET the challenge of the AGGRESSOR. The **Soviet Union**, which had joined the LEAGUE the previous year [1934], APPEALED for COLLECTIVE ACTION against the AGGRESSOR. Its representative, **MAXIM LITVINOV**, called for COLLECTIVE SECURITY as the ONLY means to MAINTAIN PEACE. But this plea fell on the DEAF EARS of those who were devising SCHEMES to DIVERT the AGGRESSORS' attack eastward AGAINST the*

Soviet Union. The Threat of War aroused the PEACE FORCES in the United States. A National Conference was held in New York, September 29, 1933, which established the American League Against War and Fascism with Dr, Harry Ward as Chairman. The Communist Party [of the United States] was affiliated to it. The League attracted wide support among tens of thousands through out the country. It was a viable force in the national peace Movement. As Mussolini's THREAT [against Ethiopia] loomed a United Front DEMONSTRATION in HARLEM in DEFENSE of ETHIOPIA. Cyril Briggs, Black editor, [described the situation] in the Daily Worker [Organ of the Communist Party USA] [SEE PART ONE BELOW]. The Communist Parties responded to the THREAT [of Italian Fascist aggression] by MOBILIZING their forces INTERNATIONALLY. The 7th Congress of the COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (CI) heard a REPORT from George Dimitrov CALLING FOR the most INTENSIVE action in CREATING the broadest UNITED FRONT to save PEACE and DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. As war thickened, the FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF PEACE was held in Brussels, Belgium, September 3-6, 1936. Among its PARTICIPANTS were the MAJOR TRADE UNION leaders from France and the SOVIET UNION - Leon Jouhaux and N. M. Shvernick. PARLIAMENTARY figures from Britain and the Continent attended. The United States Delegation was represented by divergent views UNITED in the single PURPOSE of maintaining the PEACE. In the large [American] delegation was a young BLACK Communist Party member, Cyril Phillip, who was elected by a united Committee in his Harlem Community. The Conference took place THREE MONTHS after the the RAVAGING of ETHIOPIA, but this crucial question remained on its AGENDA. [Cyril] Phillip addressed himself principally to this question. We quote a PART of his SPEECH" [SEE PART TWO BELOW]

(EXCERPT from: "The Threat of War and Fascism", in:

Highlights of a Fighting History: 60 Years of the Communist Party USA, New York: International Publishers, 1979, pp.135-136)

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PART ONE

"HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA" IS DEMAND OF 100,000 IN HARLEM RALLY

By Cyril Briggs

Daily Worker, August 5, 1935

"The streets of the Negro [African-American] and Italian sections of HARLEM resounded to THUNDEROUS shouts of 'HANDS OFF ETHIOPIA ! DOWN WITH WAR AND FASCISM !' on Saturday afternoon as 100,000 persons took part in a giant [city-wide] United

*Front anti-War DEMONSTRATION, sponsored by the **Provisional Committee of the Defense of Ethiopia** and the **American League against War and Fascism**, with the active support of Hundreds of other organizations including many **ITALIAN** and NEGRO [African-American] Groups. Thousands of WORKERS cheered the MARCHERS from windows and roofs of houses, while tens of thousands of other WORKERS swarmed along on the SIDEWALK keeping step with 40,000 MARCHERS in the PARADE as they [passed] along in serried ranks, with BANNERS flying, BANDS playing, and SHOUTED PROTESTS against WAR and FASCISM and against **Mussolini's** projected attack on **ETHIOPIA** in particular. It was the greatest parade HARLEM has seen in many years. Its broad, United Front character, involving Negro [African-American] Churches and Organizations, Pacifist groups, **ITALIAN** and **GERMAN** anti-fascists, Communist, Socialist and [American Federation of Labor] WORKERS, independent Unions, and Workers' Clubs, gave NOTICE to the imperialist WAR MONGERS of the DETERMINATION of the American PEOPLE to DEFEND themselves against the HORRORS of another Imperialist World SLAUGHTER. The first CONTINGENT of the Parade, made up mainly of HARLEM organizations started out at 1.45 p.m. from Lenox Avenue and 126th Street, marching South. It was headed by Italian and Negro [African-American] leaders in the antifascist, anti-War struggle and the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia. Next in line was a Uniformed body of the BROTHERHOOD of Sleeping Car PORTERS, A. F. of L., with their BAND. At 129th Street and Seventh Avenue, it was joined by the SECOND CONTINGENT, which had assembled at 120th Street and Second Avenue and paraded through the ITALIAN section before turning West. The The UNITED Parade then swept up Seventh Avenue and through 143rd Street to the Square at 141st Street and Edgecombe and Bradhurst Avenues. As the head of the Parade entered the Square, it was greeted with CHEERS from several*

hundred WORKERS who had already ASSEMBLED around a huge PLATFORM erected for the OCCASION and equipped with LOUD SPEAKERS. Negro [African-American] WORKERS crowded the windows of the houses adjoining the Square and in many instances served iced water to the thirsty MARCHERS from ground floor apartments"

*(Excerpt from: "The Threat of War and Fascism",
**Highlights of a Fighting History: 60 Years of the
Communist Party USA**, New York: International
Publishers, 1979, pp.136-137)*

>>>>>

PART TWO

ADDRESS BEFORE

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR PEACE

By Cyril Phillip

Brussels, Belgium,

September 3-6, 1936

"We can look with SHAME and DISGUST at the flagrant EFFRONTERY with which Italy treated and is still treating the COVENANT in which she entered with ETHIOPIA and other members of the League of Nations. Millions of ETHIOPIANS who are NOT yet under the DOMINATION of Italian AGGRESSION are facing total ANNIHILATION by Italy as was so cruelly done by her in LIBYA, the only difference being that the ETHIOPIANS are subjected to a great DISPLAY of BARBARISM, bombing by incendiary and other BOMBS, with attendant increased SUFFERING worse than the poor LIBYANS experienced. You can easily anticipate their FEELINGS as the end of the rainy season approaches, when the unprecedented tortures to which they have been subjected will be let loose on an even larger scale We who are gathered here today can do much to stop this BUTCHERY and torture. We can agitate among our fellow-citizens in the various countries and nations from which we came, to DEMAND that our GOVERNMENTS intercede even at this late day to stop this ONE-SIDED War. DEMAND that the ETHIOPIANS be permitted to continue their PEACEFUL life. If our DEMANDS are not met, then it is our DUTY to initiate PROGRAMS in our respective countries and NATIONS to help that NATION [ETHIOPIA] which is the object of such GROSS Treaty VIOLATIONS, in which its INDEPENDENCE and the existence of its INHABITANTS are in extreme danger. We should RAISE FUNDS and SEND same directly to the DEFENDERS of that stricken country in order that by our EXAMPLE the WHOLE WORLD will see that we WILL SUPPORT now, and in the future, any VICTIM of AGGRESSION, particularly when this VICTIM has lived up to every letter of his TREATY obligations. ... The crystallization of sentiment by the forces of PEACE throughout the WORLD will do MUCH MORE than talk to FOREARM politicians of the countries from Which we came that they must SUPPORT the machinery of the League for the PRESERVATION of

Treaties, or in other words, SUPPORT contracts into which the PARTIES concerned voluntarily entered. Today, in the HEARTS of all THINKING people, particularly the MINORITIES and OPPRESSED GROUPS, great FEAR have arisen concerning concerning the WEAKNESS of the League of Nations in MAINTAINING the SANCTITY of Treaties. We have listed with SCORN and CONTEMPT to the many poorly FABRICATED excuses offered by SOME of the LEADING nations of the World as to why this VICIOUS example of AGGRESSION was not ARRESTED. Already the World is AWARE that it was through the WEAKNESS displayed by the known INSTRUMENTS of PEACE in dealing with the ETHIOPIAN QUESTION that FASCISM felt powerful enough to STRIKE as viciously as is now being done in SPAIN Peace is connected with the granting of DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS within the COLONIAL possession to the same extent that it is operative within the confines of the home governments."

*(EXCERPT from: " The Threat of War and Fascism",
**Highlights of a Fighting History: 60 Years of the
 Communist Party USA**, New York: International
 Publishers, 1979, pp.137-138)*

CANADIAN COMMUNISTS

BACKING

ETHIOPIA

AND CONDEMNING

ITALIAN FASCIST AGGRESSION

"Towards the end of the 1930s Hitler's drive to a PREDATORY expansionist War became evident to all who did not deliberately REFUSE to see. At the same time, the DISARMAMENT proposals and the Program of COLLECTIVE SECURITY put forward by Maxim Litvinov in the name of the SOVIET Government won the support of widening circles of peace-loving people. The SOVIET disarmament proposal was the democratic and PEACEFUL ALTERNATIVE to the imperialists' plan for War. The [Canadian] Communist Party had CAMPAIGNED consistently for more active CANADIAN support for DISARMAMENT and the STRENGTHENING of the LEAGUE of NATIONS. The EIGHTH NATIONAL CONVENTION [of the Canadian Communist Party held in October 8-13, 1937] restated the position of the Party on the issue in a COMPREHENSIVE resolution on Canada's FOREIGN POLICY. The Convention called upon the Government:

'To accept full responsibility in the League of Nations and to exercise FULL CANADIAN SOVEREIGNTY in the field of FOREIGN POLICY.

To help STRENGTHEN the MACHINERY of the League of Nations; action in accord with its COVENANT.

To STOP Canadian SUPPORT of the then BRITISH policy of CO-OPERATION with HITLER and MUSSOLINI (loans, credits, strengthened diplomatic relationships, etc).

To COOPERATE with ALL other peace-loving countries on the American continent, uniting the weight of those forces against the DRIVE to WAR.

To live up to the Letter and spirit of the Kellogg Peace Pact and other International Treaties and Obligations.

To REMOVE the BAN on the EXPORT OF ARMS and MATERIALS to the legal Democratic SPANISH Government.

To give FULL SUPPORT to CHINA in its JUST RESISTANCE against JAPANESE invasion.

To STOP the SHIPMENT of WAR MATERIALS to JAPAN.

To NATIONALIZE the NICKEL industry and tax heavily ALL PROFITS made from WAR

CONTRACTS."

...

The Peace Policy advocated by the [Canadian] Communist Party could have BARRED the road to the FASCIST DRIVE to WAR had energetic, united, democratic ACTION been developed on a sufficiently BROAD scale. It was evident, however, the great international FINANCE-CAPITALIST interests and the [BOURGEOIS] GOVERNMENTS in their SERVICE were looking to the 'anti-communist axis' to solve the PROBLEMS of the imperialist system by HITLER's 'drang nach osten' [Drive to the east]. GOVERNMENTS which could have made COLLECTIVE SECURITY effective were determined to DESTROY it. By the Anglo-Italian Treaty, the CHAMBERLAIN Government [in Britain] had in effect endorsed MUSSOLINI'S bloody RAPE of ETHIOPIA and his invasion of SPAIN. Advancing MILLIONS of POUNDS along with the treaty, the BRITISH government saved MUSSOLINI from ECONOMIC DISASTER and literally UNDERWROTE his [fascist] regime. By GRANTING a 'standstill' Agreement to HITLER, enabling him to USE the PROCEEDS of German EXPORTS to BRITAIN to buy BRITISH goods without PAYING for BRITISH exports into GERMANY for the time being, the CHAMBERLAIN government HELPED to FINANCE the German WAR PREPARATIONS.

...

HITLER seized AUSTRIA, then the SUDETEN. The IMPERIALIST Governments who had given their solemn pledge to go to the DEFENSE of AUSTRIA if she were ATTACKED, refused to take any action. When CZECHOSLOVAKIA was ATTACKED, the SOVIET Government called upon ... BRITAIN and FRANCE to take [JOINT] action to which

they were pledged, but they REFUSED. Instead of ACTING to maintain the INTEGRITY of CZECHOSLOVAKIA, Neville CHAMBERLAIN [of Britain] and Edouard Daladier, [the] Premier of FRANCE, flew to GERMANY to meet in a friendly discussion with HITLER and MUSSOLINI. Together they hatched the cynical bloodstained MUNICH PACT."

*(Tim Buck, **Thirty Years: The Story of the Communist Movement in Canada, 1922-1952**, Toronto: Progress Books, 1975, Chapter 12, "Sabotage of Collective Security", pp.155-157; see also, Norman Freed, **Report on a Foreign Policy for World Peace : A Democratic Front for Canada**, Toronto: New Era Publishers, 1938; According to Lita-Rose Betcherman, cited below, there were estimates made by some sources that, in the MID-THIRTIES, the **Communist Party of Canada** had NO LESS than **15, 000 members**. See p. 103 of the latter source)*

CANADIAN ANTI-FASCISTS

VERSUS

**CANADIAN APPEASERS OF
FASCISM**

**AS WELL AS CANADIAN
FASCISTS**

AND THEIR CONFRONTATION

OVER THE QUESTION OF

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR:

THE BEST ELEMENTS

FACING

THE WORST ELEMENTS

IN THE CANADA OF THE

THIRTIES

"In May 1937, Neville Chamberlain replaced Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister [of Britain], and APPEASEMENT of the DICTATORS [Hitler and Mussolini] became the OFFICIAL British POLICY. [In Canada, it] had no stronger BOOSTER than Mackenzie King [the then Prime Minister]. In London for the Imperial Conference that spring, he resolved to make a 'strenuous effort to understand Nazi Germany', and before sailing home, visited Berlin. According to Newspaper reports, he had a long talk with Hitler, which he found 'most interesting and most valuable,' and spent an enjoyable evening at the opera with GOERING. On his return, he assured the CANADIAN people that Germany did NOT want War any more than ENGLAND did. Perhaps [Mackenzie] King was PREDISPOSED to find Hitler AMIABLE, since his GOVERNMENT had just SIGNED a trade Agreement with Nazi Germany"

*(Excerpt from: **Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties**, Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978, p. 101)*

*"When **Mussolini** invaded **ETHIOPIA**, he lost his respectability with English-speaking Canadians. No more was said in the press or on the podium about his efficiency, and the close identification of the Canadian **Mosleyites** [followers of British fascist leader **Oswald Moseley**] with Mussolini's brand of fascism may have had something to do with the fact that their movement never really got started. The effect on FASCISM in*

Canada, however, was far less severe than in England. The ETHIOPIAN War ruined Mosely. BRITISH public opinion was strongly INDIGNANT at the predatory behavior of Italy and the craven attitude of her own leaders. CANADA was less so. Although English-Canadians sympathies were with the ETHIOPIANS, isolationism was so STRONG that it PRECLUDED any real ANTI-FASCIST upsurge. French Canada ... continued to be [thanks to the PRO-FASCIST sympathies of the CATHOLIC CHURCH hierarchy headed by Cardinal Villeneuve, the influence of ultra-conservative local BOURGEOIS politicians like Maurice Duplessis, as well as the pernicious PROPAGANDA poison unleashed at the time by CRYPTO-FASCIST opinion-makers like Adrien Arcand, Joseph Menard, and Gabriel Lambert] pro-Mussolini, and Quebec Newspapers of all stripes were OPPOSED to SANCTIONS against Italy."

(Excerpt from: Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties, Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1978, p. 84; The author's theory about the influence of what the author calls "isolationism" in ENGLISH Canada should be QUALIFIED. Contrary to the author's claims, Canadian GOVERNMENT policy and the DOMINANT views "circulated" by the MAJOR "opinion-makers" of the day in the MASS MEDIA in English-speaking CANADA were, in fact, FAR FROM "isolationist". They were one of "towing the line" of the BRITISH appeasers of FASCISM, and one of "aping" the BRITISH "official agenda" just as they FOLLOWED

the BRITISH imperialist AGENDA in the ANGLO-DUTCH WAR in SOUTH AFRICA at the turn of the 20th century, and later still, the bloody FIRST INTER-IMPERIALIST WORLD WAR of 1914-1918, where the FLOWER of CANADA'S YOUTH was SACRIFICED (recall the slaughter at VIMY RIDGE, one of the many bloody battlefields of Europe) to make the WORLD safe for the BRITISH imperialists. After all, this was an "era" in Canadian HISTORY when the local RULING CLASS was SUBSERVIENT to the RULING CLASS in LONDON, i.e, long before the post-War shift towards SUBSERVIENCE to WASHINGTON, instead of LONDON. Whatever "impact" OFFICIAL government POLICY could have had on the thinking and attitude of ordinary English-speaking Canadians, that "impact" on ATTITUDE towards the ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR did not come, as the author claims, from "isolationism".)

"In January 1938, an Anglo-Canadian Journalist estimated that there were TWENTY fascists for EVERY communist in Quebec."

(Excerpt from: Lita-Rose Betcherman, cited above, at

p.87)

"Pius XI [The Vatican Pope] had CONDEMNED Communism as the DESTROYER of the FAMILY and of Society, and the ultramontane CLERGY of Quebec, led by Cardinal Villeneuve, OUTDID the POPE in their ZEAL. ... [The Catholic Church Hierarchy in Quebec] was more ZEALOUS in CONDEMNING communism than FASCISM. In the first place, the Catholic CLERGY admired MUSSOLINI. Moreover, the FASCIST doctrine of CORPORATISM was popular with the CLERGY. Sanctioned by PAPAL encyclical, it was lauded by Cardinal Villeneuve and the [Church] hierarchy as the FINEST expression of SOCIAL JUSTICE. Thus, the French Canadians [of the THIRTIES], a church-going people, heard a great deal about the DANGERS of COMMUNISM and very little about those of FASCISM."

(Excerpt from: Lita-Rose Betcherman, cited above, p.87)

"During the Ethiopian Campaign in 1935-36, NATIONALISM among the ITALIANS in CANADA was INTENSIFIED. PRIESTS joined with the [Italian] Consuls in persuading WOMEN to DONATE their gold WEDDING RINGS for the CAUSE and the CHURCHES were frequently the scene of BLACK SHIRT ceremonials and emotional appeals for the HOMELAND. Anti-fascist ITALIANS, mostly from the SOCIALIST-LABOR circles, had a HARD TIME of it. Pressure to

SUPPORT Mussolini's WAR effort was so strong that a DELEGATION of anti-fascist ITALIANS from MONTREAL went to J. S. Woodsworth to COMPLAIN of INTIMIDATION of NATURALIZED CANADIANS [of Italian origin] by the CONSULAR STAFF [of the Italian Embassy in Canada]. But these were the EXCEPTIONS. Most of the HUNDRED THOUSAND Italian Canadians SUPPORTED the Italian leader [Mussolini], and RESENTED the HOSTILE press that Mussolini's WAR received in ENGLISH Canada."

(Excerpt from: Lita-Rose Betcherman, cited above, p.83)

THE ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR

OF 1935-1941:

**CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR
EVENTS**

1922

The Fascists take Power in Italy.

1923

Ethiopia becomes a Member of the League of Nations

1925

Mussolini Begins War preparation against Ethiopia

1934

Mussolini and de Bono work out **Military Plans** for the Invasion and Occupation of Ethiopia

1935

January 7, The Laval-Mussolini Agreement against Ethiopia was concluded.

June 24-25, the Eden-Mussolini Deals against Ethiopia were hatched in Rome.

October 3, fascist Italy invades Ethiopia.

November 17, General DeBono replaced by General Badoglio as Commander-in-Chief of Italian forces in East Africa

December 7-8, The Hoare-Laval back stage Deal of BACK STABBING against Ethiopia was hatched up

December 15, Ethiopia launches a COUNTER-OFFENSIVE against the invading Italian forces in the North

December, Second Half, Graziani Defeats Ras Desta at Dolo in South Eastern Ethiopia; Poison Gas was used by the Fascists for the first time in the Italo-Ethiopian war

1936

January 21-24, Ethiopian Offensive launched in the Northern Front

February 10-19, The fascists launch a Counter-offensive in the Northern Front; Badoglio Defeats Ras Mulgeta's Army at Amba

Aradom

February 15, Chukry Jacir Bey made an attempt to Kidnap Haile Selassie

February 20-24, Haile Selassie requests British Protectorate over Ethiopia

February 27, Ras Kassa and Ras Seyuom were defeated at Tembien

March 3, Badoglio defeats Ras Imiru

March 31, The Haile Selassie-led Force in the Northern Front was defeated at Mai chew, and subsequently at Lake Ashengay

March-April, Italians made an un-successful attempt to reach a treacherous Peace deal with Haile Selassie

April 14-16, Italian troops capture Dessie

April 22, British Cabinet granted permission to the Ethiopia Royal family to live as exiles in Jerusalem (the British mandate territory of Palestine)

May 2, Haile Selassie finally fled from Addis Abeba

May 5, Italian troops entered Addis Abeba

May 7, Ras Seyoum submitted to Badoglio

May 9, Fascist Italy proclaimed the formal annexation of Ethiopia; the King of Italy declares himself Ethiopian Emperor

May 28, Badoglio returned to Italy

June 1, Graziani becomes Viceroy of Ethiopia

June 3, Haile selassie arrives in London

June 11, Lessona became Minister of Colonies

June 26, the Fascists carried out a gruesome Massacre in Lekemt in Western Ethiopia

July 28, Ethiopian patriots attacked the fascist garrison in Addis Abeba

July 30, Abune Petros was Executed for collaboration with Ethiopian Patriots

October 12, Ethiopian Patriots attacked the Ministerial Train in Akaki, South of Addis Abeba

December 21, the two Sons of Ras Kassa were executed by the fascists.

1937

January 7, Racist Legislation was enacted Prohibiting MIXED Marriages

February 19, At Attempt was made on the life of Fascist General Graziani

February 22, The officially-sanctioned Orgy of MASS MASSACRE in Addis Abeba was formally stopped after 3 Days of mayhem.

February 24, Ras Desta was captured and EXECUTED

MARCH - The Corvo MASS EXECUTIONS took place at Lake Tana; the Ethiopian PATRIOTIC Resistance began to ESCALATE

April 8, The former Italian Ministry of colonies changed its name to the Ministry of Italian AFRICA;

May 21-26, The Fascists carried out a MASS MASSACRE at Debre Libanos;

JULY, The Ethiopian PATRIOTIC RESISTANCE launched a rejuvenated CAMPAIGN of country-wide REVOLT

August, the Fascist Occupation Forces were ATTACKED on a BROAD Front

June, the Italian Fascists conducted "secret" NEGOTIATION with Haile Sellssie to secure (unsuccessfully) the later's SUBMISSION to Italy; Several Ethiopian Notables were forcibly SHIPPED to Italy to be kept under Italian Custody.

November 10, Mussolini instructed Fascist Monster General Graziani that his term as Viceroy was to be TERMINATED.

December 21, Amedeo Duke of Aosta was appointed as the new Viceroy of Ethiopia.

December, Fascist Italy established a number of COLONIZING AGENCIES, including, **Ente Nazionale Combattenti**, **Ente Romagna**

d'Ethiopia, Ente Veneto d'Etiofia, and Ente Puglia d'Etiofia

1938

A number of Prominent Ethiopian QUISLINGS/BANDAS participated in a fascist-organized "tour" of Italy

March -May, General Cavallero attacked a number of stonholds of the Ethiopian PATRIOTIC Resistance

August - The new Italian Viceroy, Duke of Aosta, tried to "persuade" prominent Ethiopian PATRIOT Abebebe Aregayi to "submit" to Italian Rule.

1939

The Fascist Occupation Forces and the stiffening Ethiopian PATRIOTIC Resistance reach a point of MILITARY "STALEMATE"

June, A New RACIST law was enacted imposing HEAVY PENALTY on Italians found guilty of UNDERMINING the FASCIST "race" LAWS.

September 3, Britain and France Declare War on Germany

1940

New Racist Legislation "relegates" so-called "mixed race" (Italo-Ethiopian) CHILDREN to the STATUS of "colonial subjects" as opposed to being "pure Italian citizens".

March-June, The Fascist Occupation Authorities "invest" QUISLING feudal CHIEFTAINS (Rases) with "military power" to be EXERCISED in the SERVICE of of the Fascist OCCUPIERS.

March 14, Prominent Ethiopian Patriotic Guerrilla LEADER, Abebe Aregay, REBUFFED openly and REJECTED unequivocally, the Occupiers "offer" SEEKING his "submission" to Italian Fascist "authority"

June 10, Fascist Italy Declared War on Britain and France

June 24, Churchill "invited" Haile Selassie to "stir up" (????) REVOLT in Ethiopia;

(The British Imperialist SCHEMERS who DID NOT want to "see" Haile Selassie when he ARRIVED in London as an EXILE back in 1936, and in fact "avoided him like a plague" because that did not "harmonize" with their TREACHEROUS Foreign policy of "APPEASEMENT" towards Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, and who STABBED Ethiopia in the BACK at the League of Nations in 1934, in 1935 and in 1936, "turned around" in 1940, shortly after Fascist Italy Declared War on Britain, and "sought out" Haile Selassie in order to USE him for their OWN ends. The idea of "inviting" Haile Selassie "to stir up revolt" in a COUNTRY where there was ALREADY, for FOUR years, an indigenous Ethiopian PATRIOTIC Resistance Movement OPERATING country-wide INDEPENDENT

of a so-called "Churchill-ian prodding" is quite AMUSING.)

July 3, Haile Selassie arrived in Khartoum on his way to Ethiopia from his exile in Britain

JULY, Journalist **George Steer** began preparing a Propaganda Campaign in favor of Haile Selassie in line with the NEW British FOREIGN POLICY.

November, the British Forces Planned to re-take KESSELA the with the Help of Ethiopian Patriots.

1941

The British Government Proposed a "separate Peace" with the Duke of Aosta as part of a long term scheme of post-fascist and post-War Anlgo-Italian *RAPPROCHEMENT*.

(Here again it is important to note that a "new seed" of Anglo-Italian RAPPROCHEMENT was being planted, the INDIRECT consequence of which was the SUBORDINATION of Ethiopian NATIONAL interest to the needs of POST-WAR inter-European SCHEMES; one such consequence manifested itself much later in the manner in which the "hammering out" of the TERMS of the PEACE TREATY with Italy was "tilted" in favor of Italy and against Ethiopia; in the

manner, for example, in which Italian WAR CRIMINALS responsible for numerous heinous MASS MASSACRES in Occupied Ethiopia were treated with "kid gloves" in the immediate post-War period, thanks, in part, to the RACIST undercurrent behind the anti-Ethiopian post-war Anglo-Italian RAPPROCHEMENT scheme.)

May 5, Haile Selassie entered Addis Abeba

May, The Italian Forces led by the Duke of Aosta was DEFEATED at Amba Alagay; the Duke was taken Prisoner and taken to Kenya by the British Forces

November 27, The Italian Garrison in Gondar fell into Ethiopian hands

December, The British authorities proposed, once again, a scheme which would allow for a so-called "autonomous" Italian Empire under the Duke of Aosta

(Here, again, the proposed scheme envisaged a disguised "puppet" Italian "authority" to function under the "overall umbrella" of British IMPERIALIST domination in the interim period, awaiting the ultimate implementation of an Anglo-American "grand plan" of post war Peace in Europe; under this latter scheme, the INTEREST of the LOCAL population in the HORN of AFRICA, once again, mattered LITTLE to the British imperialists and their potential Italian "recruits" of rapprochement)

**SOURCE: : Alberto Sbacchi, Ethiopia Under
Mussolini: Fascism and the Colonial Experience:
London: Zed Books, 1985 pp. xv-xviii)**

OUR PLATFORM

ON THE NEED FOR

ESTABLISHING

A NEW

NATIONAL HERITAGE

RECOVERY

AND REHABILITATION

COMMISSION

1. In line with our **Political Program** of the **Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution**, the **All-Ethiopian Communist League** will fight for the establishment, in **POST-Woyane ETHIOPIA**, of a **NEW NATIONAL HERITAGE RECOVERY AND REHABILITATION COMMISSION** (NNHRRC)

2. The Said **COMMISSION** will have as its **TASKS**, among others, the overseeing of the **SYSTEMATIC and THOROUGH GATHERING and DOCUMENTATION** of **THE NAMES, IDENTITIES, and NOTABLE DEEDS** of **ETHIOPIAN PATRIOTS**, both **LIVING and DEAD**, **WHO paid SACRIFICE** for the **DEFENSE** of the **COUNTRY** from **FOREIGN Aggression** in, among others,

(a) *the battle of Mekdella;*

(b) *the Battles of GUNDET and DOGALI;*

(c) *the Battle of ADAWA;*

(d) *the WOL WOL INCIDENT OF DECEMBER 1934;*

(e) *the ITALO-ETHIOPIAN WAR of 1935-1941;*

(f) *the foreign SOMALI INVASION and temporary occupation of the OGADEN region of ETHIOPIA particularly between JULY 1977 and MARCH 1978.*

3. The **COMMISSION** will be **GUIDED** in its **WORK** by, among others, the following **KEY CONSIDERATIONS**:

(a) *the PRESERVATION of ORAL HISTORY by TRACKING,*

LISTENING, AND RECORDING THE "STORIES" OF THOSE WHO ACTUALLY "LIVED" THE EXPERIENCE EITHER AS "DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" OR AS "OBSERVERS AND WITNESSES", AND TO THAT END, THE COMMISSION WILL DO ITS UTMOST TO "REACH" AS MANY "LIVING SUBJECTS" OF HISTORY BEFORE THEY "DEPART/DIE" FOR GOOD FROM "OLD AGE", etc;

(b) the CULTIVATION of ETHIOPIAN PATRIOTISM so as to COMBAT the NEGATIVE and DESTRUCTIVE "cult" of "divisive ethnicity" which characterized the DISGRACEFUL and RETROGRADE "legacy" of WOYANE tribalist rule;

(c) the HIGHLIGHTING and INCLUSION of the CONTRIBUTIONS of NOTEWORTHY AND OUTSTANDING PATRIOTS from ALL of Ethiopia's brotherly NATIONALITIES;

(d) the PURGING of the TWISTED and DISTORTED "legacy" of HISTORICAL FALSIFICATION practiced particularly during the anti-people RULE of the QUISLING and FEUDAL regime of HAILE SELASSIE;

(e) the IDENTIFICATION and DOCUMENTATION of the NAMES and DISGRACEFUL DEEDS of notorious QUISLINGS/ BANDAS which COLLABORATED with, and SERVED the ANTI-ETHIOPIAN interests of, FOREIGN INVADERS so as to ROOT out and PURGE, in the future, the SEEDS of all TREASONOUS and TREACHEROUS tendencies.

4. The **COMMISSION** will , on the basis of its *DOCUMENTATION* work, *RECOMMEND* the *HONORING* of *DISTINGUISHED PATRIOTS* by means of:

(a) the *BUILDING* of *PUBLIC MONUMENTS* for *THEM*

(b) the *NAMING* , after them, of *SCHOOLS, MILITARY TRAINING INSTITUTIONS AND ACADEMIES, HOSPITALS, STREETS, PUBLIC SQUARES, PUBLIC PARKS, etc.*

5. The **COMMISSION** will *OVERSEE*:

(a) the *WRITING* , *PUBLISHING*, and *CIRCULATION* of *BOOKS* (both for general circulation as well as *School Text Books*) on the specific *SUBJECT MATTER* covered by its *MANDATE* with a view to *RE-INVIGORATING* and *FOSTERING* *Ethiopian PATRIOTISM*

(i) among the *GENERAL PUBLIC*;

(ii) through out the *Ethiopian SCHOOL AND EDUCATIONAL* system;

(iii) in the *RANKS*, specifically, of the *ETHIOPIAN ARMED FORCES* .

(b) the *TRANSLATION*, in local *LANGUAGES*, of books, articles, and historical manuscripts, written in *FOREIGN* languages (*English, French, Italian, Arabic, Portuguese, Russian, Turkish, Farsi, etc*) on the specific *SUBJECT MATTER* covered by its *MANDATE*, and make them *ACCESSIBLE* to the general *PUBLIC*.

6. The **COMMISSION** will *STUDY and RECOMMEND* the *DESIGNATION, UPKEEP and MANAGEMENT* of special **NATIONAL CEMETERIES** to be *DEVOTED as RESTING* places for *Ethiopian HEROES and HEROINES who DIED in DEFENSE* of *ETHIOPIA from FOREIGN INVASION and FOREIGN AGGRESSION*.

7. The **COMMISSION** will oversee the *GATHERING and DOCUMENTATION* of the notable *ROLE* of **NON-ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN NATIONALS** *DISTINGUISHED* by their outstanding *CONTRIBUTION as FRIENDS and ALLIES* of *ETHIOPIA and ETHIOPIANS in the latter's STRUGGLE* against *FOREIGN INVASION with a view to:*

(a) RECOMMENDING the HONORING, by VARIOUS MEANS, OF SUCH distinguished PERSONALITIES, including:

(i) the building of PUBLIC MONUMENTS for them;

(ii) the naming, after them, of SCHOOLS, STREETS, HOSPITALS, etc.

(b) EMPLOYING the LEGACY and WORTHY DEEDS of the HONORED personalities for FOSTERING the work of BRIDGE-BUILDING between ETHIOPIANS on the one hand, and ORDINARY CITIZENS of the COUNTRIES of ORIGIN of the HONORED FOREIGN NATIONALS on the other, so as to strengthen, in the process, PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE friendship, mutual respect, and SOLIDARITY.

REMINDER:

ALL PATRIOTIC ELEMENTS (REGARDLESS OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATION) WHO AGREE WITH THE "ESSENTIALS" OF THE ABOVE PLATFORM SHOULD SEE IT AS A "FIRST DRAFT", "MAKE IT THEIR OWN" BY "IMPROVING UPON IT" WITH THEIR OWN "ADDITIONAL INPUT", TRANSFORM IT INTO A "FINAL AND FINISHED PRODUCT", AND THEN FIGHT COLLECTIVELY TO HAVE IT IMPLEMENTED.