

SELECTED SPEECHES

OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAILE SELASSIE I

Selected Speeches

of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I

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INTRODUCTION

The history of modern Ethiopia is being compiled by the activities and events that take place each day in the nation's supreme and sustained drive for progress in all fields. As Head of State, the prime mover and the driving force in this drama, the public utterances of His Imperial Majesty are, in many respects, a mirror of these activities and or the events that determine the course and tempo of Ethiopia's development.

On the 75th Anniversary of his birth, it seems proper and fitting to record some of the most important of these utterances made on the many occasions that merited public statements from His Majesty the Emperor during his lengthy, brilliant and devoted service to his country and people.

It is impossible to include all of the Emperor's pronouncements in one volume. It is hoped, however, that through those reproduced herein, the reader will get a fair picture of His Majesty's thoughts and ideas that have provided the centrifugal force of his thirty-seven years as Head of State and of the preceding years of, his early appearance on the scene as national leader of Ethiopia.

These speeches, some of them excerpted, in the variety of occasions for which they were intended, as well as in the many subjects on which they deal, portray the breadth of the Emperor's vision. They detail the persistence, the determination and the unflagging drive with which he pursued the application of "modern Ethiopianism" to which history cannot fail to testify.

The Emperor's idealism, coupled with his insistence on transforming his country, both on the domestic and international fronts, his courage in the face of adversity, his unchallenged perspicacity, his keen sense in evaluating world events, his unfailing respect for principles, and his abiding faith in humanity – aspects of all of which are found in his public utterances – should make this volume a ready-reference to certain phases of the history of modern Ethiopia.

As the central figure in the renaissance of the nation after its five years of trials in the late 1930s, His Imperial Majesty's vital and indispensable leadership has played a distinctive and decisive role. His appearance before the League of Nations and his impassioned plea for justice for Ethiopia and all small nations and for international morality still remain a classic example both of the breadth of his vision and of a profound comprehension of the foibles of international life. Subsequently, despite the failure of the League of Nations to live up to its covenant and the gruelling distress that both the Emperor and his country suffered as a result, Ethiopia, under his leadership, was among the first nations which, at San Francisco in 1945, built the United Nations on the ashes of its predecessor, the defunct League of Nations.

In these pages will be found expressions of the spirit and the faith that animated the Emperor in this lofty role in international politics.

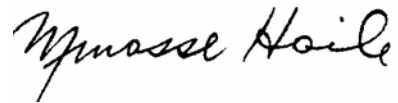
*His primary motivation – that of raising the standard of living of the Ethiopian people and restoring the ancient stature and glory of his nation – runs through the theme of the majority of his public utterances. In them can be clearly seen the inseparable impulse of his whole career. This dedication was amply exposed as he spoke to his people and the world in the speeches contained in this book. Although an ardent reformer, Emperor Haile Selassie is no iconoclast. Thus, he has advanced the policy of “modern Ethiopianism” a philosophy which he has put into practice from the earliest years of his public career. The Emperor, addressing the nation on the 24th Anniversary of Ethiopia's victory over aggression, said: Ethiopia is an ancient land and her civilization is the result of the harmonious alchemy of the past and the present and upon which we confidently build for the future. This heritage is the bed-rock of modern Ethiopia. In it the people have chosen to distil from the past that which is useful and enduring, to adapt those worth-while attributes of our present-day world and to fashion this *modern Ethiopianism* – the foundation of our social order that has served so admirably the purpose of the nation's steady advance.*

An absorbing interest in youth has characterized the Emperor's entire public career; and is infinitely more than just a formal, enlightened paternalism. It is grounded in the fact, so frequently expressed by him, that his Ethiopia is built around the future. Haile Selassie I will go down in history as a leader whose concern for posterity has been both avid and constant.

He has always kept close to the people and in particular to the nation's youth in whom, as the speeches herein illustrate, he places immeasurable faith and confidence.

His Imperial Majesty's constructive influence has been particularly effective in Africa's political emancipation. Recalling the days when Africa was a sea of colonialism to the emergence of the Organization of African Unity, Haile Selassie I has been both a symbol and a pillar of strength to Africa as its people fought progressively for their ultimate liberation from colonialism. Today he still stands four-square behind the cause of the complete freedom of the continent in which Ethiopia is the oldest sovereign state.

His Imperial Majesty's faith in divine providence is a built-in factor in his personal armory. Institutionally, he is "Defender of the Faith," and history will most certainly assess his era as the one in which the Ethiopian Church succeeded in, winning its independence and autonomy after centuries of tutelage under the Alexandrian Patriarchate. In times, good or bad, the Emperor's abiding faith in the Almighty seems to have been both harbinger and fortress, it being rare for him to make any public utterance without calling on divine guidance and acknowledging publicly his thanks for God's beneficence.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Ymnasse Haile". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Ymnasse" and the last name "Haile" clearly distinguishable.

MINISTER OF STATE OF INFORMATION

CHAPTER I

PART I

HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the Emperor's fondest dreams came true on December 16, 1961, when he convoked the Haile Selassie First University in the presence of representatives from many world-renown Universities. It was an occasion of pardonable pride for he had sown the seed and nurtured the plant that on that day blossomed into full maturity. Prior to this event, to fill the gap hundreds of Ethiopians were sent to institutions of higher learning abroad, a project that began in the earliest years of his accession to the throne.

In the speeches that follow, His Majesty the Emperor deals with the many stages of this development and sets forth the hopes and aspirations of Higher Education in the country.

LAYING FOUNDATION STONE HAILE SELASSIE I UNIVERSITY

....In the field of education, We take great pleasure in the fact that the opening of Ethiopia's first University is near at hand. Henceforth, students who have demonstrated their capacity and ability will no longer leave their homeland to pursue higher education. The University's faculty is being recruited and its physical plant is being established. We Ourselves have presented Our Guennete Leul Palace and its grounds, inherited from Our beloved father, as a free gift to the nation, to serve as the nucleus of the University's physical facilities, and a formal ceremony for the handing over of the Palace will be held in the near future

The population of Our Capital, Addis Ababa, have expressed through their Mayor, their desire to erect a monument to Our honour, that they on their own initiative, have started raising funds, and have requested that We lay the foundation stone of this memorial today.

It has also been confirmed that the whole people of Ethiopia have joined hands with the people of Addis Ababa in this effort.

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As was indicated on the occasion of Our Birthday Anniversary on July 23rd last, We shall now make known to you Our intentions in reference to this monument.

We wish first of all to state that Our heart was touched with Our beloved people's desire to erect in Our honour a statue in recognition of services which We have rendered to them and to Our country. There can be no better way for a people to show their deep gratitude to their Sovereign.

By what means can man's achievements in this world be best remembered? Many people believe that this could be done by the erection of physical and material structures; others believe that their works are in themselves lasting monuments. We, for Our part, think that man's contributions which live to influence the life and progress of posterity, are the most permanent monuments that can ever be erected.

It is now 32 years since We assumed the high service of aiding and guiding the destinies of Our people, counting from Our Regency, when We were destined to the Imperial Throne of Ethiopia. During this period of Our Reign, a series of problems and trials have had to be faced.

There can be no better testimony to the recognition of Our devotion to the cause of Our country and to the welfare of Our people, entrusted to Our care, from the day when We were chosen with the Grace of Almighty God the anointed Emperor of Ethiopia, than this expression of noble sentiments from Our beloved and loyal people.

We have abiding faith that the Almighty, Who has vouchsafed Us the privilege to reach this present stage, will grant to Ethiopia a bright future and an enduring destiny.

Now, when Our people are willing to erect a statue in Our image, We feel it a duty on Our part to consider what would be the most appropriate means of incorporating in a concrete and lasting manner the sentiments of Our people.

HIGHER EDUCATION

University: A Symbol of Mutual Gratitude

Any monument to be left for Our people, to be permanent, must be erected upon spiritual foundations. It is widely known that during Our reign, We spared no effort to promote and extend education and to cultivate the spirit and mind of Our people.

It is Our sincere wish to intimately connect the statue Our people intend to erect in Our image and in Our honour with a living monument in remembrance of Our people's goodwill, which will go down in history from generation to generation linking together perennially the affection of a people to its Sovereign.

Our beloved people, in contemplating the erection of a monument in Our honour, and We, on Our part, to express Our satisfaction and recognize this gratitude, have decided that on this same spot, where Our people have resolved to build with the funds voluntarily subscribed a statue to Us, that a University be erected and established for the education of Ethiopia's youth so as to allow them and future generations to benefit from this happy event.

While giving this site for the building and establishment of a University to represent at the same time a monument to your Emperor, for the service and the benefit of your children and the future generations and to stand as a symbol of mutual gratitude between your Sovereign and His people, We now lay the foundation stone of the University.

The salvation of Our country, Ethiopia, as We have repeatedly stated to you, lies primarily in education. As Ethiopia is one, all Ethiopians are also one, and education is the only way to maintain this condition.

Nov. 7, 1949.

HIGHER EDUCATION

U.C.A.A. OPENS

*..... Knowledge paves the way to love, and love
in its turn fosters understanding, and leads one
along the path of great common achievements*

When today is being opened this University College, Our feeling of joy has two motivations, Our happiness is of two kinds. These are private and common. Happiness shared with many creates a source of permanent affection and understanding. But private happiness is a temporary matter.

Our endeavour to expand schools has passed from planning to achievement. Our satisfaction in the field of education is in Our days being shared by the Ethiopian people, and particularly by those who have and are profiting by it.

Thus, Our saying that this would benefit Ethiopia is now being increased greatly. As has been pointed out by Our Vice-Minister, work on the University is progressing rapidly. To make successful the work of those educational institutions of higher education, aid of the students and teachers is needed. We hope that the preparation of students and teachers is nearing completion.

We are proud to see Ethiopian youth thirsting for learning. Although the fruits of education can be applied to evil as well as to good things, you Ethiopian students should avoid having a bad reputation and be eager and energetic in your studies, be loyal to your country and obedient to your teachers, eschew lies and follow truth, respect good and be heirs of good work

Feb. 27, 1951

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AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE – GRADUATION

..... From the beginnings of recorded history, right up to the Middle Ages, and even as late as the beginning of the Industrial Age in which we live, agriculture has always constituted the fundamental source of wealth for the human race

It gives Us great pleasure to be present here to inaugurate the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, an occasion which marks a great and far-reaching advance in Our programme for the promotion of agricultural education. This institution will serve as a source of inspiration in carrying out the agricultural programme which We have laid down for the future.

In establishing this College for the development of the natural wealth of Our country, agriculture and animal husbandry, on modern and scientific lines, Our main purpose has not been merely to develop and utilize these basic resources to supply the daily needs of Our people, but, in addition, to produce a surplus to be shared with other countries of the world. Ethiopia, to some degree, has done this in the past. For example, when the world was sorely distressed by lack of food immediately after the Second World War, Our country, although she herself had for five long years been struggling to recover from the terrible damage inflicted upon her during the war, was yet able to perform a significant service in supplying foodstuffs to the countries of the Middle East. And We have been pleased to observe how, since then, Our people have increasingly devoted themselves to improving the agriculture of Our country.

A country and a people that become self-sufficient by the development of agriculture can look forward with confidence to the future.

Agriculture is not only the chief among those funda-

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mental and ancient tasks which have been essential to the survival of mankind, but also ranks first among the prerequisites to industrial and other developments.

Solid Agricultural Base

History affords Us ample evidence that mankind abandoned its nomadic way of life and developed a settled, communal economy only when man became skilled and competent in agricultural techniques. From the beginnings of recorded history, right up to the Middle Ages, and even as late as the beginning of the Industrial Age in which we now live, agriculture has always constituted the fundamental source of wealth for the human race.

Only when a solid agricultural base has been laid for Our country's commercial and industrial growth can We ensure the attainment of the ultimate goal of Our development programme, namely, a high standard of living for Our people. Commerce and industry, being concerned in the main with production and distribution, can only develop and profit from existing resources, but cannot actually create things which did not exist before.

Most of the districts of Our Harar Province are populated mainly by nomadic people. Now that We are in a position to anticipate an adequate water supply from the rivers and wells in the region, the area will flourish and land will no longer lie fallow in the province if only the people of Ogaden, Esa and Adal could be educated in agricultural techniques. All this can be attained only by means of the wisdom which flows from the fountain of education. While this College will serve the whole of Our country, its being established in the Province of Harar is the result of careful planning and consideration on Our part.

Even in this nuclear age, in spite of the revolutionary changes in man's way of life which science has brought

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about, the problem of further improving and perfecting agricultural methods continues to hold a position of high priority for the human race. It is hard to believe that a substitute can ever be found for the occupation of agriculture – a sacred task graciously conferred upon man by God to serve as the source of his well-being and the basis of his wealth.

Share and Exchange

Our country, Ethiopia, being blessed with an abundance of natural resources need not be anxious about her own needs. However, it is Our constant endeavour and Our firm desire, that Our people will produce not only enough to meet their own requirements but that their production will enable them to share and exchange the fruits of their labour with other countries.

If only Ethiopia, with an assured wealth of natural resources, would look at what the barren Sahara Desert has been made to produce by the endeavour of trained scientists, she would realize that science is a source of wealth. We would, therefore, have Our students and scholars accept as their primary duty the attainment of scientific knowledge through education.

We have placed Our trust in this College to be the chief instrument for the attainment of this high goal, and We are confident that the students who have today received their diplomas from Our hands, as well as those who follow them in the future, will through their achievements furnish Us with tangible evidence of the fulfillment of this Our purpose and Our desire.

Agriculture and industry are indispensable one to the other. Only close co-operation between these two branches of knowledge can guarantee the fulfillment of Our programme of economic development for Our country.

This College, which holds a prominent place in the

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plans We have laid down for the prosperity and welfare of Our beloved people and country, can look forward to receiving the same constant support which We have shown in the past.

It is with pleasure that We express on this occasion Our gratitude to Our great friend, the United States of America, for the generous and significant assistance they have given to this institution as part of their great effort for the development of the spirit of cooperation and understanding among the nations of the world. We would request His Excellency the Ambassador to convey Our thanks to his Government.

If the late Dr. Bennet, who laid the plans for this institution and whose great desire and tireless efforts to achieve the establishment of an Agricultural and Mechanical College in this country are well-known to Us, were with Us today to see the fulfillment of his plans, how happy he would have been! With deep sorrow in Our heart, remembering the words "Man proposes, God disposes," We pay a tribute to his memory in this hour.

We would like to express Our sincere thanks to the Director of the Point Four Programme in this country, the President and staff of this College, and all of Our officials who have laboured to bring this institution into being.

It is not enough for the children of Ethiopia to be recipients of education. They should never forget that the responsibility for passing on this knowledge to others and of handing it over to the next generation rests on them.

Jan. 16, 1958.

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ENGINEERING COLLEGE – GRADUATION

..... The existence from ancient times of marvels of construction – among which Ethiopia proudly numbers the monuments at Axum, the remarkable rock churches and other engineering wonders – attest to the long history of the profession.....

It gives Us great pleasure to be present here today to award degrees to the first graduates of this College of Engineering which We inaugurated with such high hopes but a few short years ago. This first graduation ceremony marks another step towards the fulfilment of the goal which we have set for Ourselves and for Our country in Our overall programme for the development of Ethiopia to which We have so long devoted Ourselves.

When We observe the tangible results produced by Our programme of education, to which We have dedicated the major portion of Our time and efforts, it helps Us to bear lightly the burden of Our labours, and provide for Us and for you as well an occasion for legitimate pride.

Although the first institution where men received formal training in engineering was established only a little over two hundred years ago, the science of engineering is one of the world's oldest. The existence from ancient times of marvels of construction – among which Ethiopia proudly numbers the monuments at Axum, the remarkable rock churches and other engineering wonders attests to the long history of the profession. Even in Our day, engineers are seen constantly adopting and adapting to their current needs the techniques developed in those remote times, thus fusing the ancient and the modern, the old and the new. As you advance in your profession, the value of thus combining ancient and modern skills will become apparent to you.

Now that your formal education is over, you graduates,

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like engineering graduates the world over, will have to apprentice yourselves to senior engineers and acquire the necessary practical experience which alone can complete the training which you have received at this College.

The degree which you receive today testifies to your growth in knowledge and training. But the measure of your growth in real artisanship remains to be revealed in the work which awaits you in your future careers. Your success in your profession will not depend on your possession of an engineering degree; it is rather to be judged by the service you render in future and by the tangible results of your labours. Having passed the academic test posed by this College, you now move on to face the more arduous tests posed by life. And the only way to face these tests successfully is to be spiritually prepared for them.

Do not make the mistake of assuming that having taken your engineering degree you can put training and study behind you, and can afford to neglect the acquisition of further knowledge and skill. Man's education never stops, and in a profession as complex and difficult as yours, you must strive ceaselessly to put into practice your theoretical knowledge, and to keep yourselves abreast of new technical developments. If the product of your labours is not commensurate with the advantages you have received from education, your efforts thus far will be judged futile and worthless. Throughout your life, your mettle will be tested by the work you do, and your reputation will depend on the outcome of this test.

It is, therefore, your duty to exercise life-long vigilance to ensure that the fruits of your labours are worthy of the efforts spent on your education. If you, whose minds have been matured by education and to whom the torch of knowledge has been handed, fail to make a significant contribution to the welfare of your country, your responsibility shall be great indeed.

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In order faithfully to discharge this heavy responsibility, you must be men who love your nation and people, men of integrity and clear conscience, combining patience and humility. Be unswerving in your loyalty to your country which has given you so much and to which so much is due. Place your faith and trust in Almighty God; for, without His assistance and guidance, man is but a weak and puny creature.

July 17, 1958.

PUBLIC HEALTH GRADUATION—GONDAR

When We laid the foundation for the progress and development of the country, the fact that we granted the Constitution was in order to strengthen unity so that our country will be built around the idea of one Emperor and one Government in which everyone will be conscious of his duty based upon the principle of one for all and all for one. We have chosen education as Our primary concern because we believe that it is the instrument by which Our aims could be brought to fruition.

The spirit of unity within Ethiopia around one Emperor emanated from the people of Begemder, and their patriotic efforts have been crowned with laurels. We have made it Our constant concern to help them in their quest for learning for which We have established the various schools and institutions of learning. Through education one can keep himself healthy; one can acquire the knowledge of many other things; but without health, education and growth of a population are unattainable. Today when We present you with these certificates of accomplishment, Our heart over-flows with joy.

Now that you are to begin the medical and health profession, We recommend that you work diligently, for

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treatment and cure alone is not enough for a country; prevention is also necessary. The Amhara race must know that it has an obligation on its part to work in the technical field, no matter at what level. To preserve the heritage of one's honour and culture is praiseworthy, but to exceed the limits may prove detrimental.

We have ventured to say this because it has come to Our knowledge that there exists here scorn for labour. We have come after having laid the foundation stones for the establishment of a textile factory, a hydro-electric plant and for a bridge in the development of highways in order to help in the advancement of the people of Begemder and Gojjam. Unless the people benefit through work Our efforts and thoughts will have been in vain. They will have also violated the wish of the Almighty that by one's toil he must earn his living. Much cannot be accomplished in the pursuit of spiritual advancement, let alone that of material gains, without labour. Learn! Work! We have established community education so that both the youth and the adult may learn. Education and the quest for knowledge stop only at the grave

May 18, 1959.

U.C.A.A. 6TH GRADUATION

..... He who would be a leader must pay the price in self-discipline and moral restraint. This entails the correction and improvement of personal character, the checking of passions and desires, and an exemplary control of one's bodily needs and drives

This graduation ceremony is an occasion, not merely for recapitulating and recounting the fruits of past efforts in terms of examination results and of degrees and diplomas awarded, but also for fixing one's sights upon future accomplishments, obligations and possibilities.

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For the sixth time in the history of this College, We see an imposing group of young men and women graduate from this institution. Most of you, as in previous years, will continue your studies and prepare yourselves for higher degrees and varying careers. But whether pursuing further studies or going directly into the world, all of you will soon be embarking upon a new stage of your lives.

We, therefore, deem it necessary and appropriate, on this occasion when you of this year's graduating class look back upon your student years with a measure of nostalgia and look forward, perhaps with a measure of understandable apprehension towards your future careers, to speak to you about leaders and leadership.

As you know, leadership is required in all fields and no field is without its usefulness. During Our visits, however, to the educational institutions of our country, We have noticed, in answer to Our enquiries, that the percentage of students pursuing courses of study useful for the development of technology and industry, has been extremely low. We have, therefore, counselled you to take up technological and industrial courses in preparing for an over-all programme. The reason for Our introducing this topic at present is that We have found the number of those receiving degrees in technological subjects today to be very small indeed, and wish to impress upon you all that it is Our desire to see a much larger number of Our young people benefiting from the resources We have on Our own and have received as aid from abroad, and graduating in the fields of technology and industrial education.

The Need for Leadership

We all know that the need for good leadership in every walk of life is much greater today than ever before. Every aspect of living demands guiding hands: business, the professions, the fine arts, the mechanical arts, all. And all of

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you young people, who have been given the enriching opportunity of an advanced education will in the future be called upon to shoulder in varying degrees the responsibilities to leading and serving the nation.

It is important, however, to remember that leadership does not mean domination. The world is always well supplied with people who wish to rule and dominate others. The true leader is of a different sort: he seeks effective activity which has a truly beneficent purpose. He inspires others to follow in his wake, and holding aloft the torch of wisdom, leads the way for society to realize its genuinely great aspirations.

You have learnt from your study of history that the story of nations is often told in terms of the accomplishments of individuals. In every significant event in history, you will find a courageous and determined leader, an inspiring goal or objective, and an adversary who sought to foil his efforts.

In any normal society, every one has some opportunity to show himself as a leader. Even the mechanic or clerk who has an assistant assigned to him not to speak of the doctor with all his helpers, or the officer who commands his troops, is a leader. Within his own sphere, each has the same opportunities for showing ability, and the same potential satisfactions as has the leader of a government. The leader is marked out by his individual craftsmanship, his sensibility and insight, his initiative and energy.

The Sense of Responsibility

Leaders are people who raise the standards by which they judge themselves – and by which they are willing to be judged. The goal chosen, the objective selected, the requirements imposed, are not merely for their followers alone. They develop with consummate energy and devotion

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their own skill and knowledge in order to reach the standards they themselves have set. This whole-hearted acceptance of the demands imposed by ever higher standards is the basis of all human progress. A love of high quality, we must remember, is essential in a leader.

Dependability is another requirement in a leader. To be dependable is to be willing to accept responsibility, and to carry it out faithfully. A leader will always be willing to take counsel from his people, but will often have to act on what his own mind tells him is right. This demands that the leader has trained himself out of any inordinate fear of making mistakes.

To embark successfully on a career involving leadership demands a courageous and determined spirit. Once a person has decided upon his life work, and is assured that in doing the work for which he is best endowed and equipped, he is filling a vital need, what he then needs is faith and integrity, coupled with a courageous spirit, so that, no longer preferring himself to the fulfillment of his task, he may address himself to the problems he must solve in order to be effective. One mark of the great leader is that he feels sufficiently secure to devote his thought and attention to the well-being of his subordinates and the perfection of his task, rather than being constantly worried about the approval or disapproval of others.

He who would be a leader must pay the price in self-discipline and moral restraint. This entails the correction and improvement of personal character, the checking of passions and desires, and an exemplary control of one's bodily needs and drives.

Leaders have to submit themselves to a stricter self-discipline and develop a more exemplary moral character than is expected of others. To be first in place, one must be first in merit as well.

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It should not surprise Us then, to find that the greater number of acknowledged leaders have been people who trained themselves in the art of discipline and obedience. He who has not learned to render prompt and willing service to others will find it difficult to win and keep the goodwill and co-operation of his subordinates.

A Leader Must Stay Ahead

Further, a leader must possess initiative, which is the creative ability to think in new ways and do new things. The leader has always to stay ahead. He cannot afford to set up a procedure, and then fold his hands and linger lazily watching it work. He cannot be content merely to see new trends and take advantage of them. He must keep his imagination vividly alive, so as to originate ideas and start trends.

A word of warning is in order here. To help one's subordinates or dependents at the cost of harm to the public, is tantamount to sacrilege and blasphemy. It is unfortunate, that many in positions of leadership, both great and small, have been found guilty of such practices.

A good leader is devoted to his work and will willingly forego even the demands of sleep to see its accomplishment. This does not mean that he is impetuous. On the other hand, he maintains a balance between emotional drive and sound thinking.

His labours, which sometimes appear excessive, derive from his firm realization that unless a man undertakes more than he can possibly do he will never be able to do all he can do. It is his enthusiasm that stimulates his energy.

No matter what our point of departure in speaking of leadership, we reach the inescapable conclusion that the art of leadership consists in the ability to make people want

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to work for you, when they are really under no obligation to do so.

The true leader is one who realizes by faith that he is an instrument in the hands of God, and dedicates himself to be a guide and inspirer of the nobler sentiments and aspirations of the people. He will kindle interest, teach, aid, correct and inspire. Those whom he leads will co-operate with him in maintaining discipline for the good of the group. He will instruct his followers in the goals towards which to strive, and create in them a sense of mutual effort for attaining the goal.

Basic Aspirations

To sum up, there is no power on earth, in this University or elsewhere, that can take a clerk from his desk or a mechanic from his bench, and easily mould him into a leader. To develop oneself, one has to develop one's own initiative and perseverance – a man has to strive in order to grow.

As educated people, you will be looked up to, and much will be expected of you. You will be regarded, and rightly so, as those who have the necessary knowledge and the ability to inspire, to guide and to lead. It is for this reason that we expect from you to whom we have given the opportunity of education in your chosen fields, great and productive service to Our country.

These fundamental ideas of which We have briefly spoken this day, constitute, We presume, part of the thought you have absorbed during the course of your studies in this University College. May these basic thoughts accompany you during the years ahead and aid you in accomplishing great things for Our beloved country, Ethiopia.

In conclusion, We would like to express Our thanks and appreciation to the members of the faculty and the

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Board of this University College for their zealous and untiring efforts for the growth of knowledge and the development of character in the young people who learn here.

We would like especially to entrust Our Vice-Minister of Education, on the basis of the statement made by him regarding the expansion and growth of education in the country, with the high responsibility of assiduously and untiringly striving to carry out the schemes mentioned and the decisions made by the Board.

July 17, 1959.

GRADUATION – BUILDING COLLEGE

You, the students who leave these halls today, have justified the trust and confidence which your Government has reposed in you in selecting you for attendance at this school from among the many who have clamored and who still clamour for the opportunity to study here. In your future work, in your daily life and activities, be ever mindful to prove yourselves worthy of trust. Let all that you do contribute to the ultimate benefit of your motherland and your fellow-men. Let your work always be such that you can take pride in it, and if you do so, your country will have reason to be proud of you.

July 14, 1961.

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CONVOCATION OF HAILE SELASSIE I UNIVERSITY

..... Leadership developed here should be guided by the fundamental values and moral power which have for centuries constituted the essence of our religious teachings.....Discipline of the mind is a basic ingredient of genuine morality and therefore of spiritual strength. Indeed, a university, taken in all its aspects, is essentially a spiritual enterprise which, along with the knowledge and training it imparts, leads students into more wise living and a greater sensitivity to life's responsibilities.....

This is a most historic occasion for Us, and for the entire Ethiopian people. Today, the first convocation of this University, affords Us Our first opportunity, as Chancellor, to address the Governors, the Faculty, and the students as a single group.

We welcome and greet you all on this occasion. You who have in the past, either as teachers or students, been united in spirit although members of diverse educational institutions, are now truly united in this University. We welcome the members of the Board of Governors, who will direct the policy of the University. We welcome the administrators, who will provide the framework within which teacher and student alike will work. We welcome you, the professors, the instructors, the lecturers, to whom has been confided the task of leading our youth to higher levels of knowledge and learning. We welcome the students, our own and those from other lands, who will study here and from among whom will come future leaders.

We may pause briefly now to enquire why this University is being established, what goals it is seeking to achieve, what results we may expect of it and what contributions it can reasonably be expected to make.

A fundamental objective of the University must be the

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safeguarding and the developing of the culture of the people which it serves. This University is a product of that culture; it is the grouping together of those capable of understanding and using the accumulated heritage of the Ethiopian people. In this University men and women will, working in association with one another, study the well-springs of our culture, trace its development, and mould its future. That which enables Us today to open a university of such a standard is the wealth of literature and learning now extinct elsewhere in the world which through hard work and perseverance our forefathers have preserved for us. On this occasion We would like to remember with gratitude these fathers of great learning among whom We quote a few names such as Yared, Abba Giorgis of Gasicha, Absadi of Insaro, Wolde-Ab Wolde Mikael, Arat Ayina Goshu, Memihir Akala Wold and Aleka Gabra Medihin.

Music, drama and other forms of art are rooted in the ancient history of our Empire, and their development to an even higher peak of perfection will be possible in the atmosphere of a university. Ethiopia is possessed of an ancient literature, and its study can be fostered here so that the Ethiopian youth, inspired by this national example, may raise it to yet higher levels of excellence. The study of the heroic history of Our Empire will stimulate the imagination of budding authors and teachers. The understanding of that philosophy of life which is the basis of our traditional customs will lead us all to a better understanding of our nation and of our nation's expression through the arts.

Spiritual Qualities No Longer Enough

The immediate and practical aim of this institution obviously is to educate the Ethiopian youth and to prepare them to serve their country. Although such education may be technical, it must nonetheless be founded on Ethiopia's

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cultural heritage if it is to bear fruit and if the student is to be well adapted to his environment and the effective use of his skills facilitated.

Time was when strength and endurance, courage and faith, were sufficient to make leadership equal to the task. But times have changed and these spiritual qualities are no longer enough. Today, knowledge and training, as provided largely in the universities of the world, have become essential, and today leadership and advancement, both national and international, rely heavily upon the products of universities. Even as Mr. Tubman, Mr. U-Nu, Madame Bandaranaike and Mr. U Thant were each educated in their own land, We trust that this University will produce leaders of comparable stature. In all countries of the modern world, special competence is required to deal with the advancement of agriculture, industry, commerce, and the civil service. That competence can be secured only through facilities which are provided in modern universities. We have often pointed out that the future of Ethiopia is largely conditioned upon accelerated agricultural development, upon mineral exploitation and upon industrial expansion. Her survival depends on these, but they, in turn, depend upon the competence of those who have received and who will receive the essential education and training. It is Our confident hope that this institution, which has been planned for many years will provide here, in our own land, for our own youth, the higher education and the specialized training required for such development.

That which man dreams of and to which he aspires, unless fulfilled in his own lifetime, can produce no actual satisfaction to him. As for Us, thanks be unto God that in the founding of this University We have realized a lifelong aspiration.

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Fundamental Values and Moral Power

Considering the role of universities in a broader sense, We are persuaded that these institutions stand today as the most promising hope for constructive solutions to the problems that beset the modern world – problems which prevent the peaceful co-operation of nations, problems which threaten the world and humanity with death and disaster. From the universities must come men, ideas, knowledge, experience, technical skills, and the deep humane understanding vital to fruitful relations among nations. Without these, world order, for which We have so long strived, cannot be established. From the universities, too, must come that ability which is the most valuable attribute of civilized men everywhere; the ability to transcend narrow passions and to engage in honest conversation; for civilization is by nature “the victory of persuasion over force.” Unity is strength.

No nation can divide within itself and remain powerful. It is this strong conviction that underlies the decision to plan for the well-organized and co-ordinated system of education, training, and research which a university represents. A university is the fountain of learning; seek knowledge, and there you shall find it.

Nor can we ignore the importance of the spiritual in this academic life. Learning and technical training must be nurtured by faith in God, reverence for the human soul, and respect for the reasoning mind. There is no safer anchorage for our learning, our lives, and our public actions than that provided by Divine teachings coupled with the best in human understanding. Leadership developed here should be guided by the fundamental values and the moral power which have for centuries constituted the essence of our religious teachings. These are crucial times when nations rise against nations. Tensions increase, and disaster is possible at any moment. Distances are shrinking; peace and

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life are threatened by misunderstanding and conflict. Now is the time when the sincere belief in man's kinship to God must be the foundation for all of man's efforts for enlightenment and learning – the basis for all understanding, co-operation and peace. We charge all of you, the members of this University, that these special values remain foremost, as a foundation for your knowledge and thought, so that the fundamental moral truths will buttress and support the whole structure of university life.

Discipline of the mind is a basic ingredient of genuine morality and therefore of spiritual strength. Indeed, a university, taken in all its aspects, is essentially a spiritual enterprise which, along with the knowledge and training it imparts, leads students into more wise living and a greater sensitivity to life's responsibilities. Up to the present, technical training has been achieved through the College of Engineering and in the Ethio-Swedish Building College. These institutions, We trust, which are now merged into the University, will be expanded and developed so that the number of competent Ethiopian technicians will continue to increase.

Education: An Investment

Education is costly, and higher education is the most costly of all. But it is also an investment, a very profitable investment, and the money spent in coordinating, strengthening, and expanding higher education in Ethiopia is well invested. We are proud of Our people's recognition of the value of education. Their concerted effort in the building of schools and other social activities is most gratifying. Educational institutions, unlike business enterprises, do not exist and operate for profits in dollars and cents. They exist to perform public services, and they are judged by the effectiveness and economy with which they perform these services.

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To the Board of Governors, to the administrators, We recommend economy, so that the benefits of the University can be enjoyed by as many of our young men and women as possible. Not a dollar should be wasted of the money so hardly earned and so generously contributed by our own Government and by the Governments of other nations. Plan thoughtfully, supervise closely, and manage economically, to the end that the greatest possible return may be realized in the preparation of competent manpower, in useful research and in training both technical and moral leadership. An immediate gain of the consolidation and coordination, the centralization of resources and operations, should be a saving in costs, and We urge all to co-operate fully in the attempt to realize this objective. Diligence is demanded in developing this University as rapidly as possible to meet the compelling needs of Our Empire.

We would ask that extraordinary emphasis be placed on the training of teachers for our primary and secondary schools. The educational process cannot be a narrow column; it must be in the shape of a pyramid and broadly based. To provide this broad base, large numbers of teachers are required, and we have a duty to provide Ethiopian teachers for these schools. This is why We have established teacher training centres in Harar and other places.

Need For Various Disciplines

The study of the humanities must not be neglected, and the College of Arts and Sciences must be strengthened and encouraged to develop its studies. These are the subjects which contribute most to the understanding and growth of our cultural heritage, and so assist in fulfilling one of the University's primary aims. These studies, which are concerned with human cultural achievements, human rights, and duties, human freedoms, will enable youth to develop the understanding and judgment necessary to the formulation

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of a sound philosophy of life, to the making of wise choices, and to understanding what is involved in these choices. These young people face a world beset with the most effectively organized programme of deceptive propaganda and of thinly screened operations ever known; they deserve the best that can be taught by their parents, by religious institutions and by the University, to prepare them for a wise choice among contending ideals.

We would ask for the immediate founding of a graduate Faculty of Law, where our own graduates may be trained to enter the legal profession. Our Empire has need, in its government, its commerce, for well-educated lawyers, and particularly for those who have been trained in their own university, in their own codes and customs. We would also ask for the organization of a Faculty of Medicine in the near future. The training of doctors is a long and arduous process, and this very fact makes it all the more urgent that our own faculty be inaugurated as soon as possible.

While laying great stress on education for our younger citizens, we should not forget the obligation and the opportunity which the University will have with respect to the older citizens. As We study the plans and projects of this University, We realize that much attention is being given to the extension of its usefulness to the entire population, in the form of extension courses and lectures. This is according to Our wish. Haile Selassie I University should attempt, either at this main site or at a branch, to serve every qualified citizen who wishes and is able to avail himself of the resources of the University if he is willing to do the required work.

Highest Calling

We do not suggest that the list of needs which We have mentioned is complete, but they represent needs to which this University is seeking to respond. The heaviest responsibility will, naturally, fall on the faculty. Theirs is the job

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of training the minds and hands of the youth of Ethiopia in the knowledge and in the special skills. We may all be proud of the Ethiopian members of the faculty who have adopted this highest of callings and who have in the past and will continue in the future to render great service to their nation. The teachers who, in the past, coming from many different countries, have discharged the duty of educating Ethiopia's young men and women have earned Our appreciation and gratitude and the appreciation and gratitude of all of us. Their example should spur on those who staff the faculty of the University to pursue their tasks with diligence and to spare no effort to ensure that their teaching inspires those who study in their classrooms.

We sincerely thank Dr. Lucien Matte who assisted Us for many years with loyalty, devotion and diligence in Our efforts for the progress of education in Our country and in the establishment of the University College of Addis Ababa which is one of the affiliated institutions of the Haile Selassie I University.

Also We wish to remember the late Mr. A. Besse who was one of those who have generously contributed towards the establishment of this University.

All of you must maintain the highest standards in your instruction in order that the overall standard of this University may be second to none. Work together in harmony, as a team, in raising this institution to the highest academic levels. Each of you must do his part to contribute to the advancement of knowledge. You must above all be scholarly, for it is by deeds rather than by words that you can most effectively inspire your students to heed your words. Each of you should consider it his duty to pursue research in your own field of study, for you will thereby bring renown both upon yourselves and upon the institution.

On many occasions during recent years, We have had the opportunity to speak to our students. We trust that Our love

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and consideration for them and the deep interest which We feel in their progress has been felt and understood. Today, We have dedicated Our home, which We received from Our noble father, to their service, as a free gift to the nation, in the hope that We thus contribute to the opportunity for them to prepare for fruitful careers.

We ask that each student who passes through these halls devote himself to the development of his mind and body, his mental and physical prowess, so as to be better able to serve his country and his fellow countrymen. Choose the field of study which best suits your talents, continue unwavering in your diligent studies, prepare yourself for service in whatever profession you may best be fitted. God grant you success.

Dec. 19, 1961.

FIRST GRADUATION EXERCISES OF HAILE SELASSIE I UNIVERSITY

..... Academic freedom, unless it conforms to the common good of the society in which it is expected to be exercised, is meaningless

In as much as your country has provided you with this special opportunity, you are duty-bound, upon your graduation, to devote all your knowledge to the betterment of your motherland. What is expected of you is not academic achievement alone. In fact, as it is at the expense of the government that you have been educated, what is expected from you is commensurate with the extent of your knowledge. Education is not an end in itself, but an aid to assist you to distinguish between good and evil, between the harmful and the useful. Academic attainment, untested by practical experience, does not put one in any better position than that of the uneducated. Higher education entails comparatively higher responsibility or obligation.

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The purpose of university training is to produce people capable of achieving the progress and advancement of the nation. People of such caliber are expected to possess deep insight, high academic discipline and intellectual zeal to crave and search for truth, to know not only the causes but also effective remedies for any ills that affect the society. Unless one is guided by such noble objectives – to know, not only the maladies and how to expound them in vain words but also to present effective solutions and accomplish them – the possession of degrees alone does not classify anyone as fully educated. This is particularly so at this period, crowded as it is with continuous change and improvement. Moreover, since our educational system is essentially based upon the experience of other countries, the impact of modernization could create contradictions in our long-standing African traditions. We can only lay a sure and stable foundation towards rapid progress for Africa if We foresee the consequences of every step in its true aspect, and try to apply effective and appropriate methods to the problems of each country.

Co-ordination Necessary

We have never failed to observe this approach in all stages of achievement in the past. The very valid proof of this is that, although it is more than a decade since institutions of higher learning have been established in Ethiopia, there has always been sound co-operation between the administrative bodies and the students. The basis of this co-operation has been a collective effort for the common goal, the interest of the country always paramount. In the future also, it is Our wish and determination that all higher studies shall be co-ordinated and guided by this University. Ethiopia is endeavouring, like many other countries, to achieve a high stage of technological progress. In this period

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of concentrated effort, she cannot afford to be handicapped by trivial problems based on selfish motives

The world today has become oriented to science, which has developed and progressed to a remarkable extent. Apart from the will of the Almighty, in this 20th Century peace is determined by the will of the technologically advanced nations which dominate the sentiments of mankind by this privileged position. Intent on freeing themselves from such fear and insecurity, developing countries are using the level of progress of these advanced nations as the yard-stick of their own progress. Developing nations, however, must first attain the basic standard of civilization by stamping out illiteracy through mass education. To be able to provide mass education, co-operation, peaceful co-existence and dedication to the common good are needed; because to arrive at higher scientific achievement, one has to discipline one's mental attitude and work with the aim of being the recipient of true knowledge.

So far, the continuous co-operation of Our people and the small cadre of elite we have produced have enabled Us to devise successful short-cuts in guiding Our country towards the goal of progress. One such method was, side by side with educational expansion, to launch simultaneously more than one programme of development, by acquiring the services of skilled foreign experts and establishing industrial and other development schemes, without waiting until We had Our own qualified experts. This University, which today is granting you your degrees and diplomas, is in itself the fruit of such combined effort which we have made in the past.

The Need for Home Training

You also know that to be able to have our own qualified people even before establishing local institutions of higher learning, We have been sending students abroad for advanced

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studies, and that there are many who have come back, and are rendering disinterested service to their country. One of the many fundamental purposes for which We have established this University is to have a greater number of qualified people who will augment the efforts of those already in service and of those who will come in the future, and, thus, to have a larger corps of trained people not completely divorced from our traditional heritage. Although a few learned people of our own are returning from foreign lands, We have foreseen and are convinced that Our country's pace of progress can only be accelerated if there is a high influx of educated Ethiopians at one and the same time.

Economically also, the expenditure needed to help a single student through higher studies abroad is quite sufficient to train a number of students locally. The reason why higher studies on a large scale were impossible in the past was mainly this: foreign training was very expensive. But We believe that it is clear to everyone that the establishment of our own University will give us great and valuable opportunities for expanding higher education in Ethiopia. In addition to this, it has a significant economic contribution, in that it helps us to save foreign exchange which we need for investment in other fields by avoiding the transfer of money abroad to finance our students studying in foreign lands. You most probably know that there are many great men produced in their own home institutions of higher learning.

In as much as higher education needs much money, the expansion of higher learning is one of the major problems facing developing and economically poor countries. Hence it can be said that their pace of development is highly determined by this single factor. In the case of Ethiopia – the only bearer of the torch of freedom for the rest of Africa in the past – to prove that she is not behind in the pursuit of modern education also, she is obliged to give opportunity of access to education not only to a few but to as many as

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possible. To this end, We are also quite aware that one university is not enough but many universities must be established in the future.

The Wealth of Our Heritage

The establishment of our own University is an effective aid in combining modern education with our noble traditions. Accordingly, it is Our earnest desire that this University shall jealously guard the wealth of our heritage and pass it on to the succeeding generation with all its richness and glory as reflected in modern education.

We say this with the understanding that any foreign training not assessed in the light of one's long-standing traditions, is detrimental to the well-being of the individual and the country, and in no way useful. We are confident, therefore, that this University will produce useful citizens by inculcating these views in the minds of its students.

University training entails deep research and intensive studies. Any research should be related to the requirements and conditions of our country. We are very optimistic that there are many historically valuable things to be discovered. The students of this University are particularly lucky to be of school age at this particular time, and it is Our hope that you will avail yourselves of this exceptional opportunity and contribute to the knowledge of your country in particular and that of mankind in general, by revealing the hidden, great, historic lore. Our University, therefore, has also a special contribution to make in this field.

Academic Freedom

One of the fundamental principles which the establishment of a university brings forth is the idea of academic freedom. Academic freedom, if used for the sole purpose of acquiring true knowledge is undoubtedly the very foundation of the pillars of education; and it is universally recognized

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that it has been jealously guarded by all institutions of higher learning. An honest and persistent quest for truth is essential to the attainment of higher learning. In the past, both in our country and in the rest of the world, it has always been vital to lay down such prerequisites for intellectual achievements in order to produce philosophers, scientists, writers and men of academic prominence in other fields. These prerequisites have also been the source of law and order.

We have also clearly guarded this particular right of academic freedom by clearly stating it in all the Charters issued in the establishment of our various colleges. But what we want you to understand very clearly is that academic freedom, if used for any other aim than that for which it is designed, will defeat its own purpose and be harmful rather than useful.

Academic freedom, unless it conforms to the common good of the society in which it is expected to be exercised, is meaningless.

Academic freedom affords a base for higher studies. And the aim of higher studies is to serve the society which is waiting for the leadership of the educated elite. Academic freedom that does not reflect this aim has lost its very foundation for it is no more than an instrument for the protection of that particular right, dedicated to the true quest for knowledge that is useful for the society. Academic freedom, on application, should be tested always against the true end of satisfying the interest of the society. As a proof, if academic freedom as has been applied in one country is copied and fully applied in another, there would be a divergence, because the purposes and aims which it is expected to fulfill can never be identical, as the interests of the people of no two countries completely coincide. Apart from this, the interests of each country also vary with time and circumstance.

An additional reason why academic freedom is held in

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high esteem and respect is that it makes possible for human beings to improve their ideas and improve their standard of living. For, without academic freedom, human life would remain hopelessly stagnant. However, to use this freedom, which is given for such noble purpose – to divide a people struggling to improve its life and thus make vain all its effort cannot possibly be considered as a valid exercise of academic freedom. In some other countries, too, this is the precise manner in which academic freedom is practised. Such attitude is in fact to undermine the wide application of academic freedom itself.

Parental Agreement on Education

One of the important contributions We are dedicated to bequeath to Our beloved people is education. When We first launched Our programme of educational expansion, it was necessary to struggle against the interest of parents in sending their children to school. But now the people, understanding the benefits of the programme which We have been intent to prosecute for their own betterment, are not only co-operating in sending their children to school upon their own initiative, but many have expressed their desire to share in the great burden of educational expenditure which had fallen solely on the government treasury until today, some by cash contribution and some by building schools. This has very appropriately proven to Us that the Ethiopian people, as in time of crisis, are still behind Us and co-operating even in all Our administrative efforts. This has given us encouragement and further determination to dedicate Ourselves for the people to the extent that We feel it is for their lasting welfare. Hence We have decided to further expand education.

With the help of a limited number of educated people we have been able to reach the present point of progress. Encouraged by the continued service of this devoted cadre

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who have served Us faithfully, We shall embark upon an extended educational programme.

Within a single generation, We have seen parents who had to be cajoled to send their children to school become so convinced of the value of education that today, those who have the means are assisting Us in bearing the financial burden of education, and many of those who are unable to do likewise continue to stop Us on Our way to request that their children be given places in the school-house. This is highly gratifying and is a source of encouragement for Us to extend Our efforts in education. We shall endeavour to work for the betterment of Our people by applying funds from Our private purse, utilizing simultaneously whatever assistance Ethiopia can receive from friendly governments.

Jul. 12, 1962.

CORNERSTONE: ARTS BUILDING

.... Man cannot live by bread alone. Man, after all, is also composed of intellect and soul

Education develops the intellect; and the intellect distinguishes man from other creatures. It is education that enables man to harness nature and utilize her resources for the well-being and improvement of his life. The key for the betterment and completeness of modern living is education.

But, "Man cannot live by bread alone." Man, after all, is also composed of intellect and soul. Therefore, education in general, and higher education in particular, must aim to provide, beyond the physical, food for the intellect and soul. That education which ignores man's intrinsic nature, and neglects his intellect and reasoning power cannot be considered true education.

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A well organized education should not be one which prepares students for a good remuneration alone. It should be one that can help and guide them towards acquiring clear thinking, a fruitful mind, and an elevated spirit.

The educated person that Ethiopia and countries of her level needs is not one who had stuffed bits of knowledge into his mind. The needed educated individual is one who uses the ideas he obtained from his lectures, books, and discussions to the best advantage of his own country and his own people. It is he who disseminates new ideas in harmony with the economic and social aspects of his own community so that fruitful results would be realized. This is the educated person who can show segments of knowledge he accumulated in his learning, inventiveness in a new situation.

Ethiopia is a country with her own cultures and mores. These, our cultures and customs, more than being the legacy of our historical past, are characteristics of our Ethiopianness. We do not want our legacies and traditions to be lost. Our wish and desire is that education develop, enrich, and modify them.

You all know the continuous effort that Ethiopia is exerting for the development of a profound and high standard education. We need educated and trained persons for research, for the study and development of our country's resources, for technology, for medicine, for the law, and the administration for our people according to their custom. These are the needs that constrain Us to provide, at all levels, education free of charge. And students, ever mindful of this privilege, should endeavour to recompense their country and nation.

The opportunity for education, afforded to the few in our country, is not given to them for a fashion or a mode. It is given for a purpose, for a task, for a high responsibility, for full and exhaustive use, for the benefit of our country, and the coming generation.

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We have just explained to you the type of result, and responsibility that We expect from you students. It is on you, the members of the faculty that We must rely for this result. We realize the heavy responsibility We have entrusted to you. We hope that you too, while believing and accepting your responsibilities as your sacred duties, will produce for Ethiopia persons who take pride in you and their education and are ready for the call of service.

It is you who must mould the minds of your students – that they may be wise, farsighted, intelligent, profound in their thinking, devoted to their country and government and fruitful in their work. It is you who must serve as the example. On their part also, they will have to learn not only formal education but also self-discipline that should be worthy to be inherited. May the Almighty God be with you in the fulfillment of your duties.

Sep. 23, 1963.

AWARDS LAW CERTIFICATES

We are indeed pleased to congratulate this class who have today received Certificates in law from the University – and to the teachers who have made your accomplishment possible by planning, organizing and carrying out this pioneer project. You may rightly take great pride in your accomplishment, just as We do.

The administration of justice, in a modern state, demands well trained qualified persons at every level. The introduction of the codes and the revised Constitution of Ethiopia, as well as other legislation continuously coming from Parliament and the Government, has dramatically changed Ethiopia's legal system. The law of the Empire is now modern, complex and scientific in the sense that it has been prepared by experts after careful study. The adminis-

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tration of the law of the Empire increasingly demands highly trained persons.

In a real sense the development of the nation depends upon the development of our legal institutions.

The proper administration of justice requires a research for truth; therefore, the judicial function requires highly selected men. Judges shall be chosen from among those who studied law, and who sacrifice their personal interests to their duties.

An advocate who discharges his duty honestly is a judge. So the need for persons trained in law is obvious.

Thus We are pleased to learn that others are following hard upon the footsteps of this class. We are pleased to know that soon the number of Ethiopian lawyers holding a university degree in law will be virtually doubled.

We are especially pleased to see that so many judges and other civil servants and advocates are taking time to continue their education even as they continue to perform their regular daily duties.

Education is an ongoing task. The obligation to improve oneself does not cease simply because one has a regular job. This is certainly true for those who work in the administration of law and in legal counseling. We would urge that these persons must do all they can to improve, continuously, their professional capacities through further study.

Members of this graduating class: by sacrificing your time you have advanced yourselves and the nation.

We are confident that the qualification you have earned today will be recognized within the legal profession. We believe it should. We believe, too, that the professional attainment to be achieved by other students now studying law in other programs of the Law School must be recognized.

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Ethiopia needs a modern legal profession just as she needs the modern legal system she is building. The one cannot exist without the other.

You – all of you who are taking University training in law – are helping the task of building a profession.

We congratulate you. We congratulate this class; take pride in what you have done by serving with continuing zeal and loyalty the Law of Our Empire.

Nov. 25, 1964.

FIFTH GRADUATION EXERCISES OF H.S.I.U.

..... The mere existence of a fund of knowledge is not enough; unless knowledge is nurtured and nourished by devoted teachers and eager students alike, it will, like a pool of water following the rains change its hue and slowly disappear

It gives Us great satisfaction today, at the end of the academic year, to observe the number of students who have successfully passed this University's requirements and who are assembled here today to take part in this commencement ceremony. This is a rewarding and long-awaited occasion for each of you, as it is for Us personally, and We congratulate each one who will today receive his diploma from Our hands.

Although you have reached this high landmark in your academic training, your education is not complete; there is no end to learning. During your years of study We hope that you have come to understand and appreciate the significance and the importance of education, educational institutions, and of this University in particular. We hope that you have come to realize what this University is today, what its role in the life of the nation is in 1966, and what its potential is for the future.

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For Us, the importance of this University – indeed, of any institution of higher education – is fourfold. First, it provides the institutional framework wherein ancient and tested and proven knowledge can be passed on to the present and future generations. Lacking such a framework, neither a country nor an educational system can bequeath and transmit profound knowledge to posterity. In this same fashion, the existence of Ge'ez and Amharic have enabled Ethiopia to preserve and pass to later generations the civilization and culture of her ancient people.

Second is the discovery and development of new knowledge through research. A university which does not expand the frontiers of learning through research can only be short-lived.

Third is the discharge of the obligation to teach others which the very creation of such an institution implies and embodies. This is its supreme function. The creation of the institutional framework alone does not guarantee that teaching will be effective; nor does the growth of learning within the university's walls by itself ensure that knowledge will be spread and diffused. The mere existence of a fund of knowledge is not enough; unless knowledge is nurtured and nourished by devoted teachers and eager students alike, it will, like a pool of water following the rains change its hue and slowly disappear.

Practical Aspect Emphasized

And since a university is established and maintained through the will and support of a people and a government, We may consider, lastly, the use to be made of the knowledge which it has acquired or developed and which it is now transmitting to others. Clearly, this knowledge must be devoted to the ultimate fulfillment of the needs and desires of those to whom the university owes its being. A university which is unconcerned with the practical impact of the

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work on the people and the nation, which limits its horizons to the theoretical and the abstract and its activities to the library and the laboratory, cannot long expect to enjoy the support of the people and the nation.

It is Our most earnest wish that this University meet all of these requirements so that the full force of the promise which it holds out to the future of Our beloved country may be well and gloriously realized. You graduates who have had, through your year of service to the nation, the opportunity to see at first hand the impact of your education upon your country and to observe at first hand the nation's needs, are in a better position to understand and evaluate the extent to which this is today being accomplished. This is the essential purpose of the National Service Programme: the development within each one of you of the inner sense of service to the nation. Only through dedication and sacrifice can one truly help and benefit his country.

Although the pressure imposed by the need for training more teachers is still felt, We note with great satisfaction that the number of Ethiopian teachers has increased in the five years of the University's existence. In order to attain self-sufficiency, we must give priority to overcoming this shortage. We cannot depend always on others. "The disciple is not above his master." We urge you, the teachers, who have a close acquaintance with the conditions of your country, to use your education for conducting valuable research directed towards the alleviation of the problems of your country. Teach, learn, and thereby extend increasingly the frontiers of your knowledge.

Some of you graduates of the Class of 1966 were unable to pursue fulltime university education. Despite this, you devoted your spare time to your studies, determined that this should not constitute a serious impediment in your work. You have been found worthy, and you, in particular, deserve congratulations.

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Ranks Must Be Filled

Today, Our eyes and Our hopes are on all you graduates. We hope that the seeds of learning which you have received will, in the service which you render, ripen into an abundant harvest. We assumed the obligation to foster and expand education in Our nation both as a solemn duty, because the nation can flourish and grow only as the ranks of the teachers and students are expanded and filled; as a matter of free will, because man would prefer to speak of his nation in terms of its educated men and women rather than by recounting the size of its population.

Those of you who have not yet completed your studies look forward with hopes and impatience to the day when you, too, will attain this honour. To you We give the message of St. Paul: "Who looks back, having once put his hand to the plough?"

These words remind Us as well of the need for more universities, for more teachers, more schools, more students and more work. They commit us ever more fully to the search for the outer limits of the frontiers of learning. Until these have been achieved, no one can enjoy peace of mind.

Dynamism, coupled with a conscientious concern for the well-being of the nation are the necessary qualities of the youthful mind. You have had a better educational opportunity than many. Evaluate your ideas; separate the good in them from the bad. Your hands once put to the plough, do not look back. Education moulds human elements in man. It develops him from adolescence to manhood. Let usefulness be your hallmark today, not adolescence.

Once again, We congratulate you all, and we thank Almighty God that you have proved yourself deserving of this occasion.

June 30, 1966

CHAPTER I

PART II

SPECIAL EDUCATION

In line with Ethiopia's will towards modernization, in a world and era of specialization, the nation's educational plan had to include training in the various areas of science and technology. What has been done and accomplished in this field, the institutions established and the nation's expectations are mirrored under this caption.

IMPERIAL GUARD CADET TRAINING SCHOOL

We have reminded you repeatedly in the past that bravery is the natural characteristic of the Ethiopian people, which they need borrow from nowhere, and that the possession by Ethiopian people of such a sterling quality is widely known. The fact that We have already explained to you Our consideration about you makes it unnecessary to dwell on it at length today.

The harmonious blending of military training with inherent valor not only spares vain bloodshed but also assures victory without undue effort. A few well disciplined and trained troops, history bears witness, can win a battle against an out-numbering force, even ten times larger. History records that military science enabled Alexander the Great to conquer a large part of the world, often engaging his 30,000 soldiers against the adversary's 600,000. Education and training, as in every walk of life, offers limitless benefits in the military field as well.

Born to struggle in this world, man gradually realizes the miracles of "light" and harnesses this knowledge to be his first instrument of defence against the trials of life, never thereafter preferring to travel in darkness. You boys,

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to whom We have handed the powerful weapon of “light” must exert your utmost to carry the torch of light, sternly refusing to be returned to darkness. The results of your training which have been demonstrated just now, are a matter of pride for your Emperor and a source of strength to your country. Whenever We witness such progressive achievement, We feel extremely happy, looking forward to the dawn of the day that will usher in the fulfillment of Our plan for Our people’s well-being.

There is no person in this world who is free from life’s responsibility. This responsibility enjoins one to discharge the duty towards the country, serving and dying for it. No one, whether he is a soldier or a civilian, can afford to be a coward and can escape this responsibility. Fortunately, there is no need at present for the employment of Our armed forces, either here in Our territory or abroad. But when your services are called for, the military force We referred to now will be a guarantee for liberty and independence. May God help you to fulfill the pledge you have given to your Emperor and to your country.

We view with satisfaction the services of the Commander of the Imperial Body Guard, Brigadier General Mulugueta Bully, in efficiently carrying out Our directives, and of the instructors for their devotion to the task of training.

May 25, 1950.

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS ABROAD: NORTH AMERICA

I am very happy to be able to send a few words of greeting to you on the occasion of this reunion of the Ethiopian students who are studying in America. It is good that it has been possible to arrange such a meeting so that you may relax and enjoy yourselves together for a time.

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We hope that it will also be a period for renewing friendships with your fellow countrymen and thus strengthening the ties which bind you to your homeland, Ethiopia. It should also be a time when you may take stock of yourself and may consider what return you owe for the opportunity you have been given.

Great and wise men from all countries have told us through the centuries that the most worthwhile sort of life is one of service – ‘Working for the benefit of others.’ The Divine Teacher by word and example taught us that the only worthy way of living is to give rather than to receive.

In the dark days of the occupation our own patriots did not consider personal advantages as they strove to realize their ideal. As you prepare yourselves to return to Ethiopia I commend to you a life which gives to others who are less privileged than we and who have not had our opportunities.

Each of you is old enough and mature enough to know that in the United States and Canada education has seldom been prized only on account of its usefulness to individuals but to society. It is seldom intended to be merely an ornament to the person who obtains it.

This conception of education is equally important for us in Ethiopia, where only education can lead the way to higher standards of living for all people. It is in expectation of a rich return that the Ethiopian Government has spent freely to send you abroad, hoping that upon your return you will make a generous contribution to the betterment of your country.

We do not want you to return to Ethiopia, Americans or Canadians; American techniques in their entirety may be good only in America and Canadian training will be especially applicable to conditions in that country. We hope that you will be wise in choosing those elements from for-

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eign education which are applicable to conditions in Ethiopia and which can be used in our own country.

There is a third thought which I would like you to keep always before you. In a world which becomes smaller and smaller as communication improves, nations must live as neighbours with other nations. Just as your impressions of an American are formed from the individual Americans you meet, so a foreigner's ideas about Ethiopia depend upon the Ethiopians he encounters and knows.

Each of you is an Ambassador-at-large of your country. If you are kind and tolerant and courteous you make people think well of us – if you are arrogant and proud and unfriendly you discredit us in the eyes of others. It is my earnest hope that you may be at all times worthy representatives of Ethiopia.

Sept. 2, 1950.

ETHIOPIAN STUDENTS ABROAD: UNITED KINGDOM

We are happy to send Our Christmas Greetings to the holiday reunion of Ethiopian students in Great Britain.

They reach you at a time when Our efforts for the reunion of Eritrea to the Motherland have been crowned with success, and access to the sea has been opened to Ethiopia. Since the larger the number of a people, the less they are vulnerable to aggression, We are proud to know that the people of a former province once torn away from the Motherland are now restored to Us. We well know that you have been brought together during your holidays by reason of the sense of brotherhood and by loyalty and devotion to your own country. You all know that the high privilege of your study abroad has been made possible through Our Government's policy supported by the individual tax contributions of all Our people. In thus making

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your education possible the permanent rather than the temporary benefit of Our people has been preferred. You will realize that their sacrifice has imposed a high trust upon all of you; as for Us We trust that the idea of repaying the price for the privilege you have been given is in the forefront of your plans for the future. You will be able to fulfill this trust if you apply yourselves faithfully to study and pass with distinction through your higher courses. Thus you will also be able to apply the knowledge you are acquiring in your many schools for the benefit of your country and your people.

Wise men have always known the deep and pervading truth that it is better to give than to receive, for even as it conflicts with selfish and ambitious desires, it moderates and controls them. Giving always demands sacrifice. To overcome the temptation of mere daily comfort and to press resolutely and patiently forward on the scheduled way are true tests of the high degree of determination that should bind you together. Any of you, who may wish to profit himself alone from the knowledge given him rather than serve others through the knowledge he has gained from learning, is betraying knowledge and rendering it worthless. A man's happiness is to make his brother happy, and to serve his country. Thus, it is possible to justify for knowledge its high and deserved place. For knowledge is power. If it is not applied properly to create, let there be no doubts, it will destroy. Education has value as it is established in individuals of good character with respect for God. We wish that your destiny shall be embraced in an education firmly based on good character before men and respect before God.

The education and knowledge you are acquiring in England will enable you to alleviate the suffering of your country, Ethiopia, if they are enfolded into your minds in harmony with your country's tradition and character. Not for you will be their display as mere personal ornament.

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You cannot escape the responsibility of your choice. You must be worthy of Our hope that you return with the knowledge and devotion to serve Our country and ameliorate the life of Our People.

Even as the impression of another people is formed from the conduct of a single individual, so are you all ambassadors of your country. If you are found to be well-mannered, thoughtful, faithful and industrious, you make others think well of Us. But if you become dishonest, arrogant, careless, and indolent, you discredit Us and yourself, and your conscience will trouble you throughout the rest of your life.

Your country is awaiting the services of her experienced children. Since your desire is to participate in the work which We have planned for the well-being of Ethiopia and for Our people's prosperity, in sending you this advice, We pray that the Almighty may help you to attain your loyal and worthy aspirations.

Jan. 8, 1951.

OFFICERS CALLED TO DEDICATION TO DUTY

To be selected as a military officer and as a candidate for promotion is a high privilege. Although evident that war entails death, the death resulting therefrom is designed to preserve the life of others, to preserve the generation and to elevate the history of a nation or people. This history springs from and can be maintained in part through education which is the basis of one's behavior.

For example, there are cases when brilliant soldiers from the ranks are promoted to be officers. This is achieved only through character and devotion to duty. History has reserved special places for such men, who although lacking the formal

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training of a military academy, yet have led armies and have bravely defended their country. Your formal training together with your obligation ought to prepare you to render even better service in the establishment of peace and security.

We are pleased to observe today the skill that you have acquired under the instruction of your own Ethiopian Officers. It demonstrates that you have been devoting your time to constructive ends. Today, however, although you have shown us your ability which we admire, do not consider this graduation as an end but as a beginning. Remember that you are always students for there is much to learn from experience.

For the good soldier there are three fundamental principles to be observed: to lead a decent and self-respecting life; to work assiduously; and to be ready at all times to sacrifice himself for his country. When he follows these principles, he would have subjugated his personal self to that of his society which is much higher.

A soldier must at all times watch his behavior; he must be cautious, energetic and not swayed by rumors. You must, therefore, choose the means by which you can best exercise self-control and self-discipline. In this, you are now possessed with the important weapon of training by which you can defend your country from catastrophe; through this training you can also elevate your spirit and broaden your mind.

If a man has a particular aim he must work diligently to attain it. It is our intention to ameliorate the living standard of our soldiers because we realize the measure of their sacrifices.

A plan of higher and effective training and the procurement of teachers has been formulated and studied, and will be put into effect soon

May 2, 1952.

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NURSES' TRAINING

There is nothing that tends more readily to induce in our heart feelings of joy and solace, than to see the youth of Our land growing up and maturing through education, in whatever sphere it may be. All the knowledge to be drawn from the fountain-head of education, not only contributes to the well-being of mankind and to the performance of humanitarian deeds, but is also a veritable pillar upholding the liberty of the land. It is by the strength of the knowledge gained from education that man develops his ideas and brings his labours to success.

In choosing for your own sphere the vocation of nursing – the caring for and tending of the sick – you have made a noble choice, for it is one of the truly humanitarian professions. However, it will not always be in hospitals fitted with every convenience that you will carry out this your chosen task; you will have to go to all sorts of places where toil and trouble await you. Your training and your profession make this incumbent upon you. But how great a thing it really is, to be able to help your fellow-men, tortured by pain and troubled by disease – to bring rest and relief to body and soul alike! Your own awareness of it may be limited, but the patient who receives your care will surely feel it and appreciate it deeply.

This said, it becomes necessary for Us to repeat to you today the words of advice which We gave in 1956, to your sister nurses, on the occasion when they similarly received at Our hands their certificates of graduation: “Your profession calls for discipline – the discipline of study and devotion to obedience and duty, the discipline of self-restraint and cleanliness, and the discipline of life-long devotion to learning, since knowledge knows no bounds. If you take these fundamental disciplines as your guiding principles, your work will

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display the highest qualities.” You must be nurses not merely in name, but truly in the obligations of that noble calling.

We are today laying the foundation-stone of a branch, which – subsidized by a joint Ethiopian and Swedish fund – will, in connection with this hospital, care for the health of expectant mothers and infants. We are very much pleased that in addition to its other functions this establishment will provide training for the nursing profession. We trust that the School will prove fruitful in supplying an adequate number of nurses.

Our beloved daughter, Princess Tsahai Haile Selassie, who was cut off in the flower of her youth, completed her training as a nurse. Following the example of Florence Nightingale, she sought not her own comfort and pleasure, but sacrificed herself in the service of the sick and the suffering. With sincere devotion and compassion, she applied herself to the task of succouring and comforting the sick. You who work or learn in this Hospital which bears her name should have her example engraved on your hearts and minds!

Oct. 17, 1957.

SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS

..... It is these tender feelings of deep and silent admiration evoked from our hearts by the beauties of creation that should find adequate expression in the fine arts

The ancient paintings that are still to be seen in the great monasteries and churches of Ethiopia, and the carvings in wood and stone which have come down to us in the ruins of the ancient palaces, bear witness to the fact that the fine arts had attained a comparatively high degree of development even in very early times. Although the major portion

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of these works of art was destroyed in the wars that broke out from time to time, those that still remain in Lalibela, Gondar, Shoa, Gojjam and elsewhere fill the competent observer with a sense of wonder and admiration. Since these works of art are also closely related to the history of Ethiopia, the young artists of Our country who pursue these fine arts on modern lines can find occasion therein for legitimate pride.

We have established this institution because We consider it a matter of great importance to revise and develop the fine arts in Our country in a manner which will enable Our artists to combine the historical and traditional art of Ethiopia with the advantages of modern technical developments in the field.

If Ethiopian paintings and other works of art attain such a standard that they can be sent out of the country and can hold their own amidst exhibits from other countries, they can certainly help in the efforts to make Ethiopia known more widely as a nation fully participating in the spirit and the substance of modern civilization.

Our customary support shall always be forthcoming to similar efforts in the fields of music and literature as well.

A purely materialistic art would be like a tree which is expected to bear fruit without flowering, and to sacrifice grace and beauty for mere utility. Those who learn here should from the beginning, assiduously avoid this spirit of utilitarianism. Our admiration for the Creator's handiwork should not be limited to those things He has provided us with for our daily needs, but should include all that is good and beautiful. It is these tender feelings of deep and silent admiration evoked from our hearts by the beauties of creation that should find adequate expression in the fine arts.

As We have stated time and again, it is easy to begin but hard to finish, and We express on this occasion both

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Our happiness at what We see here today, as well as Our strong hope to see this work which is now begun bearing fruit in the near future.

July 23, 1958.

OPENS H.S.I. MILITARY ACADEMY

..... If, in defending Free Ethiopia and her free-born children from the detestable yoke of slavery, you learn to combine the spirit of heroism which you have inherited from your forefathers with the technical skill which you will acquire at this Academy, the faith and trust which We and Our people have reposed in you will be fully justified, and you will, moreover, be able to be of help to our brethren both far and near

Many years have elapsed since We first planned the establishment of this Military Academy which We inaugurate today. The Military College which We instituted at Guennet in 1934 was intended to serve as the bridge towards the attainment of the goal which We now see realized. Though the invasion of Our country interrupted this and the many other projects which we had in those early days laid out for the development and progress of Ethiopia, We can today offer unbounded thanks to Almighty God that We have been permitted to witness the fulfillment of many of Our original projects.

We have long recognized that raising the general level of education in Ethiopia required the opening of many institutions of higher learning, and that We could not attain our objectives unless this was accomplished and large numbers of Our people received extensive education. In this same spirit, We have established this Military Academy in order that Our Armed Forces might acquire the advanced training in military science which is essential under the

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conditions created by modern civilization. The responsibility which devolves upon this institution is great indeed, for it is this Academy's task to impart to officer cadets the new skills and techniques by which, in modern warfare, the overwhelming numbers and military might of an enemy may be overcome.

Our forefathers, benefiting from the wisdom which Almighty God revealed to them in their time, fought with valour and heroism to preserve the freedom of Our country. To complement the valour and heroism which Our Armed Forces have inherited from them – qualities which no amount of military training can provide – there must now be provided mastery of the complex techniques of modern warfare. Strength may be useless where skill is required. A mature mind and a wealth of experience are needed to decide upon the time and place where strength and skill may be most effectively combined in battle. A military officer confronted with the task of carrying out an operation entrusted to him by his superiors, feeling the weight of the responsibility of devising the proper means of fulfilling his duty, will be able to call for assistance upon the training he has received in this institution, which, like a torch shedding light both forward and behind, will guide him in his work.

Worth of Freedom

All officer's duties, however, are by no means limited to ensuring that the soldiers under his command have received proper military training. He must be able to convey to his men the full significance of the tasks assigned to them, so that their hearts and spirits, as well as their bodies, will be enlisted to their fulfillment. He must, in order to defend his country's material wealth and natural resources from the invader, also have a deep understanding of the true worth of freedom, which he is called upon to defend,

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and unless his mind is guided by these higher values, he will not measure up to the high standard expected of him.

Today, while man still remains incapable of controlling his insatiable lust for power and wealth and persists in using force as a means for satisfying his desires, his ability to wreak destruction on his fellow-men is steadily increasing. Technology and science have produced in abundance the weapons whereby human life can be wiped off the face of the earth. In the face of these conditions, it is not enough that our young men be brave, and prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice themselves for their principles and ideals. If those who would thrust the world into the holocaust of war are to be deterred from aggressive action it can only be by the threat of a counterblow poised to strike should the need arise. We have considered it Our duty, therefore, to train Our Armed Forces in the modern techniques of defence so that Our people might be spared from the ravages of this most terrible of plagues. It is for these reasons that We have caused this military Academy to be established and have come here today to inaugurate this institution.

The faithful and enlightened services to be rendered by the officer cadets who will study here and who, upon their graduation, will assume the command of Our Armies in the field, will, We sincerely trust, constitute an impregnable bulwark against those who would violate Ethiopia's glorious tradition of liberty which, for centuries, has been handed down from generation to generation. The officers who will graduate from this institution must be constantly aware that Ethiopia shares in the responsibility of assuring the collective security of the world. Every country that has to struggle for its freedom will naturally look to other freedom-loving nations for assistance in their efforts. We would, therefore, be pleased to see students from our neighbouring nations in Africa benefit from the instruction that is being imparted at this Military Academy.

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Tasks Strenuous

We would have you realize, you future officers standing in proud ranks before Us, that the tasks which await you will be strenuous and heavy. The words “Learn to obey that you may learn to command” must be engraved on your hearts. Unless one is faithful, no one can trust him. If, in defending Free Ethiopia and her free-born children from the detestable yoke of slavery, you learn to combine the spirit of heroism which you have inherited from your forefathers with the technical skill which you will acquire at this Academy, the faith and trust which We and Our people have reposed in you will be fully justified, and you will, moreover, be able to be of help to our brethren both far and near.

The mastery of modern techniques and methods of warfare calls for unremitting study, constancy of purpose, and intellectual attainments of the highest order. Modern military science, in this nuclear age, is a perpetual spring, and the officers who graduate from this Academy must continue their pursuit of military knowledge long after they have taken place in the field.

Humanity has long dreamed of and anxiously waited for the day when the world would be rid of the plague of war. However, when an aggressor, driven by insatiable appetites and voracious desires, sets out to violate the freedom of a neighbouring land and enslave its people, the latter must inevitably seek to repel the invader with all the heroism and bravery at their disposal. If the invader would only refrain from aggression and seek to resolve by peaceful means whatever quarrels and misunderstandings that exist, surely both sides would be prepared to make their share of sacrifices necessary to achieve a peaceful settlement. We, Ourselves, in Our lifetime, have laboured unceasingly for the creation of the conditions essentially prerequisite to

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the establishment of an enduring peace. We take great pleasure in the knowledge that Our Country, Ethiopia has become a symbol of hope and freedom to our brethren in all the African countries.

Must be Vigilant

Today, when the itch of war is spreading like an epidemic over the world, and the threat of armed conflict, with all the evil that this portends for men everywhere, hangs heavy over the earth, casting its dark shadow on humanity, men of honour, wherever they may be, must be vigilant in defence of their freedom, so that they may be spared suffering and humiliation. We, Ourselves, if We fail to make adequate preparations for defence, will be held to have failed both in Our responsibility to Ourselves and in Our duty to aid in the preservation of world peace.

The pages of Our country's history shine with the deeds of soldiers, who, in the spirit of heroism inherited from their forebears, fought in a just cause and for the preservation of peace, as well as those soldier-statesmen, who – in time of peace – laboured for the preservation of humanity's great ideals and values. It is the example of such men that you who study here should emulate. Your duty is to study their history and to record it for the benefit of future generations.

We express Our thanks to all who have laboured zealously to carry out Our plans and commands for the establishment of this Academy. We would also extend Our special thanks to Prime Minister Nehru of India, who, in the spirit of friendship and mutual assistance existing between the peoples and Governments of Our two countries, selected and deputed a fine team of Indian officers to staff this institution, as also to Colonel Rawlley, the Commandant of the Academy.

Oct. 6, 1958.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

COMMISSIONING NAVAL OFFICERS

..... And today, another major step is being taken along the path which We have marked out for Our beloved country in bridging the gap between the isolation in which Ethiopia lived for so many years and the modern world.

Today, as We participate in the first graduation exercises at the Imperial Naval College, We return in memory to that day just over six years ago when Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia and this seacoast on the Red Sea, so long separated from our Empire was reunited with its motherland. Our heart and that of the entire Ethiopian nation overflowed with joy on that day. It was, for us, the realization of a desire which we had long cherished.

But the attainment of any one goal is never more than a temporary achievement. A mountain top is reached, beyond, on the far slope, there are new lands to explore, and new peaks to scale. As each goal along life's path is reached, new vistas open before us, and new challenges are made. It is indeed, an immutable law of life that man's striving can never end, that to pause in life's struggle is to slip back along the road to progress. Man is born in sorrow, and in the sweat of his brow must he earn his bread.

The reuniting of this seacoast with its ancient motherland constituted a clear challenge to use for the benefit of Our entire Empire the potential which this avenue to the Red Sea represents. We have laboured mightily to meet this challenge. We have undertaken the development of the Port to Assab, which will provide our Empire with another major port. In the steps which we have taken to improve communications throughout Our Empire full and careful consideration has been given to the need to increase the flow of trade through these ports and take advantage of the strategic position which they occupy on this great commer-

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cial life-line. We have taken various other measures to improve and enhance the use and development of this area, and We have other projects in mind which will result in the greater utilization of this region and these harbours.

The achievements that are being witnessed here and elsewhere are in themselves a testimony of the success of Ethiopia's development. We would wish to note in this connection that in this as in other of Our efforts and sacrifices We have always enjoyed the wholehearted and loyal support of Our beloved Eritrean people.

And today, another major step is being taken along the path which We have marked out for Our beloved Country in bridging the gap between the isolation in which Ethiopia lived for so many years and the modern world.

Federation First Step

The federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia was but the first step. For the possession of a seacoast imposes grave responsibilities. Steps must be taken to assure the defence of Our coastline. Action is required to co-operate with Ethiopia's neighbours in the suppression of illicit trade. We must prepare ourselves for the task of guiding and assisting those who toil on the sea. These and many other duties devolve upon us by virtue of Our Empire's geographical position on the Red Sea.

When We had in the past ventured into great undertakings, it has not been with the certainty of seeing it accomplished in a matter of five or ten years, but rather with the high hope and confidence that our efforts will benefit the present and future generations of Our people.

But God in His wisdom has spared us to see great accomplishments, and to look forward to yet greater achievements in all fields of national life.

Today, as we see more and more of the educated taking their proper places in society with the goodwill and

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the determination to render loyal services to their country, We are reminded of the statement that We made some 15 years ago to the effect that the pride derived from the merits of worthy service is far greater than any feeling of pride that may spring from the heritage of wealth and property. As a result of Our national Programme of Education and the opportunities that it provides to all of Our people, yet other chapters are being added to the long and glorious history of Our country.

It is with satisfaction that We note that following the restoration to Ethiopia of her ancient ports, great strides have been made in the naval field, opening thus new and significant horizons and opportunities to the Navy as indeed to the men that have joined its distinguished service.

Our constant endeavour is to insure for now as for all times the effective defence of Our waters and seacoast, and We are happy to feel that while establishing this College We have laid the foundation for the great future of Our Imperial Navy.

Already, Our mind's eye is perceiving and promising achievements and we feel certain that History will confirm Our confident belief that the Imperial Ethiopian Navy will occupy a vital place and will play an important role in the years that lie ahead.

A Goal Reached

This College is the institution whereby the means will be provided to discharge Our duties in the naval field, and the officer-cadets who will graduate from this school are the instruments who will be called upon to perform these tasks. You Cadets who have the good luck to become the first commissioned officers of the Imperial Ethiopian Navy are to be congratulated in the attainment of this moment. You too, however, are subject to the operation of the law of life

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to which We have referred. Today, a goal is reached, but it is for you only a way-station along a road which will make increasingly greater demands of you as each succeeding stage is reached. The future dares you to prove yourselves worthy of the training which you have received, to fulfil the duties which now fall to your lot and to aid Us in the discharge of those high duties to which We have devoted Our entire life. This is the challenge which awaits you today.

You must always remember that to lead, one must first learn to follow, you must obey the rules and regulations by which your conduct is to be governed. Be proud of the uniform which you wear, do nothing that would dishonour it. Strive always to bring credit upon yourself and your motherland. If you are faithful to these precepts, you will have properly and faithfully discharged your duty before Us and before your countrymen.

We are pleased today to present to the Imperial Naval College these colours, which it will henceforth proudly display. They represent a testimonial of the faith which We have reposed in this institution and in those charged with its administration and the confidence which, in full recognition of the high tasks which have been assigned the young men who will study here, We contemplate this College's future growth and development.

We extend Our thanks to all those whose contributions have made this ceremony possible: to Ras Andargatchew, who has toiled unceasingly in preparing the physical structures which comprise this institution; to the Government of the United States of America, which has generously contributed the vessels and equipment utilized in the training programme; to the Ambassador of the United States of America, His Excellency Mr. Don C. Bliss, who has co-operated wholeheartedly in the implementation of this program-

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me; to Commander Iskinder Desta who has with diligence carried out the orders for the development of the school, and finally, to those devoted Norwegian and American officers and men who have instructed and trained the cadets who study here.

Jan. 22, 1959.

SILVER JUBILEE: GUENET MILITARY TRAINING CENTRE

This Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the founding by Us, of the Guenet Military Training Centre is evocative of a long and decisive period, a culminating era of Ethiopian history.

It has fallen to few countries of this world to struggle, alone, unaided but successfully, for the preservation of their independence. To still fewer has it been the good fortune which has been vouchsafed to Us by the Almighty Protector, to have been able to defend that independence over so long a span of history.

Many and severe have been the waves of attack which have beaten against the fastnesses of Our beloved homeland. Numerous have been the occasions when the way of compromise offered its tempting vistas. Yet, throughout her three thousand years of independence, Ethiopia has always sought to defend herself alone but for the transcendent aid and courage inspired by a devout faith in the Almighty. In her national defence, as in her national life, as it is recorded in Holy Writ: "Ethiopia stretches out her hands unto God."

The military chronicles of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, the victories of Dogali and of Adowa in the 19th and the ever-memorable defence entered upon under Our leadership but a few months following the establishment of the Guenet Military Training Centre, as indeed the found-

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ing of that institution itself, all testify with eloquence to the traditional determination of Ethiopia to defend herself by her own means, without compromise and without quarter.

Founded on Eve of Italo-Ethiopian War

Thus by founding of that Military Training Centre on the eve of the most momentous struggle in her history, Ethiopia demonstrated to the world her unshakable confidence in victory through the courage and military virtues of her people. This resolve has never vacillated under Our Reign. While engaging military experts from abroad, while purchasing arms within the limits of her capacity, Ethiopia has never compromised her independence however pressing the exigencies of the hour.

We recall with gratitude the services of the Swedish Military Officers who made the initial and expertly successful contribution towards the functioning of the Military Training Centre and whose successors are today continuing their collaboration in the building of a strong and modern national army. Belgian military tradition and science have also made their valued contribution towards the resilient Imperial Body Guard.

In addition to the invaluable assistance of the British during the liberation of Ethiopia at a time when Ethiopia lay vulnerable and exhausted from the struggle of national liberation, the British Military Mission made a powerful and never-to-be forgotten contribution towards the rebuilding of a modern Army and in these very walls resumed the instruction and the academic traditions suspended in the hours of bitter conflict. If today, Ethiopia stands to the forefront among the military forces in Africa and the Middle East, it is due to this vital military tradition, to the strong sense of discipline inculcated over the years within this

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Training Centre by devoted officers from abroad and today to the generous support in arms, equipment and instructors furnished by the United States of America.

Welcome Helpers, Guests

On this memorable occasion, We, therefore, particularly welcome the representatives of those States who have played a significant role in the history of this Training Centre. At the same time, We are gratified to note the presence of the distinguished representatives of Our sister States in Africa, here to testify to the solidarity and common determination of all African States to defend together the cause of freedom in Africa.

Your struggles, like those of Ethiopia, stand as an inspiration to our brothers who are still striving towards the goal of independence. The facts of history stand to confirm to them the importance and efficacy of self-help and courage in the struggle for freedom. It is the duty of those States who have already gained their independence, to collaborate in all fields and ways, to strengthen and broaden the bases and armatures of the free and independent politics of Africa, and promptly to come to the defence of those nations yet to be born when, in the difficult first hours after birth, their freedom could be threatened or indeed, stifled. It is in this larger context that this and all other national institutions of African States must be constantly viewed.

African Unity, Cornerstone

Unity should be the cornerstone of relations among African States for it would ensure confidence and co-operation. Disunity, on the other hand, while dissipating their strength, always ends in regrettable results. For this reason, We are making arrangements to grant scholarships to Our African brothers to study in Our military institutions.

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In but a few weeks, the Independent African States will convene in Our Capital to explore the means and avenues for advancing this high cause of the freedom, independence and progress of the African peoples. It is Our conviction that the Guenet Military Training Centre has already, during the last quarter of a Century, well served this noble objective. May a yet broader and more fructifying mission be reserved, in the coming years, to this institution which has so well earned the lasting gratitude of Our beloved people.

Mutual confidence and collaboration should exist among the African Nations. As disunity always brings regrettable results, it is with this object in view that We are granting scholarships in Our military institutions to Our African brothers.

In conclusion we would like to express our heartfelt thanks to the delegations from friendly countries who have come to join in the celebration of this Silver Jubilee of this Military Training Centre for the Souvenirs given by them as well as to our military units and civil administration, which certainly express the thoughtfulness for the welfare of this institution.

Apr. 29, 1960.

AIRMEN CONTRIBUTE TO COUNTRY'S SELF-DEFENCE

..... We feel happy because we believe that the knowledge you have acquired will be put to the advantage of the country's progress and that your service will greatly strengthen the country's ability for self-defence, and so help it in attaining the stage of progress. We also feel that the service you will render will bring Our efforts to fruition.

Having personally witnessed the knowledge and flying ability you have acquired in the course of your studies, We

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can say that you have reached a stage worthy of praise. However, the knowledge you have so far acquired can only serve you as a basis for further endeavours and you will be considered as experts and be of real service to your country only if you faithfully maintain the good name earned by your outfit and strive to bring a good reputation to your country and people.

As you may judge for yourselves, the airplanes that will be here in the future are very much different from those that have been used so far, and will therefore require greater imagination and ability to handle them. Those people who will be entrusted with their use will bear heavy responsibilities and will, therefore, be recruited very carefully. We feel that you also realize the need for attaching special importance to this aspect. However, and as much as you have been given sound education and a good start, you can fulfill your obligations only if you strive for higher and better endeavours. This must be your aim and goal in life.

Earlier we made reference to the good name you have earned. Your reputation is not only known to us but also to all Africa. To name but a few, carrier planes have been used to transport the Ethiopian contingent to the Congo, and since a year jet planes have also been made available for UN service in that Republic. Our planes have also been used at the time when our neighboring and brotherly people of Somalia were affected by flood. All these have helped in making Ethiopia better known in Africa. It can also be said that African countries sent their youth for training here with you because they were aware of the good name you have earned in the past.

We shall always strive to render you better facilities for education and also better quality equipment. Our thanks are due to all those whose help and support have been indispensable for crowning your efforts with success.

Sept. 23, 1962.

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TO NAVAL CADETS

Until quite recently, we Ethiopians were giving as an excuse for the country's retarded progress the fact that our seaports and territorial waters had been in foreign hands. Today, we have regained our coastal territory and our ports.

In order that no fear of any kind may exist regarding Our waters and to safeguard the smooth functioning of Our sea coasts, a Naval Force made up of Ethiopian Coast Guards and men has been established which is now well on its way. Therefore, the entire people of Ethiopia must keep themselves in readiness for work since We have no other reasons to give should Ethiopia's progress lag behind from now onwards.

Since Our main aim and desire has been to see that self-help is attained in all respects, the ever-increasing number of trained young men graduating at home and abroad in various fields each year serves as concrete evidence that Our efforts in this line have been met with blessings signifying Our having reached the point of the desired goal. This is really praiseworthy. What is more satisfactory and a source of pride to any individual than the attainment of self-help?

Our hope would be fulfilled when, you Ethiopian members of the Naval Force, are capable through completing your studies in the shortest possible time, diligently to guard Our sea coasts and islands by using Our ships. The enemy should be checked from the beginning before going far and Our history is a good example demonstrating the arduous difficulty involved in driving out the enemy and the aftermath suffered thereby. It is for this reason that Our sea coasts should remain well guarded.

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Internal Unity

Since the best chance for one country to attack another comes through noting the weaknesses of the attacked and the division of its people within, We can through organizing Our defence forces to the maximum and by strengthening Our internal unity close all openings against the enemy. Our unity being Our formidable weapon of defence, it should be kept more strengthened than Our other forces of defence. Otherwise the manpower and defence weapons so organized will be used for the destruction of the beloved country in serving the enemy's purpose.

In extending Our congratulations to all of you Cadets assembled here after completing your studies, We would like you to realize that the knowledge you have acquired so far is no end in itself but a reminder for the further responsibilities that await you. There should be no moment in any man's life to seek rest after completing his education. You should not therefore overlook the fact that it is through ceaseless practice and experience and by training others that you would be able to prove your individual qualifications and worth.

We remind you therefore that you should utilize your whole thoughts and knowledge to the ultimate objective of moral satisfaction and the pride of your countrymen regardless of your personal interests. Your job takes care of you and there will not be any need to concern yourselves with your personal affairs.

We extend Our thanks to Commander Iskinder Desta who has helped you to reach the present stage and the entire members of the Naval Force and in particular the Norwegian officers and non-commissioned officers and other foreign nationals and We heartily thank the Government of the United States for its assistance. We wish that God will assist you in carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to you.

Jan. 21, 1963.

CHAPTER I

PART III

GENERAL EDUCATION

As early as during his tenure as Regent and Heir Apparent of the Realm, His Majesty the Emperor evinced keen interest in public education. In 1925 he followed this urge and, from his own privy Purse, built the Teferi Makonnen School and encouraged the wealthy Ethiopians to follow his example. The educational effort was arrested by the war and occupation. It was immediately revived upon His Imperial Majesty's return. And for all these years he has personally always found time from his busy duties to visit schools, talk to and question students, from Kindergarten to the higher levels and to manifest an intimate concern for their welfare.

OPENS LIBRARY AND NIGHT SCHOOL

..... Loyalty inspires understanding, and understanding co-operation; these are the clearest evidence of strength. But the solid basis for all lies in education. It is education which allows people to live together, and makes them avoid the pitfalls of immorality, and induces respect for the law. Truly the attainment of these high aims is based on education, the helping of people to live together, to avoid indulgence, immorality and lawlessness

When We founded the Ethiopian National Library Our wish was that the Library should have many branches in the provinces and districts. As it is necessary to increase libraries in order to increase the number of readers, today We inaugurate this one so that it may be an accommodation for those advanced in their education and the night school with it for those who wish to continue further studies.

This Library and Night School is designed to serve those who fall at the present time outside of the reach of the National Board of Education which is devoting its efforts in the education of the youth. We should like to assure them that using these facilities, with hard work, they can improve

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their education and catch up to a great extent the time lost by the unavoidable interruption of their education.

With hard work and ambition human beings can achieve any goal. As it is essential that the youth should begin their schooling before seven, adults might find it essential to attend school before they are fifty, and derive benefit from so doing. The mastery of the art of learning is never denied to those who will devote themselves to study. You must realize that one's education is also for the benefit of one's country. It does not lead to the neglect of your country's custom nor to the neglect of your faith in God. These can only come about as a result of an evil manner.

If both youth and adults contemplate seriously their education and work assiduously they will together be of great assistance to their country. Therefore, work hard and constructively. If you spend the time for attendance at night school in other unworthy places, understand that you are chasing phantoms and following an illusive dream.

The name of this Institute, "Your Light is Shining Today", is inspired by a quotation from St. Luke, Chapter 19, verses 42 and 45 which speaks about one's opportunities. "If thou hadst known even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thine eyes"

This name is given to inspire the type of work and the measure of achievement which should flow therefrom. We thank the Director and the teachers in anticipation hoping that they might fulfil Our hopes.

March 30, 1948.

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HOPE FOR EDUCATION

...We will continue by speaking of Our efforts in the development and extension of education in Ethiopia. As We informed you before, among Ethiopia's long-range programmes is that embracing the youth of the Empire. It is Our constant solicitude that Ethiopia's youth be brought up and educated in order to render service to Ethiopia.

In order to retain her proper and rightful place, Ethiopia's sole means is education, through which she will be able to assist herself, maintain her independence, take an active and important part in world affairs and be a benefit both to herself and to others.

We are satisfied with the efforts made and with the time spent in the education of Ethiopia's youth. The present generation's thirst and earnest desire for education, as well as their easy adaptability to modern culture and training and their spirit of progress encourage Us to redouble Our efforts toward the fulfilment of Our aims. We have great pride in Our people and equally in the future generations.

We are able thus to wait hopefully for the young Ethiopian graduates from the Universities of the world who will return home in the near future to do service to their country....

Nov. 2, 1948.

TEFERI MAKONNEN SCHOOL SILVER JUBILEE

..... To be able to say that there are one hundred thousand students, one has to start with one.

It is over twenty-five years ago that We had conceived the idea of building this School, but as everything is bound to be accomplished with man as initiator and God as execu-

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tor, it was built in its destined time and formally opened twenty-five years ago.

On this occasion when We celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Teferi Makonnen School and recall the struggle We made to overcome the opposing internal political forces that We encountered at the time when, having the building completed, We were recruiting teachers and gathering students in order to get the work started, We thank Our God who helped Us to achieve Our aim.

Ever since the day We were elected by God to be the leader of Our beloved Nation, Our wholehearted desire has been to expand education with which Our people will develop and guarantee their independence, and since Our accession to the power of leadership, We have put on this cause Our utmost efforts as much as events permitted. And this school the Silver Jubilee of which We are celebrating today, has rendered evident Our desire and effort.

Among those who, in support of Our idea, have helped Us to found this School, We thank all who are alive and remember those like the late Blattenguetta Hiruy.

There have been gentlemen and ladies who, sharing Our conviction that there is no instrument better than education for the development of Ethiopia and the welfare of Our Nation, helped Us in different ways. Some of them have done so by inspiring their children to go to school and others by contributing financially to this cause, to an extent that proved their realization of the benefit of education. In this connection, We do not pass without remembering those, for instance, like the late Dej. Habtemariam Gabregziabier, who sent to the school twenty-three boys together with the school fees.

The names of the persons who had shown their goodwill to support Our idea and expressed the love for education

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were written at the school hall in golden letters on the roll of honour which was removed by the enemy, and has now been renewed and restituted.

The Teferi Makonnen School started working guided by the internal regulations We had provided to it, with Dr. Workneh as Principal and a Frenchman called Monsieur Jean Guillon, as Director and concurrently teacher. Under them, there were both foreign and Ethiopian teachers for French and English languages and the number of students increased from day to day.

Encouraged

After a few years when it was arranged for the pupils of Teferi Makonnen School to receive examinations sent from schools in Europe, there were many who passed the examinations and obtained elementary school certificates. When We were then satisfied with the intelligence of the Ethiopian pupils and the diligence of the teachers, We were encouraged to double Our efforts. As We used to see for Ourselves, whenever We visited the School, their diligence which was resulting in the advancement of the pupils, We still remember the teachers who were here at that time.

Then We had only these students who proved progressive and diligent in their studies sent abroad for pursuing their education. Whereas most of these flowers of youth grown in this School were destroyed by Italy's massacre, some have been spared by God and are now serving their country. But when We thought of sending them abroad for education, there was a great obstacle between orientation abroad and preparation at home, and the struggle We faced was worse.

But convinced that a nation is seen highly possessed of works of civilization due to its heritage of refinement from past generations and not as a result of work accomplished

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in one generation, and realizing that such heritage demands countless sacrifices, We exerted a great effort in order to remove current difficulties and to pave the way for the coming generations, and by faith passed the trial.

Moreover, as it was Our desire to improve all possible ways of distributing education to all the Ethiopian population, there has never been one We have not helped whenever an individual or a society wished to preach education to the Ethiopians or to open a school.

Other Schools

To Our Programme aimed at enabling the youth of Ethiopia to be prepared for the help of their country in different professions acquired by education and training, We had reinforced the establishment of modern systems capable of maintaining law and order, as well as of safeguarding the security of the country, such as the Regular Army, Police and Air Force, and in general We had done all to have all systems of public education go hand in hand.

Even though work and time have a limited scope to human capacity, We were convinced that by working with faith, perseverance, firmness and foresight, it was possible to accomplish much. And Our efforts have been aided by avoiding arrears of work pending for the coming generations so that there might emerge a generation up to date with modern civilization to pursue its current life, and when We were organizing such a peaceful life for Our Nation, We had secured for it the international guarantee of peace by joining the League of Nations and signing the Kellog Convention.

But there came an enemy who interrupted Our peaceful work of leading Ethiopia to a high civilization and by invading Our country, destroyed all the products of Our work. Had it not been for all the various obstacles which

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We encountered and which hindered Our work, it is obvious that the result of Our initiative for the purpose of having Ethiopia combine her ancient civilization with the modern world progress would have appeared much earlier. Nevertheless, We thank God for the kindness We have never missed.

Although it had, following the invasion of the enemy, fallen sick for some time, the Teferi Makonnen School which We see today as a young school of twenty-five years has, in accordance with its age, served a generation and is therefore, seen with its head upright.

When We inaugurated this school twenty-five years ago, We extolled the merciful Lord and said: "To be able to say that there are one hundred thousand students, one has to start with one."

Today in Ethiopia, there are more than 100,000 students. Hence, We feel very happy at the celebration of the 25th year of Teferi Makonnen School, where We have expressed Our wishes and see that the mercy of God is limitless.

We feel deeply sorry when We recall the memory of the youngsters who were educated at this school and who sacrificed their lives for the sake of their Emperor and country. When We turn to those who are alive and rendering valuable service to their country, including those who are attending this inauguration as well as those who are on duty in distant places, Our sorrow changes into happiness.

And you, students, should realize that for the benefit of Ethiopia and for Our Nation, Our most important work at present is the preparation of educated generations for Ethiopia, and We fervently hope that you will prove worthy of Our efforts for this purpose. We thank those who have been supporting Us in this cause and We strongly ask them to continue their support.

Ap. 27, 1950

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WHY EDUCATION

..... From truth alone is born liberty and only an educated people can consider itself as really free and master of its fate. It is only with an educated people that representative and democratic organs of government can exercise their influence for national progress.

...However, Our programmes undertaken in the economic field for augmenting the material welfare of Our subjects, has not made Us forget that, according to the words of the Bible, “man does not live by bread alone.” We believe that the spiritual and moral welfare of Our people is as important as their material well-being. Thus, it is that following the liberation of Ethiopia from the yoke of the enemy, We have devoted a very large part of Our budget and national revenues for the establishment and development of schools. During this short period of ten years no less than fifteen secondary schools, of which the last, the General Wingate School, was opened by Ourselves this year, have been established directly as a result of Our initiative and direction. The number of students enrolled in schools in Ethiopia has nearly tripled during that same period. Shortly, the University, the foundation-stone of which We have laid, will be opened under Our direction. We face with confidence the future of public instruction in Ethiopia.

If We have made so many sacrifices for the education of Our youth, it is because We are convinced that only through intellectual progress and universal education can Ethiopia come into its own and make its just contribution to the history of the peoples of the Middle East. We believe that from truth alone is born liberty and that only an educated people can consider itself as really free and master of its fate. It is only with an educated people that representative and demo-

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cratic organs of government can exercise their influence for national progress. Our Address from the Throne therefore testifies to the importance which We attach to education and, at the same time, to your role as representatives, in the development and progress of Our people....

Nov. 3, 1951.

OPENS DEBRE BERHAN TEACHER TRAINING CENTRE

By establishing for our people educational institutions ranging from the elementary level to that of a University College, we have enabled their natural intelligence to be reinforced by acquired knowledge. In this our object has been to raise their standard of living, for in so far as they profit from the education they receive, so may they improve their material resources.

Our efforts in this sense are being fulfilled as far as the children and young people are concerned. But we feel it incumbent upon us to take thought also for those other folk who, by reason of their age, or of their occupation or position, are unable to receive the advantage derived from modern education. It was to give practical expression to this thought that we previously issued instructions indicating that all our people should acquire fundamental education; that they should read and write Amharic, the official language of the country, and if possible learn additional subjects in foreign fields. Since these instructions were issued, basic education is progressing satisfactorily, and people are frequenting schools assiduously and in large numbers.

The products of learning and knowledge, then benefit the life of mankind; and these fruits of education to the cultivation of which we ever devote our energies should be shared by all our people throughout our Empire. How-

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ever, to obtain this objective, capable teachers must be secured; it was in the pursuit of this aim, that we directed this building to be constructed as a special Teachers Training Centre. Now that the work of construction is finished, and that of instruction has begun, we give thanks to the Almighty, who has granted to us to preside today over the ceremony of its inauguration.

Must Ripen and Mature

So far, through the existing education facilities, not only have many children and adults been spared from being branded as illiterates, but many too are they who have reached the University level and completed their studies there. Folks crowd the doors of centres of learning, and a number of them pass in and out of them; but that is not enough. What we desire for our people in future consists of three main objectives: First, that every Ethiopian may be spared from illiteracy; second, that through the development of his own inborn capabilities he may become not a liability but an asset to his nation, and a benefit to himself, to his neighbourhood, and to his country; third, that he must ripen and mature in knowledge and education, and pass them on to posterity. In addition, in this day and age, he must keep far from his mind the belief that he knows quite enough. The educated person will consider and weigh the welfare of the individual and the community, and will form critical judgements, while retaining the fear of his Creator.

For the higher educational institutions which, with much effort, we have established – such as the Agricultural College, the Building College and the University College – enough students have not been found. In several countries of the world we see persons who do work of various kinds during the day, in order to get the necessary money to live by, in the evening they devote their time to study, and to

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reach a sufficient level of education to qualify as doctors or engineers. Such men, who have the love of learning in their hearts, show us how age need not prove a hindrance. Therefore you should strive assiduously to make yourselves, by education, worthy men; and for this it matters not whether it be by day or by night, nor whether you be child or adult, man or woman.

As the Gospel tells us, a house built upon strong foundations can never be overthrown by storms. Similarly, when people are built up with minds well formed by education and knowledge, no trial of whatever kind can conquer them. Therefore, as regards the teachers who go forth from this Centre, prepared for the tasks ahead, it is our hope that they will advise, help and teach their brothers living in the country districts, in matters of health, of husbandry, of handicraft, and in other useful spheres, placing the knowledge they have gained from new cultural methods at the service of each and every Ethiopian.

Firm Structure

As for Ourselves, in every task wherein We labour, Our chief aim is that Our beloved people shall, during Our reign, proceed apace along the path of culture, improving their individual condition and living a life of peace, prosperity and happiness.

And when we say that, it is essential that our people should fully understand the following point. Unless each beam be sound, the whole structure of a house cannot be firm; and so, unless each Ethiopian citizen improves his own individual lot by culture, educating himself and his children, and making his family healthy and prosperous, capable and industrious, he cannot benefit his beloved land and the realm of Ethiopia. Similarly, if a man is sick, in one part of

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his body, his whole constitution is upset. It is the same with a people. Unless each man's life be complete, displaying education and prosperity, the people as a whole cannot share in common a flourishing existence, nor can it give its government cause for pride. It is for this reason that we place our full hope in the teachers who go forth from this Centre – that through them, our people may receive, in respect of their individual lives, the help which we wish to be extended to them.

In the planning of this Community Education Teachers Training Centre we have received assistance from persons who have experience in this field, and to them – the experts of Point Four and of UNESCO – we express our thanks. We are convinced that the work wherein they have collaborated with us will prosper.

We sincerely thank the U. S. Government for its assistance in the establishment of this school. We also appreciate the good words expressed by H.E. the U.S. Ambassador and for the spirit of co-operation he has shown.

It is, therefore, with deep satisfaction that we inaugurate and declare open, the Community Education Teachers Training Centre at Debre Berhan.

April 26, 1957.

TEACHER TRAINING

Since the problem now faced not only by Ethiopia but by the entire world as well as a result of the shortage of teachers looms large, We feel especial satisfaction in opening teachers' training schools. The setting up of training schools for teachers is one of the things that enable a country to stand on its own feet.

An increase in the number of teachers' training schools as well as the attainment of a stage of self-sufficiency as

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regards teachers is a task which We constantly endeavour to achieve and one in which We have pinned Our hope with respect to Our country's march to improvement and progress.

It is the duty of teachers to direct the thought and outlook as well as mould the character of their students. For this reason, the responsibility of teachers in training student-teachers aimed at the future progress and development of Our country and the proper upbringing of students could hardly be underestimated.

In the age in which we are living especially when different philosophies of life are competing against one another, the responsibility of teachers has been found to be even more exacting.

Your guide should therefore be the apostolic saying: study and examine all but choose and follow the good. Our forefathers have succeeded in passing down a free and independent people determined to safeguard its liberty by shedding its blood. Ethiopia is the country in Africa which has kept Ge'ez and Amharic with an alphabet of its own. We have also laid a firm foundation for the freedom, prestige and happiness of the present generation in the fields of education and development in accordance with the conditions now existing.

Those who will be serving the people in future should follow this same path in endeavoring to develop their country and maintain her freedom. This is one of the main responsibilities of teacher.

As it is Our constant concern to produce teachers in abundance and thereby speed up the educational advancement and progress of Our beloved people, We are very happy to see so many students in this school being trained as future teachers.

We express Our heart-felt thanks to the United States Government which, having realized Our great concern for the spread of education, rendered a financial help in the

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construction of this school. Ethiopia and America have a long-standing friendship and this building is one of the many manifestations of this feeling of friendship, mutual help and co-operation.

We have earlier explained the extent to which the responsibility of teachers go. You should always bear in mind that it is your duty to see to it that your country solves the current problem of a shortage of teachers. A teacher is no mere instructor of letters; he should be one who has properly ordered and controlled his manner and character and be an exemplary and who shoulders a heavy responsibility. May God the Almighty make you leaders as well as followers.

Oct. 15, 1962.

SELF-HELP IN EDUCATION

Ever since We were entrusted with the responsibility of leading Ethiopia, one of the several wishes We cherished for Our people has been to witness the arrival of a time when Our people will be able to realize their problems as well as potentialities and through mutual discussions come out with solutions for improvement. In order to bring about the fulfilment of Our idea, We established the Ministry of National Community Development eight years ago.

Our first directive to the Ministry was in short to go down to village level and give instructions by which the people can improve living conditions and solve social problems. This project has been remarkably expanded since then. Many people who received proper training at training centres set up by the Ministry at Majite, Awassa and other places are currently engaged throughout the Empire in drilling wells, cleaning pools, maintaining village sanitation,

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starting schools and other activities designed to assist the community at large.

It gives Us great satisfaction to note the enthusiasm shown by the many young men wherever they have been assigned in carrying out this programme, as it has become apparent from the undertaking of the 10 places in the District of Ada.

Hard Challenge

Although great effort is being exerted by Our government by way of planning and formulating ways and means of eradicating community problems, it is not sufficient for the people to rely on government support alone. As has already been manifested by your endeavours the people themselves must come to realize their own difficulties in the development of their community and try to solve them by collective participation, following an order of priority and taking their potentiality into account. It is well known to you all that recognizing one's problems and striving hard to challenge them is a mark of an attempt at self-sufficiency.

A country belongs to both leaders and people. The mutual co-operation between them is testimony to this fact. Unless the people help Us, our attempt to help them will be fruitless. Why did We become a leader? Is it not for the benefit and welfare of the people?

This year, more than ever before, the people of Ethiopia motivated by their own will and diligence, have awakened to the task of raising their standard of living. You hear every day that people are engaged in raising funds to either construct roads or to use them for whatever projects they have in mind. How noble and great a deed is the act of sacrificing one's wealth, land and money, to one's needy community instead of for selfish purposes! The gratitude remains for ever.

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Self-Help

If the programme of “self-help” is pushed forward with this same degree of motivation, you will undoubtedly leave a tradition worthy of remembrance by your children. It is believed that having seen your children lined up in front of the schools, you have realized that your efforts in taking the initiative to compete in the programme of self-help undertaken by all to build these four schools We just visited were altogether rewarding. One who does not contribute to his community and the coming generation remains to be a burden to his society and an object of ridicule to outside observers.

By building the schools near your village, you have spared the time and energy of your children from travelling to too far away places for their education and moreover you have secured the opportunity of seeing them grow up under your close care. And similarly if you continue to consult one another and strive to get rid of the other handicaps, say problems of obtaining clean water, better roads and sanitation for your community, you will find that the accomplishment is within your capacity.

It is both the responsibility of the governor as well as elders to create harmony among the people in initiating them to discuss their common problems and work towards the betterment of their standard of living. There has not been a single Ethiopian who has not been filled with pride and rejoicing in hearing of the great efforts and co-operation manifested by the people of Guragie in the fund-raising scheme to finance the construction of the roads linking the peoples of Bale, Addis Ababa and the provinces. These efforts being made by the people of Our country towards progress has also served as a means to influence Ethiopia’s overseas friends.

We also pledge, therefore, those elders and community

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leaders to study and formulate methods on problems affecting their respective communities such as schooling, water supply, community and home sanitation, roads and agriculture in addition to their long - practised profession.

Active Participation

The co-operation and, what is more, the active participation in working along with the people played by you, the members of the IEAF, the Airborne Division and the Farm Experiment Station in helping the people living in your area achieve a better standard of living has highly pleased Us.

The principal idea towards this motive of assisting your fellow neighbours lay in the fact that some of you have been fortunate to evidence the progress made in other countries while most of you collected experiences from reading books at home; and it has been this spirit of enthusiasm of witnessing the same trends of progress being enjoyed by your brothers at home that led towards this objective.

There is no single soul who would not cherish and hail the introduction of progress to Ethiopia and partake of the benefits thereof. It is but through co-operation in working side by side with the people by way of setting up schools, drilling water-wells and the construction of roads, and it is through the realization and devotion in solving these problems that wishes could be interpreted in terms of tangible forms. As We have been informed you have, in constructing these schools, equally shared the work with the people: that of quarrying stones, fixing the frames and in mixing the mud, which no doubt will earn you the love of your neighbours.

Exemplary Act

Particularly all among those gathered here have come through the same process of the historical past. Therefore, assuming that there are set up 100 schools for a population

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exceeding 20 million and even then if these numbers were increased to a million, there is not one person who would not still judge them insufficient. Self - help in the benefits to be acquired through education will save the individual from asking someone's assistance.

We wish that this exemplary act of yours will serve to create the same spirit among the entire people of Ethiopia and the Armed Forces, the Naval Force, the Boy Scouts, students and particularly those people engaged in the world of business. We are confident that if these and all other organizations combined follow the same path in working closely with the people, that they would easily overcome problems of water-supply, education, roads and house sanitation within their respective communities and We further believe that the same would help the people to achieve the desired standard of living which all of Us hold dear.

Jan. 10, 1963.

INAUGURATES NEW BAHR DAR TECHNICAL HIGH SCHOOL

*..... The time when manual labour was despised
has long passed and we find ourselves in an epoch
when manual labour is a source of pride and pleasure
not only to the worker but to all.*

We are pleased to be present today on the occasion of the inauguration of this splendid Technical High School which is the concrete result of the Agreement which was signed three years ago by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Ethiopian Government. Our pleasure is doubled by the presence in our midst of Your Excellency The Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the U.S.S.R. as a Special Representative of your Government.

This institution, apart from the benefit of training

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Ethiopian technicians to work for and serve their country, will also stand as a lasting record of the strong and long-standing friendship existing between the Soviet Union and Our country.

The many schools and educational institutions, which it has been Our pleasure to inaugurate from time to time in various parts of the country, is a proof that Our plans for the modernization and the development of Our country are being gradually achieved. The establishment of a sufficient number of well-equipped hospitals and educational institutions is today essential for the basic growth and well-being of a nation, and it can be said that of the many branches of learning, technical knowledge is vital for its livelihood. The greater part of Our efforts has been directed towards giving Our beloved people the advantages of modern medical treatment and access to academic and technical education. With the guidance of the Almighty We are progressively moving towards the fulfilment of Our plans. It is most gratifying to Us to see Our people recognizing the advantages of modern medical and educational facilities and themselves sharing a part of the burden of Our efforts.

One of the requirements of the recently signed Charter of African Unity calls for African nations to assist one another. However, a nation must first be self-sufficing before it is in a position to offer help to others; therefore, the establishment of this Technical Institution, which We today inaugurate, will play an important role in the development of Our country on the road to self-sufficiency. Through the Haile Selassie I Scholarship programme, a certain number of students from all parts of Africa will be admitted to this Institution.

Mind and Hand

The combination of academic knowledge with technical education will give great satisfaction and will create self-

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supporting individuals. It is by the combined use of the mind and the hand that crude material is changed into an article of beauty and value. The time when manual labour was despised has long passed and we find ourselves in an epoch when manual labour is a source of pride and pleasure not only to the worker but to all. Laziness is the sole breeder of sin, poverty and discontent. Therefore, all those who enter this Technical High School, bearing in mind that technological education is an important weapon for a country's development and prosperity, should rise up and work diligently and industriously in order to benefit themselves and their fellowmen. Our Minister of Education has already explained in detail the advantages to be derived from technical education.

What impressed Us most during Our visit to the Soviet Union was the high standard achieved by the Soviet people in the field of Science and Technology in a period of less than 50 years.

For this magnificent, fully equipped educational institution, together with many thousands of technical books and also five scholarships annually for students teachers to later serve this institution, which enables Ethiopia to share the scientific and technological achievements of the Soviet Union, without any political strings attached and for no pecuniary gain, We request Your Excellency to convey Our sincere and heartfelt thanks together with those of Our beloved people and Government to the people and Government of the Soviet Union and especially to His Excellency Mr. Nikita Khrushchev.

We would like to thank the Soviet engineers and also the contractor and all those whose efforts have contributed to the completion of this building.

June 11, 1963.

CHAPTER II

PART I

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Ethiopia was the first of the Allied nations to be liberated from Nazism and Fascism in the second World War. In fact, it was partially because His Imperial Majesty had followed closely the war, and world political events and because of the vital connection of Ethiopia to Allied strategy, that Allied support was made available to Him and his valiant patriots in winning the victory over Italian fascism. After the victory, Ethiopia was still at war against the Central Powers. Ethiopia, therefore, had an inescapable interest in and connection with the subsequent Allied victory.

ALLIED VICTORY

Today marks what will, perhaps, be recorded as the most significant day in world history, for today has at last been brought to account and to a crushing defeat a world-wide philosophy of aggression against all peace-loving nations. This glorious victory has been won because those peace-loving nations have persisted for long years of incredible hardships, sacrifices, and determination to achieve freedom, decency, and justice not for themselves alone but for the entire world. It is in this sense that the victory over Japan which started in 1931 her infamous attack upon our great friend the Republic of China and which led to the equally infamous aggression against Ethiopia in 1935 and against Europe in 1939, takes on its deeper significance for world history.

We have today, reversed the policy of expediency at the expense of international justice. Today the victory which We now celebrate, represents not only the triumph over Japan, not only the triumph over those same forces in Europe which were part and parcel of the same struggle, but also a triumph of the principle of collective security enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations signed at San Francisco.

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However, at this solemn moment in history Our hearts turn in grief and tender reflection to those countless families throughout the world who have sacrificed their most cherished possessions, their husbands and sons, that justice might triumph. This victory has been achieved at a cost of lives, sufferings, and treasure that have never before been equalled. It has also recorded the bravest and most heroic deeds and actions of modern times. In history will ever be enshrined the battle-fields of Alamein, of Stalingrad, of Anzio, of Normandy, of Iwo Jima and of Okinawa. Ethiopia, with the other United Nations and more than most, has contributed her maximum efforts to the attainment of that victory. She will, with all others, however, remain eternally grateful to the British Empire, for her aid in liberating Ethiopia and, during those dark hours of 1940 and 1941, in carrying on alone the war for the defence of decency and liberty; to the Soviet Union, through incredible acts of heroism, for having ground to dust the vast German armies in the East; and finally to the United States of America for its great sacrifices in men and wealth, which with the combined forces of Britain and the Soviet Union made possible the invasion of Europe and which by a series of brilliant naval and air victories achieved the defeat of and victory over Japan.

Re-Affirm Faith

These sacrifices, the sacrifices of other United Nations and the long bitter struggle of Our Empire for the defence and furtherance of the cause of collective security impose upon all nations alike the obligation rendered sacred by the life-blood and sufferings of Our people to ensure that war will not again sear the face of Our fair lands, and that justice and not expediency shall guide the councils of nations and, in the words of the Charter of the United

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Nations “to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of nations large and small.”

Aug. 15, 1945.

RECONCILIATION WITH ITALY

On this historic occasion, after so many trials and vicissitudes suffered by the nations of the world, including Our beloved people, We welcome you to Our Court as on a special mission of the new Italy to discuss the resumption of diplomatic relations between our two countries. We are sensible of the fact that you are herewith accomplishing a gesture of goodwill and friendship in coming to Our Court and by your visit to Ethiopia to testify to the end of a long and tragic period of relations between Our two countries.

We, for our part, having fully shared the sufferings of Our own beloved people, have nevertheless, always been conscious that the people of Italy, themselves, have also been victims of Fascist oppression. We have, therefore, ever been guided and inspired by the principles of Christian charity and it was in that spirit that, from the moment of Our historic return to Our Empire, We called upon Our faithful people to accept, respect and protect those Italians who had chosen to lead their lives among us. The thousands of your compatriots who remain here today and who participate in our national life, bear testimony to the fact that this appeal has always been heard and obeyed by Our people.

We desire nothing but peace and the opportunity quietly and without hindrance to march along the path of progress and We welcome you to Our Court as a representative of a people who, We would believe, are inspired by those same ideals and who would resolutely reject all past and future policies of aggression.

In this critical era of modern history when the world

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is delicately balanced between war and peace and when peace-loving people of the earth scan anxiously the horizon for some hopeful augury in these perilous hours, Our final and friendly reconciliation should be a sign of encouragement and a contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

Sept. 7, 1951.

DOMESTIC REPORT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

..... What makes a people great and testifies to its greatness, is its aspirations for the well-being of its country and the practical achievement of these same aspirations for its own benefit and for that of future generations. Unity gives strength and assures success.

We are very happy that by the Grace of God, we are again amongst our people, after having spent one and a half months visiting India, Burma, and Japan, at the kind invitation of the Presidents of India and of Burma and His Majesty the Emperor of Japan.

In the same way as when two years ago we returned from our visit to North America and to Europe, we spoke to you about some of the important things that we had found to be useful to our country, so today we wish to tell you of our impressions and of the useful things that we have seen in the three countries we visited during our tour of Asia and the Far East. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that what we saw in these countries is of great importance and relevance to the programme of modernization and development which we have initiated in our own country.

We realize, of course, that it is difficult for you to gain the same kind of understanding and appreciation which we have gained through first-hand knowledge, since hearing is not the same as seeing. But nonetheless, we want to tell you

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about the hospitality and the warm welcome that was accorded to us on the part of the governments and peoples of India, Burma and Japan, so that you may experience that same impression that we have gained during our visit to these three friendly countries.

The manifestations of friendship and high regard which were shown to us in these countries were meant not only for Ourselves but also for the entire people of Ethiopia. Moreover, our visit to these countries constitutes the accomplishment of a long-standing desire on our part to make Ethiopia better known and appreciated by the outside world, and at the same time to help Ethiopia to know and appreciate the rest of the world.

During Our stay in India, we were able to visit, amongst other things, an aircraft factory, locomotive, automobile and telephone factories, an atomic laboratory, a military academy, agricultural and forestry organizations and projects, great dams and hydro-electric and irrigation schemes, as well as a number of universities and technical institutions. Moreover, we were able to visit the wonderful and world-famous Taj Mahal, as well as the historic city of Benares, the birth place of Buddhism. We also visited the ancient Orthodox Church of Southern India, founded under the inspiration of the Apostle Saint Thomas. In all the industries and factories that we visited, including many which required the application of technical knowledge of the highest order, the work is done by Indian nationals. This is indeed an extraordinary example of the success of their efforts to achieve self-sufficiency.

Effective Action

Since the social and economic problems that face India and Ethiopia are very much alike, there is much of value that we can derive from the experience that India gained

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in her effort to tackle and overcome these problems. The effort that is being made in India with a view to facing and overcoming these problems is of great significance to the programme of development and reconstruction that we have planned and are putting into effect in our own country for the prosperity and well-being of our people. It is not enough to talk about ideas and plans. The important thing is to translate these into effective actions. May God Almighty sustain and guide us in the accomplishment of this great task, so that our people may gain ever greater opportunities and benefits from the application of the development of technical progress.

While we were in the Indian capital city of Delhi, we availed ourselves of the opportunity for a friendly exchange of views with Indian leaders on matters touching upon relations between our two countries, as well as on international relations generally. Our talks with Prime Minister Nehru were characterized by a spirit of cordial understanding. We had occasion to express once again our common belief in peaceful negotiation as a means to settle international differences. We affirmed our adherence to the principles of non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for national sovereignty and integrity and peaceful co-existence. These are the very principles for which we have sacrificed much during Our lifetime. We have re-affirmed our belief in these principles and we have agreed to make them the basis for greater understanding and closer co-operation in the future.

Trade Agreement

In order to strengthen and extend the trade and economic relations which have existed for so long between India and our country, we have agreed to complete a trade agreement, the details of which are at the moment being studied

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by our two governments. An Indian Mission will be coming to Addis Ababa to negotiate the said trade agreement.

Even though we had to shorten Our stay in Japan, on account of the grave international situation obtaining at that time, our visit to Japan at the kind invitation of His Majesty Emperor Hirohito and the Japanese government enabled us to see many of Japan's important industries, including automobile and textile factories, and an automatic telephone equipment factory. We also visited many ancient Japanese historic places and shrines.

In spite of the great damage that the war brought on Japan's economy, Japan has made a very impressive recovery and great progress in the short post-war period. Realizing the mutual benefit that could be gained from greater trade and economic relations with a country whose economy is complementary to Our own, we have agreed to complete a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with Japan.

We have always had great admiration for Japan and for the achievement of the Japanese people in preserving their traditions, and while acquiring the best of the new, successfully reconciling it with the best of the old. During our visit to that friendly country we were impressed by the enthusiasm and hard work the Japanese people are giving to achieve their progress. At the same line Our admiration and high regard for the Japanese people was greatly increased by Our experience of their courteous manners and great kindness.

Convinced of the necessity to establish and develop industries in our own country, we have already made a beginning in setting up technical schools and institutions to speed up the realization of these plans. It is Our constant desire that Our people should be intellectually and technically advanced as well as being safeguarded from the dangers of unemployment.

In the short period of time that We spent in Burma, We

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visited pharmaceutical and textile factories, several educational institutions and the well-known Shwedagon Pagoda erected in memory of Buddha and other places of historic interest. We also were able to witness the Burmese government's efforts to overcome the economic and social difficulties of the country. There is no doubt that the efforts of the Burmese people will result in the successful achievement of a bright and prosperous future.

Similar Problems

The countries We visited in the course of Our tours are economically, historically and in many other respects similar to our own. They resemble us also, in their keen effort to develop their natural resources for the greater benefit of their people. We find that the methods which they employ to overcome their social and economic problems, are useful and relevant to our national development programmes, since we have to face similar problems.

Our country is in no way inferior to most other countries so far as its territorial and natural resources are concerned. It is well known that if a people has the firm determination to work, it can overcome any and all its difficulties and problems. We have no problem which is insurmountable. Let us work in unity and diligence. What makes a people great and testifies to its greatness is its aspirations for the well-being of its country, and the practical achievement of these same aspirations for its own benefit and for that of future generations. Unity gives strength and assures success.

In all the countries We have visited, we have noted that education is the basis for the greatness, the power, the pride and prosperity of a nation. This impression, together with the satisfaction that we have had from the students of our own educational institutions, whom We consider the principal instruments for the progress and well-being of Ethiopia,

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renews and strengthens Our belief in education. If, therefore, education is the factor of everlasting significance in the greatness of a nation, it becomes the duty of every Ethiopian to strive for education and progress. What we have seen wherever we went has convinced us that education is as vital as life itself.

The foreign technicians and specialists are only employed to provide us with temporary assistance and training. It is the duty of everyone to strive for self-sufficiency by acquiring knowledge and experience. To live always in dependence upon the assistance of others not only prevents a people from attaining its ideal, but also deprives life of its true significance and achievement.

Efforts Justified

We have seen again during Our visit that God has not been partial in His divine creation. The difference of colour is a notion which has no significance and the futility of asserting a difference has now become obvious. The way in which Ethiopian youth has assimilated the knowledge of modern art and science, and the high academic achievements of the young men and women we have sent for higher education abroad, justifies our efforts and expectations. Our whole history testifies to the heroic deeds of our gallant people.

The fact that we have sown on fertile ground strengthens Our hope that We shall realize the plans We have prepared in order to achieve Our high ideals. After all, Ethiopia is second to none in her agricultural tradition. We are proud to say that Our plans and achievements compare favourably with those of others. If We have been able to accomplish what We had in mind to do, it is because the love and prayers of Our people have always sustained Us.

In conclusion, We would leave with you the thought

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that Ethiopia belongs equally to each and every Ethiopian, and We rely on you all, young and old alike, to play your proper constructive part in the great common task of fructifying in Ethiopia the results of our visits abroad. Nor will you fail in furthering the success of the programme of modernization and development that We have outlined for Our beloved country.

The thing that harms a nation most and cripples its strength is lack of enthusiasm and zeal to strive through education to rise itself to the level that other nations have attained. There is nothing We desire more than to see the full development of the natural resources of Our Empire and the raising of the standard of living of Our people. May the Almighty and everlasting God continue to protect Our people and bless Our efforts, so that in His good time We may see the fruits of Our endeavours.

Dec. 10, 1956.

REPORT TO THE NATION

.... Seven weeks ago, We left Ethiopia to travel to Sudan, the United States of America, Canada, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Algeria, France, Tunisia, Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic. Past visits to friendly nations have persuaded Us of the value of the personal contacts between leaders which such occasions afford, and Our most recent travels have only reconfirmed Us in this belief. At every hand, We were met with that warmth and friendship which is the best testimony of the regard and respect in which Our nation is uniformly held by those whom we call friends. Each one of us shares in the success which attended the talks We held with the leaders of these nations, for We spoke always on behalf of the nation which We lead and the people who have been such an unfailing source of strength and support in the discharge of the arduous responsibilities which have fallen to Our lot.

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In the United States of America, We found continued appreciation and sympathy for the efforts which Our Government and people are making to speed the development of Ethiopia, and We came away reassured by Our talks with President Kennedy that the United States would continue to extend generous support to these labours in the form of concrete projects contributing still further to Our nation's economic and social health. In New York, We had occasion to address the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, an occasion which recalled the most painful days of Our life but which also brought to mind the loyalty and steadfastness of the great Ethiopian people through whose efforts Ethiopia is today a free and independent state. We left the United Nations Headquarters reconfirmed in Our belief that this Organization, as We stated to the General Assembly, represents the best, and perhaps the last, hope for peace in the modern world.

Africa Visits

On Our visits to sister African states, We met and talked with Our good friends, President Sekou Toure in Guinea, President Modibo Keita in Mali, King Hassan II in Morocco, President Ahmed Ben Bella in Algeria and President Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia. During these conversations, We were repeatedly struck by the oneness of purpose demonstrated whenever the issue of the future of Africa came under consideration. In every African nation We found a uniform determination to translate the decisions of Addis Ababa into milestones along the path to the creation of a single and united Africa, and a readiness to make whatever sacrifices this effort might require. This is indeed a good augury for the future and for the hopes of the African peoples that the goals which all Africans seek may be brought to full realization within the lifetime of the present generation.

In other nations We exchanged views with respected

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statesmen whose nations have long enjoyed friendly relations with Ethiopia – with El Ferik Ibrahim Abboud in Sudan, with Prime Minister Lester Pearson in Canada, with General de Gaulle in France, with Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia, with President Gamel Abdul Nasser in the United Arab Republic. The results of Our talks will be of benefit not only to Ethiopia, but to all men of goodwill.

Ethiopia has, throughout the past year, continued to adhere to the traditional policies to which We have on numerous occasions declared Our nation's devoted respect for the rights of others, non-interference in the internal affairs of states, respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of nations, the peaceful settlement of disputes, support of the principle of collective security as the best protection against aggression and the best guardian of the peace. These policies we apply uniformly, whether to a neighbour state with which we share common frontiers or to a nation half-way round the world. To live in peace and friendship with all men today, it is only necessary that these principles find the universal observance which We have so long urged

..... Since this day last year, Ethiopia has taken special pleasure in welcoming to the ranks of independent states the nations of Kenya, Malawi, Zambia and Zanzibar. Our relations with these new nations whose independence We long and ardently advocated and supported, are already characterized by that sympathy and that spirit of brotherhood which constitute a common bond among all Africans, whether already free or still struggling to attain this happy state. It is this same spirit which has carried Africa forward in triumph on the crest of the wave in pursuit of the ideal of African unity, and it remains unflagging today, as We prepare for yet more vigorous efforts in the battle to win through to this cherished objective.

Desirous of cementing the bonds of friendship and

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mutual comprehension which already unite Ethiopia with her near-neighbors, We travelled during the past year to Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, where We met and talked with the leaders of these states and came to know at first hand the noble peoples of these sister African nations. In each of these countries, We encountered the same devotion to high principle, the same determination to labour unceasingly for the cause of peace and the betterment of the way of life of all men, the same opposition to the evils of continued colonial domination of our still dependent fellow Africans and of South Africa's inhuman policy of apartheid, which are today the hall-mark of wise and responsible statesmanship. Our visits have brought Ethiopia even closer to her East African neighbors, and we may take real satisfaction in the strong and enduring ties of friendship which link us together.

Only two months ago we undertook a considerable journey from which We only recently returned. In Iran, which We first visited, We were received by His Majesty the Shah, and in that nation We found a striking similarity in the problems which are facing both of our countries today. In Eastern Europe, We visited Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. Everywhere We were warmly greeted, and the tributes which We received We consider as a mark of respect and friendship for the entire Ethiopian nation. In each of these states, We enjoyed frank and cordial exchanges of views on pressing world problems with their leaders, and everywhere We found an eager willingness to explore all possible means of increasing contacts with Ethiopia, particularly in the area of economic co-operation. In the near future, delegations from these friendly countries will travel to Ethiopia to discuss the implementation in detail of the agreements in principle reached for expanded collaboration in the economic and technical fields

Nov. 21, 1964.

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ETHIOPIA'S WORLD POSITION

..... In the international sphere, Ethiopia today occupies a respected place in the council of nations. We have won, through our efforts, our right to this position.

Our nation is known, and rightly, as a staunch advocate and supporter of the principle of collective security, the principle which still underlies the modern concept of the regulation of relations among states. We have stood forthright in our support of the United Nations, and we have not hesitated to respond to the call of that Organization.

Ethiopia is, by her own choice, a non-aligned state. Our policies on the vexatious international issues of the day have been declared to all, and our adherence to them is steadfast: the urgent imperative of universal disarmament; the settlement of disputes by peaceful negotiation; the supremacy of reason and logic over force and irrationality.

Dedicated to the cause of Africa, Ethiopia remains prepared to implement agreed measures calculated to advance the objectives embodied in the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

Ethiopia's actions in her international dealings have been wholly consistent with her declared policies. We insist today that the way to peace among men and nations rests in the even-handed application and enforcement of the principles of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity: non-interference in the internal affairs of others; self-determination for the remaining dependent peoples of the world; respect for the territorial integrity of independent states ...

Nov. 2, 1966.

..... In the conduct of the international affairs of Our nation, We have placed high value upon personal contacts between peoples and leaders of nations. In the past year,

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We met and discussed with a number of world statesmen important world problems, both in Addis Ababa and abroad. The President of France, Our good friend General Charles De Gaulle, honoured Ethiopia with his presence earlier this year. Only a few days ago We had occasion to meet with him again in Paris where we discussed issues of mutual concern, including the question of Djibouti. We were pleased to receive in Our Capital His Majesty King Olaf V of Norway, and the leaders of Bulgaria, Hungary and Poland. With each We exchanged views on matters of interest to our respective states.

Early this year, We travelled to the Malagasy Republic, the Ivory Coast, Senegal, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Haiti. We have just returned from a tour of the Middle East. In Kuwait, We met with His Highness Sheikh Sabah as Salem as Sebah, and, in Lebanon with President Charles Helou. With each of these leaders, We considered matters of common interest, and We explained to them Ethiopia's position on her relations with the Middle East.

In Jordan, among other important subjects reviewed with His Majesty King Hussein, We considered the question of the Dar El Sultan Monastery. We anticipate that a final and permanent solution will be reached shortly.

In the United Arab Republic We received a warm welcome from Our good friend President Nasser and the people. We considered at length with President Nasser the ancient ties between our two nations, the Organization of African Unity, the situation in the Middle East, and world problems in general.

We were also pleased to meet with Our good friend Marshall Tito in Yugoslavia and to discuss with him the issues facing the non-aligned nations of the world and the events of the recent Conference held in New Delhi by the leaders of Yugoslavia, India and the United Arab Republic.

Everywhere on these visits We were received with a

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warmth and a generosity which testified to the position which Ethiopia occupies in the world community of nations. Everywhere We were able to confirm that the ties which link Ethiopia and her friends in all parts of the world remain close and strong. Everywhere We believe that a meaningful contribution was made to the cause of world brotherhood and peace.

During this same trip, We addressed the opening in Berlin, of the Lutheran World Council of Churches where we emphasized the urgent need in the modern world for religious tolerance, in order that men of all faiths may live together in peace and harmony ...

Nov. 2, 1966.

INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

From the time that Emperor Haile Selassie I threw open wide the door of Ethiopia's centuries-old isolation the trend has developed of closer cultural relations with the outside world. A principle in the Emperor's outward-looking policy, as enunciated in *Modern Ethiopianism*, is to distil from modern-day culture, those elements suitable and to blend them with those retained from the nation's own history and traditions

TO U. S. ASTRONAUTS

We wish to express our sincere thanks for the message that has been sent by His Excellency President Johnson. We thank you also for the kind words you have said about our country. We are happy to receive you for many reasons: happy because human knowledge, at the present time, is being extended with the hope that mankind would benefit.

We are confident and sure that the world realizes today that as a result of the investigations and as a result of the courage you have shown, all humanity is going to benefit. Of course, it is one thing for us to be sitting at home and to follow events that are transpiring outside, while with extreme personal courage and at great personal risk, on behalf of humanity, you were undertaking a feat that has given you personal satisfaction and brought great honour to the country that you represent. As we said, your undertaking for advancement of science and on behalf of human good can only result in great collaboration of mankind, and as a result of this marvellous feat and achievement, there should be greater benefit to humanity in general.

It is through men that have dedicated themselves to scientific efforts that the human being has made so much progress. And it is because men like you have shown extreme personal courage for the future good of mankind that man-

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kind has accomplished so much in scientific investigations. There is no doubt that through these scientific achievements mankind can advance. We are sure the pleasure accruing from what you have accomplished is not solely confined to ourselves. The pleasure must naturally go to the people of your country and to Us too. The result of your adventurous experiments and works is an admirable contribution from the point of view of all men who are interested in the advancement and progress of human society. Your space flight and subsequent flights that are to be undertaken by men like you give us confidence in the bright future of mankind.

We thank you very much for the presents, and please convey our heartfelt congratulations to President Johnson and all those people who are responsible for this. Again we would like to take particular note of your heroism and dedication to the cause of science.

Sept. 21, 1965.

INAUGURATING THE 15TH PUGWASH CONFERENCE

We and the Ethiopian people are honoured to welcome to our country this most distinguished gathering of eminent scholars and scientists. The occasion is of especial significance to Us since We respect and earnestly seek to support in all Our actions the very principles which have brought you together here from diverse nations and political creeds vigorously and openly to discuss with one another some of the major problems of our time. We are pleased, indeed, that the University and the Foundation which bear Our name, have been able in some measure to further the noble work and ideals of the great men whose efforts led to the creation of this extraordinary series of Conferences on Science and World Affairs. We must acknowledge once

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more Our sincere admiration for Lord Bertrand Russell, whose indomitable courage and profound moral and scientific teachings have left an indelible mark on the history of our times, and whose spirit infuses and enlivens the discussions which take place under the aegis of these Conferences.

It was, of course, inevitable that Pugwash should one day come to Africa; nor could a more appropriate location have been found for the first of these Conferences ever to be held on African soil. For it was in this very room that the unity of Africa first took form and substance less than three years ago with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity. The location is appropriate, not merely because this room and building are in some ways symbolic of the common hopes and aspirations of all the free peoples of this continent, but also because the fundamental principles which Africans have espoused in so joining together appear to Us to be closely linked with those which underlie the Pugwash Conferences.

These Conferences arose out of the belief that there were certain problems facing the world today; problems of such vital importance to mankind that there was great need to discuss them freely without reference to conflicting moral or political ideologies; problems indeed of such magnitude, such universal importance, that common ground of agreement must and could be found and common proposals for their solution could arise through the process of objective observation and analysis in which scientists are trained.

Free Communication Needed

Africans, too, have recognized the imperative that there must be, for the sake of their common welfare, some means for the free communication and exchange of ideas in an atmosphere untainted by extraneous political considerations. We may not consciously have sought the "scientific" way to

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deal with Our problems, but we have recognized and continue to maintain Our belief in the necessity for an objective approach to the difficulties which we share.

In these hours of crisis and tension across the world, no nation, however willing, can hold itself apart from the encroachment of political and nationalistic forces. Nonetheless, it remains clear beyond doubt that the interests and concerns shared by the developing nations cover a vast expanse demanding exploration, but as yet scarcely known to exist.

Thus, the subject matter of this, the fifteenth of the Pugwash Conferences, is vital, timely and potentially of far-reaching importance. The developing world now includes the greater part of the human race; thence it is essential that the hopes, the aspirations, and the necessities of its peoples be carefully evaluated and understood.

Progress in this world had been possible only through the consistent application of knowledge which was amassed by you scientists and your predecessors during the past centuries. One need look no farther than the wonders of Axum and Lalibela to realize that this continent in which you are now assembled did, at one time, share the benefits of science and technology.

However, all of you here, trained, and excellent, in the application of your minds to the true understanding and betterment of the world, are now confronted with what has been termed the "revolution of rising expectations." Ultimately, this is a revolution which can be peacefully accomplished only through an unselfish cooperation among nations. Yet we cannot postpone the needs, the hopes, the aspirations of our peoples indefinitely.

Little Spent For Development

To be sure, there exists throughout the world a sense that something must be done, and, as well, a belief that all

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that should be done is being done. But in terms of the enormous resources squandered in wars or in the amassing of weapons of destruction or even devoted to the enthralling conquest of space, the amount which has been allotted to bettering the existence of the individual in the developing world is little indeed.

Poverty, fear, ignorance, disease are not problems vanquished in the wake of scientific progress; they are the problems with which we struggle from day to day.

All these problems will surely not be solved by the present Conference. But, it is Our earnest conviction that, at the very least, the forthright exchange of ideas and impressions concerning them will occur here.

In a world made strong and prosperous through the force of man's intellect, it is a further challenge to that intellect that science be charged to solve the unique problems of development; for all mankind must share in the better life which progress has made possible.

It is this challenge which must triumph over the evils that plague our peoples; which must temper and reduce the racial, political and religious differences among them; which must bring to them the peace required for the better world which you seek to create.

It is this challenge which must be the impetus and the inspiration of your deliberations here.

Dec. 29, 1965.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY

Among the first proponents of personal diplomacy, His Majesty the Emperor has made state visits to friendly nations in all the known continents of the world. In these days of expanding and developing audio-visual and mass-media communications, no other single factor has done more to focus world attention on the image of Ethiopia than His Imperial Majesty's many visits to friendly nations. On the domestic scene this personal diplomacy has resulted in both tangible and intangible benefits to the Ethiopian people and nation. Much of the nation's modern advance and her growing international stature could be traced to the Emperor's use of this high-level personal diplomacy which he has practised for over four decades.

ADDRESS TO THE U.S. CONGRESS

I count it a privilege to address what is one of the greatest Parliaments in the world today – where the forces that make great one of the most powerful of nations have been and are being brought to bear and where issues of world-wide importance have been decided.

The extent of that power and influence and the rapidity with which you have reached such a summit of importance for the rest of the world are unparalleled in world history and surpass all conceivable comparisons. Two hundred years ago today, as I am speaking, General George Washington won the battle of Fort Mifflin, a victory in the gradual forging together of the United States.

What a phenomenal progress has been made in that interval of two hundred years, an interval which – you may pardon me as representative of one the most ancient nations in the world – is surely but a surprisingly short passage of time.

So great are your power and wealth that the budget of a single American city often equals that of an entire nation.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY

As in the case of other countries, you gave us lend-lease assistance during the war and, at present both mutual security and technical assistance. Yet, so vast are your power and resources that even after deducting all expenses of the Federal Government, you have met the costs of this assistance in one-quarter of an hour – fifteen minutes – of your annual production.

Of what interest is it to you then, you may well ask, that I, the head of what must be for you a small and remote country, should appear before you in the midst of your deliberations? I do not take it upon myself to point out why Ethiopia is important to the United States – that you can best judge for yourselves, but rather, to explain to you with brevity, the circumstances which make Ethiopia a significant factor in world politics. Since so much of world politics is today, influenced by the decisions which you, Members of Congress, reach, here in these halls, it is perhaps, not unimportant that I set out these considerations for you.

Relative Terms

A moment ago, I remarked that, for you, Ethiopia must appear to be a small and remote country. Both of these terms are purely relative. In fact, so far as size is concerned, Ethiopia has exactly the area and population of your entire Pacific Far-West consisting of the states of California Oregon, Washington and also Idaho. We are remote, perhaps, only in the sense that We enjoy a secure position on the high plateau of East Africa protected by the Red Sea and Our mountain fastness. However, by the numerous airlines that link us with the rest of the world, it is possible to arrive in Washington from Addis Ababa in less than two days.

By one of those strange parallels of history, Ethiopia and a certain well-known country of the Far East who both

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enjoy highly defensible and strategic positions in their respective areas of the world, both, for similar reasons, simultaneously, at the beginning of the seventeenth century came out of their period of isolation. As in the case of the other country, that isolation came to an end in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with this difference that, upon abandoning her policy of isolation she was immediately called upon to defend against tremendous odds, her thousand-year-old independence. Indeed so bitter has been this struggle against foreign aggrandizement that were it not for our persistence and for the enormous social, economic and material advance Ethiopia has made in the interval and particularly since the last war, Ethiopia might very well have returned to her policy of isolation.

In consequence, in many respects, and particularly since the last World War, Ethiopia has become a new frontier of widely expanding opportunities, notwithstanding the tremendous set-back which we suffered in the unprovoked invasion of Our country nineteen years ago and the long years of unaided struggle against an infinitely stronger enemy. The last seven years have seen the quadrupling of Our foreign trade, currency and foreign exchange holdings. Holdings of American dollars have increased ten times over. The Ethiopian dollar has become the only U.S. dollar-based currency in the Middle East today. The assets of Our national bank of issue have increased one thousand percent. Blessed with what is perhaps the most fertile soil in Africa, well-watered, and with a wide variety of climates ranging from the temperate on the plateau, to the tropical in the valleys, Ethiopia can grow throughout the year crops, normally raised only in widely separated areas of the earth's surface.

Since the war, Ethiopia has become the granary of the Middle East, as well as the only exporter of meat, cereals

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and vegetables. Whereas at the end of the war, every educational facility had been destroyed, today, schools are springing up throughout the land, the enrolment has quadrupled and, as in the pioneer days in the United States, and indeed, I presume, as in the lives of many of the distinguished members of Congress here present, school-children, in their zeal for education, take all sorts of work in order to earn money to purchase text books and to pursue their education.

Sea Access Regained

Finally, through the return in 1952, of its historical ports on the Red Sea and of the long-lost territory of Eritrea, Ethiopia has not only regained access to the sea, but has been one of the few states in the post-war world to have regained a lost territory pursuant to post-war treaties and in application of peaceful methods.

We have thus become a land of expanding opportunities where the American pioneering spirit, ingenuity, and technical abilities have been and will continue to be welcomed.

A thousand-year-old history of struggles to defend the territorial integrity of Our country, the long fight for liberation two decades ago and the recent campaign in Korea have given Our army an esprit de corps and a fighting spirit that, I believe, can stand, without misgiving, for comparison.

Today, Our fighting forces are among the largest and best trained in the Middle East.

Unlike many other countries, Ethiopia has long been a nation of small, rather than of large land-owners. Moreover, a profoundly democratic tradition has assured in the past, as it assures today, the rise to the highest post of responsibility in the government, of men of the humblest of origins.

It is but natural, therefore, that as a state which has existed for three thousand years, which has regained its

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independence by the blood of its patriots, which commands the allegiance and loyalty of even its most lowly subjects, and which enjoys an unusually sound economy, should have a regime of marked stability in that area of the world where stability is so frequently absent today.

Factor In World Politics

Such is the state of Ethiopia today about which I am speaking. It is against this background that I wish to talk to you of Ethiopia as a factor in world politics. Her geographic location is of great significance, with her long shoreline and its archipelago of hundreds of islands. Ethiopia occupies a unique position on the most constricted but important of strategic lines of communications in the world, that which passes through the Red Sea. She also lies on the other most strategic line of communication in the world, namely the world band of telecommunications which, because of natural phenomena, circles the world at the equator.

However, in yet perhaps a broader sense is Ethiopia's geographical position of significance. Through her location on the shores of the Red Sea and in the horn of East Africa, Ethiopia has profound historical ties with the rest of the Middle East as well as with Africa.

In this respect she stands in a completely unique position. Her culture and social structure were founded in the mingling of her original culture and civilization with the Hamitic and Semitic migrations into Africa from the Arabian peninsula, and, in fact, today, our language, Amharic, is a member of that large family of Hamitic and Semitic tongues and, therefore, intimately related to Hebrew and Arabic.

Indeed, at one time Ethiopia extended to both sides of the Red Sea as well as north to Upper Egypt. It was, therefore, not without reason that, during the Middle Ages, the

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Emperor was known as “he who maintains order between the Christians and the Moslems.” A profound comprehension of and sympathy with the other states of the Middle East naturally inspires Ethiopian national policies.

On the other hand, three thousand years of history make of Ethiopia a profoundly African state in all that that term implies. In the United Nations, she has been to the forefront in the defense of Africa’s racial, economic and social interests.

Unique Link

Finally, both culturally and geographically, Ethiopia serves to a unique degree as the link between the Middle East and Africa. Situated in the horn of Africa, and along the shores of the Red Sea, with the desert area of Africa to the north and west, it is but natural that Ethiopia should be the filter known as “he who maintains order between the Christians and the Moslems.” A profound comprehension of and sympathy with the other states of the Middle East naturally inspires Ethiopian national policies, through which the ideas and influences of the continent of Africa should pass to the East and vice versa.

Thus, our social and political outlook and orientation became important not only in terms of Middle Eastern and African, but also in terms of world politics – and this leads me to point to a factor which I consider to be of unique significance. We have a profound orientation towards the West. One consideration alone, although there are others, would suffice to explain this result. The two Americas and the continent of Europe together constitute exactly one-third of the land masses of the world. It is in this one-third that are concentrated the peoples of the Christian Faith. With but rare exceptions Christianity does not extend beyond the confines of the Mediterranean. Here, I find it significant

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that, in point of fact, in this remaining two-thirds of the earth's surface, Ethiopia is the state having the largest Christian population and is by far the largest Christian state in the Middle East. In fact, Ethiopia is unique among the nations of the world in that it is, today, the one remaining Christian state that can trace her history unbroken as a Christian polity from the days when the Roman Empire itself was still a vigorous reality.

Unifying Force

The strength of the Christian tradition has been of vital significance in Our national history, and as a force for the unification of the Empire of Ethiopia. It is this force which gives us, among the other countries of the Middle East, a profound orientation towards the West. We read the same bible. We speak a common spiritual language.

It is this heritage of ideals and principles, that has excluded from our conscious, indeed, from our unconscious processes, the possibility of compromising with those principles which We hold sacred. We have sought to remain faithful to the principles of respect for the rights of others, and the right of each people to an independent existence. We, like you, are profoundly opposed to the un-Christian use of force and are, as you, attached to a concept of the pacific settlement of disputes.

Our lone struggle before the outbreak of the last world catastrophe as, indeed, our recent participation in the combined efforts and the glorious comradeship in arms in Korea have marked us, like you, in giving more than lip service to these ideals. It is your deep comprehension of our ideals and struggles in which it has been my privilege to lead, at times not without heartbreak, My beloved people, and Our common comradeship in arms that have laid a very sure and lasting basis for friendship between a great and a small country.

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Broad Relations

Last year, we concluded with you a new treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation designed to assure to American business enterprises expanded opportunities in Ethiopia. Our dollar-based currency is also there to assure the ready return to the United States of the profits of their investments. We have entrusted to American enterprises the development of our civil aviation which has surpassed all expectations. To American enterprise we have confided the exploitation of our oil resources as well as of our gold deposits. Although my country is 8,000 miles removed from the eastern seaboard of the United States, United States exports to Ethiopia, have, notwithstanding this heavy handicap, pushed forward to the forefront in Ethiopia.

Conversely, the United States stands in first rank of countries to whom we export. Ethiopia has, from the province of Kaffa, given the world the name and product of coffee. The coffee which you drink attains its unique and pleasant American flavour in part at least through the added mixture of Ethiopian coffee. American shoes are made, in part at least, from Ethiopian goatskins which are principally exported to the United States.

On the other hand, you have given us valuable support, not only in lend-lease assistance during the war, and today through mutual security and technical assistance agreements, but you have also powerfully aided us in obtaining rectification of long-standing injustices. If, today, the brother territory of Eritrea stands finally united under the Crown and if Ethiopia has regained her shore-lines on the Red Sea, it has been due, in no small measure to the contribution of the United States of America. I am happy to take this occasion to express to you, the Congress which has approved this assistance, the sincere and lasting appreciation of my people.

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Mutual Security

This collaboration with the West and with the United States in particular has taken yet broader forms. There is our military collaboration based on the mutual security programme. If we leave out the Atlantic group, Ethiopia has been the only state of the Middle East to follow the example of the United States in sending forces to Korea for the defence of collective security.

In so doing, Ethiopia has been inspired by a vision which is broader than her pre-occupation with regional policies or advantages. Nearly two decades ago, I personally assumed before history the responsibility of placing the fate of My beloved people on the issue of collective security, for surely, at that time and for the first time in world history, that issue was posed in all its clarity. My searching of conscience convinced me of the rightness of my course and if, after untold suffering, and, indeed, unaided resistance at the time of the aggression we now see that final vindication of that principle in our joint action in Korea, I can only be thankful that God gave me strength to persist in our faith until the moment of its recent glorious vindication.

We do not view this principle as an extenuation for failing to defend our homeland to the last drop of one's blood, and indeed, our own struggles during the last two decades bear testimony to our conviction that in matters of collective security as of Providence, "God helps him who helps himself."

Universal Principle

However, We feel that nowhere can the call for aid against aggression be refused by any state large or small. It is rather a universal principle or it is no principle at all. It cannot admit of regional application or be of regional responsibility. That is why We, like you, have sent troops half-

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way around the world to Korea. We must face that responsibility for its application wherever it may arise in these troubled hours of world history. Faithful to the sacred memory of her patriots who fell in Ethiopia and in Korea in defence of that principle, Ethiopia cannot do otherwise.

The world has ceaselessly sought for and has striven to apply some system for assuring the peace of the world. Many solutions have been proposed and many have failed. Today the system which we have advocated and with which the name of Ethiopia is inseparably associated has, after her sacrifices of two decades ago, and her recent sacrifices with the United States and others in Korea, finally demonstrated its worth. However, no system, not even that of collective security, can succeed unless there is not only a firm determination to apply it universally both in space and time, but also whatever be the cost. Having successfully applied the system of collective security in Korea, we must now, wherever in the world the peace is threatened, pursue its application more resolutely than ever and with courageous acceptance of its burdens. We have the sacred duty to our children to spare them the sacrifices which we have known. I call upon the world for determination fearlessly to apply and to accept as you and We have accepted them – the sacrifices of collective security.

It is here that Our common Christian heritage unites two peoples across the globe in a community of ideals and endeavour. Ethiopia seeks only to affirm and broaden that co-operation between peace-loving nations.

May 26, 1954.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY

..... International friendship can be strengthened and deepened by the personal exchange of ideas between leaders of nations.

.....International friendships can be strengthened and deepened by the personal exchange of ideas between leaders of nations. In recognition of this fact, We received His Excellency, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, during his visit to Our Capital last May, and We held highly useful consultations with him on matters of mutual concern to our two countries including the world situation. We have accepted the kind invitation which he extended to Us to visit his country.

And today, it gives Us great pleasure to draw your attention to the presence in our midst of His Excellency, Saed Abdullah Khalil, Prime Minister of Our great friend and brotherly neighbour, the Republic of the Sudan. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, from Our ancient friend, Great Britain, will arrive in Addis Ababa next week on his second visit to this country as Our guest, thus re-affirming the close friendship which exists between the ruling families of Ethiopia and Great Britain

Nov. 2, 1958

ON MARSHAL TITO'S VISIT

Your Excellency, Madame Broz,

It gives Us great pleasure to receive You here today as guests of Ourselves and the Empress.

We are also very pleased to have among Us today Madame Broz, who had not been to Our country during Your Excellency's first visit to Ethiopia.

Our visit to Yugoslavia and this Your Excellency's Second visit to Ethiopia has indeed strengthened the bond of

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friendship that exists between our two countries. And this friendship has so vividly manifested itself during the last four years in the close co-operation between the two countries in political, economic and social fields. In the political aspect, our co-operation and exchange of ideas on the main issues that had arisen in the world at large during the last four years, has resulted in contributing to the preservation of peace. The great insight that is displayed in the various messages Your Excellency has sent Us has genuinely convinced Us of the assiduity with which Your Excellency watches world affairs.

In the technical and economic aspects, Yugoslavia has sent to Ethiopia, in response to Our request, top class experts whose co-operation with Our experts has shown marvellous results, which has so concretely reaffirmed Our belief in the friendship between our two countries. Similarly, in the field of medicine, in economic planning, in the construction of the Port of Assab, in general in many aspects of technical assistance and co-operation Yugoslav experts are zealously helping Our country. And all this is but a true mark of the profound understanding that exists between the two countries.

Your Excellency, the World notes with admiration the remarkably tireless leadership with which Your Excellency guides the destiny of Your people both in war and peace. The long journey which Your Excellency has just undertaken in visiting several countries, undoubtedly contributes a great deal towards creating healthy relations and understanding between peoples, promotes peaceful co-existence and spreads goodwill and international co-operation. Furthermore, this Your Second Visit to Ethiopia will no doubt consolidate the close co-operation and understanding that exists between our two countries. And Your Excellency's indefatigable efforts will, We know, perpetuate this great friendship

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ACCEPTS DEGREE FROM CHARLES UNIVERSITY CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Although our national economy is not yet fully developed to enable us to accomplish the objective we have ultimately set ourselves in the field of education, we have granted, thus implementing the principle that education is the vital need, scholarships to other African countries. We are fully aware that Czechoslovakia, in the same way as Ethiopia, is one of the countries which strive to assist the people of Africa to extend their education and to achieve independence in determining their own destinies. In view of the fact, that the Czechoslovak Government has granted scholarships to Ethiopian students, we trust that in the near future Ethiopian students will be enrolled in this ancient, famous University. It is, therefore, in full cognizance of this unique significance of this University as the main source of national culture and strength as well as of the great importance and keenness of this University in the field of culture that we accept this great honour conferred upon us today.

JULY 15, 1959.

REPLY TO CZECHOSLOVAK PRESIDENT

We are deeply grateful for having been the guest of the esteemed President and his wife as well as of the leading representatives of the Czechoslovak Government. We are specially gratified, to extend to you, Mr. President, and through you to the Czechoslovak people our gratitude for the cordial and friendly reception accorded us throughout our stay in this hospitable country.

Our stay in this friendly country has enabled us to become acquainted with several aspects of the life of this country, to appreciate your endeavours in the field of social

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welfare, of education and the growing importance of your economic development. We found them encouraging and instructive. The visits we made to your industrial towns which enjoy a great reputation throughout the world, filled us with admiration since we realized the obstacles the Czechoslovak Republic had to overcome after the Second World War.

On many occasions we heard of the diligence of the Czechoslovak people and we verified these words during our short stay in this country.

Even though Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia have different systems of government, both countries have several things in common. For many long years both had to fight for the preservation of their independence – very dear to them. Not long ago though both had to rebuke the attack by fascist forces. Both of our countries, placing their trust in the system of Collective Security, had appealed to the League of Nations to stop the aggression launched against them. To satisfy insatiable fascism, the freedom of Ethiopia was sacrificed, while in Europe Czechoslovakia was placed at the mercy of military expansion. At the time when the League of Nations applied sanctions against the fascist invaders in Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia and Rumania were among those countries which fully observed the sanctions.

However, even at the time of defeat our two countries, without abandoning hope and submitting to the enemy occupation, again fought for their independence.

In the post war period both our countries, which have adopted the principles of the United Nations Charter, and the conferences in Bandung and Accra, have worked untiringly for the preservation of world peace and for the freedom of all oppressed nations. Even though Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia have different systems of government both our countries, abiding by the principle of the United Nations

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Charter and the declarations signed in Bandung and Accra, co-operate in the economic, social and cultural fields.

On this occasion we wish to express our thanks to the Czechoslovak Government for granting credits for purchase of medical equipment and for the releasing of medical personnel for our hospitals.

We are convinced that the firm ties of friendship binding our two countries will be a foundation for the development of closer economic and fruitful co-operation, making possible the utilization of our natural and industrial resources. We are also convinced that this friendship will serve the development of mutual co-operation also in the diplomatic and cultural fields. We firmly believe that our visit will serve to further strengthen the ties of friendship which exist between our two countries.

July 16, 1959.

TO KING HUSSEIN

It is for Us a great pleasure to welcome Your Majesty to Our Court and in this way to manifest to the great and friendly nations of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Our sentiments of sincere friendship.

For countless centuries, as the annals of history so well attest, the people of Jordan have occupied a central and important position in the Middle East. Faced with the manifold challenges which that situation has so constantly presented, the people of Jordan have always produced leaders worthy of those trials and of the responsibilities which their central geographical position entails.

This reflection is no less appropriate in the present and troubled hours of world history than it was during the earlier years of this century. It is significant that the people of Jordan have always been found on the side of freedom and

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independence for all peoples of the area and have, at the same time, under their leaders, never relaxed their efforts in the defence of their own freedom and independence. Today, the Armed Forces under the command of Your Majesty and whose military traditions and prowess have gained renown throughout the Middle East, stand as sentinel of order and as a powerful influence for the maintenance of peace as well as for the defence of national independence and territorial integrity. Ethiopia who has shared a similar military tradition, applauds the resolute and distinguished role played by the Armed Forces of Jordan in the defence of the latter's independence, territory and national heritage.

Your Majesty's role as a courageous leader of a courageous people who, at the same time, have extended their hospitality to countless refugees, evokes Our admiration and that of Our people.

All of these distinguished national traditions and achievements find themselves exemplified in the person of Your Majesty whose intelligence, courage, statesmanship and leadership have earned universal esteem for the nation of Jordan and its Sovereign.

We are, consequently, most gratified that Your Majesty's State visit to Ethiopia and to Our Court has thus served and will serve further to strengthen the already firm friendship and understanding existing between Jordan and Ethiopia.

We shall always remember with gratitude the visit that His late Majesty, Your illustrious grandfather paid to Us at Our Legation in London during Our exile, which was a consolation to Us.

This sympathy during the dark days of trial has descended to the Illustrious Heir and successor of His late Majesty. We therefore raise Our glass in a toast to His Majesty, Hussein I, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and to a long-lasting friendship between Our two nations and peoples.

May 12, 1960.

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TOAST TO PRESIDENT LUBKE

Your Excellency, President Heinrich Lubke, Madame Lubke and Distinguished Guests.

We are honoured and especially pleased by the presence here tonight, of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Heinrich Lubke. His visit, the first of its kind, not only heralds a new era in the long-standing friendship between our two countries and peoples, but also provides us all with an unparalleled opportunity for reflection on the particularly warm and friendly ties of friendship which exist today between the Federal Republic and Ethiopia, a friendship which is founded on mutual respect for the basic principles governing the conduct of affairs between men and dedication to the cause of peace and justice to all.

For, unless co-operation and mutual considerations in the level of Governments are also added, the effort put toward the achievement of peace cannot be complete.

The unprecedented economic resurgence of the Federal Republic since World War II testifies to the energy and ability of the German people and their leaders and to their capacity to overcome formidable obstacles in seeking a dignified and satisfactory way of life. The events of the post-war years have earned and are still earning for them the respect and admiration of the entire world.

We in Ethiopia have seen a tangible manifestation of the Federal Republic's recognition of the moral responsibilities which the wealthy and prosperous nations owe to the developing states and peoples of the world, in the extent to which the Federal Republic has involved itself in the efforts which Ethiopia is making today to develop her economy and to bring the blessings of modern technology and learning to the Ethiopian peoples. We also recall the sympathy expressed by the German people when Our country was invaded by the enemy. It is, therefore, only proper that We express Our

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personal gratitude for all this and, We look forward to even closer co-operation and collaboration in the future.

In the short time that you will spend with Us, Mr. President, you will have the opportunity to come to know at first hand of the beauty and rich potential of the Ethiopian nation. You will see at first hand something of the proud heritage and culture of Our country and experience the traditional hospitality which the Ethiopian people extend to those whom We respect and honour. You will, We are confident, come to understand and appreciate the fierce desire of the Ethiopian Government and people for progress and improvement. You will see what vast wealth resides in the fertile soil and the great watersheds of Our nation. When you take leave of Us, We hope that you will carry away with you warm and lasting memories of the friendship which unites the Ethiopian and German peoples as well as a practical knowledge of the problems which face Our nations so that relations between Us will continue to be characterized by that candor and mutual appreciation which has been their hallmark in recent years.

It is with very real pleasure, then, that We raise Our glass in a toast to you, Mr. President, to Madame Lubke, to your health and happiness, to lasting friendship between Ethiopia and the Federal Republic and to the prosperity and well being of the people of your great nation.

Oct. 22, 1964.

VISIT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II

It gives Us the greatest pleasure to welcome, on Our own behalf and on behalf of the entire Ethiopian people, Your Majesty and Prince Philip who are with Us in Ethiopia as Our honoured guests. We have long and eagerly looked forward to your coming, and We greet you this evening with respect and affection.

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In coming to Ethiopia, Your Majesty, You have reaffirmed the friendship and depth of feeling which have for so long existed between Our two nations and their peoples and which serve as an indissoluble bond between us. You have, as well, contributed fresh evidence of the universality of man and of the fundamental and deep-seated ties which unite all people, whatever their race, cultural orientation or economic and social background, who share common principles and ideals and who strive for the attainment of man's most cherished goals. The Commonwealth of which Your Majesty is the Head stands today as symbol of this universality and provides, in its own way, encouragement for those of us who seek, on this African continent, to utilize in Our search for true unity what is best among the common instincts and aspirations shared by all men.

The Ethiopian and British peoples and Governments are old friends. Contacts between us stretch back many years. Our friendship was cemented and rendered indissoluble during the unhappy years in which Ethiopians, abandoned to the aggressor, struggled against overwhelming odds, first, to preserve their nation's independence, and later, to free it from the despot's heel. We personally cherish mixed emotions concerning those years. From 1936 to 1941, separated from Our people, exiled in a strange land while We laboured to muster sympathy and support for Ethiopia's cause, We were received by the British people with a warmth which nourished and strengthened Our will. And when, finally, the just God called the tyrant aggressor to account, soldiers of many lands marching under the British flag, fought side by side with Our patriots for the liberation of the subjugated and the triumph of justice and liberty over tyranny and oppression.

Today, Ethiopia looks to the British as staunch and firm friends in the struggle being waged throughout the world against poverty, ignorance and want.

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Cultural Ties

Throughout the years, Ethiopia has enjoyed and benefited from the interest of British scholars and friends who have sought to know our country well and to convey to the world from which our nation was so long isolated a true sense of the richness of our life and the diversity of our culture. As this knowledge has been diffused, Ethiopia has been helped to emerge proudly to play a fuller role in international affairs. It is upon this knowledge and understanding that we have sought to build the international unity of the spirit which today constitutes the most important force for good in the search for a lasting world peace and a decent way of life for humanity. With the raising of all men to their rightful dignity and honour as individuals, they will be able to regard their fellows, of whatever nation, of whatever race, of whatever religious, linguistic or historical tradition, as equals, without jealousy, without fear, without undue pride. The British people are united with us in this field and we are confident that they will continue to lend their unstinting efforts in the accomplishment of the immense task which, together with other people of good will, they have joined their efforts.

Your Majesty, during Your Reign, which commenced in an African country only a little distance to the South, You have carried forward gloriously the traditions of Your lineage and brought new honour to the Throne which You occupy. Your Majesty personally enjoys today the respect, the admiration and the affection of all peoples to whom Britain serves as the symbol of indomitability in adversity, of courage when confronted by danger, of dignity and resolve when threatened with defeat, and of magnanimity and generosity in victory.

We shall never forget the warm and friendly reception accorded to Us by the British people during Our state visit

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a decade ago. Similarly, We trust that your stay with us will be pleasant. We hope that you will carry away with you deep and abiding memories of Our nation and its people.

We ask all here assembled now to join Us in a toast to the continued friendship between the British and Ethiopian peoples, to the growth in prosperity and well-being of the British nation, to the health, long life and personal happiness of Her Majesty the Queen and Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

Feb. 1, 1965.

TO PRESIDENT RAHDAKRISHNAN

Mr. President, it is with great pleasure both for Us personally and for the entire Ethiopian nation, that We find you here with Us this evening. We, and all Ethiopians with Us, join in welcoming you to our country and in conveying to the Indian people, through you, renewed assurances of the respect and friendship which join us.

The community of interest which surrounds and permeates relations between Ethiopia and India is well founded and solidly based. Trade between our nations flourishes. Indian skills and capital are participating in the development of Ethiopian industry. Indian merchants have been active in Ethiopia's foreign and domestic commerce. Indian teachers are taking part in the vast educational programme which has been a corner-stone of Our policy for the accelerated development of Our nation. Indian officers staff Our country's Military Academy at Harar, and others are assigned to military units elsewhere throughout Ethiopia. Indians of all levels are active in local philanthropy and community life. All Our relations with the people of India are not new but of long-standing.

We naturally take satisfaction in the effective co-operation thus achieved between our peoples. But despite all that

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has been realized, there is much more that can be done. There is ample room for extensive expansion of mutually beneficial and balanced trade between us, as our economies continue to develop. It is Our deep desire that direct air links between Ethiopia and India, as well as with other nations of the Far East, may soon be established. Programmes of reciprocal technical assistance can bring us even closer as new areas of joint activity are explored. These and other steps can only serve to enhance and enrich an already rewarding partnership, and We look forward to their accomplishment in the months and years ahead. We have often stated, as Our deepest and most abiding faith and conviction, the necessity for continued peace if the millions, just now emerging into the new era of progress and enlightenment which their struggles have foretold and promised, are to reap the fruits of their labours. At this crucial moment, when the spark of any local conflict can be borne on the wind to light a world holocaust capable of destroying the lives and hopes of millions upon millions of innocent men and women, the efforts of each one of us must be redoubled to guard against such a catastrophe.

Similar Ideas and Goals

We have been, not unnaturally, saddened in recent weeks as two sister states, states whose peoples should be striving together to overcome the difficulties which beset them, have been locked in bloody and deadly conflict. You know, Mr. President, that Ethiopians and Indians are dedicated to the same ideals and united in devotion to the same goals. We have stood together and proclaimed in union our common allegiance to the principles of Bandung, principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. It has, therefore come as a source of much solace and hope to Us that India has heard and heeded the appeals which the United Nations and world leaders, Ourself

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among them, have made that peace be restored. We are gratified that a ceasefire has been effected on the battlefields on which India and Pakistan have opposed one another and it is Our hope that the ceasefire would be lasting and permanent. We are confident that, in the same spirit in which strife and bloodshed have been halted, an acceptable and honourable solution can be found to the problems facing India and her neighbour.

During the few days you will spend with us, Mr. President, We trust that you will come to appreciate the special qualities of Our land and its people.

The bonds which link us are already close, but it remains nonetheless important that we both know at first hand something of the problems and experiences which we share. In this manner, We shall strengthen and solidify the unity of interest which is essential to the creation of an ever broader base for our united action. Ethiopia and India have much to accomplish together, and We are confident that your visit will open up new ways for us to travel forward in harmony.

We must not let this occasion pass without recalling the memories of those days when We visited the great Republic of India; of the tumultuous welcome which greeted Us there, and the lavish and outstanding generosity with which Our initial reception was hour by hour sustained and supplemented. We hope that these short days you are sharing with us, Mr. President, although they might not be as wonderful a reception as it was when We visited India, will serve in some small measure to reciprocate for what We experienced then.

May We now propose this toast to the furtherance and growth of the existing warm friendship between the Indian and Ethiopian peoples; to the universal acceptance and enrichment of the principles of reason and conscience which upon Your Excellency the degree of Doctor of Letters, to the long life and good health of Our honoured guest, President Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

Oct. 12, 1965.

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RAHDAKRISHNAN RECEIVES DEGREE FROM H.S.I.U.

On the occasion of Your Excellency's visit to Our country it gives Us special pleasure to receive you at this institution itself dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge and truth. It is altogether fitting that Your Excellency should be the focus of this occasion, for Your Excellency has yourself since your youth been dedicated to that cause. Your marked achievement to the august rank of Professor at the youthfull age of twenty-eight, your consistent endeavour to pursue knowledge and the numerous books that have flowed from your pen, to this bear witness.

Today more than ever before man realizes the bond of unity that exists within the race; he is endeavouring to employ the accumulated knowledge and wisdom of the ages. He is employing modern science and technology; he is reaping the benefits, however limited, of political and economic unity; and to that extent. he is transcending the age-old barriers that have divided the race so long and is endeavouring to reflect on the welfare not only of himself and his immediate neighbour but also on the welfare of all the human race. This endeavour is in harmony with the spirit of the mystics of ages gone by "... in the mystic traditions of the different religions we have a remarkable unity of the spirit. Whatever religions they may profess they are spiritual kinsmen. While the different religions in their historic forms bind us to limited groups and militate against the development of loyalty to the world community, the mystics have always stood for the fellowship of humanity," so Your Excellency has taught us. And in an effort to carry out this teaching to pursue truth – to promote those bonds common to the human race – Your Excellency has dedicated your whole life. To free the human race from superstition and fear that originate from ignorance; to enable him to tran-

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scend the apparent obstacles of race and religion; and to help him recognize the blood-ties of the whole human race, Your Excellency has laboured. To this generation, so tormented between modern knowledge and ancient faith, your scrupulous studies have pointed the way by which man may be saved from traditional superstition and modern scepticism.

Were the thoughts of Plato and Socrates, the beliefs of Christianity and Judaism not harmonized with Hindu philosophy; were Yoga and its various stages not exposed to Western thought; had Western religion and philosophy not been exposed to the philosophy and religion of the East through Your Excellency's persistent endeavour, how much the poorer would human thought have been!

In the history of the human race, those periods which later appeared as great have been the periods when the men and the women belonging to them had transcended the differences that divided them and had recognized in their membership in the human race a common bond. Your Excellency's constant endeavour to challenge this generation to transcend its differences, to recognize its common bond and to work towards a common goal has doubtless made this age pregnant with greatness. It is, therefore, in recognition of these labours that We, with unequalled pleasure, bestow upon Your Excellency the degree of Doctor of Letters, *honoris causa*.

Oct. 3, 1965.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF BULGARIAN LEADER

It is a great pleasure to welcome you and your entourage to Ethiopia and to wish you a pleasant and enjoyable sojourn here among Our people. Speaking both personally and for all Ethiopians. We are deeply gratified to have this opportunity

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to convey to you and through you to the Bulgarian people warm assurances of the continued respect and sympathy which bind Us close. We are particularly fortunate in welcoming Your Excellency – a patriot who struggled for the liberation of his country.

We are convinced that these exchanges of visits will help to strengthen the bond of friendship between our two countries. Relations between our two nations have expanded notably in recent years as We have come to recognize the vast area of common interest and potential which We share and can develop together to the benefit of both Our peoples. The Bulgarian experience in overcoming her own economic problems can be of great value to Ethiopia and there is much to be gained on both sides in the application of this experience in the Ethiopian context. Bulgarian assistance in the development of Ethiopia's fishing industry is already showing notable results, and We look forward to the expansion of collaboration between us in this and other areas as our two nations proceed together along the path of development. We would like to thank the Bulgarian Government for assistance already rendered to Ethiopia.

As you are well aware, Your Excellency, Ethiopia stands today as one of the great potential markets of Africa. The development of her immense productive resources has already begun in earnest, and the next few years will surely witness a substantial increase in her world trade position. This rapid growth is now occurring and will continue because our proud and ancient nation has after many centuries of isolation at last stepped forward to join hands with the world, to seek knowledge and understanding and to give of her own resources wherever necessary in the cause of world peace and progress.

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Common Principles

As Our nations continue to aid and support one another in their drive towards development We shall be enabled to further the great principles which We share in common with all the enlightened peoples of the world. United, We shall augment Our capacity to aid in the achievement of world peace and to make available not only for Our peoples but for all mankind as well, the freedom and opportunity which are the desired fruits of world progress.

The nations of the world are today inter-dependent in such a way that the suffering or privation of anyone is in greater or lesser measure a stricture on all others. It is the duty of every world leader today to require and accept the principle of the collective responsibility of all men for the welfare of their brethren. We are confident, that in our meetings here we shall find new ways to strengthen the links which already join our peoples and to advance arm in arm towards the happy future which is Our hope not only for Our own people but for all the world.

In the few days which you will spend in Ethiopia, both you and your party will have the occasion to glimpse something of the unique life and culture which characterize Our ancient nation. You will learn something of the traditions of Our people and you will have the opportunity to see and understand at first hand the warm friendship which they extend to those who come as honoured guests in the name of peace and progress.

Let Us, then, raise Our glasses in toast to the continuing and deepening friendship between the Bulgarian and Ethiopian peoples, to their united growth in happiness and prosperity, and to the health and long life of Our distinguished guest, the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, and Dr. Maleeva.

Nov. 23, 1965.

PERSONAL DIPLOMACY

TO POLISH PRESIDENT

Your Excellency
Madame Ochab

We thank Your Excellency sincerely for the generous hospitality you have extended this evening.

Ethiopia is honoured to have had this occasion to welcome you as her honoured guest, and to convey through you to the Polish people, an indication of the warm friendship and sincere respect which the name of Poland inspires here.

In the modern world into which Ethiopia has emerged in this century, the distances between nations and peoples can no longer be measured in units of space. Many kilometers separate Poland and Ethiopia but with modern transport available we and all nations are virtually neighbours. Yet we must also be neighbours in a far deeper and more significant sense. The inter-dependence of the peoples of the world is already an established fact and the sphere of mutual interest expands daily.

Economically, co-operation serves us all well, but economic co-operation while of crucial significance, is not in itself an end. There must also exist a body of shared principles of morality and justice which governs not only economics but human relations as well. Many of these principles have already been established and are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations Organization and the International Declaration of Human Rights. To these principles the peoples of Ethiopia and Africa are earnestly dedicated, and we are proud to have with us as staunch allies in this dedication, the people of Poland.

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Vile Racism

In recent months the world has been scared by crises, many of which continue to cause destruction and havoc, in spite of the avowed dedication to peace and human welfare, by those who scourge and destroy one another. This is a tragedy on a scale which defies description but it must cease if man is ever to realize the enlightened destiny which he seeks. But perhaps even more shattering to the conscience of the world than the political and economic wars of this age has been the vile doctrine of racism asserted by the illegal regime of Rhodesia. The disease of apartheid which now contaminates the southern portion of this continent would spread if permitted, but it cannot. We are thankful to the United Nations which has risen to meet this threat. We are proud to assert that the courage and strength and dedication of every Ethiopian stands ready to meet this threat. We are convinced that the principles of justice and equality which ought to prevail, will prevail because now there is a collective will among men which will not tolerate the violation of these principles and which is supported by the means to enforce them. We know that the men and women of Poland share with us the dedication which will force the eradication of the last vestiges of racism and colonialism from the earth.

Indeed, Your Excellency's visit has gone far to illuminate the vast area of interest and concern which is held in common by the Ethiopian and Polish nations. The avenues for co-operation among us are numerous and they promise to lead our peoples to great achievement, and mutual benefits. Our advances will be made in trust and friendship, Mr. Chairman, and there can be no doubt that your visit has formed an important link in the ties that will bind us closely as we go forward.

Dec. 2, 1965.

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LUNCHEON IN HONOUR OF HUNGARIAN LEADER KALLAI

It is gratifying to Us tonight to renew once more our salutations of welcome to our guest, the distinguished Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, Mr. Gyula Kallai. We ask you, Mr. Chairman, to convey to the Government and people of Hungary, the sincere greetings and sentiments of warm friendship of the Ethiopian people.

We know well that Ethiopia's good wishes are reciprocated for We retain happy memories of the enthusiastic welcome and general hospitality which were accorded to Us at every hand during Our most enjoyable visit to Hungary less than two years ago. Your visit, Mr. Chairman, forges another important link in the bond of friendship which draws our two nations closer together. During the course of your stay with Us, you will have the opportunity to view closely the culture and traditions of our ancient state and so better understand the unique role which Ethiopia has been able to fulfil in African and world affairs.

The distance which separates our two nations is no longer an excuse for remote and distant relations. While there are vast differences in the historical experiences of our peoples, yet today we are confronted with the same concerns, the same interests and we share the same aspirations for the future of our peoples. The very diversity of the world's peoples today constitutes one of mankind's great resources; the different philosophies with which nations approach their problems lead inevitably to development of a vast array of methods and techniques. These variations are necessary, for each people must find solutions which are responsive to its particular needs.

There are no universal panaceas for the problems of development with which the greater part of mankind is today faced. Each nation will inevitably pursue that course

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which appears best suited to its own unique characteristics, but no nation can pursue its course in isolation and no nation can develop and prosper with its back turned to the rest of the world in terms of trade, techniques, resources and ideas. Each of us depends upon the other, can learn from the other and in pursuing its own destiny will go further and succeed more quickly with others. Indeed, the free exchange of support and ideas is an essential condition to world understanding and equally to world progress.

Africa's Awakening

The past ten years have witnessed the great awakening of this continent, Mr. Chairman. New states, each partaking of its own diverse culture and tradition have emerged and this gives us reason for rejoicing while at the same time we have to continue to struggle for the liberation of the entire continent. Ethiopia's situation is particularly unique in the light of its centuries of vigorously defended independence. Yet, we have recognized great common goals and ideals which we share with our brethren throughout this continent and have striven energetically with them to establish and maintain that Organization of African Unity which serves us as the most effective instrument for unity and co-operation.

Your visit to Ethiopia, Mr. Chairman, is symbolic of Hungary's acceptance of the same ideas which have so guided our nations. We believe that this visit and the discussions which will ensue, will open the way to further exchanges between our two peoples so that friendship between us will grow and deepen from its auspicious beginnings.

We look forward earnestly to even closer relations with the Hungarian Government and people. We are confident that significant avenues of co-operation will be found along which our two nations may together progress in furtherance

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of their common desire to provide a better and more meaningful way of life for all.

We raise our glasses in toast to the lasting friendship between the Ethiopian and Hungarian peoples to their common growth and happiness and prosperity, to the good health and long life of our distinguished guest, His Excellency Mr. Kallai and Madam Kallai.

Feb. 10, 1966.

ADDRESSES HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT IN JAMAICA

Distinguished members of the Jamaican Parliament, I am glad today to get this opportunity of conveying some thoughts to the Jamaican Parliament and people.

The people of Jamaica have a long glorious history. The Jamaican people have struggled to attain their independence and since independence the Jamaican people in an exemplary national unity have gone on to bring further abundance and progress to themselves. Because I know of the history of these wonderful people and because I know of the sentiments the people of Jamaica entertain for the Ethiopian people, I have always wished to come and visit Jamaica. Now, thank God, this wish of mine has been fulfilled.

Has Seen Progress

Upon arrival in Jamaica I have seen more than I have expected. I have seen the progress of the people and I have seen their determination to march forward in unity towards greater progress. I have also witnessed personally the extent of the feeling of the Jamaican people for the Ethiopian people.

Again I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to the Government and people of Jamaica for the wonderful reception that was accorded to me.

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Our relations with the Jamaican people, as I have said already, is not of present origin. At a time when the Ethiopian people bore aggression – harsh aggression – the people of Jamaica showed their concern and sympathy to the Ethiopian people and have in this way provided us with encouragement regarding which the Ethiopian people shall be forever grateful.

Since I arrived in Jamaica, I was able to witness myself that these feelings of sympathy that had existed then have continued, and even now there is a greater desire to establish a closer relation with the people of Ethiopia.

The relations, in a broader sense, between the people of Jamaica and the people of Ethiopia and Africa are deep and abiding. We have all struggled for independence and have achieved it now. Because we are people dedicated to the achievement of our independence, we have attained an objective that is the basis for continued mutual co-operation and goodwill.

In addition to this there is a bond of gratitude, a bond of brotherhood. The people of Jamaica, by and large, have originated in Africa. This again gives us another basis upon which we can contract a healthy relation, a relation that is not only going to be useful to our respective peoples but a relation, because of the fundamental similarity between us, that will in the long run contribute to a better maintenance of international peace and security.

In addition to this both the people of Jamaica and the people of Ethiopia are dedicated to another cause, that is the cause of progress and prosperity. Here again the struggle we have to undergo, the difficulties we must all overcome, and the programmes we must adopt have much similarity. Thus I say the people of Jamaica and Ethiopia have much in common and these common factors can be used as the basis for even stronger relations between our two peoples.

The people of African origin have immigrated to many

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parts of the world. Some of them have come to Jamaica; others to other parts of the world. But wherever they may be they have similar historical experiences and the problems that await them depend on sympathy, and this can be used by all of us as the basis for the establishment of greater co-operation which will be for our mutual benefit.

In addition to this I also believe that the peoples of Jamaica and Ethiopia have another important cause in common, that is the cause of international peace. For much more than means of warfare, the violation of peace somewhere, must be discouraged to prevent the utter devastation of the human race. We have as an important concern that there should not be a violation of international peace and security.

Supreme Interest

However, if small countries do not combine all their energies, if small countries do not put all their weight in one direction towards the maintenance of international peace, then their individual voices in today's world would not matter much. This is precisely why the smaller states, like Jamaica and Ethiopia, have the supreme interest that international peace and security be preserved. And to this end we have to continue to collaborate so that our voice on the international scene would be augmented.

In addition to this it is quite true that a country can achieve material progress alone. However, we know from the experiences of the past that international co-operation tends to quicken the pace for progress of individual countries. This is again another area for us to think about and see in what way we can further expand the relations between the peoples of Jamaica and Ethiopia.

From another fundamental point of view this is why the organization of African Unity has been established. It is

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because the African continent, which comprises more than 250 million people, were it to remain divided among more than 30 states, their individual voices would not carry weight. It is precisely why, since there is an identity of interest, we have attempted to include Jamaica also, so that we can carry this weight in the councils of nations, and also through the process of co-operation and expanded economic relations we might be in a position to quicken the pace of development of the individual member countries of the Organization of African Unity.

Because the African people are dedicated to the cause of the maintenance of peace, because the African people are determined that there should be that material progress for their people, and because the African people believe in the essential precepts of democracy, these are the foundations of the Organization of African Unity. An organization that is based on such a solid foundation can only bring success to all its endeavours which will be for the interest and benefit of the African people, and perhaps also the interest of other peoples.

From the same point of view I say the similarity of fundamental national interest between our two peoples, that is our good friendship that has always existed, must be allowed to deepen, must expand the areas of material and full co-operation in all ways possible.

Combination

We must remember that many states that today represent the major powers of the world were once weak, were once prey to other major forces. But, however, through the process of assimilation, through the process of the realization of fundamental national interests, and through the process of combination that they have achieved, they have become the

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major powers, the powers that are all-embracing. From the same point of view the people of Africa in Jamaica who have identical interests should be able to augment their energies for good by the process of the establishment of greater collaboration.

I would broadly say wherever there is African blood there is a basis for greater unity. We must also help each other in our endeavours to expand education, to raise the standard of living of our respective peoples. To this end we wish to signify the appreciation of the sentiments held by the Jamaican people for the Ethiopian people and as a manifestation of our sincere friendship, within our very limited means, we have made an agreement with the Jamaican Government to establish a school for Jamaicans here. I am confident that all the preliminary procedures will be concluded so that the construction of the school will commence within the near future.

Lastly, may God give wisdom and His blessings to the people of Jamaica. Thank you.

1966.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF PRESIDENT CHARLES DE GAULLE

Mr. President, Madame de Gaulle,

Historians, in reciting the events of the Twentieth Century, will recognize among the leaders of our time a few men whose energy, resolution and deep understanding of events have caused them to control and direct the very destiny of mankind. We and all Ethiopians are proud and honoured to have in Our presence tonight such a leader. This evening, as Ethiopia salutes one of the great men of this century and one of the great spokesmen of French culture and civilization of any century. Our esteemed and hon-

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oured friend, President Charles de Gaulle. We extend to you Mr. President, and to Madame de Gaulle, Our heartfelt greetings, and We reaffirm the warm admiration which the magnificent accomplishments of your inimitable and glorious career so justly merit.

The world well remembers the valiant and ultimately successful struggle which you led to the restoration of France's birthright of freedom and independence. The epic resistance of the French people to foreign domination and the saga of their heroism and sacrifice in the cause of their historic liberties constitute a glorious chapter in the rich pages of French history. In subsequent years, the strength, the foresight and purpose which you have brought to the French Government have surmounted immense obstacles and opposition to retain and add new dignity to the splendid name of France. The position which France has assumed in world affairs in the recent past under Your Excellency's far-sighted leadership has heartened all those who are committed to the principles of national independence and self-determination. The nations of Africa are among the most ardent proponents of these great doctrines which were enshrined first in the Charter of the United Nations Organization and later again in the Charter of our own Organization of African Unity. The past decade has been the time of the great unleashing of the long-restrained energies and genius of this vast continent. As the result of long and diligent efforts, the independence of most of our brethren here has been accomplished. In the course of the struggles which have been waged the values of nation-hood and of national and cultural pride firmly imbedded in African soil.

Comrades In Struggle

France and Ethiopia today stand fast in friendship and understanding, and there are good and sufficient reasons why this should be so. Our wartime experiences constitute

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one such reason. We too have suffered the pains of struggle. Our people have earned through blood and tears the deep satisfaction gained with the restoration of a cherished and ancient independence. A contingent of the Free French Forces participated successfully during the struggle to liberate our country. Our nation has been tested and tempered with the cruel knowledge of experience and has emerged wiser and stronger for what she has undergone.

France and Ethiopia are convinced that the fundamental problems of our world such as Vietnam can only receive a collective solution resulting from the expression and the contribution of all nations.

The origin of relations between Ethiopia and France goes back far beyond the years of the great struggle against the invader. The relations between our two countries date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is true that at that time, the means of communication between Ethiopia and France did not facilitate the establishment of continuous relations.

Nevertheless, as from 1843, a Treaty of Friendship and of Commerce concluded between King Sahle-Selassie and your official representative, acting in the name of Louis-Philippe, King of France, was signed at Angolala.

This treaty – preceded by half a century of other similar treaties – was the inauguration of the policy of co-operation of contemporary Ethiopia.

Ethiopia's first modern link with the outside world, the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railroad, was developed and constructed with French support. The continuing co-operation of our two countries in the successful joint administration of this critical transportation route bears witness to their capacities to work together fruitfully and has been indispensable to the nation's burgeoning development. The achievements of French culture were of immense significance in creating the basis for modern Ethiopian education. French scholars

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have brought their keen intellects to the study of our own ancient culture. French teachers have brought knowledge of the beauties of the French language and the glories of French civilization to the enquiring minds of generations of Ethiopian students.

Co-operation

Today, as Ethiopia moves ever more quickly forward into the technical and industrial civilization of our times, French co-operation and assistance will be more than ever necessary in accelerating and supporting Our nation's achievements. The conclusion of a technical and cultural assistance agreement between our two countries assures Us that this assistance will be forthcoming.

In reciting these evidences of friendship We are reminded with pleasure of the generosity and candour of the French people which We everywhere observed on the occasion of Our memorable reception in France during Our visits. We are pleased now to be able to demonstrate to you, Mr. President, and through you to the French people, the depth and the sincerity of the friendship which Ethiopia holds for those who come in peace and with understanding. We are proud to have this occasion to explain to you something of the glories, the traditions and the culture of Our unique and ancient land and people.

We believe that through the exchange of views that will take place new ground will be laid whereon our peoples shall move onward arm in arm to the accomplishment in mutual sympathy of great new tasks.

In the spirit of comradeship which warms this evening, We ask all assembled here to raise your glasses and join with Us in this toast.

To the French culture and civilization; to the history of friendship and understanding between the French and

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Ethiopian peoples; to the leadership and heroism of an outstanding statesman of our time, President Charles de Gaulle and to Madame de Gaulle.

Aug. 27, 1966.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF PRESIDENT NOVOTNY

President Antonin Novotny
and Madame Bozena Novotna.

It is Our great pleasure to greet this evening the leader of a great and friendly nation, a country with which Ethiopia has long enjoyed close ties and with which a special sympathy and understanding exist. We take this opportunity to welcome Your Excellency and your wife to Ethiopia.

Seven years ago in response to Your Excellency's invitation, We had the pleasure of visiting your beautiful country and the friendly people of Czecho-slovakia. We vividly recall the warm and cordial welcome accorded to Us by the people of Czechoslovakia and members of your government. During Our visit We were able to witness the great achievements accomplished by your people in the field of science and technology. The bonds of friendship that so happily exist between Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia are of longstanding. During this period our two countries have co-operated in many fields both in times of war and peace.

Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia have much in common. Both our countries had a similar experience in the resistance against a cruel and merciless aggressor whose motive was to put our peoples under its colonial domination. During the dark hours Czechoslovakia was among the very few countries that courageously raised its voice in denouncing the invasion of Our country by the fascist aggressor. In doing so, Czechoslovakia gave Us support not only in upholding our rightful cause at the League of Nations but has also suppor-

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ted Us with the much needed arms and ammunitions for the defence of Our beloved country against the invader. In the early part of the post-war period, when We commenced to reorganize Our Armed Forces, it was from Czechoslovakia that We were able to purchase modern weapons to equip Our army. In view of this, can one expect greater friendship? All these manifest the prevalence of a long and profound friendship between our two countries.

Old True Friend

At present Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia are co-operating in many fields. The Government of Czechoslovakia is actively participating in the implementation of Our Five-Year Plan by providing Us with assistance. As a result of such co-operation the age-old relations that exist between our two countries have been strengthened. On this occasion We would like once again to reaffirm to Your Excellency that Ethiopia considers Czechoslovakia an old and a true friend. We wish to say here that in Our endeavours We strive not only for the progress and happiness of our countries and people but to humanity at large for the cause of world peace.

In Our age man has replaced his individualistic attitude by a larger cause, namely the good of society. This is encouraging. The method employed to achieve the social and economic objectives that each country sets for itself may differ. The cultural and historical background of each country accounts for this difference. A few years back, due to this economic and social difference the relations between countries had deteriorated to such an extent that men were fearful of a third world war. Today this fear has diminished and the people of the world are hopeful for a better and a more secure tomorrow. It is our duty to work for the realization of this noble objective.

In Our view differences in economic and social systems

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should not give rise to mistrust and misunderstanding among nations. On the contrary, We should accept diversity in culture and tradition and coexist peacefully. Though Your Excellency's visit to Ethiopia is short, We are convinced that it will contribute to the promotion of this objective as well as further the long-standing friendship which exists between our two countries.

We are hopeful that Your Excellency's stay in Our country will be a pleasant one. Let us, therefore, raise our glasses for His Excellency's long life and happiness, that of Madame Novotna and for the continued progress and prosperity of our two peoples.

Nov. 15, 1966.

SPEECH IN HONOUR OF CHIVU STOICA

Mr. President, Madame Stoica,

It gives Us great pleasure to welcome you this evening and to express to you our appreciation for having accepted our invitation to visit Ethiopia. On this happy occasion We extend to you, Mr. President, and your consort Our most cordial welcome.

Two years ago, at the invitation of your predecessor, the late Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, We had the opportunity of visiting your beautiful and great country and to come into personal contact with the industrious people of Romania. We always recall with pleasure the warm and friendly reception that We were accorded by the Government and people of Romania. The sincere and hearty reception which We have experienced then is a vivid testimony of the great respect and admiration which the Romanian people have for Our people and for Us. In the course of Our visit, We saw for ourselves the great progress achieved by the Romanian people and the advantages they are drawing from the benefits of modern civilization.

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As a result of man's technological and scientific advancement, our world has undergone tremendous and unprecedented change. Distant worlds have been brought closer and mysteries have been unfolded. All these achievements should have brought satisfaction to mankind. However, man among other things, has used these great achievements to evil ends by producing and accumulating weapons of mass destruction which are already in the possession of a number of countries.

Co-Existence

The desire of states to impose their social and economic systems on others had resulted in the ever-increasing stockpile of deadly weapons. But happily the realization that such a state of affairs is incompatible with the needs of our time has led, of late, all leaders and all men of goodwill to determine to live in peace and to coexist in spite of the ideological, social and economic differences existing in the world. In turn this situation has greatly relieved the anxiety of the world from the fear of the disaster that would otherwise have befallen mankind as a result of a nuclear warfare. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of all to take advantage of the present general détente and to strive to bring about enduring peace so that we may spare ourselves the condemnation of posterity and history.

Common Goals

The basic needs of men everywhere are the same. There is no one anywhere in the world who does not cherish the hope of having his standard of living raised. Likewise, it is the fervent desire of most governments to satisfy the material needs and to elevate the standard of living of their people. For any state or individual to limit its endeavours to satisfy its selfish desire, in this age of interdependence, is to live

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outside of the realm of reality. The era of such isolated existence is long past. Instead men have started to think in terms of their fellow-men, their country and the world community. All must strive unceasingly to further these simple and yet fundamental principles and ideals so that there shall be a better tomorrow for generations to come.

Mr. President, We should not fail to recall here that Ethiopia for a long time has maintained friendly relations with Romania not only in time of peace but in time of great trouble and tribulation when our very existence as a nation was threatened by the fascist aggressor. We shall long remember the moral support We have had from the people of Romania through its Foreign Minister, Mr. Tutelesu when We made our appeal to the League of Nations. It is also fitting to mention here the valiant Romanian hero, Etian the Great, who has courageously struggled and dedicated his life for the freedom and independence of his country.

Though Your Excellency's visit to Our country is short, We earnestly believe that it will contribute in further strengthening the bonds of friendship that already exist between Romania and Ethiopia.

In this age of inter-dependence Romania and Ethiopia should do their utmost to co-operate for the mutual interest of their respective countries. There are many areas in which our two countries can effectively collaborate in this regard.

It is in this spirit of friendship and co-operation that We ask all to join Us in wishing long life and good health to you, Mr. President and Madame Stoica; progress and prosperity to Romania and Ethiopia and to enduring world peace.

Dec. 6, 1966.

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AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. President, Mrs. Johnson, distinguished guests:

First of all, Mr. President, I wish to state my satisfaction of the fact you have recovered as spiritedly from your recent difficulty with your health. It is nice to see you in the state that I find you today.

Each generation thinks that the situation it faces is the most serious one, the most difficult among those which were faced by generations of the past. However this may be true today, I believe, when we say the task of this generation is burdensome, we mean it.

Because of the progress mankind has achieved and because of the difficulties that are at times part and parcel of progress and prosperity, we find ourselves at a crossroad where we might make the world safe for our future generations or we might all perish together.

The friendship between the United States and Ethiopia is one of long standing. Our association in the past many decades, I hope, has been fruitful for both our peoples. Because the United States and Ethiopia believe in the same fundamental and essential goals, it is necessary that we should put our efforts together so that we may make maximum contribution for the safety, happiness and prosperity of the generations to come.

In our discussions, Mr. President, I hope we will have the occasion of considering certain questions of mutual concern, of exchanging views in a frank and open manner, and arriving, I am confident, at a consensus of understanding.

I believe that these are not confined to our times and that leaders must from time to time come together, face each other, and discuss problems they share in common. It is not enough that we deal through diplomatic channels.

Mr. President, I know of the hard work that you have in your country. I know of the immense responsibility you

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carry for the safety of mankind, for the maintenance of peace. I know also of your splendid effort in maintaining national peace and security. I am glad, under the circumstances, that you are able to consider my coming to the United States for the purpose of dealing with matters of mutual interest.

Ethiopia and Ethiopians are labouring today not only for the peace and prosperity of our people, but also, realizing the fundamental common interest which we share with other African people, we have dedicated Ourselves to building a united and a more prosperous Africa. We found that the interest that affects Africa affects also Ethiopia and vice versa, because our destiny with the African Continent is a common one.

We have to put up a common effort to see that the Continent's interests are protected. As it is well known, the Organization of African Unity was established in Addis Ababa. I believe this organization has made a good beginning in the interest of all of the African people.

I hope, Mr. President, during our private conversations I will have an opportunity of exchanging views with you about matters of mutual concern, as well as matters that relate to the Organization of African Unity.

Let me say, again, that I am glad to be in the United States today and I pray that our discussions will bear fruit.

Thank you.

Feb. 13, 1967.

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS IN NEW YORK

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Board of Directors, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We should like to begin our remarks to this distinguished gathering of eminent leaders of American business and

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industry by expressing our deep appreciation to all the officers and members of the Board of Directors of the African-American Chamber of Commerce for their kind hospitality and the opportunity afforded us to meet with you all and to share with you our thoughts and preoccupations concerning matters which are no less important to the well-being of peoples everywhere than are the peace and tranquillity which we all endeavour to promote for all nations great or small.

International peace and security are primary requisites for the economic development and social progress of the world today; however, the converse is no less true – that the economic well-being of peoples advances the cause of international peace, and the key to economic prosperity lies in the free flow and exchange of commerce and capital among nations. In the unhampered flow of capital between countries lies the solution to the problems generated by the widening gap between the economically advanced and the developing nations of today.

It is, therefore, with appreciation that we note that the African-American Chamber of Commerce is dedicated “to foster United States trade with, and promote United States industry and investment in Africa.” So long as far-sighted people like yourselves, in each nation and community, recognize the essential interdependence of all peoples in the economic field, as indeed in other areas of human endeavour; and so long as they realize that there are enormous mutual benefits to be derived from co-operative economic efforts, there is reason to hope that the world economic situation will improve and undoubtedly at a greater pace than ever before.

For some time now, and despite earnest efforts on the part of the United Nations Organization and certain countries, the world economic situation has not been as encouraging as it ought to be.

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On the one hand, a small group of economically and industrially advanced countries, notably your great nation, have achieved prosperity unparalleled in the history of mankind, enabling their respective peoples to maintain a high standard of living.

On the other hand, by far the vast majority of the nations of today remain economically under-developed, their peoples subsisting in want and poverty as their normal conditions of life. In an enlightened age such as ours in which the benefits of scientific and technological advancement are being brought to bear in almost every sphere of human life, this profound gap gives rise to anxiety and concern. It is a situation that engenders misery, bitterness and hostility. It is a situation that cannot and must not be allowed to continue longer. In an era when nations gather in concert to declare each nation's fundamental rights to freedom and equality, it is dismaying that the great majority of the world's population exists in the shadow of poverty and misery, often lacking the basic essentials of food and clothing, while their fellow men in other parts of the globe enjoy a life of abundance, comfort and tranquillity. No greater victory can be won by the nations of today than the conquest of the apocalyptic enemies that still ride mankind – poverty, disease and ignorance.

Two-Pronged

A two-pronged action on a global basis appears to provide a realistic approach to the urgent problems posed by the acute disparity in the world economic situation.

On the one hand, the economically developed nations have a responsibility, to others as much as to their own interests, to make available to less developed countries their vast capital and technological resources in ventures which will yield maximum results within the shortest time possible.

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On the other hand, it is equally important that the developing nations, for their part, should find ways and means of attracting foreign capital as well as technical skill, both public and private, in order to accelerate their economic development.

We in Ethiopia, for our part, are doing our utmost to achieve progress in both these areas. While our Five-Year Economic Development Plans have laid stress on primary industries, as well as essential hydro-electric power, irrigation systems and a network of highways, among others, the entire nation is now engaged in self-help endeavours which are yielding satisfactory results and contributing to the nation's efforts toward economic advancement and social progress. Within the purview of sound fiscal policies and other national commitments, we are now engaged in employing every available resource in the national task of economic development.

On the other hand, we have been seeking foreign capital to narrow the gap between available resources and full economic development. While we are appreciative of the assistance of international organizations and agencies as well as a number of friendly governments, we would at the same time like to refer to steps taken by the nation to attract and encourage private foreign capital.

In addition to giving full assurance of utmost co-operation to prospective foreign private investors, the government has enacted a most liberal legislation, which has been in effect for several years now, to encourage private capital. This decree guarantees the rights of potential investors from arbitrary public expropriation, and provides protective concessions for all those who wish to participate in our country's development programmes.

It is a fact that Ethiopia is fortunately endowed with vast untapped natural resources, and what we in Ethiopia seek is the utilization and exploitation of these resources for

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the benefit of both the investor and the nation. That a mutually beneficial and happy partnership between foreign private enterprise and government exists in Ethiopia is clearly attested to by the growing number of foreign firms which have profitably established themselves in various businesses, while at the same time assisting in the development of the nation's economic infrastructure. Nonetheless, Ethiopia desires more private capital investment. Organizations such as yours can do much to fill this need, while providing benefits for the investors.

Impediments

It is a truism that self-help, hard work and initiative are requisites for any nation's economic and social advancement. Yet it is equally true that there still are outmoded international arrangements which seriously limit the efforts of developing countries to develop their potential. So long as there remain impediments to the free flow of international trade; so long as there is no guaranteed price of primary goods at remunerative level without discrimination, the economic and social development of the developing nations will remain seriously handicapped. It is in this connection that the economically advanced nations can render valuable contribution. Such nations could, as an instance, extend further bilateral or multilateral assistance and waive obstructing arrangements such as preferential tariffs as well as other protective systems which, in the long run, prove a disservice to the economic and social progress of developing nations.

The establishment of the UNCTAD and the declaration of the United Nations Development Decade, in addition to other economic programmes launched under the auspices of the United Nations Organization, have provided the basis for a solution of the urgent problems of the world economic situation. Yet, since the recommendations of the UNCTAD

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and its organs have not so far been implemented, the prospects for a speedy solution to these problems have not appeared particularly promising. It is here that the economically advanced countries can make maximum contribution and thereby help to usher in a great new age, an era of "economic liberalism."

The perpetuation of the status quo will not, in the long run, serve even the narrow interests of the few, and it will inevitably prove disastrous to the world economic situation. It is, therefore, to be ardently hoped that the governments of the economically advanced countries will rise to this challenge and join in a concerted effort to alleviate the world's economic ills which are but the root and cause of many other international problems.

As I have remarked earlier, private organizations such as the African-American Chamber of Commerce can do much to help solve present world economic problems by promoting the free flow of private capital. And it is in this respect that we would like to wish all success to the endeavours of this organization which stands to help promote the ideals of international peace and co-operation.

We thank you again, Mr. Chairman, for your hospitality and the opportunity afforded Us on this occasion to share these thoughts with you.

Feb. 17, 1967.

IN THE KREMLIN, MOSCOW, 1967

Mr. President:

Accept, Excellency, my deep appreciation for the kind words addressed to me and my people. It is with great pleasure that I find myself once again in your great and friendly country. The welcome which was accorded to me and through me to the Ethiopian people in my previous visit has

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been a rich and rewarding experience which I always recall with pleasure. In my present visit you have extended me an even greater and more friendly welcome, which I shall always deeply cherish.

The close friendship that so happily exists between our two peoples has been of long-standing. It has not only withstood the test of time, but has even expanded and grown firmer through these years. This I am convinced will continue to be strengthened and shall, as in the past, give lasting benefit to our two peoples.

The national strength of a country is measured by the human and material resources it has at its disposal. Being aware that the exploitation of my country's natural resources requires ample technical know-how, I, throughout my reign, gave priority to the advancement of education in Ethiopia. It is with satisfaction that I note here that my endeavours in this field are bearing fruit and that my country is well on its way to becoming self-sufficient in this regard.

It is my expressed wish that the widest fruitful economic co-operation be established between our two countries. The assistance extended to Ethiopia by the USSR to raise the living standard of her people, namely, through the establishment of an oil refinery in Assab, the Technical College in Bahr-Dar and the USSR's hospital in Addis Ababa are worthy examples of such co-operation.

The main foundation of Ethiopia's foreign policy is to live in peace and harmony with all states and particularly with her neighbours, and in the light of this spirit and the principles of Bandung such as: non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and respect for the territorial integrity of all states; to cooperate with all in various fields of human endeavour with a view to promoting the general good and welfare of mankind. Ethiopia is equally dedicated to the cause of freedom and unity in Africa and to the cause of peace and understanding in the world, in close collabora-

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tion with the sister African states, and my people shall continue to contribute their share to the struggle of emancipating our brethren, who are still under the yoke of colonial rule. We believe that whatever measure we take in order to realize our goals in attaining a completely free Africa, it can best be done through the Organization of African Unity. It is, therefore, in the best interest and for the healthy progress and development of our continent to strengthen this organization. The peoples of Africa are determined that not one inch of African soil shall remain in the hands of the colonialists and in this noble struggle we shall not fail to look for support and encouragement from our proven friends among whom the USSR is prominent.

The principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of states and respect for sovereignty and the territorial integrity of independent nations which are embodied in the Charter of the OAU and the U.N. should be implemented in full measure by member states so that the necessary climate will be created for full co-operation. If this precondition is assured, it is our firm belief, that the great goals we have set for our continent to carry, will not be out of reach.

The League of Nations, by failing to restrain the fascist aggressor, allowed the forces of evil a free reign and it was only after the sacrifice of the lives of millions of innocent people, amongst whom the people of the USSR had to bear heavy losses, and the extensive destruction to property the world over, that this evil was finally destroyed.

Injustice In Africa

Once again injustice is being committed and practised in Africa. In the case of Rhodesia the U.N. has approved sanctions, the same weapon which proved ineffective over a decade ago. I believe that this measure too is bound to fail unless it is accompanied by the use of force.

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I would like to add that after much sacrifice the world has created the United Nations Organization; but the U.N. can only be effective, provided its members are willing to make it strong by giving their wholehearted support in each and every case where justice, decency and fairmindedness so demand. It is of the utmost importance that the U.N. should have at all times the confidence and support of all its members.

I would like to refer to the efforts made by my country concerning the tragic situation which still exists in Vietnam. It will be recalled that I have, on several occasions, expressed my deep concern that this grave situation has continued for so many years and that no workable solution has as yet been found. I have already expressed my readiness to avail my good offices and to do my utmost to bring the concerned parties to the negotiating table. It is with great concern that I view the present conflict in South-East Asia and deeply regret that the numerous efforts made by several states have been ignored by those actively engaged in this bitter struggle.

We are convinced that in order to save our planet from total destruction every effort and all the necessary sacrifices must be made by all peace-loving nations both big and small, towards the attainment of total and complete disarmament, and to see to it that the manifold gifts of the atom are used, instead, for the eradication of disease and poverty and the betterment of mankind.

It is my ardent belief that all nations must live in peace and friendship with each other, religion or socio-political structure notwithstanding. This right and proper attitude must, in our opinion, be cultivated and developed by all nations. I believe that all nations have to advance along the path which they think is most reasonable and desirable in accordance with their culture, tradition and sense of values. In conclusion, I want to express my deepest gratitude to the President, government and peoples of the USSR at whose

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invitation I am visiting this great country. I am fully confident that this present visit will further strengthen the traditional and friendly relations which exist between our two peoples. I request all gathered here to raise their glasses to this spirit of friendship, and to the health of the Soviet leaders and the continued prosperity of the peoples of the USSR as well as for the maintenance and the promotion of peace and understanding in the world.

Feb. 27, 1967.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Even before introducing Ethiopia to the League of Nations in 1923, when he was Regent and Heir Apparent, Emperor Haile Selassie saw the necessity of Ethiopia's active role in international politics. Thus he has shaped and pursued a foreign policy in which his country has not remained a mere spectator of the currents of world affairs. He has played and continues to play an active role in international politics. From the League of Nations, to the United Nations, through to the Non-aligned Conference and the Organization of African Unity, His Majesty the Emperor has left for Ethiopia an indelible imprint on the course of world political affairs. In the international sphere, Ethiopia today occupies a respected place in the Council of Nations. As His Imperial Majesty observed, *We have won, through Our efforts, Our right to this position.*

THREE PRINCIPLES

..... In matters of foreign relations, We have been ever guided by three basic principles. First is Our deep conviction that, where there is no lack of goodwill, all international disputes can be resolved through peaceful negotiations, without recourse to violence. This tenet underlies the role which We played in the Suez crisis, and it was in implementation of this conviction that, during this last year, We offered Our good offices to mediate in the border dispute between the Republic of the Sudan and the United Arab Republic. Similarly, We have relied upon this principle in Our efforts to prevent the spread of the fire which threatens the Middle East. An inevitable corollary of this belief is Our firm conviction that all nations, whatever their political persuasions, can live together in peace.

Second is Our unswerving devotion to the principle of Collective Security. In those early days of 1935-6 when Our country was subjected to the horrors of aggression, We appeared before the League of Nations to plead the cause of Collective Security, a plea which unfortunately fell on

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deaf ears. But even today, no better principle can be devised for the maintenance of the peace of the world, and the peace-loving nations of the world have begun to come together under this banner.

Third, flowing from the principle of Collective Security, is the necessity, in these anxious days when the major powers are engaged in a frantic arms race, for all countries which have accepted this principle and assumed a share of the responsibility for ensuring the peace of the world, to become ever stronger militarily.

It is in order to discharge Our responsibilities under the principle of Collective Security that we have established the Military Academy at Harar, to ensure that properly trained officers will lead Our Armed Forces. And in order further to strengthen Our Armed Forces for the defence of Our Empire in time of war, and for ensuring its internal security in time of peace, We have ordered the establishment of an Imperial Territorial Army.

As We have stated time and time again, We are firmly persuaded that the path to guaranteeing the peace of the world lies in supporting the principle of Collective Security and the United Nations Charter, combined with a progressive reduction of the armaments which are being built up throughout the world. The billions of dollars which are now wasted on this fruitless effort could with great benefit be diverted into the constructive channels of aid for the economic growth of under-developed countries. ...

Nov. 2, 1958.

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

ADDRESSES THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE

..... We are meeting at a critical juncture in history. Even within the confines of these walls, the rattling of the sabres of the mighty powers clashes in our ears.

We deem it a privilege to be here today in Belgrade as the guest of Our old and good friend, Marshal Josep Broz Tito, and to address this Conference which is meeting in this, the capital city of Yugoslavia. To all who hear Our words, and to all whom they represent, We extend Our greetings and those of the people of Ethiopia.

We would also extend Our thanks to Marshal Tito for acting as host at this Conference and to the Government and people of Yugoslavia for the warm welcome which has been accorded Us here, a welcome which We have come to know to be characteristic of the friendly and generous Yugoslav nation.

We are particularly gratified at being able to speak to this Conference, called to provide a forum wherein nations sharing common attitudes and facing common difficulties may exchange views on some of the urgent problems which confront the peoples of the world today, because among those gathered here are many great world leaders, men whom We are privileged to call friends and whom We and the peoples of the world hold in highest esteem. Their presence in this hall augurs well for the success of our labours. We regret only that representatives of other nations which We believe share views similar to ours are not also numbered among those present here.

Critical Juncture In History

We are meeting at a critical juncture in history. Even within the confines of these walls, the rattling of the sabres of the mighty powers clashes in our ears. The dark and

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ominous clouds of world conflict loom threateningly on the horizon. Both great power groups, while disclaiming any intention of initiating aggression, have dwelt, in public utterances, upon their retaliatory might, upon their power to destroy and devastate and annihilate, upon their ability to wage a war in which tens and hundreds of millions would be the victims, in which, indeed, some of us fear that man himself might be exterminated.

These are grim days indeed, and we must call upon a high degree of courage to face each new dawn and the dangers and decisions it brings. But at the same time, we should not be cast into despair or deterred from attacking, with zeal and energy, the problems which we have met to consider. Rather, and perhaps for the first time, let us undertake a realistic and critical reappraisal of our role in history and thus achieve a complete understanding of the full extent of our involvement in present-day world events. We, personally, welcome this opportunity to demonstrate the influence which the Non-Aligned Nations can bring to bear upon global problems and the full extent of the contribution which We can make to their solution.

World's Major Challenges

The major challenges confronting the world today are two: the preservation of peace and the betterment of the living conditions of that half of the world which is poor. These are, of course, mutually interdependent. Without peace, it is futile to talk of improving man's lot; and without such improvement, the task of guaranteeing peace is rendered many-fold more difficult. The assault on these two problems must be made simultaneously, and all of our actions should be taken with an eye to the solution of both.

The nations which are represented here today have answered an invitation to attend a Conference of Non-

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Aligned States. We may usefully ask, as an essential first step in working out our own terms of reference and in shaping a common approach to the problems we have met to consider, what we mean by the term “non-aligned.”

We may say that no nation here feels itself so wholly within the sphere of influence of either of these two great groups that it cannot act independently of them and contrary to them whenever it so chooses and the interests of world peace so dictate. We mean, in sum, that we are all, in the ultimate sense, neutral in the cold war which rages unabated in the world today.

Neutrality

By the word “neutral” We do not, of course, mean that abstention from political activity which has been for so long the hallmark of a Switzerland. We can no more refrain from political activity in the year 1961 than man today can voluntarily refrain from partaking of the radioactive fall-out which will be bestowed upon him should a nuclear holocaust erupt on this globe. Nor does neutrality mean that without taking sides, we content ourselves with urging that the powers most intimately concerned negotiate in good faith to the solution of the issues in dispute between them; we have passed the point where prayerful pleading serves any purpose other than to debase those who thereby abdicate any responsibility or power to influence events.

To be neutral is to be impartial, impartial to judge actions and policies objectively, as we see them either contributing to or detracting from the resolution of the world's problems, the preservation of peace and the improvement of the general level of man's living conditions. Thus, we may find ourselves now opposing, now supporting, now voting with, now voting against, first the East, next the West. It is the

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worth of the policies themselves, and not their source or sponsor, which determines the position of one who is truly neutral.

This, We maintain, is the essence of non-alignment. Those who would righteously denounce one side on every major problem or issue while reserving nothing but praise for the other cannot claim to be non-aligned, nor can those whose policies are shaped for them elsewhere and who wait patiently to be instructed whether they are to be for or against be called uncommitted.

Friendly Relations

We in Ethiopia feel that we have achieved increasing success in incorporating this concept into our international relations. We have for many years carried on friendly relations with Western and Eastern nations. We have received economic aid and technical assistance from both West and East without in any way compromising our independence in passing judgment on issues which have arisen between the two. We have never engaged in unjustifiable attacks on either side, but at the same time, we have never hesitated to be critical of either when we have felt their policies demanded or deserved criticisms.

Only this definition of non-alignment or, if we like, of neutrality, will serve in the modern world if we intend honestly to bring our influence to bear on present-day problems. It is in the implementation of this concept that we, the Non-Aligned Nations, have our role to play, a role which, unless we compromise it, can contribute immeasurably to the twin causes of world justice and the betterment of mankind. If we raise our voices against injustice, wherever it be found, if we demand a stop to aggression wherever it occurs and under whatever guise and brand the aggressor is such, and if we do so on a wholly impartial basis, we can

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serve as the collective conscience of the world. On the other hand, we will quickly and surely sacrifice this privileged position if we reveal ourselves to be biased on one side or the other from the outset, if we listen with only one ear to only one side, and act in defiance of the principle of impartiality.

We Are Not A Power Bloc

For the fact is, and while the fact is hard it must be accepted if our deliberations and decisions are to bear the stamp of sincerity and reality, even the total combined weight of all of the uncommitted nations of the world here today, plus those which are not attending this Conference, cannot, in terms of pure power, be compared to the Western and Eastern powers. To cite but one example, the population of a single nation, India, represented in our midst by a great and noble statesman and Our good friend, Jawaharlal Pandit Nehru, exceeds the total population of all of the rest of the states present here. Analysed with an eye to military strength or to present day wealth, we must recognize that the uncommitted nations cannot qualify as a power bloc and that our strength resides not in military might or in economic wealth, but rather, in the cumulative moral influence which we can bring to bear on the peoples and the problems of the world.

We should not, however, under-estimate the extent of this strength, and realistically appraising its worth, we must seek ways of exploiting it for the good of mankind. In the struggle which we witness in the world today, two groups compete for our support and our adherence to their policies. The leaders and peoples of these two groups are both highly sensitive to our reactions to their policies, and the potential impact of an aroused public opinion upon them has, We believe, a far greater significance than we have heretofore

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realized. Each side is fearful for its cause and will reap satisfaction or dismay, as the case may be, from the judgments which we pass upon their actions. If we remain faithful to the principles of Bandung and apply them in our international life, we will maximize the influence which we can bring to bear on world problems.

Moral Element

But, in the exercise of this strength we must guard against the temptation to seek to aggrandize our position by acting and voting as a group simply for the sake of group action. For when we descend into the political arena as a recognized and organized and disciplined unit, our moral influence and our power to rally and shape opinion on questions of world import which is otherwise our greatest strength is compromised and dissipated. Bloc action implies, within the group, the exertion of pressures upon recalcitrant members, the compromise of positions, the sacrifice of principle for political expediency, the trading of votes for votes and adherence to the rule of the *quid pro quo*. All of these are inconsistent with the real source of our power: the moral element in the conduct of human affairs. How often have we all, at the United Nations, witnessed the sorry spectacle of nations voting against their will, against their own self-interest at times, as part of a bloc. And how have we applauded the occasions when members of a group, in defiance, of the policies and wishes of the group's leaders, have voted in accordance with principle and right as they saw it.

We should be aware, too, that in relinquishing the role which we may play, if we will, in insisting upon the devotion to principle which is the antithesis of pure power politics, we play the game of those whom we seek to influence. When no one upholds the cause of right and justice for their own

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sake, when the small, still voice of conscience speaks no longer, immorality and lack of principle have triumphed, and in this history all of mankind is the loser.

Role Of The UN

This leads Us into the next matter of which We would like to speak to you: the supreme importance which we, and particularly the smaller nations among us, must continue to attach to the role played by the United Nations in the field of international relations. The United Nations, in the first instance, provides the forum wherein we, who claim the freedom and the position to speak frankly and openly against injustice, against desertion of principle, against the intimidation, the oppression, the subjugation of the weak by the powerful, can make our voices heard. We must be ever vigilant to assure that such an institution is preserved to us. The year 1960 has been called the Year of Africa – and rightly so. We would ask our fellow Africans to assess in their own minds the significance of the role which the very existence of the United Nations played in the liberation of the millions of Africans who in the past few years have cast off the yoke of subjugation. This is not to say that the United Nations is directly responsible for the coming of age of Africa. We do assert, however, that without the medium provided by the United Nations, wherein the African struggle for freedom could be brought before the conscience of the world, the forces of colonialism would remain far more firmly entrenched on the African continent than they do today.

Equally important, the United Nations provides the instrumentality whereby the principle of Collective Security, to which We personally have devoted Our lifetime, achieves real and tangible existence and meaning. If force must be employed in the world today in resistance to aggression and

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in the maintenance of world peace, surely it is preferable that it be employed through an institution such as the United Nations, in pursuance of international decisions legally and openly arrived at there. Ethiopia has not hesitated to respond in the past with all the resources at her disposal to the call of the United Nations in times of crisis, and we shall not hesitate to do so again should the call be made.

Who Gains From The UN?

Let us not delude ourselves, it is not the great powers that need or benefit from the existence of the United Nations. It is the small powers, which depend on and require and demand that it live. It is we who have the most to gain through the successful achievement of its goals, it is we who have the most to lose should it one day be relegated to a tidy niche in history, a niche already occupied by the League of Nations. We have had sad occasions to observe in the not too distant past that the great powers are capable of injustice and of abuse of power. We are all too well aware, as recent events and utterances should convince any but the most sceptical and disbelieving, that the great powers, while prepared to use the United Nations when it suits their convenience, have been equally willing to ignore and by-pass it and act independently of it when their interests so dictated. Unilateral action outside the United Nations is, however, a luxury denied to the poorer and weaker nations.

But, in the face of world opinion, massed in support of right and justice, We venture to suggest that even the great nations, powerful as they are, will hesitate to breach the peace and violate fundamental rights of mankind and of nations, in defiance of the United Nations, and thus face universal condemnation. This is our hope, our only hope, and it is our obligation to insure that the full weight of our

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influence is solidly ranged on the side of right and justice in this forum.

UN's Enemy - Our Enemy

In our appraisal of the United Nations, of its structure and the field of action proper and appropriate to it, we must recognize the historically demonstrated fact that a wilful and deliberate violation by any member state of its obligations under the United Nations Charter weakens the United Nation's prestige and threatens its destruction. Let us speak frankly; he who acts deliberately and with calculation to the injury of the United Nations, to weaken it or to endanger its existence as an effective and energetic international institution, is the enemy of all of us. He robs the world of the last, best hope for peace, robs the small nations of that bulwark which the United Nations provides against oppression and he deprives them of the forum where their voice may be raised against injustice and oppression. It is, perhaps, no accident that the United Nations headquarters resembles a structure of glass. It is a fragile, not an indestructible, institution.

At the same time, we need not delude ourselves, that the performance of the United Nations has been, at all times and on all questions, that which we might have wished. The United Nations is man-conceived and man-run, and hence, by its nature and by the nature of man, imperfect. We must be constantly alert to improve and perfect its machinery, to minimize the risk that in time of crisis it will fail us, to assure that its decisions are founded on principle and not on bias and prejudice.

The most obvious defect which We observe in the United Nations today derives from the fact that this Organization, in 1961, remains the self-same entity which was created sixteen years ago at San Francisco. Its membership

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has more than doubled from 46 to 99 nations, but its structure remains the same, and no measures have been taken to assure that adequate representation in its constituent organs is guaranteed to the peoples who have, since 1945, taken their places in this world body. We must not and we shall not be denied this right – for this is a right and not a privilege. The increased participation of the Non-Aligned Nations in the day-to-day activities of the United Nations is the best safeguard against the arbitrary abuse of its powers and functions by and for the benefit of a single group, and such a development would enhance immeasurably its effectiveness as a bulwark against aggression and a guarantor of the peace.

We must, too, observe that the United Nations can scarcely fulfil the role envisaged for it by its founders so long as hundreds of millions of people remain unrepresented there. We refer now not merely to those whose independence is yet to be attained but, as well, to those states, primary among which is the People's Republic of China, which have thus far been excluded from a seat in its councils. We can hardly speak with true sincerity of a universal meeting place or of an organization whose decisions will be binding upon the world community of nations when states which we, the Non-Aligned Countries, would wish to influence are not present to hear our words or to feel the weight of our opinions. We urge both the proponents and the opponents of the admission of such states to seek an acceptable formula whereby those to whom We refer may soon be counted among the members of the Organization.

The Future

In dealing with present problems, which at the moment appear so overwhelming, let us, at the same time, do so with a clear eye to the future. Let us be far-seeing in our

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actions. There is no area to which this rule does not apply, and We would seek to apply it specifically, at this moment, to the problem of colonialism.

We have spoken of the part played by the United Nations in contributing to the decline of the system of colonialism. Although herself never colonialized, Ethiopia, like all Asian and African states, has a lively and vivid appreciation of the vices of this system. Ethiopia was arbitrarily included within the sphere of influence of a colonial empire when the map of Africa was carved up by treaty at the end of the 19th Century, and Our country's invasion in 1935 was but the last act in a prolonged struggle to impose upon Ethiopians this most ignoble of human conditions of servitude. No nation in Africa, we Ethiopians proudly boast, can be said to have more consistently and more fiercely fought against the shackles of colonialism.

It is clear to Us that colonialism, defined in the classic sense, is forever finished, both in Africa and in Asia. Its last remaining vestiges are being systematically attacked and destroyed. The major powers, not entirely voluntarily and not without the exertion of continuing pressure – for History knows of few instances where colonial powers have, of their own free will, relinquished control of a dependent people – have admitted that the system is out of date, and have acted to change it.

At the same time that we applaud the serpent of colonialism in breathing its last, and while we strain our every effort to speed its unlamented demise, we must look beyond it to the problems which remain, several of which, indeed, are created or at least intensified by the disappearance of colonialism from the world scene. We must recognize and deal with the attempts being made from all quarters to perpetrate colonial exploitation under new forms and to introduce into our continents a new system no less inimical to freedom and liberty. Independence means more than the

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granting of national flags and anthems, and without real and effective freedom in the economic and political spheres, liberty becomes a mere catch-phrase, devoid of content. But in our haste to escape from one system of bondage, we need not, all blindly, embrace another no less oppressive and burdensome to the free spirit of man.

Complete Responsibility For Africans

In the task which remains of exterminating the last remnants of colonialism, We maintain that we need no longer search for or call upon foreign assistance. Speaking now only for Africa, We firmly assert that free Africans are now fully able and competent themselves to assume complete responsibility for ensuring the ultimate expulsion from this continent of the last colonial elements. We go further: We claim, for Africa, the power and the ability to deal, without foreign interference, with such problems as may arise on this continent in the future, save for those few instances where Africans themselves may decide that the aid and assistance of the United Nations is required.

For above all else, we must ensure that the cold war shall not be imported into the African continent. African soil, for so long the battleground in the struggle of the African peoples for freedom, must not and shall not now be transformed into a field of hostilities in the cold war. Such a development could nullify the conflict from which Africa is only now emerging victorious, and obstruct and impede the solution of the problems which decades and centuries of colonialism have strewn in their wake.

We here are all dedicated to the betterment of the conditions of man's life; we all know the sorrows and misery of those who do not live but merely exist, the lot of men whose living conditions are sub-standard. But when We speak of the betterment of man's life, We mean not merely the economic improvement of living standards; We refer, in

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addition, to the spiritual conditions in which man lives, for just as a man without means to feed his hunger and to clothe his nakedness can take no pride in his existence as a human being, so, also is one who is reviled and discriminated against because of his race or religion, robbed of his self-respect and human dignity.

Racial Discrimination

The spectre of racial discrimination which has for so long cast its dark and evil shadow over much of this globe is slowly disappearing. Men are coming increasingly to be judged by their talents and abilities rather than by the less meaningful and far more superficial standards of race and religion. But there yet remain those who, in their bigotry and ignorance, resist this flooding tide, and it is against these that our efforts must be directed. The struggle to win for our brothers in South Africa that status as free men, free to stand, heads high, among free men as equals, which so many millions of Africans and Asians have attained but yesterday, goes on. Our duty is not discharged, our course is not run, our victory not won so long as apartheid, the legitimized policy of the Government of the Union of South Africa, prevails in any area of the world.

In South Africa, an attempt has been made to legislate the inequality of the races. This attempt is doomed to failure. We here are all pledged not to pause in this strife until its emptiness and mockery are revealed for all to see and those who have used it for their own purposes have abjured this doctrine which is an insult to all men and to Almighty God in Whose image we are created. But, at the same time, let us not bemuse ourselves with the notion that it is any more possible to legislate equality, for these matters concern attitudes and values over which intellect sadly exercises but little control. Let us not recoil in hatred against those who, even while protecting their freedom from bias and

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prejudice, reveal by their actions that the poison of discrimination has left its lasting effects, and by this reaction reveal that we, no less than they, are prey to unreasoning emotion, that we, no less than they, are susceptible to that virus which is called intolerance.

Apartheid Must Be Discredited

The African states have already imposed direct sanctions in the economic and diplomatic fields in an attempt to influence the policies of South Africa and to convince the South African leaders that it is in no sense in their interest longer to adhere to this policy. We should, during this Conference, consider if there are not additional measures which we may adopt to speed the inevitable day when the policy of racial discrimination and the principle of apartheid are discredited and abandoned.

But let us take pride in the fact that as free men we attack and abhor racial discrimination on principle, wherever it is found and in whatever guise. We can, in addition to the economic pressures of which we dispose, bring our moral weight to bear and rally world opinion to our cause by revealing the brutality, the inhumanity, the inherent viciousness and evil represented by this policy.

It is only natural for man to strive towards a better life, to wish to educate his children while he himself was uneducated, to desire to shelter and clothe them while he himself was naked and scourged by the elements, to strive to spare them from the cruel diseases by which he himself was ravaged. But when these ends are realized at the expense of others, at the cost of their degradation and poverty, these desires, which are not intrinsically immoral or pernicious in themselves, must be frustrated, and the means by which these otherwise legitimate ends are sought to be attained must be scorned and shunned.

We ourselves, the Non-Aligned Nations of the world,

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seek no less than others these same objectives. And it is not by mere chance that we also count among our number the great majority of the under-developed nations of the world, for not until the direction and determination of man's fate is firmly within his own grasp can he devote the totality of his strength to his own good.

Financial Assistance

In order to speed our economic development, most of us require extensive external financial assistance. We need not be ashamed of this fact, particularly when the poverty and ignorance from which our peoples suffer have been perpetuated through the deliberate and long-standing policies of others. It is surely in the interest of those who look to the uncommitted world to swing the balance between West and East that we be economically strong and free of crippling bonds which would limit our freedom of choice. Only if the Non-Aligned Nations have a real opportunity of choice can their adherence to and support of their policies be of value; a choice dictated by others or imposed by outside influence is a meaningless choice.

We believe that on this score the conscience of the world has been awakened, and that the vast majority of men today recognize the truth of what we say. There are those, however, who raise their voices in alarm, warning us that this assistance is designed only to impose upon us another but equally insidious form of subjugation. With this We do not agree. We believe that it is possible for all of us to receive assistance from diverse sources without compromising that independence and impartiality which We have already declared should be the hallmark of the nations represented here.

Aid Programmes

Nonetheless, this fear exists, and when it is coupled with the fear that two assistance programmes carried on within

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the same area by competing power groupings will ultimately result in the importation into our countries of the very cold war from which we seek to disengage ourselves, a powerful and compelling argument for multilateral rather than bilateral assistance is made. Happily, there already exists, in the United Nations, the effective means for the channelling and administration of massive aid programmes free of these attendant dangers. Considerable progress has already been made in this realm, and we all have cause to be heartened by the ever-increasing role which the United Nations is playing in this field, a role which is financed by the contributions of those who, recognizing the validity of our fears, are prepared to accept this technique as a means of meeting them at no sacrifice to the advancement and enlightenment of the under-developed peoples. In enlarging the scope of the United Nations operations in the field of economic development, we also strengthen its position and heighten its stature as an international force for the preservation of peace.

It is one of the tragedies of our day that while half of the world's population is wracked by a never-satisfied hunger and remains poverty-stricken, disease-ridden and ignorant, vast amounts are spent by great powers on armaments, money which, if diverted to satisfying the basic human needs of the poorer people of the world, could transform their lives and restore to them their human dignity, their happiness in the present and their confidence and faith in the future. No nation is possessed of limitless riches, and each heightening of world tensions and the forced expenditure which calls forth greater military strength on the part of those to whom we look for aid, serves to lessen the sums available to fight misery, and the great nations cannot, even if they would, enlist their full support in this battle.

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The Cold War

And yet, while we await hopefully that measure of assistance which, coupled with our own resources, could assure the ultimate triumph of the under-developed peoples over their poverty, the rich and powerful boast of the size of their military arms and the might of their forces. The one claims that it will spend the other into bankruptcy and collapse – a most worthy and noble objective. We must recognize that the cold war poses not only a military danger; the cold war robs the under-developed nations of their hopes for a happier and more prosperous future. Much emphasis has been laid on the risks to man's life on this planet which a world arms race carries with it, and too little recognition has been given to side-effects and indirect consequences of astronomical military spending. Disarmament must be achieved not only because in this fashion will the threat of a world holocaust be dispelled, but, equally because only through a drastic reduction in the military budgets of the great powers can the vast resources required to raise all of mankind to the level of free men be freed for these purposes.

The agenda which has been placed before us at this Conference is ambitious in the extreme. In effect, we are to pass judgment, in one way or another, on virtually every question of significance which confronts the world today. This is as it should be; once having taken our places as responsible, intelligent members in the international family of nations, we cannot shirk our consequent duties.

This agenda raises both questions of principle and questions involving the application of accepted principles to specific problem areas. Both types of questions pose equally great difficulties, and there are no easy answers to the problems before us.

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Right Of Peoples

We may cite one example arising out of the very language of the Charter of the United Nations. We are to discuss, during this Conference, the right of peoples and nations to self-determination, a right which is an issue in various regions of the world today. We are also called upon to reaffirm our respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states and the principle of non-interference and non-intervention in their internal affairs, principles which have demonstrated their essential worth and validity in the field of international relations many times over and to which we believe all here are wholly dedicated.

We deign to suggest that there is some inconsistency, some internal contradiction between these principles when closely linked together, whereas considered separately and apart, none would deny them at least lip service. Can a Government which overtly or covertly supports the violation of the territorial integrity of another state justify its actions on the ground that it seeks only to implement the principle of self-determination for all or a portion of the people of that nation? We think not. To contend contrariwise is to adopt the thesis of Adolf Hitler, who contended, in support of the action of the Third Reich in incorporating Austria into Germany, that "It is obvious that an idea embracing the entire German people and arising from its depths cannot be stopped at the frontiers of a country."

Peaceful Co-existence

Similarly, when we consider the topic of peaceful co-existence among states with different political and social systems, we must guard against careless use of terms or language which, for different people, have different meanings. Peaceful co-existence is not merely the absence of war.

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It embraces non-interference and non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others, refraining from propaganda activities calculated to create disharmony among states short of war or among peoples of the same nation, the cessation of subversive activities designed to ferment civil disorder and revolution in other nations, and the like. The word itself is an empty bottle – it is for us to give it content and meaning.

In considering the specific problems before us, We find hardly more cause for optimism or for hopes of easy and early solutions. But, to revert to a theme earlier sounded, that upon which Ethiopia's foreign policy is founded, it is to the United Nations that we must look for the final decisions concerning these crisis areas. Let us consider Algeria, where thousands have died in seeking those rights which we assembled in this hall enjoy as our most precious possessions. This problem, of fundamental importance for the security of the world, has already figured on the agenda of several sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and in a few days it will again be the subject of discussion there. We remain hopeful that bilateral negotiations between France and the representatives of the F.L.N., here among us, will terminate in success; meanwhile, we cannot abdicate our obligations to bring our concerted weight to bear to this same end, in that forum which is particularly calculated to maximize our influence in the speedy resolution of this and similar problems. We pledge our ceaseless efforts to the achievement of the independence of the Algerian people, and we await impatiently the day when Algeria will take her rightful place as a free state in the community of nations.

Angola And Bizerta

Angola poses a particular problem for us Africans who would now take into our own hands the determination of our own fate and the shaping of our own future. Again,

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We are confident that within the four walls of the United Nations, Africans will secure the means whereby the people of Angola will be enabled to stand among us as free people, and the Angola problem will be expunged from the list of items which vex the conscience of the nations of the world.

The entire world has been saddened and disheartened by the recent bloodshed at Bizerta, where gallant Tunisians died in seeking only to regain for their nation those last few acres of Tunisian soil still dedicated to the maintenance of military bases. We sorrow that peaceful discussion failed to lead to a peaceful evacuation of this base. While reaffirming the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation of Tunisia over Bizerta, We urge those most intimately concerned to spare no efforts that the further spilling of blood may be avoided, and We particularly urge that the resolution adopted by the emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly last week be speedily implemented.

On the continent of Africa, we have witnessed, during the past years, the sad spectacle of Africans ranged against Africans in a struggle not of their own making, in which only Africans will be the losers. Here, again, peace has largely been preserved through the efforts of the United Nations. Ethiopia has contributed to the full extent of her resources to these endeavours to resolve this problem through peaceful discussions, and Ethiopian soldiers serve in the Congo in ensuring the United Nations presence there. We may all take encouragement in the considerable improvement which recent developments have introduced into the situation there.

Conflict Reigns

As our gaze travels over the map of the world, we find no quarter wholly free from problems which threaten the preservation of the peace. In Laos, a conflict had raged

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which, even though localized, carries with it far wider implications. We urge that the fourteen-nation conference which is even now meeting in Geneva to settle this question reach a speedy decision which will restore to this nation the serenity and tranquillity which it had earlier enjoyed.

Also in Southeast Asia, we find the problem involving the people of West Irian. Ethiopia has in the past supported the position of Indonesia on this question before the United Nations and will continue to do so.

When we speak of urgent problems, when we look to those regions most likely to emit the spark whereby the conflagration of a general war threatening the destruction of us all may be ignited, Our gaze is inexorably drawn to Berlin, an unhappy city, a city split in twain, a city divided against itself and isolated from the rest of the German people by barriers far more compelling and restraining than mere barbed wire or steel barricades. Among the many lamps signalling danger to peace, that of Berlin glows most desperately, as if it would frantically attract thereby the attention of all men devoted to the cause of peace.

The Berlin Question

Where are we, the Non-Aligned States, to turn in seeking the solution to Berlin? The Four Powers have this far proved themselves either unable, or incapable, or both, of arriving at an answer. But this problem concerns us all; can we long allow it to be the sole responsibility, the monopoly, of these four? Ethiopia supports the concept of a unified Germany. Ethiopia supports the principle of free access to West Berlin. But if this is not enough, there is left to us only to ask, rather, to demand, that this question be brought before the United Nations for resolution by it.

And so, again, We come to the United Nations. Is it inconsistent with Our own life or the principles by which We

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have guided Our nation throughout Our lifetime that We should do so? Surely, a nation as ill and cruelly served as was Ethiopia twenty-five years ago before the League of Nations, another tribunal which claimed to act, as a single body, in the protection of the peace and the preservation of the interests of its smallest and weakest member, should have profited by its error long since.

No, for us, for the small, the weak, the under-developed, there is nowhere else to go. If we turn to one or another of the major power groups, we risk engorgement, that gradual process of assimilation which destroys identity and personality. We must, by force of circumstances, look to the United Nations, however imperfect, however deficient, to preserve the peace and to lend us its support in our endeavours to secure a better life for our peoples, and we must concentrate our efforts, little or great, to the achievement of its stated ends, for only thus can we secure our free and continued existence.

Incapable Of Despair

This is not a counsel of despair. Our own life has demonstrated that We are incapable of despair. Men will die in defence of principle; men will sacrifice their all rather than compromise themselves and renounce that which distinguishes them from the beasts – their moral faculty. If this force in men can but be awakened and focused on the problems of each day, we shall, God willing, survive each day to the dawn of each tomorrow, and in this survival guarantee to our children and our children's children a lifetime of peace and security, under justice and right, and under God.

Sept. 3, 1961.

CHAPTER III

INTERAFRICA

Long before the wind of change started to waft over Africa with such telling effect, His Imperial Majesty had sown the seeds of African liberation. Ethiopia's struggle against colonialism and aggression constitutes not only the first chapter in the history of Africa's liberation, it was a beacon and a symbol to those who later joined the ranks to African freedom fighters.

His Majesty the Emperor has evinced his sustaining interest in Africa's peace, progress and prosperity. In inter-African affairs he will go down as the father of the Organization of African Unity. For in both the convening of the historic Summit of 1963 and the signing of the OAU Charter he played a decisive role.

If Addis Ababa has become the Geneva of Africa, it is primarily because of His Imperial Majesty's unflagging efforts to see that Africa prepares for and meets her rightful place within the councils of the world. These selected speeches tell the story.

WAR SETTLEMENT AND ITALY'S RETURN

At the various meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London and Paris and of their deputies as well at the Peace Conference through Our Delegates We have set forth to the world the position of Ethiopia in regard to the return to Ethiopia of territories taken from her by Italian aggression. As first victim of Axis aggression in Europe and the first of the United Nations to be liberated, Ethiopia feels justified in declaring as she has already declared at the Paris Peace Conference, that any return of Italy to such territories would constitute ratification of three aggressions and an act of international injustice. It should be understandable that Ethiopia cannot possibly countenance any return of Italy to such territories other than as a direct and instant threat to one of the United Nations. We are confident that the world will readily understand that the security of Ethiopia would be completely compromised if those territories which had three times

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served as bases of aggression against her were to remain as such in the future. We have further pointed out that an impoverished Italy who seeks and who continued to receive foreign financial and other assistance at the same time seeks to regain territories in an attempt to launch a fourth invasion of Ethiopia, thanks to such foreign assistance. The case of Ethiopia is clear and requires no further statement. Ethiopia has fought for more than a decade for justice. It is time that she received it

Feb. 23, 1948.

BEGINNINGS OF AFRICAN UNITY TO THE ACCRA CONFERENCE

The convening of the Conference of Independent African States in Ghana, where responsible statesmen representing a free government are gathering to consider together common problems, is a great and momentous event. As an integral part of the African Continent, Ethiopia looks back with pride to the role which she has played in the history of the development of Africa and looks forward with confidence to the future of this great continent.

In her long and glorious history, Ethiopia, has time and again, had to struggle against overwhelming odds to preserve intact her traditional freedom and independence and to guarantee from generation to generation the right of free men to work out their own destiny without interference or hindrance. The world is only now coming to realize what Ethiopia and Africa have long recognized, that peace, independence and the prosperity of mankind can be achieved and assured only by the collective and united efforts of free men who are prepared to maintain eternal vigilance and labour unceasingly to protect these most precious of God's gifts. The sympathy and support which Ethiopia

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received from other African peoples when she was invaded twenty-three years ago is ample testimony of the strong sentiments which unite all free African countries.

In our own lifetime the world has undergone changes more sweeping and striking than those seen during any similar period in history. Technical and scientific advances have combined to raise mankind to a level of material achievement never before realized. It is the duty and responsibility of the Independent African States to further this development and to bring the benefits of modern civilization to increasingly large numbers of people in Africa.

On Side of Peace

However, as man's capacity to improve his own lot has grown, so has his power to spread havoc and destruction correspondingly increased. The Independent African States must assure that the growing weight of Africa is enlisted on the side of peace and justice to the end of avoiding a third holocaust which could well engulf the entire world and result in the total destruction of mankind.

But dwarfing even man's material achievements in the twentieth century has been the emergence of peoples all over the world into freedom and independence. Today, for the first time, men everywhere to whom freedom and independence were, but a short time ago, only words, and for whom economic and political self-determination were no more than far-distant goals, have achieved the status of free men and are directing their efforts and energies to their own advancement. We are particularly gratified and proud that this development has been so marked and widespread on the great continent of Africa. Africa will no longer be the "unknown continent", for its human and material resources are beyond measure, and this great continent now stands on the verge of an economic, political and cultural

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development which, when realized, will be without parallel in history.

Ethiopia's Part

In this development, Ethiopia will have its own particular, and We feel, important role to play. It is for this reason that We have charged Our beloved Son Prince Sahle Selassie with the high mission to be Our personal representative and the head of the Ethiopian Delegation to the Conference of Independent African States. Ethiopia knows how hard-won is independence and how vital it is that men be jealous of their freedom and be ever prepared to defend it. Ethiopia knows, as her history has taught her, that the world is small, and that co-operation among all nations of the world, East and West alike, is not only possible and desirable, but indispensable for the welfare of mankind. Ethiopia knows that the willingness of the Independent States of Africa to co-operate and work together in solving their common problems and achieving their common goals is essential to the continued progress of the African peoples.

It is a propitious omen for the future that at this very moment the free nations of Africa are giving tangible evidence of their determination to work together not only for their own good but for the good of Africa and the entire world. The task is great. It demands wise judgment and statesmanship of the highest order. It requires unceasing labour, a dedication to fundamental principles and objectives and a determination to overcome all obstacles, however large. He who suffers conquers, and in the final resort, wins the crown of victory. We pray that Almighty God will bless the Conference with strength and wisdom and crown its efforts with success.

Apr. 15, 1958.

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INAUGURATION OF ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

... Concerted action, co-operation, co-ordinated policies – these, honourable delegates, are not just words, but great and noble conceptions. In them, and in what they stand for, can be found the key to fulfilment of the longings and the hopes of millions of Africans.

It is with great pleasure that We, on behalf of Ourselves and Our beloved people, today extend Our warmest greetings to the delegations of the Economic Commission for Africa who have gathered here from all over this great continent, and, in particular, to The Honourable Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary General of the United Nations, who is Our honoured guest on this occasion. We welcome you all to Our capital.

The opening session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa is truly a most historic and significant event for the great African continent. But a short half-century ago, only the most far-sighted individuals dared predict that within fifty years Africa would have so far progressed along the path of political and economic progress that a conference such as this, where representatives of nine independent African nations, as well as representatives of several other African countries have gathered together in solemn conclave to consider the common problems of Africa and the African peoples, would be possible. And yet this has come to pass, and today we are assembled here for this very purpose. Our heart overflows in the attainment of this moment.

Only a few years ago, meetings to consider African problems were held outside of Africa, and the fate of its peoples was decided by non-Africans. Today, the tradition of Berlin and Algeciras has been repudiated, and it is thanks

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to the Conferences of Accra and now of Addis Ababa that the peoples of Africa can, at long last, deliberate on their own problems and future.

Striking Evolution

The political growth of the peoples of Africa, a development which has come to fruition within the lifetime of every one of us here present, is one of the most striking and extraordinary evolutions in the recorded history of man. The political coming of age of the African peoples is ample testimony that we are witnessing the inauguration of a new and splendid period in this continent's history. The number of African states which now enjoy their independence is only nine, but this number will grow in the future. In 1960, additional states will emerge into the brilliant sun of freedom, clear evidence that the political growth, which in a few short years has transformed the status of so great a number of the African peoples, has not yet finished, and that it will not come to its end until the goal toward which this movement has steadily and inexorably progressed has been totally realized.

Political independence, however, is but one part of the complex of problems which face the African peoples in their struggles to achieve their rightful place in the world. It is potentially the richest of continents, large numbers of her people still lead an existence that can only be regarded as sub-standard. A major cause of this lag in Africa's economic development has been the lack of education of her peoples. Let us not be too proud to face these facts and to recognize Africa's deficiencies and defects. Let us face honestly and frankly the fact that by the standards of the modern world, the African peoples today are poor. Our poverty need not cover us with shame. Africa, despite the predominantly agricultural basis of her economy, pro-

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duces only a small percent of the world's foodstuffs. Indeed, Africa produces scarcely enough food to support her own peoples. The average wage of the African worker compares unfavourably with that of other areas of the world. The average African may, if fate has smiled upon him, receive the minimum amount of nourishment necessary for physical survival, but rarely more.

Freedom Was Absent

Among the reasons for the poverty and hard life of the African peoples must be numbered the fact that heretofore most Africans have not enjoyed the freedom which they are now attaining. In addition, the lack of the capital essential to the development of their economies and the shortage of technically qualified personnel have severely limited Africa's capacity for economic growth.

But, just as we must not be too proud to recognize the facts of Africa's economic situation as it exists today, so we must not be cast down or discouraged by the magnitude of the problems which face us. For Africa is potentially rich. She has enormous deposits of raw materials, and the total extent of her wealth is by no means yet known. Africa produces large quantities of several of the world's basic minerals and metals. She produces large quantities of various agricultural products such as palm oil and cocoa. The fertility of much of her land is potentially high in the extreme. A tremendous potential for the production of hydro-electric power and the irrigation of her land is found in the lakes and rivers of this great continent.

The vista that opens before the Economic Commission for Africa in fulfilling the weighty responsibilities laid upon it by the United Nations General Assembly is vast. The tasks are immense. Much labour and toil will be demanded,

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not only from those who will constitute the permanent organization, but also from the governments of all countries and territories in fulfilling the commitments and discharging the responsibilities resting upon its members and associate members. The economies of the African states have too long existed as separate, self-contained, isolated entities. African countries have for too long been forced to nurse their own economies and puzzle out their complicated problems by themselves, or else have them handled haphazardly for them by others. We are all only too well acquainted with the difficulties and barriers that the African peoples have had to overcome in coming together to deliberate on matters of common interest. But it is impossible to believe that individual countries, working alone and isolated from their neighbours, can ever achieve their objectives, and the African peoples must therefore work and co-operate together if the economic development of this continent is to be furthered.

Ethiopia's Experience

The Ethiopian people in particular, long isolated socially and geographically, have had to plough a lonely furrow in many fields of economic endeavour, lacking the right and the facility to draw upon the experience and knowledge of others who were attempting to solve almost identical problems. Now, however, as almost every paragraph in the Charter of this Commission emphasizes, the goal on which Our eyes have always been fixed as a primary goal for Our people – the raising of their standard of living – has become the declared objective of the Governments of the member-states whose representatives are gathered here today, to be sought, in every way, by concerted action. Concerted action, co-operation, co-ordinated policies – these, honourable delegates, are not just words, but great and noble conceptions. In them, and in what they stand

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for, can be found the key to fulfilment of the longings and the hopes of millions of Africans.

Our task, the task of all gathered here and of those other African countries who are not numbered among the representatives at this first session of the Economic Commission for Africa, is to improve the economic lot of all African peoples, to raise them to a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed in the most highly-developed regions of the world today. This is a task and a challenge which must be met. And because this touches all of us, all must labour and work for success in this endeavour.

When the Commission comes to consider specific problems in the course of its deliberations, We ardently hope that it will give serious consideration to finding ways and means of extending immediate economic assistance not only to all African nations which are in need of such aid, but, as well, to those territories which are on the threshold of independence. It must constantly be borne in mind that the economic problems of some of the younger African states and of those areas which are on the verge of statehood are most pressing and serious. The United Nations Organization and the older States are, consequently, under a grave moral obligation to alleviate the economic difficulties of these young States and territories, and to help them found their economic structure upon a firm basis that will maintain and assure their political independence. Political and economic progress should go hand in hand.

Practical Steps

There are other grave and important matters to which We trust the Commission will not fail to direct its attention. Among these are the implications of the involvement of African nations in regional preferential trade agreements with nations of other continents. The Commission could

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well take concrete steps to explore the possibilities of establishing statistical bureaux where none now exist, and of co-ordinating and unifying the statistical methodology to be employed in common by all member states. A programme of close co-operation between the Commission and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization to study the possibilities of increasing food production in areas where people are under-nourished, and of wiping out cattle disease, problems of great importance to African countries whose economies are predominantly agricultural, would fulfil a long-felt need.

In view of the great influence of public health problems upon the economic development of African countries, the exploration and recommendation of solutions to such problems by the Commission, in collaboration with the World Health Organization, would aid immeasurably in accelerating the tempo of the economic development of the African continent. All African countries depend on their export trade and a manifest need exists for the promotion, stabilization and diversification of exports of the ECA member countries. The Commission should give serious consideration to the prevalent transportation and communication problems which have a considerable influence upon the development of all African countries, and seek resolutely to find solutions to the difficulties which perplex us all in these fields. Solving these problems would contribute much toward the economic development of Africa. In undertaking such a study, due consideration should be given to the desirability of establishing closer connections between the various national transportation systems, thus encouraging closer economic and commercial relations among member states.

It is appropriate that this gathering today is held under the sponsorship of the United Nations. The United Nations is a living and tangible testimony to the value of co-operative efforts among all men to improve their way of life and pre-

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serve peace. We believe that the African peoples, too, can co-operate effectively for the common good, for their own good and for that of all men. But this requires singlemindedness and an unswerving devotion to the cause of Africa and the African peoples. In your work, you must take into your hearts and be guided by the principle expressed in the Holy Scripture "Love thy neighbour as thyself."

Draw Upon Lessons

Africa is not the first geographical area to be embraced by a regional Economic Commission. This We do not consider a disadvantage, since the experience gained and the lessons learnt by its predecessors in Europe, Latin America and Asia and the Far East can be drawn upon. But many of the economic and social problems are new, and the paths untrodden. In your task of finding the answers and the way, honourable delegates, not only the eyes of all Africa but of all the world will be upon you. We, for Our part, pledge the highest endeavours of Our Government and people in aiding and speeding your work, not only for this meeting of the Commission, but for the efforts and objectives of this organization in the years that are to come. May Almighty God prosper that work, and grant that it may be pursued in peace, in peace of mind and of circumstance unhindered by the fact or threat of war.

This land, of which you are the honoured guests, has known and suffered from the horrors and brutalities of war. The threats of armed conflict, the obsession with war and armed might, are evils yet to be eradicated from the minds of men. So long as they survive, progress towards the high and noble objectives to which this organization is dedicated will be handicapped and enveloped in darkness. In the mobilization of economic resources, in the search for ways to improve the lot of man, whether African or

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not, the threat to peace stands as a grim obstacle. The essential prerequisite for economic and social contentment is world peace, and without such contentment, the weeds of discontent luxuriate, and threats to peace develop.

We pray that peace may be vouchsafed to all men, that the labours of this Commission may ever be conducted in an atmosphere of harmony and co-operation.

Dec. 29, 1958.

SECOND AFRICA CONFERENCE

... Independence cannot be a simple word devoid of meaning, it must remain a principle admitting of no compromise or suspicion, a principle demanding respect, for self and at the same time equal respect for the rights of others.

In 1958, at the inaugural Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa here in Addis Ababa, We took great pleasure in welcoming the many distinguished delegates, the majority of whom rightly represented African States. Meeting as We do today, at a moment of crisis in the relations of the Great Powers of the world, We have special reason to extend on behalf of Ourselves and Our beloved people, to all of you distinguished delegates, Our warmest greetings at this Conference of the African States.

The breakdown of the Summit Conference is certainly a matter of great concern to all of us; for Africans, like the rest of humanity, are anxious to have the danger of nuclear and thermonuclear war removed from the world. Peace is indivisible and is essential to prosperity and orderly progress towards a higher standard of living on our continent. It is, therefore, Our sincere wish that efforts will continue so as to bring about a negotiated settlement in disarmament and other matters that are a source of danger to world peace.

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When, in the discussion of such matters, the peace, indeed, survival of the numerous small as well as the few large nations, is at stake, it is important that the many small Powers should be heard and afforded equal opportunity for consultation and deliberation.

At the First Session of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, We noted that the political growth of the peoples of Africa was a development of the most striking and extraordinary evolution in the recorded history of man. The continuation of that struggle in the ensuing months has won achievements beyond expectation in the rapid emergence of a large number of new States and in the advances achieved by African peoples towards independence. Such accomplishments stand as a vivid testimony to that development and, indeed, to the wholesome vitality of the peoples of this great continent. We would be faithless to the will of the Almighty who has offered us the possibility of unity, were we to allow this ideal to become a mere dream.

Today we take great pleasure in welcoming the Congo, Cameroons, Togoland, Nigeria and Somalia to full participation in our deliberations. It is our conviction, as We noted before, that the political growth of the African peoples will not reach its culmination until the ultimate goal, which is independence and complete freedom for every African people.

This impressive and inexorable advance towards the complete emancipation of our continent has not been without obstacles. The bloodshed and sufferings that we have witnessed during the past year in various parts of this continent are too vivid in our memory to require recital of the facts; they are tragic and we must see to it that they will not recur. We must devise ways and means to arrest the senseless destruction of African lives. Africans have committed no sin, unless the pursuit of independence and free-

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dom from colonial oppression is considered to be one. Therefore, it is our duty to see that that yearning attain its goal by giving it appropriate expression in our decisions here at the Conference. To this end, we must resolutely unite as fearless and determined advocates for our South African brothers. It was with the consciousness of this duty in mind towards our brothers that We granted financial assistance and scholarships to the orphans of those who fell as victims in South Africa. The task that remains to be accomplished in the political field is certainly a considerable one, but We trust that, united in our determination to see the complete independence of every African people, we shall succeed in our endeavours.

However, this achievement cannot redound to the credit of African peoples if independence attained is one in name only. In such a situation, the emergence from colonialism is but illusory, and the use of the word "independence" would constitute not only a distortion, but also a disservice to the cause of African freedom by erecting a screen behind which those same foreign influences which hitherto were revealed to the world as colonialist interests, could, in disguise, continue to operate.

In other words, those who seek independence, must be prepared to struggle for it rather than accept it; and, having won it, to stand on their own feet without dependence, and without favours. They must be prepared to assert their ability to maintain independence without exchanging it for financial support or for subsidies.

Independence cannot be a simple word devoid of meaning; it must remain a principle admitting of no compromise or suspicion, a principle demanding respect for self and at the same time equal respect for the rights of others.

Hence, while we co-operate fully with all States and International Organizations, we must be most careful lest we accept formulae that perpetuate colonial regimes or

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sow the seeds of divisions among our countries by spurious methods, all-too-reminiscent of its ideal of the days of colonial eras.

The strongest foundation of our independence is the development of our economic resources. It is heartening to note that all our peoples are devoted to this central idea and that the leaders of our continent – fulfilling the wish of their peoples – are directing their energies to this accomplishment. Our continent is rich and the efforts devoted to it so far, demonstrate that our lot can be abundance in material prosperity.

This ideal can be made to come to fruition more rapidly by closer collaboration among ourselves. Therefore, we must make bold decisions for intra-African co-operation. We must link our roads; we must connect and associate our airlines and indeed think in terms of merging our international services. We would, in fact, propose the establishment, through subscription of share participation, of an African Development Bank for promoting the expansion of our trade, commerce, communications and international services; we must exchange agricultural and technical information, we must, in all fields of human endeavour, attain highly developed relations. If we achieve these ends, then our dependence on foreign markets with all their adverse effects, can be relieved and our freedom immeasurably strengthened, without in any manner becoming isolationists or following narrow nationalistic economic policies.

Already since five years ago, the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, had urged the adoption of these basic principles. It is time that a second and similar Conference should be convened again to press forward these broad and fructifying economic policies.

Socially and culturally, we must develop those natural bonds of our peoples to each other that have been stretched and weakened through the fragmentation of our continent

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by the colonial practices of divide and rule. Even today tribal and other differences, vestiges of that regrettable era, are being exploited for the same deplorable ends. We must see to it that the history of each of our peoples is known to the others and appreciated throughout the continent. Our independence and freedom are meaningless unless they are tied to the hearts of our peoples. To that end, we must spare no effort to expand our scholarship and other cultural exchanges with a view to sharing the historical heritage of our continent.

Unity

These are some of the problems that need our dedicated endeavours. Each specific problem and the general well-being of our peoples require unity of thought and action. Be it here at the Conference of Independent African States, at the United Nations, or at any international forum, our unity is truly our strength. We must give support to the struggle of the peoples of our continent by giving prompt expression to unity in our common cause.

In the past, due to the subjugation of our lands and peoples by colonial Powers, such a conference of our own was not possible. Today, it is not only possible to meet, but also to evolve united action in all matters of common interest by the process of consultation such as the present one.

The fate of our continent is no longer decided by non-Africans. The traditions of Berlin and Algeciras, the entire system of colonialism are being wiped out from the continent. We now have our destiny in our own hands, but we must never slacken in our determination never to allow new forms of colonialism, whatever their guise may be, to take hold of any of us, in threat to the hard-won independence and, indeed to the stability and peace of the world.

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African leaders must, in self-abnegation, press forward the economic, political and spiritual welfare of their peoples in the interest, not merely of national gain but of that transcendent continental unity which alone can bring to a close the era of colonialism and Balkanization.

The development of this process of consultation to its highest refinement is, therefore, in our own interests. It will not only bring governments to closer collaboration and understanding of each other, but it will also be a concrete evidence of our determination to direct our thinking to the common affairs of our continent. Consequently the decisions and deliberations of this Conference are of the highest importance, not only to our continent, but also to the world at large.

We pray, therefore, that the deliberations and decisions of this Conference may not only stand the test of time and serve as an inspiration to the peoples of the continent, but that they may also enable us to attain, by common effort a peaceful, free and abundant life on our continent.

June 15, 1960.

TO AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

... The tide which is sweeping Africa today cannot be stayed. No power on earth is great enough to halt or to reverse the trend. Its march is as relentless and inexorable as the passage of time. ...

Today, Africans and friends of Africa everywhere are celebrating Africa Freedom Day. Observance of this Day testifies to what is undoubtedly one of the most significant phenomena of this post-war world – the liberation from the bonds which have so long fettered the millions of Africans to whom, but a short time ago, freedom and independence

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were but distant dreams. Within the post-war period, the number of independent African nations has more than doubled; next year, additional states will achieve their independence; and each year that follows will see ever increasing numbers of Africans enjoying these most precious of Almighty God's gifts.

The tide which is sweeping Africa today cannot be stayed. No power on earth is great enough to halt or reverse the trend. Its march is as relentless and inexorable as the passage of time. The day is long overdue for a change of attitude on the part of those nations which have heretofore sought to hinder or impede this movement or which have been content in the past to remain passive in the face of the impassioned cries for freedom, for justice, for the right to stand with their fellowmen as equals, which have gone up from this Continent. It is time for them to enlist their sympathetic efforts on behalf of the struggle of the African peoples to gain the place in the world which is their God-given birthright. Those who hail or refuse to do so, those who lack the vision and foresight to realize that Africa is emerging into a new era, that Africans will no longer be denied the rights which are inalienably theirs, will not alter or reverse the course of history, but will only suffer the inevitable consequences of their refusal to accept reality.

What is there to be learned from the events now occurring on the African Continent? It must be recognized too, that Africa, its people, its present and its future, are of vital concern to everyone, no matter how far removed geographically. In the past, America has too often been content to remain relatively unconcerned about events in Africa, too ready to stand on the sidelines of African history as a disinterested observer. This policy will not serve today, and the attitude which the American people and Government now adopt towards Africa indicates that they too

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realize that a new Africa has emerged on the world scene. As a result, however, Americans have been largely uninformed about us, our peoples, our problems. Among other peoples, more and more is gradually coming to be known, but mainly, We would venture, because the peoples of Africa have forced the rest of the world to pay heed to them and to harken to the stirrings and reverberations which have resounded throughout this Continent in the last decade.

Africa and U.S.A.

The American people can make a significant contribution to guaranteeing that a deep and abiding friendship exists between Africa and the United States of America. Learn more about us; learn to understand our backgrounds, our culture and traditions, our strengths and weaknesses. Learn to appreciate our desires and hopes, our problems, our fears. If we truly know one another, a solid and firm basis will exist for the maintenance of the friendly relations between the African and the American peoples, which – We are convinced – both so ardently desire. You may be assured that there will be no failure in the warm and brotherly response from our side.

In the midst of the strife and turmoil which marks Africa today, the African peoples still extend the hand of friendship. But it is extended to those who desire the progress and the political and economic freedom of the African people, who are willing generously and without thought of selfish gain to assist us to our feet that we may stand by their side as brothers. We are convinced that there are countless millions of such to be found throughout the world. We know that those to whom We send this message, who are today assembled in New York City to join in the celebration of Africa Freedom Day, are numbered among them. To them, We send Our warmest greetings and Our

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prayers that the purpose which today unites them may be soon realized.

We must thank the American Committee on Africa which has made it possible for Us to send these words to you today. The cause which you espouse is a noble and just one and, with the help of Almighty God, will triumph.

Apr. 18, 1960.

CONGO (COLLECTIVE SECURITY) FIRST CONTINGENT OF ETHIOPIAN TROOPS FOR THE CONGO

When in our African Continent, the Republic of Congo celebrated its independence a few weeks ago, Our delegates were sent to Leopoldville to transmit the message of Our great joy on the happy occasion.

Great as was Our joy then, the present situation that was created in the Congo Republic has equally touched Our heart with deep sorrow.

We had earlier communicated Our readiness and desire to give full aid directed at bringing internal peace and security to the Congo both with the authorities there and with Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, the United Nations Secretary-General.

Under Our obligation for the Collective Security of the world Our significant role in Korea is only too well known.

Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, in accordance with the Security Council Resolution, has asked Us for military and air force assistance for the Congo. As it coincided with Our own wish and desire to safeguard the unity, independence and internal security of the Congo inasmuch as We uphold the Charter of the United Nations and have abiding loyalty in the principle of Collective Security, We have granted

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the request made to Us and have decided to send you officers and men to fulfil such a high mission.

We have an unswerving belief that during your stay in the country to which duty has called you, you will deport yourselves in honour and avoid all acts that may belittle you in the eyes of others, discharging your duties with kindness and consideration for others in a manner to uphold peace and the law for the honour of your motherland and your Emperor.

That being a place where it is possible to reveal one's readiness to defend oppression against Africa, you are invited to represent your country, well known for its pride, showing her love and courage. Even when faced with those who do not relent, continue to demonstrate love and consideration until obliged to resort to self-defence.

July 17, 1960.

FREEDOM – SOMALIA AND THE CONGO

...We have already referred to the unprecedented increase in the number of African states which today enjoy their freedom. We rejoice with Our African brothers in the irresistible tide which has brought them to the shores of freedom, and We embrace them in the achievements of these days. In particular, we extend the hand of felicitation and of brotherhood to the people of Somalia whose independence We were among the first to espouse and support and who have now this most precious of gifts for themselves and their posterity. We are confident that the bonds which join the peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia will, with each passing year, grow perceptibly stronger and that any problems or difficulties which exist or which may arise between us will be approached and resolved in a spirit of mutual trust, respect and friendship.

During the last few months, the increasingly significant

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role being played by the African nations in man's struggle for peace and freedom has been sharply highlighted in the Congo crisis which, unfortunately even today remains unresolved. In the Congo, We have witnessed the disheartening spectacle of an African state, only barely emergent from colonial status, being torn asunder by interests which seek only the exploitation of the Congolese people for their own selfish ends and which threaten to transform this newly independent nation into a mere pawn in the cold war struggle. Ethiopia has supported the independence and the territorial unity of the Congo, and We have deplored those attitudes which have thus far obstructed the prompt solution of the difficulties which beset the Congo. In Our messages to the Congo leaders, We have urged that they lay aside personal differences and ambitions and that they work together for the unity and stability of the nation which they lead. If they fail to do so, the suffering of the Congolese people will be great indeed.

It has been largely due to the decisive and resolute action of the United Nations in the Congo and to the support which this Organization has received from the great majority of African states that a potentially explosive situation has thus far been contained and that the threat which the Congo crisis poses for the stability and security of the African continent has not burst beyond control. Ethiopia responded promptly to the United Nations' call for assistance in the Congo. Four Ethiopian battalions are serving under the United Nations banner in the Congo, and Ethiopian technicians and experts are working within the administrative framework which the United Nations has created there.

To those who would in the Congo, thwart the legitimate and normal desires of the Congolese people and subvert and distort the forces at work there to their own purposes, We would say only this: Africa has struggled long and determinedly to rid itself of the yoke of oppression and

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exploitation. Africans now, with the end of the struggle in view, with this long-desired goal in sight, will not willingly see victory wrenched at the last moment from their grasp. Do not seek to perpetrate, in some different guise, the old forms of economic and political exploitation and oppression. If, in truth, the basic struggle in the world today is for the minds of men, then that nation or group of nations which seeks to impose its will upon any African people will most assuredly be vanquished in this struggle. Africa needs and desires and welcomes the help of others, both physical and moral, but Africa must nevertheless be left to develop herself, her people, her resources, as Africans determine. Leave to us, freely and without qualm, the choice between good and evil, between injustice and justice, between oppression and liberty. Our choice will be the right one, and History will judge us, and you, the better for it.

Nov. 10, 1960.

REPLIES TO PRES. TUBMAN'S TOAST

We thank Your Excellency for the warm and cordial sentiments which you have expressed on Our behalf and on that of Our people. Ethiopia and Liberia are old and respected friends, and it is fitting and proper that the leaders of these two nations should entertain for one another feelings of warm and deep friendship and that their peoples, united by these ties of mutual respect and admiration, should equally partake of these feelings.

We need not set forth in detail the long history of acquaintance between our two states which has brought their relations to the high level which they today enjoy. Long before much of this great continent of Africa was known to the outside world, Ethiopia and Liberia stood as twin symbols of independence, one in West Africa, the

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second on the other side of the continent, and the flame of freedom which these two states held high, flickering faintly at the outset, then growing in intensity, has swept from East to West, from North to South, and today it illuminates every corner of this vast land. History will attach high importance to the example of Liberia and Ethiopia, who demonstrated that Africans can and must be free, in accounting for the tide which is today sweeping colonialism and oppression from this continent.

In particular are We mindful of the sympathetic and fruitful co-operation which has marked relations between Ethiopia and Liberia at the United Nations. Ethiopia's cause has been that of Liberia; Liberia's cause that of Ethiopia, and We could ask for no greater blessing than that relations between our two countries will be maintained on this same high plane. This We are confident will be the case.

Combined Action

This same spirit of collaboration on problems of mutual concern is continuing at an accelerated pace today in the policies which these two African states are pursuing to the end of eradicating racial discrimination, that ignoble and most infamous of prejudices, from the face of the earth. Ethiopia and Liberia are today pressing a legal action before the International Court of Justice at the Hague, for the lifting of the mandate held by the Republic of South Africa over the territory of South-West Africa. We re-affirm here now our determination to pursue this course to its successful conclusion.

And, in the crisis in the Congo, in the efforts which We have made to find an amicable and just solution to the vexing problems which exist in that newly independent country, We have counted Ourselves fortunate in the whole-

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hearted co-operation of Your Excellency and in the sagacity and judgment which you have brought to this problem. The Congo represents, first and foremost, a problem for Africans, and it is Africans who must, putting aside superficial differences, collaborate in unity to restore order in the Congo, to ensure its territorial integrity, and to prevent the insinuation into the Congo, in whatever guise, of the colonialist influences of which the Congolese people have sought to rid themselves.

We look forward with calm confidence to yet further improvements in relations between us, and We hope that one of the results of the visit which We are paying to this great nation will be the taking of further measures to expand and broaden contacts between us. The initiation of direct air travel between Ethiopia and Liberia will, We hope, do much to facilitate the interchange of ideas, people and goods, and it is in this spirit that We desire that relations with Liberia grow and develop.

For, it is this development that leads to the strength of economy and mutual assistance.

Dec. 7, 1960.

INTER REGION SANITATION SEMINAR

We are pleased to welcome in Our capital delegates from a number of African countries and from countries of the Eastern Mediterranean Region and the international specialists in sanitation who have come to participate in this Inter-Regional Seminar on Community Water Supply.

We wish to felicitate the World Health Organization for its initiative in organizing this so important Seminar and thank every person who has co-operated and assisted in its preparation.

It is well known that no life is possible without water

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but it may not always be so widely known that if water is not of a good quality it may spread disease and thus impair the health of the people who utilize it. It should also be known that water is not only necessary for consumption but also for personal cleanliness which in turn is such an important factor in preventing diseases and promoting the general health and well-being of man.

We are therefore gratified to see that leading personalities from so many countries are assembled here to discuss together with prominent sanitation specialists ways and means of providing their communities with safe water supplies. And We hope that this Seminar will be an incentive to develop and improve the basic agent of personal hygiene as well as of environmental sanitation: namely, the ready availability of abundant and safe water.

We wish the Seminar the very best success in its deliberations.

Nov. 29, 1960.

MESSAGE TO WOMEN'S SEMINAR

Africa has accepted the challenge of the modern world and with it come grave responsibilities. Many discouraging hours will arise before the rainbow of accomplished goals will appear on the horizon. African civilization in its potential magnitude must be able to command fortitude, patience, tolerance and diligence. To sustain us in all our tasks we count on the women of Africa. Without their relentless vigilance no aspect of our responsibilities can be attained. Woman's role has never been so demanding, and you can be proud to answer this call for the betterment and future of mankind.

Ethiopia welcomes you and wishes you God-speed in your deliberations.

Dec. 14, 1960.

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(OPENS AFRICA HALL)

E.C.A.: Its Responsibilities

On the occasion of the holding in Addis Ababa of the Third Regular Session of the Economic Commission for Africa, We are pleased to extend Our warm greetings to those who have come to the capital city of Ethiopia to attend this Conference as representatives and observers. A little over two years ago, We addressed the inaugural session of the Economic Commission for Africa. In the years which have intervened, African development has surged ahead on the irresistible tide which is sweeping the entire continent to freedom. Many who attended that first session in the capacity of observers have now become full members of this organization, and We extend a particular welcome to those new states whose representatives, for the first time, will play a full role in the deliberations which will take place here.

It is a law of nature and history that the development of any people must proceed simultaneously on all fronts. It is not enough that political emancipation has been and is being achieved. We must also attain that degree of economic freedom which makes independence a complete and meaningful concept. Our economies must be strong and viable. The energies which the African peoples expend to this end must be fruitful and productive. After having won their political independence, at such labour and cost, Africans must now similarly labour to escape from the economic domination which could render their freedom illusory and ephemeral.

This is our task. It is not an easy task, and the challenge which it presents is great. An age-old technique which we may expect to encounter again and again in our struggle to attain independence in fact as well as in name, is summed

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up in the maxim "divide and conquer." We may question whether any action tending to the association of European and African economies in the European Common Market should not be delayed until the implications and consequences of this step have been fully considered in this African forum. We must be ever mindful that our greatest weapon is the oneness which we share as Africans. But it is not enough to be Africans. That which pulls us apart and divides us must be resisted with all of our strength. That which unites us must be pursued relentlessly and inexorably. We must expand yet further communications among the African nations; we must come to know one another better. We must increase student exchanges and visits to one another's countries. Our greatest asset is our unity, and we must exploit it to the fullest. Is it not true that the fundamental characteristic of unity is that each of us accepts as his own the problems and difficulties which beset any of us, whether in his culture or his economy.

The work which the Economic Commission for Africa has performed in its short life is already laying a solid foundation upon which Africans may work together for the solution of those problems which beset this continent and for the realization of an ever-accelerating African economic development. We congratulate the dedicated men and women who have, under the ECA's able Secretary-General, already produced so much that will be so useful in the future. In their future work, We trust that the Economic Commission for Africa will not ignore studies and research which can make a further contribution to their work and to African development.

Nor should the Economic Commission for Africa ignore the contributions it can make in other fields. In the field of social development, for example, the Economic Commission for Africa could, with additional assistance from the United Nations, undertake a comparative study

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of the developing social life of African nations, with special attention being given to agrarian problems. Cultural and natural resources are the mainstays of the African economy; unless progress in these fields keeps pace with development in other areas, a serious obstacle will be created to accelerate growth in any area.

The responsibility for all this is in our hands. We know that the Economic Commission for Africa will continue to serve the ultimate interests of the African peoples, and We pray that Almighty God will bless your labours and crown them with success.

Feb. 6, 1961.

TO THE LAGOS SUMMIT MEETING

... We Africans desire to live in peace and friendship with all men, without regard to race, creed or other persuasion, and are prepared to co-operate with all who sincerely and honestly desire our well-being and advancement. We cannot, nonetheless, needlessly expose ourselves to the perils which the World power struggle carries in its wake.

It is a great pleasure for Us to be here today and to address this Conference, the holding of which is a most satisfying and significant event for Africa. Of the twenty-eight African States which, in 1962, stand proudly independent, sovereign nations, the great majority are represented here by their Heads of State. This assembly is further enriched by the presence of observers from a number of other African territories, several of which will attain their freedom in the near future. To all of them, states and territories alike, and to all Africans, We extend Our greetings.

At the same time, We must express Our regret that representatives of the Algerian Provisional Government are not numbered in our midst, and that their absence has

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caused a number of other nations whose representatives should be seated in these halls to decline invitations extended to them. At the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States, We deplored the absence of certain African States which Ethiopia felt should be among those present. Today, again, We cannot help feeling that our tasks are made more difficult because several African nations are unrepresented in these halls. But however strongly We may feel on this issue, We feel even more strongly that no African can escape the circumstances which have brought us together in Lagos or evade his solemn duty to work with his fellow-Africans for the cause of this great continent, and We pledge Ourselves to labour unstintingly in the discharge of this obligation during the days ahead.

We wish to thank the sponsors of this Conference, the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, a young nation itself only recently emerged from the shadow of colonial rule which has already, by virtue of its manifest human and material resources as well as the maturity and judgment demonstrated by those who direct its government, taken its place among the leaders of Africa. We personally are deeply grateful to the gracious people of Lagos who have touched Our heart with the spontaneous and warm welcome which they have extended to Us.

A Challenge

We meet today at the Summit Conference of Africa. Never before have so many Heads of African States assembled in one spot to consider together common problems. Let us demonstrate to those who watch us that in Lagos, in January of 1962, we meet at the right time and place and on the right subject. We should all welcome this event; we should seek to employ it to the maximum for our own good and for the good of all mankind. It is vital to the future of the world and to the growth of understanding and sym-

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pathy among men of good will that contacts at all levels of the political structure be maintained, that world leaders meet face to face, that those who carry the heavy burden of leading their peoples in the path of progress and enlightenment leave no avenue unexplored in the discharge of their God-given duties. This is the challenge which we, as responsible African statesmen, face today.

We Africans are still in the process of becoming acquainted with one another. Only three short years ago, there was no opportunity for more than a handful of African leaders to come together, to exchange views, to explore common problems and to seek accommodations and solutions to them. The destinies of the vast majority of Africans then were still shaped and controlled by others. But freedom has come to this continent, and with it an ever-increasing influence for the free African nations. African States are playing an ever larger role in international affairs. Our presence in the United Nations has placed our views and problems squarely before world observers. Our future is in our own hands and we are meeting here now to consider what that future is to be.

Not Divided

Certain developments have occurred in Africa since the irresistible tide of independence swept over this continent which upon superficial examination, have been the cause of concern for the future. We are told that Africa has been split into competing groups, thus inhibiting cooperation among the African States and severely retarding African progress. One hears of the Casablanca Group and the Monrovia Group, of the Conakry and Dakar Declarations, and we are warned that the views and policies of these so-called groups are so antithetical as to make it impossible for them to work together as partners in an enterprise to which all are mutually devoted.

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But do such hard and fast groupings really exist? And if certain nations sharing similar views have taken measures to co-ordinate their policies, does this mean that, between these nations and others, there is no possibility of free and mutually beneficial co-operation? Is Africa really fragmented, and has independence been achieved on this great continent only to see the African nations themselves transform differences into divisions? And are such divisions as already exist, imposed upon us by history and circumstance, to be widened and deepened by our own efforts?

Let Us say, first of all, that Ethiopia considers herself a member of one group only – the African group. We will join in any deliberations, we will consider any plan, we will debate any proposal anywhere, and at any time, provided that it contributes to the maintenance of world peace, the development of Africa's human and material resources, and the protection of this continent's legitimate interests. When we Africans have been misled into pigeon-holing one another, into attributing rigid and inflexible views to states which were present at one conference but not at another, then we shall, without reason or justification, have limited our own freedom of action and rendered immeasurably more difficult the task of joint efforts, in harmony and brotherhood, in the common cause of Africa.

Let Us say, further, that We do not regard the absence of nations from the so-called Casablanca Group as evidence of any fundamental and irreparable rift between them and the twenty-two nations gathered in these halls. We have already stated that We regret their absence, but We are persuaded that they would agree with much, if not all, of what we shall say here, and that they will join in spirit and in future co-operate with the decisions we shall take during this Conference.

We contend, accordingly, that no wide and unbridgeable

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gulf exists between the various groupings which have been created. It is Our belief, to the contrary, that a close and careful analysis of the policies adopted by the African nations today on a wide range of questions emphasizes, not the differences among them, but the large number of views which they share in common. When laid side by side, the Conakry and Dakar resolutions resemble one another in many more respects than they differ. They reveal a fundamental agreement of principle upon certain basic economic measures to be taken in specific fields. The importance of improving rail, road and air communications, of stimulating commerce, of eliminating customs and trade barriers, of emphasizing and co-ordinating development planning and economic research – these are common objectives espoused by all. We Ourselves are pleased that agreement in principle has been reached on the establishment of an African Development Bank, a step which We urged in Our address to the Conference of Independent African States in Addis Ababa in June of 1960.

A Committee

We have already attained, then, a remarkable coincidence of thinking and planning in the highly important economic sphere. This is in itself a major achievement. It would be remarkable indeed did twenty-eight nations, in their policies and programmes, reveal no divergences of opinion. We may take satisfaction and encouragement from the fact that such a large measure of identity of approach and attitude already exists.

We urge that this Conference use this as its starting point, that we emphasize and lay stress on the areas of similarity and agreement rather than upon whatever disagreements and differences may exist among us. It is a sound tactic of military strategy to attack where your opponent's

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defence is weakest. It is surely sound strategy for all of us to move ahead where such movement is unobstructed and unimpeded.

It had been Our intention to propose that the decisions taken at both Conakry and Dakar, insofar as they involve the technical aspects of economic planning and co-ordination, be referred to a committee of specialists representing all African opinion to review them and report to the forthcoming Conference of Independent African States convening in three months in Tunisia. As we are all only too aware, the nations most vitally concerned in the Conakry decisions are unrepresented here. Nonetheless, We ask that this same step be taken, and that the States not present here today be asked and urged, in the name of Africa and African unity, to send members to participate in the work of this committee.

We would suggest that this same committee simultaneously study the implications and effects which the European Common Market will have on the economies of the African States and on our efforts to work out a co-ordinated programme of African economic development, and recommend measures designed to minimize the adverse effects of this impact. The European Common Market constitutes both a great challenge and a grave danger to Africa. We have witnessed the remarkable achievements which the abolition of customs barriers and the co-ordination of economic development have brought to pass in Western Europe, and we are encouraged to press for the taking of similar steps on our own continent. At the same time, we cannot ignore the dangers inherent in the further strengthening of an already gigantic economic unit which looms to the north and casts an ever longer shadow in our direction.

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Our Problems

Turning from the economic to the political field, we find, again, large areas of agreement, although there are basic differences in approach which require careful consideration. We must recognize at the outset that certain political problems have been created by the rapidity with which African States have achieved their independence. We do not for a moment suggest that independence came too quickly or was too easily won; no one here would turn back the clock to the day when he was other than a free man. But there are some hard facts which cannot be ignored.

Today, on the African continent, there are twenty-eight independent nations, with the possibility of many more being added in the not-too-distant future. The population of these nations ranges from upward of 35 million for the Federation of Nigeria to fewer than 1 million in the case of several of the smallest States. The economic potential of some African nations promises future growth and development into richness and plenty; other States find themselves in financial difficulties, and budgetary subsidies from one source or another will be required for many years to maintain their economic existence. We must never forget that the boundaries of many African nations were arbitrarily created by the colonialist powers at the time of the scramble for Africa; nonetheless, all African nations are pledged to respect them and to support the territorial integrity of the existing African nations. During the period of colonialist rule, contact among Africans was stifled, such barriers to intercourse and communication as already existed were perpetuated and new barriers were erected where none had earlier been found.

We must, then, face the fact that history has bequeathed to Africa a host of problems. While not of our own making, we cannot, by pretending that they do not exist, wish them

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away. The dangers which they constitute should be apparent to all, and it requires no great measure of astuteness or wisdom to recognize that, unless we act, the defects to which, willy-nilly, we have fallen heir will be exploited to our detriment. We have seen in the Congo the tragic consequences which follow when, within the confines of a single State, men who have been deprived of the concept of "nation", whose horizons have been limited to the confines of their family relationships, are stirred up one against the other. Exploitation is indeed possible, and influences abound which will not hesitate to divide us, to pit us one against the other and to stir up disharmony and suspicion where only brotherhood and confidence should be found.

To escape exploitation, and to overcome the political deficiencies which beset us, Ethiopia urges that while we press ahead with all urgency and speed in those economic areas in which rapid advances can be achieved, parallel steps should simultaneously be taken to explore the possibilities of achieving increasing future political unity among African States – indeed, We believe that we all are, and that we differ only in our assessment of the speed with which this most desirable goal can be attained. The task now is to devise the means whereby this basic agreement may be most rapidly advanced.

A Proposal

One step has already been proposed which We feel can contribute largely to this goal. At the 16th Session of the United Nations General Assembly which convened in New York last September, Our Delegation called for the creation, under Article 52 of the United Nations Charter, of an Organization of African States. Implementation of this proposal can pave the way for an expanded degree of political co-operation in Africa, and, as events and cir-

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cumstances so permit, of increasing future political unity as well. This Organization should have a permanent structure and secretariat, with specialized permanent institutions charged with continuing study of particular problem areas of vital concern to Africans. In this form, it would serve as an institutional clearing-house wherein Africans might consider a vast variety of political and economic problems, and, in particular, the furtherance of the concept of African political unity.

This step, in Our view, would bridge whatever chasm may now exist in Africa. This Organization would enable Africans to speak with a single, collective voice and would thereby maximize the contribution of the free nations of this continent to the solution of the problems of our time. There already exists, in the Conference of Independent African States, the bare bones of the institution which We envisage, although organized on a loose and impermanent basis. Let us employ this already-existing nucleus, let us perfect it and render it permanent.

Ethiopia retains an open mind as to the precise form which the structure of such an organization should take. Precedents exist in the Arab League, in the Organization of American States and in other regional institutions. However, we are not bound slavishly to adhere to precedent nor blindly to adopt any particular formula. We only urge, and We trust that this suggestion will receive the unanimous support of all States represented here, that a Special Committee be created to elaborate specific proposals looking to the speedy creation of an Organization of African States. This Committee should conclude its work and report to the forthcoming meeting of the Conference of Independent African States in Tunisia.

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The Cold War

The furtherance of political unity, then, would be a fundamental objective of the Organization of African States. We should not, however, ignore a second and equally important aspect of its establishment. Africa has come of age. With this independence has come not only the right, but the duty, to deal with our own problems ourselves. So long as we either cannot or will not deal directly and forcefully with our own problems, the way is open for unilateral interference in this continent's internal affairs by other nations which care less for Africa and more for themselves. In today's world, this is equivalent to the importation into Africa of the cold war struggle, a development which Ethiopia has steadfastly and doggedly opposed and one to which our total combined resistance cannot be too great. Africa is still too weak, her available resources too few and her energies too limited for them or any part of them to be dissipated in a world struggle which cannot add but only detract from African growth and development. If we permit the tensions of the cold war to become the tensions of Africa, valuable time will be lost and precious energy will be wasted, all without any fulfilment of our solemn duty to secure the advancement of the African peoples in liberty and well-being. We Africans desire only to live in peace and friendship with all men, without regard to race, creed or other persuasion, and are prepared to co-operate with all who sincerely and honestly desire our well-being and advancement. We cannot, nonetheless, needlessly expose ourselves to the perils which the world power struggle carries in its wake.

The creation of an Organization of African States will provide the medium whereby intra-African disputes – and these will arise, for we are human and not angels – may be settled peacefully. It will serve as the mechanism

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through which sound and constructive measures for increasing co-operation among the nations of Africa will be originated, articulated and implemented. It will contribute to the creation and development of the atmosphere and spirit of mutual trust and confidence so essential to the coordinated and simultaneous advance of the African States along the path to liberty and prosperity. It will stand as a bulwark against the interference by one African State in the internal affairs of another and a safeguard against the involvement of non-African nations in the affairs of this continent as a whole. If our progress is to be rapid and effective, we must free ourselves of conflict, of fear, of the suspicion that other than African hands are shaping events and developments in our continent.

Ethiopia, impelled by these same considerations, has urged on various occasions that ever-increasing proportions of the foreign assistance which is being directed to this continent be channelled through the United Nations Organization. We have supported such concrete proposals as have been put forward to this end. Aid must be without strings. The assessment of the need for assistance and the decision to provide it – these are questions which should be divorced from cold war politics, from the conflicts between East and West. It is possible to influence positions and oblige adherence to this or that policy by economic pressure, but only at the expense of the pride and dignity of those who thus renounce their birthright as free men, and the bill of sale carries the caveat: “revokable at will”. If the great nations of the world desire our sympathy and support, they should assist us to become economically strong and morally independent, for only then will our alliance with them be meaningful.

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Principles

We shall consider during this Conference certain matters which touch and affect us most profoundly and deeply. We are all equally dedicated in our opposition to the vicious principle of racial discrimination embodied in the legal and social structure of the Republic of South Africa. We are all equally determined to take whatever measures are required to obliterate from this earth this disgrace to humanity and insult to mankind. We have all made this known on various occasions in the past. The time is past when condemnation of this policy was enough; we must now formulate and implement the measures which will give concrete effect to our collective determination.

Similarly, ways and means must be found of speeding the day when our oppressed fellow-Africans will join us in these halls as free men, for so long as one African lives in subjugation none of us is more than half free. The events of the past three years give us cause for rejoicing and renewing our strength and courage. Let us not leave the job half-done. Kenya, Uganda and Ruanda-Urundi, whose observers are seated in this assemblage, will soon be with us. Let them not be the last to join our ranks.

In the Congo, to which We have already referred, we have witnessed the sorry spectacle of special interests flouting the decisions of the United Nations and resisting, at the risk of civil war and at the cost of innocent lives and the destruction of valuable property, sane and reasoned efforts to restore peace and order to the Congolese people. Foreign mercenaries have reinforced these interests, and arms and ammunition have found their way, seemingly by sorcery, into rebellious hands. We call for a halt to these activities; We insist that the illicit traffic in munitions which has delayed and obstructed a peaceful resolution of the

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Congo situation be ended, and that all measures to this end be taken by all concerned.

Ethiopia is justifiably proud of the role which we have played and continue to play in the Congo, a role wholly consistent with the staunch support which Our nation has unfailingly given to international organizations dedicated to the cause of peace and collective security throughout past decades. If history is to judge Us, We would ask only that it judge on the basis of Ethiopia's record of resistance to colonialism, oppression and aggression, from the date when Ethiopian patriots repulsed the Italian invaders at Adoua in 1896 and then in 1935 and thereafter. We have responded to the appeals of the United Nations for assistance in the Congo, and We have supported the United Nations Congo policies because experience, reason and instinct have all combined to persuade us beyond peradventure that only in this way can a peaceful and permanent solution to the vexatious problems which exist there be settled. A successful conclusion of the Congo difficulties through the intermediary of the United Nations will immeasurably strengthen that institution and enlarge and maximize its usefulness as a force for the preservation of peace, the liberation of the still subjugated peoples of the world, and the advancement of mankind. Today, We believe that the end of the Congo's troubles is in sight. We welcome to this Conference the representative of the Central Congo Government of Mr. Cyrille Adoula. We urge that the efforts of all Africans be redoubled in order that the territorial integrity of the Congo may be preserved and guaranteed and that moderate leadership in the Congo may be enabled to lead the Congolese people forward in peace and prosperity.

Other Issue

Disarmament and the banning of nuclear tests remain as problems affecting all of mankind, Africans not excepted.

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The means to directly secure these objectives are not in our hands, but this in no way lessens our duty to our fellow-men and to posterity to labour without stint that they may be achieved during our lifetime. Ethiopia has, as a matter of principle and not of partisanship, condemned the resumption of nuclear testing. We have, as a matter of principle and not of partisanship, called for a permanent ban of nuclear tests. We have done so in the conviction that no nation today, no matter how large or powerful, no matter how persuasive its arguments, can justify the employment of measures which threaten to visit such calamitous consequences alike upon the guilty and innocent, the young, the old, and the unborn. In March, the Eighteen - Nation Disarmament Committee will convene in Geneva. Let us marshal our influence, and by all means at our disposal seek to assure that this meeting does not end in failure and frustration, in disaster and despair, as have too many held before it.

We must also refer to Algeria, where blood continued to flow as a few extremists, heedless of the sorrow and suffering which they cause, and in reckless disregard of the truism that force and violence beget only force and violence, continue to thwart the determined efforts of more moderate and rational men to grope their way to the peaceful attainment of the precious gift of liberty by the Algerian people. Our deliberations here must be directed to speeding the day when men and women may walk in freedom and tranquillity in Algeria.

Conclusion

These last few years have been glorious ones for Africa. In a short span in history, the yearnings and hopes of virtually an entire continent have been realized. Celebration has followed celebration as Africans rejoiced in their new-found and hard-won freedom.

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Now this task is nearly completed. Ahead of us lie the hard, the difficult years, years when we must grapple with new sets of problems and face new hardships. There will be little festivity and few celebrations in these years. Our task is now to prove ourselves worthy of the lot which we have claimed as our own, capable of employing our talents and resources in the cause of Africa and the African peoples. The way will be perilous, sacrifices will be demanded of us, our labours may go unobserved and our triumphs unnoticed except to ourselves. And, in the ultimate sense, this is wholly as it should be, for we are men, and this is man's lot. Let us work together, arm in arm as brothers, that our progeny may live in peace and well-being, that posterity will honour our names and our achievements. This will suffice. This will be our victory. May Almighty God grant it to us.

Jan. 26, 1962.

THE PAFMECA CONFERENCE

It is a privilege for us Ethiopians to welcome in Our midst such a distinguished gathering of African nationalist leaders and freedom fighters of this region on the occasion of the opening of the Conference of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa here in our Capital city of Addis Ababa. This is not the first time that Addis Ababa has acted as a host to African leaders, and the results achieved during past Conferences give cause for pride and a sense of accomplishment on the part of those who took part in them. We are equally certain that this Conference, which convenes today, will contribute significantly to the goals of African Independence and Unity.

We specially welcome the Delegations of the newly independent sister African State of Tanganyika, whose leader

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Mr. Julius Nyerere has played such a prominent role in the initiation and promotion of the ideals of P.A.F.M.E.C.A. We are also happy to note that P.A.F.M.E.C.A. is drawing into its folds, for the first time since its inception, several Independent African States namely, Tanganyika, the Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia. This will no doubt be a strong factor to accelerate the freedom movement of Our region. The fact that new nations are recognizing the importance of this movement and the impact which it can have in shaping the future region should be a source of satisfaction and encouragement to us all.

This Conference meets at a critical juncture in the historical development of the countries of East and Central Africa. While We rejoice at the recent accession to independence of several African Countries, We are full of hope and confidence that the remaining dependent territories, who find themselves under colonial rule, will soon find themselves amidst us as members of a community of free nations.

Ethiopia, as the oldest independent African State, has had bitter experiences in maintaining the continuity of that Independence down throughout the centuries. The bitter struggle our country had to pass through in the 19th and 20th centuries, when our own very survival as a sovereign and independent African State was threatened, is well known. This struggle reached its climax when one of the then principal colonial powers launched unprovoked aggressions against Ethiopia in 1896 and in 1935. But the bravery and gallantry of the Ethiopian nationalist forces which were amply displayed in those years not only saved our country but also contributed to a substantial degree to the liberation of Africa. In her struggles, Ethiopia fought not only for herself but for all Africa, and the triumph of this Continent over the forces of imperialism and colonialism is in some small measure a vindication and a record for the hardships and perils of years past.

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Source of Inspiration

It is a historical fact that Ethiopia's struggle against colonialism and imperialism has been a source of inspiration to all the coloured peoples of the world. This struggle of Ethiopia had earned her the active opposition of all the colonial powers who had systematically followed a policy of containing and isolating Ethiopia from the rest of Africa. This was accompanied by a continuous barrage of hostile propaganda misrepresenting Ethiopian reality to the outside world and particularly Africa. However, this policy was frustrated and Ethiopia continued to exist as a sovereign and independent country though the threat had never been removed. During this period the relentless struggle of our people to maintain the independence of their country had won the sympathy and moral support of the entire world and gave meaning and form to the present Pan-African Movement. At this point it would be fitting to pay tribute to such distinguished personalities as Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Dr. W. E. Du Bois, and others who had completely identified themselves with our struggle against colonialism and imperialism in trying years.

It is common knowledge that after the close of the second World War the African Liberation Movement had gathered momentum and penetrated the length and breadth of the entire continent of Africa. In the period since the war we have seen the birth of over twenty-six independent African States, who have gained full membership in the U. N. and this number will undoubtedly go on increasing as each year sees the emergence of still more new states to independence. Ethiopia is justly proud of the role she has played in this development.

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New African Nations

Next October We will be happy to welcome Uganda into the community of Independent African States. We are confident that after the next constitutional conference which is due to take place in two weeks time, Kenya's independence too as a unified State will not be unnecessarily delayed.

Despite the recent unfortunate events that have taken place in Ruanda-Urundi and the setback the African nationalists have suffered in the loss of their dedicated nationalist leader, the late Prince Rwagasore, We have to hope that Ruanda-Urundi will attain its cherished goal of independence in March 1962 in accordance with the United Nations resolutions.

However, when We turn our attention to the Rhodesias and the Portuguese Colonies of Angola and Mozambique and others We find the prospects rather gloomy. The recent banning of the National Democratic Party led by Mr. Joshua Nkomo in Southern Rhodesia, and the arrest and imprisonment of many of its leading members did not pass without arousing the indignation of all freedom loving peoples.

The situation in Northern Rhodesia is equally grave. There too We find the United National Independent Party, which has the support of the African majority of that country led by the distinguished nationalist leader Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, banned and suppressed in some parts of the country. We deplore the measures taken by the colonialist regime to frustrate legitimate African aspirations for justice, freedom and independence. We are sure that ultimately our African brothers there will emerge victorious and attain the goal they have set for themselves.

Task Unfinished

Compared with these two territories the prospects in Nyasaland look somewhat brighter. But even there We

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are aware that much still remains to be done. We extend, therefore, our wholehearted support and encouragement to our distinguished brother, the honourable Dr. Hastings Banda, in his endeavour to assure African majority rule in his country.

The situation in Zanzibar too merits our full attention. It is of paramount importance in our view that the African majority of that island nation be allowed to play the leading role in shaping the destiny of their country unhindered by outside interference and intrigue.

As regards the tragic situation obtaining in Angola, Mozambique and the others, We deplore Portugal's policy of suppression of unarmed and defenceless peaceful African inhabitants who have no other fault than demanding their right of self-determination and independence. In our view, the Portuguese colonies are non-self-governing territories and all the good that Portugal can do in the interest of peace is to co-operate with the United Nations and comply with its resolutions and negotiate with the nationalist leaders with a view to working out the programme and time-table of its colonies' accession to independence.

With respect to the question of the future status of Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland, We are disturbed by the slow pace of political, constitutional, economic and social progress of our fellow Africans in these territories. It is incumbent upon Great Britain to apply the same wisdom it had applied to its former colonies in Africa and Asia and likewise to speed up the political and constitutional advance of the African inhabitants of these territories so as to assure their early accession to independence.

The apartheid policy of the racist government of the white minority in South Africa continues to subject our African brothers, who constitute the overwhelming majority in that country, to untold humiliation and oppression.

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So much has been said in the past about sanctions and measures to be taken against South Africa, but unfortunately little has been done to force the Union Government to change its policy. It is therefore imperative that all those who have the interest of the Africans at heart should start thinking in new lines than hitherto undertaken in order to effectively assist our African brothers to deliver them out of the bondage under which they find themselves at present in that unhappy country.

The unfortunate condition in which our African brothers find themselves in South-West Africa under the notorious and deplorable policy of apartheid and ruthless administration of South Africa is equally depressing and intolerable. However, We are convinced that before long the continued efforts of the United Nations and the legal proceedings instituted at the International Court of Justice by Our Government and that of Our sister State of Liberia will bear fruit.

The Congo Crisis

Nineteen months have now elapsed since the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville) acceded to independence, but because of persistent foreign interference in its internal affairs that sister African State has not been able so far to consolidate its unity and to enjoy the blessings of its independence. Consequently the intervention of the United Nations in the Congo was made necessary in order to assist the Central Government to restore law and order and to maintain the territorial integrity of the country. But while We appreciate the immense difficulties posed by disruptive outside interference, nevertheless the task of reintegrating the administration of the territory largely remains the responsibility of the Congolese themselves. Certain of Our Congolese brothers should let history pass a severe judgment on them because of their seeming lack of patriotism at these critical

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moments. All those who aspire to leadership in that sister country should realize that they will be accountable to posterity for all their activities. Should they proceed on their present course of dissention and internecine strife, they would continue to be a pawn of neo-colonialist diplomacy and thus endanger not only their country but also the entire continent of Africa. We therefore call upon them to take heed of this solemn warning and pursue the best interests of their country and that of Africa.

Pan-Africanism

As We have stated earlier a greater part of Africa has got rid of colonial rule. But colonialism has left behind various problems. It has fostered tribal, religious and linguistic differences with the deliberate intention of preoccupying African States with quarrels among themselves and obstructing their development programmes and thus creating conditions for neo-colonialism to thrive. The Africans have advanced the concept of Pan-Africanism as the best method of resolving African problems and of further strengthening African Independence and Unity.

Ethiopia has fully identified herself with the Pan-African Movement, in the furtherance of which cause she has already proposed at the 16th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations the establishment of the Organization of African States. We are pleased to state that this same proposal has received unanimous acceptance by the Independent African States at the recent Conference in Lagos.

You are now meeting here to lay the foundation for the establishment of a regional federation of the East and Central African countries. Although this objective presupposes the total emancipation of the territories of Our region, most of which still finds itself under Colonial rule, this should not hinder the already Independent States of our

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region from going ahead and working out the practical arrangements that would give form and substance to this objective.

The eyes of all Africa and indeed of the world are focused upon this Conference and it is Our earnest hope that the outcome of your deliberations will measure up to the expectations of the peoples of this region and indeed the whole of Africa.

Africa, together with the rest of the non-aligned world, has emerged as a positive force for peace and harmony on our planet. While striving to realize our aspirations and ideals, therefore, all our efforts and resources should as well be directed towards the advancement of this all-important aim. May God grant you the wisdom in your endeavour to accomplish the task before you.

Feb. 2, 1962.

FORECAST: O.A.U. SUMMIT

...In May of 1963, a meeting of the Heads of Independent African States will be held in Ethiopia's Capital, Addis Ababa. This Conference, which will be attended by the heads of all African nations which have hitherto been split into several different groupings, will, We are confident, aid immeasurably in bridging whatever gaps have heretofore existed between them. It is essential that any lingering divisions among African states be eliminated, that the goal of tangible African unity may be brought within grasp during our lifetime. The Ethiopian Government and people will welcome with joy and celebrations this unprecedented visit to Our nation of the leaders of the African continent.

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Neighbourly Relations

It is with deep regret that We have viewed the continued deterioration in relations with Ethiopia's neighbour, the Republic of Somalia. The joy with which the Ethiopian Government and people greeted the attainment of Somalia's independence in July, 1960, has gradually turned to dismay as the Somalia Government has demonstrated that it has no desire to live in harmony and cordial co-operation with us, but is pursuing a policy of territorial expansion.

Ethiopia's history illustrates, beyond cavil or doubt, the determination with which her people have resisted and will resist any threat to Ethiopia's unity or the security of their Empire emanating from whatever quarter and however great or powerful the adversary. We have extended the hand of friendship to the Somalia Government but have been rebuffed and attacked. While Ethiopia has joined in efforts to create an East African Federation, efforts to which Somalia paid lip-service at the PAFMECA Conference held in Addis Ababa less than a year ago, that Government has persisted in a bankrupt policy which violates and contradicts the very resolutions for which its representative voted.

The campaign of vituperation and calumny directed by the Somalia Government against Ethiopia has exceeded elementary standards of decency and civilized conduct among nations. Nevertheless, in the face of this continued provocation, Ethiopia has pursued a course of patience and forbearance. We have called upon the Ethiopian Government and people to manifest self-control and restraint, to maintain a grim silence, to shirk and forswear retaliation. In this, We do not confess a weakness, but proclaim a strength. Ethiopians are too proud to stoop to the level of those who thus attack and villify their nation. Force will be used only in defence of Ethiopia's people and motherland. But, let there be no question: Ethiopia is prepared to

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struggle to the end in the protection of her territory and her sovereignty.

There is neither reason nor cause for discord and disharmony to mar relations between the brotherly peoples of Ethiopia and Somalia. We share common interests, we drink of the same waters, we are of one blood, we were united in history. The humanitarian assistance extended during past years by the Ethiopian people to their Somalia brothers in time of natural disaster has strengthened the bonds of friendship existing between them. These ties shall never be severed. We shall continue, by every means at Our disposal, a peaceful rapprochement with the Somalia Government, that the traditional friendship and harmony which for centuries prevailed in the Horn of Africa may be fostered and preserved. ...

Nov. 2, 1964.

PRESIDENT TUBMAN RECEIVES HONORARY DEGREE

In this University, which We founded as the first in Our country a year and a half ago, it gives Us great pleasure to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon His Excellency Mr. Tubman, the leader of a country which has for long been a torch of freedom to the lands of West Africa. It gives Us special pleasure that His Excellency is the first African leader to receive an honorary degree from this University.

In as much as His Excellency President Tubman is the founder and creator of the new Liberia, he is to be considered a great leader who has expanded the utmost effort to put his country on a firm basis in regard to education, public health, and economic prosperity – in sum, to assure for his country healthy growth and unity. From the time when he was first chosen to be the leader of his country –

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a circumstance that has been repeated time and again – he has laboured as the leader of his country for nineteen years. This may be regarded as the primary proof of the affection which he has inspired among his people. The greatness of a leader may be estimated in the first instance by the improvement of his country – his contribution to the prosperity of his own people – and, furthermore, to that of neighbouring lands. More generally, it is shown through the sacrifices he performs and exhibits in order to maintain the welfare of mankind and to preserve the peace of the world. And, in these respects, President Tubman is a champion of freedom who has done everything it is within his power to do.

His leadership of a Liberia which has long maintained her independence, the unity and progress he has secured for her people, and the efforts made on his part to enable those Africans who have in their own lands perforce put on the garments of freedom and suffered oppression at alien hands to gain their independence – because of all these achievements it is Our hope that the conferring upon His Excellency of an honorary degree at this University may be an inspiration to African students who will go forth by the thousands as true supporters both of their own countries and of a united Africa, whose future leaders they may become.

Education is the key to a nation's progress, and We Africans must bear that in mind. We are now to be found expending our utmost energies and resources upon education. Ethiopia, on her part, recognizing the proven value of education, has awarded scholarships to African students so that they may come here for their studies. Some of the Africans who came here earlier on this basis completed their studies and graduated at our various colleges, and have returned to their respective countries, where they are now to be found giving their services. Besides the advantage which this procedure affords through the services they render to their own individual countries, We

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are confident that it will provide firm bridges to assist the endeavours of the leaders who are presently labouring in the cause of African unity.

As a token of the exceptional services rendered by Your Excellency to your country and to the whole of Africa, it gives Us great pleasure to confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

May 16, 1963.

RESPONSIBILITIES DEMAND BALANCED, SOBER REFLECTION A CALL TO AFRICAN LEADERS (1963 SUMMIT)

..... Let us not put off, to later consideration and study, the single act, the one decision, which must emerge from this gathering if it is to have real meaning. This Conference cannot close without adopting a single African Charter

We welcome to Ethiopia in Our name and in the name of the Ethiopian Government and people, the Heads of State and Government of independent African nations who are today assembled in solemn conclave in Ethiopia's capital city. This Conference, without parallel in history, is an impressive testimonial to the devotion and dedication of which we all partake in the cause of our mother continent and that of her sons and daughters. This is indeed a momentous and historic day for Africa and for all Africans.

We stand today on the stage of world affairs, before the audience of world opinion. We have come together to assert our role in the direction of world affairs and to discharge our duty to the great continent whose two hundred and fifty million people we lead. Africa is today at mid-course, in transition from the Africa of Yesterday to the Africa of Tomorrow. Even as we stand here, we move from the past

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into the future. The task on which we have embarked, the making of Africa, will not wait. We must act, to shape and mould the future and leave our imprint on events as they slip past into history.

To Chart A Course

We seek, at this meeting, to determine whither we are going and to chart the course of our destiny. It is no less important that we know whence we came. An awareness of our past is essential to the establishment of our personality and our identity as Africans.

This world was not created piecemeal. Africa was born no later and no earlier than any other geographical area on this globe. Africans, no more and no less than other men, possess all human attributes, talents and deficiencies, virtues and faults. Thousands of years ago, civilizations flourished in Africa which suffer not at all by comparison with those of other continents. In those centuries, Africans were politically free and economically independent. Their social patterns were their own and their cultures truly indigenous.

The obscurity which enshrouds the centuries which elapsed between those earliest days and the rediscovery of Africa are being gradually dispersed. What is certain is that during those long years Africans were born, lived and died. Men on other parts of this earth occupied themselves with their own concerns and, in their conceit, proclaimed that the world began and ended at their horizons. All unknown to them, Africa developed in its own pattern, growing in its own life and in the Nineteenth Century, finally re-emerged into the world's consciousness.

Fettered and Bound

The events of the past hundred and fifty years require no extended recitation from Us. The period of colonialism

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into which we were plunged culminated with our continent fettered and bound; with our once proud and free peoples reduced to humiliation and slavery; with Africa's terrain cross-hatched and checker-boarded by artificial and arbitrary boundaries. Many of us, during those bitter years, were overwhelmed in battle, and those who escaped conquest did so at the cost of desperate resistance and bloodshed. Others were sold into bondage as the price extracted by the colonialists for the "protection" which they extended and the possessions of which they disposed. Africa was a physical resource to be exploited and Africans were chattels to be purchased bodily or, at best, peoples to be reduced to vassalage and lackeyhood. Africa was the market for the produce of other nations and the source of the raw materials with which their factories were fed.

Today, Africa has emerged from this dark passage. Our Armageddon is past. Africa has been reborn as a free continent and Africans have been reborn as free men. The blood that was shed and the sufferings that were endured are today Africa's advocates for freedom and unity. Those men who refused to accept the judgment passed upon them by the colonizers, who held unswervingly through the darkest hours to a vision of an Africa emancipated from political, economic, and spiritual domination will be remembered and revered wherever Africans meet. Many of them never set foot on this continent. Others were born, and died here. What we may utter today can add little to the heroic struggle of those who, by their example, have shown us how precious are freedom and human dignity and of how little value is life without them. Their deeds are written in history.

Supreme Effort

Africa's victory, although proclaimed, is not yet total, and areas of resistance still remain. Today, We name as

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our first great task the final liberating of those Africans still dominated by foreign exploitation and control. With the goal in sight, and unqualified triumph within our grasp, let us not now falter or lag or relax. We must make one final supreme effort; now, when the struggle grows, weary when so much has been won that the thrilling sense of achievement has brought us near satiation. Our liberty is meaningless unless all Africans are free. Our brothers in the Rhodesias, in Mozambique, in Angola, in South Africa cry out in anguish for our support and assistance. We must urge on their behalf their peaceful accession to independence. We must align and identify ourselves with all aspects of their struggle. It would be betrayal were we to pay only lip service to the cause of their liberation and fail to back our words with action. To them we say, your pleas shall not go unheeded. The resources of Africa and of all freedom-loving nations are marshalled in your service. Be of good heart, for your deliverance is at hand.

As we renew our vow that all of Africa shall be free, let us also resolve that old wounds shall be healed and past scars forgotten. It was thus that Ethiopia treated the invader nearly twenty-five years ago, and Ethiopians found peace with honour in this course. Memories of past injustice should not divert us from the more pressing business at hand. We must live in peace with our former colonizers, shunning recrimination and bitterness and forswearing the luxury of vengeance and retaliation, lest the acid of hatred erode our souls and poison our hearts. Let us act as befits the dignity which we claim for ourselves as Africans, proud of our own special qualities, distinctions and abilities. Our efforts as free men must be to establish new relationships, devoid of any resentment and hostility, restored to our belief and faith in ourselves as individuals, dealing on a basis of equality with other equally free peoples.

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Free and United

Today, we look to the future calmly, confidently and courageously. We look to the vision of an Africa not merely free but united. In facing this new challenge we can take comfort and encouragement from the lessons of the past. We know that there are differences among us. Africans enjoy different cultures, distinctive values, special attributes. But we also know that unity can be and been attained among men of the most disparate origins, that differences of race, of religion, of culture, of tradition, are no insuperable obstacle to the coming together of peoples. History teaches us that unity is strength and cautions us to submerge and overcome our differences in the quest for common goals, to strive, with all our combined strength, for the path to true African brotherhood and unity.

There are those who claim that African unity is impossible that the forces that pull us, some in this direction, others in that, are too strong to be overcome. Around us there is no lack of doubt and pessimism, no absence of critics and criticism. These speak of Africa, of Africa's future and of her position in the Twentieth Century in sepulchral tones. They predict dissention and disintegration among Africans and internecine strife and chaos on our continent. Let us confound these and, by our deeds, disperse them in confusion. There are others whose hopes for Africa are bright, who stand with faces upturned in wonder and awe at the creation of a new and happier life, who have dedicated themselves to its realization and are spurred on by the example of their brothers to whom they owe the achievements of Africa's past. Let us reward their trust and merit their approval.

Accepted Goal

The road of African unity is already lined with landmarks. The last years are crowded with meetings, with

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conferences with declarations and pronouncements. Regional organizations have been established. Local groupings based on common interests, backgrounds and traditions have been created.

But though all that has been said and written and done in these years, there runs a common theme. Unity is the accepted goal. We argue about means; we discuss alternative paths to the same objective; we engage in debates about techniques and tactics.

But when semantics are stripped away, there is little argument among us. We are determined to create a union of Africans. In a very real sense, our continent is unmade; it still awaits creation and its creators. It is our duty and privilege to rouse the slumbering giant of Africa, not to the nationalism of Europe of the Nineteenth Century, not to regional consciousness, but to the vision of a single African brotherhood bending its united efforts toward the achievement of a greater and nobler goal.

Above all, we must avoid the pitfalls of tribalism. If we are divided among ourselves on tribal lines, we open our doors to foreign intervention and its potentially harmful consequences. The Congo is clear proof of what We say. We should not be led to complacency because of the present ameliorated situation in that country. The Congolese people have suffered untold misery, and the economic growth of the country has been retarded because of tribal strife.

Obstacles Formidable

But while we agree that the ultimate destiny of this continent lies in political union, we must at the same time recognize that the obstacles to be overcome in its achievement are at once numerous and formidable. Africa's peoples did not emerge into liberty in uniform conditions. Africans maintain different political systems; our economies are diverse; our social orders are rooted in differing cultures

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and traditions. Furthermore, no clear consensus exists on the “how” and the “what” of this union. Is it to be, in form, federal, confederal or unitary? Is the sovereignty of individual states to be reduced, and if so, by how much, and in what areas? On these and other questions there is no agreement, and if we wait for agreed answers, generations hence matters will be little advanced, while the debate still rages.

We should, therefore, not be concerned that complete union is not attained from one day to the next. The union which we seek can only come gradually, as the day-to-day progress which we achieve carries us slowly but inexorably along this course. We have before us the examples of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. We must remember how long these required to achieve their union. When a solid foundation is laid, if the mason is able and his materials good, a strong house can be built.

Thus, a period of transition is inevitable. Old relations and arrangements may for a time, linger. Regional organizations may fulfil legitimate functions and needs which cannot yet be otherwise satisfied. But the difference is in this: that we recognize these circumstances for what they are, temporary expedients designed to serve only until we have established the conditions which will bring total African unity within our reach.

Exploit Agreement

There is, nonetheless, much that we can do to speed this transition. There are issues on which we stand united and questions on which there is unanimity of opinion. Let us seize on these areas of agreement and exploit them to the fullest. Let us take action now, action which, while taking account of present realities nonetheless constitutes clear and unmistakable progress along the course plotted out for us by destiny. We are all adherents, whatever our

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internal political systems, of the principles of democratic action. Let us apply these to the unity we seek to create. Let us work out our own programmes in all fields – political, economic, social and military. The opponents of Africa's growth, whose interests would be best served by a divided and balkanized continent, would derive much satisfaction from the unhappy spectacle of thirty and more African States so split, so paralysed and immobilized by controversies over long-term goals that they are unable even to join their efforts in short-term measures on which there is no dispute. If we act where we may in those areas where action is possible, the inner logic of the programmes which we adopt will work for us and inevitably impel us still farther in the direction of ultimate union.

What we still lack, despite the efforts of past years, is the mechanism which will enable us to speak, with one voice when we wish to do so and take and implement decisions on African problems when we are so minded. The commentators of 1963 speak in discussing Africa, of the Monrovia States, the Brazzaville Group, the Casablanca Powers, of these and many more. Let us put an end to these terms. What we require is a single African organization through which Africa's single voice may be heard, within which Africa's problems may be studied and resolved. We need an organization which will facilitate acceptable solutions to disputes among Africans and promote the study and adoption of measures for common defence and programmes for co-operation in the economic and social fields. Let us, at this Conference, create a single institution to which we will all belong, based on principles to which we all subscribe, confident that in its councils our voices will carry their proper weight, secure in the knowledge that the decisions there will be dictated by Africans and only by Africans and that they will take full account of all vital African considerations.

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Foundation for Unity

We are meeting here today to lay the basis for African unity. Let us, here and now, agree upon the basic instrument which will constitute the foundation for the future growth in peace and harmony and oneness of this continent. Let our meetings henceforth proceed from solid accomplishments. Let us not put off, to later consideration and study, the single act, the one decision, which must emerge from this gathering if it is to have real meaning. This Conference cannot close without adopting a single African Charter. We cannot leave here without having created a single African organization possessed of the attributes We have described. If we fail in this, we will have shirked our responsibility to Africa and to the peoples we lead. If we succeed, then, and only then, will we have justified our presence here.

The organization of which We speak must possess a well-cumulated framework, having a permanent headquarters and an adequate Secretariat providing the necessary continuity between meetings of the permanent organs. It must include specialized bodies to work in particular fields of competence assigned to the organization. Unless the political liberty for which Africans have for so long struggled is complemented and bolstered by a corresponding economic and social growth, the breath of life which sustains our freedom may flicker out. In our efforts to improve the standard of life of our peoples and to flesh out the bones of our independence, we count on the assistance and support of others. But this alone will not suffice, and, alone, would only perpetuate Africa's dependence on others.

A specialized body to facilitate and co-ordinate continent-wide economic programmes and to provide the mechanism for the provision of economic assistance among African nations is thus required. Prompt measures can be taken to increase trade and commerce among us. Africa's

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mineral wealth is great; we should co-operate in its development. An African Development Programme, which will make provision for the concentration by each nation on those productive activities for which its resources and its geographic and climatic conditions best fit it is needed. We assume that each African nation has its own national development programme, and it only remains for us to come together and share our experiences for the proper implementation of a continent-wide plan. Today, travel between African nations and telegraphic and telephonic communications among us are circuitous in the extreme. Road communications between two neighbouring States are often difficult or even impossible. It is little wonder that trade among us has remained at a discouragingly low level. These anachronisms are the remnants of a heritage of which we must rid ourselves, the legacy of the century when Africans were isolated one from the other. These are vital areas in which efforts must be concentrated.

Development Bank

An additional project to be implemented without delay is the creation of an African Development Bank, a proposal to which all our Governments have given full support and which has already received intensive study. The meeting of our Finance Ministers to be held within the coming weeks in Khartoum should transform this proposal into fact. This same meeting could appropriately continue studies already undertaken of the impact upon Africa of existing regional economic groupings, and initiate further studies to accelerate the expansion of economic relations among us.

The nations of Africa, as is true of every continent of the world, had from time to time dispute among themselves. These quarrels must be confined to this continent and quarantined from the contamination of non-African

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interference. Permanent arrangements must be agreed upon to assist in the peaceful settlement of these disagreements which, however few they may be, cannot be left to languish and fester. Procedures must be established for the peaceful settlement of disputes, in order that the threat or use of force may no longer endanger the peace of our continent.

Steps must be taken to establish an African defence system. Military planning for the security of this continent must be undertaken in common within a collective framework. The responsibility for protecting this continent from armed attacks from abroad is the primary concern of Africans themselves. Provision must be made for the extension of speedy and effective assistance when any African State is threatened with military aggression. We cannot rely solely on international morality. Africa's control over her own affairs is dependent on the existence of appropriate military arrangements to assure this continent's protection against such threats. While guarding our own independence, we must at the same time determine to live peacefully with all nations of the world.

Knowing Ourselves

Africa has come to freedom under the most difficult and trying of circumstances. No small measure of the handicaps under which we labour derive from the low educational level attained by our peoples and from their lack of knowledge of their fellow Africans. Education abroad is at best an unsatisfactory substitute for education at home. A massive effort must be launched in the educational and cultural fields which will not only raise the level of literacy and provide the cadres of skilled and trained technicians requisite to our growth and development but, as well, acquaint us one with another. Ethiopia, several years ago, instituted a programme of scholarships for students coming from other

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African lands which has proved highly rewarding and fruitful, and We urge others to adopt projects of this sort. Serious consideration should be given to the establishment of an African University, sponsored by an African States, where future leaders of Africa will be trained in an atmosphere of continental brotherhood. In this African institution, the supra-national aspects of African life would be emphasized and study would be directed toward the ultimate goal of complete African unity. Ethiopia stands prepared here and now to decide on the site of the University and to fix the financial contributions to be made to it.

This is but the merest summary of what can be accomplished. Upon these measures we are all agreed, and our agreement should now form the basis for our action.

A World Force

Africa has become an increasingly influential force in the conduct of world affairs as the combined weight of our collective opinion is brought to focus not only on matters which concern this continent exclusively, but on those pressing problems which occupy the thoughts of all men everywhere. As we have come to know one another better and grown in mutual trust and confidence, it has been possible for us to co-ordinate our policies and actions and contribute to the successful settlement of pressing and critical world issues.

This has not been easy. But co-ordinated action by all African States on common problems is imperative if our opinions are to be accorded their proper weight. We Africans occupy a different – indeed a unique – position among the nations of this Century. Having for so long known oppression, tyranny and subjugation, who, with better right, can claim for all the opportunity and the right to live and grow as free men? Ourselves for long decades the

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victims of injustice, whose voices can be better raised in the demand for justice and right for all? We demand an end to colonialism because domination of one people by another is wrong. We demand an end to nuclear testing and the arms race because these activities, which pose such dreadful threats to man's existence and waste and squander humanity's material heritage, are wrong. We demand an end to racial segregation as an affront to man's dignity which is wrong. We act in these matters in the right, as a matter of high principle. We act out of the integrity and conviction of our most deep-founded beliefs.

If we permit ourselves to be tempted by narrow self-interest and vain ambition, if we barter our beliefs for short-term advantage, who will listen when we claim to speak for conscience, and who will contend that our words deserve to be heeded? We must speak out on major world issues, courageously, openly and honestly, and in blunt terms of right and wrong. If we yield to blandishments or threats, if we compromise when no honourable compromise is possible, our influence will be sadly diminished and our prestige woefully prejudiced and weakened. Let us not deny our ideals or sacrifice our right to stand as the champions of the poor, the ignorant, the oppressed everywhere. The acts by which we live and the attitudes by which we act must be clear beyond question. Principles alone can endow our deeds with force and meaning. Let us be true to what we believe, that our beliefs may serve and honour us.

Prejudice Opposed

We reaffirm today, in the name of principle and right, our opposition to prejudice, wherever and in whatever form it may be found, and particularly do we rededicate ourselves to the eradication of racial discrimination from this continent. We can never rest content with our achieve-

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ments so long as men, in any part of Africa, assert on racial grounds their superiority over the least of our brothers. Racial discrimination constitutes a negation of the spiritual and psychological equality which we have fought to achieve and a denial of the personality and dignity which we have struggled to establish for ourselves as Africans. Our political and economic liberty will be devoid of meaning for so long as the degrading spectacle of South Africa's apartheid continues to haunt our waking hours and to trouble our sleep. We must redouble our efforts to banish this evil from our land. If we persevere, discrimination will one day vanish from the earth. If we use the means available to us, South Africa's apartheid, just as colonialism, will shortly remain only as a memory. If we pool our resources and use them well, this spectre will be banished forever.

In this effort, as in so many others, we stand united with our Asian friends and brothers. Africa shares with Asia a common background of colonialism, of exploitation, of discrimination, of oppression. At Bandung, African and Asian States dedicated themselves to the liberation of their two continents from foreign domination and affirmed the right of all nations to develop in their own way, free of any external interference. The Bandung Declaration and the principles enunciated at that Conference remain today valid for us all. We hope that the leaders of India and China, in the spirit of Bandung, will find the way to the peaceful resolution of the dispute between their two countries.

Nuclear Danger

We must speak, also, of the dangers of the nuclear holocaust which threatens all that we hold dear and precious, including life itself. Forced to live our daily existence with this foreboding and ominous shadow ever at our side, we cannot lose hope or lapse into despair. The consequences

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of an uncontrolled nuclear conflict are so dreadful that no sane man can countenance them. There must be an end to testing. A programme of progressive disarmament must be agreed upon. Africa must be freed and shielded, as a denuclearized zone, from the consequences of direct; albeit, involuntary involvement in the nuclear arms race.

The negotiations at Geneva, where Nigeria, the United Arab Republic and Ethiopia are participating, continue, and painfully and laboriously, progress is being achieved. We cannot know what portion of the limited advances already realized can be attributed to the increasingly important role being played by the non-aligned nations in these discussions, but we can, surely, derive some small measure of satisfaction in even the few tentative steps taken toward ultimate agreement among the nuclear powers. We remain persuaded that in our efforts to scatter the clouds which rim the horizon of our future, success must come, if only because failure is unthinkable. Patience and grim determination are required, and faith in the guidance of Almighty God.

Collective Security

We would not close without making mention of the United Nations. We personally, who have throughout our lifetime been ever guided and inspired by the principle of collective security, would not now propose measures which depart from or are inconsistent with this ideal or with the declarations of the United Nations Charter. It would be foolhardy indeed to abandon a principle which has withstood the test of time and which has proved its inherent value again and again in the past. It would be worse than folly to weaken the one effective world organization which exists today and to which each of us owes so much. It would be sheer recklessness for any of us to detract from

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this organization which, however imperfect, provides the best bulwark against the incursion of any forces which would deprive us of our hard-won liberty and dignity.

The African Charter of which We have spoken is wholly consistent with that of the United Nations. The African organization which We envisage is not intended in any way to replace in our national or international life the position which the United Nations has so diligently earned and so rightfully occupies. Rather, the measure which We propose would complement and round out programmes undertaken by the United Nations and its specialized agencies and, hopefully, render both their activities and ours doubly meaningful and effective. What we seek will multiply many times over the contribution which our joint endeavours may make to the assurance of world peace and the promotion of human well-being and understanding.

History's Dictum

A century hence, when future generations study the pages of history, seeking to follow and fathom the growth and development of the African continent, what will they find of this Conference? Will it be remembered as an occasion on which the leaders of a liberated Africa, acting boldly and with determination, bent events to their will and shaped the future destinies of the African peoples? Will this meeting be memorialized for its solid achievements, for the intelligence and maturity which marked the decisions taken here? Or will it be recalled for its failures, for the inability of Africa's leaders to transcend local prejudices and individual differences, for the disappointment and disillusionment which followed in its train?

These questions give us all pause. The answers are within our power to dictate. The challenges and opportunities which open before us today are greater than those presented

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at any time in Africa's millennia of history. The risks and the dangers which confront us are no less great. The immense responsibilities which history and circumstance have thrust upon us demand balanced and sober reflection. If we succeed in the tasks which lie before us, our names will be remembered and our deeds recalled by those who follow us. If we fail, history will puzzle at our failure and mourn what was lost. We approach the days ahead with the prayer that we who have assembled here may be granted the wisdom, the judgment and the inspiration which will enable us to maintain our faith with the peoples and the nations which have entrusted their fate to our hands.

May 25, 1963.

MESSAGE TO 6th SESSION OF E. C. A.

We extend our most sincere welcome and warmest greetings to all the delegates and observers who have come to our Capital City of Addis Ababa to attend the Sixth Session of the Economic Commission for Africa.

We attach great importance to your present meeting because you are today gathered for the first time since the adoption of the historic Charter of African Unity in May of last year here in Addis Ababa. This Charter is a truly becoming symbol of the coming of age of our great continent, and your deliberations will be inspired by the same noble spirit as inspired the historic Summit Conference of African States.

The Heads of State and Government made a united resolve that we should pool our resources and harmonize our activities in the economic field.

To this end an Economic and Social Commission of O.A.U. has been established, and We are pleased to see that already in its meeting the Commission has come up with

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important recommendations regarding in particular co-ordination of effort between ECA and the new Economic Commission of African Unity.

We consider the two commissions to be complementary in character, and We feel that jointly they can play an important role in the vast and urgent task of economic development and co-ordination.

In this respect We have been interested to note that your agenda provides for the study and consideration of the creation of an African Common Market and Payments Union. These are vital steps in the process of African economic integration and your work here in this Conference can make a positive contribution towards the attainment of these common objectives.

It is only through economic co-operation and co-ordination of effort that African states can hope to maintain and strengthen their independence while ensuring the rapid progress of their peoples.

In order to achieve this common goal of strength through progress, it becomes necessary for us to abandon once and for all petty differences and artificial barriers that tend to perpetuate a state of division and confusion between our countries.

Objectives

We should instead jointly strive for those objectives that will enable us to be strong and united.

Let us therefore leave aside all misguided aims and groundless ambitions that can only lead us into wasteful and time-consuming conflicts.

Let us instead mobilize our resources for our common good and for the good of our great continent.

This is the heartfelt desire of African peoples every-

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where, and it is the duty of us all always to bear this in mind and to strive for its full and final achievement.

Another event of vital importance which you should keep well in mind during this Session is the forthcoming UN Conference on Trade and Development which will be held in Geneva next month.

Our continent relies greatly on external trade for its development and economic progress, and it is important that you should make every effort at this Session to harmonise the trade and economic policies of your respective Governments with a view to putting a strong and united case at the Geneva meeting.

We wish to express our confidence that the Economic Commission for Africa and its Secretariat will continue to afford to our Governments the service and assistance that would enable us to fulfil the basic targets of the United Nations Decade of Development.

We are pleased once again to reiterate our continued interest in the work of your Commission and our belief in its contribution to a greater understanding of Africa's Economic problems.

We earnestly pray to Almighty God to guide you in His wisdom through all your work and deliberations.

Feb. 20, 1964.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY O.A.U.

A momentous year ago this day, in a supreme moment of great historical vision, thirty African leaders undid the tangled knot of injustices bequeathed from long and shadowy years of colonialism. Thus was the Organization of African Unity born.

In its wake not only were vast vistas of challenges and opportunities opened but also a stirring hope and sober

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recognition has dawned on Africa; a faith and a determination that, immense as are the challenges that lie ahead, they shall all be conquered, and abundant as are the opportunities that await us, they shall not be wasted.

Significantly also, with the birth of the Organization, the unmaking of history in Africa – the decolonization process – which was initiated by the struggle of the African peoples themselves has been given an added, nay, a decisive momentum. For the first time Africa has learned what strength there is in unity. Thus, we are witnessing the glorious march of Africa on the path of Unity.

The past year has been one of reflection and intensive stock-taking. All organs of the Organization have met to lay strong groundworks for our future efforts. Now that this useful phase of work has been completed, we have to resolve that the coming year is the period of decisive take-off. Considering the magnitude of the pressing problems facing Africa, it is inevitable that we will have to proceed forthwith at an accelerated pace.

The pattern for bold and imaginative projects on a continental scale has been set by the establishment of the African Development Bank, the idea of which was of purely African initiative, now reaching the stage of operation with the assistance of the United Nations and a number of friendly foreign powers. We are confident that in the very near future Africa will be the site for the “launchings” of other such beneficial inter-African projects.

In the political domain the year was not without incidents. The likelihood of yet others arising cannot be ignored. But is it not in recognition of this that the Organization was created? The peace and order which we all desire to see in Africa cannot certainly be envisaged without handicaps. What is important is that, in keeping with the auspicious beginnings we have made, if disputes break out amongst us, we insulate them from the cold war and seek their solu-

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tions within the Councils of the family. We should attach as much importance to the process and mechanism of finding solutions to our disputes as to the solutions themselves, to set a precedent for co-operation in the future.

Real Test

The Algerian-Moroccan conflict in a way provided the first opportunity to put to a real test the mechanism for constructive diplomacy which we had so laboriously and painstakingly built at Addis Ababa. Thanks to their political wisdom and their eagerness to listen to family counsels, the hostilities that so suddenly bedevilled relations between the two brotherly African countries have ceased altogether. The Special Commission created by the meeting of our Foreign Ministers has not spared any effort in its search for a mutually acceptable solution.

Likewise in the Ethiopian-Somali conflict, both parties have shown their readiness to seek within the OAU such solutions for their differences. The direct contacts that have recently been established between Ethiopia and the Somali Republic in Khartoum have already produced beneficial results. A Joint Commission is currently engaged in supervizing the withdrawal of troops to fifteen kilometers on both sides of the border, thus strengthening the ceasefire arrangements recommended by the Council of Ministers. What remains now is to carry still further the momentum thus generated by this limited but nevertheless very auspicious agreement.

The collective response of African countries to the request of President Nyerere to examine the situation that had arisen in Tanganyika and East Africa as a result of army mutinies has led to the first concrete result in the field of co-operation in defence matters. This achievement is a significant herald to yet more useful results to come in inter-African co-operation.

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Last year, we remarked that what we Africans lacked was the mechanism which would enable us to speak with one voice and to act in unison. Today, we have the OAU as the authentic voice of a new and united and ever-progressive Africa. Its achievements of this past year should spur us on to continue unflinchingly our dedication to realize the noble aspirations of the peoples of our Continent.

May 26, 1964.

O.A.U. SUMMIT, CAIRO

..... So long as the spirit of Africa prevails and stirs within us, so long as we continue to think and work and act within the African context which we have created, imbued by the African atmosphere which surrounds and pervades us, We are confident that the goals we seek shall be attained

Dear Friends:

We meet again, at the Summit of Africa. Once more, Africa's leaders have convened to consider in concert the past accomplishments, the present problems and the future goals of their mother continent. Today, the eyes of the world are directed anew to a distinguished gathering of African statesmen and leaders.

At Addis Ababa, just fourteen months ago, the first Conference of the Heads of African State and Government was held. Today, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government created by the Charter of African Unity which we signed in Addis Ababa meets in Cairo, the ancient capital of ancient Egypt, with long-established civilization, and it is Our privilege now to extend to Our host, President Gamal Abdel Nasser, the warm greetings of the Ethiopian Government and people and to express to him Our thanks for the gracious and generous hospitality which has been extended to us all in this illustrious country. Ethiopia and other East

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African countries are linked with the United Arab Republic not only by history but also by the life-giving waters of the Blue Nile which springs in Ethiopia and in Lake Victoria annually flooding the great Nile Delta.

We also extend greetings today to our African brothers in those nations which join us here for the first time – Kenya and Malawi – states which have at long last taken their rightful places in the councils of free Africans and to their valiant leaders H. E. Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta and H. E. Prime Minister Hastings Banda. We rejoice at their presence in this hall, and we see in their addition to our rank a portent of hope and confidence for the future of those who remain yet unrepresented in our midst.

The agenda before us is long. Each of its topics deserves our most thoughtful and careful attention. We pray that our deliberations will be characterized by the same spirit of oneness, the same inspiration, the same courage and determination, which marked our meeting at Addis Ababa. If we will, it can be so.

The achievements of the months since May of 1963 stand, as well, as a favourable augury for the long road which still remains to be travelled to our stated goal of African Unity. The Organization of African Unity is today a solid and tangible achievement. The Charter itself has been ratified by thirty-three African States, and it was Our signal privilege personally to deposit it with the United Nations Organization in October of last year. The OAU's Council of Ministers has met not once, but several times during the last year in seeking the solution to immediate and pressing African problems. A sturdy framework has been provided for closer co-ordination of national policies and programmes in a variety of domains – defence, economic and social co-operation, developmental assistance – these and many more have received added impetus from the work accomplished by the Provisional Secretariat and

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the decisions taken at the meetings of the several Commissions created by the Charter of African Unity.

Spiritual Vitality

But perhaps more important than the individual events of these months has been the demonstrated vitality of the spirit of Africa, a vitality which has permeated every aspect of intra-African relations and has, in the short space of fourteen months, produced a basic and fundamental change in the African scene. During the past year, We paid State Visits to nearly a dozen African nations, and in the views which We exchanged with other African leaders We encountered a sense of purpose, of dedication, of vision, which, We are persuaded, found its genesis in the common acceptance of the ideal of African unity, in the common response to the unique challenge which modern Africa presents to each of us, in the common crusade in which we are each enlisted.

It was in this spirit that Algeria and Morocco put aside their arms and agreed to negotiate the settlement of their border dispute. It was this spirit which motivated Ethiopia to call without pause or hesitation upon the Organization of African Unity when violence erupted last February on the common frontier with the neighbouring Republic of Somalia. It was to this spirit that African nations have responded to calls for aid from their brothers. It is this spirit which will sweep us forward to final, conclusive, glorious victory in the struggle to overcome the obstacles which still remain before us in the making of a united Africa.

It is in this, We believe, that the real triumph of Africa lies today. Economic development may lag; difficulties may be encountered in working out unanimously acceptable programmes and policies; temporary dissensions may interfere with harmonious relations between individual states.

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But so long as the spirit of Africa prevails and stirs within us, so long as we continue to think and work and act within the African context which we have created, imbued by the African atmosphere which surrounds and pervades us, We are confident that the goals we seek shall be attained.

Our Child

We have created this spirit; it is our child. To bring it to its full potential We must, firstly define with precision and clarity the programmes which will advance us along the path we have chosen, whilst simultaneously avoiding those dangers which could frustrate what has been so laboriously won. And in order that these programmes be coherent and intelligible, they must be founded upon painstakingly articulated principles and policies which we, as African nations, must apply, not only in charting the future of the Organization of African Unity, but in directing our own activities as independent African states.

What do we seek for Africa? We seek to consolidate and guarantee our own precious liberty as independent nations. We seek freedom for our still dependent brothers. We seek Africa's economic growth and development, the betterment of the way of life of Africans and all men. We seek the closest collaboration with those others – Asians, Europeans, North and South Americans – who share our desires and who are willing to co-operate with us. We seek that self-sufficiency which will enable us to play our rightful role in international affairs and live in full harmony with all men. We seek to make our voices heard and our views heeded on the major problems confronting the world today.

Our quest, above all else, is to assure to Africa and to each African state the fullest and most complete measure of freedom – freedom from all remnants of colonialism;

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freedom from neo-colonialism, whatever form it may take; freedom from political and military threat; freedom from aggression; freedom from interference by others in our internal affairs; freedom from economic domination; freedom from the danger of nuclear destruction.

This is easy to state; how infinitely more difficult it is to achieve!

Find Solutions

We are convinced that it is in our search for African unity that we shall discover the solutions to the vexing problems which confront us. We have taken upon ourselves the liberation of the remaining dependent territories of the African continent such as Angola, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia and the elimination of apartheid. This battle must and shall be won; but if our victory is to be real and not ephemeral, it is we Africans who must achieve it. We can accept assistance from those who seek the same ends only if the other precious freedoms which we equally cherish are not thereby prejudiced.

In our struggle to eliminate from the African continent the ugly sore of apartheid, so repugnant and loathsome to us Africans, unhappily, all too little progress has been recorded. Much has been said and written in condemnation of this most ignoble and inhuman form of the abasement by man of his fellows, each one of us here has roundly and unequivocally condemned this evil. But what have these words accomplished? To what results have our condemnations led? Of what effect have been our attacks, our criticisms?

If we are truthful with ourselves, we must admit that there yet remains far to go in eliminating racial discrimination from our continent. We must, first of all, look to our own efforts. We have declared that all economic ties with

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South Africa must be terminated. Have we done so? We have declared that diplomatic relations with Portugal must be severed. Do Portuguese envoys still grace African capitals? In both of these areas, have we acted in unity?

Since this is fundamentally a human question, we can take heart in the fact that at our side in our struggle against apartheid are ranged the vast majority of human race. But to justify their support we must ourselves scrupulously and militantly enforce the measures which we have agreed upon. It is not the strength or the power or the determination of those who oppose us that will delay success in this battle, but only the weakness of our unity.

Heavy Task

Admittedly the task is not an easy one. Immediate sacrifices are required. Ethiopia's ties with Portugal stretch back to the 16th Century, and our relations with that nation have always been amicable. It was not easy to request the recall of the Portuguese Ambassador accredited to our Court, but We did so. Had We not, We could not stand before you today and declare that Ethiopia has done what principle and conscience and the blood of our brothers in South Africa, in Angola, in Mozambique, required of us. Similarly Ethiopia has recognized the Provisional Government in Exile established under the leadership of H. E. Mr. Holden Roberto.

It may well be that even the united weight of the free nations of Africa is inadequate to bring to their senses the governments of South Africa and Portugal. Assistance is required – and it will be welcome, if it comes without conditions.

Let us bring the combined pressure of African influence to bear on those other nations of the world to whom our friendship and goodwill are meaningful, who claim adherence

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to the same principles of freedom and independence for all men that we uphold, who affirm their support for our struggle against oppression. Let us more effectively marshal our individual and collective forces to use our influence, to exploit our position in various international organs, to enlist their support in Africa's fight for freedom and development. By combining our efforts with these others, freedom can come earlier to our remaining dependent brothers. With their aid, we can soon sweep the stigma of racial discrimination from Africa.

Let there be no mistake: the continued oppression of Africans on this continent and the continued domination of our South African brothers because of race constitute grave dangers which threaten the very foundations of the unity we seek. We cannot rest while these twin evils live on.

These are not the only dangers which threaten us. Disputes between African states themselves constitute potentially serious obstacles in our path. Foremost among the causes of such disputes are those of the sort which have exacerbated relations during the past year between Morocco and Algeria as well as between Ethiopia and Kenya and Somalia.

Accept Frontiers

At Addis Ababa, enough was said to demonstrate beyond doubt that Africans are virtually unanimous in their agreement that only by acceptance of the frontiers bequeathed to them by the colonialists can permanent peace reign on our continent. The principle of respect for the territorial integrity of states is repeated in the OAU's Charter no less than three times, and it is only for us to observe it as scrupulously as it deserves. Ethiopia supports this view, although she herself suffered no less than others from the depredations of the imperialists.

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We must, however, go still further. The Charter has accurately and adequately defined the principles to which we have pledged our adherence. Africans, however, like all other peoples possess not only virtues but weaknesses and it is perhaps inevitable that differences will arise among us from time to time. Just as Africa, as a single entity, and the several African states individually toil for the peaceful settlement of disputes among states, so must we ensure that disputes in Africa are settled peacefully. If our continent is not free of internecine strife, how can we hope to influence others whose disputes endanger the peace of the world?

In like manner, the Charter's signatories have declared their adherence to the complementary principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states and this principle, too, must be rigidly observed if conflicts between Africans are to be avoided. It is all too often under the guise of territorial disputes and through the medium of subversive activity directed against legitimate governments that the foreign influences which we seek to bar from our continent endeavour to exert their power and establish for themselves a foothold from which to expand their activities. We must guard against the insidious substitution of one form of dominance and rule for another; we must be vigilant to inhibit the growth of what is called "neo-Colonialism."

Neo-Colonialism

Neo-colonialism today takes two forms: economic and political. We recognize that economic dominance is not only often the more difficult to eliminate, but often serves as the entering wedge for political domination. We further recognize that, given the history of our continent, and the conditions under which we came to freedom, it is not unusual that, despite our best efforts, the economic

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independence which we seek is long and difficult in coming. Long-established patterns of trade are not easily or quickly reoriented. Let us not delude ourselves in thinking that these facts, for such they are, are of no significance for the future of Africa. But let us, at the same time, toil with all our strength to alter them.

When we consider political neo-colonialism, our desires, although perhaps no less difficult of attainment, are at least easier of articulation. We seek to avoid a rigid and inflexible posture which prejudices our position on the major issues before the world. We seek to avoid alignment, to achieve true non-alignment. Our late good friend, H. E. Prime Minister Nehru of India, put it thus: "The only camp we should like to be in is the camp of peace and goodwill." At Belgrade, in September of 1961, We stated that the essence of non-alignment was to be impartial, impartial to judge actions and policies objectively, as we see them either contributing to or detracting from the resolution of the world's problems, the preservation of peace and the improvement of the general level of man's living conditions. Those who righteously denounce one side on every major problem or issue while reserving nothing but praise for the other cannot claim to be non-aligned; we may from one day to the next find ourselves now opposing, now supporting, now voting against, first the East, next the West. It is the worth of the policies themselves, We say, and not their source or sponsor, which determines the position of one who is truly non-aligned.

Non-Alignment

We repeat that non-alignment is in no way anti-Eastern or anti-Western, any more than it is anti-Northern or anti-Southern. It is neither anti- nor pro- in any absolute fashion. It is largely affirmative, not negative. It is for peace and

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freedom. It is for a decent standard of living for all men. It is for the right of the people of any nation to adopt that economic and political system which the majority of them freely elect to follow. It is for the right of men and nations freely to take their stand on the great issues of the day, as their consciences and their sense of right and justice – and these alone – dictate.

It should be clear, however, that as Africans embracing this principle we are not choosing to form a third bloc, a supra-power which can only speak with a single voice because it is controlled and dictated by a single organ. What we seek to create is flexible, not inflexible; a moral force to be used for world peace, for economic development, for the benefit of humanity. We cannot impose our views by force. We have only the power of moral persuasion. This is our strength – and a great strength – if we will but use it.

And, finally, there exists today, not for Africa alone but for all mankind, the danger of the extinction of the human race by nuclear holocaust. We have supported it in the past, and We reiterate now, that Africa must be declared a denuclearized zone. We urge again that efforts to achieve a progressive disarmament be redoubled. The limited nuclear test ban treaty constitutes a step in this direction, but it should be but the first of many. Our united efforts must be exerted to this end.

Some Objectives

What must we do to transform our aspirations into reality, to overcome the dangers to which We have referred, to advance to the destiny we have marked out for ourselves: We have spoken in the past of some of the concrete measures to be taken. The creation of a permanent machinery to settle intra-African disputes is one such. We must take up where the colonialists left off in transforming the social

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and economic patterns of our nations. In order to decrease our economic dependence on the developed nations, trade among Africa's nations must be expanded. Transportation and communication facilities among us must be expanded and improved. A unified African Development Programme which utilizes to the fullest the individual resources of the individual African states must be prepared and implemented. Techniques must be found and employed for the most efficient and economic use of our resources and financial means. In all of this, we can profit from the example of both the East and West.

Is this enough? Let Us only say that if even a partial measure of these programmes can be agreed upon here, our presence in Cairo today will have been more than justified.

We would, however, add these last requirements! What is needed, above all, is patience which accepts delays while striving to overcome them and tolerance which comprehends our weaknesses, our selfish ambitions, and our narrow self-interest, while seeking to strengthen our will and stiffen our moral fibre and devotion to principle and international morality: which can alone arm and shield and support us in the daily strife which is our fate as we toil to better the lot of Africa and all men everywhere. Unless we find the requisite courage and fixity of purpose to rise above our petty selves; we shall be broken on the wheel of our own invention, slaves of our own despotism. The spirit of Africa, which surrounds our deliberations here, is deserving of the greatness which Africa demands of it. Let us prove ourselves worthy of it.

July 21, 1964.

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ETHIOPIA AND O.A.U.

.....No one who witnessed the leaders of Africa gathered together in a single hall to assert their common identity and brotherhood and to lay the foundation for Africa's future will soon forget the experience.....

..... Long after more temporary achievements have been forgotten, the Conference of Heads of State and Government of African nations held in Addis Ababa last May will remain as the single event having the farthest reaching implications for the future of the African continent. Every Ethiopian can be proud of the role which his nation played in this historic meeting when Africans rose above local regional interests and proclaimed their unity and oneness. There were many who felt that the holding of the Conference was in itself a sufficient achievement and that nothing more could be expected. These failed to reckon with the spirit and determination which had brought the leaders of Africa together, and in the end the impetus which had so swiftly carried Africa from a dependent to a free continent gave birth to the Charter of African Unity which will take its rightful place with the great documents of history. No one who witnessed the leaders of Africa gathered together in a single hall to assert their common identity and brotherhood and to lay the foundation for Africa's future will soon forget the experience.

The unity to which we all pledged our devotion at the Addis Ababa Conference was tested – and proved – but a short time ago when the unfortunate border conflict which had erupted between Algeria and Morocco imperilled for a time the edifice of which the foundation had only just been laid. That the leaders of these two states agreed to come together and, having met, to order a cease-fire, demonstrated once again that Africa and African unity are more than

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mere words, that they have content and substance. When We found Ourselves, in the course of the series of State Visits of which We shall speak in a moment, in the territory of the two combatant states immediately after hostilities had broken out, it was Our duty to offer Our services in an attempt to end the bloodshed. We sought no victory of prestige, no personal triumph in so doing. We acted out of humanity and out of the conviction that unless the conflict was speedily halted, a severe blow would be dealt to the principles which had been established only five months earlier in Ethiopia's capital. That the efforts which We and other African leaders exerted have culminated in success is a source of satisfaction for all Africans, and We must address a special word of appreciation to Our good friend, President Modibo Keita, who offered his capital, Bamako, as the meeting place for the parties. We have repeatedly stated that Africans are now prepared and able to settle African quarrels, that Africa has come to full maturity, that we can and must now assume responsibility for assuring the tranquillity of our continent. The cease-fire agreement reached at Bamako and the successful meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity held in Addis Ababa but a few days ago testify to the truth of these declarations.

Decisions Implemented

The decisions taken at the Addis Ababa Conference are fast being implemented. Final decisions have been taken on the establishment of the African Development Bank which We have long urged. The Defence Commission which met a short time ago in Accra has laid the basis for closer co-operation in the military sphere. Dates have been fixed for the meetings of the other Commissions created by the Charter of African Unity. Economic sanctions have been

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placed in force against the Portuguese and South African regimes as a result of agreements reached in May. The nine-nation Liberation Committee set up to administer the Freedom Fund has been organized, and Ethiopia is proud to serve as a member, just as we are proud that the financial contribution which Ethiopia pledged to the Fund was promptly paid. As time passes, We confidently anticipate that the Organization of African Unity will become an ever stronger force for the cause of freedom and progress for all Africa and all Africans

..... We must express Our keen regret that the Government of the Republic of Somalia, a neighbour whom Ethiopia aided along the path to independence, continues to flout and ignore these principles. Not only have the authorities in Somalia persisted in their violently anti-Ethiopian propaganda campaign in the press, radio and in public utterances, but Government-instigated and supported violations of Ethiopia's frontier have continued throughout the past year. Armed bands have infiltrated Ethiopia's territory and committed acts of aggression and sabotage. By these methods, the leaders of Somalia hope to realize their declared policy of territorial aggrandizement.

Ethiopia's policy is to respect the territorial limits of other nations. We respect Somalia's frontiers. We do not inject ourselves or otherwise interfere in Somalia's internal affairs. But there must be an end to provocation. Patience is not limitless, and the responsibility for the continued deterioration of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia and for any untoward consequences which may ensue will rest squarely in Mogadiscio

Nov. 9, 1964.

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NATION-WIDE BROADCAST ON AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY

The first conference of the independent African states was held in Accra, Ghana, on April 15, 1958. It was decided then to celebrate this historic day as African Freedom Day. Until recently, April 15 was celebrated throughout our continent as African Freedom Day.

However, two years ago today in May the Summit Conference of the Independent African States, which was convened in Our Capital City of Addis Ababa, decreed that May 25, the day on which the historic Charter of the Organization of African Unity was signed, be celebrated every year as African Liberation Day. Accordingly today is celebrated as African Liberation Day.

The African Unity Charter was signed two years ago today. Within this brief period much has been accomplished that augurs well for African Unity. In accordance with the resolution of the first Assembly of African Heads of State and Government held in Cairo last year, the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity has been established here in Addis Ababa. Under its Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Diallo Telli, of Guinea, the Organization is successfully discharging its responsibilities and commitments.

The Ethiopian people, who have struggled and made untold sacrifices for their independence and freedom for thousands of years – an independence that has been a beacon for all of Africa – today celebrate this day together with all Africans by consolidating their freedom and independence with the freedom and independence of their African brothers in the spirit of Modern Ethiopianism.

This year, two sister African states – Zambia and Gambia – have won independence and they have joined

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the family of independent African states. We share their joy and We extend again, as We did on the occasion when they won their independence, Our sincere felicitations. We are anxiously awaiting the day when those Africans in the dependent territories break the shackles of foreign tutelage and become masters of their own fate.

On this solemn day, all of us must pause and remember the plight of Our African brothers who are under foreign rule and who are desperately struggling to win their freedom, their basic fundamental human rights.

Instead of granting their rightful freedom and independence to the indigenous Africans in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea, the Portuguese Government has intensified even more its campaign of ruthless suppression of African freedom fighters in these territories, under the outmoded, illogical pretext that these territories are part of Portugal. In concert with the other African members of the United Nations Organization, Ethiopia has never ceased advocating at United Nations and other international conferences that the Portuguese Government should grant independence to each and every territory under its rule.

Rhodesia

The recent events in Southern Rhodesia are cause for alarm – not only is the fate of the people in the territory in jeopardy but international peace is also threatened. A white minority Government in the territory is daily arresting, and arbitrarily persecuting African freedom fighters, particularly their leaders, to suppress the national freedom movements. This minority government has even taken drastic steps to declare a colonial government. Each and every government and the peoples of the world who value fundamental human rights, and particularly We Africans, must oppose, with one voice, this dangerous and unprecedented

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scheme of the white minority government in the territory. The United Nations Anti-Colonial Committee of which Ethiopia is a member, is presently visiting Africa to follow closely the dangerous situation in Southern Rhodesia.

In South Africa and in South-West Africa, the policies of apartheid and oppression are becoming increasingly unbearable. The South African Government is accelerating its ruthless campaign: a methodological campaign of arresting daily, detaining without trial and torturing the Africans and their leaders who are struggling for their fundamental human rights and freedom. All the peace-loving countries of the world must act together to force the colonial governments of South Africa and Portugal to desist from these policies – policies which are inhuman, policies which deny basic human rights, policies which are detrimental to the peace and security of the entire world – and grant independence and freedom to these oppressed people.

To the U.N.

The Assembly of the African Heads of State and Government has authorized the Foreign Ministers of Senegal and Algeria to bring the cases of racial discrimination and oppression in South Africa, the inhuman colonial rule of the Portuguese Government and the dangerous situation in Southern Rhodesia, before the Security Council of the United Nations to find permanent solutions to the unrelenting struggles of the African governments and people. As a result the entire world is today more conscious of these pressing problems.

From discussions in the United Nations in recent years, We have cause to believe that some friendly nations fully support the efforts to impose an economic boycott on South Africa and Portugal; it is unfortunate that some great powers who have been entrusted with the maintenance of interna-

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tional peace and security have not co-operated in these worthy efforts. These powers are the main obstacles to an effective economic boycott of South Africa and Portugal.

The establishment of the Organization of African Unity, the concerted action of the member-states and the pooling of the aid to Our brethren African freedom fighters, have helped to revive and strengthen as well as intensify the liberation movements throughout Africa. For this We are grateful to the Liberation Committee of the nine African States, of which Ethiopia is a member. On this day, we should all recollect with gratitude the support of all those friendly nations in Our endeavour in the United Nations and other international conferences to free Africa of all the colonial vestiges.

Next Assembly

It will be recalled that the Cairo Assembly of the Heads of State and Government decided to convene the Second Assembly of the Heads of State and Government in Accra, Ghana, in September this year.

Because of misunderstandings among certain member states of the Organization of African Unity, voices have been occasionally raised recently against the convocation of the Assembly in Accra. Nonetheless, the regular Assembly of the Heads of State and Government was, in the first place, designed to find peaceful solutions, through deliberations and frank exchange of views to such misunderstandings among member-states. We believe, therefore, that any change in the venue of the next Assembly will make no major difference. Consequently We have despatched Our Minister of State for Foreign Affairs to West Africa, with personal messages from Us, to mediate with the leaders of the West African states concerned.

We earnestly hope that the member-states of the Or-

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ganization of African Unity will meet in Accra in September in accordance with the decision of the first Assembly of the Heads of State and Government.

On this day, We extend Our fraternal greetings to all Our brethren Africans who are still suffering under foreign colonial rule. We reiterate that Ethiopia, in co-operation with the member-states of the Organization of African Unity, will always continue to give her full support for their just struggles to win their inalienable rights to freedom and independence and to be masters of their own destiny.

May Almighty God assist us in endeavours.

May 26, 1965.

TO OAU ON RHODESIA

On Our own behalf and that of the government and people of Ethiopia, We would like to extend a hearty welcome to Addis Ababa to all members of the Delegations who are here to attend the Sixth Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity. There is no need for Us to tell you that you should feel very much at home in a brotherly country.

You are meeting today in this very Hall which gave birth to the Organization of African Unity barely two and half years ago in order to consider and find solution to the Southern Rhodesian situation which has posed a grave challenge not only to the Organization of African Unity but also to the independence of Our individual States and indeed to the national Liberation Movements of Angola, Mozambique, South-West Africa, South Africa, etc.

In view of this, your main task will be to discuss ways and means of how to implement the provisions of the Resolution which was passed by the recent Accra Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity. We have

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already made it clear that if decided upon jointly with other African States Ethiopia is prepared to undertake whatever sacrifices are required.

The Unilateral Declaration of Independence which was announced by a racist white settler government on November 11, 1965, though expected, had shocked and terrified freedom-loving humanity. That four million Africans should be condemned to servitude by illegal seizure of power by a rebel premier, is one of the wicked aspects of colonialism and imperialism. Although the situation in Southern Rhodesia has become a matter of serious concern to all peoples, We should not lose sight of the fact that the oppression and suffering of the four million Africans in Southern Rhodesia is in particular offensive to the dignity of Africa.

The United Kingdom Government which has constitutional responsibility to lead the colony of Rhodesia to majority rule, except for a declaration to apply sanctions, has so far failed to put down the rebellion in Rhodesia and restore law and order in that strife-torn country.

The recent Resolution passed by the Security Council of the United Nations recommending economic sanctions against Rhodesia even though it did not satisfy African demands should be fully supported and implemented to quell the rebellion which has clearly been established as threatening international peace and security. We hope that the measures so far taken will have the effect of making this illegal government realize that the policy that they have embarked on will only lead to disaster and make them reconsider their untenable position and resort to the way of sanity and reason.

Drastic Measures Needed

Following the resolution adopted by the recent Accra Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity,

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We must renew our appeal to all nations not to recognize the illegal white minority regime of Southern Rhodesia.

The Conference should once again call upon the United Kingdom Government to employ drastic measures beyond economic sanctions to crush the rebellion.

As We have already pointed out earlier, the main task of this Conference is to discuss the implementation of the provisions of the Resolution on Southern Rhodesia adopted by the Accra Summit. In attempting to put into action this Resolution, the Organization of African Unity member States should enlist the support of friendly powers.

In this hour of trial for the continent of Africa, all Africans should sink their minor differences and unite their efforts to rescue their Zimbabwe brethren whose rights, liberty and freedom have been trampled upon by a settler minority racist regime which has illegally seized power in defiance of world public opinion and in violation of basic principles of international law.

Particularly, it is imperative that the Zimbabwe Nationalist Parties should put away their petty differences and forthwith form a united front in the face of their national adversity. They must be prepared to fight to the death for the freedom and independence of their homeland.

Now is the time for them to prove themselves worthy of their name – freedom fighters. Now is the time for them to commit themselves to the motto of a famous freedom fighter: “Give me liberty or give me death.” They can count on the unswerving support of free Africa.

All forces of good wherever they may be found must be mobilized to uproot the white supremacists in Rhodesia and in Southern Africa. All freedom loving peoples must co-operate to destroy this deadly cancer of human liberty and equality. After all, at issue is not the loss of freedom to four million Africans, but the survival of human liberty.

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The world therefore should not condone the perpetration of one of the greatest political crimes in human history.

We pray that Almighty God will give you guidance on the accomplishment of your task.

July 7, 1966.

UN COMMITTEE ON INDEPENDENCE FOR COLONIAL COUNTRIES

On behalf of Ourselves, Our Government and the Ethiopian people, We are pleased to welcome once more distinguished members of the United Nations Special Committee on the situation with regard to the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

The importance of this Committee cannot be over-emphasized. Its intrinsic value lies in its attempt to foster the achievement by the U.N. of one of the fundamental human rights, which is to lead peoples and countries still under colonial yoke to freedom and independence. We are all cognizant of the fact that the struggle for freedom must and will always end in victory. Freedom being the aim of this Committee it shall be achieved. There is no question as to whether freedom should be attained, but rather how best it should be reached. Thus, the main concern of this Committee becomes to suggest ways and means to achieve this end as best as it could.

It is in its choice of means that the Committee encounters monumental problems. We are conscious that there are opposing forces at work: on the one hand the forces which unceasingly search for freedom, and on the other, the forces of oppression which attempt to deter freedom. A typical example of such conflict of forces is the unlawful Government in Southern Rhodesia. Except for such proponents of injustice like South Africa and Portugal, all freedom-

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loving states have condemned this racist and minority Government. We trust that majority rule will take over in Zimbabwe. But how and when? It is here that the Committee has to apply itself and suggest means. Since the measures that have been tried to force down the illegal Government seem to be ineffective, this Committee will have to consider other methods, methods that we can perhaps adopt in concert. No matter how hard the choice may be, We are confident that the members of this Committee will fulfil the noble task entrusted to them.

We know that as long as there are men who believe that one race is superior to the other and that they can lead the destinies of other men by any means, there shall be no peace. As long as there is going to be groundless irredentism and interference in other states' internal affairs, there is still not going to be peace. It is only by adhering to the principles set out in the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity that we can achieve our aims, and that our unity will grow stronger. On Our part, We assure you that We will never tire in our endeavours to free our brethren who are still under the yoke of colonialism.

We are aware that the job you are charged with is not easy, but We hope and pray that God will guide you during your deliberations.

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OPENING THIRD SESSION OF THE SUMMIT

..... Africa, like the rest of the world, is today, more than ever, passing through a transitional period from the Africa that was to the Africa that is to be. We have now begun to tread the path of the future, and the task that we have set for ourselves to carry out in building a better and secure tomorrow for Africa is an arduous one.

On behalf of the Government and people of Ethiopia, and also on Our behalf, We extend a warm welcome to you all who are gathered here today at this solemn meeting in Our capital.

We recall that three years ago we met in this hall to find ways and means of resolving the problems which then faced our continent. At that meeting which has become a great landmark in the annals of African history, we succeeded to put aside our differences and unanimously adopted and signed the historic document, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity.

In spite of obstacles, we have succeeded in establishing the Organization of African Unity. This we have achieved because the unity which we seek stemmed from the deep conviction which the people of Africa hold for the acceleration of their political, social and economic development. The fact that we succeeded in laying the foundation of our unity was due primarily to the desire of all Africans to unite in a common struggle against colonialism, poverty, disease and ignorance which are enemies of Africa.

In order that what we have set for ourselves to carry out may be realized in its full significance, and so that the Charter does not remain a mere historical milestone, we should in concert continue to work with the same vigour and dedication as we have done in the past. To this end,

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and in accordance with the Charter, we ought to continue meeting once every year to review the year's activities and to chart the course of action for the coming year. We should take it upon ourselves to acquaint our peoples with the progress of our achievements and with the programmes of work we set for the future.

The Charter of the Organization of African Unity has become the embodiment of all the aspirations of the African peoples. Some of the great aims of the Charter include the fostering of unity and solidarity among Member-States; the co-ordination of their efforts to raise the standard of living of their people; the defence and preservation of their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence and the eradication of all forms of colonialism, and the promotion of international co-operation.

Since May 1963 when the Organization of African Unity came into being, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government met twice while the Council of Ministers met several times, in ordinary and extraordinary sessions, to deal with Africa's political, economic, social and cultural problems.

We draw encouragement from the important developments that have taken place in Africa and from the achievements recorded in various fields. Africa has come a long way on the road to freedom and progress and has played an active role in the community of nations.

The conference We are opening today is yet another evidence, among many, of our devotion and dedication to the cause of our continent and its people. In this spirit, we shall continue to discharge our duty to this continent for those two hundred and fifty million inhabitants for whom we are responsible, and, at the same time endeavour not to fail to play an active role in world affairs.

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In Transition

Africa, like the rest of the world, is today, more than ever, passing through a transitional period from the Africa that was to the Africa that is to be. We have now begun to tread the path of the future, and the task that we have set for ourselves to carry out in building a better and secure tomorrow for Africa is an arduous one. Having emerged from a period of darkness, Africa is in the process of becoming a totally free continent. Since the birth of Our Organization, the unity and solidarity of Africa are steadily growing in strength. The voice of 250 million Africans now heard at international gatherings is gaining momentum day by day. Nevertheless, if we wish to strengthen our unity, we must overcome the factors that tend to balkanize and weaken our continent.

When we met to establish our Organization, foreign circles went so far as to declare that African unity was a dream that could not be realized. They assumed that Africa was torn in different directions, bent by interstate feuds, and ventured to predict that instead of unity there would be chaos and dissention. However, by our steadfastness and devotion to Africa's noble cause, we have proved them wrong. The Organization of African Unity, having exerted all efforts to defend with courage and conviction against the forces that undermine African unity, has emerged triumphant.

We, Member States, should walk the path of African unity with unfaltering faith. Ethiopia, for her part, will spare no effort to see to it that our solidarity and unity are maintained and strengthened. Africa must speak with one voice ringing out in powerful, harmonious tones. Our Organization provides us with suitable means of finding peaceful solutions to disputes arising among Member-States. It enables us to examine and execute measures which are

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essential for the defence of our continent and also helps us to adopt and undertake joint programmes of co-operation in political, social, economic and cultural fields which are vital to Africa.

Areas of Co-operation

In point of fact, the creation of the African Development Bank has given us a good basis for promoting economic co-operation. It is, therefore, in our interest to strengthen this institution and likewise the economic ties that already exist among Member-States.

In the cultural field, Africa faces many problems, mainly, as a result of the poor level of education and the lack of adequate contacts among its peoples. In view of this, great efforts must be made in the fields of education – a key to development – so as to provide Africa with the professional and qualified technicians needed for its advancement.

Bearing in mind the speed with which the Organization of African Unity has developed, and anxious to further strengthen it with the rest of the Member-States, Ethiopia shall contribute her share in giving every consideration so that the human as well as the material resources available to the Organization are wisely and effectively utilized. The resources at the disposal of the Organization should be evaluated in terms of the relative needs and mutual usefulness to the Member-States. Particular care must also be taken to avoid embarking upon costly projects for which Member-States have neither the necessary financial resources nor adequate technicians. Caution is necessary, lest such ambitious programmes may result in failure, which in turn would cause loss of interest and shake the confidence of Member-States in the Organization of African Unity. In this connection, the special committee which has been entrusted with the task of studying the problems facing the

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various branches of the Organization has submitted its recommendation and it deserves to be closely examined by all Member-States.

Today, the main problems that should concern us most and engage our attention are: the defence of Africa's freedom, the liberation of our brothers who are still under colonial rule, the promotion of economic and social progress and the efficient and effective exploitation of our natural resources, the broadening of our respective systems of national education, the development of the health and well-being of our peoples and the safeguarding of the interests of Africa by taking concerted actions both in the political and economic fields.

Two New States

In spite of great handicaps, the process of decolonization continues. In this connection, we should like to congratulate the two new independent States of Botswana and Lesotho on their attainment of independence and welcome their membership to our Organization. We are confident that these two African sister States will contribute their share to the enterprise and endeavours of our Organization. We are well aware of the very special geographical and political situation in which these two States are placed. The Organization of African Unity should give them political and moral support and, in concert with the United Nations Organization, guarantee their independence and freedom.

As far as the question of colonialism is concerned, Ethiopia's stand is clear. In accordance with her ideals of freedom, Ethiopia today, as in the past, is committed to defend the rights of the oppressed. Ethiopia has and shall continue to strive for the complete eradication of racial discrimination from the African Continent. She is fully aware that racial discrimination means the negation of

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the moral equality of all men and the deprivation of the African of his dignity and personality. As long as apartheid is practised in South Africa, Africa will have to continue to intensify her opposition until that scourge is totally annihilated from our continent. Though apartheid, that most repugnant and inhuman system of oppression that man has ever known, is still being unscrupulously practised by the government of South Africa, yet those countries that can bring pressure to bear upon it economically have refused to do so. We therefore appeal to these countries to discontinue their trade with South Africa, until such a time when that country changes its policy and grants its inhabitants their freedom.

Case of South-West Africa

For a number of years now the problem of South-West Africa has become the major concern of the African countries. Liberia and Ethiopia, as former members of the League of Nations, acting on behalf of all the African States, had sued South Africa for violating her mandate in South-West Africa by introducing the policy of apartheid into that territory and by failing in her obligation to promote the interest of the African population.

After six years of litigation, the International Court of Justice decided that the two States did not establish legal status in the case to stand before the Court, thus reversing its judgment of jurisdiction given in 1962. This unfortunate decision has profoundly shaken the high hopes that mankind had placed in the International Court of Justice. The faith man had that justice can be rendered is shattered and the cause of Africa betrayed.

Having failed in preparing the people of South-West Africa for independence, South Africa has betrayed the trust given to it by the League of Nations. In view of this

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and its stubborn refusal to carry out the resolutions of the United Nations in this connection, it becomes all the more appropriate to terminate South Africa's mandate over the territory. Mindful of this, We heartily welcome the recent decision of the United Nations which revoked South Africa's mandate over South-West Africa and thus placing it instead under its own administration. On this occasion We would like to congratulate all Member States of the United Nations which supported the resolution and especially the two great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union.

Rhodesia

In Rhodesia, the situation has deteriorated. A year ago, a foreign white minority declared unilateral independence. By so doing, the illegal regime condemned the African majority to servitude. After the illegal declaration of independence, the Government of the United Kingdom, the authority administering that colony, announced the application of economic sanctions against the rebel regime to force it to return to the rule of law. It was obvious that the sanctions imposed would prove to be ineffective. Faced with such a situation, the Government of the United Kingdom was urged to use force – if necessary – to quell the rebellion. Unfortunately, the British Government so far displayed reluctance to use force.

Since the economic and political sanctions imposed by Great Britain have proved ineffective so far, We are convinced that if future dangerous developments in the very heart of Africa are to be avoided, the Government of the United Kingdom should put down the illegal regime in Rhodesia by all means at its disposal including the use of force.

It is our duty to help the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe to intensify their struggle to liberate their country. On this occasion, we could reassure them of our continued support.

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We would like to take this opportunity to convey Our sincere congratulations to President Kenneth Kaunda and the Government of the Republic of Zambia for their efforts and sacrifices in the struggle for the liberation of tile people of Zimbabwe.

The Government of Portugal stubbornly holds on to the outmoded concept of regarding its African colonial territories as Portuguese overseas provinces. Portugal has incessantly oppressed the African nationalists and has constantly challenged the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations and our own Organization, calling upon her to grant independence to her colonies. We should therefore continue the struggle until the Government of Portugal succumbs to the inevitability of granting independence to her colonies. We should also call once again on all countries concerned to refrain from supplying Portugal with arms.

We are specially concerned about the Territory of Djibouti. Everyone is aware of the geographical, ethnical and economical ties that bind the Territory of Djibouti with Ethiopia. Since we have already expressed Our views on this matter on several occasions in detail, We shall not dwell on it at this point.

World Peace

At this juncture, We wish to give due regard to problems that affect world peace. In this connection, We refer to the situation in South-East Asia. The Vietnam question continues to engage the attention of the whole world. If the present situation persists, it will have incalculable consequences. We should therefore appeal to all parties concerned to agree to a "cease-fire" and negotiate a settlement on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreement.

It is with sadness that We recall here the recent unfortunate incident of the Guinea delegation, led by its Foreign

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Minister while enroute to Addis Ababa. Upon learning this news and noting the seriousness of the matter We sent within hours one of Our Cabinet Ministers to Accra and Conakry with a view to obtaining the release of the delegation so as to enable them to proceed to Addis Ababa. Similarly, the Council of Ministers of our Organization considering the gravity of this question despatched a three-man delegation to both Accra and Conakry. It was Our expressed hope that their efforts would achieve fruitful results and consequently enable the Guinea delegation to participate in the present Session of the OAU. However, all attempts made so far being in vain, it is, therefore, necessary for us to take this matter as an important item for our deliberation.

The agenda we have before us is a very important one. We pray that our deliberations may proceed in an atmosphere of harmony and understanding, and We ask the Almighty God for His guidance in this regard.

Nov. 6, 1966.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORIC - WAR AND PEACE

The history of Ethiopia for the past half a century has revolved materially around events in which Haile Selassie First has been the prime mover. In times of stress, in times of joy, his leadership in resolving the hopes, fears and aspirations of the Ethiopian people has been distinctive, his guidance indispensable and decisive.

His people and the world have acclaimed him a fighter not only in defence of the integrity of Ethiopia. He has been a champion for world peace and a man whose principles have contributed manfully to the history of this day and age. His public utterances in this phase of the national and international drama of peace and war speak by themselves most eloquently.

UNVEILING MENELIK'S STATUE

Your Highnesses, Honourable Foreign Representatives, and Dignitaries:

This day of the erection of a statue to Emperor Menelik II is a great and a happy day for the entire people of Ethiopia. The life of man is full of many sacrifices. However, after life, there is nothing better one could leave behind, other than a worthy and memorable name for one's performances, and the erection of this statue today proves that Emperor Menelik II has been blessed to get this well-deserved reward for his efforts.

Although Emperor Menelik II was Emperor of Ethiopia by virtue of his long and traditional royal lineage, all of you patriots and heroes are well aware of the fact that he was fortunate enough to have successfully pursued what Emperor Tewodros and Emperor Yohannes started in the struggle for the unification of all the provinces which were divided and balkanized as a result of the Battle of Gagne during the period of his father Emperor Lebne Dengel.

In all his efforts, with the blessings of God, his success in uniting Ethiopia has made his name renowned all over

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the world. Besides consolidating the unity of Ethiopia, Emperor Menelik II also established friendly relations with other governments, thus providing for Ethiopia favourable international relations and assuring the orderly progress of her people.

Having been fortunate enough and blessed with a peaceful reign, farmers worked hard and businessmen did their part well and consequently attained great prosperity.

Let history tell what achievements Emperor Menelik II made for his people and his country, for it will be impossible for Us now to enumerate them all here. No matter how intelligent and brave, no one on earth can escape death and Emperor Menelik II had to pass from this world on December 13, 1913 after having worked as much as he could for the growth of Ethiopia and the progress of his people.

Although this statue can in no way stand as a symbolic example for all the achievements Emperor Menelik II made for Ethiopia, We are erecting this statue because as human beings, there is nothing more We can do.

Many are the Emperors who, in the past, worked commendably for their country. However, we know of no king, thus far, who has a statue erected in his name. It was Emperor Menelik II who started and left behind for Us projects which brought Us closer to other countries and it is because of this that We take it upon Ourselves to erect statues as symbolic tokens to Emperors who left behind significant works and, to this effect, We can say that this statue stands to signify the great works of Emperor Menelik II.

Moreover, the presence of so many dignitaries and representatives of foreign governments, who are here for Our coronation and those representing governments that signed friendship treaties with Emperor Menelik II, as well as those of others, to witness the inauguration of this statue and share Our happiness, shows how great indeed he has been.

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From now on, We will continue to erect statues, not only for kings, but also for all those patriots who perform or have performed great works for their country, in memory of their name and their works.

Nov. 2, 1930.

TO PARLIAMENT ON ITALY'S AGGRESSION, JULY 11, 1934

*..... Your Emperor who speaks to you now will
also be amidst you at that time and is ready to
shed his blood for the freedom of His country*

Italy's desire to invade Our country since forty years ago has never altered. This ambition that has been continuously manifested on several occasions in the past years became more evident during her last year's winter activities and to make this no more a secret, the Italian Government, last year in August, without any reason, started to accumulate weapons along Our borders.

When We discovered this, We ordered Our Charge d'Affaires in Rome to ask for explanations and what We received was a completely unfounded and baseless reply that Italy was engaged in military preparations because We were planning to declare war against the colonized Eritrean and Somali territories. Although We explained that this was completely unfounded, as Italy was already pursuing her premeditated plan, she kept on building up her military preparation under the pretext that she was doing this for defensive purposes, never willing to admit that she was preparing herself to execute her aggressive plan. Italy also wanted some camouflaged pretexts to make her aggressive plan seem justified to the rest of the world.

Accordingly, when a certain clash of romance occurred between Ethiopian employees of national organizations and

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those of an Italian trade agency, in Gondar, last Hedar, although the blood that was shed was of the Ethiopians themselves, the Italian legation in Addis Ababa made a big scandal of this trifling affair and strongly intervened through diplomatic channels. Our Government, being peace-loving and seeking to avoid a more serious clash, responded favourably to the Italian demand. Then followed the Walwal incident which became the cause of Our present dispute.

In seeking to dismember some of Our territories, Italy ignored Our territorial integrity and in violation of the Treaty of 1900, signed between the two governments, and which laid down the boundary, she encamped a considerable military force and ammunitions at Walwal, 100 km. inside the demarcated border of Ethiopia.

Later, as Our border with British Somaliland was laid down by a treaty, representatives from Our country and those from Britain were instructed to see and approve a grazing area, which lies in Ethiopia, for the Somalis of British Somaliland as agreed upon in the treaty.

Italy Attacks

While the representatives of the two governments were executing their duties inside Our territory, for security reasons, Our Government had provided them with guards. And, as you already know, these guards were suddenly attacked on December 6, 1934, at which time they tried to defend themselves against the Italian machine guns, tanks and planes but were overwhelmed. This again became another clear evidence of the pre-calculated, unprovoked action of the Italian aggressors.

After attacking Our guards and committing all these crimes in Our own territory by its own men, Italy then wanted to put the blame on Us and to condemn Us for it, and as if her killing of Our soldiers was not enough, she

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even went further as far as asking for an apology and compensation.

Ethiopia, however, had a clear conscience about her just rights. And because of this, and seeking to settle the question peacefully, We referred to and immediately proposed the application of the Italo-Ethiopian treaty of 1928 in which Italy agreed to maintain lasting peaceful and friendly relations with Ethiopia and in the event of any dispute to have it solved peacefully through mediation. The reply to Our proposal was a blunt no; instead, she announced openly that she was determined to press her demands without any further examination and just appraisal of the question.

Since We were also determined to keep Our honour at any cost, and We were convinced that if any government, of its own accord, presented a case like this to impartial judges of governments, the judgment thus passed would not degrade but honour that Government, We openly declared that if Ethiopia was found guilty in this case, she would fully and immediately comply with the verdict.

Consequently, although Italy did not want to have the issue solved by mediators, We always wanted to solve it by legal and peaceful means, and in pursuance of this, We found it necessary to present the case to the League of Nations and We notified Our reasons for taking this step, in detail, to the Italian Government and its leader, Signor Mussolini.

Accordingly the case was raised last month at the League of Nations and Italy had to unhappily accept the decision that it be solved by mediators.

However, while We were following the decision reached by the League of Nations, in the same month, on January 21, and while mediators were appointed and diplomatic talks were going on, the Italian Minister continued to drag the matter in trying to make Us accept crimes which We never

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committed, and therefore, We found it necessary to refer the case again to the League of Nations.

While Italy was trying to press hard on Our Government diplomatically, at the same time, every day, We received the news from her daily radio broadcasts, that every day troops, weapons and ammunitions were being despatched to Our borders along Eritrea and Italian Somaliland thus confirming to Us every day that war was on the horizon.

Mediation

Following Our second reference of the case to the League of Nations, it was decided to select mediators on May 27, 1934.

Since Ethiopia's belief was that the judgment passed would be just and impartial, on her part, she selected one French and one American lawyer, well known for their experience and high reputation in international law.

Italy on her part selected two Italian citizens from among her own government officials.

At this juncture, although We had nothing against Italy's choice of mediators, We found it necessary to remind the League that the appointment of her own citizens as mediators would prove nothing but her unwillingness to see the issue settled impartially, for the obvious reason that nobody could be expected to pass an impartial judgment against his own country that appointed him to the job.

As the Italian Government's mediators had no freedom to pass their free judgment on the issue and it was feared that the issue would not find any solution by mediatory effort, the British government, on its part, intervened in an attempt to find other ways of reconciliation. This it did, realizing that international law was based on international peace and because its own main desire was to maintain world peace. Although it was clear and an established fact

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that the Ogaden has always been an integral part of Ethiopia, and although Italy had inflicted great damage on Our country by forcible entry into Our territory, Britain's proposal for reconciliation was that We give a portion from Our Ogaden territory to Italy, in return for which, Britain would give Us the port of Zeila and a portion of British Somaliland. As we were ever determined to maintain peace, We were getting prepared to study this proposal. But the moment this proposal was put forward to him, Mussolini declared that he would completely reject it and, therefore, We were forced to drop it.

As a result of this, the mediators still could not settle the case. The leader of the Italian government cut short the proposal for reconciliation offered by Britain.

War Approaching

Italy is still building up its military preparedness and Italian government top officials openly talk that their major plan is to occupy Our country. Consequently, the hour of war is getting closer with the passing of each day.

Only on June 11, the leader of the Italian government, while addressing 5,000 soldiers, ordered to go to what is now known as East African territories of Somalia and Eritrea, declared in his usual war provocative and propaganda speech to the Italian people that these soldiers were going to register a great heroic chapter for Italy.

What Mussolini says is that Italy wants to civilize Our people.

Italy is stubborn not to settle the question peacefully. She wants much blood to be shed and to be avenged for the battle of Adowa.

The people of Ethiopia whom Italy wants to dishonour by calling them pagans, are people who honour their words and respect the treaties they have signed.

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Ethiopia seeks no war, but she will not refrain whatsoever from defending herself against any aggressor. Even at Adowa Ethiopia was not the one that started the trouble. The war started because the Italians violated Our territorial sovereignty and crossed into Our territory. They may also be doing the same thing tomorrow.

Although, with God's help and the valour of her patriots, Ethiopia won victory in 1896, she did not seek territorial aggrandizement and made no claim whatsoever.

The Ethiopian Government will not have a disturbed conscience when the imminent war has finally got to be faced. It has done all that it could to safeguard peace.

Ethiopia does not have the ambition of dominating others. What she wants is to be master of her own and to that end she is always prepared to defend to the last man her independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

When the expansionist Italian force, under the pretext of spreading civilization comes, equipped with modern weapons, it will find the united people of Ethiopia ready to sacrifice their lives for their country and their Emperor.

Call to Arms

Fighting Men of Ethiopia!

Do not lament or lose hope when you see a respected and beloved leader fall in the battlefield, for the cause of Our freedom. Instead, you must realize that anyone who dies for his country is indeed fortunate. Death comes to all whether in time of peace or war and takes those it chooses. It is better to die with freedom than without it.

Our forefathers preserved Our country's independence through the sacrifice of their lives. Let them be your inspiration!

Soldiers! Businessmen! Farmers! Young and old, men and women! Unite! Together fight for the defence of your

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country! As it has always been in our tradition, women too must rise to defend their country by encouraging the soldiers and nursing the wounded. No matter how hard Italy tries to disunite us, Christians or Moslems, everyone will stand united.

God is Our fortress and Our defence. Never let the aggressor's new weapons detract you from fighting for the defence of your country and noble ideals!

Your Emperor who speaks to you now will also be amidst you at that time and is ready to shed his blood for the freedom of his country.

Before We conclude, there is one point We would like to tell you and this is the fact that we will continue to do everything possible to maintain peace. We would also like to tell you that until now the Ethiopian Government has done everything possible towards that end.

Diplomatically, it has continued to search for peaceful ways of negotiation that would be honourable to both sides. It has asked the League of Nations twice so that Italy could respect the friendship and mediation treaty it entered into of its own accord.

Moreover, since both Italy and Ethiopia, along with other states, have signed a treaty abolishing war, and America is the founder of the treaty, We have recently notified this situation to the American Government. And recently, because the Italians created problems at the mediation talks going on in Holland, We have ordered Our minister in Paris to refer the case to the League of Nations, for the third time.

We will exert every effort to maintain peace until the end. But if Our efforts and good wishes do not bear fruit, Our conscience will not blame Us. The people of Ethiopia, while strongly united to defend the right cause and freedom

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of Ethiopia, will raise their hands and pray unto the Almighty God that He may grant strength to their patriots and fighting men.

July 11, 1934.

MOBILIZATION PROCLAMATION

The mobilisation proclamation, of 3rd October 1935, read by the Grand Chamberlain, read as follows:

The conflict between Italy and our country, which has now lasted for almost a year, started at Wal-Wal on 5th December, 1934.

Our soldiers, serving as an escort to an international commission, were attacked in our territory by Italian troops. Italy, following the attack, demanded reparations and apologies, which were refused.

When, after much resistance on Italy's part, we were able, thanks to our perseverance and the efforts of the League of Nations Council, to bring this difference before the arbitrators, they unanimously recognised that we were guiltless of the fault Italy imputed to us.

But Italy, which for a long time has shown an unconcealed desire to acquire our country, now prepares to attack us.

Renouncing the signature she gave to the League Covenant, violating peace promises solemnly made to us in the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty, and reducing to nothing all international engagements, notably the Pact renouncing war, Italy prepares a second time to violate our territory.

The hour is grave. Arise, each of you! Take up arms, and rush to the defence of your country. Rally to your chiefs; obey them with single purpose, and repel the invader!

May those who are unable because of weakness and infirmity to take an active part in this sacred quarrel, help us with their prayers.

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The opinion of the world has been revolted by this aggression against us. God be with us all. All forward, for your Emperor and for your country!

Oct. 3, 1935.

APPEAL TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

I, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, am here today to claim that justice which is due to my people, and the assistance promised to it eight months ago, when fifty nations asserted that aggression had been committed in violation of international treaties.

There is no precedent for a Head of State himself speaking in this assembly. But there is also no precedent for a people being victim of such injustice and being at present threatened by abandonment to its aggressor. Also, there has never before been an example of any Government proceeding to the systematic extermination of a nation by barbarous means, in violation of the most solemn promises made by the nations of the earth that there should not be used against innocent human beings the terrible poison of harmful gases. It is to defend a people struggling for its age-old independence that the head of the Ethiopian Empire has come to Geneva to fulfil this supreme duty, after having himself fought at the head of his armies.

I pray to Almighty God that He may spare nations the terrible sufferings that have just been inflicted on my people, and of which the chiefs who accompany me here have been the horrified witnesses.

It is my duty to inform the Governments assembled in Geneva, responsible as they are for the lives of millions of men, women and children, of the deadly peril which threatens them, by describing to them the fate which has been suffered by Ethiopia.

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It is not only upon warriors that the Italian Government has made war. It has above all attacked populations far removed from hostilities, in order to terrorize and exterminate them.

At the beginning, towards the end of 1935, Italian aircraft hurled upon my armies bombs of tear-gas. Their effects were but slight. The soldiers learned to scatter, waiting until the wind had rapidly dispersed the poisonous gases.

The Italian aircraft then resorted to mustard gas. Barrels of liquid were hurled upon armed groups. But this means also was not effective; the liquid affected only a few soldiers, and barrels upon the ground were themselves a warning to troops and to the population of the danger.

It was at the time when the operations for the encircling of Makalle were taking place that the Italian command, fearing a rout, followed the procedure which it is now my duty to denounce to the world. Special sprayers were installed on board aircraft so that they could vaporize, over vast areas of territory, a fine, death-dealing rain. Groups of nine, fifteen, eighteen aircraft followed one another so that the fog issuing from them formed a continuous sheet. It was thus that, as from the end of January, 1936, soldiers, women, children, cattle, rivers, lakes and pastures were drenched continually with this deadly rain. In order to kill off systematically all living creatures, in order the more surely to poison waters and pastures, the Italian command made its aircraft pass over and over again. That was its chief method of warfare.

Ravage and Terror

The very refinement of barbarism consisted in carrying ravage and terror into the most densely populated parts of the territory, the points farthest removed from the scene of hostilities. The object was to scatter fear and death over a great part of the Ethiopian territory.

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These fearful tactics succeeded. Men and animals succumbed. The deadly rain that fell from the aircraft made all those whom it touched fly shrieking with pain. All those who drank the poisoned water or ate the infected food also succumbed in dreadful suffering. In tens of thousands, the victims of the Italian mustard gas fell. It is in order to denounce to the civilized world the tortures inflicted upon the Ethiopian people that I resolved to come to Geneva.

None other than myself and my brave companions in arms could bring the League of Nations the undeniable proof. The appeals of my delegates addressed to the League of Nations had remained without any answer; my delegates had not been witnesses. That is why I decided to come myself to bear witness against the crime perpetrated against my people and give Europe a warning of the doom that awaits it, if it should bow before the accomplished fact.

Is it necessary to remind the Assembly of the various stages of the Ethiopian drama? For 20 years past, either as Heir Apparent, Regent of the Empire, or as Emperor, I have never ceased to use all my efforts to bring my country the benefits of civilization, and in particular to establish relations of good neighbourliness with adjacent powers. In particular I succeeded in concluding with Italy the Treaty of Friendship of 1928, which absolutely prohibited the resort, under any pretext whatsoever, to force of arms, substituting for force and pressure the conciliation and arbitration on which civilized nations have based international order.

Country More United

In its report of October 5th 1935, the Committee of Thirteen recognized my effort and the results that I had achieved. The Governments thought that the entry of Ethiopia into the League, whilst giving that country a new guarantee for the maintenance of her territorial integrity and independence, would help her to reach a higher level of

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civilization. It does not seem that in Ethiopia today there is more disorder and insecurity than in 1923. On the contrary, the country is more united and the central power is better obeyed.

I should have procured still greater results for my people if obstacles of every kind had not been put in the way by the Italian Government, the Government which stirred up revolt and armed the rebels. Indeed the Rome Government, as it has today openly proclaimed, has never ceased to prepare for the conquest of Ethiopia. The Treaties of Friendship it signed with me were not sincere; their only object was to hide its real intention from me. The Italian Government asserts that for 14 years it has been preparing for its present conquest. It therefore recognizes today that when it supported the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations in 1923, when it concluded the Treaty of Friendship in 1928, when it signed the Pact of Paris outlawing war, it was deceiving the whole world.

The Ethiopian Government was, in these solemn treaties, given additional guarantees of security which would enable it to achieve further progress along the pacific path of reform on which it had set its feet, and to which it was devoting all its strength and all its heart.

Wal-Wal Pretext

The Wal-Wal incident, in December, 1934, came as a thunderbolt to me. The Italian provocation was obvious and I did not hesitate to appeal to the League of Nations. I invoked the provisions of the treaty of 1928, the principles of the Covenant; I urged the procedure of conciliation and arbitration.

Unhappily for Ethiopia this was the time when a certain Government considered that the European situation made it imperative at all costs to obtain the friendship of Italy. The

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price paid was the abandonment of Ethiopian independence to the greed of the Italian Government. This secret agreement, contrary to the obligations of the Covenant, has exerted a great influence over the course of events. Ethiopia and the whole world have suffered and are still suffering today its disastrous consequences.

This first violation of the Covenant was followed by many others. Feeling itself encouraged in its policy against Ethiopia, the Rome Government feverishly made war preparations, thinking that the concerted pressure which was perhaps not overcome the resistance of my people to Italian domination.

The time had to come; thus all sorts of difficulties were placed in the way with a view to breaking up the procedure of conciliation and arbitration. All kinds of obstacles were placed in the way of that procedure. Governments tried to prevent the Ethiopian Government from finding arbitrators amongst their nationals: when once the arbitral tribunal was set up pressure was exercised so that an award favourable to Italy should be given.

All this was in vain: the arbitrators – two of whom were Italian officials – were forced to recognize unanimously that in the Wal-Wal incident, as in the subsequent incidents, no international responsibility was to be attributed to Ethiopia.

Peace Efforts

Following on this award, the Ethiopian Government sincerely thought that an era of friendly relations might be opened with Italy. I loyally offered my hand to the Rome Government.

The Assembly was informed by the report of the Committee of Thirteen, dated October 5th, 1935, of the details

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of the events which occurred after the month of December, 1934, and up to October 3rd, 1935.

It will be sufficient if I quote a few of the conclusions of that report (Nos. 24, 25 and 26) "The Italian memorandum (containing the complaints made by Italy) was laid on the Council table on September 4th, 1935, whereas Ethiopia's first appeal to the Council had been made on December 14th, 1934. In the interval between these two dates, the Italian Government opposed the consideration of the question by the Council on the ground that the only appropriate procedure was that provided for in the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928. Throughout the whole of that period, moreover, the despatch of Italian troops to East Africa was proceeding. These shipments of troops were represented to the Council by the Italian Government as necessary for the defence of its colonies menaced by Ethiopia's preparations. Ethiopia, on the contrary, drew attention to the official pronouncements made in Italy which, in its opinion, left no doubt "as to the hostile intentions of the Italian Government."

From the outset of the dispute, the Ethiopian Government has sought a settlement by peaceful means. It has appealed to the procedures of the Covenant. The Italian Government desiring to keep strictly to the procedures of the Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1928, the Ethiopian Government assented. It invariably stated that it would faithfully carry out the arbitral award even if the decision went against it. It agreed that the question of the ownership of Wal-Wal should not be dealt with by the arbitrators, because the Italian Government would not agree to such a course. It asked the Council to despatch neutral observers and offered to lend itself to any enquiries upon which the Council might decide.

Once the Wal-Wal dispute had been settled by arbitration, however, the Italian Government submitted its detailed memorandum to the Council in support of its claim to

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liberty of action. It asserted that a case like that of Ethiopia cannot be settled by the means provided by the Covenant.

It stated that. "since this question affects vital interest and is of primary importance to Italian security and civilization" it "would be failing in its most elementary duty, did it not cease once and for all to place any confidence in Ethiopia, reserving full liberty to adopt any measures that may become necessary to ensure the safety of its colonies and to safeguard its own interests."

Covenant Violated

Those are the terms of the report of the Committee of Thirteen. The Council and the Assembly unanimously adopted the conclusion that the Italian Government had violated the Covenant and was in a state of aggression.

I did not hesitate to declare that I did not wish for war, that it was imposed upon me, and I should struggle solely for the independence and integrity of my people, and that in that struggle I was the defender of the cause of all small States exposed to the greed of a powerful neighbour.

In October, 1935, the 52 nations who are listening to me today gave me an assurance that the aggressor would not triumph, that the resources of the Covenant would be employed in order to ensure the reign of right and the failure of violence.

I ask the fifty-two nations not to forget today the policy upon which they embarked eight months ago, and on faith of which I directed the resistance of my people against the aggressor whom they had denounced to the world. Despite the inferiority of my weapons, the complete lack of aircraft, artillery, munitions, hospital services, my confidence in the League was absolute. I thought it to be impossible that fifty-two nations, including the most powerful in the world, should be successfully opposed by a single aggressor. Counting on the faith due to treaties, I had made no preparation

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for war, and that is the case with certain small countries in Europe.

When the danger became more urgent, being aware of my responsibilities towards my people, during the first six months of 1935 I tried to acquire armaments. Many Governments proclaimed an embargo to prevent my doing so, whereas the Italian Government through the Suez Canal, was given all facilities for transporting without cessation and without protest, troops, arms, and munitions.

Forced to Mobilize

On October 3rd, 1935, the Italian troops invaded my territory. A few hours later only I decreed general mobilization. In my desire to maintain peace I had, following the example of a great country in Europe on the eve of the Great War, caused my troops to withdraw thirty kilometres so as to remove any pretext of provocation.

War then took place in the atrocious conditions which I have laid before the Assembly. In that unequal struggle between a Government commanding more than forty-two million inhabitants, having at its disposal financial, industrial and technical means which enabled it to create unlimited quantities of the most death-dealing weapons, and, on the other hand, a small people of twelve million inhabitants, without arms, without resources having on its side only the justice of its own cause and the promise of the League of Nations. What real assistance was given to Ethiopia by the fifty-two nations who had declared the Rome Government guilty of a breach of the Covenant and had undertaken to prevent the triumph of the aggressor? Has each of the States Members, as it was its duty to do in virtue of its signature appended to Article 15 of the Covenant, considered the aggressor as having committed an act of war personally directed against itself? I had placed all my hopes in the execution of these undertakings. My confidence had been

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confirmed by the repeated declarations made in the Council to the effect that aggression must not be rewarded, and that force would end by being compelled to bow before right.

In December, 1935, the Council made it quite clear that its feelings were in harmony with those of hundreds of millions of people who, in all parts of the world, had protested against the proposal to dismember Ethiopia. It was constantly repeated that there was not merely a conflict between the Italian Government and the League of Nations, and that is why I personally refused all proposals to my personal advantage made to me by the Italian Government, if only I would betray my people and the Covenant of the League of Nations. I was defending the cause of all small peoples who are threatened with aggression.

What of Promises?

What have become of the promises made to me as long ago as October, 1935? I noted with grief, but without surprise that three Powers considered their undertakings under the Covenant as absolutely of no value. Their connections with Italy impelled them to refuse to take any measures whatsoever in order to stop Italian aggression. On the contrary, it was a profound disappointment to me to learn the attitude of a certain Government which, whilst ever protesting its scrupulous attachment to the Covenant, has tirelessly used all its efforts to prevent its observance. As soon as any measure which was likely to be rapidly effective was proposed, various pretexts were devised in order to postpone even consideration of the measure. Did the secret agreements of January, 1935, provide for this tireless obstruction?

The Ethiopian Government never expected other Governments to shed their soldiers' blood to defend the Covenant when their own immediately personal interests were not at stake. Ethiopian warriors asked only for means to defend

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themselves. On many occasions I have asked for financial assistance for the purchase of arms. That assistance has been constantly refused me. What, then, in practice, is the meaning of Article 16 of the Covenant and of collective security?

The Ethiopian Government's use of the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa was in practice hampered as regards transport of arms intended for the Ethiopian forces. At the present moment this is the chief, if not the only means of supply of the Italian armies of occupation. The rules of neutrality should have prohibited transports intended for Italian forces, but there is not even neutrality since Article 16 lays upon every State Member of the League the duty not to remain a neutral but to come to the aid not of the aggressor but of the victim of aggression. Has the Covenant been respected? Is it today being respected?

Finally a statement has just been made in their Parliaments by the Governments of certain Powers, amongst them the most influential members of the League of Nations, that since the aggressor has succeeded in occupying a large part of Ethiopian territory they propose not to continue the application of any economic and financial measures that may have been decided upon against the Italian Government.

These are the circumstances in which at the request of the Argentine Government, the Assembly of the League of Nations meets to consider the situation created by Italian aggression.

I assert that the problem submitted to the Assembly today is a much wider one. It is not merely a question of the settlement of Italian aggression.

League Threatened

It is collective security: it is the very existence of the League of Nations. It is the confidence that each State is to place in international treaties. It is the value of promises made to small States that their integrity and their indepen-

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dence shall be respected and ensured. It is the principle of the equality of States on the one hand, or otherwise the obligation laid upon small Powers to accept the bonds of vassalship. In a word, it is international morality that is at stake. Have the signatures appended to a Treaty value only in so far as the signatory Powers have a personal, direct and immediate interest involved?

No subtlety can change the problem or shift the grounds of the discussion. It is in all sincerity that I submit these considerations to the Assembly. At a time when my people are threatened with extermination, when the support of the League may ward off the final blow, may I be allowed to speak with complete frankness, without reticence, in all directness such as is demanded by the rule of equality as between all States Members of the League?

Apart from the Kingdom of the Lord there is not on this earth any nation that is superior to any other. Should it happen that a strong Government finds it may with impunity destroy a weak people, then the hour strikes for that weak people to appeal to the League of Nations to give its judgment in all freedom. God and history will remember your judgment.

Assistance Refused

I have heard it asserted that the inadequate sanctions already applied have not achieved their object. At no time, and under no circumstances could sanctions that were intentionally inadequate, intentionally badly applied, stop an aggressor. This is not a case of the impossibility of stopping an aggressor but of the refusal to stop an aggressor. When Ethiopia requested and requests that she should be given financial assistance, was that a measure which it was impossible to apply whereas financial assistance of the League has been granted, even in times of peace, to two countries

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and exactly to two countries who have refused to apply sanctions against the aggressor?

Faced by numerous violations by the Italian Government of all international treaties that prohibit resort to arms, and the use of barbarous methods of warfare, it is my painful duty to note that the initiative has today been taken with a view to raising sanctions. Does this initiative not mean in practice the abandonment of Ethiopia to the aggressor? On the very eve of the day when I was about to attempt a supreme effort in the defence of my people before this Assembly, does not this initiative deprive Ethiopia of one of her last chances to succeed in obtaining the support and guarantee of States Members? Is that the guidance the League of Nations and each of the States Members are entitled to expect from the great Powers when they assert their right and their duty to guide the action of the League?

Placed by the aggressor face to face with the accomplished fact, are States going to set up the terrible precedent of bowing before force?

Your Assembly will doubtless have laid before it proposals for the reform of the Covenant and for rendering more effective the guarantee of collective security. Is it the Covenant that needs reform? What undertakings can have any value if the will to keep them is lacking? It is international morality which is at stake and not the Articles of the Covenant.

On behalf of the Ethiopian people, a member of the League of Nations, I request the Assembly to take all measures proper to ensure respect for the Covenant. I renew my protest against the violations of treaties of which the Ethiopian people has been the victim. I declare in the face of the whole world that the Emperor, the Government and the people of Ethiopia will not bow before force; that they maintain their claims that they will use all means in their

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power to ensure the triumph of right and the respect of the Covenant.

I ask the fifty-two nations, who have given the Ethiopian people a promise to help them in their resistance to the aggressor, what are they willing to do for Ethiopia? And the great Powers who have promised the guarantee of collective security to small States on whom weighs the threat that they may one day suffer the fate of Ethiopia. I ask what measures do you intend to take?

Representatives of the World I have come to Geneva to discharge in your midst the most painful of the duties of the head of a State. What reply shall I have to take back to my people?

June, 1936.

AT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN 1938

..... Being responsible for ensuring respect for the principles of international justice, is the League of Nations about to end its own existence by tearing up, with its own hands, the Covenant which constitutes its sole reason for existence? The magnificent edifice that has just been reared for the triumph of peace through law, is thus henceforth to become an altar of the cult of force, a market place in which the independence of peoples becomes the subject of trafficking, a tomb in which international morality is to be buried

The Ethiopian people, to whom all assistance was refused, are climbing alone their path to calvary. No humiliation has been spared to the victim of aggression. All the resources of procedure have been tried with a view to excluding Ethiopia from the League of Nations, as the aggressor demands. Thus, for three years there has been before the world

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and before the League the problem of international order: Will law win the game as against force, or force as against law?

Ethiopia, the victim of an inexcusable aggression, has placed her confidence in the signature of the State Members of the League, although the support that was due to her was given only in a very incomplete measure. Since 1935 Ethiopia has with pain noted successive abandonments of signatures that had been appended to the Covenant.

Many powers threatened with aggression and feeling their weakness have abandoned Ethiopia. They have uttered the cry of panic and rout. Everyone for himself! In the vain hope of currying favour with the aggressor, they have regarded themselves as freed from the undertakings they had assumed for general security. Thus they have themselves overthrown all the principles on which their very existence rests. They have torn up the treaties which ensured their own independence – the treaties of non-aggression, the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris. By what right will they themselves be able to invoke these undertakings if they regard as scraps of paper treaties they have signed?

Aggressions have taken place in increasing number. The contagion has been propagated. Certain States are now engaged in full struggle, others are threatened. Fear reigns over the world. The present or forthcoming victims tremble for the future, and they think they may improve their situation by flattering those whose aggression they dread. International morality has disappeared. The excuse of these weak people is their very weakness, the certainty that they would be abandoned as Ethiopia has been, and between two evils they have chosen the one which the fear of the aggressor leads them to consider the lesser. May God forgive them!

To those States which since the beginning of Our trials have continued to give us their moral support and have

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unfailingly asserted their unshakable devotion to the provisions of the Covenant, I would, on behalf of My people, voice an expression of Our profound gratitude for their faithful friendship.

It is disappointing to the Ethiopian people to observe the attitude of the most powerful States in the world – States that have always proclaimed their devotion to the Covenant, asserting their respect for the undertakings embodied in international treaties, and recalling the sanctity of international contracts as the basis of international morality.

At the request of the most powerful States in the world, the Ethiopian question has been placed on the agenda of the present session of the Council. It has been set out in very indefinite terms: “The consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia.” What is proposed, indeed, is really to ensure the execution of a Note attached to the agreement concluded at Rome on April 16th, 1938, in which the British Ambassador states to the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs as follows:

“I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that H.M. Government, being desirous of removing any obstacle which may at the present time be considered as preventing the freedom of the States Members in respect of the recognition of the Italian Sovereignty in Ethiopia, intends at the forthcoming meeting of the Council of the League of Nations to take steps with a view to clarifying the situation of States Members in this respect.”

This Note is supplementary to the Protocol of April 16, 1938, constituting the Anglo-Italian Treaty, and to annexes 5, 6 and 7 of the said Protocol. Annex 5 contains a statement relating to Lake Tana. Annex 6 contains a statement relating to the military obligations of natives of Italian East Africa. Annex 7 contains a statement relating to the free exercises of religion and the treatment of British religious organizations in Italian East Africa. By this convention and

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by these annexes the British Government, so far as it is concerned has, subject to certain conditions, assumed towards Italy an undertaking to recognize the Italian Government as de jure sovereign of the State of Ethiopia.

By the Note of April 16, 1938, the British Government entered into a second and supplementary undertaking towards the Italian Government, and did so unconditionally. It undertook to use all its influence with States Members of the League of Nations in order to remove those obstacles which may at the present time be regarded as hampering the liberty of States Members in proceeding to the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Ethiopia.

Contrary To Covenant

The Council is asked to destroy the protective role laid down by the Assembly of the League of Nations on March 11, 1932, and confirmed by the Assembly on July 4, 1936 as follows:

“The Assembly of the League of Nations declares that the Members of the League are bound not to recognize any situation, any treaty, any agreement that may have been brought about by means contrary to the Covenant of the League or to the Pact of Paris.”

That is how it is proposed to treat the principles of international law and Article 10 of the Covenant by which Members undertake to respect and maintain as against all external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of each Member.

Nevertheless, non-recognition of a conquest by aggression is the onerous obligation in observing Article 10, since it involves merely a passive attitude. It does not call upon States Members to make any national sacrifice, nor does it lead them to incur any risk of war or reprisals.

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Has this passive attitude become today too heavy a burden for those Governments which, in order to take up once more with Rome what they call normal diplomatic relations, have thought it necessary to proclaim in one form or another, and always in a way that gives little satisfaction, their fidelity to the principle of the non-recognition of annexation of territory obtained by force?

Today it is the brutal abandonment of this principle which is contemplated, and which even seems to be called for by the powerful British Empire.

I greatly regret that I find myself here opposed to a Government towards which I have the most sincere feelings of admiration and of profound gratitude. It is that Government which, in my distress, granted me its generous hospitality. I am forgetful of nothing of what I owe to Great Britain.

I also turn towards the French Government, whose powerful support I received fifteen years ago at the time of the admission of my country to the League of Nations. France has, at all times, been the disinterested adviser both of my predecessors and myself, the adviser whose advice was always listened to. How can I forget all that the past holds of friendship and loyal support?

But I, the sovereign of Ethiopia, have a more imperative duty than any other, and it is the duty to defend my oppressed people, which more than fifty nations of the world proclaimed less than three years ago, to be the victim of an odious aggression. Very respectfully but very firmly, I would ask the British Government itself – and everybody recognizes the loyalty, generosity and humanity of that Government – to examine again its proposal regarding the situation of the Ethiopian people.

The interpretation of Article 10 must surely be the interpretation that has been given time after time by the Assembly, even so recently as on October 6th, 1937, with regard to another aggression. Barely seven months ago the

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Assembly confirmed the principle embodied in the Covenant in the following words: "The Assembly assures China of its moral support and recommends Members of the League of Nations to refrain from any action calculated to weaken the power of resistance of that country and thereby increase its difficulties in the present conflict, and also to examine individually the extent to which they might be able to give aid to China."

Energetic Protest

Today the Council is being asked, in regard to Ethiopia, to recommend to Members of the League of Nations to associate themselves in a measure calculated to weaken the powers of resistance of the Ethiopian people, thereby aggravating its difficulties in its conflict with Italy, and that they should examine individually the extent to which they can assist the aggressor.

As against these defaults, and the proposals that are made, whatever the form they assume, I, legitimate Emperor of Ethiopia, address to all the nations of the world, on behalf of My martyred people, the most energetic protest.

In order to eventuate the flagrant violation of the Covenant, the suggestion made today to the Council invokes the *de facto* situation in Ethiopia at the present time.

But if it were true – and it is not so – that the invader has broken the resistance of My people, even if in fact he were occupying and administering effectively the territory of My Empire – which is not the case – even in those circumstances the proposal submitted to the Council should be set aside without hesitation.

Did not the world hail as one of the most important marks of progress in international law, and as the most effective contribution to the re-organization of peace between nations, the principle proclaimed a few years ago by the

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United States of America, namely the refusal to grant juridical recognition to the results of aggression?

As sovereign of the Ethiopian people, I invoke this principle, for it is My duty to defend the political independence of the Ethiopian people, the territorial integrity of Ethiopia and at the same time the life, the property and liberty of each of those individuals and each of those religious or civic institutions which make up the Ethiopian people.

Unhappily, it is true that My people can now expect from States Members of the League of Nations no material support. May I at least ask that the rights of My people should continue to be recognized and that, pending the moment of Divine justice, Ethiopia may remain amongst you as the living image of violated right.

Do not say that the Ethiopian people will derive no advantage from that, and that the only result will be a disturbance of international relations. The greatest disturbance that may be caused in relations between peoples is the confirmation and consecration of a violation of right and of law, homage paid to the aggressor, the sacrifice of a victim.

Millions of men and women throughout the world are today anxiously following the deliberations of the League of Nations. They know that this is the tragic hour in which the destiny of the League is to be determined. Being responsible for ensuring respect for the principles of international justice, is the League of Nations about to end its own existence by tearing up, with its own hands, the Covenant which constitutes its sole reason for existence? The magnificent edifice that has just been reared for the triumph of peace through law, is thus henceforth to become an altar of the cult of force, a market place in which the independence of peoples becomes the subject of trafficking, a tomb in which international morality is to be buried?

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Actual Situation

My opposition to the suggestions put before the Council derives added force from the actual situation of fact today existing in Ethiopia.

As I have already stated to the League of Nations in My earlier communications, the Italian Government does not exercise control over the greater part of the Ethiopian territory. Even in Tigre, which is the province nearest to Eritrea, the Italian base, the Italian troops control merely the towns and areas where garrisons have been installed. The remainder of the province is not under their domination. Garrisons can be supplied by provisions and munitions only by means of aircraft.

The same is true for the province of Begemdir, where there is only one Italian garrison at Gondar, which is isolated from the rest of the province and which is fed with supplies by aircraft. In the province of Gojjam there is no Italian domination at all; in the province of Shoa, Italian garrisons are installed at Addis Ababa and Ankober and along the railway towards Djibouti.

In the province of Wollega, too, Italian garrisons are encamped at Gore, Seyo and Lekempti, and these occupy merely the towns of those names, while the rest of the province is entirely outside their action.

In the provinces of Jimma, Sidamo, Borana, Bale and Wolamo, the situation is the same, only the towns of Jiram, Yirga-Alem, Mega, Goba and Ginir are occupied. All the rest of the territory has had to be evacuated under the pressure of Our warriors.

In the province of Harar, only the towns of Harar and Jijiga are under Italian domination. The rest of the province is entirely removed from Italian action.

Finally, there is no Italian control at all over the provinces of Danakil and Aussa.

An annex to the present statement contains the petition

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presented by the Ethiopian warrior chiefs setting forth the situation and asking for the assistance of the League of Nations, and of the British Government. All these facts are well known. They are fully confirmed by the news that comes from the British and French colonies that border on Ethiopia.

The Italian Government itself has had to confess that the expenses incurred by the occupation amount each year to thousands of millions of lire, without taking account of the expenditure in 1935 and 1936, which amounted to more than 27,000 million lire.

Despite this enormous expenditure, the exploitation of Ethiopian territory has proved to be impossible. The programme of road construction could not be carried out, not for lack of money, but because it was impossible to work in a country where guerilla warfare continues implacable and will continue until the territory is evacuated by the Italians or until the Ethiopian people have been exterminated.

Enemy Propaganda

In order to break down the resistance of My people and its refusal to abandon that independence which it has enjoyed for more than thirty centuries, the Italian authorities are counting upon propaganda with the object of demoralizing the people, and in this they make great play with the abandonment of Ethiopia by the League of Nations.

In Europe the Italian Government proclaims lofty indifference towards the attitude of the Powers and of the League of Nations; but in reality, it is endeavouring to obtain the recognition of its conquest which it would then present to the Ethiopian peoples as a condemnation of Ethiopia by the League. Is not that a demonstration of the practical value of the principle of non-recognition by the League of annexation by force?

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From the existing *de facto* situation, as it really is in Ethiopia at present, juridical consequences that are very clear follow. The fact is that war is continuing. International law in time of war grants the belligerent who occupies a certain point in foreign territory certain temporary provisional and limited powers.

States outside the conflict have the right to maintain, with the military and civil authorities of the occupying Powers, certain temporary, provisional, limited relations, concerned with the defence of the interest of their national resident in the occupied territories.

International law absolutely prohibits the belligerent making any annexation, and it prohibits any Power that is foreign to the conflict from recognizing the occupant as legal sovereign. Thus the *de facto* situation does strengthen and supplement the provisions of the Covenant and of the Pact of Paris, which in the most categorical way prohibit *de jure* recognition of annexation, which would be recognizing the conquest of territory by force.

I am, of course, aware that to justify its action the British Government urges lofty preoccupations. Nothing less is at stake than action in the view to favour general appeasement through the sacrifice of a nation and this sacrifice is made dependent on the satisfactory settlement – satisfactory so far as England and France are concerned – of the Spanish question.

I would ask that this suggestion be set aside. Is it not absolutely incompatible with the spirit of the Covenant to sacrifice a State Member of the League in order to insure the tranquillity of other Powers? Is it thus that one serves the international ideal to which the British and French Governments have so constantly proclaimed their devotion? Do not the small states see the risk by which they are threatened if they consent to creating so terrible a precedent?

Moreover, even supposing that the suggestion made to

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the Council by the British Government came within the competence of any organ of the League of Nations whatsoever, I would in the most energetic way dispute the suggestion that this is the matter that can be dealt with by the council.

In a matter that is of vital importance both to My country and also to the League of Nations, in a matter where in fact what is at stake is a decision, a recommendation, a wish (for some other formula) tending directly or indirectly to free State Members from the obligation that they assumed when they signed the Covenant, to invite them in practice to recognize *de jure* the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy. I assert that a competent authority to discuss such a question is the Assembly of the League of Nations and the Assembly alone. In this respect Ethiopia would invoke the authority of the United Kingdom Foreign Secretary, who on December 16, 1936 stated in the House of Commons: "The question of the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and the exclusion of that country from the League of Nations is a matter for the Assembly of the League of Nations. It is the Assembly that must take a decision in the light of the circumstances."

Protests Procedure

Ethiopia protests against all subtleties of procedure, the object of which would be to evade the rules of competence which are clearly written in the Covenant. As the delegate of Portugal said, nothing can be more repugnant and more hypocritical than the strangling of a nation by procedure.

Will the League of Nations agree to any such things? This Covenant does not allow it.

I formally ask, as I am entitled to do, that the Council should refer this question to the Assembly of the League of Nations, before whom it is in fact already laid, and I ask,

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as is My right, that the Assembly of the League of Nations should proceed to this examination.

The distinguished representative of Great Britain has just put the question very clearly. He said there are at present two ideals in conflict, the ideal of devotion to a lofty aim, and the ideal of ensuring peace as a practical measure. He asserted that it is often difficult to reconcile what is ideally just with what is possible in practice. He asserted that it is the essential mission of the League to maintain peace. Yes, the League has as its essential object the maintenance of peace. But there are different ways to maintain peace; there is the maintenance of peace through right, and there is peace at any price. Ethiopia firmly believes that the League of Nations has no freedom of choice in this matter. It would be committing suicide, if, after having been created, to maintain peace through right, it were to abandon that principle, and adopt instead the principle of peace at any price, even the price of the immolation of a State Member at the feet of its aggressor.

In concluding this statement, in which with all the strength of mind and heart at My disposal I have endeavoured to work for the defence of My people, I cannot refrain from reverting to the year 1923, the year in which My Empire was admitted to the League of Nations. I then assumed an undertaking to lead My people along the path of progress of western civilization, which seemed to Me to be something superior to the state at which My country had arrived. Since that time I spared no effort in order to ensure success. Important results had been achieved. I note with deep sorrow that all My work has been overthrown, blotted out by the Italian aggression.

But one unexpected result was ensured in Ethiopia as indeed has been the case in other countries. The Italian aggression has brought the Ethiopian Chiefs more closely round the Emperor than at any other period. In the document

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that I am communicating to the League of Nations there are included letters of affection from Ethiopian chiefs and from the people. As The Emperor of Ethiopia basing Myself on the faithful devotion of My chiefs, My warriors, on the affection of My people, being desirous of putting an end if possible to the sufferings, I repeat the declaration that I have made already in the League of Nations. I am prepared now, as I was previously, to discuss any proposal for a solution which even at the cost of sacrifice would ensure to My people the free development of their civilization and of their independence.

STEPPING BACK ON ETHIOPIAN SOIL AFTER FIVE YEARS OF EXILE

SPEECH DELIVERED AT OMEDLA ON HIS RETURN AND ENTRY INTO ETHIOPIA

When We step upon Our soil this day, We would like you to convey Our thanks to the commander of the Sudanese army, Major General Platt, for the good wishes he expressed to Us, through you, on behalf of himself, his officers and his men.

Our happiness is great to be reunited with Our beloved people, who, while waiting for Our assistance for the last five years and longing to see Us, have been fighting in defence of their independence with their bare hands and muscles against the invader.

We would like you to convey to General Platt the full confidence We have in Our people to liberate Our country completely with the assistance of Great Britain which, by paying great sacrifices, has raised its powerful arms to liberate all those who have fallen under the domination of Fascism and Nazism.

We would also like you to confirm to him the great

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confidence which We and Our people have in the assistance We get from Our ally, Great Britain, in order to dislodge Our common enemy.

The success obtained out of a trying and difficult task gives great satisfaction to those engaged in it.

At this moment when the peoples of Our two countries are being tried, We would therefore like you to convey to General Platt, how much We are longing to see the day of Our mutual happiness when exploits of the army under his capable and enlightened leadership and those of the entire British force combined with Ours would be crowned with victory.

We also wish the same to those of you who have been selected to play a great role in the military force of Ethiopia and who are present at this place where Ethio-Great Britain's close ties will be always remembered.

We also remember the British military commander and his officers who were the first to strike the victorious blow and who are now amidst Our fighting forces.

On this occasion of Our entry into Our territory and Our reunion with Our people, We also do not forget the great people of Great Britain who accorded Us such a warm and cordial reception. We will never forget Our indebtedness to those people for their deep understanding of Our suffering and that of Our people and for the encouragement they gave Us at the time of Our distress.

We also do not forget the friendly and good reception We were accorded by the Sudanese authorities, the government and the people, during Our stay in Khartoum.

And finally We thank you for the good wishes you have expressed to Us on your own behalf.

Jan. 22, 1940.

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ON LIBERATION: “THE GOLDEN DECLARATION”

Our people of Ethiopia! Listen!

Thanks be to Almighty God who is impartial to all, Who can break the arms of the strong and who stands by the oppressed.

When Our long-time enemy, Italy, crossed Our border and occupied Our country by aggressive force, We fought to defend Our country as much as We could and then went to Europe to solicit help while you, patriots of Ethiopia, continued the struggle and waited for Us fighting day and night in the forests and mountains against the militarily superior brutal enemy, in taking advantage of your natural heroism as your greatest weapon, never putting aside your swords, abandoning your flag or surrendering to alien rule.

As you now see, your five-year struggle has made it possible for you to witness the fruits of your efforts and sacrifices.

We have told you before that We have brought for you with us, the aid of Great Britain which promised Us to completely dispel Our enemy from Our country and restore Our independence. Our happiness is boundless when We announce to you that We have returned to Our beloved country, with God's will, and to be present amidst Our people whom We have been missing for some time.

Our people of Ethiopia!

You know how grim life is to people robbed of their government, independence and their motherland.

The time has now come when each and everyone of us should protect and serve Our beloved country, Ethiopia, with more zeal and vigour.

The Almighty God has been merciful to all of Us. Therefore, We have given mercy to those of you who, willingly or unwillingly, betrayed your country and your Em-

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peror while here or abroad, and We urge you, wherever you may be, to raise your arms against the enemy who has come, determined to destroy your race, confiscate your property and spoil your name. Now you must throw him out of Ethiopia.

Italy is now in great despair, pressured by Great Britain's air, sea and land forces and those Italian soldiers remaining in Our country will not be beyond the challenge of Our reliable patriotic forces.

We express Our gratitude to the government and people of Great Britain, for all the world to hear, on behalf of you and Ourselves, for the warm, generous and cordial reception and welcome they accorded Us during Our most trying period.

Long live independent Ethiopia!
Long live Great Britain!

Jan. 22, 1940.

MERCY PROCLAMATION

By the Proclamation released on Hamle 17th, 1932, I announced to you that I advised the Italians in Ethiopia and who were completely encircled to submit to our Chiefs in order to avoid being killed. Consequently I recommend to you to receive in a suitable manner and to keep all the Italians who submit to you with or without arms. Do not reproach them for their atrocities to which they had subjected our population. Show them that you are soldiers possessing human feelings and a human heart. Do not forget that during the Battle of Adowa, the valiant Ethiopian warriors who had handed over the Italian prisoners to their Emperor have increased the honour and elevated the name of Ethiopia.

Actually, as you know, the Italian troops are wandering about dispersed, in Libya, Albania and Ethiopia. In Libya

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the British troops have captured more than 130,000 men. The Greek troops have captured many thousands of Italians in Albania. The British troops have co-operated with us and those who have penetrated into Eritrea continue to capture each day numerous Italians.

The Italians are escaping and evacuating the regions to the West of Ethiopian territory, from the North of Ethiopia to Lake Rudolph. In the face of these circumstances, be vigilant on all your positions so as to avoid that they destroy the country in the course of their withdrawal.

But We recommended to you to spare their lives and treat well the enemy which will represent humanity; We particularly recommend to you spare and respect the life of children, women and old people. Do not pillage the goods of others, even the property of the enemy. We recommend to you not to burn any house.

When I order you to respect all these things it is only to ask you to perform an act of conscience, because my heart tells me that the Ethiopian people is not unfair to any other civilized people in their respect for the laws of war.

July, 1940.

TRIUMPHANT ENTRY – VICTORY DAY

..... Today is a day on which Ethiopia is stretching her hands to God in joy and thankfulness and revealing her happiness to her children

People of my country and especially my faithful soldiers!

No human lips can express the thankfulness which I feel to the merciful God who has enabled me to stand in your midst on this day of which the angels in heaven and the creation on earth could neither have thought of nor known. Before everything else I want to tell you and to make you understand that this day is a day on which a fresh chapter of the history of the New Ethiopia begins. In this new era

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a new work is commencing which it is the duty of all of us to perform.

If we desire to be reminiscent of the affliction which befell Ethiopia during the past years we shall only speak of her recent history. When Ethiopia, who has preserved her independence for many thousands of years, was attacked in 1888 E.C. (1896 Gregorian Calendar) by Italy, who had harboured aggressive designs against her for many years before with the intention of destroying her freedom, her brave sons fought at Adowa and she saved her independence. The Treaty of Wuchali (Ucciali 1889) was not the only cause of the battle that was fought at Adowa. It was only a pretext for the constant desire that Italy had had of ruling Ethiopia. Although the Great European War interfered with her plans for a time, and in spite of her outward protestations of friendship, Italy revealed in recent years the preparations she had been making against Ethiopia after her defeat at Adowa, because of her resentment that justice should have prevailed against her.

When Italy began to make a war of aggression on Ethiopia, although we knew we were not as well armed as she was, we went against her with what strength we could muster, because it was our duty to resist an enemy that had come to seize our country. But as it was apparent that she was bent on exterminating our people with poison gas, the use of which was prohibited by international law, we went to appeal to the League of Nations and to claim justice. As it was feared that this hostility started by Italy might spread all over the world, and as it was a period when all those who were charged with the responsibility of government were trying to save the world from the catastrophe which has since befallen it, they were working to bring about understanding in the world to prevent the spread of the conflagration. At that time our true friend, Great Britain, received us with sympathy. I remained there working, but constantly being

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in spirit with my countrymen whose blood was being uselessly, and ruthlessly shed at the hands of the Italians: with the monasteries and churches that were being burned down; with those forced to take refuge in foreign lands; and with those suffering and being afflicted in the wilderness, in the caves and in the forests of their native land.

Thousands Perished

How many are the young men, the women, the priests and the monks whom the Italians pitilessly massacred during these years? You know that in Addis Ababa alone many thousands perished during the three days following St. Michael's Day on Yekatit 12, 1929 (19th February, 1937). The blood and bones of those who were killed with spades and pickaxes, of those who were split with axes and hammered to death, pierced with bayonets, clubbed and stoned, of those who were burned alive with their little children in their homes, of those who perished of hunger and thirst in prison have been crying for justice. Everybody knows that this act of barbarism and cruelty was not perpetrated in Addis Ababa alone, but more especially in the provinces of Ethiopia. There is hardly anyone who has not been caught and beaten, kicked, humiliated and imprisoned.

Now we shall pass on to the new history that is before us. Five years ago today the fascist forces entered our capital city. Then Mussolini announced to the world that he had established a Roman Empire in our country, Ethiopia. He believed that the land he declared he had conquered would forever be in his hands. The heroism of the Ethiopian people is known in history. But as we had no port through which to import modern armaments necessary for our people, we were unable to obtain them. Fifty-two nations condemned Mussolini for his deed. But he boasted of his violent deed and took no notice of their condemnation. The past five

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years have been years of darkness for you, my people. But you never lost hope, and little by little you spread on the Ethiopian hills. The enemy never ventured to come near the mountains on which you were because, enduring every hardship and affliction, you, the warriors of Ethiopia, safeguarded your freedom during the past five years. But in spite of the fact that he could not conquer the country, he spent many thousands of millions of lire, saying that he was civilizing what he could hold. He spent all that money not because he desired to improve the condition of the oppressed Ethiopian people or to mitigate the injustice he had done. It is because he wanted to plant a fascist colony in our sacred land of Ethiopia and to impose on her the rule of oppression which he had planned. He tried to exterminate the Ethiopian race, and did not even entertain the idea of giving her the administration of a mandate or a protectorate, which in any case would have been considered a heavy yoke for a free people. But all the money that could be counted by the thousand million and all the prepared armaments served a purpose which Mussolini never intended them to serve. At the time when Italy revealed her intentions of entering the war in order to be able to snatch from defeated France as much as she could, the number of soldiers, the amount of money and the armaments she had sent to Ethiopia was enormous. The regular troops she concentrated were not less than 250,000; she also amassed provisions to last for many years in case she was encircled. Trusting in, and bragging of, the invincibility of this military force, the fascist government proceeded with planting totalitarian rule in our country. But something happened which the fascist government did not take into account. The fighting spirit which is essential in modern war revealed in you.

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Formidable Adversaries

You were able to destroy the enemy who were superior to you in number and equipment, because you are a people possessed of bravery and mercy and because you co-operated and knew the stratagems of war.

The British troops, who were fighting for human rights on other fronts of the war, needed time to get ready to come to the assistance of Ethiopia and free her. But you, warriors of Ethiopia, harassed the enemy by cutting his communications, by harrying him and restricting him to his fortifications. In spite of the great numbers of troops in which he put his trust, he realized that the Ethiopian people from one end to the other hated him and his rule. He knew also that it was impossible for him to live in such a country and in the midst of such a people. Even by using poison gas and bombs and by his atrocities he could no longer hope to enjoy an overlordship of a country the inside of which was undermined. He realized that the soldiers who surrounded him were adversaries more powerful than he was. He spent the daring and the money that were left to him to meet his adversaries. Then he looked around, if perchance he could find somewhere where he could take shelter in Ethiopia, but he could find no shelter.

When the time came, our great ally, the British Government, prepared to launch a proper attack against our enemy. As soon as I knew this I left for the distant land of the Sudan which borders us in the west, and entered central Gojjam. In Gojjam our enemy had strong fortified positions, powerful troops, aeroplanes and artillery. On comparing the number of our soldiers with that of the enemy we found that we had one soldier for every 20 of his. Moreover, we had no artillery and aircraft that we could dispose of at will. The fact that I was found in the midst of my warriors at once attracted many thousands of men. And the fear and anxiety of our enemy

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increased to that extent. While my soldiers were harassing and cutting the enemy's communications and after having driven his troops across the Abbai (Blue Nile), were pursuing them towards Shoo and Begamder, I heard the good news that the British Imperial troops had, with incomparable speed, occupied our capital city and were pushing towards Dessie in the North and Jimma in the South. In the same way, the troops who started from the Sudan destroyed the fortress at Keren with wonderful force and utterly defeated the enemy. And as the time came for my return to my capital I mustered my soldiers who were scattered in every direction in pursuit of our enemies, and find myself in my capital today. I am exceedingly happy that I have been able to arrive here at the head of my soldiers, the enemy who was found on my path being defeated, and to break the power of the common foe. I am deeply thankful to Almighty God that I stand today in your midst in my Palace, from which the fascist government has fled.

A New Day

People of my country, Ethiopia!

Today is a day on which Ethiopia is stretching her hands to God in joy and thankfulness and revealing her happiness to her children.

This day, on which the people of Ethiopia are freed from oppressive foreign yoke and eternal servitude and on which I am enabled to rejoin my people, whom I love and have longed for, will be honoured as a holiday to be commemorated annually as a Great Ethiopian Anniversary. On this day we shall remember those heroic warriors who, determined not to surrender the great charge passed on to them by their Father, became sacrifices, shedding their blood and breaking their bones for the freedom of the land they loved and for the honour of their Emperor and their flag. The history of Ethiopia will be witness for these our warriors.

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The tribulations and afflictions which befell us during the past five years and which cannot be recounted and numbered in detail will be a great lesson to us all, and with industry, unity, co-operation and love engraved in your hearts, will be a great incentive to you to be my helpers in the affairs of Ethiopia which I have in mind. In the New Ethiopia I want you to be a people undivided and endowed with freedom and equality before the law.

You will have to join me in my efforts for the prosperity of the country, for the riches of the people, for the development of agriculture, commerce, education and learning, for the protection of the life and resources of our people, and for the perfection on modern lines of administration of the country.

It is my firm wish and purpose to merit the blessing with which God in His mercy has visited us, first, by showing our gratitude to our Allies, the British, by the release of the Imperial troops to fight the common enemy on other fronts, and by supplying them with troops whenever they may be needed; secondly, to do work beneficial to the people and the country by establishing in our Ethiopia a Government which will protect the Faith and cause it to be respected, and by guaranteeing liberty of the people and Freedom of conscience.

What I would finally announce to you, my people, is that today is a day of rejoicing for us all. Today is a day on which we defeated our enemy. Therefore, when we say let us all rejoice with our hearts let not our rejoicing be in any other way but in the spirit of Christ. Do not return evil for evil. Do not indulge in the atrocities which the enemy has been practising in his usual way, even up to the last moment.

Take care not to spoil the good name of Ethiopia by acts which are worthy of the enemy. We shall see that our enemies are disarmed and sent the same way they came. As St. George who killed the dragon is the Patron Saint of

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our army as well as of our allies, let us unite with our allies in everlasting friendship and amity in order to be able to stand against the godless and cruel dragon which has newly risen and which is oppressing mankind. I charge you to consider them as a brother and a friend and to show them kindness and consideration.

May 5, 1941.

DECLARATION ON “V. E.” DAY

..... To win the war; to overcome the enemy upon the field, cannot alone ensure the Victory in Peace. The cause of war must be removed. Each nation's rights must be secure from violation. Above all, from the human mind must be erased all thoughts of war as a solution. Then and then only will war cease.....

Almost six years ago, on September the 1st in 1939, Hitler's Germany attacked Poland. For many people in the world – perhaps for most – this fearful day was held as marking the beginning of the Second Great World War.

Later, with the wider perspective that the years of battle have afforded, many have come to realize what We in Ethiopia and Our Great Ally in the East had learned so bitterly, the war – this war – in all its true significance had started many years before.

We are celebrating today, the redemption of the world through the sacrifice of human life. We pray for the foundation of World Peace which may now be laid in all those lands whose people were victims of aggression.

And so, today, in a month already fraught with great significance for us and for our history in Ethiopia, We join in special gratitude, together with the representatives and members of the Nations of Our Allies, in solemn thanks before Almighty God – for Victory.

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Germany is defeated. The vast horror and the tribulations of the war – which We foresaw – which We forewarned before the League of Nations – has ceased for Europe.

The subtle gradual moves by the Axis partners, piece by piece to swallow up the world, offer a fearful catalogue which We may well this day recall.

Following her attack upon Manchuria and different annexations, Japan was finally at war with China, in 1937.

In 1935 Italy attacked and invaded Our Empire. This was not strange. It was but the continuation of Italian aggression committed against Corfu, regarded by her as a glorious achievement. In 1939 on Good Friday she invaded Albania.

In 1938 Hitler had annexed Austria only to move on to Czechoslovakia and in 1939 to parts of Lithuania. Despite all this, until the attack on Poland in September of that year, no general war was recognized by the world.

The attack on Poland brought the Governments of Britain and of France to her defence, but others hesitated, until with the great German offensive of 1940 more lands were overrun.

First Denmark, then Norway, fell. With the final attack on France, Luxembourg, Belgium and the Netherlands were occupied.

Italy Joined

Italy, seeking further glory, boastfully joined the conflict, an entry into war described by that great and lamented leader the late President Roosevelt as “stabbing in the back” – a description which will remain in history and human memory for ever. She invaded Greece in October 1940; but Greece, inspired by the tradition of her people’s courage and their independence, all but shattered Mussolini’s troops.