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CHALLENGE

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The Spirit of Solidarity

On August 12, 1965 the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe (ESUE) held its 5th Congress in Vienna, Austria. About a month later, on September 6, 1965, the Ethiopian Student Association in North America (ESANA) held its 13th Congress in Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. The editors of *Challenge* take great pride in presenting the resolutions of both congresses to our readers at home and abroad.

These resolutions and the messages they carry mark an important stage in the history of Ethiopia's youth movements. Gone is the meaningless chatter about parties and social gatherings, drinking bouts and bar-room girls that characterized the conventions of by-gone days. Today in Addis Ababa or Paris, in Beirut or New York City, the youth of our country—that frustrated but idealistic germ of Ethiopia's future—having gone through a mutation, has emerged as a potent force resolved to release the imprisoned spirit of our people from the clutches of feudal tyranny.

Our readers will not fail to grasp the binding element that underlies both sets of resolutions. From Vienna to Cambridge, as a result of a conscious organized effort, Ethiopia's youth, finally aware of its historic mission, called for an end to oppression, injustice and corruption, and demanded the restitution of the inherent rights and liberties of our people. Having liberated itself from the suffocating tradition of fear and mistrust, it set for itself the task of articulating the needs of our country, which has so long remained victim of feudal anarchy. Social justice, equality and unity are its guiding principles; national development, progress and the liquidation of feudal rule are its immediate goals.

The character and style of this new consciousness has a deeper meaning which extends beyond the "utopianism" of our youth. It is consistent with the final recognition by all Ethiopians that our country cannot regain its glory and move forward toward progress and social justice under the canon and ritual of an out-dated feudal regime. The orthodoxy of the present absolute monarchy protects the exploitation of the Ethiopian people by a small unproductive minority. The regime has threatened the long-cherished independence of Ethiopia (and Africa in general) by turning its soil into a military base of neo-colonialism. Foreign elements have an absolute monopoly over our educational and

cultural life. The overwhelming majority of our people remains impoverished, diseased and ignorant. There is no national purpose, for nothing is done in the name of and for the benefit of the people. Our spirit is stultified, uncreative and purposeless. All Ethiopians have set to change this course into which our country has been systematically led during the last twenty years.

It is in this context that the resolutions of these two congresses had a strong impact upon the people of Ethiopia who had so long waited to be heard, and the feudal tyranny whose true face was systematically exposed. From Ethiopia itself, from the very bosom of the dictatorship, our words evoked many expressions of solidarity and moral and material support, thus indicating the struggle to terminate the exploitation of the Ethiopian people by the feudal regime has already begun. Especially within the last six years, our people have come to recognize acutely that they will no longer live by propaganda alone; they will never be put to sleep again.

Our resolutions have thus sparked a momentous spirit of solidarity that binds together all conscious and conscientious Ethiopians everywhere. On its part, the regime and its henchmen, the very same forces that have calcified and mummified our society, have begun to intensify their persecution of patriotic Ethiopians. Such response is, of course, characteristic of all oppressors and all exploiters regardless of their origin and the historical period in which they live. Eventually, however, such a system of oppression will generate the seeds of its own destruction. This is why we are neither surprised nor alarmed by the regime's intensification of its policy of suppression of the legitimate demands of the Ethiopian people. On the contrary, such reaction indicates to us and to all the gradual disintegration of the dictatorship; and far from being dismayed and discouraged we have redoubled our efforts to accelerate its liquidation.

The task of awakening our country from her age-old slumber and liberating our people from the iron grip of remorseless tyranny falls on our shoulders. This mission and duty cannot be denied by any Ethiopian, for sooner or later, the tide of history will inevitably herald the victory of our oppressed masses. And all the reactionaries and opportunists, the hired scribes and apologists of the feudal system will be called to answer for their crimes.

The resolutions that ESUE and ESANA produced, while champion-

ing the absolute demands of our long-suffering brethren, at the same time entrust all Ethiopia's youth with the responsibility of awakening the people to their fundamental rights. This is why they are of special importance to us at this stage of our struggle. Having voiced what has been in the hearts of the future leaders of Ethiopia, they define in unequivocal terms the tasks of each of us wherever and whatever we are. Already, our colleagues and counterparts in Ethiopia are translating these words into action; already, our compatriots in the Middle East and Asia are rising to meet the challenges of their social duty.

The goal for us in North America is clear. Regardless of intimidations and tribal-oriented tactics of division, we must continue to strengthen and solidify our unity. Towards this objective, we took the first step in Cambridge in September, 1965; shattering the shell of apathy that had emasculated us in the past, we emancipated ourselves. *The dye is now cast and there is no turning back* in our drive to liquidate the feudal system. We have chosen to throw our lot with the oppressed masses of Ethiopia and we still stand by our choice until the people have triumphed.

RESOLUTIONS

I. 13th ANNUAL CONGRESS

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION IN NORTH AMERICA

PREFACE

The Ethiopian Students Association in North America has been in existence for more than a decade. During this entire period, it remained a loose, undisciplined and unprincipled body unaware of its higher social and historical responsibilities. As a result, it has consistently been outside the critical struggle between the people of Ethiopia and the forces that still remain antagonistic to their achievement of a better life, and between the forces of progress and the forces of oppression which maintain their system of exploitation by economic and military means.

Extremely conscious of this unworthy heritage which has left ESANA completely alienated from the ranks of the revolutionary youth of Ethiopia, from the toiling masses of Ethiopia, and from the progressive forces in Africa and the rest of the world, at its 13th Congress held in Cambridge, Massachusetts from September 6-12, 1965, ESANA declares its decision to undertake a new definition of principles and a new course of action. Accordingly, it solemnly declares that henceforth it will cease to be a disjointed social club of unconcerned "intellectuals;" it sets for itself the honorable task of championing the aspirations, needs and demands of the vast majority of the Ethiopian people as well as the aspirations of the wronged millions of other countries whose needs and demands originate from fundamentally similar causes.

It recognizes and welcomes the fact that the youth of our generation in Ethiopia, Africa, and elsewhere, is engaged in the struggle for independence and *against* all forces of domination. When ESANA joins in this sacred struggle, it entertains no doubts in the ultimate victory of its cause and the cause of the progressive youth everywhere—a victory which can guarantee the general welfare of mankind and world peace.

ESANA also recognizes that throughout the world, and in Ethiopia, too, people have awakened to claim the freedom denied them for centuries. It is the force of this awakening, this consciousness, that compels ESANA to rediscover its forgotten duties and responsibilities. In full recognition of this urgent duty, ESANA sets itself to execute the following tasks:

- (1) Henceforth, it shall voice the needs and demands of Ethiopia's oppressed people and foster the welfare of its members only in the general context of the welfare of Ethiopia.
- (2) Conscious that victory for our people necessitates the unity of all well-meaning and dedicated Ethiopians, it declares its intentions to cooperate with and support all organizations and movements in or outside of the country, which aim to bring about a better and just life for our people. In particular, it gives its most unqualified support to the formation of a world-wide Union of Ethiopian Students which shall become the intellectual vanguard in the struggle of the Ethiopian people. In this connection, ESANA greatly appreciates the excellent work being done by our compatriots of the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe.
- (3) With the Ethiopian peasantry, with its workers, with the armed

forces, and with all who show genuine love for the nation, it affirms its solidarity.

- (4) Aware that there are forces in the world that are working against a better life for all men and against world peace, it fully identifies itself with those forces that work for the attainment of a humane community of men and nations.

As ESANA launches this new course of action, it remains aware that there still exist divisive forces based on tribal and religious differences that haunt the ranks of honest Ethiopians everywhere. It realizes that the desire of these sinister elements in our society is to weaken our unity and our common struggle. ESANA condemns those who harbor these and other divisive sentiments. Against these and similar schemes, the fight shall continue with vigor.

With full recognition of its commitments to the above, ESANA stresses that the 13th Congress of Ethiopian Students Association in North America held at Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, from September 6 to 12, 1965 is of historic significance.

GOVERNMENT AND GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION

Realizing that:

The regime in Ethiopia is a feudal establishment;

This regime has all the qualities and characteristics of a rule by one man and by cliques of families intertwined on the basis of class interests, and by a new bureaucratic oligarchy serving these interests;

It draws its major support from a small landed oligarchy and the church establishment;

It exploits to its advantage the so-called tribal and regional differences among the Ethiopian people;

This order rather than leading Ethiopia to a better economic, social and political existence does in fact retard its growth in all spheres and directions;

The Ethiopian people are characterized by one of the lowest living standards in the world;

The so-called projects of development are not designed for the

general welfare of the Ethiopian people, but are meant as showcases to serve the interest of the ruling class;

These showcases do indeed further entrench the feudal order rather than place Ethiopia on a firm basis conducive to genuine social and economic growth.

The Thirteenth Congress of the Ethiopian Students Association in North America held from September 6 to 12, 1965, at Phillips Brooks House, Cambridge, Massachusetts, resolves that:

- (1) It is convinced that under the present regime, Ethiopia cannot realize its full social and economic potential;
- (2) It is the cardinal duty of Ethiopians everywhere to rid Ethiopia of this fettering dictatorship;
- (3) It affirms the oneness of the Ethiopian people and the indivisible destiny of the Ethiopian nation.

For these compelling reasons, the Congress calls on ESANA, in accordance with its Constitution, to fully identify itself with all genuine Ethiopian organizations and movements whose basic objectives and programs are non-tribal and non-religious, but are fundamentally nationalistic and progressive. It instructs the Executive Council to intensify its work toward the realization of these objectives.

A. Civil Rights and Liberties

Recognizing that:

Under the present regime Ethiopia is characterized by a total absence of all civil rights and liberties;

The political order violates the *Declaration of Human Rights* of the United Nations;

The so-called Constitution:

- (a) embodies little of the fundamental rights of the Ethiopian people in theory and none in practice;
- (b) instead, it affirms the continuation of divine kingship in a modern guise;

The fundamental freedoms of expression, press, association, etc., which seem to have been partly provided for "on paper" are of little value because there is no guarantee for their exercise;

All media of communication are employed to deify the monarchy instead of informing and educating the people;

The Parliament:

- (a) has been devised as an instrument for institutionalizing the rule of absolute monarchy;
- (b) due to constant sabotage is never allowed to live up to its duties and responsibilities;

The so-called parliamentary elections are rigged for purposes of insuring the interests of the feudal establishment;

Endless suppressive measures and threats are constantly taken against the few individual members courageous enough to attempt to represent the people.

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

- (1) The inalienable rights of the Ethiopian people be immediately restored;
- (2) The institutions of absolute monarchy be replaced by a democratically instituted government;
- (3) The freedoms of expression, press, association, etc., as necessary prerequisites for the welfare of the Ethiopian people be guaranteed immediately;
- (4) A democratically instituted Parliament be recognized as the sole and ultimate spokesman for the people of Ethiopia.

B. The Church

Understanding That:

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church is a powerful economic and political force;

It controls a large portion of Ethiopia's arable land and exacts exorbitant dues from the people;

It is inextricably tied to the feudal order and serves to propagate the myth of Divine Monarchy;

It has betrayed its spiritual obligations by seeking temporal interests;

It has kept the Ethiopian masses in a state of perpetual ignorance;

It engages in teachings and practices which restrict the full utiliza-

tion of the human resources of Ethiopia;

It frustrates the demands of the people for a better life by using threats of excommunication, divine punishment, etc.

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

- (1) State and Church be completely separated;
- (2) The Church forfeit its landed property to the people;
- (3) The Ethiopian Orthodox Church or any other religious institution cease amassing wealth through "religious" activity for commercial and exploitative purposes;
- (4) The responsibility of the Church be restricted to the teaching and practices of the principles of its faith, provided that its teachings and practices are conducive to the well-being and progress of the Ethiopian people;
- (5) The rules of the Church which restrict the full utilization of labour and hence are harmful to the economic growth of Ethiopia shall have no sanction whatsoever.

II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Convinced that:

A rapid and balanced economic development is absolutely necessary for Ethiopia;

The feudal system of land ownership is a barrier to the economic development of Ethiopia because:

- (a) It is a system of economy whereby one person consumes the fruits of the labor of another by the mere fact of ownership of the land;
- (b) the one who works the land derives a very unfair and inequitable share of the produce of his own labor;
- (c) it kills the initiative and incentive of the peasant who works the land which he does not own and is subject to the loss of his profit to the landlord;
- (d) land owned by absentee landlords is simply left to lie fallow with no one to utilize it, or to merely serve as a prestige factor for the landlords and as a source of extra income from the sale of poor pastures;

True and basic land reform cannot be effectuated within the present

system of government in the country but necessitates a system inherently disposed towards and reflecting the genuine interest and aspirations of the people.

A system of land ownership which can further economic development and popular participation is generally divided into three forms:

(a) ownership of land by an individual or a group as long as the owner (s) can utilize the land for optimum production and subject to a limit on the size of land holdings;

(b) Government ownership of land whereby efficiency of size permits the fullest exploitation of the land for the common good by the participation of a free farm labour;

(c) cooperative ownership of land whereby owners of adjacent small holdings can pool their means of production and share the benefits of their joint enterprise.

The welfare and growth of Ethiopia's labor force and the freedom of its labor movement are integral to the economic growth of the country;

The poor administration and chaotic condition of the financial system and the general policy of the government hamper genuine economic development.

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

A. Agrarian Problems:

1. A thorough-going land reform be undertaken immediately.
2. Wherever possible and economically justifiable, government ownership of land be undertaken for rapid development and the common good.
3. Cooperative ownership and utilization of land be encouraged among the Ethiopian peasantry;
4. Extension services of trained farmers be considerably enlarged for wide and systematic diffusion of modern methods of stock-rearing and general agricultural economy, especially with respect to marketing;

B. General Economic Conditions

1. Basic industry that will be the essential bulwark for industrialization be immediately embarked upon;

2. Heavy industry be established for the production of capital goods which will in turn be used in the exploitation of our natural resources. Examples of such industry are like those necessary for the production of agricultural machinery and steel and various means of production such as dam building, railroads, bridges, power systems, etc.;

3. The foreign exchange of the country be used primarily to import machinery for the establishment of the above mentioned basic industries instead of being expended on consumption, which further turns the country into a dumping ground for foreign products and results in the perpetual dependence of our country on foreign imports for basic and essential goods;

4. Foreign aid for defense be used for the establishment of basic industries, and to produce and assemble defense weapons instead of their coming in the form of finished products built in the industrialized countries;

5. Savings and investment be encouraged both on governmental level, that is, by limiting expenditures to essential consumption, and on the citizen level, in order that continuous re-investment is made possible;

6. Feasible investment be encouraged by making low-rate loans available to Ethiopian nationals;

7. The outflow of capital in the form of money and gold taken out or kept out by individuals in foreign banks be brought to an end;

8. All economic resources be properly utilized and the historic possessions of the country be fully conserved;

9. A democratic labor law to protect the interest and well-being of the labor force be passed;

10. Workers should be free to organize themselves for their general economic and political welfare;

11. Better and more extensive means of communication in the form of roads, railroads and air lines be established in order to open up remote and productive areas and thereby create and enlarge market facilities throughout the country;

12. The utterly irresponsible mixture of government and palace accounts be brought to an end and controls and checks be established over public funds once and for all;

13. Qualified and responsible individuals be authorized to take

the responsibility for the efficient administration of public funds;

14. The accounting and taxation systems be entirely overhauled by qualified personnel through the establishment of a special agency to draw and supervise a tax code;

15. All government accounts be audited by independent chartered public accountants, and personal favoritisms and misuse of public funds be publicly exposed and all those responsible for the misuse be brought before justice without regard to their hereditary or official status;

16. The myth of the infallibility of high public officials—the Chief Executive, ministers, directors, heads of departments and the intelligentsia—be dispelled and corruption on all levels uncovered, publicized and punished;

17. Ethiopia's national income from all sources—taxation, government utilities, etc.,—and its expenditures be annually published;

18. Nation-wide concerns and utilities—such as the Adola and Wollega gold mines, the Ethiopian Power and Light, the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, the Ethiopian Airlines, etc.—be under the direct control of the public;

19. In accordance with the principles of Pan-Africanism, the trend of Ethiopia's economic planning should be in line with the eventual unity and the self-fulfillment of the peoples of Africa.

III. EDUCATION

Realizing that:

The attainment of a better Ethiopia depends on its educated citizens;

The present resource out-lay of the Ethiopian Government is unproportional to the educational needs of the country; the government has failed to provide educational facilities to all its youth; and that compulsory education that has been in existence in theory since 1955 has not been put into practice;

Contemporary Ethiopia is characterized by one of the highest rates of illiteracy in the world; and the government has not made a conscious effort to support and encourage the eradication of illiteracy among the masses of the Ethiopian people;

School drop-outs and failures from primary and secondary schools are unreasonably high in number to the extent that educational pro-

grammes have basically become ineffective, and, on the contrary, have become the actual causes of frustration for the full development of the potentialities of the Ethiopian people, in particular, the Ethiopian youth;

The extent to which foreign elements have infiltrated the educational institutions of Ethiopia is detrimental to the development of the nation; the present programmes and school curricula are too much a mechanical imitation of foreign systems hardly relevant to the needs and self-fulfillment of the Ethiopian people; and these educational programmes do not put both the positive and negative aspects of Ethiopian tradition in their proper perspectives but rather help to develop and reinforce confusing elements of alien culture detrimental to the general welfare of Ethiopia;

The standards of education at every level are low and academic preparations are inadequate;

The government has failed to foster the literary tradition of Ethiopia;

Sufficient effort has not been made to develop the potentialities of the Amharic language to facilitate scientific and technical communication;

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

1. The Ethiopian Government allocate and properly utilize a much greater proportion of the national income in the development of education;

2. Immediate conscious effort be made, substantial funds be provided and properly utilized, existing voluntary literacy societies be coordinated, and modern and well-organized programmes of eradicating illiteracy be launched in order to create a literate Ethiopian society *within less than a decade*;

3. Educational opportunities be provided to all the youth of Ethiopia regardless of ethnic background, social standing, religion or sex, and that compulsory education for ages 7-18 that now exists only in theory be put into practice;

4. The large number of school drop-outs be checked by giving proper educational and vocational guidance, by providing well-qualified teachers and proper academic preparations as well as by increasing the number of schools and colleges for the training of the youth;

5. Greater emphasis be laid on Ethiopian Studies, especially at the secondary and college levels in order to encourage an Ethiopian self-

understanding in a proper perspective, and to foster the development of indigenous literary and creative expression; that foreign contingents be allowed to function *only* after our indigenous potential is fully utilized;

6. A concerted programme to raise the standard of education be immediately introduced;

7. The continuation and development of our literacy tradition be encouraged;

8. The department which has been entrusted with the development and expansion of Amharic as a scientific and technical language be reorganized as a language academy and authorized to create and develop a new vocabulary in order to facilitate scientific and technical communication;

9. The educational system affirm the dignity of labor and give special emphasis to technical education;

10. The government genuinely fight for the day when all Ethiopians become authentically educated.

IV. STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

Conscious that:

The youth of Ethiopia is a powerful social force in its own right and that this force is aligning itself with, and contributing to world student solidarity;

The Ethiopian youth is fast attaining a high degree of social and moral consciousness;

It is determined to wage a patriotic struggle to bring about a better life for the people of Ethiopia, and that to this end it is equally determined to hasten the demise of the dictatorship now in power;

In this common struggle it is determined to mobilize all its revolutionary and progressive potential;

It is desirous and willing to align itself with a united front of all progressive, non-tribal and non-sectarian students, workmen, peasants, armed forces and organizations in and outside of Ethiopia;

The first phase of this determined struggle of the youth of Ethiopia was fought out by our compatriots and large segments of the public in the streets of Addis Ababa in the February and May peaceful demon-

strations;

Our compatriots in Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere have equally demonstrated their uncompromising opposition to the feudal regime obtaining in Ethiopia;

The feudal dictatorship employs terroristic methods to suppress, undermine and stifle the manifest social duties and responsibilities of Ethiopia's youth and other progressive forces to our misgoverned countrymen.

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

1. ESANA pledge itself to be an integral part of the revolutionary progressive and democratic forces of the Ethiopian youth, and it joins with other sister organizations in the creation and promotion of a World Wide Union of Ethiopian Students;

2. It affirms ESANA's faith in the ultimate victory of the cause which unites the youth of Ethiopia with a great majority of the people in Ethiopia in a common bond in the struggle against all forces of oppression;

3. It fully supports the actions of and identifies itself with the courageous brothers and sisters who raised the banner of emancipation in the February and March demonstrations in Addis Ababa.

4. It fully supports the demands for real land reform voiced by the demonstrators;

5. It vehemently condemns the severe steps taken by the regime against the peaceful demonstrations of the students and the public in Addis Ababa;

6. It demands the immediate release of all imprisoned and otherwise detained students and other compatriots;

7. It strongly condemns the banning of the National Union of Ethiopian University Students (NUEUS), the imprisonment and dismissal of student leaders, the turning of college campuses into prison camps, and the use of police and military force against students;

8. It demands the reinstatement of all expelled and suspended students from their schools;

9. The autonomy of the University be recognized and that all military and police forces be banned from all institutions of learning;

10. It decides to make known all the despotic activities of the ruling oligarchy to all world student organizations, urging them to join us in filing their protests against the dictatorship in the country;

11. It welcomes and endorses the resolution passed by the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe at the Vienna Congress held from August 12-20, 1965;

12. All members of ESANA support the public statement made by the Executive Council on the occasion of the resignation of Berhanou Dinke as the Ethiopian Ambassador to the United States;

13. It strongly condemns both the interference and the punitive and retaliatory measures of the Government against the leaders of ESANA;

14. It demands that the order to cancel student passports be rescinded;

15. It sends a communication to the United States Government requesting it not to comply with the demands of the Ethiopian Government in this matter.

V. GENERAL WORLD SITUATION

Realizing that:

Armed intervention in the internal affairs of the underdeveloped countries is a threat to the peace of the world;

Force and the threats of force are being used by the imperialist powers to frustrate the forces of national liberation in the undeveloped world;

The aggressive measures taken by the United States and the countries of Western Europe in the Congo, the Gabon, the Dominican Republic and Vietnam are in clear violation of international law and of the sovereignty of all nations;

Neo-colonialism has divided the nations of Africa and the rest of the under-developed world against themselves, and exercises economic and political control over them;

Colonialism still controls significant portions of Africa and the rest of the under-developed world;

In Africa, neo-colonialism threatens to disrupt the honest efforts of enlightened leaders towards African emancipation and unity;

The Western Powers support and encourage the racist governments of the Union of South Africa and Portugal;

The Negroes in America have been denied their fundamental rights and liberties;

The Ethiopian-Somali border dispute has been turned into a fratricidal conflict between the peoples of the two nations;

Within the contending authorities there exist sinister forces which utilize the conflict for their own selfish ends and against the true interests of the two fraternal peoples;

These forces also serve the interests of imperialists and neo-colonialists who work against African unity.

The Thirteenth Congress of ESANA resolves that:

1. The claims of any imperialist power that it has the right to intervene for any conceivable reason in the affairs of an independent state or in the struggle of peoples to establish a political or economic system of their choice is a violation of international law and morality;

2. Armed aggression and intervention make a mockery of the principles of peaceful co-existence;

3. The policy of racial discrimination, wherever and whenever it is practiced, is an affront to the dignity of man, and hence ESANA extends its unconditional support to all movements and organizations engaged in the struggle against this policy;

4. Unity and principled unity alone, assures Africa a process of development free from exploitation;

5. The Government of Ethiopia extend its unconditional support to all liberation movements everywhere provided that such movements are by their programmes and activities progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist and anti-facist;

6. Ethiopia orient its foreign policy in line with the progressive forces in Africa and the rest of the underdeveloped world;

7. The War in Vietnam be immediately stopped and the stipulations of the Geneva agreement of 1954 regarding elections, the liquidation of foreign forces and the eventual reunification of Vietnam be implemented;

8. The Ethiopian Government stop its present diplomatic relations with the puppet governments in Saigon and Malasia;

9. The Ethiopian Government implement the resolutions of the O.A.U. concerning the liquidation of military bases in Africa and apply them to the case of Ethiopia;

10. While noting the role of Ethiopia in the establishment of the O.A.U. Ethiopia intensify its support to all liberation movements struggling to put an end to the apartheid government of South Africa and the colonialist policy of Portugal, France and Britain;

11. The Ethiopian government give genuine, full and public moral support to the struggle of the American Negro for equality and freedom;

12. All armed conflict arising from the border dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia be brought to an end and that the dispute be settled amicably;

13. The authorities concerned redirect their energies towards a peaceful settlement of their dispute;

14. The congress calls on the fraternal peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia to work together to bring an end to this suicidal conflict imposed upon them;

15. Unless and until the government fulfills the above demands, it loses all rights pertaining to government and its refusal calls for its removal by the Ethiopian people.

II. 5th CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS IN EUROPE GENERAL WORLD POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Introductory Observation

From the general course of history, and especially from the recent events taking place in the contemporary world, we observe the unfolding of a fierce struggle between the oppressed masses of the world and the imperialist powers. Within the last few decades, this struggle has become sharper than ever before, and the forces that are struggling for full in-

dependence and freedom have grown stronger and have multiplied their fronts immeasurably.

However, in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, we still witness the imperialist powers ganging up to frustrate the peoples' struggle for independence and national liberation. In this desperate attempt, the imperialists are today caught up in their last death-bed struggle. By their acts of aggression and intervention in the internal affairs of the peoples of the Congo, Santo Domingo, and particularly in Viet Nam, we see them endangering world peace.

Nevertheless, the struggle of a great number of progressive forces has been crowned with victory. While several African countries have thus earned their independence, there are others in the continent still suffering under colonial domination. The Portuguese regime, under the tutelage and with the aid of the powers of its NATO forces, is still maintaining colonialist domination over Angola, Mozambique, and "Portuguese" Guinea. Yet, even in these areas, the struggle for independence is being intensified and is progressing.

We realize that, together with the subjugated peoples now struggling to bring about a more humane and just world, we can work for genuine and lasting world peace.

COLONIALISM

The Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe—ESUE—meeting at its 5th Annual Congress in Vienna, Austria, from August 12 to 20, 1965, expresses:

Its genuine satisfaction with the victory of the struggle of the peoples of the world, notably those of Africa, for independence from colonialist domination;

Its solidarity with the gallant patriots still waging their struggle in Angola, Mozambique, and "Portuguese" Guinea;

The Congress condemns the brutalities and injustices administered on these freedom fighters;

Condemns Portugal's NATO partners who contribute to its oppressive machinery;

Condemns those African leaders and governments who, in violation of the OAU Charter, remain accomplices and puppets of these powers;

Demands that the Ethiopian Government give extensive moral and

material aid to all those struggling for emancipation from colonial domination;

Urges all those working for peace and progress to intensify their support to all national liberation movements.

NEO-COLONIALISM

The 5th Congress expresses its satisfaction with the liberation of so many African territories from colonial rule;

But, at the same time, realizing with sorrow that the economies of many of these countries are under foreign control;

That this state of affairs is directly responsible for the penetration and consolidation of neo-colonialism in Africa;

That certain governments are responsible for the neo-colonization of Africa;

That these same governments, in direct violation of the OAU Charter, have turned their home countries into foreign military bases;

The Congress condemns all those reactionary governments in Africa which are accomplices and puppets of imperialists;

Supports all movements and organizations fighting to liquidate imperialism from Africa and from the rest of the world;

Supports all those governments fighting to free their national economies from imperialist monopoly capital and working for the extension and full utilization of their national economies.

APARTHEID-RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

Realizing that the policy of apartheid of the regime in South Africa is inspired by the racist belief that the white man is superior to the black man;

Aware of the support extended to this regime by all imperialist powers led by the United States;

Noting, in particular, that the French Government is supplying huge quantities of armaments to the fascist regime of Verwoerd designed for the physical liquidation of Africans;

Realizing that apartheid is intended to strip the fundamental rights of the indigenous black people of South Africa;

The 5th Congress of the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe:

1. Deeply mourns the murder of Mini Kaing Nikaka;
2. Condemns the regime of Salazar and the leaders of the NATO powers who condone and support the policy of apartheid;
3. Demands the immediate end of the policy of apartheid;
4. Demands the immediate cessation of the brutal elimination of peoples who are being decimated without any trial and with total disregard for their fundamental rights;
5. Unanimously expresses its fraternal solidarity with all the South African freedom fighters who are heroically struggling to end colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, and apartheid.

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

Understanding that the basic continental unity of Africa rests on the common foundations of its history, its economic setup, and its social conditions; and that its future survival, its destiny, and its self-fulfillment depend on the realization of its continental union, the 5th Congress fully supports all steps that have already been taken and those that will be taken in the future toward the achievement of this unity.

However, as presently constituted, the OAU

1. Has failed to react to the formation of groups such as OAMS which are fundamentally contrary to the unity of Africa and are tools of the imperialist powers;
2. Has not condemned or opposed the interference of the United States and Belgium in the internal affairs of the Congo in any meaningful way;
3. Has not issued even a word of protest against the interference of France in the internal affairs of the Gabon;
4. Has not only failed to give sufficient aid to the Angolan freedom fighters, but has also supported the American sponsored and backed GRAE rather than the MPLA which is the genuine liberation front of the Angolan people.

For all of the above, the Congress registers its strong objection. It hopes that at the forthcoming October OAU meeting, the participants will do a worthwhile job and that the conference will prove fruitful. It decides to send a telegram of good wishes to the Secretary General, and especially to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah who has steadfastly worked for the genuine unity of Africa.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The 5th Congress of ESUE all practices and manifestations of racism which, based on differences of pigmentation, advocates the myth of superiority of one people over another.

Realizing that, in particular, in the United States, more than 20 million black people are subjected to the practices of this false and offensive myth of white supremacy.

While noting certain measures taken by the American Government to alleviate the situation, the Congress realizes the inadequacy of said measures and observes that racism, far from being mitigated, is still widely practiced.

The Congress reminds the American people and Government to take resolute measures to end racial discrimination completely and immediately.

The Congress reaffirms its full solidarity with all movements and organizations engaged in the struggle against racism wherever it exists and in whatever guise it may appear.

WORLD PEACE

The 5th Congress vehemently opposes the partisan suggestion presented to the Geneva Disarmament Conference, namely, that while it is said that other nations are not to be allowed to manufacture nuclear weapons, their retention and monopoly are readily granted to a few powers.

Realizing that the possession of nuclear weapons by whatever country constitutes a fundamental threat to world peace, the Congress:

Supports the convening of a new convention for the destruction of all existing nuclear stockpiles and for a complete and total disarmament;

Fully supports all movements and countries engaged in the struggle to destroy all nuclear and similar weapons and to turn nuclear energy into the peaceful service of mankind;

Urges all the peoples of the world to press their governments to militate against the fascist policies and acts of the United States and its allies;

Opposes the direct or indirect interference of the imperialist forces in the internal affairs of independent states;

Vehemently condemns the imperialist powers which everywhere are

endangering world peace, in particular the United States Government which has committed and is committing crimes against the peoples of the Congo, Santo Domingo, and especially in Vietnam (north and south) where it adds to its crimes by using poison gases and other internationally outlawed devices.

VIETNAM

Understanding that in violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, U.S. imperialism is engaged in a war of aggression against the people of South Vietnam;

Realizing that, by using poison gases and biochemical warfare, thus endangering world peace, it has committed and continues to commit untold crimes against the people of South Vietnam who are struggling for their freedom;

Realizing that since October, 1965, it has extended its criminal acts to the sovereign state of the DRV;

Knowing that it is systematically escalating rather than reducing its aggressive actions by the continued increase of its military forces as well as by a variety of other methods, the Congress

1. Demands the immediate implementation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements;
2. Demands that United States imperialism dismantle its military bases and remove its military forces from South Vietnam;
3. Extends full support to the National Liberation Front which is heroically fighting for the genuine independence of the people of South Vietnam;
4. Vehemently opposes the diplomatic deals between the Ethiopian Government and the ever-changing puppet regimes in South Vietnam which are dominated by American imperialists, and demands that the Ethiopian Government immediately sever all connections with them.

NATIONAL POLITICS

Student Movement

Recognizing that, at this historical period when the world is undergoing rapid change, students are part of the avant garde forces struggling for progress and for the better life for peoples everywhere;

Aware that the people of Ethiopia have arisen to combat the Ameri-

can imperialist-supported feudal regime dominating our country today;

Aware that the Ethiopian student movement is one of the progressive and nationalist forces that is dedicated to the hastening of the demise of this regime;

Aware that sinister elements such as the so-called Ethiopian Orthodox Student Movement, based on religion and tribalism, are attempting to divide and weaken the ever-growing progressive voice of the youth of Ethiopia;

Realizing that it is the cardinal responsibility and obligation of all Ethiopian students, no matter what part of the country they come from and no matter where they reside, to unite and work to alter the existing conditions in Ethiopia, the Congress resolves:

1. That it is determined to oppose and fight all student organizations and movements which are based on tribe and religion;
2. It invites all Ethiopian students everywhere to join the sacred struggle to remove the feudal regime existing in our country.

On the Injustice Done to Ethiopian University Students

Recalling the resolutions passed on *Land to the Tiller* at the Strasbourg and Bologna Congresses;

Aware that the Ethiopian University students staged peaceful public demonstrations in connection with the debate on land reform in the Ethiopian Parliament;

Realizing that, in the exercise of their fundamental rights, the students have been subjected to a variety of suppressive measures, and that the National Union of Ethiopian University Students has been banned by the regime;

Realizing that 9 student leaders have been suspended for an indefinite period from their schools for resisting the illegal banning of their Union;

Aware that, when the student demonstrators were proceeding in peaceful formation to present a petition for the reinstatement of the expelled leaders, they were brutally attacked and injured by the police force;

Aggrieved by the general conduct of the regime and by the threats it directs at students, the Congress resolves that it:

1. Endorses the principle of *Land to the Tiller*, and fully supports

and identifies itself with the steps taken by the University Students;

2. Vehemently condemns the oppressive measures taken by the regime against the students;

3. Demands the immediate reinstatement of all expelled or suspended students;

4. In protest against the injustices perpetrated against the University Students, the Congress decides to hold a peaceful demonstration here in the city of Vienna;

5. Decides to issue a press release exposing the abuses suffered by the students;

6. Decides to send a communication to the University Students expressing the Congress's full support and solidarity with them.

On the Injustice Done to the Leaders of the Ethiopian Students Association in North America

Having learned of the order issued by the Ethiopian regime to the leaders of ESANA demanding their return to Addis Ababa within a period of less than one month on pain of cancellation of their passports, and having studied and analyzed the whole matter extensively;

Noting that this was done in connection with the public statement issued by the Ethiopian Students Association in North America following the resignation of Ato Berhanu Dinke;

Recognizing that the action taken by the regime is unlawful and in violation of the fundamental rights of all Ethiopians;

Aware that this action is designed to obstruct the establishment of the projected world-wide Union of Ethiopian Students, the Congress:

1. Supports the public statement issued by ESANA;

2. Strongly opposes and condemns the regime's order sent to the leaders of ESANA;

3. Decides to bring the matter to the attention of world student organizations, viz., International Union of Students (IUS), and the Coordinating Secretariat of the International Students Conference (Cosec-ISC) requesting them to make known to their member organizations the doings of the regime and to join with us in registering their protest against it;

4. Decides to send a communication to the United States Govern-

ment requesting them not to comply with the wishes of the Ethiopian regime and to refrain from any action that may result in the handing over of the students in question;

5. In order to lessen the difficulties sustained by our brothers, decides to support them in every way possible.

Duties and Responsibilities of Educated Ethiopians

Having closely studied the nature and extent of the type of work performed by those Ethiopians who have received higher education in or outside the country and are now in service;

Understanding that these people were educated by taxes exacted from the toil and sweat of the impoverished masses of Ethiopia;

Condemning their abysmal failure to live up to the duties and responsibilities expected of them;

Realizing that the claim "they would not let us work" is a lame excuse and a false one intended to serve as a cover for their failure;

Declaring that these people are opportunists bent on amassing wealth and engaged in the pursuit of their selfish personal interests, and warning them that the time will come when they shall be called to answer for their deeds before the tribunal of the people of Ethiopia whom they have betrayed;

Warning, in particular, those in high posts who have fitted themselves into the established system and have situated themselves in comfortable niches within the given bureaucratic order, and who, far from alleviating the misery of the people, have become additional burdens to them;

Reminding, further, that unless and until they change direction and work in firm unity to bring about a new order conducive to the well-being of the Ethiopian people, there can be no doubt but that their activities will remain retrogressive and inimical to the progress and development of our country, the Congress resolves:

1. That all educated Ethiopians open their eyes and assume their duties and responsibilities;

2. Realizing that strength always lies in unity and in the common commitment of all, and not in efforts of scattered individuals, the Congress urges that they work together and strengthen their unity;

3. That they set up all the organizations necessary to facilitate

the execution of their obligations to the people;

4. That those who have completed their education and are working at home should be in touch with those still studying at home or abroad and should cultivate and strengthen cooperation with them;

5. By establishing contact and strengthening their unity with all organizations and movements that are dedicated to bringing about fundamental and progressive changes, they should work to hasten the demise of the existing feudal regime.

On Ethiopian Foreign Policy

Having carefully studied Ethiopia's foreign policy;

Aware that Ethiopia is *in theory*, although not in practice, categorized among the non-aligned states;

Noting, moreover, the fact that Ethiopia is one of the founding members of the OAU and is signatory to the Charter;

Realizing, at the same time, that there are irrefutable facts to establish the present regime in Ethiopia is a direct tool of the imperialist powers, in particular the United States;

Recalling the stipulations embodied in the OAU Charter and the provisions agreed upon by the signatory states to the effect that no foreign military bases should be allowed to exist on the soil of their countries;

Knowing, however, that by the existence of an American military base on Ethiopian soil, besides turning the country into an instrument of an alien power and thus compromising the nation's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity for the preservation of which millions of Ethiopia's brave sons have fought many battles and died, and that, like any other country which allows itself to be penetrated by foreign military bases, Ethiopia has earned for itself powerful and unequal enemies;

Drawing attention to the fact that MAAG—the so-called American Military Aid, Judith Institute, the American Peace Corps, and the American Radio Station are strengthening America's neo-colonialist hold on Ethiopia, the Congress:

Strongly opposes and condemns the so-called Mutual Defense Pact signed in 1953 by the United States Government and the Ethiopian regime designed to protect and maintain the rule of absolute monarchy;

Strongly condemning the Ethiopian regime for turning Ethiopia into a foreign military base, the Congress demands that the American Government immediately dismantle its military bases and remove its forces from Ethiopia;

Demands that MAAG, the American Radio Station, The American Peace Corps, The Judith Institute, and the Mapping Institute be removed from Ethiopian territory;

Condemning the state of affairs which has led to the shedding of blood between the fraternal peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia, the Congress expresses the wish that the existing border conflict be settled peacefully, and supports all moves that will lead to the strengthening of unity between the two peoples. However, if the Government of Somalia tries to violate the border and thus renders impossible the establishment of peace and friendship between the two sister countries, the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe will be opposed to such a course of action.

Source of Authority and Division of Power

Having closely examined the source of authority and power division of the political order in Ethiopia today;

Realizing that, as stated in Articles 26 and 36 of the Constitution, all power and authority rests in the sole hands of the absolute monarch;

Realizing, moreover, that it is explicitly stated in Article 4 that "by virtue of His Imperial blood as well as by the anointing which He has received; the person of the Emperor is sacred. His dignity inviolable and His power indisputable," thus confirming that authority is based on the notion of "divine right" rather than on the will of the Ethiopian people;

Aware that this power is supported and shared by the Church hierarchy, princes, nobility, landlords, and chiefs;

Recognizing that the declared right of the Ethiopian people to elect representatives to the Parliament which, in actuality, is devoid of any useful work for the progress of the country, is nothing but sheer fiction designed to perpetuate and institutionalize the system of absolute monarchy;

Aware that the Parliament is staffed with appointees of the Government who support the system and not with genuine representatives of the people who would reflect the true interests of the nation;

Recalling the fact that when a debate on land reform recently arose, the House of Senators was unanimously opposed to the issue;

Realizing that, as stated in Article 25, the Parliament is, in sum, an instrument whose absolute "loyalty and subordination" is to the monarch, and that, moreover, it is pledged by oath to work for the "interest and safety" of the Emperor;

And convinced that the structure of this system of government founded and maintained, as it is, for the benefit of a few individuals can never work to pull the Ethiopian people from the present lowest standard of living in which they find themselves, the Congress resolves as follows:

1. That it is strongly opposed to this government which is based on feudalism;

2. That it supports in both word and deed all organizations and movements that are struggling to eliminate the existing government and that are working for the progress and development of our country.

National Economy

The main objective of this study is to alter the foundations of the prevailing system which is built on injustice and inequality, and which for centuries has remained intact and antagonistic to the needs and aspirations of the people, always reinforcing their ignorance, arresting their progress, and blocking the general development of the country.

Land Reform

Having examined the system of landholding in Ethiopia today, and recognizing that this system of land tenure is dominated by the holdings of royalty, the nobility, the Church, and a few individuals;

Realizing that this system of landholding, besides constituting the main obstacle to the development of our agricultural potential—which is the backbone of the country, has reduced more than 80 per cent of our toiling people into serfs, and has created all the conditions that deny them the most elementary rights due to them as Ethiopians;

Fully aware that our object is to see that the static economic, social, and political conditions of Ethiopia are altered in such a way as to be conducive to contemporary standards of dynamic change so as to make our country a place where our people can live in happiness and prosperity;

Realizing that Ethiopia's land is the common property of the Ethiopian people, the Congress declares:

That the liberation of the people from the age-old myths of ignorance perpetrated in order to perpetuate the system, and that the restora-

tion of their right to enjoy the fruits of their labour are of capital importance, and that it is imperative that they are freed from the extortion and exploitation of the idle who wax fat at the expense of those who till the land.

Development of Agriculture

Aware that even though 90 per cent of our people's energy is employed in agriculture, and that the resulting production of this sector is extremely low to the extent that the internal needs of the country are left unsatisfied, let alone exports to other countries;

Realizing that the shortage of agricultural products is not due to natural limitations, but is rather a direct result of the prevalence of an archaic system of landholding, of traditional ways of farming, and of the primitive methods of animal husbandry and agricultural techniques, the Congress believes the following steps to be necessary for the improvement of agriculture:

1. That *after* a programme of land distribution is effected, it is highly necessary that the energy of the farming population and the resources of the government be cooperatively mobilized so that Ethiopia's agricultural produce will be diversified and its quantity increased, and that it is equally necessary to employ maximum effort in order to realize the high potentialities of modern agriculture;

2. That in order to derive the maximum benefit, it is necessary to establish many high and lower schools of agriculture so that a large number of qualified Ethiopians can be spread throughout the country to work in cooperation with the farmers;

3. That in order to make the distributed land as well as those mutilated plots of land found in certain provinces productive, it is necessary for these lands to be collectivized into cooperatives;

4. That in order to remove the difficulties arising from the lack of farming tools and agricultural machinery, the Congress believes that equipped agricultural centers from which machinery can be distributed to the farmers under appropriate regulations should be established at various localities;

5. Mindful of the water shortage in our country, and of the necessity to improve the farmer's working methods, the Congress recommends the building of dams, reservoirs, and irrigation systems attached to our lakes, rivers, and sea, and suggests that the introduction of fertilizers, and the opening of a large number of agricultural centers be undertaken;

6. Realizing that cattle rearing is a major factor of our economy, the Congress believes that such steps as the introduction of modern techniques and methods of animal husbandry, so necessary for the expansion of this sector of the economy, should be implemented without delay;

7. That the present urban landholding be altered so that every Ethiopian will have an adequate amount of land.

Forestry

Realizing that forestry represents great potential wealth to the development of a country;

Aware that, given Ethiopia's natural riches in this area, she, too, can derive great benefit from her forestry potential;

Recognizing that, due to the lack of a strictly followed policy on forestry, and the absence of any traditionally observed methods of treatment, the forest wealth of our country is extremely low and is continuously decreasing, and realizing that, as a result, the country's resources can be seriously depleted, the Congress offers the following resolutions:

1. Realizing that forestry, besides being a source of satisfaction of the needs of each household and of various factories and industries, is actually useful to the beautification of a country, to the enhancing of favorable climatic conditions, as well as being instrumental to the development of the culture of a nation;

2. Realizing that the usefulness of a country's forestry is not confined to a particular function, but that it is essential to the general habitation and prosperity of wild life as well as to the overall welfare of a country, the Congress recommends that Ethiopia's forests be protected by a national administrative agency which will control the erosion of extremely valuable earth;

3. Observing the present low yield in forestry, and realizing how this constitutes an obstacle to economic progress as well as how this can become a serious handicap to future generations, the Congress recommends that efforts be accelerated to increase the wealth potential of our forests;

A. That the granting of concessions to foreigners and the cutting down of trees for the private monetary gain of a few individuals be terminated;

B. That anybody who, without planting an equivalent number, cuts down trees be strictly penalized;

C. That the practice of burning down forests for purposes of carving out farm lands must be prohibited by law and that, since there is much rich land in Ethiopia, any farmer whose plot of land is too small should be given sufficient land for his use;

D. Conscious of the very high usefulness that forestry represents to the utility of national needs, and aware that its proper handling and treatment require responsibilities, the Congress believes that it is necessary to open advanced schools of forestry and train highly qualified Ethiopians whose expert advice to the general public will be greatly beneficial with the result that the public becomes the protector and preserver of our forest wealth instead of its destroyer.

Mineral Wealth

Aware of the government's neglect up to now in developing the mineral resources of the country, and realizing that the development of such resources is of fundamental importance to the growth of Ethiopia, the 5th Congress resolves:

A. That all land and all mineral resources therein be owned by the public;

B. That since the granting of concessions and/or the selling of mineral resources to foreign companies entails—as the history of so many African, Asian, and Latin American countries demonstrates—the neo-colonialist domination by imperialists with the result that the mineral deposits of these countries are, with little or no benefit to them, exploited to the point of quick and complete exhaustion; Ethiopia's resources must not be given, either by sale or concession, to foreign profiteers. Instead, the nation's resources should be placed under state control and should be so developed and operated through the full employment of national capital as well as by means of borrowed foreign capital, e.g., the World Development Bank;

C. That the extent, type, and approximate value of Ethiopia's mineral wealth be determined by a general survey of the entire country and that the task of surveying and evaluating results should not be made dependent on the advice of untrustworthy foreign experts, and that a number of mining schools, colleges, and universities be opened where qualified nationals and technical experts will be trained to man the nation's resources;

D. That the already known mineral deposits as well as those to be discovered in the future be put to good use under government direction and that an extensive building of communication networks be under-

taken throughout the country; that the prevailing practice of squandering of the country's mines for the private advantage of certain individuals be brought to an end. The Congress believes that the systematic assessment and public knowledge of the amount and value of natural resources are essential prerequisites for the planned development of the people's standard of living.

National and Foreign Capital

Aware that capital constitutes wealth and that the general progress of a country and its stages of economic development are measured by the amount of total capital available; realizing that in general capital also represents national savings for investment; and desiring to see the increase of our national savings and the accelerated growth of Ethiopia's economic development in the shortest possible time and supporting the above recommendations, the 5th Congress resolves as follows:

1. That honest and resolute efforts be taken to change the present methods of administration and the prevailing social habits, structures and practices so that the growth of national capital and the independent development of the national economy are given favorable conditions within which they can develop to their fullest extent;

2. That credit and savings agencies be established and that sound policies of finance and taxation be adopted so as to encourage the augmentation of savings;

3. That the misuse of land, the wasting of manpower and of our animal resources and the practice allowed to certain Ethiopian individuals to transfer from the country unlimited amounts of money to foreign countries be brought to an immediate end; and that the chronic habits of procrastination and red tapeism in administrative circles be removed forthwith from the country. The Congress solemnly declares that the task of improving our people's potentialities, the elevating of their spirit, and the satisfaction of their needs are accountable responsibilities which cannot be avoided by the Ethiopian Government.

It can be said, moreover, that foreign capital can help accelerate development and can be useful in the exchange of technology between countries. However, realizing that the foreign capital, borrowed or otherwise, entering the country from various nations results in the unlawful interference in the internal affairs of that country that it is used, by a variety of methods, to obstruct economic organizations, to sabotage governments and to disrupt unity; and understanding that the capital

coming from private capitalists embodies these evils as well as their objectives for profit-making which can become formidable obstacles, the Congress believes that:

1. The proper utilization and administering of foreign capital are the responsibilities of the government;

2. All foreign capital should be employed in enterprises that directly enhance the development of the national economy instead of being squandered on churches and mosques, on lavish receptions and the military, on useless and ephemeral display of showcases which are designed to swell the glories of private and contingent persons;

3. All foreign capital must be utilized on the basis of scientific economy and must be geared towards the proper and even development of *all* the provinces of the country in a manner that would ensure the attainment of our goal for rapid economic growth.

Light and Heavy Industry

Understanding that industry is a major factor in a modern economy and realizing that it is an indispensable factor for the healthy development of a country's economy; strongly opposed to the view that the so-called "underdeveloped countries should, for many decades, confine themselves only to the development of light industry," the 5th Congress understands that:

1. In our country natural resources can be found for the extensive development of heavy industry;

2. Through the employment of a large number of experts and by the proper utilization of their experience, heavy industry can easily yield substantial dividends;

3. Heavy industry is the prime mover for adjacent light industries which develop and expand around it;

4. Heavy industry does not only provide the means for the amelioration of short-run problems, but also ensures the future independent development of our country's economy. Therefore, the Congress reaffirms that it is a serious mistake not to give priority to the development of heavy industry;

5. Opposed to the whole idea that the development of heavy industry should wait until there are a large number of experienced workers, young technicians of excellent training, etc., and rejecting the view that there should be a large market already in existence before the building

of heavy industry can be embarked upon, the Congress reiterates its conviction, in line with the points stated above, that if heavy industry is first built with the aid of foreign experts, the training of qualified Ethiopian nationals can be assisted thereby and achieved in a short time.

Religion and Economic Growth

Fully aware that the religion taught in Ethiopia at present and in the past is one which teaches the people to believe in the absurd notion that "this world is useless and ephemeral;" realizing that this blindly propagated religion is contrary to the projected plans for the growth and modern development of our country and that it is ill-disposed to accept progressive changes which would benefit the Ethiopian people and nation; knowing that it is totally immersed in the politics of the nation and in the government apparatus, always collaborating with the powers that be in obstructing and subverting the progressive movement of the people; and understanding that "religion is private but nation is common and public," the 5th Congress demands:

A. The strict separation of Church and State;

B. The abolition of all dogmas, canons, and teachings which, on the pretext of praying and fasting, reduce the days and hours of work, sap and weaken the energy of the people and prevent them from engaging in productive work;

C. That no Ethiopian be discriminated against on account of his religious faith or by reason of his inferior economic standing brought about by a system not based on equality and cooperation.

Remembering that the Church continues to propagate the discredited mediaeval idea that "he who rules is the Creator by means of instilling fear among the people, the Congress demands that the Church distinguish between faith in God and government of men.

The Congress believes that this religion, which together with the other obstacles has up to now retarded the country's economic growth, may in the future, if appropriately modified, enable Ethiopia to develop her economy in a healthy way .

External and Internal Trade

Desiring to see the direction of Ethiopia's trading condition move towards the desired goal of rapid economic growth and on the basis of the study made on the ways and means of improving external and in-

ternal trade, the 5th Congress offers the following resolutions:

A. Internal Trade

Recognizing that prior development of internal commerce is the pre-condition for the expansion of a country's trade and aware that up to now our internal commerce is not geared towards the modern practice of commodity and money exchange but is still governed by traditional habits and practices, the Congress advises that:

1. Ethiopia's general trade should be put along modern lines;

2. In order to do so the practice of having temporary markets and the habit of shifting them must be ended. Instead, permanent market places should be established, modern commodity centers created, price control enforced and the general conduct of internal trade restricted to Ethiopian nationals;

3. To help develop cooperation among Cooperative Associations, a central association should be created;

4. To help alleviate difficulties of businessmen, to promote a working relationship among traders, to supervise the activities of local monopolists and to organize internal trade in the spirit of modern standards, a central association should be created;

B. External Trade

Realizing that external trade in our country is in the hands of foreigners, and that this sad state of affairs entails the constant flight of our country's wealth to foreign countries and obstructs the direction of Ethiopia's economic development, the 5th Congress resolves that:

1. All such large enterprises be managed by the State;

2. The Government restrict its imports to industrial goods for the development of industry and importation of consumption goods be limited;

3. The importation of goods that can be produced in the country should be strictly banned;

4. The Congress believes that the management of external trade by the government endangers the maintenance of a sound Balance of Trade, a favorable Balance of Payments and avoids inflation and deflation, thus ensuring the healthy growth of the national economy.

Education

Having noted the studies made at the Strasbourg and Bologna congresses on this question, the 5th Congress resolves as follows:

I. Rural Schools

Satisfied by the opening of many private schools in the large Ethiopian cities and wishing to see the removal of certain obvious defects, the Congress demands that the following steps be taken:

- A. That these schools should be hygienically fit for education;
- B. That the areas where the schools are situated and the surroundings which are unsuitable for schools should be corrected so that the moral health of students is not endangered;
- C. That all instructors who teach in these schools should be worthy of the teaching profession both in their knowledge and conduct;
- D. That school fees should have ceilings so that the owners of these schools do not charge as they wish;

And that the Ministry of Education and the Municipality help each other to enforce the measures indicated in A, B, C, and D, above.

2. That because the great majority of students are day students living at great distances from their schools and exist only on a meal a day, the Congress demands the establishment of dining facilities within or in the vicinity of the schools where the students can buy their food at reasonable prices just as is done by all progressive governments.

3. (A) The Congress registers its disappointment with the fact that the resolution adopted by the Bologna Congress calling for the establishment of a Translation Committee and for the appropriation of funds for same has not been fulfilled.

(B) The Congress expresses its disappointment that the previous decision of the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe to take an active part in the educational development of Ethiopia in partnership with the Literacy Campaign has not been fulfilled.

II. University Education in Ethiopia

A. Totally opposed to the entrenchment of Americans at Haile Selassie I University where they propagate, and foment division among students;

B. Opposed to the suppression of patriotic Ethiopians who are

labeled "communists" when they show honest concern for their country and express their views in accordance with the academic freedom enjoyed by universities;

C. Totally opposed to the turning of the University into a political arm of the regime for the suppression of students, whereas it was established to provide higher education for the youth of the country;

D. Realizing, moreover, that in addition to the functions of suppression, the University is headed by a political appointee who has repeatedly shown his loyalty to the regime and who is totally unfit for the job both in his education and administrative capacity; and observing the retrogression of higher education in Ethiopia, the Congress decides to send an open letter to the Board of Administration demanding the immediate removal of this political appointee who must immediately transfer his authority to a person at the University who is equal to the task.

5. (A) The Congress advises that whenever any Ethiopian, whether he be a student or a working person, finds the opportunity to improve his education, the agencies or departments concerned should offer his assistance; at the least the Congress strongly demands that they refrain from creating trouble for him.

B. Educational Attaches or Supervisors of Education

Realizing that when an Ethiopian obtains a scholarship from any government to study abroad many objections are raised by government authorities with the result that he is denied his rights to education and is prevented from serving his country, the Congress directs the Union to serve a serious warning to the educational attaches and supervisors of education who perpetrate these obstacles.

6. Understanding and supporting the efforts of the Ethiopian Literacy Campaign to eradicate illiteracy, the Congress resolves that those governments and private organizations which are willing to assist the backward countries be approached and any assistance obtained be given to the campaign.

Health

Having analyzed extensively the studies made at Strasbourg and Bologna congresses on this question, the 5th Congress resolves as follows:

A. Aware that the absence of properly kept health statistics in our country constitutes an obstacle to the work of incoming doctors, the Con-

gress urges that steps be taken to correct the situation;

B. Noting Article 2, No. 2 of the Bologna resolution under the topic of Health, the Congress demands the creation of a health centre to examine the quality and to control the price of medicines, and that no drugs be sold or bought unless prescribed by qualified persons;

C. That the standard of sanitation and equipment of hospitals be improved;

D. That the small number of Ethiopian doctors should, as much as possible, also work in those hospitals that are outside the capital;

E. That those hospitals built for the poor should service the poor and that, moreover, the rights of the people be strictly observed in the other hospitals;

F. That whenever a sick person is brought to a hospital, he should be given medical treatment before he is demanded to prove his poverty.

2. A. That extensive education in hygiene be undertaken so that the health of the people is better protected;

B. That water purification reservoirs be built at those appropriate brooks so that the prevailing practice of fetching drinking water from unkept ponds and wells would be discontinued;

C. That at every little town and village communal sewage systems should be dug; wherever there is a large colony of prisoners, the work could be performed by them;

D. That during their vacation periods, students should be sent to give instructions on methods of how the health of the people as well as the sanitation of their surroundings can be improved;

E. That the government initiate a programme of competition in sanitation in villages and other places.

3. That maternity centres be established in every province to advise mothers so that infant mortality is reduced;

A. That instructions be given to mothers on the necessary care to be taken both during pregnancy and after;

B. That mothers should be led to understand the dangers to which the babies are exposed by those non-hygienic performances such as the way in which tonsils are cut and the administering of other strenuous treatments which go in the name of traditional medicine;

C. Moreover, the Congress holds that the number of doctors and baby specialists must be increased.

Workers

Observing that the number of workers labouring in private companies or in governmental institutions is on the increase, and dissatisfied that there are no adequate laws to enable the workers to enforce their rights and protect their interests, the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe offers the following resolutions and urges that they be put in practice.

A. Wage

1. A minimum wage must be established by law;

2. Those employees who work over-time in private or governmental enterprises should be paid accordingly;

3. When employees are sick they should be given a certain percentage of their salary until they are well;

4. At old age they should be given pensions.

B. Labour Union

1. Realizing that in spite of the Negarit Proclamation, No. 27/54 by which workers are permitted to establish a union, and aware that this union is not fully independent, the Congress demands the restoration of its independence so that the Union becomes self-sufficient;

2. Aware that the main power of a labour union comes from the preponderance of the number of its members, the Congress urges that all existing organizations as well as those created in the future belong to the main Union of Ethiopian Workers. It supports all efforts in this direction;

3. Extreme vigilance must be exercised against all attempts of the regime to weaken the solidarity of Ethiopian Workers as well as against the schemes of the American AFL-CIO so that the Union does not become a tool of American imperialists;

4. Since Ethiopia is a member of the ILO, the number of conventions and recommendations it endorses should be equal to or more than those adopted by African countries, and then, these must be put into practice;

5. Saddened by the death of Ato Aberra Makonnen, former champion of the labour movement and leader of the Union of Ethiopian Workers, who struggled for the realization of the fundamental goals of

the Union and for the protection of the interests of the Workers and who sacrificed his life in that struggle, the Congress decides to send a communication of solidarity to the Union and a message of condolence as well as all possible material assistance to the family of Ato Aberra;

6. Firmly convinced that the establishment of a strong Union of Ethiopian Workers is the key to Ethiopia's growth, the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe also decides to give every possible assistance to the Union of Ethiopian Workers.

Special Problems

Having made a detailed study of social problems in general and of *prostitution* in particular, the 5th Congress declares that the existence of prostitutes:

- A. Brings shame upon the name of Ethiopia;
- B. Destroys the health of the people, particularly those of the new generation.
- C. Totally agreed that this social evil which generates the spread of alcoholism must be rooted out from the soil of Ethiopia, the Congress demands that:

1. The government take resolute measures to remove prostitution and to provide appropriate alternatives for the rehabilitation of our sisters;

2. Municipal authorities and district administrators be empowered to stop the inflow of new prostitutes and to see to it that no liquors are sold or bought anywhere without license;

3. The government take serious and effective measures to destroy all pander organizations that thrive on prostitution and all pimps who live off the flesh of our sisters;

4. All religious leaders, with the aid of radios and papers, launch an extensive campaign throughout the country against this evil which is so alien to our culture;

5. Strict rules and regulations be adopted forbidding hotels to accommodate pairs without lawful certificates.

Affairs of the Union

Aware that Ethiopian Student Unions are duty bound to cooperate with world student movements, the 5th Congress resolves that:

1. It is the duty of the Union to strengthen its unity with all forces and movements for world peace and to establish proper relations with the I.U.S. and Cosec as well as with other similar organizations;

2. Recognizing that the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe does not have permanent headquarters, and conscious of the attendant difficulties at present which are bound to increase as the number of students grows and the affairs of the Union widen, the Congress directs the Executive Committee to undertake a study of this problem with the view of finding a free and permanent place;

3. Aware of the duties and responsibilities we have for the growth of our country, all ideas and programmes coming from all organizations and movements working for the progress of Ethiopia shall be welcomed;

4. Having studied the report submitted by the Committee on Union Affairs relating to "World-Wide" Union of Ethiopian Students, the Congress instructs the Executive Committee to distribute the report to all Ethiopian student organizations around the world.

The Making of a New Ethiopia

by Girma Beshah (Lisbon, Portugal)

I

A French *philosophe* once wrote that absolute monarchy was excellent under a good king. D'Argenson would be surprised if he could now know that absolutism itself is totally discredited and associated with backward societies. Despite the contemporary movement towards democracy, Ethiopia is one of the few countries in the world where absolute monarchy has its stronghold.

The first question that must be asked is how such an institution could persist in the twentieth century, especially in modern Africa. The answer is extremely easy. It is a historical platitude to say that absolute monarchy is a necessary concomitant of a feudal society. Ethiopian feudal society offered a socio-economic order ideal for absolute monarchy.

Ethnic and geographic heterogeneity contributed to the thorough-going hierarchy of man to man relations. Specialized classes like the warriors and the clergymen of the Ethiopian Church occupied the highest rung of the echelon. The maintenance of such order demanded the monopoly of property and legal rights by the governing classes. Like everything else, distribution of legal rights meant the vesting of supreme judicial authority in feudal lords over their serfs. Such was the social pattern in the nineteenth century and it persisted up to the eve of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. The five-year Italian occupation brought about a social change of some significance, though some Ethiopians do not seem to appreciate this fact. The *coup de grace* to slave trade may be said to have been administered by the Italians.

Ethnic heterogeneity, which is one of the factors perpetuating Ethiopian feudalism, deserves a more detailed treatment. One must take recourse to nineteenth-century Ethiopian history for a better understanding of the situation. The conquest and reconquest by Emperor Menelik II of what now constitutes roughly the southern half of the country, swelled Ethiopia into a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural giant. The Gallas or the Oromos had already thrust themselves deep into the north, a fact which contributed to their rapid assimilation of the Amhara culture in Wollo. They were followed by the Kafichos, the Sidamos, the Beni Shangul, the Somalis, the Adals, the Hararis and a great number of other tribes. The nomadic tribes were left undisturbed while the settled farmers in the new territories were reduced to serfs. Their holdings were expropriated for crown or church endowments or granted to the *Neftanas*, troops of feudal lords. The tribes were kept in their water-tight communities, each speaking its own dialect and living its own style of life. It is estimated that at least seventy dialects are spoken in Ethiopia today. The level of social organization and, above all, the fighting skill of each tribe or region determined its relations with other tribes. Shoa took the ascendancy. Under its hegemony, particularly during Menelik's reign, there was a relative quiet in the country up to the death of the grand old man in 1913. Some have criticised Menelik for his failure to inculcate the notion of the nationality in the minds of his subjects. The critics forget that national sentiment is a positive response to an immediate challenge. Nineteenth-century Ethiopia offered little such challenge. It is true that in the past the Moslem threat had brought the northern tribes closer in some sort of Christian confederation. But as soon as the fear of Islam looked distant, every tribe returned to its traditional life of isolation.

The real challenge came from Italy. Mussolini's gigantic public works program, though aimed at facilitating the consolidation of his East African empire, directly contributed to Ethiopian unity. All-weather highways connected the capital with provincial towns. The Gallas and the Sidamos were regarded not as mere tribes but as Italian subjects governed under the Galla-Sidama "Governatorato." As such they were subject to the same laws. A uniform fiscal system was introduced throughout the country. The Amhara was a mere tax-paying subject as much as the Ghimira and the Guraghe. The Tigre endured the "calcio" of the carabinieri as painfully as did the rest. The right of public accommodation was denied to all the "indigini," be they Amharas, Gallas, Christians or Moslems.

Without intending to do so, Italy rendered Ethiopia a good deal of service. The highways she built and the overall transport system she introduced created a sense of tribal interdependence. The ruthless treatment of the unruly patriots united Ethiopians against the invader. Unity was complete on a February day in 1938 when, in a fit of fury, Italian soldiers decimated Addis Ababans and thousands of residents in other major cities. The streets of Addis were painted red with innocent blood and the quick Abyssinian temper became red-hot. Genuine Ethiopian nationality may be said to have come into existence that very day. Ethiopian guerrilla fighters, stiffened by British Empire and Commonwealth forces, crushed the Italians after five years of domination.

Emperor Haile Selassie was back from his self-imposed exile in Britain, and safely reinstated on his throne. His sudden departure from his capital at the imminence of the Italian invasion had disappointed his subjects. Even today, many Ethiopians have not forgiven the Emperor for his flight which they know to be unbecoming to an Ethiopian king who is, at the same time, the commander-in-chief. The explanation seems to lie in the fact that Ethiopians are more impressed by sheer manly guts and martyrdom of their leaders rather than by shrewd maneuvers which, in Haile Selassie's case, culminated in retreat. The Orthodox Christian faith, with its fatalistic tenet, exalts martyrdom as a visible sign of one's sincere devotion to a cause. It may consequently be said that a great number of Ethiopians suffer from a martyrdom complex. They might have expected Haile Selassie to follow the example of Emperors John IV and Theodore II whose memory evokes, even today, great patriotic pride. The force of this fact does not seem to have been carefully assessed by the Emperor before he decided to leave the country.

Nor was he sufficiently cautious in deciding the end of Lij Iyasu, his prisoner since 1917.

The sudden collapse of the Italian forces in the country brought great rejoicing. Bitterness against the Emperor gave way to thanksgiving to God. The cool little man was accorded a triumphant welcome to his capital. The moral victory he had gained over Mussolini and his much celebrated appearance at the League of Nations did no doubt increase his prestige. With singular sympathy his subjects assured him of their submission to and trust in his imperial leadership. One by one the leaders of the resistance forces laid down their arms. It is hard to think of a precedence to this magnanimous example of discipline.

In 1941 the Emperor found himself in an Ethiopia different from the one he had left five years earlier. Gone were the tough boys who for years had upheld the cause of the Monarchy. Gone, too, were the slaves who had now tasted the heady wine of freedom. The nostalgic urge of the past was, nevertheless, so potent a force in him that the "Conquering Lion" could hardly fail to cling to it. Moreover, a response to that urge seemed an act of loyalty to tradition and a spiritual communion with noble Abyssinians. As a first step towards the re-enactment of the past, the feudal lords were given free reign to consolidate their holdings. The Emperor appointed his hard-line vassals as governors of the key provinces. Ras Seyum was reinstated in his traditional possession of the Tigre. Ras Birru and later Dejazmach Mesfin (now Ras) were sent to coffee-rich Kaffa. To Ras Adefrisaw was given the Sidamo-Borona province. To the Emperor's two sons, the Crown Prince and the late Prince Makonnen, were given Wollo and Haraghe respectively on hereditary basis. The choice of these officials was regarded by some as a backward-looking decision. Widespread discontent was rife, especially among the *Arbanoch*. Criticism was not late in coming even from the Emperor's close confidants. Haile Selassie seems to have correctly foreseen the lurking danger in the growing discontent.

The *Arbanoch* had built a powerful image for themselves during the Italian occupation. The tough resistance they had offered the Italians contrasted rather sharply with the not very courageous stand of the Emperor on the battlefield. After the liberation, relations between him and the *Arbanoch* were gradually becoming uneasy. It would have taken the Emperor considerable time to make good for unenviable performance during the war, but the presence of these people seemed to prolong the

time unnecessarily. Their presence and reputation continued to foil his pretentious image. Haile Selassie would not permit this irritating state of affairs.

In personal integrity and in physical courage known to us as *jebd* the Emperor may well be considered void, but in the art of plots and counterplots of the shrewdest kind, perhaps, none in Ethiopia is better gifted. Equipped with this diabolic weapon, he embarked on a secret project to hunt down his opponents. Most of the *Arbanoch* were country gentlemen lacking even the minimum training required of a modern administrator, but the absence of such qualification did not stop them from aspiring to senior posts in the government. The Emperor had ostensibly insisted on trained people to help him modernize the country. This seemingly convincing policy gave him the opportunity to lock out the *Arbanoch*. He deliberately adopted a provocative policy against them, now that he was sure of his power to deal with them. He had already won over to his side some of their powerful members, thus assuring himself of his ability to liquidate and/or silence the remaining. The appointment of Ras Seyum was a clear provocation. This Ras had treacherously approved of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. In grateful recognition of this, the Italians allowed Seyum to retain his sway over the Tigre. Another traitor, Ras Hailu of Gojjam, was not treated likewise by the Emperor. He was shorn of power and his property confiscated mainly for crown endowments. If Seyum was absolved why not Hailu? This syllogism was particularly prodding on the responsive nerve of the Gojjame's. The whole of Gojjam felt itself insulted and refused to swallow the insult. Belai Zelleque, a well known *Arbana* leader, who had already been aggrieved by the appointment of another traitor to be the governor of Gojjam, was secretly preparing for a showdown. Tigre, too, was eddying in fury at the appointment of Ras Seyum. It sought a new leader and it thought it found him in young Mengasha.

Several plots to unseat the Emperor were foiled, but their occurrence was a symptom of a deep-rooted trouble. Haile Selassie was caught between the reward-seeking *Arbanoch* and the progress-seeking young generation. but to none would he cede an inch. He relied on his own solution to the issue. It became evident that the life of the Crown depended on a strong imperial army and a security force. The regime embarked on a vast scheme of rearmament. Defence bills topped that of education, hitherto the highest. An efficient army equipped with Czech, Belgian and American arms was soon established. Its efficiency was mag-

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nificantly tested when it quickly quelled the *Arbana* uprising led by Belai Zelleque of Gojjam. Another uprising, this time in Tigre, was stamped out and the rebel leader, Mengesha Seyum, taken prisoner. The army, with singular loyalty to the Emperor, became a power to reckon with.

II

The program in education, underfinanced and lamentably inadequate though it was, did nonetheless produce a small but robust elite. Young Ethiopians who had studied in Western Europe and North America learned not only the habit of reading the *New Statesman* but also the comfort of regular hot baths. They also learned to insist that it was their right to enjoy in their own country at least a fraction of the amenities they experienced abroad. Some of these young people, known as the *Ras Club Radicals*, were successful in having their demands met. They gained admittance to the regiment of directors-general which entitled its members to West German Ford cars and extensive credit and other less-known hand-outs. Others persistently refused to be trapped by this snare, thus creating a most embarrassing situation for the Emperor. Subtle solutions were sought to overcome the dilemma. Diplomatic posts in isolated countries were adopted as effective prisons. The "trouble-makers" were kept there for several years to decay into demoralization. Those considered more imminently dangerous were treated harshly. Their punishment often was life imprisonment with hard labour in Ethiopia's own Siberia—the Gore and Gemu-Gofa provinces.

Some belated reform measures have of late been taken. The 1955 constitution which guaranteed the rights of the people to go to the polls is a notable example. Nevertheless, this legal instrument empowers the Emperor to appoint senators and to veto the decision of the Parliament whenever the need arises for it. Contrary to all current propaganda, cabinet ministers are responsible to the Emperor and not to the Prime Minister who is himself nothing more than a puppet. The doctrine of the division of powers, though guaranteed in the said constitution, is never practiced. Indeed, the executive and legislative powers along with the judiciary are firmly gripped by the Emperor. This grip is expected to be even firmer as the Emperor becomes more aware of his insecurity. In short, the 1955 constitution, though apparently democratic in so far as it mentions the free election of the representatives for the Chamber of Deputies, in effect, does reiterate the absolute power of the Emperor.

Like much else in Ethiopia, this so-called revised constitution is designed to institutionalize absolute monarchy and to enhance the interests of the ruling oligarchy.

The problems at the wake of the country's rapid emergence from isolation seem to be unforeseen or neglected. The regime's complaisance is no doubt responsible for this negligence. The Emperor appears a little too confident that what he claims to have done for his subjects was more than they could normally expect. The quasi-divine respect accorded him by the landed gentry and by some army chiefs seems to be behind this smugness. Any such conviction he entertained was, however, shattered by the abortive 1960 revolution. The full assessment of the revolution awaits the efforts of future historians. What it did constitute, however, was the conflagration of a long-smouldering disenchantment of the enlightened segment.

The real force of society lies in the enlightened segment. This creative minority is the yeast of society. Its decision is bound to be the decision of the whole. Today we must count ourselves as very fortunate in having this group in Ethiopia which we might rightly call the yeast. The *Yetemaru Wotatoch*, as the people educated during the post-war period are especially known, may as well be reckoned as a powerful social force. Among them are many who are imbued with the ideal of service to the people and to the Motherland. Their whole lives seem to be geared to this one goal, a fact amply proven by the hundreds of university graduates flocking to the Civil Service Commission begging to become their people's servants. What is even more telling is the increasing awareness and growing militancy of Ethiopian students, both at home and abroad. Every educated Ethiopian finds it his sacred duty to serve his wretched fellow Ethiopians who, out of their miserable income, paid for his schooling. Back in Addis, the writer knew a young doctor who had to fight hard for a post at the squalid Adowa Hospital where he thought he could be of better help to his needy people than he could possibly be at the ultra-modern and over-privileged Princess Tsahai Hospital in Addis Ababa.

The Emperor would certainly be disappointed to realize that this group would, under no circumstances, be prepared to uphold his interests above those of the people. Though some have let themselves be won over by the Emperor, the vast majority of the *Yetemaru Wotatoch* is of the people and for the people. The fact that some responsible young

people are quickly integrating themselves into the imperial establishment is causing some irritation among the new crop of the *Yetemaru*. It appears, however, that this blanket criticism of all those within the establishment is both unfortunate and unjustified. To think that they are all actively working for the imperial cause is not a correct assumption.

The intimate relation between the discontented mass and the creative minority, which is already questioning the *raison d'être* of monarchic feudalism, has opened a mild but unmistakable rift between the Emperor and the Ethiopian people. It has been thought high time to move into the breach. Disaffection is by no means confined to the younger generation. There are many among elder Ethiopians whose opposition to the regime is no less determined. None was more clearcut than former Ambassador Birhanu Dinke. He bluntly invited the Emperor to step down in favor of the Crown Prince whom he (Dinke) believes to be more liberal. While the aim of the *Yetemaru* is the welding of Ethiopia into a nation, the Emperor has chosen to remain completely tight-lipped about the issue. In fact the regime condones tribalism which has retarded the growth of national cohesiveness. Angered by the regime's schemes and outraged by the Emperor's outrageous treatment of his opponents, some radicals have called for the immediate removal of the monarchy which they regard as a declared enemy of the people. They realize that in the twentieth century no progress is possible under divine absolutism. On the other hand, those schooled in reformism advocate the limiting of the Crown to a symbolic figure-head as a first step and its eventual substitution by an elected magistracy as a second step. Quite irrelevantly, some scorn the exotic origin of the monarchy; others abhor the idea that monarchy should be from the perfidious Shoa. Still another group questions, on purely legal grounds, Ras Tafari's right to sit on the throne. In the course of these conflicting arguments, an important point appears to have been overlooked. The cardinal issue lies not in Haile Selassie's supposed loyalty to Shoa, nor even in the myth of the Solomonian Dynasty, but in the utter incompatibility of monarchism with the desired goals of progress and democracy. It also lies in the identification of the regime with the fanatically anti-Islam Church. This issue has been carried a step further in the so-called revised constitution of 1955 which makes it quite clear that the succeeding line of Ethiopia's emperors should profess the Orthodox Christian faith as taught by the "national church." The danger which this constitutional stipulation engenders is readily seen as a growing number of Moslem Ethiopians is becoming increasingly aware of its potential power within the Ethiopian society. Jacques Baulin, in

his *The Arab Role In Africa*, estimates thirty one percent of the population of Ethiopia to be Mohammedan. There are more Moslems in Ethiopia than there are in Saudi Arabia. There are twice as many Moslems in Ethiopia as there are in Libya and four to five times as many as in Somalia. In fact, the Moslem population of Ethiopia ranks sixth in Africa after Nigeria, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco and the Sudan. The rapid growth of Islam has made Ethiopia the meeting point in Africa of two mighty civilizations—Christianity and Islam. It would be unwise not to consider the Moslem reality in Ethiopia as an accomplished fact. Recognition of this fact is of course unthinkable to the Crown, and no less to the Church. Both are well aware that the recognition of the rights of Moslem Ethiopians is likely to unleash the very weapon by which they are bound to be disestablished.

The fusion of Moslem and Christian communities naturally calls for a new magistracy. The Monarchy which, in large measure, owes its existence to the Church cannot be said to be fit to lead a country of such characteristics. The first step towards the building of a modern Ethiopia capable of measuring up to contemporary standards is the transformation of the country from a mere abode of kaleidoscopic tribes into a nation. The realization of this goal calls for the substitution of the monarchy by an elected magistracy. There is every reason to believe that the supreme national interest is better safeguarded this way.

To some uninformed observers the organic setup of Ethiopian society is analogous to atomic structure with the Emperor forming the nucleus. The removal of the monarchy, these people maintain, would cause the disintegration of the country. Such a view reflects a total ignorance of the true virtues of our people. There was a time when the country was virtually without a leader. At the imminence of the Italian invasion, Haile Selassie had fled the country. Anyone or more of the provinces could, if it so desired, have broken away from the Ethiopian union and could have submitted itself as a separate entity to the impending tutelage of Italy. The *status quo* of such a province would no doubt have been respected by the British Military Administration which took over from the Italians. Such a step was not contemplated by any province. A people which knew how to maintain its unity in those troubled days cannot be expected to disintegrate when new conditions require the removal of the Crown.

III

For an assessment of the avowed achievements of Emperor Haile

Selassie's regime, one may consult the statistical information made available by various international organizations. It may be pointed out, however, that this does not always lead to a clear picture of the abysmal condition of the Ethiopian people. Speaking of our public health service at present, for example, Dr. Admasu Taferra has this to say: "Though the physician to population ratio is 1:97,000, the mal-distribution of physicians negates the statistical facts, leaving whole areas with population from 100,000 to 1 million without a single doctor or hospital." Much the same could be said of education. The common denominator of our national undertaking is inadequacy. The net result is the position Ethiopia is obliged to occupy—the humblest in the African development effort. Only the uninformed masses is ignorant of this fact.

The last five years have seen a passionate movement towards African regroupment. While practically every African country is moving forward, ours is alarmingly static. Our development projects are scanty. What we boast to have achieved hitherto, pale miserably before the accomplishments of any African country. Yet our country is among the largest in Africa, both in area and in population. The fact that we, though among the oldest, are the most backward of the African nations is very painful to realize.

The African peoples, whom we are taught to hold as inferior to us, are now ahead of us in the development of culture, economy, and democracy. These people were, as the prophet Isaias would have put it, "The people that walked in darkness," but today they "have seen a great light, they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shone." We Abyssinians are, however, still groping in the thick of darkness. This generation we represent was brought up in the belief that only the "Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah" was able to dispel the darkness. We were told to wait and wait with the staunchest belief in the conquering might of a lion. Wait we did, for years, for decades and for one solid generation; but the blanket of darkness which envelops us grows thicker and thicker as the years fleet away. But when the pent-up fury of the Ethiopian people one day bursts into a rampant condition none but the Lion and his cronies are to blame.

The Ethiopian people are currently in the abyss of misery and ignorance. That millions of Ethiopians live on the alms of international charity (food surplus, etc.) is enough to make one understand the appalling situation in the country. Famines regularly threaten many provinces. In

a country where there are more cattle than people, meat is a luxury food in most homes and available only once or twice a year. A number of southern tribes know no other food but the roots of the pre-historic *enset*. It is doubtful whether the hundreds and thousands of Abigare, Shinash, and Waittso have ever seen clothes let alone worn them. A monetary economy is unknown to millions.

A regime which, in the face of these situations, smugly claims great achievements is uttering a colossal piece of nonsense. Yet that is precisely what the press and radio of the imperial establishment is busily stuffing our ears with. The imperial regime is well aware of the truth of things. It is equally aware of its importance to remedy the situation. It does not even know the number of the people it rules while it claims to know the number of cattle in the country. Let it be said that Ethiopia is one of the two countries in Africa where a census has never been taken. Demography is today considered a vital element in economic planning. A solid infrastructure in a nation's economy cannot be erected without an adequate knowledge of a country's human resources.

It might appear unwise to criticise the present "Twenty Year Development Plan" of Ethiopia. The technicalities of the plan and the allocation of funds to various projects is the domain of the experts. Nevertheless, anybody endowed with common sense can hardly fail to weigh for himself the adequacy or inadequacy of such plans. Like the first and second five year plans before it, this so-called plan is already a dead letter. In it are reiterated the same old unkept promises which are advanced for home consumption. A few further comments along these lines are therefore in order at this stage.

Elsewhere a passing reference was made to the slow progress of development schemes. The Imperial Highway authority could serve as a random example. In more than ten years of life, this agency has built highways of a total mileage of 600 miles. This figure has been included, rather strangely, as one of the achievements of the First Five Year Plan (1957-62)! An endless shower of statistics can be utilized to show the general backwardness of the country, but the inherent deficiencies of these statistics do not permit the bringing to light of the stark realities.

Our criticism of the present Ethiopian social order, of which we ourselves are a part, is not to gratify a masochistic urge, but to simply call all conscious Ethiopians into a concerted action against our backward-

ness The call is for hard work. The messiah capable of saving Ethiopia from the bondage of misery under a feudal tyranny is organized hard work. The gospel of hard work has been widely preached in our country. The literary output on the virtues of hard work is an impressive one. Even tavern bards have sung that theme. It is, however, one thing to preach and quite another thing to practice. Let the mechanized farms, the factories, the banks, etc., be there first. Once these factors of production are there, labor is readily available to fill them. There seems little point to dwell on how other countries have developed. In purely economic terms, work is labor and labor is productive activity. And if work is to be constructive and beneficial to society, it ought to be planned and executed with persistent energy. The trouble with us "underdeveloped peoples" is that we take it for granted that we are in the twentieth century. That is not so. This century is still the century of the North Americans, the Europeans and the Japanese. We Ethiopians specifically are still in the Middle Ages. If we wish to leap to the twentieth century we shall have to work and fight sixteen hours a day six days a week. We shall have no right to holidays, no right to imported cars and other luxuries. To work under such conditions would be to pawn one's life for the very life of the country. It is as though the country was on the verge of devastation by a brutal enemy and that its survival depended on the heroic struggle of its total man power. At that moment of crucial struggle, the nation can rightly expect everyone to do his duty.

This sacrifice for national survival will naturally affect many sectors of social life. It will mean the building of schools and the deployment of students to every village, settlement, and hamlet to teach the people the alphabet. It will mean the toil of millions of laborers on the roads, on the housing projects, and on a number of other public programs. It will mean ridding Ethiopia of the corrupt and incompetent ruling class and the transformation of the status quo. There should be no question of the willingness of the Ethiopian people to undergo such a period of a veritable holy war for the salvation of our Motherland. The people must be convinced, however, that it is building its own schools, its own roads, and its own shelters. Our people must know that they are dethroning not divine power but a regime that has usurped the power of the people. A people ignited by the fire of true patriotism is able to generate energy capable of achieving great things. History bears witness to that.

It has become a fashion nowadays to prescribe planning as the panacea to ailing or emerging economies. Many countries, both in the East

and the West and in the underdeveloped world, have adopted it. In the advanced capitalist countries it means not so much the full employment of the labor force as the equilibrium of supply and demand. In the socialist countries it means the maximum production and the best utilization of factors. In the backward countries, now euphemically known as developing countries, planning is a program of a set of work arranged in order of priority to be achieved within a given period of time. Backward countries depend heavily on foreign aid in the form of loans or investments by capitalists.

The success of Ethiopia's development plan depends not so much on the country's ability to secure foreign aid or to invite foreign capital as on the rational use of its own resources and the total mobilization of its own energies. The possibilities of obtaining disinterested aid from foreign sources is becoming more and more difficult. No country which seriously desires to move ahead should neglect to muster its own resources. Even the best of foreign aid cannot be a substitute for a nation's own resources. More often than not, aids and grants simply swell the private coffers of those in power.

The purpose of this observation is to guard against the surrender of our sovereignty in exchange for an easy flow of foreign capital. This does not imply that foreign assistance, when properly secured and honestly administered, could not be of benefit. Rather, it is to point out that the rapid creation of a solid economic infrastructure cannot and ought not await the whimsical pleasures of moneyed creditors. The only way it can be surely achieved is through the country's own efforts. Given an honest and dedicated leadership, the state can foster such efforts by creating a framework of laws and institutions in property, banking, and saving. Our cleavage to Christian and Moslem doctrines may prove an impediment to the application of a strong economic measure, but if the leaders of the two faiths are willing to encourage the people, there should be no fear to apply a mild austerity for a limited period.

Book Reviews

I. ETHIOPIA: A NEW POLITICAL HISTORY by Richard Greenfield, London: Pall Mall Press, 1965, and New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965.

by Melesse Ayalew

Ethiopia is one of those countries which scholars enjoy turning into fairylands clouded with romantic tales as if these countries exist only to satisfy the selfish whims and fancies of these academicians. They tell us that here is one such country, Ethiopia, whose queen in those good old days traveled to the centre of civilization and enlightenment and returned home with a half native son whose successor-descendants, for three thousand years,* guarded the independence of this mysterious land by themselves (and for themselves!). And in it live an innocent, satisfied, and ever-blissful people whose way of life has defied change, even in the twentieth century. Indeed, Ethiopia is a timeless museum with an ethical purity of its own. To view it otherwise or to change it is, we are told, either bad or unnecessary, or even harmful. To this "innocent," perspective, western writers on Ethiopia have naturally remained faithful.

Richard Greenfield's book, *Ethiopia: A New Political History*, represents a modest attempt to break away from this fetish which explains the anxiety of the Ethiopian government about the book's publication and its protracted efforts to get it out of circulation, and also the hostility with which the book has been received by the established "experts" on Ethiopia.

An authentic history of Ethiopia awaits further research and interpretation, especially by Ethiopians. At the moment, such a critical investigation remains forbidden to able Ethiopians who are reduced either to total silence or (partially by their own choice) to serving as propagandists for the ruling feudal oligarchy. The government is particularly concerned about Ethiopians investigating the history of their country because any honest study is bound to shatter the basic falsities which have been accepted as true historical facts both at home and abroad. All that has been published about Ethiopia, particularly regarding the last half century, is

*In the official chronicles of the "king of kings and lion of Judah," the independence of Ethiopia is altered every year in order to maintain the magical figure of 3,000.

so full of unmitigated lies that going beyond "tradition" is bound to show how the present political, social, and economic structure stands on a sham edifice.

To the outside world, Ethiopia is known not through the history of its people, but through a mythology which has been erected and efficiently expounded by the regime and its popularizers. Thus, Leonard Mosley, the semi-official biographer of Haile Selassie, makes painstaking efforts to prove that the abysmal court of intrigues go on without causing anyone serious harm. The untold human and material sacrifices Ethiopia has so long withstood in order to maintain these practices, which excite the sensibilities of the tourist-scholars, are rarely recorded.

On the other hand, Ethiopians (as well as the Mosley) are well aware of the ugly side of their country's history. They are aware of the basic problems, even if they are not allowed to write about and discuss the past, present and future of their country. As a result, Greenfield's book brings to light no information unknown to the general Ethiopian public. But as an honest, systematic factual narrative, Greenfield's account sharply differs from most books that have been paraded as "history of Ethiopia" in the west. Having worked in Ethiopia for several years, Greenfield is well acquainted with conditions there, and as the reader can discover for himself, the author has put his observations to good use. He has systematically attempted to bring into the historical process that suffering majority which has been slaughtered for no other reason than to reconcile the transient disagreements within the ranks of the oppressing feudal power, the supposed embodiment of Ethiopia's virtues. Thus, Greenfield's book is not a story about the adventures of legendary heroes, but represents an attempt towards a history of Ethiopia. Consequently, even if the book contains certain weaknesses (and there are many), they are only incidental and subtract little from the *leitmotif* of historical narrative, abundant in information hitherto unclassified.

The single most important value of the book lies in its elaboration of a salient fact about Ethiopian politics within the last two centuries, a fact which even Ethiopians, who should know better, are reluctant to recognize fully. In Ethiopian history, there has always been a remarkable degree of intermarriage between powerful family cliques from different "tribal" groupings. As a result, power rivalry, as it is usually interpreted, has not been between tribes in defense of the authority of their respective feudal barons, but simply between entrenched and trans-tribal "families"

motivated primarily by economic and political interests. The tribal aspect of the rivalry was only a by-product, a rationalization by the contestants to mobilize their followers according to the classic formula of divide and rule. Thus, it has never been the case that Ethiopia was ruled by Tigres *alone* at one time, by Amharas *alone* at another time, or by Gallas *alone* at still another time. Even when co-equal warlords simultaneously dominated different parts of Ethiopia, they were of "mixed" descent, and often blood relations. And among them, whether identified as Galla, Amhara, or Tigre, were great national heroes like Kassa (later Emperor Tewdros) who championed the unity of Ethiopia.

Thus, the anthropologists' view that there really does not exist an Ethiopian nation, but an aggregate of hostile tribes artificially held together, is utterly false. Equally absurd is the dominant assumption that true Ethiopian nationalism was the single-handed work of the present emperor, and that without this "divine" presence, Ethiopia would fall prey to a cataclysmic tribal warfare which would tear it into innumerable pieces. At no time in its history did Ethiopia experience a civil war in which "tribes" stood on different sides of the battleline. Tewdros was resisted in the extension of his authority because he did not possess the sacred blood (he was born from a mother who earned her living by selling "kosso" in the community market); Eyasu was dethroned primarily because the powerful Ethiopian church and the landed nobility saw a serious threat in his folksy-mindedness; Haile Selassie, in his rise to power, had to contend with the opposition among his own class and relations and systematically eliminated even close blood relatives. The struggle for power and succession invariably resolved itself according to the iron jaws of intrigue, with the concomitant sudden deaths, poisonings and assassinations.

For the first time, this side of the story is extensively and unapologetically documented by Greenfield. Neither for the unity of its people, nor for its welfare is the feudal hierarchy with an absolute monarch at its head indispensable to Ethiopia. However strong the myth, and how vigilantly (and desperately!) it is upheld by the regime and its uncritical allies, the true story cannot escape honest scrutiny. Ethiopia is not the only country where social change has been contained and resisted on the grounds that any upsetting of the *status quo* inevitably leads to the disintegration of the social fabric. Stability is a contemporary slogan which simply means safeguarding the *status quo*—a cruel and abstract formulation of the human condition in the face of actual enslavement.

For anyone who possesses a sense of human decency, it is impossible not to see alternatives to the existing condition in Ethiopia. Despite the legendary aura with which it has shrouded itself, the present ruling class in Ethiopia (like all of its kind in history) is characterized by its contempt and fear of the masses over which it rules supreme and in its cult of self-interest. Its moral and spiritual values make it utterly immune to the cries emanating from the misery and beggary of the people. Its authority derives not from the people it claims "to love dearly" but from powerful families which nurture the artificial differences (tribal, religious, social, etc.) between Ethiopians. These divisive tactics of the ruling class are understandable, for without them, there would not be the rationale for its rule. The claims of "unity" are transparent devices which conceal the mythical nature of all such claims. Behind the myth of unity lie the cold and avaricious hands of self-interest.

Undoubtedly, Ethiopia at various stages of its history has known (and even today has many sons, though they are silenced) patriotic, nationalist leaders. Greenfield's narrative brings to life many of these "anonymous" men. But those who prevail today have the least claim to what is good for Ethiopia. What is common to the majority of the Ethiopian people and what unified their aspirations is their present condition of life—their misery, their ignorance, their illiteracy, their disease and their exploitation by a most unproductive minority.

The power establishment is fully aware of the logic in this situation, particularly its base vis-a-vis the mass of the population. It knows that it stands on a sandbag which could slide away any time. It knows that its death knell will ring soon and that is what it fears most. It is in no position to face a showdown with the growing wrath of the Ethiopian people. In its final desperation, it attempts to hide its weakness under a "constitution" and a "parliamentarianism" which simultaneously forbid the people the expression of popular will through honest elections and only allow a stageman competition between the feudal barons and their brutal allies.

As Greenfield clearly documents in the last section of the book, the oligarchy is not quite the naive, unsophisticated and simple-minded folk it is so often considered to be. It is made up of a group of people which clearly knows its interests—or more correctly, what it does not want. The ingeniously devised facade of constitutional monarchy (how on earth could an absolute monarchy "whose authority is inviolable and whose

power is indisputable" ¹be a constitutional monarchy?)—neutralism and Pan-Africanism is only a counter-revolution. Insidious minds came forward with these devices as a safety valve against social change which would allow the true expression of non-alignment and the realization of the cherished ideals of African unity, emancipation and authentic independence and reconstruction.

As Greenfield says, "There have been *coups*, revolutions and political assassinations throughout Ethiopian history." One does not have to go too far into the historical record to prove this point. Even since the present emperor came to power alone, there have been no less than forty attempts to either unseat him or to bring about a different equilibrium in the distribution of power among the ruling families. But the 1960 revolution, of which Greenfield has presented the first most detailed exposition, surpasses in its quality and motives all the previous transactions. Both in terms of the social tensions which led to it and in the programmes it designed to execute, the mark it left on Ethiopian history is probably as important, or even more important than the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, an event which also engendered the heroic resistance of the Ethiopian people.

On the eve of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935, Haile Selassie had almost completed the elimination of his rivals and had established himself as the unchallenged guardian of the church-nobility ruling class. Despite the brutality and dehumanization it brought to millions of Ethiopians, Italy's fascist adventure suddenly interrupted the new sense of unity the landed oligarchy had established within itself under the tough leadership of Haile Selassie. Ethiopian kings are reknowned for their heroism and physical courage, especially in struggles against foreign encroachments on the sovereignty of the country. In exception to this, in 1935, when the Italians invaded the country, Haile Selassie characteristically and voluntarily exiled himself and stayed abroad during the following critical five years. In spite of the technological superiority of enemy warfare and the absence of centralizing leadership for the resistance, the Ethiopian people inaugurated one of the earliest and most successful guerilla war strategies and prevented full-scale "pacification" during the entire five years.

When, at the end of the war, the emperor "triumphantly" returned home, the traditional base of his power, and consequently the traditional

landed gentry was reduced and new figures who had established themselves through their own strength as leaders in the resistance movement had emerged. Actual power was much more diffused in the hands of the people than ever. It would not be too unrealistic, as Greenfield only partially recognizes, to say that Ethiopia would have taken an entirely new political course in 1941 if it were not for the international situation which vitiated against this possibility. Indeed, the imperial power was so weak until 1947 that the emperor was only able to reestablish his authority through the foreign contingents which he brought to the country with him and allowed to stay until he was absolutely sure that he could manipulate the game on his own.

Once "Peace" was restored, the emperor reinstated the former feudal lords as governors of key provinces and allowed them to enlage and consolidate their land holdings. In the excitement of the aftermath of many years of war, these appointees literally uprooted thousands of small landowners to a point where some of them, for example Ras Mesfin, were able to turn entire provinces into some of the world's largest latifundia owned by single individuals. In the meantime, the more progressive of the resistance leaders were denied a share in the booty and were later hunted down one by one and exterminated.

The following two decades, both internally and externally, witnessed many changes. Internally, on one side, the emperor gradually intensified the oppressive machinery of his rule to an extent never known in Ethiopian history, by creating an elaborate security and spy ring which has few rivals anywhere in the world in the number of its victims. On the other hand, there emerged a small group of educated Ethiopians who, by the very logic of the situation, are related to the powerful ruling families. In the early stages, the regime, by offering them highly lucrative jobs, had no difficulty in integrating the few educated people who had the qualifications to rationalize the administration of the feudal establishment and give it a semblance of modernism. For social reasons and out of sheer necessity the ruling class unhesitatingly absorbed a few educated immigrants.

As the ranks of this educated minority gradually enlarged, the internal competition for positions in the feudal structure became progressively sharper as it was realized that the system was incapable of accommodating latecomers on the basis of talent and integrity. What these men set out to serve was not only inefficient and irrational in terms of

¹Ethiopian Constitution, Article Four.

reconciling its own contradictions and problems, but, as events following the independence of Ghana and other African countries clearly demonstrated, it was incapable of directing Ethiopia's glory, independence, and resources towards the requirements of the modern age. Ethiopia, whatever its heritage, was one of the most backward countries in the world and seemed to remain so unless immediate improvements were made. African countries, whose peoples, the official ideology maintained, were inferior, in a few years on independent existence, were moving ahead of Ethiopia in building their cultures, economies, and the great continent of Africa itself. Ethiopia was never allowed to contribute its share to the collective pursuit of continental emancipation, and there was little hope that it would not continue to exist unaffected by the tide of history.

The generation of Girmane Neway was caught in a decaying social order incapable of self-reform and that of a dynamic world in which all human beings, irrespective of their accidental situations, are playing a direct role. First, they tried to reform the system from the inside to be frustrated not only by their exaggerated hope of the inflexibility of the system but by their own innocence as well in not having recognized that going through formal academic training by itself never meant that trainees are unprepared to defend exploitation. Education *per se* is no guarantee for decency, and among Girmane's friends were many who were more than ready to defend the prevailing condition from the prescriptions of the "utopians." The politics of intrigue, cunning and deception found its way even into the Alumni Association of a secondary school. Girmame and his minority supporters (within a minority) were making the same mistake as the French philosophes did.

The sudden revolution of 1960 was launched partly as a reaction to the failure of moderation, and in its larger meaning as a result of a deep recognition of the increasing out-datedness of the Ethiopian situation. As Greenfield correctly maintains, the revolution, like all other true revolutions, was designed to alter the social condition in which it was launched. But it differed from other genuine and successful revolutions in the sense that it did not reconcile its strategies with the means. The men who led it underestimated the viciousness and cunning of the autocratic rule; and they were unduly taken in by the human and cultural environment in which the ruling class has preached a doctrine of passivism only to its opponents for decades. Thus Greenfield correctly observes: "Confident of their success, the revolutionaries argued over secondary

issues. Their rebel fervour and effort began to dissipate into channels which could have little significance until the attempted *coup* could be completely consolidated. Which, in fact, it was not. Mengistu, despite the advice of his brother, Girmame, hesitated to authorize action which might lead to bloodshed. Revolution, however, is not for the dilettante. It was Lenin who pointed out that once begun it must be carried through with absolute ruthlessness to the end. The initiative began slowly to slip from the hands of the Council of the Revolution. Meanwhile, from the army headquarters Asrate Kassa sent for the patriarch." (p. 398). As a result, this historic upheaval was unable to realize its immediate goals.

Ethiopia lost some of its best sons in the uprising, but this is not the first time this has happened. Many have preceded them. The "rebels" of 1960, however, left behind a unique legacy. The seeds they were not too sure to sow have caught the imagination of all Ethiopians except those opportunists who prefer to wait until they are swept aside. Three months after December 12, the Government, disguised in darkness and secrecy, would not tell the people that it was hanging its foes. If it did, it knew very well what would happen. Today, it would be even more "polite" to announce the liquidation of much less disguised bearers of the torch.

Greenfield has done a great service to Ethiopians, not only because he helped save the lives of many Ethiopians during those momentous days of December 1960, but also because he has chronicled the event for posterity. Ethiopians, as well as those friends of Ethiopia, who should be fed up with the propaganda of the regime and its lackeys, would benefit a great deal from the book. Greenfield could be accused of a measure of uncritical evaluation of the relative significance of facts and events. Yet, until a better work appears, his book will remain the best historical account of the 20th century Ethiopia.

II. WAX AND GOLD by Donald N. Levine, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1965.

by Hagos Gabre Yesus

There were times when Donald Levine presented himself as one of the lone voices who dared write some "forbidden" words about Ethiopia. Following the 1960 attempted *coup d'etat*, for example, Mr. Levine wrote an accurate analysis, if only a mild one, of the rebellion and of the brute force by which the rebels were massacred by the restored dictatorship. Because of it, he could not teach at Haile Selassie University since the place is saturated by the most decadent mercenaries and imported amateurs whose knowledge of Ethiopia falls short of even that emanating from contemporary "Disneyland" academia. For the consequences of his action, Levine has lost nothing; indeed, it is a credit to his integrity, both as a man and as a scholar. But those writings were of a different order and type from the book we are reviewing here. As we see it, the difference is nothing less than a metamorphosis which the author of *Wax and Gold* has apparently undergone within the last half dozen years!

Wax and Gold, a book about contemporary Ethiopia, is a mediocre work. Where it means to be systematic and scientific, it is confused and sloppy; where it means to be moral and political, it is bland and conventional; where it means to be "helpful" to a society mired in medieval backwardness, it is pious and "politely" didactic. Yet, books on topics like this are important because so many of them are written and because they reflect the dominant temper of Western thought about the so-called underdeveloped world. Indeed, Levine's book may be far more significant in what it tells us about Western academic thought in general and American thought in particular than what it tells us about Ethiopia and its connections to the modern world.

The general structure of the book consists of an analysis of the dominant feudal culture in Ethiopia, its history, its recent changes, and its problems in entering the twentieth century. Thus, there are chapters on the glories and defeats of Menz and Gondar,* the world of the Amhara peasant, problems of the newly-educated Ethiopian, a curious chapter on the "oral fixations" of what he calls Amhara culture, and a final chapter on individualism and social progress in Ethiopia.

*With what nostalgia does the putative child of pragmatism chronicle the feasts, events, and glories of emperors and kings? To give such importance to the affairs of

In the preface, the author concedes that he succumbs to the fantasy that is Ethiopia:

I freely admit to having been seduced by the charm of traditional Amhara life. Played out by an extraordinarily handsome people in a setting of great beauty and a climate often called "idyllic," it offers a gate through time to a state of being that is richly medieval. Such sights and sounds! A minstrel singing his subtle lyrics as he bows a one-stringed fiddle; in the dark interiors of church, barefoot deacons holding beeswax candles and swinging vessels of smoking incense; the pomp of a nobleman moving cross country with his crowded entourage; a young girl washing the feet of her father's guest . . . (pp. vii—vii)

This admission is a diffident claim by which the author attempts to show that even he is subject to petty, yet all-too-human sentiments in viewing venerable, romantic Ethiopia. It also demonstrates at a deeper level the "liberal" view that the world is an orchestra to play the chords of varied and wondrous sensibility; a view which observes with olympian indifference and with equanimity, the sufferings of an oppressed and starving people through the eyes of a tourist, albeit a sophisticated one. This anthropological impulse to treat Ethiopia like an archaic and well-preserved museum suffuses this particular book as it does so many others on Africa.

Levine does not set out to write a specifically scientific or specifically moral or specifically political treatise on Ethiopian life. He intends to write all three and succeeds in making a thorough mess of it. This confusion of different predispositions makes it difficult to unravel the threads of neutral value free social science from those of critical analysis and political judgment. Facts themselves are often couched in evaluative terms and many of the philosophic assumptions from which values are inferred are left implicit. Levine, who defines himself as an American pragmatist, accepts his Western values as if they were in the eternal nature of things. The danger of this type of intellectualism devolves from the fact that it mistakes its intolerance for open-mindedness, its dogmatism for fresh air, its lack of principle for commitment—in a word, the prejudices of Western chauvinism for the broad-spiritedness of the universal human good. Since the author takes his goodness for granted, it

emperors and kings is to be oblivious to the fact that this was not the history of our people. This absence of history is perpetrated (not only in Ethiopia, but wherever the whims of dictators and kings reign supreme) by the tyranny that monopolizes and denies the history-making potential of the Ethiopian people.

is the task of the critical reviewer to unmask the ethnocentrism behind the show of smiles and generosity.*

In the context of American social science—and this is the field which nurtures Levine's thought—his book falls short of its highest canons. The working assumption of this thought is the separation of frameworks which "objectively" describe, classify, and explain bodies of fact from frameworks which involve judgments about the significance of such facts. It would demand that the scientific analysis of Ethiopian society be clearly demarcated from statements about what the author likes or dislikes about the society. This is the common distinction between fact and value, a distinction which is accepted by Mr. Levine, yet one which his book fails to observe. *Wax and Gold* is full of facts surreptitiously implying values and of values parading as data. One example will suffice. Early in the book, Levine says that the Amhara have acted and continue to act in an imperialistic manner toward other culture groups in the Ethiopian polity. He states that during the expansion of the base of the present ruling oligarchy, "many peoples were maltreated. Independent tribesmen were reduced to slavery; unique cultures were decimated; proud kings were dragged in the dust. Those who held down the Amhara position in these occupied territories seized land from the indigenous peoples and exploited them as much as would any invader." (p.4) A statement like this involves both the idea that a number of facts can be summed up by the word imperialism (and here his concern for "proud kings" being conquered appears to confuse the factual basis of the concept) and the implication that imperialism is a thing that Levine does not like. He continues by saying that one of the consequences of feudal oppression (which Mr. Levine prefers to call Amhara domination) was that it saved Ethiopia from European colonialism and that therefore Amhara imperialism is "better" than European imperialism. Now, even if it could in fact be proven that the domination of the Amhara, the Tigre, the Galla, or any other group has consequences which limit the possibility of European conquest, what does this correlation of facts have to do with the kind of value statements Mr. Levine makes about imperialism? If one is against imperialism, against it as much as one could be against any other social evil, then no body of facts can demonstrate that one imperialism is better than the same injustice. Are the Ethiopian people to be grateful when they discover that their oppressors, which

*It is significant that Levine makes a distinction between the dissimulation of Amhara "wax and gold" poetry and the clear speech of modernity when he himself represents a kind of equivocation more insidious perhaps because it is certain of its "reasoned" clarity.

ever groups they may be, spring from the domestic soil rather than from foreign lands? Are the Ethiopians, who are plundered and exploited by other Ethiopians, to consider themselves better off than their African brethren who are plundered and exploited by Western imperialism? One cannot lessen an evil by presenting the same evil as a lesser evil. Imperialism is imperialism, and one cannot call it evil and then minimize it by reference to a given factual analysis which simply appeals to the belief of a ruling clique that its exploitation is more humane than other exploitations. This mixture of facts not properly analyzed and values not clearly stated makes Levine appear as both the sober analyst and the balanced judge at the same time. This is simply a pose which obfuscates bad science and poor judgment.

We are not here implying that a body of historical events which, by our standard, is unjust may not have subsidiary consequences of a beneficial nature. In order to further exploit the African, colonialism built roads and mines and sometimes even schools, and these facts are intrinsic to the very meaning of the social phenomenon. If the perpetrators of such "facts," the perpetrators of the misery, degradation, and deprivation suffered by Africans are condemned, then nothing they have done for the purpose of exploitation is justifiable. The fact that the colonized peoples have appropriated whatever apparatus is left over from colonialism in no way mitigates our condemnation of it. Likewise, the Ethiopian people are not grateful to domestic oppressors for having exploited them regardless of the surmised "good side effects." Considering how much more quickly our brother Africans have developed unity and militancy and are directing this same energy towards the genuine reconstruction of the Afro-Asian world in the face of imperialism, it appears that we Ethiopians have even less to be thankful for. Besides, Ethiopia has not been spared from the barbarism of the fascist aggression of yesterday; nor is she free from the neo-colonialist domination of today. These are facts which the author of *Wax and Gold* studiously ignores. Had he but given slight notice to these facts, his half-hearted preoccupation with "imperialism" would have been less trifling and more profound.

Levine knows a great deal about Ethiopian society. He has done painstaking research, has made many observations, and demonstrates quite keen powers of perspicacity. Indeed, there are statements and interpretations which are profound and true; in fact, they seem to corroborate positions taken by this journal. But these insights are either part of a pastiche of irrelevant details and false interpretations or are imbedded

in a broader framework which actually undermines the pointed significance of such insights. The broader framework is less a structured edifice of thought than a dominant tone or mood.

The major polarity facing Ethiopia, says Levine, is the choice between traditionalism and modernism. To juxtapose these as unified choices, as conceptions of uniform and uncontradictory meaning is to falsify the Ethiopian or even the larger human alternative. Traditional Ethiopian culture as a conservative, long-term phenomenon is something of a simple choice—what to value and what to devalue has existed, is known, has continuity. But modernization is far more complicated a phenomenon embracing all the opportunities as well as the contradiction in industrialization. That “modern” means unheard-of wealth through machine production, efficient economic organization, and application of science to the control of nature is obvious. After this is said, however, it is clear that the modern world is not all of a piece, but is itself rent asunder by varying ideological justifications concerning the *types* of control of this industrial process. In accepting the “modern,” does one also accept the inbuilt exploitation of man and nature for the sake of wasteful profiteering born of a system of oppression? Or is the merit of this modernity nothing more than, as the author himself states in another context, “to help one’s relatives, inflate one’s ego, and multiply one’s wealth?” (p. 186) Does one accept the entire history of Western colonialism and imperialism? Does one accept the bloodiest wars in human history, or the dedication of man’s productive capacity to the construction of a more and more destructive military machinery? For Mr. Levine to assume that the modern world involves one choice is for him to assume that we Ethiopians are as simple-minded as he thinks we are.

Levine has the curious impression that Ethiopia has been “modernizing,” i.e., that there has been a substantial development of industry, commerce, and education during the present century. Wedded to the idea that most of this “progress” has occurred after 1941—following the fascist occupation—he concludes that the restored tyranny is responsible for and dedicated to reform. He bases this curious impression on the “establishment of much modern bureaucratic machinery, the institution of a parliament and electoral procedures, a mild degree of industrialization, and, above all, the provision of a modern secular education for thousands of young people.” (pp. 215-216) Can it be called substantial modernization when, by Levine’s own admission, the government bureaucracy indulges more in mutual backbiting and currying favor than in governing,

when constitutional procedures are a complete sham, when industrialization bespeaks more rhetoric than fact, when whatever little industry there is in the hands of foreign profiteers who cater to the interests of the ruling class, and when a country of more than 22,000,000 had, in 1962, only 6,000 people with post-elementary education of whom a meagre 1,500 were college graduates? In light of these obvious facts, Ethiopia has yet to wage her battle for real progress. She has yet to free herself from monarchic absolutism which in the twentieth century still attaches her to the feudal extortions of medieval times. Ethiopians have yet to wage a battle to dislodge a dictatorship which after half a century of misgovernment can boast no more than 1,500 college graduates. Moreover, if there has been even the slightest development of Ethiopia’s vast potential in the “postliberation” period, must we thank the present regime any more than we would thank colonialism for its roads which we hear so much about? The primary impetus for such “change” is the desire to cloak an autocratic regime in “modernity.” Even the growth of Ethiopian nationalism and the breaking of the local power of some feudal lords devolve from the desire to centralize and secure imperial power—that same reactionary archaism which has been strangling Ethiopia for fifty years. We may be impressed with the shrewdness and political chicanery behind the “accomplishments” of the present regime, but this is certainly more worthy of its notoriety than of our esteem.

The quality which Levine obviously most admires in himself is his sympathetic understanding. He believes that “understanding” comes from seeing the good with the bad, the hopeful with the hopeless, the progress with the stagnation. Thus, Levine mistrusts passion and is wary of demands for uncompromising justice. Accordingly, to condemn injustice and exploitation *in toto* is to lack a balanced view of things. As is common to the school of thought he belongs to, Levine would contend that understanding is inseparable from sympathy for human error and miscalculation. Beneath this outlook is the assumption that unequivocal condemnation of evil must derive from blindness, and that indeed, any one without this “balanced understanding” is in need of psychotherapy. This predisposition to psychologize away those with whom one may disagree is another aspect of this type of “understanding.” In this instance, one is not obliged to come to grips with the disagreement itself, but

*Incredible as it may seem, Levine goes so far as to applaud oppressors of both varieties, domestic and foreign. “He [the emperor] has been the procreator of much of what demand for modernization now exists in the country, although the Italian colonial administration must also be credited for a certain amount of this demand.” (p. 216)

rather allows oneself to encourage the indulgence of degrading a potential adversary by transforming him into a patient or a child (who likewise doesn't "understand").

That one can disapprove or be opposed to something and at the same time understand it with stark translucence is beyond Levine's comprehension. Only by seeing the author's line of thought in this light can we grasp how one can observe facts and offer significant interpretations about Ethiopia which logically should lead to certain political conclusions but which, by betraying all logic, one inexorably ignores. For example, look at the following passages from *Wax and Gold*:

African students from British colonies have in the past been surprised to find that their colonial situation admitted far more freedom of speech and press than Ethiopia. Teachers are expected to keep anything remotely connected with Ethiopian politics out of the classroom, and the editors are expected to keep them out of the newspapers. Nor have the students been permitted to form any kind of politically relevant associations. Even casual discussion of domestic problems among friends has been curtailed because of the all-pervading fear of government informers. (p. 138)

Men who did not belong to the old nobility were recruited into the new nobility on the basis of two criteria, loyalty and ability, with loyalty clearly the more important of the two. Some men from very humble backgrounds have been thus raised to the highest governmental positions through their "loyalty" to the Emperor, manifested in great part by their readiness to inform on the words and deeds of others and their obsequious and flattering manner . . . The Emperor also promoted to high position some men who collaborated with the Italians, relying on their earlier record as an insurance against latter-day disloyalty, and using their antagonism against the patriots as a check against excessive ambitions of the latter . . . So long as they remain loyal, the Emperor has tended to let members of the new nobility help themselves to the spoils of office. Some of them retain the view that public office is a private possession, a reward from the emperor rather than an obligation to the nation or people, and that it is, therefore, appropriate to use governmental position primarily to help one's relatives, inflate

one's ego, and multiply one's wealth. (pp. 185-186)

They [the government officials] divide into strongly competitive cliques, a division that itself tends to dissolve into the anxious struggle of each to maintain or improve his position at the expense of the others. The chief way to accomplish this has been to report something incriminating about another person—above all, something that impugns his loyalty to the Emperor. The consciousness of the new nobility has been dominated by the fear of arousing the Emperor's displeasure. The proximity of the throne—a phone call can summon anyone to report to the palace within ten minutes, reason unspecified—makes this a more formidable sanction than in previous generations . . . By consistently appointing enemies to adjacent positions he [the emperor] has built in checks upon the behavior and sentiments of his higher officials. He has relied on mutual jealousies and conflicting ambitions to cause each to report anything incriminating he can find on the other. When appointees in the same branch of government have shown undue co-operation and friendliness, he has at times provoked friction between them . . . The Emperor has made use of an extensive intelligence system to keep watch over those in office and out. Not only the operations of the regular security departments of the Ministry of Interior and the police, but also some of his closer advisors have had their own personal networks, financed by monies diverted from various government departments. (pp. 187-188)

Such people [the entrepreneurs] became prisoners of their wealth during the occupation, since they felt obliged to collaborate with the Italians in order to protect their privileges. (p. 186)

Not a pretty picture. We see a country without the rudiments of basic freedoms. We see an emperor fostering a fawning loyalty which inhibits initiative and responsibility. We see a government replete with informers mired in mistrust and privilege-seeking. We see a nascent and unproductive bourgeoisie with a history of collaboration.

Levine makes much of the new members of the new government bureaucracy in Ethiopia. But this "new elite" is recruited either from the old feudal landlord class or from "humble" sycophants. This "new

nobility" (can a nobility be anything but ancient?) represents a decrease in regional power of the nobility, but its purpose is to reinforce subservience to the ruling oligarchy. Nowhere do we get any hint that this "modernizing government" has any responsibility to the people. Yet why does Levine not call this regime, this monstrous edifice by any of its proper names? Reactionary. Feudal. Autocratic. Undemocratic. Corrupt. Deceitful. Barbaric.

The answer to this question is again connected to the underlying temper of the author's thought. He refuses to consider the fact that feudal despotism is interested neither in economic development nor in the welfare of the people. He does not confront this because he prefers to see Ethiopia's problems as centered around the difficulty involved in "blending" the traditional with the modern; "No synthesis of traditional and modern perspectives has yet been effected which has won the adherence of a sizable number of intellectuals and which could serve to energize their transformation of the status quo." (p. 198) He adheres to this "synthesis" because the prospect of rapid incisive change undermines the underlying categories of professional scholarship. Yet, from the above passages, we are forced to conclude that there is no other workable solution to Ethiopia's problems. With all its sophistry and professionalism, this scholarship wishes to reconcile the irreconcilable. It preaches modernism in order to shelter traditionalism; it talks of progress in order to maintain underdevelopment; it speaks of democracy in order to keep dictatorship; it talks of industrialization in order to save feudalism; it advocates reformism in order to prevent meaningful change; it exhorts stability in order to perpetuate the status quo. Thus, the fundamental spirit of this thought is one of "moderation" which is no less than the acceptance of injustice, exploitation, and misery in order to avoid what, elsewhere, the author refers to as the "recklessness" of quick and decisive change. Thus, "if modernization has proceeded more slowly in Ethiopia than elsewhere in Africa . . . the pattern of virtually unbroken Amhara rule for at least seven centuries stands in *refreshing contrast* [our emphasis] to the somewhat anguished struggle for nationality within the new nations." (p. 3) For him, "The experience of history has demonstrated the futility of attempting the revolutionary implementation . . . (p. 16) Accordingly, Ethiopian revolutionaries are dismissed as "eccentric individuals."

Levine's treatment of the new intelligentsia is another indication of the underlying tenets of his thought. In his discussion of the Amhara

peasant, he claims that modern intellectuals have "come to view the peasantry in terms of misleading stereotypes: either romantically, as an embodiment of virtue, awaiting only proper leadership to realize their suppressed aspirations for freedom, justice, and progress; or else as inhabitants of a dark hinterland, barbarous in custom and blind with superstition." (p. 56) That many of our most lickspittling intelligentsia mouth the latter sentiment as a justification for their privilege is a sad and well-known fact.* But those of us who hold the former view are not blind to the backwardness of our peasantry, and we know that the realization of their best potential demands a long struggle and sustained education. We are aware of the underlying resentment and antagonism that a long-oppressed people are prepared to voice if we will only listen. Levine, on the other hand, speaks glowingly of the durability of the Amhara peasant's life and the need to use the respect they feel for the local nobility (O hallowed landlord) in order to institute "needed reforms." Here again, he seeks the "potentialities for reformation of tradition" rather than its transformation. He pictures those of us who, separating out the noble aspects of our traditional cultural heritage, have no respect for the traditional oppression of the peasantry as devoid of humane and proper sentiment. Interestingly enough, nowhere in his entire book does he offer the basic facts of peasant landholding (or lack of it) and peasant income (or lack of it). While Levine castigates us for our "utopianism" in not recognizing the "true" picture of this durable life of peasant tradition, a few fundamental economic facts about our peasants would have been far more edifying.

The book's treatment of the intellectual abounds in trivia. The trivia are evidenced by the inordinate emphasis on presenting "data" about how many students like injera rather than "modern" food, whether they accept smoking, whether they prefer traditional dress for women, etc., etc. A great stress is placed on the personal unhappiness of the returning student who discovers that his country does not afford him the luxuries of developed countries. It is implied that the students' criticism of Ethiopian life is more a result of "culture shock" than of the truth about what is being criticized "Were they engaged in satisfying work and enmeshed in family obligations . . . such malaise would be reduced" (p. 200) we are told. What a wonderful prescription for group therapy

*Here, Mr. Levine would have done well to extend, with equal justice, his observation concerning the snobbery of our "intellectuals" to himself and to many of the "scholars" who roam the countryside to study the people with rigorous detachment. For, the way in which they go about their business, which is the study of "primitive" peoples, represents anthropological charm to them just as it evokes aversion among their snobbish indigenous counterparts.

from the world of neo-Freudianism.

Levine classifies the returnees as opportunists, withdrawers, reformers, and rebels. While nobody publicly defends the first two types, his distinction regarding the last two is highly significant.

Reformism involves the attempt both to maintain principles and to be effective in action under the existing political order.

This alternative places great demands on the personality system and might as well be designated as the pattern of "moral heroism." (p. 205)

And this is where Levine is fully taken in by his ideological naivete. If there exists in Ethiopian society a man with real intentions to reform (and there are many), he can only withdraw or rebel. There is no other choice for him.

The "reformer," lacking organizational support, is, says one of Levine's respondents, "forced to rely on morality." Does not Levine see that the quest for genuine reform cannot be successful within the present system and that such an informant is either a clever opportunist or is "pulling his leg?" Does Levine actually believe that all Ethiopian intellectuals are going to tell him the truth about themselves? It is curious that a scholar who is so conscious of the deviousness (born of oppression) in Ethiopian life (this factor of equivocation is in the very title of the book) could be so easily hoodwinked. This characterization of Ethiopia would lead many of us, upon being interviewed by Mr. Levine, toward wax and gold ourselves.

But this is not all. Levine spends an entire chapter "explaining" that the Ethiopian intellectual's lack of leadership is a result of his "dependency needs" which stem from "fixations" at "oral stages of development." It appears that we Ethiopians spend too much time at our mothers' breast only to be traumatically ripped away and thrown, with careless abandon, into a cruel world. After analyzing the ways by which the present regime pays off its opportunists and silences dissenters, how Levine can turn to such drivel to explain the present predicament is nothing short of a mystery to us. That he wishes to use the psychological categories cooked up in the laboratories of his academic establishment and collected from his Thematic Apperception Tests (administered to hundreds of Ethiopians) probably in order to make the book a longer and more impressive work might go a long way to explain the mystery. It leads us to suspect that the world of "humane scholarship" may have its

own brand of careerism. We also suspect that this interpretation will be diagnosed by our author as the paranoid reaction—rooted in oral fixations—of the Ethiopian rebel!

Levine, at one time or another, makes every conceivable prejudicial assumption about major problems of the twentieth century. Whether discussing colonialism or imperialism, nationalism or tribalism, modernization or traditionalism he implicitly reiterates slogans which embody paternalism, false tolerance, and condescension toward that port of struggling mankind whose suffering is more than partly a result of such callousness. Within the spectrum of liberal politics, Mr. Levine may appear progressive, but in the cauldron of world revolution, his "progressivism" exhibits a fragile transparency. Within the context of the contemporary Ethiopian demand for a viable life for our people, his fence-straddling posture may not be qualitatively different from that of our own careerists and opportunists. In the struggles of the past and in the inevitable conflagrations of the future, we are fully aware that many more will continue to proclaim that our idealism is recklessness and that our demands for justice are merely symptoms of political immaturity.

With these serious limitations, *Wax and Gold* is still one of the better books on contemporary Ethiopia. Its chief merit lies not only in what it says or fails to say about Ethiopia, but also in what it reveals about the prevailing ethos of modern social science. For its sheer description alone, its appearance is as much a challenge to the established dictatorship as it is to the court chroniclers whose productions bear no resemblance to serious scholarship, even when the latter is often of dubious benefit. Honest scholarship, however, demands that one carries the limited version of *Wax and Gold* a step further, to expose tyranny without compromise.

Postscript

by Andreas Eshete

ESANA members who attended the 1965 Congress will recall the "Utah Paper." The paper was drawn up by a group of Ethiopian students who were in Salt Lake City for the summer of 1965. The major purpose of the paper was to show the need for a political organization in Ethiopia. It also suggested the broad outlines of the form such an organization would assume. Following the reading of the paper and a brief discussion of its contents the Congress passed it unanimously.

The Congress elected an *ad hoc* committee to study the scope of the paper and arrive at a decision as to the best manner in which the plan might be put into effect. The committee concluded that it would be necessary to frame a charter for the political organization and specify the methods by which the ideals of the paper could be achieved. For these purposes a permanent committee was elected by the Congress to present its results for the 1966 Congress.

The "Utah Paper" marks the first instance of an attempt by Ethiopian students in North America to found a political organization which goes well beyond the bounds of a student organization. Its membership is not confined to students or any occupational group. Moreover, it is not satisfied with an organization situated overseas and exerting influence in Ethiopia from there. Instead, the aim is to begin an organization which has its headquarters in Ethiopia. Above all, the aims of the "Utah Paper" are unprecedented in the sense that they are unambiguously political. The political direction of our student organizations has been increasingly predominant in the last few years. The development has been particularly striking in the Union of Ethiopian Students in Europe and the National Union of Ethiopian University Students. Within the last few years ESANA, too, has put increasing emphasis on political issues in Ethiopia. All these trends found their culmination in the "Utah Paper". It is precisely for these reasons that the importance of the unanimous approval of the paper at the congresses in the United States and Europe cannot be overemphasized.

Within this perspective, in the course of the year the permanent committee has framed a tentative charter for the political organization and spelled out some of the specific measures necessary for its establish-

ment. Both the charter and the measures suggested are subject to the consideration of the forthcoming congress. The major aim of this short postscript is to remind you that, in terms of the perspective outlined above, this proposed charter has significant and long term implications for each and every one of us, and hasty consideration would therefore be unwise.

Consequently, it is crucial that all Ethiopians who are planning to attend the forthcoming congress give serious consideration to the ideas of the "Utah Paper" in the short period left. The Executive Council of ESANA will send "The Utah Paper" to all those Ethiopians who have not had access to it already. We anticipate relevant suggestions which will be of great aid to the preliminary work already undertaken by the committee.

Notes from the Editors

In the last issue of *Challenge*, we commented on an editorial which appeared in the Ethiopian Herald following a historic occasion when our fellow students at home carried the cause of Ethiopia's landless peasantry onto the streets of Addis Ababa. The newspaper then assured the government and landowning oligarchy that there was "no cause for alarm" because the idea of land reform and peaceful demonstrations was the creation of a few nasty students dedicated "to create mob hysteria." This was a year ago.

On May 26, 1966, exactly a year from the same month, Ethiopian students in Addis Ababa staged the biggest peaceful demonstration ever seen in the capital of the "Lion of Judah." Over 2,000 strong, and waving signs reading "*the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer*," "*poverty is a crime in Ethiopia*," and "*close the Shola concentration camps*," the students set out to march on the Ethiopian Parliament Building. No sooner had they left the university campus, they were joined by a sympathetic and enthusiastic public of Addis Ababa.

The government immediately retaliated by unleashing the brutal force of the city police on the peaceful demonstrators. Mounted and motorized police numbering over 300 viciously attacked both the students and the public inflicting several injuries. At least three students

were seriously hurt and the rest driven back to the university campus at gun point.

The immediate issue which prompted the demonstrations was the intensified effort of the government to hoard people into a huge concentration camp in the outskirts of Addis Ababa where the sick and the healthy rot to death together. Thousands of healthy people for whom the government has failed to provide employment are rounded up constantly and confined to this prison, euphemistically described as a rehabilitation centre, with sick people for whom the most elementary medical treatment is not available. The frequency of international conferences at which the Emperor plays as master of ceremonies has forced the government to rely heavily on the camp. As part of the general strategy of rule through deceit, the government hides its shame from the eyes of the outside world by periodic partial depopulation of the "modern city of Addis Ababa."

What is at stake in the national life of Ethiopia goes far deeper than the single issue of the Shola Rehabilitation Centre. The student, the public and the government all knew this fact when they fought at the "battle of Ras Makonnen Bridge." Below we reproduce the public statement issued by the National Union of Ethiopian University Students on the occasion of the demonstrations. In all its simplicity, it clearly demonstrates the utter inhumanity of the feudal regime and its oppression of the Ethiopian people.

Is Poverty a Crime?

Three or four years ago, the Municipality of Addis Ababa erected a sort of concentration camp where the ragged and poor people rounded up from the streets of Addis are to be confined so that the capital might be kept "clean." This cruel and indiscriminate picking up of the underprivileged and dispossessed Ethiopians often reaches its peak when there are Conferences or when prominent guests and heads of state come to Addis Ababa. The victims of this "cleaning process" include the young and the old, men and women, the healthy and the diseased, priests and nuns, but all having poverty and misery in common.

People call it a concentration camp because the people who are kept there under the so-called "protection of the Municipality," are subject to a very inhuman treatment unknown in the history of Ethiopia.

They are underfed, diseased, and sometimes beaten by the guards. The most tragic part of it is that those who have fatal diseases like leprosy, TB, etc. are put into the same rooms with those who are healthy. The packing together of the healthy and the chronically-diseased results in contamination and in an average death rate of twenty-two persons per week. Usually the dead are not removed for two days and more.

Their sleeping place, eating place, and toilet, is a dingy, unhealthy, packed hall. An average of 158 people stay in one such room. These people have never been visited by a doctor. The only "medical help" they get which often arrives late, is from a dresser who gives them pills for headaches, stomachaches, TB, wounds, leprosy and hunger! Such are the conditions of some of our unfortunate fellow Ethiopians.

HERE ARE SOME OF THE INTERVIEWEES:

1. *Teffera Tefferi*: a healthy, gallant soldier of forty. Has been in the concentration camp forty-five days as of the first day of the interview, (May 13). Was serving in the army during the Korean War. Is married and is a father of two children. Came to Addis from the province to complain of his expulsion from the army. Was shoved into a police wagon from one of the streets. He is now detained in the camp unaware of his family's condition who in turn are ignorant of his whereabouts.
2. *Beyene Kidane*: fifty-six, a daily labourer brought to the camp on the eve of Victory Day. Does not know the reason for his arrest. His health is deteriorating. He is very worried about his family.
3. *Bekele Andarge*: a young man of thirty-six, has been a daily labourer, too, before his detention.
4. *Amene Shoa Mekonnen*: a young, pretty woman of twenty-eight from Dire Dawa. Was forced into a police truck while on her way to a relative's home.
5. *Lemlem Gabru*: thirty-five and a mother of a two-year-old son (Zelalem Bezuneh). She is the wife of Ato Bezuneh Feleke. Arrested while going to Mercato to buy provisions.
6. *Mebrate Jembere*: an old man of sixty—Came to Addis Ababa from Gondar for a court case. Is now in the concentration camp not knowing

what has happened to the court case.

7. *Dejitu Getahun*: a nun of seventy-one. Came from Mota Ghiorgis in Gojjiam to see her daughter here.

8. *Tsehainesh Teshome*: a woman of thirty. Came from Dessie for medical treatment. Has been detained for more than a year.

Due to certain obstacles we could not interview all of them, but we have some more interviews and more information about the people interviewed

The very filthy living conditions, the absence of subsistence food, the fact that the detainees are not even registered and the high rate of mortality reveals that this is not a sincere humanitarian action launched by the Municipality of the capital, but a cruel system through which the underprivileged are thus eliminated from our "fast-growing-society." It should be understood that such an attempt to hide poverty through a semi-Nazi concentration camp system is a direct governmental attack on the majority of the Ethiopian people which consists of 90 percent poor, diseased and illiterate. Now the question is, IS POVERTY A CRIME?

The National Union of Ethiopian Universty Students appeals to the conscience of all Ethiopian University students to view the matter with serious urgency and be ready to participate in all the meetings that may be held in order to discuss the ways and means of alleviating the situation.

Petros Yohannes

Press and Information Officer

NATIONAL UNION OF ETHIOPIAN

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS