

Henry Kissinger and Lord Macaulay's proposals: Relevance for today's Ethiopia

Introduction

The main issues of this article are the 1972 Henry Kissinger's and the 1835 Lord Macaulay's advices to their respective governments on policy issues regarding Ethiopia and Africa respectively. The paper deals with respect to their relevance to the current and future Ethiopia. The following are their advices:

Lord Macaulay at his address to the British Parliament on 2nd February 1835 said that *"I have travelled across the length and breadth of Africa and I have not seen one person who is a beggar, who is a thief such wealth I have seen in this country, such high moral values, people of such caliber, that I do not think we would ever conquer this country, unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage and therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient **education system**, her culture, for if the Africans think that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, and truly dominated nation"*.

Lord Macaulay's proposal to conquer Ethiopia/Africa mainly focuses on making Africans to lose their self-esteem and their native culture.

In the Epilogue of Theodore M. Vestal's book page 188 states that the decline in the fortunes of the Horn nations might have been foreseen by Henry Kissinger, "who in 1972, as head of the National Security Council, known under his direction as the "Committee in charge of running the world" wrote a confidential report on the future of Ethiopia. *He purportedly recommended that U.S. policy should be to keep that nation in perennial internal conflict, using such vulnerabilities as ethnic, religious, and other divisions to destabilize the country.*

Henry Kissinger's proposal focuses on exploiting ethnic, religious and other differences to keep Ethiopia under perennial conflict. Before dealing with the relevance of their policy advices we would like to give background of these two persons that lived almost 137 years apart.

Who is Lord Macaulay's

Lord Macaulay lived between 1800 and 1859 and probably visited Ethiopia/Africa before 1835. The visit of Lord Macaulay fits to the period the Ras Ali (the Junior Ras Ali) from 1823-1845. During this period of the local Nobles /Lords, in Ethiopia the central government was so weak that it lost all control over the regional and local authorities during what is known in Ethiopia's history as the *zemene mesafint* (the period of local Nobles) which began in the second half of the 18th century and continued until 1855.

There were three major powers that grew out of the wreck of Gondar:

- ❖ The Ras of Begemeder, leader of the Yejju Oromo-Ras Ali
- ❖ The Ras of Tigre, Ras Webe
- ❖ The Negus of Shoa, Sahle Selassie

Sahle Selassie, who ruled from 1813-1847, was the most important shoon ruler. Sahle Selassie was succeeded by his son Hailemelekot, who was the first Shoon ruler to interfere in the struggles of the Mesafint.

Thomas Babington Macaulay, the great historian of England, was born at Rothley, near Leicester, on 25 October 1800, the son of Zachary **Macaulay**, a Scottish Highlander, and was named Thomas Babington after his uncle. Lord Macaulay's father Zachary Macaulay himself had seen overseas service in the West Indies and Sierra Leone, and was highly regarded for his contribution to public life. Zachary was against slavery and worked closely with Wilberforce and others.

Lord Macaulay was an essayist, historian, liberal member of the House of Commons and later of the House of Lords, law member of the Supreme Council of India and British minister for war. He arrived in India (Madras) on 10th June 1834 as a member of the Supreme Council of India.

Macaulay's played a great role on the educational system and policy in shaping Indian Education System. He urged the government to undertake a formal western type of education imparting knowledge of western literature and science through English as a medium of instruction. He also proposed to utilize the total educational grant to achieve that goal and to use the existing educational institutions or oriental learning for the promotion of western education. During his 4-year stay in India he helped found a system of national education and was the chief architect of the criminal code. Macaulay drafted the Indian Criminal Procedure Code and the Indian Civil Procedure Code. Macaulay also drafted the Government of India Act of 1833, which imposed restraints on the East India Company. He returned to England early 1838, and resumed his writing career there. On his return to England, Macaulay was elected to Parliament to represent Edinburgh (1839-1847). He also had a seat in the Cabinet as secretary of war from 1839 to 1841.

The principal labor of Macaulay's later years was the celebrated *History of England*, to which he sacrificed both his political career and his life in society. The first two volumes of the *History* appeared in 1848, volumes 3 and 4 in 1855. In 1857 Macaulay was raised to the peerage and he died on Dec. 28, 1859, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Who is Henry Kissinger?

Henry Kissinger gave his policy adviser to the USA regarding Ethiopia in the last days of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia. Henry Kissinger is a statesman, scholar, and public intellectual. Born in 1923 to a German Jewish family in Fürth, Henry Kissinger emigrated from Germany to the United States in 1938 to avoid "state sanctioned anti-Semitism" by the Nazi government.

He became a naturalized United States citizen in 1943 and served in the Army from 1943 to 1946. After completing his education at Harvard (BA summa cum laude 1950, M.A. 1952, and Ph.D. 1954), he served as a faculty member in Harvard's Department of Government and its Center for International Affairs from 1954 to 1969.

Kissinger served as foreign policy advisor to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who three times sought the Republican nomination for President. President Richard Nixon selected Kissinger, a prominent advocate of realpolitik, to serve as his Advisor for National Security Affairs from January 20, 1969 to November 3, 1975. While National Security Advisor, Kissinger was also sworn in as the 56th Secretary of State on September 22, 1973. After the

Watergate scandal led to Nixon's resignation, Kissinger continued to serve as Secretary of State under President Gerald Ford until January 20, 1977.

Throughout his time as National Security Advisor and Secretary of State, Kissinger exerted a strong influence on American foreign policy.

The Unity of Ideas and differences in the advices of Kissinger and Macaulay

Unity

Despite about 137 years of span between these (1835 to 1972) influential persons their policy advice to their respective governments with regards to Ethiopia is to make the country a dominated nation that is totally molded in the way they want her to become.

Differences

The differences are basically strategic. Macaulay focusses on breaking the very backbone of the nation, which is its spiritual and cultural heritage and, replace its old and ancient education system, its culture, until it considers that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than its own and make it lose its self-esteem, native culture and make it dominated nation. Whereas, Henry Kissinger focusses on exploiting ethnic, religious and other divisions in Ethiopia in order to keep the country in perennial conflict.

Although the goal is similar the strategy to achieve their goals are somehow different. In Macaulay's advice we do not see exploiting elements of ethnic, religious and other differences. Whereas in the 1972 Kissinger's advice, the main elements are exploiting ethnic, religious and other differences to keep the country weak and in perennial conflict. This shows that in the 137 years the strategy of colonials has shifted to exploiting differences.

How and when the colonials' strategy shifted to exploiting differences

The foundation for exploiting differences was laid in the decades that followed Macaulay's proposal especially in the second half of the 19th century. This has happened after the 1859 publication of the Darwin's book of the "The Origin of Species". In 1859, English naturalist and geologist, Charles Darwin, published his theory of evolution and natural selection in the work, *On the Origin of Species*. This theory argued that all species of life have descended over time from common ancestors and further explained that this evolution resulted from a process that he called natural selection, in which a species will either adapt to changes in their environments and survive as a species, or a species will fail to adapt to environmental changes and eventually go extinct.

In the 1860s and 1870s, as word of Darwin's theory of natural selection spread in the Western world, some philosophers and scientists made new interpretations of his ideas. One of these philosophers and scientists was fellow Englishman Herbert Spencer. Herbert Spencer promoted the theory of Social Darwinism (published in 1874).

Social Darwinism is an application of the theory of natural selection to social, political, and economic issues. In its simplest form, Social Darwinism follows the basic idea of "the strong shall survive" or "the survival of the fittest in society." Social Darwinism, in the hands of Westerners, was used to promote the idea that the white European race was superior to others, and therefore, destined to rule over them.

In the mind of a Social Darwinist, “Some groups of people survive and compete better than others. The struggle leads to human progress. Some groups advance human progress more than others.”

At the time that Spencer began to promote Social Darwinism, the technology, economy, and government of the “White European” was viewed by Westerners as far advanced in comparison to that of other cultures around the world. Looking at this apparent advantage, as well as the economic and military structures of the West, some argued that natural selection was playing out and that the race more suited to survival was indeed surviving. According to Social Darwinism, those societies with strength (economic, physical, technological) flourish and those without are destined to be conquered and controlled, or perhaps go extinct.

In the 19th century, Europeans increasingly became preoccupied, even obsessed, with ‘race’. The development of technology (especially military technology) gave white Europeans tremendous power superiority over other peoples. They came to regard ‘race’ as an explanation of the differences. They began to attribute military and technological advantage and superiority to possession of a ‘white skin’ and ‘race’. Thus, social scientists set out to classify different ‘races’ with a tendency to perceive of human beings in different sub-species or even different species. This brought the idea not only that human beings could be classified into different ‘races’ but also that the ‘races’ could be ranked on a scale from higher to lower; as criteria for this ranking, sometimes culture or technology was used, but in other cases, especially as the ‘new imperialism’ and the ‘scramble for Africa’ ensued, military power (brute strength) seemed to be the chief criterion for measuring ranking on the scale.

Social Darwinism surfaced into Marxism, Fascism and Nazism and also led to the formulation of theories on the Nationality by Otto Bauer (1907) an Austrian social democrat and Joseph Stalin (in 1913) Marxist. Social Darwinism has led to the first and the Second World War.

Racism in our sense of the term was relatively limited and rare in the 18th century. Racism grew strongly and steadily in the second half of the 19th century to reach a high point in the 1890-1914 periods. Almost all areas of western societies were affected (perhaps infected) with Social Darwinism. Racism provided a great rationalisation for the ‘new’ imperialism of the late 19th century; it could embody a coating of interventionism —the ‘white man’s burden’ or ‘the civilising mission’— but usually was just naked brutality.

The "Scramble for Africa" was the invasion, occupation, division, colonization and annexation of African territory by European powers during the period of New Imperialism, between 1881 and 1914. It is also called the Partition of Africa and the Conquest of Africa. In 1870, only 10 percent of Africa was under European control; by 1914 it had increased to 90 percent of the continent, with only Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Liberia still being independent. The Berlin Conference of 1884, which regulated European colonization and trade in Africa, is usually referred to as the starting point of the scramble for Africa.

The Battle of Adwa (1896) that has broken the theory of Social Darwinism has taken place during this peak time of Social Darwinism and the scramble for Africa. The Battle of Adwa produced psychic rewards to Ethiopians and led the colonial Europeans to question Social Darwinism. To explain the validity of Social Darwinism Europeans tried to advocate that Emperor Mienelik II is not a Black African and has European origin. Ethiopians basked in national pride and a sense of independence that was lost to other Africans mired in the abasement

of colonialism. This post-Adwa spirit of Ethiopia, instilled in successive generations, gave Ethiopians a confidence.

The image of independent Ethiopia, the nation that successfully stood up against the Europeans, gave inspiration and hope to Africans and African-Americans fettered by racial discrimination and apartheid in whatever guise. Ethiopia provided a model of independence and dignity that for people everywhere seeking independence from colonial bondage. It proved that Black Africans, African-Americans and Asians are not inferior group of people as per the advocate of the Social Darwinism.

During the 1936 to 1941 Italian occupation of Ethiopia, the fascist regime tried to divide the people of Ethiopia along Ethnic and Religious lines and tried to give different ethnic layers. However, it was not successful because of the strong bondage of the Ethiopian society.

After the Second World War colonial powers have started exploiting the basic idea of racism of Social Darwinism in combination with the Stalin's national question with a mask of democracy. That is why we see a basic shift between Macaulay's and Kissinger's policy advice.

The Impacts of Kissinger and Macaulay Advice

The idea of Macaulay has slowly over long period of time has been implemented in Ethiopia in the education system, culture and in the economy and has led to generations that accept that all that is foreign and English is good and greater than ours. It was implemented through European explorers that have travelled throughout the African continent in their attempts to discover new things and to chart the African continent. Missionaries drew European governments deeper into Africa in their efforts to preach Christianity and to bring western-style education to Africa. In addition it was implemented through diplomacy, treaties and friendship.

Following this, after the Second World War the European colonial powers started working on ethnic and religious differences to keep the country (Ethiopia) weak and totally dominated or disintegrated. For example;

- In the 1935/36 the British using its consular office in Gore in the western Ethiopia (Captain Erskine the then consular) was exploiting ethnic differences and was organizing the local nobles to seek for British rule with a target to annex the western part of Ethiopia. Although the annexation was not successful, the teachings and radicalization for exploiting differences in language and ethnicity somehow continued until present time instigating ethnic conflict.
- After 1954 the British using its consular office in Harar (Colonel Pink the then consular) was exploiting ethnic and religious differences in Somali and Oromo and Afar communities in order to annex the eastern part of Ethiopia. Although the annexation was not successful, the teachings and radicalization for exploiting differences in language and religion somehow continued until present time instigating ethnic and religious conflict.
- In addition since 1955, in Egypt trainings were given in Alazihar University for ethnic and religious radicals recruited from Northern and Eastern parts of Ethiopia.
- Since the end of 1960's The Germans using missionary cover-up opened a Hospital in the Western Ethiopia at a locality of Ayra Gulisa and started recruiting and training ethnic radicals.

These recruited and trained radicals continued with a mask of democracy leading to the current ethnic and religious problems in Ethiopia.

The Americans initially were not interested in manipulation of ethnic, religious and other differences in Ethiopia and rather they were interested in cooperating with Ethiopia for their interest in the Horn of Africa. Theodore M. Vestal in his book gave emphasis on the following:

- Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia was an iconic figure of the 20th century, who came to embody the majesty of the African continent and its people in the minds of many Americans.
- Haile Selassie was intent on maintaining his nation's sovereignty and the boundaries of greater Ethiopia that he and his imperial predecessors had worked hard to establish, He was obsessed with collective security, thought the United Nations the best perpetuator of the idea demanded an end to colonialism, especially in Africa, and promoted Pan-Africanism and African Unity.
- Haile Selassie was a major actor on the world stage and because of that Ethiopia enjoyed prestige and respect throughout the world that has been absent in later years.

The stability of Ethiopia was backed by a large American Presence, especially in the Point Four Programs.

However, it seems that the following has led the Americans to consider ethnic, religious and other differences as noted by Henry Kissinger.

1. The strong successful leadership of Emperor Haile Selassie I for the independence of African countries from European colonials,
2. The unity of Eritrea with Ethiopia and the approach of unification of Djibouti with Ethiopia triggered a fear for strong historically independent with strong culture and self-esteem country on the horn of Africa,
3. The discovery and production of petroleum in the Gulf countries has become high strategic economic interest that made the red sea bordering countries to be considered to be weak, and
4. The interest over the Nile water for the Middle East policy has led Americans to follow the footsteps of the Europeans policy over Ethiopia.

Thus, the combined effect of Macaulay's and Kissinger's proposal is now operating in the country. Now Kissinger's proposal has more dominated the country. To implement Kissinger's proposal the targets were students and teachers that were confused and misinformed and ethnic and religious radicals that were recruited and trained as noted above. Especially university and high school students were targeted and the pills of ethnicity and religious radicalism were given with the coatings of democracy. One such example is Waleign Mekonen who was given ethnicity pill with the coating of Stalin's Question of Nationality. From 1970 to date for about 50 years we are suffering from ethnicity that is derived from the concept of Social Darwinism. Now the country is divided along ethnic lines, the constitution is drafted for magnifying ethnicity, political parties are organized along ethnic lines and the education system is aligned along ethnicity and the compulsory course of Ethiopian History is removed from the Higher Education from colleges and universities and students are not allowed to know the History of Ethiopia. People are being killed only for their spoken language and chased and looted from one area to the other. The country is on the verge of losing its unity and self-esteem.

Currently the idea of Kissinger is not only used by the westerners, the African countries themselves are using it against their neighbor whom they consider as their adversary.

Why Emperor Menelik II is Chosen for Ethnic Politics?

Emperor Menelik II is considered as the backbone of the prestige and self-esteem and heroism of Ethiopia, Africans and African-Americans against European colonialism and racism. As a result of the 1896 battle of Adwa Ethiopia is considered as a land of hope by many countries that suffered from racism and colonialism. Emperor Menelik II is a symbol for a unified strong Ethiopia. Ethiopians consider the Battle of Adwa and Emperor Menelik II as an icon of independence and the point to bring Ethiopia to civilization as per its ancient renowned civilization in the world. Thus to break the backbone of Ethiopians prestige and self-esteem and to break the aspiration of the country to become strong and unified nation in the Horn of Africa, Emperor Menelik II is considered as a key by the colonial powers and later on by America.

Emperor Menelik II for Ethiopians is;

1. a champion that broken the racist colonial powers aggression,
2. a hero that broken the idea of Social Darwinism/ racism,
3. The father for bringing back unified and strong Ethiopia, and the hope for strong and civilized Ethiopia,
4. The father for breaking the aspiration to control the Nile river from its source,
5. The father for building strong self-esteem and heroism of Ethiopia, Africans and African-Americans.

Therefore, for **Ethnic Politics** Emperor Menelik II was chosen with a plan to erase the success of Emperor Menelik II from the Minds of Ethiopians. Thus, by doing so it is considered that Ethiopians will be in disarray and will be weak. To achieve the goal, it was considered that as a paramount importance to assign the brutality of the European colonialists in Africa to Emperor Menelik II. Thus Menelik is portrayed as brutal and racist. Ethnic radicals are financed, trained and indoctrinated to dehumanize Emperor Menelik II. Thus now ethnic politicians target is to erase the success of the Emperor from the minds of Ethiopians. Thus the following are done since the 1970s;

1. Write false history to confuse the generation,
2. Portray as if Ethiopia is moulded by Emperor Menelik II and has no long History,
3. Try to remove the historical unity, dignity and moral value of the country,
4. Dehumanize Emperor Menelik II,
5. Remove the self-esteem derived from the battle of Adwa,
6. Break the backbone of Ethiopian heroism and anti-racism,
7. Disband Ethiopia or keep weakened country.

The Way Forward

As tried to explain the truth above, basically our problems are not internal. The problems are well planned and implemented by foreign elements, confused Ethiopians and the “bandas” (internal agents) that live only for their stomach. The way forward is to unfold all the hidden agendas and bring to the light to the People of Ethiopia and to bring the truth to the generation and create vigilant citizen and politicians. Thus the following is our advice to undo the hidden mischiefs under the umbrella of democracy.

1. History is fact and truth it is not mythology or ones dream. Thus historians have to bring the truth to the light and undo the false stories written by ethnic radicals that are recruited and trained to disband Ethiopia. The Government needs to finance and encourage researchers working on Ethiopian History.
2. The education system implemented in line with the proposal of Kissinger has to be changed and needs to be designed in creating vigilant, creative, with high moral values and with self-esteem citizen. Thus the curriculum and the education policy need to be revised.
3. It is clear the Ethiopian Constitution is prepared exactly in line with the Kissinger's proposal. Thus work is required on the constitution to improve it in order to release it form the ideas planted in line with the Kissinger's proposal. In line with this build institutions capable of enforcing law and order.
4. Legally stop any political organization not to organize in Ethnic or Religion or any affiliation to ethnic or religion.
5. For the past 47 years the intelligence service is mainly designed to watch its own citizen to keep the government as dictator as possible. Thus the intelligence service has to focus on foreign intelligence and need to design how to protect the aspiration of the country for the coming 50 to 100 years ahead.
6. The army and the police need to be trained with values of protecting Ethiopian citizens and the country and to be free of any affiliation to ethnic or religion politics.
7. To enforce good governance and justice improve the legal system to be free and independent from political interference.
8. Ethnic based media has to be guided with rules and regulations in order to focus on keeping national interest and not to work for destroying national pride and creating ethnic based conflict with fabricated stories.
9. Ethiopian regional administration is prepared based on ethnicity in line with the Kissinger's proposal. Thus change the administrative regions based on the advantage of economic growth, access to administrative service, geographical advantage in such a way to bring economic and social development.
10. Work towards good relation with neighboring countries, economic integration and with a target of political integration and African unity.

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