

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 un-failing 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.

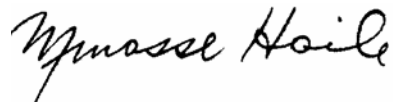
*His primary motivation – that of raising the standard of living of the Ethiopian people and restoring the ancient stature and glory of his nation – runs through the theme of the majority of his public utterances. In them can be clearly seen the inseparable impulse of his whole career. This dedication 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.

HIGHER EDUCATION

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.

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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, Ourselves

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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 Gragne 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.

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On the verge of defeat, Italy appealed for help and to be rescued by her partner Germany, who took the opportunity to take in Yugoslavia on the way. In June 1941 Germany, in contravention of her treaty, attacked the mighty Soviet Union. The satellites, Hungary, Roumania and Bulgaria, thought it best to join the Axis Group.

By December of that year the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour bringing the United States into the conflict.

Thus, in a few short months, when We were struggling for and as We gained Our freedom once again, the greater part of the world was drawn into the holocaust of war. Our effort was not only to regain our independence, but to attack the common enemies, the Fascists and the Nazis. We ordered that all Fascist troops captured by our Patriots in Ethiopia be handed over to our Army. The war against the Fascist was our war. That war with all its unimaginable cost in human life and happiness and wealth is only now just drawing to its close.

The day of reckoning is now at hand for all those Quislings and war criminals to receive their due reward for all the misery, torture, imprisonment and massacre committed by themselves and through their orders against so many men and women, old and young.

The time has now come for such criminals as Badoglio and Graziani who washed their hands with the blood of men; who were pioneers of human destruction in Ethiopia.

Although no one of Us can yet rejoice in full, for still one formidable foe remains. We can with justice and with gratitude thank God that this great enemy – perhaps the greatest of Our common enemies – has now been brought to book. With this event Japan is doomed. The tyranny, which threatened all of Us and against which so many fought with such incomparable bravery, is stilled. Much of the tragedy and misery, death and destruction is at an end. For this We lay Our heart before Almighty God in an thankfulness.

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Today, as We offer Our prayers in thankfulness, so do We offer Our prayers and remembrance now, and in the silence of Our service, for those heroic soldiers, sailors and airmen and for those civilians also, who from all nations of the Allies, have laid down their lives. We would offer too Our prayers and with Our prayers Our thoughts to those parents who have lost their sons and those widows and dependents who have been left with all the aftermath of sorrow and of difficulty.

Help Did Not Come

Ten years ago, when Mussolini's Italy attacked Our Empire, the masses of the peoples of the world – even, We would hazard, most individual members of the League of Nations – were in the fullest sympathy with Us. Some there were who sought to do so. After Belgium and Czechoslovakia were overrun by Germany they were accused by Mussolini for helping Ethiopia by providing arms. But in the end, delay, discussions and considerations of the world prevailed. Help did not come. We speak now without bitterness about that time. We can appreciate that true idealism may have lain behind those policies, now indeed regretted by the world and now admitted as disastrous, of “Peace at any price” and of “appeasement.” Nevertheless, We pray that unity and that the strength behind the unity, which failed before, will never lack again among the Councils of the World. We also pray for wisdom to be granted to the Conference at San Francisco now discussing World Security and that it shall finally achieve results that shall be just to all the nations of the world. At this time the aggressor and the persecutor are receiving their reward. It is they who are being driven out, while those they had oppressed and persecuted can now begin to wipe away their tears. Distorted history is changed to truth. The light of justice dawns again.

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Throughout the years of tribulation We have learned the need for unity. In those first fateful days in 1939, by no means all the nations who, together, have now gained this victory, were then convinced that each and all must hang together or must fall. When – almost too late – after the resistance of Great Britain following the epic of Dunkirk – hope had been brought once more into the world, the larger that spirit grew. The Governments and Empires of those countries who were overrun but not defeated, joined their lot with Britain. Symbolized in the inspiration of their great leader – President Roosevelt – so recently and so tragically dead, the people of the United States of America joined their spirit through Lease-Lend. The dastardly attacks upon the Soviet Union and upon Pearl Harbour finally crystallized the realization that this menace was world-wide.

After the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour, the unlimited resources in men and in machinery, the unquenchable democratic faith of the Great United States of America were ranged against the Axis Powers. From then there was no faltering. Unity continued to build up the vast resource and potential of the Allies – the United Nations – who have now achieved this Victory in Germany; who will achieve that even greater Victory of peace within the world and realize the aims of those essential freedoms outlined in the Atlantic Charter.

Meaning Of Victory

Lastly, for a few moments, We would turn Our thoughts towards all this victory must signify to our own land – to Ethiopia. As we have said, the sorrows of Our land, the gas that fascists poured upon Our people and the massacres and tortures that the fascist leaders, symbolized by Graziani, practised on Our folk; these, to Our mind, are all part of this great war, whose end so rapidly approaches.

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As We, here celebrate the Allied Victory in Germany and pray for those who brought this victory about, also We may pray again in thankfulness that through their effort We, here, in this land, are saved.

Here too We may recall the first great allied Victory of this war. The Victory by which the soldiers of Great Britain and her Commonwealth, fighting together with Our patriots, brought freedom back to Ethiopia. But this alone could not ensure Our gain, because the battle was still close.

By her resistance to the Italians in 1935 Ethiopia was first actively to oppose the forces of the Axis on the continent of Africa. For five years Ethiopian patriots maintained the fight to such effect that when the world war spread to Africa their forces of resistance were already marshalled. With the British they expelled the enemy from Ethiopia. One threat which menaced Egypt and the Sudan was ended. The victories in Africa two years ago made surety more sure.

After the defeat of the Italians We willingly contributed all available supplies and means of transport and communication to the War effort. To further the prosecution of the war We placed a large part of Our territory under military administration. We offered troops. By all means at her disposal Ethiopia, from the first, contributed reverse Lend-Lease.

When Italy surrendered – then was Our oppressor humbled. But still his friend remained, powerful in might, well supplied in all the machinery of war. The mighty Soviet Union opposed this enemy on land. All the resources of the arsenals of Unity were turned upon the Nazi foe. Battered from the East, bombed from the air, and finally invaded from the West this enemy, by God's grace, now too, has gone. Only Japan remains – a hope forlorn – and We in Ethiopia with all of Our friends are saved.

Those who had attacked Us rejoiced in Our defeat and

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in Our tribulation. We trusted in the Lord. He gave Us Victory. Our Salvation is the Lord. Who here can fail to trust in God, whose judgments are all righteous and who fails not those who put their faith in Him. Has not the Lord, the mightier than mighty, once again revealed that under the Kingdom of Heaven no one Government of man is greater than another.

We do not forget that though the battle in the West is won, the battle in the East continues. We offer Our tribute of admiration for the amazing feats of arms that Our Allies are performing in that area. May they achieve an early victory. There is no need for renewal of Our offer to send troops to fight against the common enemy side by side in battle with the forces of Our Allies. Though Our country Ethiopia, is now far from the scene of battle, Our thoughts are there. All help which may be asked of Us, even the lives of Our people, will be given willingly. We do not believe that distance need prevent Our land from giving assistance in the common cause.

May it be taken as Divine significance, that, as We mark the passing of the Nazi Reich, in America at San Francisco, delegates from all United Nations, among whose number Ethiopia stands, are now met together for their long-planned conference to lay foundations for an international pact to banish war and to maintain World Peace. Our Churches pray for the successful triumph of this conference. Without success in this, the Victory, We celebrate today, the suffering that We have all endured will be of no avail.

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.

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May God grant Us his every aid to speed the final Peace and keep it.

May, 1945.

RE-UNION ANNIVERSARY

On this historic anniversary of the federation of Eritrea with the motherland the words you have all uttered are a source of great happiness.

Happiness so signifies different things to different people. There is happiness that is of a momentary nature and happiness that lives for ever. The federation of Eritrea with the motherland resuscitates in Us a happiness that is not evanescent but everlasting.

Even if an artificial boundary separated Ethiopia and Eritrea in the days of yore the wishes and desires of the Eritrean people were never at variance but in concord with the wishes and desires of the whole people of the motherland.

From the time that We were called upon to guide the destiny of Ethiopia, it has been Our wish and desire that Eritreans of their own free will share the same opportunities offered to their Ethiopian brothers, and it is a matter of deep gratification to Us to witness that Our wish has been fulfilled. Those who have been ceaselessly struggling to preserve the life and not bring about the death of Ethiopia and those who have never fallen dupes to the separationist propaganda of alien rule, have always been in the forefront ready to sacrifice their blood for the freedom and unity of their country.

During the invasion when death was hovering over Us, We always remember the worthy Eritreans who fought for their freedom and those who fell on the battlefield for the love of their homeland.

When the artificial boundary was at long last made non-

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existent and Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia, the Eritreans, who had never relented from fighting for its freedom in the hours of its trial, have never ceased to express their love of country and devotion to the motherland.

Both Christians and Moslems in Eritrea, without any religious antagonism, have lived side by side in harmony with faith in the words We pronounced, assuring Our people: "The country is for all and religion for the individual," and this has enhanced Our unity and strengthened Our Government through the spirit of brotherly love.

The love of country shown by the people of Eritrea will benefit not only them but also the whole of Ethiopia. Although this good fortune has fallen to be Ours and the achievements speak in Our name, let Us not forget to express Our gratitude to God who accomplishes everything.

Thanks be to the Almighty who brought Our wishes and desires into a happy realization and made Us celebrate the New Year in unity.

Sept. 13, 1960

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF LIBERATION, 5TH MAY, 1966

We thank Almighty God that We have been spared to witness the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the victory over Fascism. In the words of David: "The Lord heard my voice; He sent his angel from on high, and He delivered me from my enemies."

We thank Almighty God that We are reunited today with so many of the noble and courageous men who fought at Our side in that glorious campaign.

We thank Almighty God for the triumph of right and justice and liberty over aggression and oppression.

Today, twenty-five years are but a brief moment in the

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span of history. The memories come crowding upon Us, as we re-live those hours of unbounded rejoicing, as We are buffeted again by the profound emotions which swept Our mind and spirit then. Surrounded today by familiar faces, by old friends and comrades, Our heart is full.

May 5th, 1941 will live as one of the greatest days in the long annals of Ethiopian history. It was, at the same time, a great turning point in world history. For a brief period, Ethiopia alone had carried on the struggle against fascist tyranny. Our appeals were unheeded. Our warnings ignored. But at last those who had turned their backs on Us at the League of Nations were themselves driven into turmoil and suffering and to the very brink of destruction. At last they came to recognize their common responsibility to oppose the inhuman and degrading doctrine which had brought devastation and destruction to Our innocent nation. The victory over fascism in Ethiopia and for Africa was but the first inspiring landmark for the allied nations on the long road back to the re-establishment of liberty and justice for themselves.

A century ago, Ethiopia possessed virtually no modern weapons, no defence against the power of technology. Swords and spears and raw courage were her weapons. She had no standing army, no trained and disciplined officers and ranks. She depended for her safety upon the patriotic instincts in the heart of every Ethiopian and upon the inspiration of her leaders.

But these resources, even then, were not lightly to be dismissed. Just seventy years ago, Ethiopian armies formed almost as if by magic and hurled themselves upon a grasping invader to gain the immortal triumph of Adowa.

The victory of Adowa has long been hailed as one of the major events of the nineteenth century in Africa. Its effects upon Ethiopia and her relations with the colonial powers were far-reaching. Certainly it preserved the nation's

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age-old independence from the greedy incursions then being made elsewhere against our brethren on this continent. Thus, although denied her rightful access to the sea and isolated from the influences of modern technological learning, Ethiopia nonetheless maintained her independence and stood as a source of inspiration and hope to her fellow Africans.

But the legacy of Adowa was perhaps misleading, for soon, courage and valour would not be enough. The industrialized nations applied the weight of modern science to the development of ever more fearful engines of war. Recognizing the danger, We early attempted to alter the nature of the nation's military base. At our insistence, a small modern military unit was in fact, organized and trained by experienced soldiers. Airplanes were purchased and young men were sent abroad for advanced instruction.

First of all, however, We placed Our faith in the principle of collective security and the seemingly indisputable might of the League of Nations. The story of the betrayal of that faith is one of the acknowledged tragedies of our times. The arms and supplies which Ethiopia could not produce herself were denied her, while the enemy continued to build and fuel with its own resources its great war machine. The most futile sanctions were half-heartedly called for, and less than half-heartedly enforced. Ethiopia's warriors and patriots fought with all the valour and desperation for which they and their ancestors had so often been called upon before, but they were powerless against the bombs and poison gas which the enemy so mercilessly and savagely employed against soldiers and innocent civilians alike. The brutality of those infamous days will forever haunt the memory of those who lived through them.

The lessons of experience are rarely easy. It was through bloodshed and sorrow that Ethiopia learned the awesome power of modern arms and organized military might. From the ashes of the war Ethiopians began to reconstruct a new

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and more powerful nation. We vowed in sorrow that Ethiopia would never again through weakness suffer such outrages as had been wrought upon her.

In the years since 1941, Ethiopia's military power has grown far beyond the meager and ill-equipped forces which struggled through the mountains to Addis Ababa. Ethiopia is ready today, as in the past, to defend her integrity to the last limit of her resources. But she disposes now of the trained military forces, the modern equipment which will protect her rights and interests against the onslaughts of any misguided aggressor. Never again will she be taken unaware.

From the day of Our return We set about building a military apparatus which would be equal to the task of guarding Our homeland and people against attack from any source. Over the years the quality and strength of the nation's forces have grown rapidly. Today Ethiopia possesses compact and well equipped ground, naval and air forces. She has trained substantial numbers of soldiers, sailors and airmen in the modern techniques of engineering and weaponry. These have long since proved in battle their capacity to stand man for man against the soldiery of any nation in the world. Acting with the help and guidance of other friendly nations we have established on Ethiopian soil the most modern army, navy and air training institutions. Skilled officers possessing the highest technical qualifications now comprise the imposing cadres of Ethiopia's military leaders. Other African nations have sent the finest of their young men to study in our military institutions both in recognition of the quality of education provided there and in open expression of the trust and confidence which we repose in one another.

Yet even beyond the vast improvements in the Ethiopian military machine, there stands in defence of peace the great bulwark of the United Nations, erected with willing and eager hands out of the torment, destruction and misery of the last war. Even as the guns were falling silent the

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representatives of millions of men and women, Ethiopians among them, pledged themselves to uphold the Charter of the United Nations so that no such holocaust would ever again ravage and darken the earth. The United Nations was conceived as a means of real and positive action in the face of aggression. Ethiopia evinced her continuing faith in collective security as she enrolled herself among the charter members of the organization. In accordance with decisions of the United Nations, Ethiopia has shown her willingness to give substance to principle, to fight and sacrifice for others as for herself – in Korea, in the Congo, and elsewhere – in order to uphold and defend the rule of justice and reason in human affairs.

We have gathered today to pay tribute to the noble fighting men of Ethiopia and of many other nations who struggled here and gave their blood to this land. We salute the heroes, both living and dead, men like the late General Wingate, Ethiopian and foreigner alike, who enabled Our people once again to walk freely with heads unbowed upon the soil of their fathers.

Present on this occasion are a few of the valiant British officers who twenty-five years ago travelled the long and arduous path to victory. We recall with deep pride the magnificent accomplishments of the many brave men like Brigadier Sandford who joined in that glorious and triumphant march.

We are also honoured today with the presence of military representatives of many of the other nations whose troops fought on our soil in the common cause. Their names recall an honour roll of bravery and selfless sacrifice. We are proud that our friendship with them continues strong.

We are proud too that in testimony to the unity and present readiness of this entire continent, military representatives of the member states of the Organization of African Unity are present at these commemorative ceremonies. High

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among the principles enshrined in the Charter of that Organization is the commitment of its member states to co-ordinate and harmonize their policies with respect to co-operation for mutual defence and security. The growing might of this continent's military forces must make any aggressor wary indeed.

Finally, representatives of the armed forces of both the United States and the Soviet Union have joined this assemblage at Our invitation. These two immensely powerful nations dispose today of destructive power which defies the comprehension of ordinary men. Both are here represented as friends of Our nation; both refused to extend recognition of the Fascists in Ethiopia; both have contributed to the building of the modern Ethiopian state. The American and Soviet governments have been entrusted by fate with awesome responsibilities for the maintenance of world peace. We are hopeful that in consultation with Ethiopia and all other nations of the world they will both continue to devote their utmost efforts to the search for effective means to halt the arms race and bring about meaningful disarmament.

For twenty-five years now, Ethiopia has lived quietly and her people have enjoyed the blessings of peace. Our country's economy has flourished, and foreigners, in collaboration with Ethiopians, have been encouraged to invest in this stable African state.

But throughout all this time the flames of war have not for a moment ceased to flicker from point to point across the world. It is important that this assembly, gathered in recognition of a great triumph of arms, should recall that the victory which was won in Ethiopia was a victory for peace. The military might of which the nations here represented today dispose can be justified only to preserve peace and freedom. There is enough hunger and misery in the world without further war and suffering. The vast sums swallowed by modern arsenals capable of infinite destruction could be

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employed in providing food for hungry mouths, in eradicating poverty, illiteracy and disease, in building for a united world the better way of life which man's genius has made possible.

Let us vow to be strong today only that we may in our strength advance the time when it will be possible to beat our swords into plowshares and when nation shall not make war upon nation. Let us pledge together that this time will not be long. Let us work for trust among men, for disarmament, for peace.

CHAPTER V

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL

In 1923 His Imperial Majesty, the Regent, and Heir Apparent secured membership of Ethiopia to the League of Nations. Although the League abandoned his country to the aggressor, this did not dampen his faith and belief in International Organizations. Thus, in 1945, when 50 nations met in San Francisco to establish the United Nations, Ethiopia, under the Emperor's leadership, was one of them. He has the distinction of being the only Head of State that had the unique privilege of having addressed both the League of Nations and the United Nations. For His Imperial Majesty the U. N. is considered "Man's last hope" to maintain and preserve world peace.

U.N. AND WAR SETTLEMENT

..... The League of Nations failed and failed basically because of its inability to prevent aggression against my country. But, neither the depth of that failure nor the intervening catastrophes could dull the perception of the need and the search for peace through Collective Security. So it is that here in the United Nations we have dedicated ourselves anew to those high and indeed essential ideals, essential if the world is to continue on the path of peace

On the occasion of the opening of the fourth regular session of the General Assembly, We desire to convey to you Our earnest wishes for success in your important deliberations. We have no doubt that for these vital issues, on which depend the destiny of millions of human beings, you will endeavour to find just and equitable solutions. Among these and still long outstanding, is the settlement of the former Italian colonies. Needless to say that further delay to settle the question of the return of Eritrea and Somaliland to Ethiopia will not enhance the confidence of the peoples of the world and of these territories in particular. Time and

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again, it has been clearly demonstrated that these provinces formed an integral part of Ethiopia but were torn away from her by forces of aggression. The fact that these provinces once cut off from their Motherland could not lead an independent existence is unquestionable. Consequently, further delay will be of no help but will contribute to the deterioration of situations that have long been in great need of assistance. We trust that you will not fail to reach a just solution to enable the people of these provinces to rejoin the Motherland, Ethiopia, in the light of the long delayed fulfilment of the aspirations that have remained unchanged throughout sixty long years of enemy occupation and also in justification of the great sacrifices during the last World War by the Ethiopian and Allied forces for their liberation and well-being which otherwise would have been made in vain. We pray that the Almighty God enlightens you in this important decision.

Sept. 20, 1949.

U.N. AND THE LEAGUE

It is a significant moment for me when, after eighteen years, I again find myself in a centre where are concentrated the passionate hopes of the thousands of millions of human beings who so desperately long for the assurance of peace.

The years of that interval, sombre as they were and sacred as they remain to the memory of millions of innocent victims, hold forth for us bright hope of the future. The League of Nations failed and failed basically because of its inability to prevent aggression against my country. But, neither the depth of that failure nor the intervening catastrophes could dull the perception of the need and the search for peace through Collective Security. So it is that here in the United Nations we have dedicated ourselves anew to

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those high and indeed essential ideals, essential if the world is to continue on the path of peace.

Ethiopia, for its part, is profoundly convinced of the triumph of these ideals, were it only that the past two decades have, in her case, fully justified them. The League of Nations may have failed, but Ethiopia was again liberated and through the United Nations has finally seen the rectification of seventy years of injustice and the vindication of the right of brothers to become reunited. Moreover, the memory of the failure two decades ago of measures of collective security is being effaced by the glorious achievement, to which Ethiopia also contributed, in the collective defence of Korea. Surely we have cause to be heartened at the progress of mankind.

We must lay aside any disappointment of the hour lest it cloud our vision of the goal to which we would aspire and press forward, with confidence, born of past experience, in the triumph of principles which are here represented and for which you, Mr. Secretary-General, labour so diligently and intelligently.

Ever since my country's acceptance of the obligations of the United Nations as a charter member, I have looked forward to the day when I would be able to visit the organization's headquarters. The physical realization of these splendid buildings, of the hopes and aspirations of those of us who have ardently supported the principle of collective security and the practical instrument to secure and maintain international justice have surpassed my expectation.

I have enjoyed meeting our able Secretary General and members of his staff, but I am not less conscious of the important and conscientious service rendered to the organization by the press corps. You are quite literally the eyes and ears of the United Nations and it is through you that the world can follow and can judge the realization of their faith in the United Nations.

I have always been grateful to the press for their aware-

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ness of the importance of the principle of collective security and of my efforts to establish that principle in effective action. I am confident that within the scope of your dedicated task of objectively reporting the achievement of the Organization you will never fail to reflect the patient faith of all peoples that only through discussion, collaboration, agreement and enforcement of the will of mankind can world peace and stability be achieved.

June 1, 1954.

U.N. AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

This agreement for mutual security constitutes a striking example of the policy always followed by Ethiopia and which consists of contributing by every means at her disposal to the forces of collective security throughout the world. Ethiopia is to be counted among those members of the United Nations who are the most faithful in the support of the principles upon which the Charter of that organization rests. It is for this reason that Ethiopia was among the first of the members to respond to the appeal of the Security Council for contributions, by financial means and, later by military forces, to check the aggression in Korea.

It is apparent that the United Nations is doing the utmost, within the limits of human possibility, to maintain world peace. Nor can it be doubted that, although outside of God's will man can accomplish nothing, this world organization has made great strides towards the preservation of world peace. So far no one has made practical suggestions concerning any organization which could replace it more efficiently. If Korea and world peace still exist today, it is certainly solely because of the United Nations. In the absence of this organization, even political and military agreements between and among the Great Powers of the world would not have prevented the simultaneous disappearance of Korea and world peace. Be-

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cause of the existence of the United Nations, for the first time in history, peaceful nations have joined together to check aggression by the force of arms, a precedent which Ethiopia regards as having profound significance.

It is in this respect that the signature of the Mutual Security Agreement assumes such importance. Already, as a result of the conclusion of that agreement, the first personnel of the Military Mission as well as the first shipment of arms provided for by that agreement have arrived in Ethiopia. It is here that the two ports of Massawa and Assab, lying as they do on Our extensive coasts along the Red Sea, demonstrate their significance to the Empire. Not only do they ensure the development of Ethiopia's international trade, but also, they now make possible, without the interposition of any obstacle, the importation of the arms which are so important for the national defence and for Ethiopia's participation in the programme of mutual security. When We reflect upon the great blessing which Almighty God has bestowed on Ethiopia and on Our beloved people as manifested by this enhancement of Our material and moral strength, there seems to be no other means for expressing Our gratitude to Him than to call upon all, each to the limit of his own possibilities, to serve Ethiopia in unity and selfless co-operation.

Nov. 2, 1953.

UNESCO AND EDUCATION

..... Man has been endowed with the innate desire for and the ability to acquire wisdom and learning and it is the duty of leaders to inspire and guide our peoples in this quest.....

It is with the deepest pleasure that We welcome the delegates, observers and officials who have come to Our capital city of Addis Ababa in order to participate in this conference of Ministers and Directors of Education from

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countries in East and West Africa. The welcome which We extend to you is not only given on Our behalf but on behalf of all of Our people, and We trust that you will fully enjoy, during your stay here, the hospitality of Our country.

The conference which We are now inaugurating, the first of its kind to be convened for this area of the world, is of the greatest significance. The discussions which will be held here are directly concerned with the educational needs and aspirations of the 127 million people whose representatives have gathered together. It is important, and it augurs well for the success of this conference, that it is sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, pursuant to decisions taken at the tenth conference of UNESCO, held in Paris towards the close of 1958. All of us are indebted to UNESCO for the services which that organization has performed on our behalf.

You have before you for consideration a report, carefully prepared by the UNESCO SECRETARIAT, dealing with the educational needs of tropical African countries. From this report, it is possible to gauge something of the greatness of the task with which the educators of the African peoples represented here are now confronted. This is not, of course, a matter which concerns only educators; the enormity of the task of improving the educational level of the African peoples is and must be of particular concern to those who have been called to the highest positions of leadership. They bear the grave responsibility of ensuring that the youth of their countries combine the highest moral values with the noble patriotic sentiments in serving their country.

The total population represented at this conference is estimated at some 127 million souls. Much has been done to provide schooling for the many million children of school-age, not all of which is fully indicated in the report. But when every allowance has been made for the educational opportunities which exist outside the regular governmental school system – and We would refer specifically to the

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traditional and widespread efforts of the Ethiopian Church in Our land – the fact remains that according to the figures secured by UNESCO there are as yet no places in primary school for millions of boys and girls. To provide for these children, more than 345,000 teachers must be recruited and at least the same number of classrooms must be built. And the financing for these extensions of educational opportunity must come, in large measure, from budgets which are already fully extended to meet their country's needs.

Human Potential

We have, of recent years, heard much of the economic riches of our continent and of the benefit to ourselves and to the world which will result from their exploitation and development. We have here, however, another potential source of wealth which must not be neglected – the benefit which will accrue to us and to the world if our children are granted the tools of knowledge and are enabled to acquire the skill which may be derived from education. These tools and these skills will help them as individuals to realize their full intellectual, moral and cultural stature and thus enable them as members of a society to contribute worthily to the building of our human civilization. Man has been endowed with the innate desire for and the ability to acquire wisdom and learning and it is the duty of leaders to inspire and guide our peoples in this quest.

A study of the information collected by UNESCO indicates that although the needs and the achievements of the African peoples have varied according to the geographical, economic, historical and cultural circumstances which are peculiar to each people and which have conditioned the development of each country, yet there are many elements which we share in common. It is in our interest to study and properly understand the varying problems which exist in the

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different regions of Africa and seek together to overcome them in a spirit of co-operation, through mutual assistance as well as through the efforts and help of those who are genuinely prepared to aid us in our endeavours.

As one example of the difficulties which have faced nations individually, We need only cite the situation which confronted Us when, in 1941, We returned to Ethiopia to find an educational system ravaged and destroyed by the Fascist invasion of Our country in 1935. The educational progress of Our people was severely and sadly retarded by the events of those years. The youth of Our country who had received higher education prior to 1935 were decimated during the years in which the Fascist invader ravaged Our land, and there was little indeed in the way of trained human resources or existing facilities at hand to aid Us in the enormous task which confronted Us. But, convinced as We were that in the education of our young rested the key to Ethiopia's future development, We determined that this task would enjoy the highest priority in Our programme for Ethiopia's progress.

We take humble pride in the accomplishments of the years since 1941, and Our heart is filled with joy when We observe the fruits of Our efforts in the youth of Our country who are succeeding in ever increasing numbers to positions of responsibility in the life of Our nation. Hundreds of schools have been built; hundreds of thousands of Our people have received the benefit of education. Although Our country was unable to make free use of the facilities for higher education in the metropolitan countries of Europe which have influenced the development of schooling in certain areas of Africa, We have nonetheless been able to carry out an extensive programme of foreign training in many countries of the world, and We appreciate the scholarships which have permitted young men and women to study abroad. In addition, We have built up here a system of colleges which, We are happy

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to say, We are already sharing with students from Our sister countries. We believe that the existence of these colleges, together with those parallel institutions which are increasingly appearing in other parts of this great continent may ease the problem of preparing a programme of education which is designed specifically to meet the needs of our African peoples.

Sharing

Our efforts have not been directed solely to the educational advancement of Ethiopians; We have, as well, not been unmindful that all of us must share in the responsibility for the education of all of our African brothers. We had this firmly in mind when We awarded 200 scholarships, a number, We would add, which was limited only by the budgetary resources at Our disposal. We intend to continue Our efforts to extend all possible assistance in this field. Surely, if we all resolved jointly to bend our unsparing efforts to the achievements of universal education on this great continent, we would in a few short years see results going far beyond what each of us, acting alone, could attain.

Much has been done, but much more remains to be accomplished. Even today, We reserve to Our Person the portfolio of Minister of Education, and We shall never cease to devote Our efforts and energies to the tasks and problems involved in the education of Our people. We are confident that great things will be accomplished during this conference. We know that you, too, share Our preoccupation with the educational needs of peoples everywhere. We know that you share with Us the firm conviction that as man's soul and his ability to reason and to learn constitute the distinctive marks of humanity, so the gifts of education and the development of man's intellectual capacity can create differences among men. We know that the learning of the ages and the teachings of wise men who have lived throughout the history of

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the world must no longer be denied to large numbers of the population of the earth. We know that man's physical needs and his intellectual and spiritual strivings can only be satisfied through the medium of education. It is not unimportant to observe the direct relationship that exists between the standard of living of peoples in various parts of the world and the educational level which they have attained.

Strength in Diversity

All African people, not only those represented here, have had varying experiences and encountered varying difficulties and trials in the search for education. But the very fact that our experience has not been uniform can now become a source of strength to us as we undertake the planning of a common approach to the education of our children. Each of us has something to contribute. In the field of teacher training, for example, it is possible that a common approach may be devised, especially for the preparation of staff to serve in the higher levels of our schools and for the imparting of those technical skills which are so essential for our developing economies. In this connection, We would refer to the departments of our Ethiopian colleges, to the University College of Addis Ababa, with its faculties and sections concerned with Liberal Arts, Education, Law and Science; to the College of Engineering; the College of Agricultural and Mechanical Arts; the Public Health College; the Institute of Building Technology; the Institute of Public Administration and the Mapping and Geography Institute – all these may well play their part both in the development of African higher education and also in the implementation of plans for universal primary schooling which may be drafted as a result of this present conference.

The agenda which has been prepared for your meetings covers a very wide area. The facts which have been gathered

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and the statistics which have been compiled indicate something of the magnitude of the task with which we are faced, but from them we may also derive some satisfaction and some encouragement in the knowledge of what has been achieved, often against great odds, in the initial foundation of our educational systems.

By working together as neighbours, by making use of the resources which can be brought to bear through programmes of national development, of mutual help and of international assistance, we may face the future with confidence, secure in the knowledge that we can render a good account for our days and for our labours.

It is not sufficient to pay only lip service to the cause of our co-operation and unity. We must devise means of effective co-operation which will enable us to mobilize our resources and strengthen the basis for the limited industries which we possess and thereby ensure our progress and, ultimately, attain well-being and self-sufficiency for all. Without education, we cannot hope to possess the technicians and experts essential to the development of our economies or the doctors and nurses who will safeguard the health of our people, nor can we achieve the other conditions upon which our security and prosperity depend.

We shall follow with the greatest interest the deliberations of this conference, and We pray that we may enjoy the guidance and the blessing of the Almighty as we apply ourselves to the tasks that now confront us.

Feb. 17, 1960.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

.....Although a small nation, Ethiopia is yet intimately concerned with the easing of the tensions which so unfortunately mar the realm of international relations today. Throughout Our lifetime, We have consistently maintained

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that in the principle of Collective Security rested the best hope for assuring the peace of the world, and We have given unstintingly Our support to the world organizations which have been created to assure the application of this principle. Throughout its brief existence, the United Nations has justified the faith which We have placed in it, and We shall continue to be steadfast in our support of the United Nations Organization.

Less than two months ago, a historic session of the United Nations General Assembly was convened at New York. At this meeting, seventeen states which had achieved their independence during the past year, of which sixteen are situated on the African continent, were admitted to this foremost of international organizations. This year's General Assembly was attended by the heads of several of the most prominent world powers, attesting both to the magnitude of the tasks facing the United Nations as well as to the increasingly crucial role which this Organization is assuming in world affairs.

Having Ourselves laboured unstintingly for the reinforcement of international organizations devoted to the cause of peace and the strengthening of the principle of Collective Security, We sent a personal message to the opening session of the General Assembly in which We called upon the nations gathered there to spare no effort to reach wise and sound decisions designed to solve the problems which face the world today and to lessen the tensions which separate and divide nations. We despatched a delegation headed by Our Deputy Prime Minister to this Assembly, and We maintained constant contact with Our delegation to the end of giving them Our personal directives. The United Nations has now taken up its agenda in its component committees, and We trust that the results of these labours will amply justify the confidence which We and other world leaders have demonstrated in the Organization.

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As a sovereign nation, jealous of her independence, Ethiopia has a duty both to her own people and to the other free peoples of the world to ensure that aggression will be resisted wherever and in whatever form it is met. It is today the duty of each state which is dedicated to the cause of peace to be prepared to fulfil its commitments to the United Nations in defence of the principle of Collective Security and to stand ready at all times to discharge these obligations. Ethiopia's armed forces have, during the past year, been built up to a high degree of efficiency. The Imperial Ethiopian Air Force has now been expanded to include jet fighters, furnished by the United States of America under its military assistance programme. Decisions have been reached during the past year which will result in further expansion of the ground forces of the Imperial Ethiopian Army and in the provision of additional equipment for Ethiopia's small but growing Navy. We pray that it may never be necessary to do battle, but We must, at the same time, be prepared to use these arms in resisting international aggression should events so require

Nov. 2, 1960.

U.N. AND DISARMAMENT

..... There is, however, one area in which the United Nations has thus far been unable effectively to marshal the moral force which it represents and to take effective action toward the dissipation of a problem which poses the gravest threat to the world. It is a truism to say that the present world arms race threatens not only the most destructive warfare which the world has ever seen, but, indeed, the very existence of man and the conditions of his life on this planet. The failure of the great Powers to reach an effective agreement on disarmament cannot be excused or justified on the

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ground that the problem is a difficult or a complex one. No nation, no matter how large or powerful, has the moral right today to insist that it can follow the policy of unlimited nuclear armaments when such a policy implies consequences far beyond its power to control. Those powers which today possess the capacity to wage nuclear warfare cannot refuse to take all reasonable measures to lessen the threat of world conflict.

Unfortunately, we today see the nations of the world, both great and small, invoking their rights as sovereign states, by following a course which, unless arrested, must lead irrevocably to disaster. The great Powers stubbornly adhere to an armaments policy which threatens the most dire results for all, and the smaller states, themselves aspiring to greatness but fearful of incurring the wrath of those upon whom they today count for assistance, acquiesce silently. This path can lead only to chaos and destruction. If man is to survive on this planet, the arms race which today clutches mankind in its unreasoning and inexorable grip must be halted, and it is to the United Nations that all nations, both large and small, must look as the medium to achieve this result. It is the task, rather, the duty, of the smaller nations of the world to exert their utmost efforts to ensure that all possible measures are taken to this end. We are pleased to observe that the smaller countries are today playing a more aggressive and prominent role in the quest for an acceptable disarmament formula, and Ethiopia pledges her complete support to this endeavour. God, the Supreme Arbitrator, will judge us harshly if we fail

Nov. 2, 1960.

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ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates:

Twenty-seven years ago, as Emperor of Ethiopia, I mounted the rostrum in Geneva, Switzerland, to address the League of Nations and to appeal for relief from the destruction which had been unleashed against my defenceless nation by the Fascist invader.

I spoke then both to and for the conscience of the world. My words went unheeded, but history testifies to the accuracy of the warning that I gave in 1936.

Today, I stand before the world organization which has succeeded to the mantle discarded by its discredited predecessor. In this body is enshrined the principle of collective security which I unsuccessfully invoked at Geneva. Here, in this Assembly, reposes the best – perhaps the last – hope for the peaceful survival of mankind.

In 1936, I declared that it was not the Covenant of the League that was at stake, but international morality. Undertakings, I said then, are of little worth if the will to keep them is lacking.

The Charter of the United Nations expresses the noblest aspirations of man: abjuration of force in the settlement of disputes between states; the assurance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion; the safeguarding of international peace and security.

But these, too, as were the phrases of the Covenant, are only words; their value depends wholly on our will to observe and honour them and give them content and meaning.

The preservation of peace and the guaranteeing of man's basic freedoms and rights require courage and eternal vigilance: courage to speak and act – and if necessary, to suffer and die – for truth and justice; eternal vigilance, that

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the least transgression of international morality shall not go undetected and unremedied. These lessons must be learned anew by each succeeding generation, and that generation is fortunate indeed which learns from other than its own bitter experience. This Organization and each of its members bear a crushing and awesome responsibility: to absorb the wisdom of history and to apply it to the problems of the present, in order that future generations may be born, and live, and die, in peace.

U.N. Basis For Hope

The record of the United Nations during the few short years of its life affords mankind a solid basis for encouragement and hope for the future. The United Nations has dared to act, when the League dared not – in Palestine, in Korea, in Suez, in the Congo. There is not one among us today who does not conjecture upon the reaction of this body when motives and actions are called into question. The opinion of this Organization today acts as a powerful influence upon the decisions of its members. The spotlight of world opinion, focused by the United Nations upon the transgressions of the renegades of human society, has thus far proved an effective safeguard against unchecked aggression and unrestricted violation of human rights.

The United Nations continues to serve as the forum where nations whose interests clash may lay their cases before world opinion. It still provides the essential escape valve without which the slow build-up of pressures would have long since resulted in catastrophic explosion. Its actions and decisions have speeded the achievement of freedom by many peoples on the continents of Africa and Asia. Its efforts have contributed to the advancement of the standard of living of peoples in all corners of the world.

For this, all men must give thanks. As I stand here today, how faint, how remote, are the memories of 1936.

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How different in 1963 are the attitudes of men. We then existed in an atmosphere of suffocating pessimism. Today, cautious yet buoyant optimism is the prevailing spirit.

But each one of us here knows that what has been accomplished is not enough. The United Nations judgments have been and continue to be subject to frustration, as individual member-states have ignored its pronouncements and disregarded its recommendations. The Organization's sinews have been weakened, as member states have shirked their obligations to it. The authority of the Organization has been mocked, as individual member-states have proceeded, in violation of its commands, to pursue their own aims and ends. The troubles which continue to plague us virtually all arise among member states of the Organization, but the Organization remains impotent to enforce acceptable solutions. As the maker and enforcer of the international law, what the United Nations has achieved still falls regrettably short of our goal of an international community of nations.

This does not mean that the United Nations has failed. I have lived too long to cherish many illusions about the essential high-mindedness of men when brought into stark confrontation with the issue of control over their security, and their property interests. Not even now, when so much is at hazard would many nations willingly entrust their destinies to other hands.

Yet, this is the ultimatum presented to us: secure the conditions whereby men will entrust their security to a larger entity, or risk annihilation; persuade men that their salvation rests in the subordination of national and local interests to the interests of humanity, or endanger man's future. These are the objectives, yesterday unobtainable, today essential, which we must labour to achieve.

Until this is accomplished, mankind's future remains hazardous and permanent peace a matter for speculation. There is no single magic formula, no one simple step, no

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words, whether written into the Organization's Charter or into a treaty between states, which can automatically guarantee to us what we seek. Peace is a day-to-day problem, the product of a multitude of events and judgments. Peace is not an "is", it is a "becoming." We cannot escape the dreadful possibility of catastrophe by miscalculation. But we can reach the right decisions on the myriad subordinate problems which each new day poses, and we can thereby make our contribution – and perhaps the most that can be reasonably expected of us in 1963 – to the preservation of peace.

It is here that the United Nations has served us – not perfectly, but well. And in enhancing the possibilities that the Organization may serve us better, we serve and bring closer our most cherished goals.

Issues of Deep Concern

I would mention briefly today two particular issues which are of deep concern to all men: disarmament and the establishment of true equality among men.

Disarmament has become the urgent imperative of our time, I do not say this because I equate the absence of arms to peace, or because I believe that bringing an end to the nuclear arms race automatically guarantees the peace, or because the elimination of nuclear warheads from the arsenals of the world will bring in its wake that change in attitude requisite to the peaceful settlement of disputes between nations. Disarmament is vital today, quite simply, because of the immense destructive capacity of which men dispose.

Ethiopia supports the atmospheric nuclear test ban treaty as a step towards this goal, even though only a partial step. Nations can still perfect weapons of mass destruction by underground testing. There is no guarantee against the sudden, unannounced resumption of testing in the atmosphere.

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The real significance of the treaty is that it admits of a tacit stalemate between the nations which negotiated it, a stalemate which recognizes the blunt, unavoidable fact that none would emerge from the total destruction which would be the lot of all in a nuclear War, a stalemate which affords us and the United Nations a breathing space in which to act.

Opportunity And Challenge

Here is our opportunity and our challenge. If the nuclear powers are prepared to declare a truce, let us seize the moment to strengthen the institutions and procedures which will serve as the means for the pacific settlement of disputes among men.

Conflicts between nations will continue to arise. The real issue is whether they are to be resolved by force, or by resort to peaceful methods and procedures, administered by impartial institutions. This very Organization itself is the greatest such institution, and it is in a more powerful United Nations that we seek, and it is here that we shall find, the assurance of a peaceful future.

Were a real and effective disarmament achieved and the funds now spent in the arms race devoted to the amelioration of man's state; were we to concentrate only on the peaceful uses of nuclear knowledge, how vastly and in how short a time might we change the conditions of mankind. This should be our goal.

When we talk of the equality of man, we find, also, a challenge and an opportunity; a challenge to breathe new life into the ideals enshrined in the Charter, an opportunity to bring men closer to freedom and true equality, and thus, closer to a love of peace.

The goal of the equality of man which we seek is the antithesis of the exploitation of one people by another with

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which the pages of history and in particular those written of the African and Asian continents, speak at such length.

Exploitation, thus viewed, has many faces. But whatever guise it assumes, this evil is to be shunned where it does not exist and crushed where it does. It is the sacred duty of this Organization to ensure that the dream of equality is finally realized for all men to whom it is still denied, to guarantee that exploitation is not reincarnated in other forms in places whence it has already been banished.

As a free Africa has emerged during the past decade, a fresh attack has been launched against exploitation, wherever it still exists. And in that interaction so common to history, this in turn, has stimulated and encouraged the remaining dependent peoples to renewed efforts to throw off the yoke which has oppressed them and to claim as their birthright the twin ideals of liberty and equality.

This very struggle is a struggle to establish peace, and until victory is assured, that brotherhood and understanding which nourish and give life to peace can be but partial and incomplete.

In the United States of America, the administration of President Kennedy is leading a vigorous attack to eradicate the remaining vestige of racial discrimination from this country. We know that this conflict will be won and that right will triumph. In this time of trial, these efforts should be encouraged and assisted, and we should lend our sympathy and support to the American Government today.

Will and Determination

Last May, in Addis Ababa, I convened a meeting of Heads of African States and Governments. In three days, the thirty-two nations represented at that Conference demonstrated to the world that when the will and the determination exist, nations and peoples of diverse backgrounds can and

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will work together, in unity, to the achievement of common goals and the assurance of that equality and brotherhood which we desire.

On the question of racial discrimination, the Addis Ababa Conference taught, to those who will learn, this further lesson:

That until the philosophy which holds one race superior and another inferior is finally and permanently discredited and abandoned;

That until there are no longer first-class and second class citizens of any nation;

That until the colour of a man's skin is of no more significance than the colour of his eyes;

That until the basic human rights are equally guaranteed to all without regard to race;

That until that day, the dream of lasting peace and world citizenship and the rule of international morality will remain but a fleeting illusion, to be pursued but never attained;

And until the ignoble and unhappy regimes that hold our brothers in Angola, in Mozambique and in South Africa in sub-human bondage have been toppled and destroyed;

Until bigotry and prejudice and malicious and inhuman self-interest have been replaced by understanding and tolerance and good-will;

Until all Africans stand and speak as free beings, equal in the eyes of all men, as they are in the eyes of Heaven;

Until that day, the African continent will not know peace. We Africans will fight, if necessary, and we know that we shall win, as we are confident in the victory of good over evil.

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The United Nations has done much, both directly and indirectly to speed the disappearance of discrimination and oppression from the earth. Without the opportunity to focus world opinion on Africa and Asia which this Organization provides, the goal, for many, might still lie ahead, and the struggle would have taken far longer. For this, we are truly grateful.

More Can Be Done

But more can be done. The basis of racial discrimination and colonialism has been economic, and it is with economic weapons that these evils have been and can be overcome. In pursuance of resolutions adopted at the Addis Ababa Summit Conference, African States have undertaken certain measures in the economic field which, if adopted by all member states of the United Nations, would soon reduce intransigence to reason. I ask, today, for adherence to these measures by every nation represented here which is truly devoted to the principles enunciated in the Charter.

I do not believe that Portugal and South Africa are prepared to commit economic or physical suicide if honourable and reasonable alternatives exist. I believe that such alternatives can be found.

But I also know that unless peaceful solutions are devised, counsels of moderation and temperance will avail for naught; and another blow will have been dealt to this Organization which will hamper and weaken still further its usefulness in the struggle to ensure the victory of peace and liberty over the forces of strife and oppression.

Here, then, is the opportunity presented to us. We must act while we can, while the occasion exists to exert those legitimate pressures available to us, lest time run out and resort be had to less happy means.

Does this Organization today possess the authority and the will to act? And if it does not, are we prepared to clothe

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it with the power to create and enforce the rule of law? Or is the Charter a mere collection of words, without content and substance, because the essential spirit is lacking?

The time in which to ponder these questions is all too short. The pages of history are full of instances in which the unwanted and the shunned nonetheless occurred because men waited to act until too late. We can brook no such delay.

U.N. Must Be Strengthened

If we are to survive, this Organization must survive. To survive, it must be strengthened. Its executive must be vested with greater authority. The means for the enforcement of its decisions must be fortified, and, if they do not exist, they must be devised. Procedures must be established to protect the small and the weak when threatened by the strong and the mighty. All nations which fulfil the conditions of membership must be admitted and allowed to sit in this assemblage. Equality of representation must be assured in each of its organs. The possibilities which exist in the United Nations to provide the medium whereby the hungry may be fed, the naked clothed, the ignorant instructed, must be seized on and exploited for the flower of peace is not sustained by poverty and want.

To achieve this requires courage and confidence. The courage, I believe, we possess. The confidence must be created, and to create confidence We must act courageously.

The great nations of the world would do well to remember that in the modern age even their own fates are not wholly in their hands. Peace demands the united efforts of us all. Who can foresee what spark might ignite the fuse? It is not only the small and the weak, who must scrupulously observe their obligations to the United Nations and to each other. Unless the smaller nations are accorded their proper

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voice in the settlement of the world's problems, unless the equality which Africa and Asia have struggled to attain is reflected in expanded membership in the institutions which make up the United Nations, confidence will come just that much harder. Unless the rights of the least of men are as assiduously protected as those of the greatest, the seeds of confidence will fall on barren soil.

The stake of each one of us is identical – life or death. We all wish to live. We all seek a world in which men are freed of the burdens of ignorance, poverty, hunger and disease. And we shall all be hard-pressed to escape the deadly rain of nuclear fall-out should catastrophe overtake us.

Ultimate Challenge

When I spoke at Geneva in 1936, there was no precedent for a head of state addressing the League of Nations. I am neither the first, nor will I be the last head of state to address the United Nations, but only I have addressed both the League and this Organization in this capacity.

The problems which confront us today are, equally, unprecedented. They have no counterparts in human experience. Men search the pages of history for solutions, for precedents, but there are none.

This, then, is the ultimate challenge. Where are we to look for our survival, for the answers to the questions which have never before been posed?

We must look, first, to Almighty God, Who has raised man above the animals and endowed him with intelligence and reason. We must put our faith in Him, that He will not desert us or permit us to destroy humanity which He created in His image.

We must look into ourselves, into the depth of our souls. We must become something we have never been and for which our education and experience and environment

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have ill-prepared us. We must become bigger than we have been, more courageous, greater in spirit, larger in outlook. We must become members of a new race, overcoming petty prejudice, owing our ultimate allegiance not to nations but to our fellow men within the human community.

Oct. 6, 1963.

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF U.N. CHARTER

The occasion being observed today marks the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. At the same time also, the current year, 1965, has been designated as International Co-operation Year and is being observed as such in accordance with the suggestions made by the late Prime Minister Nehru of India for "laying more emphasis on the spirit of good co-operation and understanding existing between governments of countries whose relations are often known in terms of international problems, conflicts and misunderstandings."

As a founding member of the United Nations Organization twenty years ago today, Ethiopia has been carrying out satisfactorily her obligations for strengthening the constitutional set up of the world body over the years. As a member of the various agencies of the world organization, in the discharge of her duties she has been also availing herself of the services rendered by the international body.

Today, the peoples of the world are about to succeed in overcoming the barriers of time and space by living as members of a closely linked family of nations as a result of the advances made by modern science and technology. It can be said, therefore, that the world has now reached the stage where matters affecting every individual country concern members of the entire international community.

How best then could a world more united, peoples more intimately linked, attain the noble goal of further

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strengthening the spirit of international co-operation, establishing an atmosphere of mutual understanding and comprehension, and of making an effort for creating a world of supreme peace and happiness? The answer to this fundamental question must be provided by the United Nations Organization which is now observing the twentieth anniversary of its founding. On the occasion of this 20th anniversary observance, it is indeed timely to contemplate what this organization is, what are its potentialities and on the assessment of its achievements during the past twenty years to project what it should be – this organization in which mankind has reposed its faith as a useful instrument for exploring ways of settling disputes and conflicts between states and governments and for the maintenance of international peace and security, making suggestions on how best to improve it still further.

Mankind's Hopes

The Charter of the United Nations Organization embodies the fundamental hopes and aspirations of mankind, of safeguarding human rights, maintaining world peace, raising global standards of living, and for advancing educational standards without making any distinction of race, sex, language and religion. And these hopes and aspirations of mankind can only be of value when we ourselves are dedicated to pursue the goal set by showing abiding respect for the provisions of the Charter and by working for their ultimate realization. Unflinching dedication to the Charter is essential if world peace is to be strengthened and fundamental human rights are to be adequately safeguarded. In word and in deed, we must exemplify a resolute spirit to defend international morality when threatened and if necessary to suffer and die for truth and justice so that this international morality will be reinforced and strengthened. As We

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said on various occasions in the past, the responsibility for safeguarding world peace is not limited to the Great Powers. Peace and war affect not only the Big Powers but all mankind and are therefore the concern of all the peoples of the world.

Co-operation and understanding are basic to the maintenance of world peace; therefore it is the duty of the international community to endeavour so that this spirit be strengthened and made universal among all nations who hold the responsibility of safeguarding world peace.

The peoples of the world draw new moral strength and hope from considering what the United Nations can do in achieving the objectives referred to above. Because of the existence of the U. N. disputes arising between two states wherein the interest of one of them is trampled upon by the other become eventually a matter of international public opinion which could influence the justice of the cause. The organization also has the power and influence to give international conflicts the opportunity of affording a period for the reduction of the temper of such conflicts and to mitigate the forces of evil before they reach a point of explosion that can destroy mankind.

To Find Solutions

The activities of the United Nations Organization can raise the living standards of people throughout the world. However, how could it be possible for this great task to be accomplished satisfactorily when some states do not implement the decisions of the Organization? How could that last hope of mankind achieve its noble objective when some states are pursuing their own selfish ends of defying the authority of the international organization? Does it not mean that, if the solutions to the problems facing the world are not founded by the Organization, and if these, when found, are not accepted by all member states, the international body is growing weaker and weaker? We feel that

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the U. N. in its efforts to provide a body of international law and to secure its respect has fallen short of expectation.

What course of action should the small nations pursue vis a vis the prevailing constitutional framework of the United Nations Organization and the existing international situation? Small nations ought to refrain from making themselves tools for igniting friction between the Great Powers. Receiving development aid and other forms of foreign assistance should not be conditioned by obligations to take sides. In order to achieve this goal, they must not only adhere to a policy of political non-alignment but they should also oppose and proscribe consistently all small conflicts brought about, and to be brought about, by the prevailing international cold war. At a time when We are striving hard to halt the armaments race, We are convinced that a nuclear war would devastate the whole world. However, we must work together for the ending of the little wars which are consuming the energies of the small nations and decimating our people.

The untenable doctrine of racial supremacy, being a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security as well as a serious set-back for establishing a salubrious atmosphere of understanding and co-operation in the world, we must work together against the philosophy of racism.

Has U. N. the Authority?

Has the United Nations Organization the authority for achieving these ends? Is the Organization showing a zealous spirit to pursue these ends consistently? If it has not authority for doing these things, are we ready and willing to vest it with enough power for the organization to carry out its task satisfactorily? If we are to survive the Organization has also got to survive. If it has to survive, it should be strengthened. And, to strengthen its structure, the Organization must get the requisite authority. The weak must not be

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mauled or molested by the strong. All states fulfilling conditions entitling them to membership should be admitted to the Organization. Because peace cannot reign in an atmosphere reeking with poverty and hunger, We should explore and strengthen the means of feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and enlightening the illiterate.

Today the Great Powers should also wake up to the realization of the fact that the key to their destiny and future happiness does not lie in their own hands alone. There is no peace without co-operation. Be it known that the principles enshrined in the Charter and the resolutions adopted by the Organization are not there only for the small nations to respect and to implement. In efforts being made to ease the gravity of world problems, the small nations should have a say. Their voices should be heard. An atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence cannot be established when the rights of small nations are not accorded the same respect as those of the Big Powers. In order to accomplish these tasks, it is essential to rouse the conscience of mankind. Anyway, strength and mutual trust are two indispensable qualities for achieving the common goal. Even if there is strength, the common ground of mutual confidence must be established. To establish this, we must work diligently. Once we are able to do what is humanly possible, the rest could be left to the Almighty God. So that man whom He has created in his own image may not be destroyed, let us repose our faith in God.

June 27, 1965.

OPENING OF UNICEF CONFERENCE

It gives Us great pleasure to welcome the delegates and observers who have come to this, the 66th sessional meeting of the United Nations Children's Fund. This is only the second time that this meeting has been held outside the United Nations' Headquarters, and the first time that it has

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taken place on African soil. It is only proper, therefore, that we pay tribute today to the Organization and confirm in person the deep feelings of debt and gratitude which we all feel for the service which U.N.I.C.E.F. so well renders to the future generations of the world.

Your presence today on the African continent will provide the opportunity for you to focus your attention on Africa's children and to concentrate on the problems of the children and the youth of Africa, and on the best use to be made of the resources available to them. Share amongst you plans for meeting the needs of our children, and help to bring to fruition our united hopes for a brighter and happier future for them. Since important responsibilities will be handed over tomorrow to the youth of today, everything possible must be done for their proper upbringing and development of mind.

A mark of a worthy civilization is the willingness of these to whom much has been given to share their portion with those in need. The heritage of our children is surely among those gifts which lie closest to man's heart. In aiding the young, those whom fate has cast aside or passed unnoticed, we demonstrate our hope and faith in the future. All over the world, U.N.I.C.E.F. has provided help to mothers and children. Although the help provided so far can by no means be considered to have adequately met the need, U.N.I.C.E.F.'s activity on behalf of mothers and children throughout the world is quite significant and portends good for the future. No rural area has been too remote to it. Help has, indeed, been largely concentrated in those areas, although the organization's outlook has been all embracing. U.N.I.C.E.F. has also wisely attached great importance to the need for improved environmental conditions particularly those found in the tropical areas. In sum, U.N.I.C.E.F. has worked for the total welfare of the family.

Nor has U.N.I.C.E.F. neglected the problem of hunger,

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the original enemy of the Organization during its early days following World War II. Allied with other international bodies, U.N.I.C.E.F. has provided food for millions of mothers and their children. In Africa, there is today an urgent need to know what foods give the greatest benefit to the growing child. And surely, until there is food enough for all, the infant and the young have first claim on what there is. If Africa's immense natural resources are put to the service of the African people through the development of the necessary skills and organization, the wealth of Africa, in a reasonable time, will not only adequately cover the needs of children but also will give rise to a general prosperity throughout Africa.

Assist Education

Together with providing sustenance and nourishment for the body, U.N.I.C.E.F. has since 1961 been offering assistance in the education of the young as part of its programme. The saying is *Mens sana in corpore sano* – a sound mind in a sound body – food for the body and food for the mind are both essential.

Problems still remain. Although attempts have been made to control birth, millions of children are still born in misery, and die in sickness. Millions of African children die in infancy. Those that survive are all too often handicapped by disease, by lack of education, with no opportunity to inherit the rights of other children of the world. During this meeting, you will have an opportunity to take action which will enable generations that follow to look back upon this conference as the beginning of a new era of well-being and happiness for our children. If humanity is led to a better observance of covenants – that are meant for orderly conduct of life – and if the progress of science is applied solely for human welfare, the increase of population would have

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become not a burden but a matter of gratification. If this approach is made the needs of children in education, health and other respects would be fully met, thus assuring a better life for all succeeding generations. We urge you to draw upon your wisdom and experience in your search for the means to provide a healthy and prosperous future for our children.

May Almighty God bless you in the work that lies before you.

May 17, 1966.

CHAPTER VI

LEGAL & CONSTITUTIONAL

The name of Emperor Haile Selassie I will always be dominant in Ethiopian history. This is particularly so in connection with the legal and constitutional changes which he has instituted in the millennial history of the country. In this record July 16, 1931 is particularly significant. On that memorable day, of his own volition and against strong conservative opposition, He granted to the Ethiopian people the first written constitution ever.

In the succeeding years, His Majesty the Emperor built on the basis of the 1931 Constitution a system of law and a legal and judicial system that has transformed modern Ethiopia. On the Silver Jubilee of his Coronation, again of his own free will, he granted Ethiopia a Revised Constitution which consolidated the gains over the previous twenty-four years and gave the people greater participation in their government through making the Lower House of Parliament a popularly elected body. Subsequently, His Imperial Majesty had the laws of the country codified, thus strengthening further the legal and judicial systems of Ethiopia.

DECREE – GRANTING CONSTITUTION

..... We consider that it is Our duty to decree and enforce all the measures necessary for the maintenance of Our Government, for increasing the well-being of Our people and aiding their progress on the road to happiness and the civilization attained by independent and cultured nations. We consider that the way to achieve this aim lies in the elaboration of the present Constitution, which will facilitate Government action, whilst assuring the happiness of the people who will, in addition, derive from it an honour which will not fail to be reflected on future generations and will permit the Empire to enjoy the inestimable benefits of peace and security.

We, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, having been called to the Empire by the Grace of God and by the unanimous voice of the people; and having the Crown and the Throne legitimately by annointment according to the law, are convinced that there is no better way of manifesting the

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gratitude which We owe to Our Creator, who has chosen Us and granted Us his confidence, than to render Ourselves worthy of it by making every effort so that he who comes after Us may be invested with this confidence and may work in conformity with the laws according to the principles established.

Having in view the prosperity of the country, We have decided to draw up a Constitution which safeguards such prosperity based on the Law and We have hope that this Constitution will be a source of well-being for Ethiopia, that it will contribute to the maintenance of Our Government and to the happiness and prosperity of Our well beloved people, and that it will give satisfaction to all. Having expressed and made clear Our will, We have accordingly decided to grant this Constitution.

The Constitution which is to serve as the basis, in the future, for the maintenance of the Ethiopian Government and of the laws which are based on it, and the means of applying such laws once resolved, will itself set forth the necessity of the measures suitable for ensuring its maintenance in order that this Constitution of Our State may remain perpetual and immutable.

Since Our accession to the Imperial Throne of Ethiopia, having received from the hands of God a high mission for the accomplishment of His destinies, We consider that it is Our duty to decree and enforce all the measures necessary for the maintenance of Our Government, for increasing the well-being of Our people and aiding their progress on the road to happiness and the civilization attained by independent and cultured nations.

We consider that the way to achieve this aim lies in the elaboration of the present Constitution, which will facilitate Government action, whilst assuring the happiness of the people who will, in addition, derive from it an honour which will not fail to be reflected on future generations and will

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permit the Empire to enjoy the inestimable benefits of peace and security.

Animated by this noble desire, and in order to enable Our State and Our people to obtain a high place in history, We have, after Our elevation to the Imperial Throne, and in the second year of Our reign in the Year of Grace 1923 (A.D. 1931) unasked and of Our free will, decreed the present State Constitution.

July 16, 1931.

UPON THE SIGNING OF THE ETHIOPIAN CONSTITUTION, 1931

We, having been entrusted by the Grace of God with the mission of the protection of Ethiopia, have decided that it is not sufficient merely to glorify the All-Highest who has conferred this great honour on Us, with words only, and to give expression to Our sentiments by petty actions, which are transient and apt to be forgotten.

The efforts which We have made to establish a Constitution which shall be lasting and of advantage to all, and which shall be handed down from generation to generation, although they are but the incomplete evidence of Our gratitude to the All-Highest, We have desired to bring you together, in this place and at this hour, in order to expound to you the work which We have prepared, and whose realization We entrust to the All-Highest.

Nobody doubts but that laws bring to mankind the greatest advantages and that the honour and interest of all persons depend on the wisdom of the laws, whereas humiliation, shame, iniquity and the denial of man's rights all originate from the absence or inadequacy of laws.

The Lord, who is above all creations, although possessing the power to order everything according to His will, has

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nevertheless wished to establish the rule of law and to subject it to all creation.

He who is worthy of praise amongst men is the man who, animated by sentiments of justice, perseveres in the way of equity, and tries to the utmost of his means to improve the condition, if not of all mankind, at any rate of most of them.

Although many things have arisen to frustrate Our purpose, yet Our constant efforts in the course of the last years have tended towards the establishment, amongst other things, of a Constitution. The idea which has so much occupied Our thoughts, in the interests of Ethiopia and Our well-beloved people, and which has been the subject of our unceasing attention, is the one which We are now expounding:

1. To grant a Constitution to the entire Ethiopian people;
2. To ensure that it is observed and maintained.

The main provisions of this Constitution, which We are giving to the Ethiopian people, are as follows:

Provisions

1. Ethiopia must remain united, without dissention, like the members of a family. She must be regulated by a Constitution of universal application and governed by an Emperor. The force of this unity must be based on community of interests, so that the individual, without as a result suffering neglect or prejudice, may understand the power of this unity and the advantages to be drawn from it in the protection of his personal interests, whilst at the same time renouncing all personal ambition which would be to the detriment of the common goal.

2. The law, whether it entails reward or punishment, must apply equally to all, without exception.

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3. It is not useless to recall that in the past, the Ethiopian people, being completely isolated from the rest of the world and thus unable to take advantage of the great movements of modern civilization, were in a backward state which justified their Sovereign governing them as a good father rules his household. But considerable progress having occurred in all directions thanks to Our subjects, their Emperor is entitled to decide that the grant of a Constitution is not premature and that the time has come for them to share in the mighty task which their Sovereigns alone have had to accomplish in the past.

It is necessary for the modern Ethiopian to accustom himself to take part in the direction of all departments of the State, and it is with that in mind that We have resolved, so that those who are worthy to do so may sit in them, to create two Chambers whose members will be chosen by Provinces, with the approval of the Emperor. Decisions will be taken in these Chambers according to the wishes of the majority of their members, but they will not enjoy the force of law until they have received the approval of His Majesty the Emperor.

4. Responsible Ministers will be charged with the execution in the whole of Ethiopia, in conformity with the interests of the State and the people, of the decisions arrived at in the deliberations of these Chambers, after they have received the approval of His Majesty the Emperor.

5. So as to allay any doubt that may exist as to the succession to the Throne and to avoid the imputation of any prejudice to Ethiopia, the right to the Imperial Throne is reserved, by this Constitution, to the actual dynasty.

6. The utilitarian object of laws being to develop human progress in accordance with the most high and certain principles, these laws must be based on scientific methods, having as their object a harmonious improvement of all things.

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7. This Constitution has not been produced haphazardly, nor is it in conflict with the customs of the country. It is inspired by and modelled on the principles of other civilized countries. It has been studied with the collaboration of Princes, Dignitaries and the most enlightened of Our subjects.

Man can only begin an enterprise; it is for God to dispose of it to a good end. We hope that the Lord will help Us to apply this Constitution and allow Us to complete the task which We have taken upon Ourselves.

To conclude, We wish to thank the Diplomatic and Consular Corps who have been good enough to lend additional splendour to this solemn occasion by their presence on this happy day on which We have appended Our signature to this the Constitution of Our State.

July 16, 1931.

OPENING OF FIRST PARLIAMENT

Members of the House of Deputies:

Ever since the establishment of the Government of Ethiopia, there has not been any appropriate parliament. We have now established a parliament which will stay and properly function for many years to come. We have declared this chamber as the House of Deputies and We have called upon you to deliberate as representatives of the people.

We have done this, guided by a strong motivation granted Us by Almighty God to work for the further progress of Our country and so that you may assist Us in the Just administration of Our Government by providing Us advice, that will fully benefit Our people.

Until now, there was nobody eager to understand the problems of other places, other than within the confines of his own birthplace. As a result, the individual's views and

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opinions about others were too shallow. But from now on, all of you must open your eyes and broaden your views and knowledge.

You must know and understand that besides your own birthplace, there are others next to you, and that besides your own cities, there are others around you, and that all these places and cities together make one big nation and those living in it are all sons and daughters of one Ethiopia and that these people from time immemorial lived as one family and one people thus being members of the greater family of man. You must, therefore, realize that besides issues concerning your own birthplace there are greater issues concerning all provinces and all families which, when put together, are of common interest to all, and that the protector of these common interests is the Government while the Emperor is the source of enlightenment to all.

It is in this realization that you can co-operate among yourselves for the sake of your unity. On Our part, We have long thought to assist your work as much as We could and We are fully determined to carry on this and to guide you in all spheres of co-operative works. In Our opinion, a nation, without co-operation, is like a heap of sand. We have called upon you representatives, selected from the provinces, to come to the capital city so that in getting closer to Us you may help advise Us on everything good for the unity of Ethiopia. Your get-together like this will enable you to know each other, to discuss your respective cultures and problems and, to discover your common interests or common obstacles, and to learn fully the administration of the Government. And finally, you will realize that you all belong to one family and that you are sons and daughters of Ethiopia. And then you must understand to love your mother and, as brothers, to love each other, and when you return to your respective provinces you will relate what experiences, broad knowledge, and greater views you gained here, to your fellow

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men and, in such a brotherly and co-operative way, you will promote a good and brotherly spirit throughout Our country.

Later, in the future, when Our people will be sufficiently educated, they will be able to elect and send their own representatives, and when they in turn learn how to properly execute their responsibilities, they will be of great assistance to Our Government.

The experiences you gain from your co-operative work will also assist the future representatives. As the price of honesty will be paid to the blessed sons of God so shall We lead Our people gradually to honest gain and prosperity.

Honesty means not to oppress anybody and deny him his deserved share. It does not mean being irresponsible or conceited and dictatorial. We, on Our part, will never cease to eliminate conceitedness, oppression, subversion and corruption in order to maintain peace and national security.

May God help you to understand and always bear in mind all that We have said! May He enlighten you! May He inspire your goodwill and initiative so that you may be able to produce fruits which would be beneficial to Our generation!

Nov. 2, 1932.

CONVENING CODIFICATION COMMISSION

The world is today passing through a period of such rapid and profound change that it is difficult to point to another era in recorded history when so many movements and events have so rapidly and profoundly shaped the lives of a single generation. Such an observation applies no less to Ethiopia than to other countries. The progress achieved since Our Coronation has been the cause of humble and profound gratification. From a nation that depended on its isolation for its very existence, we have been transformed into

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a rapidly progressive, now unified state, no longer excluded from the sea and from its neighbours, but participating in the broad movements of a post-war world in full flux and development.

It is from this deep consciousness of the needs of the hour as well as of the future that we have produced a revised Constitution for the Empire of Ethiopia, reflecting the achievements of the past, the requirements of the present and the ideals for the future. Progress must be our key to life and development.

It is to that same end that We have conceived a broad and thorough programme of legislative as well as constitutional reform in the codification of the civil, commercial, criminal and procedural laws of Our Empire, and that We today convene the Commission of Codification.

The constitutional advance, on the one hand, and the necessity of resolutely pursuing Our Programme of social advancement and integration in the larger world community, as well as the needs of maritime and commercial communication made inevitable the closer integration of the legal system of Ethiopia with those of other countries with whom we have cultural, commercial and maritime connections.

We must stabilize and strengthen these relations by establishing them on a firm legal basis. Furthermore, although Ethiopia claims what is perhaps the longest standing system of law in the world today, We have never hesitated to adopt the best that other systems of law can offer to the extent that they respond and can be adapted to the genius of Our particular institutions. This has been true not only of the labours of Our Constitutional Commission but should also be true of the work upon which the Codification Commission is now about to enter.

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Talent Available

To that end, We have personally directed the search for the outstanding jurists of the continent of Europe to bring to Us the best that centuries of development in allied and compatible systems of law have to offer. From this extensive search We have been pleased, and indeed fortunate to obtain the services and collaboration of those incontestable leaders of European legal thought whom We greet here and welcome as Members of the Codification Commission meeting under the Presidency of Our Minister of Justice.

The great distinction of the continental experts whom We welcome on this occasion should not cause us to lose sight of the principle which We have just stated, namely, that Ethiopia should endeavour to adopt, and adapt the best that other legal traditions have to offer. The great common law traditions of the Anglo-American systems of law are here represented not only in the person of the President of the High Court, but also by several other members of the Commission.

However, as We have remarked, the point of departure must remain the genius of Ethiopian legal traditions and institutions which have origins of unparalleled antiquity and continuity. Through Our orders the jurisprudence has been collected and is now placed at the disposal of the Commission to guide it in its labours. At Our insistence a Codification of Criminal Law reflecting the traditions of the Fetha Negest and of more recent developments was undertaken and finally, under Our guidance, completed and placed into force, now more than a quarter of a century ago. It, together with the Fetha Negest, and the collection of jurisprudence now completed under Our direction are all at hand to serve as points of departure for your work.

We shall follow your discussions and labours with the keenest attention and interest and you shall enjoy Our full support in your high mission.

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We pray to the Almighty that He may spare Us to complete this crowning achievement of Our life as a monument for those generations that are waiting impatiently on the threshold of existence.

Mar. 26, 1954.

PROMULGATING THE REVISED CONSTITUTION

Nearly a quarter of a century ago We were pleased to grant to Our beloved people the first Constitution in the history of this three-thousand-year-old Empire. Today, on the Jubilee Anniversary of Our Coronation, We are pleased to proclaim a Revised Constitution consolidating the progress achieved, and preparing the way for future advances.

On that day, 24 years ago, We laid the basis of the modern Government of Ethiopia. That we had reflected well upon the particular needs of the Empire, and upon the future courses of its development, and that We had produced, at that time, a work capable of surviving the vicissitudes and the severe trials compressed into these 25 years of Our Reign, is attested by the force and vigour of the Government and of that same Constitution, following the occupation and subsequently glorious liberation of Our Empire. The Constitution which We proclaimed 24 years ago has, therefore, demonstrated its worth and its viability.

However, the enormous progress achieved during these 25 years requires that We adapt this same Constitution to the progress attained in order that the Empire may spring forward to yet further progress and development. Many of Our loyal subjects here present recall vividly the circumstances existing at the time of Our Coronation, and are in position to evaluate for themselves and to establish a comparison bet-

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ween the conditions existing at that time and today. Since Our first and foremost objective is the welfare and prosperity of Our people, it has been and still is Our constant purpose to strengthen the economic and educational foundations of Our country as well as to improve the standard of Our people.

It is in consequence of this programme that the population of the Empire has increased during the period under review, as well as the foreign inhabitants who, with Our subjects, are jointly participating in growing commercial and industrial enterprises.

Public Health Service

This increase has been due, in part, to the introduction not only of the latest techniques in the sciences of medicine and of public health, but also of facilities which did not exist here 25 years ago. For instance, the number of hospitals and clinics which existed then did not exceed 48, whereas today there are 240 hospitals and clinics throughout the Empire. The consequence of these measures has been an increase in the span of life of the inhabitants of Ethiopia, a reduction of infant mortality, and an overall increase in the national population.

As a result of this increase in population, and of the introduction of modern public utilities, our capital city has, within the last ten years, more than doubled in size. These modern and public facilities are not limited to the capital only, but are being extended to all throughout the Empire.

Education

Those of you who were present 25 years ago, can compare well the present and the past, and will recall educational problems and difficulties which confronted you then.

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Today there are 35 times as many schools as existed 25 years ago.

Before the war the number of students pursuing their studies abroad was limited to a few score. Today, however, large numbers of our youth are pursuing higher studies abroad. Some of these have completed their studies and are already back home rendering services to their country in various capacities.

We have just mentioned the introduction, under Our guidance, of many modern public utilities in Our cities. We now have a national network of telephone and radio communications. Today, there are more improved roads in Ethiopia than at any other point on the East Coast of Africa. To these achievements must be added the outstandingly successful Airlines, the establishment of which was due entirely to Our initiative. As a result, Ethiopia is not weeks, but hours, from all the world capitals, and foreign nationals are at present able, without any difficulty to visit Our country.

Commerce and Industry

Similarly, reflect upon the conditions of commerce, industry and finance as they existed 25 years ago and today. Not only have the resourcefulness, the initiative, and the enterprise of Ethiopian subjects during this period resulted in the introduction and establishment of new industries, but also foreign capital has, in recent years, been coming to Ethiopia in ever increasing amounts, although not to the extent of Our expectations. You have but to look about yourselves to note the full measure of that development. The face, even of our cities and of our countryside is being transformed through the construction of imposing industrial establishments, mining and extractive installations, and mechanical agricultural projects. Plans have now reached the stage of execution for an ambitious national programme of hydro-electric development and of irrigation.

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With regard to foreign trade, Ethiopia has won for her various products, a place in the world markets which greatly exceeds Our expectations. Moreover, through improved communications with the rest of the world, Ethiopia has been able to meet the needs of other countries as well as her own.

Ethiopian Products

Ethiopia has entered these markets with entirely new products, and on a scale exceeding the most optimistic predictions of 25 years ago. For example, Ethiopia's exports of fresh vegetables, meats and other fresh foodstuffs, in one year alone, exceed the entire exports in one year before the war, of coffee, or hides. As for coffee, the value of the annual crop exported has increased over ten times in the 25 year period under review. As for exports generally, they have increased nearly in the same amount. Even in the much shorter period of the last nine years, exports have quadrupled, as have imports, the former passing from \$37,000,000 in 1946 to \$169,000,000 in 1954 and the latter from \$36,000,000 to \$137,000,000.

Similarly, and as a concomitant development, the financial picture has been completely transformed during the past 25 years and that, notwithstanding the incredible hardships and sacrifices imposed by the occupation and the subsequent bleak years following liberation. Whereas, before the war the national budget of Ethiopia did not exceed \$5,000,000, today it exceeds \$100,000,000. The money in circulation has increased from \$80,000,000 in 1946 to over \$220,000,000 in 1954. In that same period, our holdings of gold have increased approximately 20 times over. It is obvious that, from this point of view also, Ethiopia, and indeed the Government itself, have burst forth from the limits necessarily traced by a constitution promulgated under vastly different conditions.

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Supervision and Control

However, this same progress calls for increasing governmental supervision and control, as is evidenced by the ever-augmenting number of laws governing the protection of property, of national and foreign investments, the legislation governing limited liability corporations, the guarantees for monetary stability, etc. This development is also reflected in the marked growth of the judicial system. During the last 12 years, leaving aside the Meketel Wareda courts, the courts of Our Empire, including Moslem or Sharia courts, have grown in numbers from 182 to 593.

In other words, this great material development, required a simultaneous and concomitant development not only of the judiciary, but also of the other branches of government charged with the responsibility of fostering and protecting this thriving plant of national economy.

Ethiopia Ministries

In yet other ways have the developments of the past 25 years called for an ever increasing expansion of the governmental framework. Many of you will recall the state of the organization which existed, 25 years ago, as regards the ministries of Our Empire. These were not only few in number, but greatly understaffed. Today, although much remains to be accomplished, no less than 14 ministries, housed under far more adequate conditions and with an ever growing and increasingly trained staff of civil servants, is valiantly seeking to cope with the ever-widening perspective of national development.

Similarly, the organized army of 25 years ago, although valiant, was inadequately armed and lacked adequate numbers of officer cadres and training. Today, that situation has been vastly improved, to the extent even that Ethiopia

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has been able to send a contingent to participate in the United Nations effort in Korea. This development has, however, required an ever-increasing expenditure and heavy sacrifices, but We will resolutely pursue to completion, and regardless of costs and obstacles, this programme for the modernization of Our Armed Forces.

Centralization

The growth in size and responsibilities of the Government has necessitated the strengthening of the processes of centralization. All regions of the Empire are now closely knit together under a single unified direction capable of guiding them all along parallel lines of progress and integrating all into a common national endeavour.

In addition, all vestiges of feudalistic and other classes of personal privileges have been wiped out, so that all Our beloved subjects may live together as equals and brothers in the same family.

International Horizons Expanded

On the other hand, under our reign, Ethiopia's international horizons have been enormously expanded. Twenty-five years ago Ethiopia was still a little known corner of the dark continent of Africa. Through her courageous resistance against aggression and through Our appeal to the world founded on respect for international morality and collective security, Ethiopia has achieved imperishable fame. The world has come to recognize the moral stature and greatness of the Ethiopian people. In consequence, We have been able to rectify certain of the crying injustices perpetrated against Our beloved country during the iniquitous period of imperialism against which Ethiopia, under Our leadership, had to fight alone. No longer is Ethiopia a land-locked country. Two ports on the Red Sea are being developed to handle the

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rapidly expanding foreign trade of Ethiopia to which We have just referred. With the rectification of sixty years of injustice, and with the return of Our devoted Eritrean subjects, Ethiopia has known, once again, that national unity and coherence which she has enjoyed since before the time of Christ.

However, here again, the increase in population, territory and national responsibilities, has called for a broader concept of governmental organization. For example, problems connected with a maritime frontier, the development of ports, of naval forces and of a merchant marine, did not exist until recently. Today, the Government must be remodelled to take these developments into consideration. Engineering skills and administrative supervision of high order are involved, as well as the establishment of a Naval Academy, a Coast Guard Academy and Marine and Fisheries Administrations. In sum, the hurried pace of progress which Ethiopia has known during Our Reign now imperatively calls from all of us for our most intelligent efforts to profit by those favours which the Almighty has bestowed upon Us. It is Our hope to have the assistance of friendly countries in these efforts.

In other words, the past twenty-five years have been characterized by material, including commercial, industrial and financial progress, a steeply ascending curve of cultural and political development, an expanded population and national territory, and ever-widening national horizons. Ethiopia, under Our guidance, must consolidate this progress. She must do more. She must advance yet further. To assure the progressive welfare of Our beloved people is Our sole goal of life. There can be no justification for any government, whatever be its form, except that of ensuring and promoting the welfare of its subjects.

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Revised Constitution

Obviously, the structure of the Government itself must grow in size and in power. To do so We must broaden and strengthen the bases of all three of the traditional branches of government, the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial. The Revised Constitution which We promulgate today reflects these preoccupations and enlarges and consolidates the Government.

In this Revised Constitution, We have not only sought to provide the essential conditions for effective work by ministers and Government officials, but We have, at the same time, provided that Our ministers shall be responsible to Us and to the State for the proper fulfilment of their highly responsible functions. Close collaboration between the executive and legislative branches of all modern governments has become an ineluctable necessity as regards the legislative process. In order to work intelligently in the drafting of laws, Parliament must be acquainted with problems as viewed by the Executive. Consequently, We have provided that ministers, on their own initiative, or at the request of Parliament, may appear before it to explain these matters. It is Our hope that this procedure will serve as a precious tool for the co-ordination of the executive and legislative processes and that, with the explanations which Our ministers may, from time to time, furnish to Parliament, this latter body will be able, more intelligently and in a fuller knowledge of the facts and circumstances involved, to devise legislation more responsive to the exigencies of the present hour and to the needs of the future.

We have mentioned the rapid expansion of legislation in social and economic fields. New industries, the accumulation of wealth, the acquisition of a maritime frontier and of ports, the existence of new fields of social endeavour, and, finally, problems of international import including treaties, and

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other international commitments, have all served to broaden the responsibilities of Parliament and to call from the members thereof for greater social, economic, national and, indeed, international vision. To respond to these problems, We have sought in two ways to strengthen the legislative branch of the Government, first by organizational improvements and secondly by a broadening of the Parliamentary functions.

Houses of Parliament

We have provided for a substantial increase in size of both Houses of Parliament. What is, however, perhaps even more important, is that, for the Chamber of Deputies, We have provided for direct elections, by secret ballot, throughout the Empire upon the basis of universal suffrage. Moreover, in order that these provisions for elections should be promptly translated into reality, We have prepared for consideration and approval by Parliament a national electoral law. The Constitution contains provisions to the end that all parts of the Empire shall receive their due representation in Parliament, and that there shall be no discrimination whatsoever amongst racial or religious groups. Furthermore, as We will have occasion shortly to indicate in detail, We have provided that there shall be no discrimination among Ethiopian subjects with respect to the enjoyment of all civil rights or citizenship. It is Our steadfast aim that all citizens of the Empire shall live together as brothers, in one large family.

In order that every member of Parliament shall feel himself free to carry out his responsibilities to the Nation, “without fear or favour” We have provided in greater detail for the traditional system of Parliamentary immunities as consecrated by the original Constitution and by the practice in other countries of the world.

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Finally, by detailed provisions, We have established means for resolving differences of opinion between the two Houses of Parliament. In this matter, We have followed time-honoured precedents from the Parliamentary systems of other countries using bicameral legislatures. It is essential that the two Houses work together in harmony for the national interest. They should not constitute warring or antagonistic elements. Those elected by the people must also benefit by the sage advice of those to whom long years of experience in government administration and positions of responsibility have given wisdom and insight.

Such are, then, the concepts which We have adopted in respect of the reorganization of Parliament. There is, however, as We have just mentioned, yet another aspect of this problem of strengthening the bases and enhancing the importance of Parliament. By that We refer to the role which Parliament itself, as so reorganized, will be called upon to play in the legislative process. We have envisaged and, in consequence provided for, a broadened role of parliament in respect of the law-making functions.

Legislative Activity

We have broadened the fields of legislative activity. For example by detailed provisions in the Revised Constitution, We have provided for further legislative responsibilities in respect of finances. Furthermore, We have provided that every proposal of law involving an increase in governmental expenditure by a new or increased tax shall first come before the Chamber of Deputies.

We have mentioned the international responsibilities of Parliament in the legislative process. For example, in the Revised Constitution, it is provided that, before entering into force, the advance approval of both Houses of Parliament shall be required in respect of all treaties and interna-

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tional agreements laying a burden on Ethiopian subjects personally, or modifying legislation in existence, or requiring expenditures of State funds or involving loans or monopolies, or a modification of the territory of the Empire, or of sovereignty or jurisdiction over any part of such territory, and in respect of all treaties of peace.

Human Rights

Although the original Constitution already contained provisions on Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties, this Chapter in the Revised Constitution contains provisions adopted in the most advanced countries of the world for the protection of Human Rights.

Each provision in this Chapter has a precedent, either in Ethiopian traditions, or in well-established constitutional precedents abroad. No less than 29 articles have been inserted in the Constitution to provide for the protection of the essential liberties and rights of the people. Thus, We have provided that “no one shall be denied the equal protection of the laws”; that “there shall be no discrimination amongst Ethiopian subjects with respect to the enjoyment of all civil rights”; that “there shall be no interference with the exercise in accordance with the law of the rites of any religion or creed by residents of the Empire”; that “freedom of speech and of the press is guaranteed throughout the Empire, in accordance with the law”; that “correspondence shall be subject to no censorship except in time of declared national emergency.” We have, further confirmed our practice that every person accused of a crime shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty and that no one shall be imprisoned for debt, except in case of legally proved fraud.

Unlike many countries of the world, We have provided the right to any resident of the Empire to bring suit against the Government or any ministry, department, agency or in-

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strumentality thereof, for wrongful acts resulting in substantial damage. Likewise, everyone in the Empire shall have the right to present petitions to Us.

So important have We considered these guarantees of Human Rights and Fundamental Liberties that, in the Revised Constitution, We have stipulated that not only the courts but, in particular, Ourselves, shall at all times assure and protect these Human Rights. They constitute principles which no branch of the Government, be it the Executive, Legislative or Judiciary, can transgress and which, in consequence, must be placed under the particular protection of the Sovereign Himself. We Ourselves will always be ready to act positively to ensure respect for these rights by all branches and every official of the Government. Thus, the lowliest subject of the Empire, the poorest as well as the richest, even the convict in prison, has always the assurance that the Sovereign is at all times vigilant in the protection of his rights and fundamental liberties.

Judiciary

Similar considerations have been borne in mind in drawing up the provisions concerning the third branch of the Government, the Judiciary. Thus, the welfare of Our beloved people is the supreme consideration which has dictated the deliberations out of which the Revised constitution was conceived and elaborated. We have given long and searching thought to this problem and the fruit of Our reflections and deliberations during the past six years is therefore no superficial achievement. It represents solid and patient studies for many months by Ourselves, with the assistance of specialists and many commissions. It was, thereafter, submitted to Parliament for its approval before receiving Our final authorization. Thus it is that today, We have been able to promulgate this Revised Constitution.

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In Our preoccupation with the problem, We have been alive to the realization that no single document, however profound and however comprehensive can, of itself, bring about far-reaching and fundamental traditions, customs, habits, predilections, as well as the legal concepts of the society upon which it is based. The great liberal regimes of France and the Anglo-Saxon countries and the great contributions which they have been able to make toward the development of political thought, have been based certainly not only on strictly constitutional concepts, but also on the broader and all-pervading philosophy of civil and penal law, a philosophy based on the sacredness of the individual.

Codification of Laws

Conscious of the broader implications of constitutional reform and of the necessity of providing means by which it may take root, We have called upon the services of the most enlightened jurists of the Continent of Europe to codify, under Our direct and constant supervision, and in the light of Ethiopia's age-old traditions and of her present day and future needs, the civil, penal, commercial and maritime laws of the Empire. The work undertaken and already accomplished under Our supervision and constant encouragement, has been gigantic, and We expect shortly to receive the final fruits of all these labours for the benefit of Our beloved people.

The Constitution which We promulgated twenty-four years ago has amply proved its worth and We trust that Our beloved subjects will benefit from the Revised Constitution which has adapted the earlier one to the changed conditions of today. We pray the Almighty to grant Us wisdom and strength to guide Our people to ever-greater destinies. We express to Him Our gratitude for having spared Us to celebrate the twenty-fifth Anniversary of Our Coronation.

Nov. 3, 1955.

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PUBLIC OFFICIALS CALLED TO RESPONSIBILITIES

..... In the ultimate sense, it is to the people of Ethiopia that you are responsible, and it is to them that you must answer for your stewardship.....

We ask you today, you ministers and officials of the Imperial Ethiopian Government, to cast yourselves back in time to that day, over thirty years ago, when the Crown of the Empire of Ethiopia was placed upon Our head and We assumed the sacred duty of guiding Our beloved country along the path of progress and enlightenment and of amalgamating Ethiopia's traditions and customs with the demands of the modern world. What was Ethiopia at that time? A country still largely isolated from the outside world in spite of her glorious past and ancient civilization, a country subjected to colonialist and imperialist pressures, a country without a modern system of government, a country without significant external trade.

For a moment, compare what existed then with what exists today, and you will find that the achievements themselves bear witness to the changes that have occurred during these years. Ask yourselves, then, how have these changes occurred? What problems have they brought with them? How can we deal with the problems of 1961, what measures must be taken to meet and cope with them?

It is axiomatic that development in any country must proceed simultaneously in all areas of its life. As a country advances economically, equivalent progress must be made in the creation of more highly developed social and political institutions as well. Any attempt to retard advancement in any single area will inevitably retard the development of the whole, and will create serious distortions in the overall fabric

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of the nation. This principle We have always recognized, and in Our actions We have been guided by it. The emphasis which We have given to education in Our country has stemmed from Our determination to eliminate ignorance and to prepare Our people for the changes which Ethiopia's emergence into the modern world would bring upon them.

Change Begets Change

It is also axiomatic that change begets change, that each step forward leads logically and inexorably to the next, and the next. Once unleashed, the forces of history cannot be contained or restrained, and he is naive indeed who says "thus far will I go and no farther." This principle, too, We have recognized and followed.

Ethiopia, for long centuries, remained isolated in her mountain fastnesses from the outside world. Emerging from this isolation at the height of the colonialist struggle for power in Africa, the task which has faced this nation in preserving its independence and in overcoming the difficulties posed by the transition from the ancient to the modern have been multiplied many-fold. While We led Ethiopia's struggle for the preservation of her liberty, We at the same time have assumed as Our primary task the education and training in public service of those We have called upon for assistance in the administration of Our Government. In Our labours to gain these twin objectives, We have had, in addition, to struggle against the objections of those who would cling to the ancient and the out-moded. The Ethiopian people, who have benefited from these labours, know that Our entire life has been sacrificed to the ceaseless struggle to achieve these ends, and We believe that they have amply demonstrated their gratitude and their affection for Us.

How, then, has Ethiopia travelled the long path stretching from 1917 to 1961?

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In 1930, recognizing that the programme of development which We envisaged for Ethiopia required a radical departure from the political system of our ancestors, We gave to Our people Ethiopia's first Constitution, of Our own free will, and against the strenuous objection of many who were close to Us and who did not hesitate to shed blood in opposing this step. For the first time, Ethiopia's Government acquired a crystallized and defined form. As had been stated by Us when We gave the first Constitution, that "... the Ethiopian people must share the burden of responsibility which in the past was borne by their monarch ...," by this act We sought to disperse responsibility and authority among Our people, that they might exercise it, together with Ourselves, in securing the advancement and the unity of the Ethiopian nation. In this manner We sought to lay the groundwork for the orderly and natural growth of those political and social institutions which are essential to the development of a dynamic yet stable society.

Our plans were abruptly halted by the invasion of 1935, but following Ethiopia's liberation, We resumed Our work and carried it yet further. In 1943, We caused to be published Order No.1.; Which defined the duties and responsibilities of Our Government and vested them with all power requisite to discharging them. At this same time, We promulgated a law which provided for the creation of an organized system of courts where Our subjects might go to seek redress for wrongs done to them and enforce the rights which the laws and the Constitution guaranteed to them.

These steps, again, We took voluntarily – not in response to any demand or pressure, but in full recognition of the principles of life which We enunciated but a moment ago and out of Our desire to facilitate and stimulate the further progress of Our nation, in fulfilment of the solemn vow which We took to Our people when We ascended the throne of Our Empire.

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As a complement to these measures, We created by special charter a number of autonomous institutions possessed of full power to act in the domains given over to their jurisdiction: the State Bank of Ethiopia, the Development Bank of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, the Imperial Board of Telecommunications, of Ethiopian Air Lines, the Imperial Highway Authority – these and many others We charged with the responsibility of securing Ethiopia's advancement in the areas confided to their care.

Constitution Revised

As Our Empire grew and flourished, it became apparent that the Constitution of 1930 no longer responded adequately to the needs of Our people. Accordingly, in 1955, again in the face of objections and opposition, We promulgated the Revised Constitution with which you are all familiar. In it, provision was made for Our people to enjoy direct representation and participation in the business of government. The division of power among Us, Our Ministers acting collectively and individually, and Our Parliament, was solidified and acquired permanent institutional form. Subsequently, We caused to be prepared a series of legal codes covering all aspects of the life of Our citizens and setting forth, in a precise yet detailed manner, the principles which were to guide them in their relationships with others and with the State. And in order that the growth of Ethiopia's economy proceed in a planned and co-ordinated fashion, We ordered the preparation of a Five-Year Plan which was designed to provide the overall pattern which Our nation's development was to follow. We have obtained loans and credits from friendly countries to help us in financing the projects to be completed within the Five-Year Plan and We are confident of the results of this endeavour.

In all that We did, We believed that We were taking those measures essential to Ethiopia's development. As

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programmes became more numerous and technically more complex, as the nation's budget increased from Eth. \$ 11 million in 1942 to Eth. \$ 279 million in 1960, it became essential that the decision-making functions be increasingly dispersed among the responsible officials of the Government. Who, today, can be an expert in all fields: Who, today, can single-handedly take all the decisions necessary to the administration of a Government's programmes? These questions require no answer.

But We know that man's desires rarely attain full achievement or perfection. And so it was here. What more was required to create a system of truly responsible government? What was yet lacking? The institutional framework existed. A modern Constitution guaranteed to each element of this structure its proper duties and the authority and the right to fulfil its tasks. Our Ministers were vested with attributions no less substantial than those given to Ministers in any nation of the world, irrespective of political coloration or orientation. Our Parliament was given powers to legislate comparable to those granted in any parliamentary system of government. The legal framework governing the dealings of the Ethiopian people with each other and with the State had been fully articulated.

Shoulder Responsibility

You all realize that it is necessary to have a sufficient number of men who would courageously and honestly accept responsibility and act under it, and, not counting the cost, discharge their duties to the Ethiopian nation. We have always held Ourselves at the disposal of Our people and Our Ministers. And so Our Ministers came to Us with their problems and questions. Always We said: "But the power has been given to you to do this yourself." Frequently, Our words went unheeded. Responsibility was shirked, decisions were avoided and thrust back upon Us.

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As a result, some programmes remained unimplemented, and other questions of major importance were left unanswered. The Government has been overwhelmed and benumbed by details. Among those who stand before Us, many have devoted years of service to the Imperial Ethiopian Government. You know the truth of what We say.

Today, we say to you, no longer shall it be thus. No longer shall you shirk your duties. No longer shall We accept your responsibilities, when We have given the power to you. This power shall not be abused for selfish and for personal ends when it has been given as a sacred trust to be exercised for the benefit of the Ethiopian people and nation.

Henceforth, you shall work in your Ministries and Departments and administer your own programmes there. Each year, in accordance with the Constitution, and within the broad framework of the Five-Year Plan which has been adopted, you shall prepare your programmes for the coming twelve months. When the programme has been approved by Our Council of Ministers and by Us, you shall work in accordance with it. If you plan and execute it well, you shall be congratulated. If you prove yourself incapable or incompetent, you shall be removed and replaced by another. If major policy questions arise, We are always here. If you encounter difficulties, We have appointed Our Prime Minister to aid you. His primary function is to co-ordinate work among the Ministries and see that the execution of Government programmes is facilitated. If questions of policy arise, he, too, is directed to bring them to Us. If amendment in the attributions which have been given to you are required, these shall be forthcoming.

Answer Stewardship

Your programmes and your implementation of them will be subject to free and open comments. In the ultimate

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sense, it is to the people of Ethiopia that you are responsible, and it is to them that you must answer for your stewardship. That is why you are constitutionally responsible to Us and to Parliament. During Our lifetime, We have unfailingly done what We have felt, before Almighty God, to be Our duty to Our people and Our nation, no matter what the cost to Ourselves. You must do likewise.

Throughout the long years of Our ceaseless efforts to achieve the advancement and well-being of Our nation, We have always anticipated that the stage would be reached at which Our ministers and officials, whom we have trained by education and through long years of service in government administration, could, once their duties and tasks are defined, assume by themselves full responsibility and discharge it properly, thus permitting Us to devote more of Our time to major political decisions and matters of utmost importance to the future of Ethiopia which necessitates Our attention.

We are persuaded that this stage has now been reached, and you must realize that the trust given to you entails a sacrifice on your part, that you may be worthy of it. You should be ever mindful that the supreme test of your worthiness of this trust will be manifested not only by the confidence We have reposed in you, but also by your achievements in the implementation of the programmes We have laid down for the Ethiopian people.

Your office shall be where you belong. Technical experts and advisors have been provided to aid you in your work. Your Departments and Ministries can function well only if the choice of your staff is dictated, not by ties of friendship and personal relationship, but by evidence of competence and ability. You shall work on your own responsibility, making your own mistakes, achieving your own successes. We shall reserve for each of you a certain period each week when We shall ask you to report on the progress you have made in your programmes and on the

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difficulties which you have encountered. But time shall not be used to ask or obtain from Us decisions which are rightfully yours to make.

Ethiopians are proud of the three thousand years of their recorded history, as well they may be. We are proud of what has been achieved during Our reign, and we thank God for it. We are content to let History judge the wisdom of Our actions. But while we cannot escape the consciousness of each day's immediacy and the urgency of the problems which each day presents, we must nonetheless be ever mindful that just as our nation's history stretches far back in time, so does an unlimited future lie before us, especially in this nuclear and space era. We must all act and take our decisions mindful of the far-reaching implications and consequences of each of them. What We have said to you today, We know, carries with it implications for generation upon generation of future Ethiopians. We are persuaded that what We have said will, in the long term, redound to the everlasting benefit of those who will follow us. Man is mortal; each one of us here will, one day, face his Maker and answer for his actions. Those of us to whom the grave responsibility of governing have been given bear a heavy burden before the people and before Almighty God for the proper discharge of our duties. Let us all labour in this sense, that the people of Ethiopia may ever live in happiness and prosperity.

Apr. 14, 1961.

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ADDRESSING JUDGES ON JUSTICE AND THE LAW

.... Since in the scale of creation all men are born equal, it is imperative that all laws should be equitable in their application. For, what is the foundation of freedom and what are the reasons that men cherish it if they are not equal before the law?

It is an accepted criterion all over the world to elect judges on the basis of their merit and not on any other considerations. In Ethiopia, the Kings received their mission from God and the allegiance of the people because they have faith in the justice of their actions.

What Our Minister of Justice in his speech has said on your behalf as well as the four-day conference that you have attended will undoubtedly contribute to your enlightenment.

Our history shows that the Emperors and Kings decided cases and handed down judgment based on precedents and the prevailing custom. They were assisted by the “Fetha Negest,” a legal code compiled by learned ecclesiastics. It was even a custom to bury a copy of this code with the Rulers – an act symbolizing the fact that while dispensing justice in their life-time they had not deviated from the provisions of the “Fetha Negest.”

Since in the scale of creation all men are born equal, it is imperative that all laws should be equitable in their application. For, what is the foundation of freedom and what are the reasons that men cherish it if they are not equal before the law? The answer is clear to all of you.

With the assistance of Our elders We have striven to improve the judicial system of our country from the time that We accepted the high responsibility of leading the destiny of our nation, realizing that this is part of our trust. As Saint Paul said: “Where specific law exists, try according to the law, where there exists no code of law, try according to your conscience.”

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As you have mentioned in your speech We have been continuously exercised with the task of dispensing justice with equity. And you must be aware of the enormous effort that we have devoted to the promulgation of the Civil and Criminal Codes and to secure the service of foreign legal experts to assist in the execution of these tough tasks both before and after the promulgation of the Constitution.

This is not the first time that We have addressed an assembly of this nature. While some of you had actually attended the meeting that was held earlier at the same place, those of you who were not present must have read about it.

Those who are selected as judges must realize their great responsibilities, for a judge must endeavour to discover the truth so that his judgment will always be impartial and unbiased. He must, moreover, strive to overcome fear and to resist temptations such as those of pecuniary gains and favouritism and any other practices that might prevent him from the proper execution of his duties. He should, in addition, seek guidance from the Almighty God, be true to his conscience and examine objectively cases brought before him to aid him in avoiding malpractices.

Ignorance No Excuse

No judge could claim ignorance or poverty as an excuse for shortcomings in the administration of justice because he can neither shirk the responsibility entrusted to him by the Crown nor perjure his God-given conscience. It will be found that physical and material handicaps which are often short-lived and transitory are not so harmful as finding one's self faced with a guilty conscience. Whenever conflict arises between material and spiritual values the conscience plays an important role, and anyone who suffers from a guilty conscience is never free from this problem until he makes peace with his conscience. As you all are cognizant of those

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things which displeased God and brings forth shame, temptations should be rigorously resisted.

Justice is the fundamental axiom for the survival of freedom and government.

We have always been endeavouring to see that what is benefiting people elsewhere in the world is made available to Our own people. For this reason We ourselves have been receiving appeals in Our Court. Ordinary small cases which naturally cannot be handled by Us because of shortage of time have been entrusted to our Ministry of Justice and other judicial authorities in the faith that justice will be dispensed with equity in accordance with the responsibility bestowed upon Us by the Almighty God.

The problem of administering justice is not a thing which exists only in Ethiopia; it exists all over the world. As judges do demand justice for themselves, you should endeavour to administer justice with equity, remembering the words of Jesus Christ that man cannot live on bread alone; he has a spirit to care for.

Our people have always been demanding justice. He who seeks justice knows the value of justice too. This testifies to the maturity of Our people. This has been said time and again in history and is not something new. For this reason We are proud of Our people. We say this to you so that there will be improvement in the future in the administration of justice. Although there might have been failures in the past there is no doubt you have endeavoured to administer justice squarely. In order to satisfy all the demands of all the people, time is required. As We have already pointed out, that which does not give time is the feeling of a guilty conscience. We should try to avoid it with all our efforts.

Expansion

An endeavour shall be made to arrive at prompt decision on the draft regulations defining the responsibilities

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of the courts and their administration. It is a well known fact that the budget of the Ministry of Justice has been increased. It should also be noted that as the work of the administration of justice expands, studies will be made for the procurement of still additional funds. There are various means by which the Ministry of Justice can closely co-operate with other departments of the government which have their own part to play in carrying out this task. We shall be passing orders to the Council of Ministers through our Prime Minister to study the possibility of establishing schools for juvenile delinquents on the lines of the one functioning in Addis Ababa so that teenage law offenders who get involved in crimes as a result of their mental instability can be punished for what they have done in the past and at the same time be protected against indulging in crimes in the future.

We have time and again said with regard to the Moslem Community, that the integrity and religious right of everyone should be protected and respected. As laws are being enacted at all times, We have long ago permitted the drafting of laws suited to their religious practices. However, since religion and work go hand in hand, it should be understood that the laws should be practised in a method not detrimental to the unity of a nation. Our Minister of Justice will submit for study the details of the process for the administration of the laws whereupon decision shall be taken.

In general you – judges – should understand that you have been entrusted with the great responsibility of protecting the rights of the people and must therefore endeavour to serve with a spirit of selflessness and integrity so as to free yourselves from guilty consciousness. We urge you to serve with integrity today so as to set a good precedent for posterity. Endeavour to serve with integrity, always bearing in mind what We have told you in the past and what We are now telling you. Since man has been endowed by the Almighty with the special quality of judging his own self, let

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alone passing a judgment on others, at the hour of pronouncing judgment he must imagine... finding himself to be in the position of the man in the dock. If one passes a judgment after search of his conscience and careful reflection picturing his own self in the position of he who stands before him for trial, and if he does it with good conscience in the interest of the efficiency of administration of justice, there is no doubt that he will pass the right judgment.

He who stands before you or Us for trial is equally our brother. To think that we may tomorrow find ourselves in his place, that posterity will also find itself in the same difficult situation, in a fundamental applicable to all professions.

As unfairness and loss of faith in justice torments both the body and the soul, we urge you to keep yourselves away from befalling such a calamity. Let the Almighty God engrave these words in the heart of everyone of us.

Aug. 24, 1961.

..... As the young men who have received advanced training in law return from abroad in ever-increasing numbers, and as modern legal codes come into force in Ethiopia, we must act to reform and modernize Ethiopia's judiciary. This particular responsibility has been confided to the Judicial Committee. It is labouring to improve Ethiopia's judicial system so that speedy and impartial justice will be guaranteed to all. All men stand equal before the law. All men must be able to enforce their legal rights before the courts. The Judicial Committee is seeking to achieve these objectives, and to create a system whereby judges will be appointed from among those best qualified, and the principle of the independence of the judiciary, already established in the Revised Constitution, will be fully implemented in practice

Nov. 2, 1961.

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ON FAR-REACHING ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

In 1955, persuaded that events so required and so permitted, We promulgated a Revised Constitution. By virtue of this document a popularly-elected Chamber of Deputies today sits in Parliament and participates in the regulation of the affairs of their country. And this year, as has already been announced, broad and far-reaching studies have been launched to sweep away any obstacles which still stand in the way of further growth which, God willing, will proceed unabated until all Ethiopians stand proudly as citizens of a State which will not suffer by comparison with any on this continent or in this world, a State in which each man enjoys, without let or hindrance, those rights and liberties which are man's most precious possessions. We shall devote Our entire being to this purpose, and We call upon each Ethiopian to take for himself this same pledge.

Within the past months, We have convened a number of special committees and have charged them with the task of exploring ways and means of speeding the development of Our nation in various fields. The work of these committees is proceeding rapidly, and the results of their deliberations and the recommendations which they make will be made known to you and, if required, you will be asked to act on them. The Committee on Constitutional Revision is to study the 1955 Revised Constitution and determine whether there is need to amend it in order that the system of responsible ministerial government which We have created, deliberately and of Our own free will, may be rendered more efficient and effective. Government today in Ethiopia has attained such magnitude that no single man nor any few men can control its every aspect and operation. Responsibility must be increasingly delegated to those who have demonstrated themselves efficient and devoted administra-

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tors. You, the members of Parliament, must take an ever-increasing part in government.

The Committee on Administrative Reform is undertaking a task which must be discharged periodically in all developed nations, that of analyzing the form and institutions of government so that its working may be simplified. The Committee on Local Government is exploring the possibility of granting an increased measure of autonomy to local administrations within the unified provincial administration which already exists. Decentralization is required as administration grows in size and complexity. The Committee on Education is seeking the means of expanding Ethiopia's existing educational facilities so that they may adequately meet the increasing demands being made – and properly so – for instruction in the learning and wisdom of the modern world. Other committees may, perhaps, have more immediate impact upon the course of events in Ethiopia; the work of none of them will be of greater importance in influencing, over the long term, this country's future.

Pension And Civil Service

...The first is the enactment of a pension law whereby Government employees who have devoted themselves to the service of their nation will be assured, when the time comes, that they may enjoy the leisure which the modern world denies during man's active years, of continued financial independence. Man's ingratitude to man is often manifested in the willingness to relegate human beings to the scrapheap of life when they enter the twilight of their careers and younger brains and stronger arms are found to replace them. This has, happily, never been the case in Our nation, and with the establishment of a Government pensions scheme, these rights, traditional to Ethiopia, are preserved and expanded.

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Secondly, by Imperial Order We have, only a few days ago, established the legal framework for a public service system which will govern the hiring, promotion, dismissal and discipline of the great majority of government employees. This legislative act, which formalizes a custom followed in practice in the past, will facilitate the creation of a corps of career public servants who may devote themselves without stint to their duties, to the exclusion of personal or special preoccupations.

These two enactments are epoch-making in Ethiopian history; their significance cannot be over-emphasized. They may, at the outset, be administered less than perfectly. The full measure of their impact upon the carrying on of responsible government in Ethiopia may not be immediately felt. But impact there shall be. Henceforward, each employee will know of the conditions of his service. He will know what he must do to be considered for employment with the Government and what conditions he must meet to be enrolled in Government service. He will know that if he performs efficiently and well he will be promoted, and that if he slacks or shirks his duties or abuses his position for his personal financial gain, he will be disciplined and even discharged. He will be aware of his duties, his rights and obligations. He will be secure in his position for so long as he serves ably and well. And after having served his nation loyally, when he is old, or sick, or feeble, he will be guaranteed his pension to the end of his life. Upon his death, his wife, his children, even his parents, may enjoy the benefits to which his years in Government service have entitled him.

Both the pension scheme and the public service system will be administered by autonomous bodies headed by an independent Board of Commissioners. The fundamental task of these Commissioners, in addition to administering the organizations which they head, is to ensure that no outside influence is involved in awarding pensions and in directing

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the public service system. If freedom from political influence is achieved, every Ethiopian will know that public servants hold their positions by virtue of merit and worth, and that retired Government employees have earned their pensions by years of faithful and devoted service.

Nov. 2, 1961.

LABOUR LAWS

..... A step which, We are persuaded, will stand as a landmark in Ethiopia's history is the enactment in recent weeks of urgently required labour legislation. The newly-promulgated Labour Relations Law and Public Employment Administration Order have been carefully prepared for the declared purposes of stimulating a better way of life for the workers of Our Empire and of promoting social harmony and content amongst all classes of Our people. If we meet the challenge which this legislation represents and, through it, fulfil the needs of an increasingly-enlightened society, these enactments will make an incalculable contribution to Ethiopia's future economic and social expansion.

Collective Bargaining

A nation's goals in any field of endeavour require, for their achievement, the combined efforts of all parts of its society, and, not least, of the entrepreneurial and labouring classes. The employer-employee relationship, in turn, must be based on sound and fair labour conditions. The Labour Relations Law will ensure that these exist. In addition, this law provides the mechanism for the settlement of disputes between employers and by peaceful negotiations. Recourse to the technique of collective bargaining will solve before they are created those difficulties which arise when labour and employers come into conflict. Collective bargaining will require

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from both employers and employees, and from the employers' associations and labour unions which they are authorized and empowered to create to represent them, a high degree of maturity and responsibility, as well as mutual respect and recognition of the other's rights. We expect that these attitudes will be manifested fully in their dealings with one another

Nov. 2, 1962.

DEVELOPMENT REFORMS ERITREA

On our current visit to Eritrea, We felt extremely happy to note and realize that the welcome accorded Us by the people is sincere, deep and genuine. We have already spoken clearly about the administration of Eritrea, of the past and future. That Eritrea, before the federal union with Ethiopia, stayed separated for 60 years by the design of imperialists and colonialists and not by the will of God, has been manifested by the ultimate unity achieved. The struggle undertaken by the people to effect the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia is also very clear.

It is not necessary to enumerate countries where the people and the entire country having lost unity, spiritual or otherwise, have become playgrounds and laughing stocks of outsiders. The historical events of certain countries bear witness to this fact. In our own times, there are those expansionists who by shedding blood, desire to achieve their ambition and by dismembering themselves they are seen as tools for alien interests. Our people from Ethiopia shed blood, to save them from disintegration. Those personalities who believe in freeing a country by secession are selfish and prey to outsiders. We will not accept their motives.

The Eritrean people and their representatives work not only for Eritrea but for the entire Ethiopia too. They have

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worked for the welfare of the country even before the hardship. What brings people together is not only history, culture and geography but also the various voluntary social associations as well as economic interests and sharing infirmities or benefits in common; that is very clear.

Anyone, therefore, by investing his capital and wealth enjoys the benefits for himself and this situation provides general well-being by strengthening the unity of a people and by raising its living standard too.

In order to amass private wealth and benefit from it in peace and security, it is necessary to comply with the fundamental precepts of the society. So being, even the accumulation of private property emanates from a harmonious social life and entails certain obligations. One of these typical obligations would be to put one's private capital into use. Since wealth is acquired by hard labour it is necessary to manifest an effort by using the invested capital.

Development Plans

The natural resources such as mines and others found in Eritrea and the other parts of Ethiopia remain the property of the Government and would be utilized in such effective ways facilitating the speedy progress and development of the Empire. It is also the duty of the people to render their service to the Government and the Government in turn is bound to serve the people.

Though it is difficult to effect the overall development of a nation in a short time, besides the projects which have already been accomplished, We have laid down for the development of this part of Our country the projects outlined in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The projected development plan includes:

1. The Zula Dam and the oil-finding survey on the Red Sea Coast already costing Eth. \$2,000,000. The fact

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2. that We have spent so much while the federation was still in existence is proof of Our belief in the oneness of Eritrea and Ethiopia. We are negotiating with private firms to discover oil and We are confident to effect an agreement with the firms concerned when the oil is discovered.
3. The survey for the discovery of copper and iron ore would be completed in the near future.
4. A new organization would be established to encourage the development of cotton plantations in the Province of Tessenei and the other lowlands and at the same time to advise and grant loans to farmers.
5. Studies for the establishment of a cement factory have been completed and the factory would be in operation soon.
6. We have allotted Eth. \$1,000,000 for transport, forestry, irrigation systems and for administrative purposes.
7. An additional Eth. \$2,000,000 has been added to the Eth. \$500,000 previously allocated to construct the road from Areza to Bosheka.
8. We have further approved to restudy the tax levied on fuels consumed by agricultural machineries.
9. To help the people inhabiting the lowlands We have, as We expressed earlier, made arrangements for the Areza-Bosheka road.

The outlined are projects undertaken by the Government. We have also formulated plans to help private enterprises help themselves and the people. The Development Bank would be founded to realize Our concern on this line.

We have also made arrangements for Our people to benefit by purchasing shares from the private companies. Our endeavour to help the people also pre-supposes that the people should help Us. The wealth of Eritrea is the wealth

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of Ethiopia and the wealth of Ethiopia is the wealth of Eritrea.

The realization of such a plan to effect the overall development of the national interest requires the active participation of the people and We have as such given instructions to members of the Eritrean Assembly to labour for the cause. This also calls for the co-ordination of the efforts exerted here as well as in the capital. The Police Force has so far rendered service and it would be given help to continue its service.

It is Our fervent hope that Almighty God will guide and bring Our efforts to fruition.

Jan. 18, 1963.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Thanks to the Grace of God, during the years that We have been entrusted with the leadership of Our people, Our efforts, expended to assure progress in the areas of administration. Economic, social and political growth, in education and social services, have yielded rewarding fruits.

Our people have long enjoyed the tradition and experience of independence. Nonetheless, in recognition of the conditions which then existed, aware of the long-term benefits to be realized, We granted to Our people the nation's first written Constitution in 1931. The difficulties which We encountered in accomplishing this radical departure from custom, the trials to eliminate surviving feudal traditions in achieving this notable step along the path of progress, were heavy indeed, even wearisome. Even surviving eye-witnesses could have but a vague recollection of those difficult times. How much less can those far removed from that period be expected to appreciate the troubles to which We were put in those days.

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When We re-established the Ministries of the Government in 1943, We issued an Order defining the duties and responsibilities of the Prime Minister and other Ministers so that all Government officials would understand their obligations and discharge their duties properly. The Order established the legal basis on which the various Government departments would function and gave clear directives to Government officials. On the whole, the system then laid down has worked reasonably well to the present.

Because of the progress made in the country generally and the high standard of living achieved by the people thereby, We granted the Revised Constitution in 1955 in order to consolidate gains already won and to guarantee continued and accelerated progress. ...Under the Revised Constitution, Our people have been guaranteed the full exercise of their rights. They have, for the first time, directly elected their representatives to Parliament, without whose discussion and approval no taxes can be levied, no duties imposed on the people and no laws enacted. In turn, and also in accordance with the Revised Constitution, Parliament can call upon the Prime Minister and other Ministers to give explanations concerning the conduct of the Executive Department.

People's Participation

Thus, through the members of the Chamber of Deputies, the people have participated directly in the affairs of the Government, thereby enabling the nation to advance rapidly in many areas of national endeavour.

The efforts made to expand educational opportunities in the country and to protect the national unity of Our people have met with success. Our people have benefited from the rights and privileges embodied in the Constitution. In spite of past and continuing attempts of certain alien enemies to create differences based on tribalism and religion, the Eth-

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iopian people have waged a successful struggle against these forces of evil and thus preserved their national unity.

Since We assumed leadership, Our most cherished wish and desire, for which We have laboured unceasingly, with firm determination, attaching to it the highest importance, has been that Our people should attain this goal. We derive great satisfaction today not only in witnessing the realization as a working concern of the system instituted by Us, but in expressing Our belief and hope that Our people shall continue undeterred to guide their destiny.

Justice is the foundation of the modern, well-ordered state. Accordingly, the promulgation of the Civil, the Commercial, the Penal, Maritime and Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes, in the train of the granting of the Revised Constitution, must be regarded as of the highest importance. These laws directly affect the day-to-day public and private life of every Ethiopian. They guarantee the enjoyment of the rights granted to the nation under the Revised Constitution. They have benefited Our people in their daily activities. They have created a sense of faith in the system of government based upon the rule of law.

Within recent years, significant laws and measures pertaining to social welfare have been enacted and put into practice. These include a pensions scheme for government employees; civil service legislation to insure that civil servants are chosen impartially, and that they properly render their services to the Government and to the people; laws regulating relations between employers and employees which, by guaranteeing their respective rights, ensure that both groups can work together, in the interests of the general welfare of making the nation and cooperate in the attainment of greater national development and self-sufficiency.

We have ordered that highly important reforms be undertaken: in the system of land tenure and land taxation; in the administration of justice and the nomination and

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appointment of judges; in the expansion and growth of education; in the system of provincial administration; in the promotion of efficiency in Government departments. Other important reforms are being studied and will be put into effect, as their details are worked out.

Ethiopia's socio-economic progress has been substantial. The First Five-Year Plan has been launched and implemented for the purpose of achieving a rational and a larger scale of development. Planning ensures a simultaneous accomplishment of developmental projects with a view to achieving accelerated progress, thus avoiding wastage of financial resources, labour and time. Benefiting from encouraging results of the first Five-Year Plan, and the experience gained in its implementation, the Second Five-Year Development Plan, drawn up on a much wider and enlarged scale, is now being implemented.

International

Alongside the progress made on the domestic front in the political, economic, social welfare and administrative fields, Ethiopia's international obligations and duties have grown and have become more complex than at any other time in the history of the nation. As a member of the United Nations Organization and its various Agencies, Ethiopia has been called upon to participate in numerous conferences.

By playing host to the Summit Conference of African Heads of States and Governments three years ago, and by helping bring about the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, Ethiopia has, together with her African brothers, assumed greater responsibilities not only in Africa but in the world at large.

As the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the number of African and international conferences

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held in Addis Ababa is growing. And so also does our responsibility become greater.

As Ethiopia's socio-economic development has become increasingly complex, the nation's administrative framework staffed by responsible officials, has expanded to ensure a high degree of efficiency and effectiveness in the conduct of public affairs. In addition to Our Ministers, an increased number of Vice Ministers, Assistant Ministers and Deputy Governors-General have been appointed to cope with the ever-expanding volume of work which has been the consequence of the progress of the nation.

In 1943, We promulgated an Order which defined the powers, duties and responsibilities of Our Ministers. In doing so, We empowered them to issue the rules and regulations requisite to the proper functioning of the departments confined to their care. Now, nearly a quarter century later, We have reached the stage where each Minister must assume full responsibility for the discharge of his duties, including the measure of responsibility to Parliament which was foreshadowed in Our Revised Constitution of 1955. If Our aims and objectives are to be realized, each one of us must labour and assume his share of responsibility for the progress and prosperity of the nation. If We do so, We are satisfied that acceptable results will follow. We are encouraged to see Our people each day participating more actively in the affairs of the nation, for it is in this way that the imperative acceleration of the nation's progress shall be attained.

We have said that each Minister is fully responsible for his duties; nonetheless, when major policy issues require Our attention, Our Prime Minister or, if necessary, the Prime Minister and the Minister concerned, shall bring them to Our attention. It is the duty of Our Prime Minister to assure that the work of Government is performed; but this does not in any way relieve the Ministers of their individual responsibilities. To place all responsibility upon the shoulders of one

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individual while all others sit idly by and seek only to criticize and find fault is, in our era, to act contrary to the movement for the progress and advancement of the country.

If We ponder deeply on our situation today, We shall find that we lack for little. The resources are available; the nation's youth are gaining knowledge and acquiring experience; it is only necessary that We resolve to work with determination and diligence. The socio-economic policy that we have adopted, a policy founded deep in Ethiopia's national heritage and tradition, is well-calculated to assure the progress of the present and future generation; all that We require is co-operation, mutual assistance and the profound consciousness that We are fulfilling Ourselves in the discharge of Our planned and assigned responsibilities. This spirit, whether We term it communal, socialistic or the philosophy of the welfare state, is not new or alien to Ethiopia's way of life.

Administrative Changes

The problems consequent upon the growth and development of the nation which have so significantly expanded Ethiopia's international responsibilities and obligations have also multiplied apace. And if We are to meet these mushrooming domestic and international obligations and demands, We must design and implement methods which will, without wasteful duplication of effort, recognize proper principles of administration, maintain discipline, and respect and observe a strict division of labour.

We were aware of all of this. And during past decades, with exacting care and deliberate forethought, We laid down the broad guide-lines for a greater future development. And, now, after the most detailed review and painstaking scrutiny of the advances achieved during this period, We have determined to introduce further innovations into the structure of

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the nation's administrative system, and We have set them forth in an Order which We are promulgating today. The changes which We have ordered will enable Us to devote Our hours to assuring the execution of the highly important and urgent programmes designed to accelerate national growth and development and to meet international obligations and commitments into which Ethiopia continues to enter.

This Order, which amends Order No. 1 of 1943 defining the duties and responsibilities of the Prime Minister and all other Ministers, provides in substance as follows:

- (1) That the Prime Minister shall be appointed by Us, and that he shall submit to Us for appointment by Us the proposed members of his cabinet to head the ministries of the Government;
- (2) That the Ministers shall be responsible to the Prime Minister;
- (3) That the Prime Minister and the Minister shall be collectively responsible to Us and to Parliament in accordance with the provisions of the Revised Constitution of 1955.

This fundamental reform of the structure of the national administration is founded upon the authority of Article 27 of the Revised Constitution, which empowers Us to determine, revise and modify the administrative structure of the Government. It is designed to increase Governmental efficiency and enable Us to devote Ourselves exclusively to matters of high policy.

Each nation elaborates its programmes according to its custom and cultural heritage, suiting them to its own development aims, changing and improving its institutions of Government as experience and the requirements of the times dictate. A particular structure of government may be apt and practical for one nation; it may not be so for another. Each nation must determine, shape and adapt its governmental pattern to conform to its customs and its cultural heritage.

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We have provided for this improved and reformed system of Government according to the ideals of modern Ethiopianism, building upon the accumulated experience of the years, preserving those elements of the past which have proven useful, modifying and improving those parts which call for change. We envisage that future changes and improvements may be introduced in the future as the need arises. When change is required, paramount in Our thoughts and those of Our officials will be interests of the Ethiopian people.

Mar. 22, 1966.

ON STRENGTHENING THE NATION'S POLITICAL FABRIC

..... Throughout Our life time, We have always unceasingly sought an ever-increasing degree of participation by Our people in the conduct of the nation's affairs. In 1931, when We granted Ethiopia's first written Constitution, We were motivated by this desire.

In 1955, We paved the way for an even deeper and wider involvement of Our people in the direction of the affairs of their country. The Revised Constitution which We promulgated then is both the basis for and an immutable manifestation of the unity of the Ethiopian nation. The presence of you Parliamentarians here today testifies to the wisdom of those steps.

This past year, two additional measures have been taken to accelerate this process and insure the country's future political stability and growth.

The first, and perhaps the most significant political development of recent years, occurred only eight months ago. We then announced that the principle of collective responsibility embedded in Ethiopia's constitutional framework would be enlarged by the designation by Us of Our

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Prime Minister who would, in turn, select his cabinet for appointment by Us.

This innovation, coupled with the principle of Parliamentary responsibility enunciated in the 1955 Constitution, prepares the way for the introduction of a totally new series of modifications into Ethiopia's institutional framework and guarantees the continued dynamic evolution of the nation's political structure.

We are convinced that this step, taken in accordance with the nation's Constitution, will inject new strength into the political framework of the nation, and that the permanence of the advances already accomplished will be secured.

The first consequence of this major reshaping of Ethiopia's political framework may already be seen.

In order to emphasize and give full scope to the priority of co-ordinated economic planning, a separate Ministry charged with wide responsibilities in this field has been established, and work has already been commenced on the preparation of a Third Five-Year Plan.

Land reform and administration, an area deserving of the highest consideration, has been confided to another new Ministry created at the time of the reorganization of Our Government in April.

Responsibility for social affairs has been consolidated under the direction of the Ministry of National Community Development and Social Affairs.

Information and tourism functions have been combined in a single Ministry in order that fuller and more complete publicity may be given to the many varied aspects of Ethiopia's life and activities.

The institutions earlier created to assure that all Public Servants would receive the recognition which their work has earned for them and that they may look to their future security with confidence have now been consolidated in a single agency.

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The Ministry of Public Works has been given the special task of ensuring that adequate provision is made for the furnishing of housing, an increasingly important requirement in these days of rapid urbanization.

All of these changes have been carefully considered before their introduction. They will assist in insuring the efficient and effective conduct of the affairs of Our Government and the proper discharge of Our duties to the Ethiopian nation and people.

Local Self-Administration

The second of these vital political measures was initiated several years ago when studies were launched into one of the most significant and critical exercises in national political growth yet attempted in Ethiopia. This work matured in the scheme of local administration based at the Awraja level introduced by Our Order only a short time ago.

This vast project has slowly taken form through years of painstaking research and profound examination of the needs, the beliefs, the aspirations and the capacities of every segment of the entire population.

As this programme is implemented, major responsibilities in many areas of pressing concern to each individual and community throughout the nation will be entrusted to locally elected Awraja Councils. Council members will be chosen in formal elections. The judgment and discretion of the Ethiopian people will be tested as never before, as a large portion of the decisions shaping their economic and social life become their responsibility.

Pending before this session of Parliament is the draft Proclamation dealing with Awraja local revenues which will give final substance to the form already devised for this great and crucial experiment in government. You should act upon this proposal as a matter of urgency in order that this im-

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mense programme, so vital to every man, woman and child in Ethiopia, may proceed on schedule. Other financial legislation of vital importance to the nation will also be laid before you in the coming year.

The sum of all the developments we have described are consistent, We believe, with the basic policy of Our Government, a policy which is aimed at the adoption and implementation of national programmes having the greatest impact upon the largest number. This is our goal and purpose, as it should be the goal and purpose of every Government sincerely and deeply devoted to the well-being of its people.

National Dedication

The system of responsible cabinet government placed in effect last March endeavours to bring to each member of Our Government a more immediate and lively awareness of his responsibilities for sharing in the total task of governing the nation and, below him, to encourage each Government official and employee to discharge more effectively the greater measure of the authority which has been delegated throughout Our Government's structure.

The increased emphasis placed upon development planning is intended to produce ever-increasing economic activity at every level of the economy down to the smallest village and community.

Land reform measures are calculated to affect and improve the living conditions of literally millions of Ethiopia. The introduction of a widespread system of local administration is directed to the involvement of substantial numbers of Our people in the conduct and regulation of their public affairs.

Our concern is with the many and not the few. The benefits of education must be enjoyed by every Ethiopian. Health facilities must be made available to all who require them. The ownership of a plot of land must be brought

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within the capacity of everyone who so desires. The benefits of an expanding economy must be enjoyed by all.

It is Our task and responsibility, as it is of Our Government, to transform these objectives into coherent, acceptable and realistic legislative and financial programmes and to see to their accomplishment. If this is done, the duty owed to the Ethiopian nation and people will be discharged. To succeed will require the single-minded, tenacious and unselfish dedication of each one of us

Nov. 2, 1966.

CHAPTER VII

DOMESTIC

Primary among the many preoccupation of His Imperial Majesty throughout His long and beneficent reign has been the welfare of His people. The significant rise in their general standard of living has been the result. His Majesty has always kept close to His people, has made time to visit all parts of the country and to personally look and enquire into their problems. Many of these Imperial visits were occasions to establish or inaugurate projects intended for the social economic, and cultural betterment of the people. The speeches selected under this caption contain instances of His Imperial Majesty's thoughts and ideas on domestic issues as communicated to the Ethiopian people from time to time.

ADDRESS TO THE NATION ON HIS TOUR

..... Of the countries which We visited during Our recent trip, there are some whose economic and political systems are different from ours. We believe that these are made to serve the particular needs of each country and are matters of domestic concern to each nation, and for this reason We do not believe that such differences in political and economic systems should stand as a hindrance to the understanding, collaboration and co-operation among nations on important matters that are of common concern

In the belief that it will help create understanding and co-operation in the world, and out of particular consideration for the welfare and well-being of Our beloved people and country, We have, from time to time during the past five years, journeyed to visit friendly countries in the Americas, the United Kingdom, Europe and the Far East.

After successfully completing Our recent long journey on invitations extended to Us from among friendly countries, namely the U.A.R., the U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Belgium, France, Portugal and Yugoslavia, We are now happy and

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thankful to Almighty God to find Ourselves in the midst of Our beloved people.

On Our return from Our previous journeys, We had made known to you the impressions left with Us by the reception extended to Us in the countries which we then visited. Because We believe that the very admirable reception and sincere expression of friendship extended to Us by the peoples and leaders of the countries that We visited recently were also directed to you, We desire to share with you the sentiments of these visits. We shall presently make known Our tasks regarding Our future programme for the socio-economic development of Our country.

Our first stop in Our long journey was the U.A.R. As We had accepted the invitation of H.E. President Gamal Abdel Nasser to visit the U.A.R., We stayed in that neighbouring country from the 24th to the 29th of June. During Our stay in the U.A.R., We discussed with President Abdel Nasser matters of mutual interest to our two countries and international affairs. We also visited various national centres and institutions of economic and social interest and importance.

From the start of Our visit in the U.A.R. the warm and cordial reception and the spontaneous expression of friendship extended to Us by President Gamal Abdel-Nasser and other leaders of the Government and the people of the country wherever We went, created in Us a feeling of great pleasure and satisfaction.

Millennial Friendship

As you know, the relation between Ethiopia and the U.A.R. had its beginnings thousands of years ago. The peoples of the two countries, apart from being neighbours, have common aspirations and ideals, and are also bound by a common link which is the Great Blue Nile. During Our visit

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We discussed matters of mutual interest to our two countries, problems common to this region, as well as the general situation of the world. In particular, We are most satisfied that We were able to make personal acquaintance with President Gamal Abdel Nasser and to hold frank and friendly discussion with him regarding matters of common interest to our two nations and to have been able to reach complete understanding.

What We witnessed during Our brief stay in the U.A.R. regarding the progress of the industry and economy of the country was commendable. We were impressed by the hard work and struggle of the people to improve their standard of living.

From the many important achievements of Our visit, one which has given Us great satisfaction was the successful completion of the agreement regarding the relation of our two Churches. During Our reign We have spared no efforts to attain the greatness that is due to the Ethiopian Church which has been an island of Christianity in the Continent of Africa. We are most thankful to Almighty God to have witnessed the fruits of Our efforts during Our reign by the elevation of an Ethiopian to the Patriarchate of the Ethiopian Church.

After Egypt, We visited the Soviet Union. Although a few years have passed since We accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union, for various reasons We have not been able to go there earlier. We are now happy to have been able to visit that great country with which Ethiopia for a long time has maintained friendly relations.

One of the famous generals of the era of Peter the Great was Abraham Hannibal, who was an Ethiopian, and whose great grandson was the celebrated poet, Alexander Pushkin. We can therefore say that we have had a continued relation with the Soviet Union in the military and cultural fields.

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Did not Recognize Occupation

In addition to the medical aid which the Soviet Union provided to Ethiopia, during the battle of Adowa and now in Our era, and, apart from the assistance We were able to obtain from that country through the Red Cross doctors during the Fascist invasion, the Soviet Union supported Our stand in the League of Nations for the freedom of Our country, and it was one of the few great powers that did not recognize the occupation of Our country by the Fascist aggressors.

From the moment of Our arrival in the Soviet Union, the warm and great reception accorded to Us by the peoples and their leaders, whose hospitality is well-known, was beyond Our expectation. Although it takes a long time to visit the whole of the Soviet Union, during Our fortnight stay there We were most impressed to see how the peoples of the Soviet Union have been able to recover from the aftermath of a devastating war, carrying out full reconstruction within a short period of time and achieving remarkable progress in economic, industrial, scientific, technical and social fields, and thus establishing themselves, within the span of forty years, as one of the great powers of Our time.

In the talks which we had with the leaders of the Soviet Union concerning our two countries in particular and world peace in general, We reached full understanding. Moreover, We were able to make personal acquaintance with Mr. Voroshilov, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and Mr. Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and we had frank and friendly exchange of views on various matters and reached full agreement on all of them. As the result of our talks, agreements have been signed between our two governments for economic co-operation and the widening of the scope of our cultural and commercial relations. Apart from this, it is a measure of satisfaction to us all

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to have obtained a long-term loan of four hundred million roubles (400,000,000) at low interest to finance Ethiopia's Five-Year Plan and the various other projects for the economic development of the country and the raising of the standard of living of Our people.

Ethiopia has abundant natural resources. However, because of lack of capital, it has not been possible to develop these natural resources for the benefit of the people. It is to exploit these natural resources and to carry out the Five-Year Plan for the benefit of Our people that We have acquired credits from friendly countries such as the United States, Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

We believe that the assistance We obtained from the Soviet Union will greatly enhance the exploitation of our natural resources and the development of our economy.

Friend Indeed

After Our sojourn in the U.S.S.R. came to an end, We visited Czechoslovakia from the 13th to the 17th of July. The relations between Ethiopia and Czechoslovakia are of long standing. It was from this country that Ethiopia was able to acquire most of the arms and munitions needed to defend her jealously guarded independence against the Fascist invaders. Czechoslovakia was among the very few nations that courageously raised their voices in denouncing the Fascist invasion and in giving Us support in Our plea to the League of Nations. It is often said that "A friend in need is a friend indeed." For this reason, among others, Ethio-Czechoslovak relations are based on a firm and proven foundation. In the early part of the post-war period, when Our defence means were limited, We turned to Czechoslovakia for the purchase of modern arms and the establishment of a munitions factory. You are all aware of the credit

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advanced to Our Government by the Czechoslovak Government for the purchase of equipment for our hospitals and other public health services.

The warm, cordial and great reception that was accorded Us by the leaders and the people of this friendly nation has once more proved to Us the existence of genuine and sincere friendship between our two nations. During Our sojourn in Czechoslovakia, We were able to visit great industrial establishments, agricultural centres, institutions of higher learning and other famous historical places. We were highly impressed by the tremendous progress achieved in the industrial as well as in the general economic field by the Czechoslovak people, especially in the post-war period.

Just as We have discussed and exchanged views with other leaders of the countries We have visited, We had a fruitful exchange of views with President Antonin Novotny on matters of common interest to our two nations as well as on general matters that concern world peace. The discussions and exchange of views were conducted in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and we were able to reach complete understanding. We have agreed to conclude economic and technical assistance agreements, as well as a cultural agreement, with a view to the further development and strengthening of the economic and cultural ties between our two countries. The Czechoslovak Government has expressed its willingness to help Us in Our effort to develop Our nation's economy and to raise the standard of living of Our people by making it possible for Us to purchase from that country industrial and agricultural equipment by way of credit, which will greatly assist Us in the implementation of Our economic plans.

After Our visit to Czechoslovakia came to an end, We visited for three days the Kingdom of Belgium with which Ethiopia has maintained friendly relations for a long time.

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The friendly reception that was accorded Us by His Majesty King Baudouin, the Government officials and the people of Belgium, was cordial. We are pleased to have had an opportunity to meet King Baudouin in person and to have been able to exchange views on various subjects. We were able to gather that the people of Belgium have reposed great hopes in the King and that King Baudouin is a kind and understanding person. During Our short stay in Belgium We visited modern industrial establishments and various places of interest. By so doing, We were able to see for Ourselves the progress achieved in the economic as well as in other fields by Belgium since Our first visit there thirty-five years ago. We believe that Our recent visit has further strengthened the relations between our two countries.

After the conclusion of Our visit to Belgium, We stayed in Paris for two days. All of you are aware of the long and friendly relations that have existed between Ethiopia and France. The cordial welcome accorded Us by the people and Government of France, both recently and when We officially visited France four years ago, was a manifestation of the friendly feelings which the people of France entertain towards the people of Ethiopia.

Renewed Friendship

Not only did We renew Our friendship with General de Gaulle, President of France, which We had cultivated during the time when our two countries were under hard trials, but We also conducted fruitful discussions concerning economic, commercial and cultural relations existing between Ethiopia and France. We also reached mutual understanding in broad discussion of matters of mutual concern to our two countries, and, in general, exchanged views concerning international peace. General de Gaulle, whose greatness is well known in Ethiopia, has a friendly regard towards Our country.

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On the invitation of the President of Portugal, We visited the Portuguese Republic from the 26th to the 31st of July. Portugal is one of the friendly countries with which Ethiopia has had contact since the end of the Fifteenth Century.

The spontaneous and friendly welcome accorded Us during Our visit by the Government and people of Portugal has left a deep impression on Us. We had discussions with President Admiral Amerigo Thomas and the well-known Prime Minister, Mr. Salazar, concerning relations between our two countries and international peace. A cultural agreement was signed between our two Governments in order to develop the cultural ties that were first established in the Sixteenth Century and to study and make known the history of the two countries.

During Our short stay in the Federal Republic of Germany We were pleased to have had the opportunity to meet the President, Professor Huess, and to discuss with him matters of common interest.

Continuing Our visit to friendly countries, on the invitation of Our Great Friend H.E. Marshal Tito, We visited the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia from the 15th to the 23rd of August.

Example of Co-operation

As you know, We have, during a period of five years, visited Yugoslavia twice, and H.E. Marshal Tito has, in about the same period of time, visited Ethiopia twice. This is proof of the firm and friendly ties that exist between our two countries. Yugoslavia has not only granted Ethiopia a loan for the realization of the programme initiated for the economic development of Ethiopia, but has also extended assistance in the form of experts in the field of medicine and other various technical matters. These aids have shown fruitful results to the greatest satisfaction of both sides. Even

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though the two countries have different economic and internal political systems, these dissimilarities have not been obstacles to mutual understanding, co-operation and working together in a friendly spirit. This, We believe, is exemplary.

During Our stay in Yugoslavia, while visiting various regions and industrial centres We were highly impressed and touched by the true and friendly welcome and reception accorded Us by Our Great Friend Marshal Tito, his associates and the peoples of Yugoslavia. The development works and industrial centres which We visited were symbols of the amazing progress Yugoslavia has achieved in the socio-economic field in the last five years since We first visited Yugoslavia. In the course of Our recent stay in Yugoslavia, We discussed with Marshal Tito matters concerning the relationship of our two countries and explored ways and means to further strengthen the economic and commercial ties between our two nations. We also broadly discussed general international affairs. In the course of our discussions we reached as in the past, full understanding and identity of views.

It is undeniable that We have gained a great benefit and assistance for Our country and have increased its prestige by Our visits to friendly countries on various occasions during the past five years. Similarly, from Our recent visit, in addition to the fact that it has strengthened Our relations with friendly countries, has ensued great political results and it has enabled Us to secure credit to permit Us to implement the economic development projects which will raise the standard of living of Our beloved people.

Foreign Policy

All of you are aware that Ethiopia's foreign policy is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter as well as on the Bandung and Accra Declarations. These principles which We have long cherished and for which We have

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striven are, among others, collective security, peaceful and active co-existence, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations and peaceful settlements of all disputes among nations.

Of the countries which We visited during Our recent trip, there are some whose economic and political systems are different from ours. We believe that these are made to serve the particular needs of each country and are matters of domestic concern to each nation, and for this reason We do not believe that such differences in political and economic systems should stand as a hindrance to the understanding, collaboration and co-operation among nations on important matters that are of common concern. Therefore, the misinterpretation that was placed by certain circles upon the meetings and discussions which We have had with the leaders of the countries that We have visited was not because they were not fully aware of the fact that Ethiopia's foreign policy is based upon the above mentioned principles, but, rather, it seems, that this misinterpretation was intended to create an atmosphere that will serve their own particular interests.

Leaders' Responsibility

In this age when man, through his knowledge of science, has created dangerous weapons to destroy himself, the responsibility of the great powers for the maintenance of world peace is well known to everyone. We believe that the exchange of visits by statesmen to talk over matters on which their points of view differ will greatly help remove the misunderstandings and mistrust prevailing among States. One of the aims of Our visit to friendly countries was to implement and strengthen this belief of Ours. After Our visit to the Soviet Union, We were happy to hear of the forthcoming exchange of visits between Mr. Khrushchev, Chairman of the

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Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America. It is believed that the meeting of the two leaders will remove the dangerous situation now prevailing in the world and create an atmosphere of peace. We have expressed Our hope and best wishes and those of Our people that the talks they will hold during their meeting will be fruitful.

In all the countries that We have visited We have felt that all peoples are greatly concerned about the maintenance of world peace.

The peoples of the world today, as in the past, desire to work for the improvement of their standard of living and to live in peace. We do not agree with the point of view that the present unstable situation is the result of differences in the political, economic and social systems among nations.

Even though it is not possible to cite in history an era in which all the peoples of the world were in complete agreement on all things, nevertheless they have not been prevented from working in co-operation for their mutual benefit.

Purpose of Visits

The purposes and aims of Our visit are well known to all of you. However, We desire that you share with Us the main objectives of Our visit. These major objectives were the following: to find ways and means of raising the standard of living of Our people and the economic development of Our country; to discuss with leaders of friendly countries and acquire aid for the implementation of the programme which We have initiated for the progress of Our country; to observe personally their development projects, and choose from amongst them those projects that We believe will aid in the raising of the standard of living of Our people, and which will not only show fruitful results within Our time, but will also be a firm and unshakable foundation for generations to

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come so that all will work and struggle in a united effort for the welfare and prosperity of Our nation. Desirous that all Ethiopians will faithfully follow and give full support to the development programmes initiated by Us for the further progress of Our nation, We would like to cite as an example some of the things which, during Our former and recent visits, We have closely examined and personally witnessed and which We have chosen as being useful to the progress of Our people. In all the countries that We have toured, We have observed that the great fine arts so far achieved were preceded by many thousands of years of fine arts development attained by human effort. For example, during Our sojourn We have seen cathedrals, public buildings, edifices and monuments constructed and ornate with gold, diamonds, marble and precious stones. We were also impressed by the collection of fine arts achieved by the great masters of the past.

Call to the People

In connection with these achievements, when we enquire into the origins of the attempt of man to utilize this knowledge and go beyond these to extend the directions of his enquiry without limit, we find the reason for all these to be the desire of man to be diligent and to widen the horizon of his knowledge.

Although the beginnings of civilization of each country vary in time, the fundamental factors which gave impetus to each country to awaken and embark on the road to progress to reach their present level of development are those qualities which are enshrined in the nature of man, namely, desire and fortitude.

The present high standard of development has been achieved through the accumulation of knowledge from time immemorial. We would like Our people to realize that this is not something that has been accomplished at one stage

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nor by coincidence, nor has this stage been reached in one generation, but is the result of the toil, fortitude and sacrifices of succeeding generations. We have been prompted to refer briefly to the history of civilization because it is Our constant endeavour that all Ethiopians, in their attempt to satisfy their material needs, to invigorate their energy, eradicate idleness and generate an unceasing desire for better and more things, shall elevate their standard of living to that of the people inhabiting other parts of the world and be able to spare for others.

It is a fact that the knowledge and wealth that We had inherited from our ancestors which has been plundered and lost, could be excavated and discovered. But what we possess today has been initiated and established in Our lifetime.

Vibrant Policy

It is by the understanding of past difficulties that we can bequeath fundamental guidances which would be of pride to the coming generations. We therefore urge Our people to struggle and to make sacrifices for those things which will enable them to ameliorate their conditions of life and leave a richer heritage.

We wish to recall to Our people what St. Paul said: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as the day." The Ethiopian people are now conscious of their destiny and can strive to achieve their ideals. In Our study of the various social systems during Our extended tour, We have found that the reason for their successful progress lies in the fact they have accumulated enough capital which, in turn, made it possible for them to carry out better farming, finance mining projects to serve their industry, harness their rivers, and in general exploit their natural resources.

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It is only through their achievements and not because of the difference in their innate ability nor in their numerical superiority that some countries have attained a high degree of progress while those which have not fully developed and utilized their inborn abilities and thereby lagged behind in tapping their natural resources have been labelled “under-developed.” The latter have become the dumping-ground of the expensive manufactured goods of the former.

Exert Greater Effort

The only way to safeguard Ethiopia’s political and economic independence is for her to make progress and stand on her own feet by exerting greater effort. When We compare Our country with others, We can say that the forests, the rivers, the mountains and the plains constitute wealth. We should all be proud of these fortunate blessings, with which Almighty God has endowed Our country.

Brace yourselves for hard work and pool your resources to compete with others in the economic and commercial activities of your motherland. Let each one of us be conscious of his responsibilities and firmly discharge his obligations, thereby becoming master of his own destiny. It is better to till the land rather than to bicker on trivial matters. It is better to exploit effectively a small tract of land rather than to proclaim as being the owner of vast idle land.

Our waterfalls are sources of immense power and energy when properly harnessed. Use these waters to irrigate your land and you will be able to have two harvests annually. The naked mountains and hills are as useful as the plains below. Plant them with fir trees, teakwoods, eucalyptus and other trees and within a short time you will increase the forest resources of your country.

Tend your livestock. Just as one cannot harvest unless he cultivates his land, so also one cannot expect good results from his livestock unless he tends them carefully.

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You have a rich land that yields a variety of products. Do not be contented with the satisfaction of your bare needs, but instead, cultivate your land among others with oleaginous plants, the seeds of which you can export for your greater benefit. Use the forest woods to make furniture and implements and exchange them for money. Your workmanship will be a monument to your name.

Value of Thrift

One should realize that thriftiness is the basis for the accumulation of wealth and the economic growth of a nation. One seldom minimizes the value of money earned by the sweat of the brow however small it may be, but for the extravagant even a huge amount of money is worthless. Know how to use your money wisely and effectively. A habit once formed becomes an incurable second nature. Therefore utilize your wealth for worthwhile things and avoid employing it for harmful purposes and for monetary pleasures.

What are the things you possess? What are your objectives in acquiring them? Learn how to spend wisely and the increase of your wealth will eventually be your guide.

Use your savings where it will pay you most. The hoarding of money does not yield dividends! If you wish your savings to pay you higher dividends, join in with those of your fellow citizens. It is through hard work, know-how, and patience that you will be able to increase your capital. The foundation and essential characteristics of a healthy society are mutual trust and confidence. Unless man undertakes the improvement of his society in co-operation with others, his striving for wealth becomes mere wishes. Do not be the victims of temporary contentment and petty satisfactions. Aspire for worthwhile aims that shall be ideals for succeeding generations.

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Individual and Nation

The prosperity of each individual constitutes the wealth of Our nation which will eventually enable Us to expand the schools and hospitals that We have established for the welfare of Our people. The expansion of public health services will decrease the mortality rate and increase Our population.

Just as a farm that is not taken care of cannot be free of weeds, so is also the development of a society. It cannot be denied that there are some people who have scrupulously or unscrupulously attempted to or have acquired wealth. If the wealth of a person cannot be for the general welfare, what would he gain for himself and his offspring but grudge and hatred? The fruits of one's sweat and mental labour are always rewarding, not only to oneself but also to one's succeeding generations. Be resolute in your work and attempt to complete whatever you undertake. If you face failure, try again and persist in your determination to attain your aim. Develop a healthy pursuit of life and do not limit your efforts to satisfying your selfish desires.

In particular, our youth must be steadfast and take advantage of the benefits of modern civilization. Do not fall prey to idleness for it shall be a curse to you and to succeeding generations. You must set yourselves up as examples of determination and hard work. Plan your time and use both your physical and mental powers purposefully and productively.

We must remember that man's achievements in the field of wireless communications, aviation, medical sciences and many others have been accomplished through the ages by patience and hard work, diligence, perseverance and tenacity. It is in the light of these that We urge Our youth to struggle constantly and unceasingly to achieve their aims.

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Capital and Labour

The fact that medical doctors, engineers, pilots, the cadets, in the various military academies, nurses, teachers and the many other professionals, have been successfully trained in the various schools that We have established, will serve as an illustration of what We have stated above. Convinced that capital and labour are necessary ingredients for wealth and prosperity and that these two factors are absolute essentials for the economic development of Our country, and believing that Our beloved people shall apply itself to the task of its economic progress, We have acquired loans from friendly countries.

Henceforth, the next step for each Ethiopian, wherever he may be and whatever his endeavours are, is to follow Our directions and to devote himself assiduously to the execution of Our plan for the betterment of Our country. If we fail to use profitably the credit which We have acquired for the development of our communications system, port facilities and the establishment of industries, we shall have brought a heavy liability, not only upon ourselves but upon succeeding generations.

Ethiopians, have courage and brace yourselves up. Unless you improve your lot by the sweat of your brow nobody will shoulder your responsibilities. Provided that you pursue your task with unswerving dedication, We, on Our part, shall do everything possible to assist you in your forward march.

Help Made Available

Just as We have done in the past, We shall make available to you through various experts, directives which will serve as your guide in your work.

We have instructed the municipalities to prepare and make available to you at little cost various types of seedlings.

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We shall organize teams of experts who will give you advice and counsel in the fields of agriculture and public health. We shall also set up groups of experts who will give you advice and counsel in co-operative farming and trading.

For the purpose of cultivating oleogenous plants and to the end that you may have better marketing possibilities, We shall make available to you experts.

We shall organize for you a team of experts to study your needs and the ways and means of improving the quality of crops and trading systems in relation to the present economic and marketing conditions.

As We hold Our people in great affection so do they entertain great feelings of affection towards Us. As a father should bequeath not only wealth to his children but also provide them with proper education so that they may have a richer and fuller life, so should it be the duty of those for whom much has been done to show gratitude. Therefore, let us unite Our efforts to show in deeds what We profess in words.

In conclusion, since the ideas that We have conceived and the projects that have been planned for the development of the country can best materialize by the incessant efforts of Our people and the application of everyone's ability in harmonious co-operation, We call upon Our people to be steadfast in this noble and challenging undertaking.

May Almighty-God sustain Us to realize these high ideals.

Aug. 29, 1959.

MODERN ETHIOPIANISM

..... Annually, on this day, when We celebrate the Anniversary of Our Coronation, We have convened the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, assembled in joint session, as they take up their work for the coming year. Today, there are gathered together before Us the members

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of the second Parliament convened since the Revised Constitution was promulgated six years ago. Included among you are the newly-elected Deputies, chosen by the people in free elections held during the past months. Those men who preceded you have set a high example. Recorded on the statute books of the Empire are the Penal, Civil, Commercial and Maritime Codes, each a monumental work in its right, all promulgated after careful study by them. During their term of office, over a score of major laws, touching all aspects of Ethiopia's affairs, have been enacted. Take up where they left off, emulate them, build on the foundation which they have laid down, that your nation may advance in progress and enlightenment

Programme

..... The programmes of the Government for the present year have already been placed into force at the beginning of the fiscal year on 1st Hamle last. They were studied and approved by the Parliament which completed its session four months ago, and the budget required to implement them has been enacted into law. It is the Government's intention that increased publicity be given to its programmes in order that the public may know not only their broad outlines but their details as well. A well-informed public opinion is essential to the growth of political and social awareness. Only he who is informed can comment intelligently on his nation's development and only by such comment can errors be corrected and progress stimulated

..... When, decades ago, We turned Ethiopia's face in the direction of progress and modernity, We were secure in the knowledge that in so doing We best served Our country and its people. We recognized then, as We do today, that once embarked upon this course there could be no turning back. Ethiopia was committed to the future and to what-

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ever it might bring. Man may, at the outset, control the direction which events take, but once his choice is made, events soon escape his control and history proceeds by its own force and momentum. When We promulgated Ethiopia's first Constitution thirty years ago, over the determined opposition of many who were close to Us, We realized, and it was Our intention, that the political development of Our nation would be accelerated. We knew that Ethiopia would soon outgrow the limited confines of that document. At that time, Ethiopia's government was simple and uncomplicated, but We knew that as Our nation emerged into the modern world, its governmental framework would inevitably be transformed into a complex and intricate structure. We were prepared for and We sought to speed that transformation.

Modern System

Following the liberation of Our nation in 1941, We created a coherent and modern system of government. Government departments were established, each with its defined sphere of jurisdiction. A sound provincial administration was formed, in order that Ethiopia might become a more closely knit and unified entity. As the nation developed and grew, We endeavoured to assure that the organization and pattern of government kept pace. The full extent of the nation's achievements during these years will be apparent to all who, objectively and honestly, survey their history

..... The ultimate resource of a nation is its people. Unless this resource is employed for the benefit of the nation, unless the latent good which it represents is exploited to the maximum extent for the common good, the nation will languish, poor in spirit, lacking in achievement. But no people can make their full contribution to the life of the nation to which they owe allegiance unless they possess and enjoy those few fundamental prerequisites indispensable to

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rendering their participation in the affairs of their country both possible and significant. The growth of a people is complex and inter-related. Man must be educated: he cannot come to grips with or cope with or understand the modern world unless he has been taught about it. He must be assured of a minimum economic security: he cannot concern himself with matters going beyond the day-to-day satisfaction of his physical needs unless he is fed and clothed and sheltered, nor can he acquire a sufficient degree of social consciousness to be able to subordinate his own personal interests to the good of the nation and the development of its society. Freedom, Liberty, the rights of man – these mean little to the ignorant, the hungry, the ill-clothed, the badly-housed.

True representatives

All of this We have, from Our earliest days, recognized, and in the years during which We have guided and directed the destinies of the Ethiopian people and nation, We have endeavoured to accommodate and give due consideration to this basic truth. To you, the legislators of the Empire, has been confided the high responsibility of ensuring that the needs and the desires of those who chose you as their representatives are well and truly served in the legislative programmes which will be placed before you. You must ensure that in your desire to achieve, immediate goals, long-term considerations of equal or greater importance are not ignored or irrevocably prejudiced. Those who will prepare your Government's programmes will do so honestly and sincerely, seeking thereby to secure the further progress of Ethiopia and her people. But you, as well as they, share in the responsibility for guaranteeing that this progress is not only apparent but real, and that each step forward paves the way for the next. May Almighty God grant you wisdom, understanding and judgment

NOVEMBER 2, 1961.

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VISIT TO ERITREA

As We appear among you today, as is customary with the visits We make now and then to witness for Ourselves the administrative efficiency on the spot and also to effectuate matters of major importance, We shall now talk to you not only as an Emperor but also as an Ethiopian. There is nothing particularly new at this time to account for Our intention to give you a broad view of our opinion today. You, who are listening to Us now, the old, the young and those in school out in the country, since it is We who are bearing the responsibility of guiding the present and coming generations on the right path, it is imperative that we all should serve our country and people dedicatedly and according to God's wish.

It is no surprise to Us, either now or before, if an aggressor should make any kind of move through Eritrea, since there is nothing unusual in this. What We have found a little surprising, however, is that, whereas the people of Eritrea have always supported their freedom and gallantry by deeds, there should still exist among a people with such a fine record of history some hypocrites who are serving as instruments for marring past history and betraying it to aliens.

You know that, though small in number, there have always been among us some alien puppets. Though they are insignificant in number, we can attain practical results in the endeavours of progress we are making only if there is absolute unity among ourselves. We have been patient until now with the hope that they will improve sooner or later through examining for themselves the current international situation and thereby learn something from it. This hope was based on the belief that when any people acquires its freedom and runs on its own, it will have more appreciation for the love of country and people, and so create absolute unity.

In the days when supremacy of arms decided victory, it

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was through Eritrea that the enemy successively carried out acts of aggression on us; today, our enemies are trying to conduct propaganda campaigns against us through this same part. If Eritrea, as Ethiopia's outlet, now becomes the scene of a propaganda campaign as it was the entrance of the enemy to the country, who is to lose and who is to gain? The people of Eritrea have felt what it means to live under foreign rule during the 60 years of subjugation. The other parts of Ethiopia have also experienced alien domination during the five years of tribulation.

Fought for Eritrea

As such there can hardly be any other who knows the disadvantages and advantages of foreign rule better than we do. Who was there to voice the cause of Eritreans either on international or other forums during all that period when we were separated and at which time you were sweltering under the heels of colonialism? Did not those who are now trying to divide some of us through using some traitors as instruments, then know of the existence of Eritrea? Was there any nation or government which, other than organizing itself, had uttered a word on religious lines before the time Ethiopia was fighting on the international arena for the rights of her brothers after she fought for her freedom following the Second World War?

Ethiopia began fighting for the liberation of Eritrea long before she recovered from the economic depletion suffered through the war. Ethiopia made this struggle in the interest of Eritrea because she knew that Eritreans are her blood-brothers.

You know that there are a lot of reasons for Ethio-Eritrean oneness. The relation of the people of Eritrea with Ethiopia is not confined to the political aspect. Not only are the two people joined by culture, geography and language,

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but historically the Adoulis heritage shows that the other Ethiopian tribes originated from Eritrea. Throughout Ethiopia's long record as an independent entity, Eritrea was separated from us for only 60 years and even if we were separated by political and artificial barriers during this short span of time, we were unseparated in our way of life and mutual feeling.

Throughout the period when Eritrea was under colonial rule, a great number of not only those elders who previously knew the value of liberty, but also Eritrean youth who were born during the foreign occupation and who subsequently left their parents fled to Our Capital. This is adequately proved by the large number of Eritreans who, since a long time, disseminated in other parts of Ethiopia, found jobs in various government institutions and other services and thus lived among us. It is equally known that every time they came to us we sent them, knowing that they were time-separated brothers, to various places for higher education abroad. Upon their return they were placed in responsible positions so that they may be helpful and a source of pride to Ethiopia and particularly to their foreign dominated kinsmen. Though We need not elaborate on this list of people, the ones who are still alive from among those who got this opportunity are living evidences of this fact.

Valiant Stand

When our country was invaded, a great number of Eritreans, who were physically and otherwise fit, abandoned the enemy and fought on our side at Maichew and Neghelli. Those who survived death have made valiant stands with patriots throughout the five years, by deeds of patriotism and shown with their blood that we are one and the same. Though We do not mention the names of those whom we know and ones who were with Us on the battlefield, their

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memories will be passed on in the pages of history. When later on the federation of Eritrea with the motherland was being debated, they came on Our side recalling their past historical riches, and proved Our historical oneness before the world forum.

Those who, in the light of all these historical ties and evidence of unity, are coming between Us on religious, ethnical and other grounds are doing so not for our benefit but for that of their own. This can be easily understood. That former colonial powers are benefiting from creating discord among geographically, economically, historically and ethnically linked people in Africa and other parts of the world in order to maintain their former authority is known not only to those who can read but to the illiterate as well. Nobody knows better than We Africans that the policy of divide and rule are the aspirations of those who seek to benefit at others' expense. That it is the obsolete method of dividing to rule in order to rule by divining is apparent.

Being aware of the attacks and tricks of imperialism, Ethiopia has been the first African country who waged war against such powers and through her unity, has preserved her liberty through victories as in the recent case of Adua. More than being an example to the rest of the African states, after the Second World War, Ethiopia struggled alone in International Conferences, for African independence with no other free African nations to support her as at present. No greater testimony could be available to the resistance made by Our patriots against the enemy on seven fronts with the use of out-dated weapons than the heroic activities of Our fathers, relying upon God the Almighty.

Bad Intention

You should be aware of the fact, that as Ethiopia has been a country which fought against imperialism more than

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any other, those who approach you with a contradictory propaganda against Ethiopia do so with the intention of belittling our historical standing considering Us as wishing to use our power to control others. Being proud of Our admirable and outstanding history We have been enthusiastically engaged in guarding Our own rights and there has been no time that We interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. We have signed and respected the resolutions passed by the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung, that no one nation shall interfere in the domestic affairs of another. We shall continue to uphold this policy for future use also. It is up to the Ethiopian people to consider the short-comings and difficulties in their internal administration and solve it by themselves. Ethiopia does not desire to exist by formulating false external propaganda with the intention of hiding her internal difficulties.

That unity is the basic foundation for progress in this era is being proved through the massive movement made in Europe, the Middle East as well as by African countries towards reaching this goal. We will waste no more time in details since there is no one here unaware of the strength to be gained through unity in the protection of a country.

Existing conditions have made it impossible for the former colonialist powers to remain in Africa. They have resorted to the idea of dividing the peoples. You are aware that conferences are being held to federate in order not to lose their independence through the man-made boundaries laid by the colonialists. Ethiopia has consistently expressed her desire for African solidarity as a participant in these same conferences.

There are certain states who participate as supporters in conferences held for African unity and are at the same time engaged in acts that would divide Africa. Can we then accept this as in support to Our cause? No doubt that people of a country who have fought incessantly for their independence

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understand that unity is the foundation of liberty. Co-operation and unity are the sources of respect. It is also the source of strength. It has been known from time immemorial in human history that no person is able to understand and solve one's own problem than one's self.

False Propaganda

There is no better example than the privilege enjoyed by the Muslims and other foreigners in engaging themselves in all kinds of business activities in this country to disprove the false propaganda made against Ethiopia in connection with religious and racial discrimination.

Why did the Islamic population of Ethiopia remain faithful and fight along with Us as patriots for the independence of their country if they had been discriminated against in religion according to the false saying? Especially the Arabs and Muslims of the neighbouring countries, have been closely tied up with Us from the time of the Prophet Mohammed, not only geographically, but also in blood relations, and other Arab nationalities are residing, widely scattered throughout the whole land in the cities, towns and the countryside, running large business and commercial enterprises with no restrictions for residence permits and passports like other aliens are doing in accordance with the law of Our country. Equal rights granted to foreigners and equally to all Ethiopians without any religious or racial discrimination is an outstanding example to prove the compatibility of the Ethiopian policy and administration. Would it be possible for foreign Muslims to migrate into Ethiopia in excessive number and live and assimilate here for three or four generations if the Government practised any religious discrimination against them? It is because of the long-standing friendship, dating back to the past several centuries, that they are permitted freely to lead their own society from generation to

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generation and that We never stopped the Muslims from transferring the wealth they acquired in Ethiopia with an ample opportunity not enjoyed in any other country, for the economic development of their respective governments.

It is probably due to the increase in the number of defaulting debtors that Our generosity has not been acknowledged.

The fact that Ethiopia's kindness and goodwill has not been acknowledged by the beneficiaries led Us to mention all this and to make known at the same time Our ability to react to the full extent to any criticism not only to show how baseless is the propaganda on religious matters launched against Us, but to explain that the effect will be only harmful to its instigators.

Mutual Respect

It is not only through acceptance of foreign immigrants from neighbouring countries that Ethiopia has maintained good relationship with other nations, but also by respecting in good faith the diplomatic sentiments of these same countries. When international questions arise directly affecting her neighbours, Ethiopia cautiously takes her time before making any rash decisions. It must be realized that Ethiopia passes her own resolutions only after those countries affected have taken a deliberate consideration of the question. It is not out of fear that Ethiopia pays special attention to the resolutions freely passed by countries that claim to be bound by religious ties, but it is for the sake of maintaining the feeling of friendship and to respect the spirit of understanding. Furthermore, it is in realization of the fact that love, generosity and understanding are evidence of the administrative experience of any government.

As for development in the economic field, Eritrea has partaken in the progress so far achieved by the whole of

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Ethiopia. In the study of the development programme of the Empire, the economic problems of Eritrea have been considered with the other twelve parts of Ethiopia on equal footing. Lying as she does at our sea outlet, and since her agricultural potential cannot be developed as much as those of the other part of Ethiopia, Eritrea has, in fact, had a greater share with respect to water power, the construction of means of communication as well as industries and ports.

In the period of the last ten years which followed the re-union of Eritrea with the motherland, a total of more than \$74,819,817 has been allotted to the general economic development of the area. This money has gone for work on the construction of roads, airport, the opening of air communications, schools, hospitals, clinics, as well as the training of nurses, the setting up of development projects, the building of churches and mosques. In addition, you all know that We have done everything possible to help by way of exempting you from taxes when locusts occasionally destroyed the harvest or when a general epidemic struck the territory.

Part of Ethiopia

As Eritrea is a part of Ethiopia, were it not for other reasons, it would have been unnecessary to make mention of what has especially been done for her. As long as God offers Us the opportunity to do so, it is Our wish to improve on it and help more. What led Us to talk on this is the false propaganda of certain detractors who talk as if nothing has been done for Eritrea.

We are concerned with the advancement of the people of Eritrea for the future as well. Since industrial progress and development works are linked with the culture, climatic conditions, sources of power and raw materials, no project will get underway before the necessary study is first made. In accordance with this, We have decided to set up a fede-

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rally composed development committee. The committee, planned to start work shortly, will be entrusted with the task of studying the condition, needs and requirements of Eritrea with a view to working on projects best suited to solve existing problems and improve the standard of living of our people.

With the aim of speeding up agricultural development, We had earlier rather hastily dammed Zula. A further study was, however, found to be necessary. The result of the study, made by an American research bureau has now been received. It is for this reason that work on the dam has been delayed. On the basis of the study for the work remaining to be done before the dam reaches completion, it has been made known to Us that a further \$19,000,000 would be required. Since it would take time to complete the dam with the amount of money allotted for the job, We have further been given to understand that it would be advisable for farmers to settle in the Zula valley while work is going on there. Since it has been found out to be a basic requirement to create an organization that would supervise the remaining work and see to it that the farmers settle in the place in question according to plan, We have decided to set up a department – to be administered by a special board – the Zula Valley Authority.

You have to understand much more that development programmes and administrative reforms can only be carried out when law and order is maintained in the area. When a certain outlaw takes to hiding as a result of his own criminal acts, foreign enemies and those among us who allowed themselves to be used as the tool of alien propaganda have, by attempting to make this appear as if it had any political aim, endangered the peace and the right of people to their property. We have realized how detrimental the effect of this has been on the country's economy. The maintenance of a more adequate order in future is a matter of concern. We

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have passed orders to Lt. General Abbiye Abebe and Bitwoded Asfaha to see to it, as Brig-General Tedla Oukbit has done along with the Police, that the work is done.

Taxes Remitted

We will pay the taxes, due for the last two years, of those people whose harvests have been destroyed by locusts.

We are doing this so that the Eritrean treasury may not face a deficit.

What We wish to remind not only the people of Eritrea but those of the entire Ethiopian Empire as well is the fact, that for countries such as ours that are not economically developed, poverty and ignorance are our common enemies. It is evident that any opposing force can only undermine our efforts with the support of these same two weaknesses. For this reason, the eradication of poverty and ignorance is a tested reason, of attaining meaningful independence free of economic and political dependence. The means of destroying poverty and ignorance are education and work. Mere talk is the instrument of the lazy and would not take us anywhere. The aim of those leaders that is based on ambition for power and personal gain is one with no firm foundation and will, consequently, crumble easily.

We would like to make it clear to you that, as We have already repeatedly pointed out, you should bear in mind that unity is the most lasting foundation for progress and development, as well as for greatness and freedom. To imagine our transitory existence here on earth to be permanent and not to make what we say correspond with what we feel and think is detrimental to a country and its people and is something that could be considered as pushing ourselves into an unforeseen precipice.

The age we are living in is one in which the value of unity is being appreciated more than ever before. On our

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part, we have triumphed over the attempt that was made to divide us. A foreign hand is concerned about itself: it will not work for us. It is essential that we bear in mind the fact that at a time when we are exploring ways and means of forging unity with neighbouring countries, division among ourselves will not only be an obstacle but that it will also open the door to our enemies. May God the Almighty guide you in the carrying out of the heavy responsibility with which We have entrusted you.

June 27, 1962.

ACCEPTING ERITREAN ASSEMBLY DECISION FOR ADMINISTRATIVE UNION

When the name of Ethiopia first appeared in the pages of history, Eritrea formed an integral part of Our nation. Our ties do not consist merely in having lived together as one country. Ethiopia and Eritrea shared a common heritage of territorial contiguity, race and language, and Eritrea has served as one of the main fountains of Ethiopian civilization and culture.

In the latter part of the 19th Century, when the colonial powers separated Eritrea from the rest of Ethiopia and established in Eritrea a rule which lasted for about 60 years, it was their aim to establish a separate Eritrean identity and to dissociate Eritrea from the motherland. In this, the colonialists failed completely. There is no greater evidence of the bankruptcy of this cruel policy than the fact that not only those elderly Eritreans who had happily experienced the value of freedom in unity, but even those who were born during colonialist occupation of their country, voluntarily separated themselves from their parents and relative and,

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emigrating to the motherland, shed their blood for the cause of reunion of Eritrea with Ethiopia and, during the Fascist invasion for the liberation of the entire nation.

Fruit of Sacrifice

Those Eritreans who so gallantly sacrificed themselves on the battlefield did not die in vain. Their children stand today as living reminders of the determination of the people of Eritrea to maintain the unity of Ethiopia in freedom. When the invader was driven from Our nation by the combined efforts of Eritreans and Ethiopians alike, the international political situation was such that, unfortunately, no measure of Eritrean unity with Ethiopia could be immediately attained. Thus We were compelled to continue Our struggle for an additional decade before Eritrea was returned to its motherland. With the blessing of Almighty God, Our just efforts and struggles came to fruition, just 10 years ago, in Eritrea's federation with the rest of Ethiopia – although this particular form of association was not that for which We had struggled, and it had been requested by no one.

Nonetheless, because of the world political situation then prevailing, the people of Eritrea, through their elected representatives, acceded to the Federation, and upon Our approval the federal system was put into operation and has continued to this day.

Alien-Imposed Federation

In the last decade, the people of Eritrea have increasingly come to realize that the Federation, alien to their tradition and experience, was superfluous and unnecessary among people whose unity had stood the test of time. Moreover, the operation of this system was necessarily beset

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by serious difficulties which, among other consequences, tended to retard the pace of economic and social development. As the years passed, the people of Eritrea repeatedly requested Us to abolish the federal system and to re-establish the age-old integrity of Eritrea with the rest of Ethiopia. We are aware that many modern nations, including a number of major powers, do not accept the concept of federalism for their own people and prefer instead a unitary form of government. We also know that among those nations which have subscribed to the principle of federalism, many have been compelled by the demands of the fast-moving modern age to adopt measures designed to mitigate the adverse effects of this system upon the rate of progress of their people. But, nonetheless, We have, in good faith, allowed this system, foreign to our history and experience, to function without let or hindrance.

Slowed Progress

The consequences of the past decade are known to all. The Federation instituted between the people of Eritrea and the rest of Ethiopia has tended to slow the speed of the economic and social progress of the entire nation, including Eritrea.

The Federation has increasingly been manipulated as a ready-made tool through which the enemies of Ethiopian and Eritrean progress and solidarity have endeavoured to further their evil designs.

The Federation contains the inherent danger of creating misunderstandings among people who have, for centuries past, experienced no problems in living together.

The Federation, by duplicating administrative apparatuses, has occasioned waste of both human and material resources which could have been otherwise utilized for development purposes.

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One is accordingly fully justified in concluding that the unfortunate consequences of this particular form of federation and the needs of the age, and not any conscious effort on the part of the people concerned, have brought about its demise.

Any responsible person who has deliberated upon and examined carefully the unfortunate consequences flowing from the federal system under consideration will feel no surprise that the people of Eritrea, who have had the misfortune of being directly subjected to its adverse consequences, have urged and pleaded that it be eliminated and replaced by a unitary form of administration. The steps We are now about to take, therefore, merely confirm and implement the result which the natural solidarity of the Ethiopian people and their wise desire for closer collaboration has already brought about.

The people of Eritrea, through their representatives gathered together in the Eritrean Assembly, recognizing the harmful consequences of the operation of the federal system through the experience of the past decade, desirous of living together with their other Ethiopian brothers without hindrance or obstacle, have formally requested, by their resolution voluntarily and unanimously adopted on November 14, 1962, that the federation be dissolved. In its place, they have asked for the complete administrative integration of Eritrea with the rest of Ethiopia in order to facilitate and speed the economic growth and development of the nation. We have accepted this resolution and have consented to its being placed into effect.

The human rights and fundamental freedoms contained in the former Constitutions of Eritrea are, equally, important provisions existing in the Constitution which We promulgated for Ethiopia in 1955. The people of Ethiopia have enjoyed and will continue to enjoy these basic free-

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doms, and they shall continue to be protected zealously. All rights, privileges, concessions and exemptions of whatever nature granted to persons or companies within Eritrea, whether foreign or national, are sacred obligations which will not be impaired or affected in any manner.

Delegated Autonomy

In Our Throne Speech of November 2, 1962, We spoke of measures under consideration whereby administrative authority will be delegated to local administrations to direct their own activities in such designated fields as education, health, transport, communications and so on. Until such time as these measures have entered into force and are fully implemented and until the laws and regulations now in force in Eritrea are revised and replaced, existing Eritrean legislation will remain valid.

Throughout Our nation's history, the Ethiopian people have spared no sacrifice to maintain their unity and independence. Today, closer and more united than ever, they stand ready to guard, jealously and gallantly, this unity and independence in their peaceful and determined march toward progress and prosperity. We thank Our people of Eritrea who, guided by a deep sense of patriotism and unity, have laboured without cease to bring about this advancement. We vow before God that, as We have repeatedly stated, We shall spare no effort to secure the happiness and advancement of Our people.

We are thankful to Almighty God Who, through His Grace, has spared Us to see this day.

Nov. 16, 1962.

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ADDRESS AT THE NEW YEAR

As we contemplate the Ethiopian New Year, 1958, We cannot avoid thanking the Almighty for his innumerable blessings bestowed upon Us and the Ethiopian people in the year that has just passed. Nor can We escape thinking of the problems faced and overcome, those existing at present and those anticipated in man's unending march forward in the search for peace, progress, and prosperity.

Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people have passed another year in their successful striving for a better life, and an inventory of the past year makes Us confident of continuing achievements in this New Year and the years ahead. This is so because the foundations that we have laid and that we continue to lay as we travel the high road of progress assure the stability and resilience of a superstructure that under modern Ethiopianism We are committed to build. The splendid co-operation and collaboration among our people and their steadfast striving for education and enlightenment bring to mind those proverbial busy workers – the bees – which combine their efforts and work for the common good.

The task of nation-building is one that involves generations – the duty of each succeeding to consolidate the gains made by its predecessor. The Ethiopian people have demonstrated this awareness, so that in the manifold areas of the nation's life, with their eyes fixed on the future, they continue to conquer new frontiers year after year. Our people shall never lack the solicitude and guidance which We pledged from the day We assumed leadership and the sustaining of which history has thus far eloquently vindicated. The desire and eagerness of our people to work together and their keen interest to improve the general welfare of the nation have been a great source of satisfaction to Us. Much has been accomplished, but more remains to be achieved.

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In her international dealings Ethiopia has adhered to the guiding principles of non-alignment, friendship, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. These general principles which Ethiopia follows in accord with other states, embrace her relations with all nations near and far. In Africa, under the umbrella of a continental family, Ethiopia has scrupulously followed these principles – the basis of good neighbourly relations.

Ethiopia covets not the territory or possession of others; conversely, she stands ready always to defend her sovereign right against the malicious designs of others.

For Ethiopia, however, peace is priceless; it has become traditional; this had been so in the years past, in 1957, and will be so in this New Year, 1958. The role of Ethiopia in the United Nations, in the Organization of African Unity and in the Afro-Asian Conference is founded on the open avowal that peace is the keynote to progress, prosperity and even human survival. Unless the desire for peace is expressed in terms of concrete achievements and thus give a sense of assurance and serenity to humanity, mere pious hope constitutes only self-delusion.

Thus our minds turn to the Twentieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly to convene within the next ten days; to the Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers and the African Summit Assembly of the OAU to be held in Accra.

Ethiopia recently proposed that all Heads of State and Government should personally attend the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly to exert their collective influence in finding ways and means to restore peace in the trouble spots of the world. The participation of Heads of State and Government at the United Nations Assembly would help maintain international peace and security.

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Ethiopia intends to play her full part in the forthcoming international conclaves. Her principal and over-riding desire is to help strengthen the forces of peace and human progress. She has never flinched nor will ever flinch from her responsibility as an active member of the international community. In greater measure, Ethiopia will continue to support the campaign to end colonialism and will continue to do so until all dependent territories in Africa and elsewhere breathe the clean air of freedom and independence.

The former colonial territories, which have now attained independence and freedom, are today beset by the residues of colonialism. Even if those former colonial territories had benefited in some respects from the colonial administration, these states have inherited people divided unto themselves – the result of the divide-and-rule policies of the colonial era. This has become a cancerous disease which is spreading fast with the effect of not only pitting brother against brother but also endangering international peace and security. These are some of the reasons which have prompted Us to propose that all Heads of State and Government should attend the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly to work out concrete proposals for the eradication of this evil colonial heritage, thriving under different guises.

For the New Year, it is Our wish that the Ethiopian people continue to march forward; that peace will be restored in areas that are disturbed by conflict, and that the Almighty will continue to bless all efforts in creating a better life for Our people and all the peoples in the world.

Sept. 11, 1965.

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture being the basic national activity of Ethiopia, His Imperial Majesty has always taken the keenest interest in this field. He has been constant in introducing measures to increase the productivity of farm and forest as one of the primary means of raising the living standard of the Ethiopian people. His push for agro-industrial development and expansion has begun to transform the economic and social picture of his country.

ENCOURAGING AGRICULTURE

...While Our people who earn their living from farming and animal husbandry cannot today gain equally as they did in the last previous years from the export of cereals, We have taken adequate measures to maintain their prosperity, and the value of our currency in the international market, is maintaining its previous value.

Furthermore, realising that the export and marketing of local products constitute able support of a nation's economy, We have given instructions to Our Minister of Commerce and Industry to expedite the study and preparation of projects aiming to promote and stimulate the export of Ethiopia's agricultural and other surpluses.

We have ordered Our Minister of Agriculture to prepare a long-term programme for the improvement of agriculture and for the amelioration of livestock and cattle; already veterinarians with the necessary equipment have begun the campaign against diseases in order to better develop this source of Our people's wealth.

This Parliament gave its support by approving the promulgation of the Proclamation making compulsory the immunisation of Ethiopian cattle against contagious diseases. Aside from the programme for the development

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of farming and animal husbandry, industrial development for the benefit of Our people is the object of Our constant care....

Nov. 2, 1949.

....Since Ethiopia's economy is predominantly agricultural, agriculture must play a large role in the plans which have been drawn up, at Our command, for Our Empire's development. In implementation of the project which We announced to Our beloved people fourteen months ago for the stimulation of increased agricultural production, Our representatives have visited each province of Our Empire and over two million dollars have been made available to Our farmers for use in expanding and improving their farming activities. Other measures are being put into effect designed to encourage and facilitate greater crop yields. The Ethiopian Grain Corporation has been established, at Our order, to guarantee to our farmers some degree of security in marketing their production and to protect them from unpredictable price fluctuations. Steps are being taken to rid Ethiopia's farmlands of the plagues which have periodically devastated Our people's crops, and, with the assistance of the United Nations, an expanded locust control programme is being undertaken....

Nov. 2, 1960.

....Agriculture, the backbone of the nation's economy, has received its proper share of attention in Our Government's planning. Intensive efforts are being made to improve farming techniques. The cotton project at Tendaho is moving out of the experimental stage. Enlarged veterinary services will improve the quality of Ethiopia's cattle, thus multiplying many times over the wealth which exists in the country's livestock population and a new slaughterhouse is going into production near Shashamanne to take

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advantage of this potential. A co-ordinated locust control project, undertaken in common with neighbouring countries, promises to reduce, if not immediately to eliminate entirely, the ravages which this insect pest has inflicted in the past upon Ethiopia's crops. Grain storage facilities are being constructed which will serve to guard against the economic and social disturbances which arise when shortages occur. Measures will shortly be proposed to Parliament for action to be taken to preserve, for the benefit of present and future generations, the nation's forests which are not only valuable in themselves as a source of wood, but act as nature's guardian against the forces of erosion, which, unchecked, can transform fertile areas into barren and sterile desert.....

Nov. 21, 1963.

AGRICULTURE BASIS OF ECONOMY

...Agriculture and husbandry are the main economic resources of Our people. We note with pride that, based on Our directive of last year, great gains have been made in providing that farmers should benefit from their toil through the export of their products. For instance, the statistics reveal that the coffee export figure for the past year is the highest ever attained in Ethiopia. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the recently instituted measures for the cleaning and grading of grain will result in greater general farm income and will increase Ethiopia's exports....

Nov. 2, 1960.

OPENING AGRICULTURAL SHOW

...It gives Us great pleasure to open the Agricultural, Industrial, and Commercial Exhibition of Ethiopia. Standing here in the outskirts of the City of Addis Ababa, We can look out across the fields and forests of Ethiopia and We

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are deeply conscious of God's great gifts to Our beloved country. At the same time We may turn Our eyes back into the city where We are aware of the rapid growths of the commerce and the industry of Our people.

But even as We consider the numerous and varied activities of Our people in the countryside and in the cities, We are conscious of the ever increasing influence of those activities upon the life of all peoples throughout the world and in turn of the influence of outside activities upon the life of Ethiopia.

It is Our hope that this Exhibition will not only reveal the progress that has been made in the agriculture, commerce and the industry of Our people, but will contribute to the further expansion and development of the economic life of the entire nation.

It is the duty of all to apply the skill of their minds to the greater and greater use of God's great blessings of farms and field and forest and to make greater and greater use of the factories, the trading centres and the roads and communications which are also evidence of Ethiopia's prosperity, of Ethiopia's strength.

Nov. 17, 1951.

FORESTRY - ARBOUR DAY

This is the third occasion on which We celebrate Arbour Day. As We have stated on previous occasions, the main objective of the development programme which We have adopted for the welfare of Our people is to preserve and augment the wealth derived from our land, and, agriculture being the basis of our economy, to increase the yield of Our soil through maximum utilization.

The forest resources of Our Empire constitute one of the most important elements of the wealth of Our land.

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When Our forests are properly conserved, they protect the fertile soil of Ethiopia from erosion; they render the landscape green and beautiful. But when forests are neglected and gradually destroyed, the wealth of Our land is progressively reduced and the country slowly becomes bare and barren.

Wood-cutting is an important source of income for our rural population. But the needlessness of their tree-cutting and their thoughtless misuse of Our timber stands demonstrate clearly that they do not understand the great and far-reaching importance of preserving Our forests.

The uses of trees are many and varied. Groves of trees protect our fields and plantations from being desiccated by the desert winds that blow from neighbouring regions. During the summer months, they provide moisture and shade. If trees are not presently planted to replace those being cut down from time to time, Our constant efforts to conserve and develop the wealth of Our country for the welfare of present and future generations will be rendered ineffective and futile. We are greatly grieved to observe the many thousands of gashas of rich forest land being destroyed every year by reckless timber-cutting, thoughtless forest burning, unregulated forest grazing, and other misuses of Our forest wealth, due to popular ignorance and desire for temporary advantage on the part of Our people.

Afforestation

It is a matter of great concern for Us that the forest wealth which God in His mercy has bestowed upon Our country is thus being continually reduced and wasted. Hence it becomes the duty and obligation of every single Ethiopian to become aware of the tremendous industrial and agricultural advantages to be derived from Our forest resources, and to practise tree-planting, in order that Our hills and

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planes which have been stripped of their wooded cover may once again be clothed in their green mantle.

The existence or non-existence of forest wealth in a country is one of the most important factors influencing its development and progress. The increasing pace of deforestation and the growing dearth of timber in Ethiopia, caused by unregulated tree-cutting and the failure to replace these by new plantings, give Us occasion for anxiety that a severe economic problem will confront the coming generation. It is essential that steps be taken here and now to stop this wastage and to check this destruction.

In these days when all nations of the world, in recognition of the tremendous importance of forest wealth, have launched intensive programmes for forest conservation and re-forestation, it behoves Our country also to take the appropriate measures to solve this problem.

It is Our wish and Our desire that each and every citizen of Our country follow the example We set on this Arbour Day in planting this tree, and himself plant as many trees as he can, for his own benefit as well as for the benefit of future generations.

July 19, 1958.

IRRIGATION

During the past year, the abrupt cessation of rainfall during the growing season caused considerable damage to Ethiopia's crops. This experience has demonstrated that it is essential that the rivers of Our country be devoted to irrigation, so that the food needs of Our ever-growing population will no longer be left at the mercy of the whims and caprices of the elements.

We trust that the Agricultural College at Alem Maya, which We inaugurated last January, and the Agricultural

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Technical School at Jimma, will greatly assist in the introduction of modern agricultural methods into Our country. The shortage of arable land for the production of foodstuffs for Our people in Eritrea has caused Us to initiate a study for the damming of the Zula River for irrigation purposes. This study has now been completed and bids have been requested for the Construction of the project. This undertaking should prove of immense value to Our people in Eritrea, for in addition to providing employment for many of them, it will also, We hope, instruct them in the manifold benefits of co-operation and unity in holding property in common and working together for its development and utilisation.

Nov. 2, 1958.

AIDING THE FARMER

The encouraging progress achieved in other fields has led Us, at this time, to initiate a bold and broad programme of land development. In Our message of 18th September, We proclaimed Our programme of land and credit assistance, declaring:

“For those of you who possess the land and labour but lack capital, We have made credit available at low interest. For those of you who have the necessary capital but do not possess land to work on, We have, in accordance with Our Proclamation which entitled every Ethiopian to ownership of land, established offices in every province through which you may be able to acquire land. Those who have neither land nor money will be granted land and a financial loan at low interest. For those of you who possess land, who have financial resources and manpower, We have made experts available to furnish you with the necessary guidance and advice in your various undertakings.”

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Long before initiating this new programme, We had authorised Our Central Treasury to advance, through the years, loans without interest amounting to E\$ 7,500,000 with the view of raising the standard of living of Our beloved people. Realising that those who could avail themselves of this fund were few, We have now made it possible for all to acquire not only money but also land to develop. Even at this moment, throughout Ethiopia, experts whom We have sent to the provinces are, together with the Governors-General and Sub-Governors of every province, meeting at Our orders to explain to the inhabitants of Our Empire the details of Our message, so that they may proceed to benefit by these provisions.

In this momentous undertaking, We will be assisted, it is to be hoped, by an increase in the capital structure of the Development Bank of Ethiopia. However, unless these new areas can be opened to exploitation and their products be transported at advantageous rates, much of the benefit will be lost.

Nov. 3, 1959.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT CENTRE IN AWASSA

Every structure must be built on a solid foundation, for those constructed otherwise would soon collapse. The proclamation by which We made land grants to the entire Ethiopian people is the foundation of this scheme. Recipients of land grants as well as those who had previously owned their own holdings do not by the mere owning of such land satisfy the requirements. They must make proper use of the land not only for their own benefit but as well to that of the people -- We shall not permit any land to be fallow.

It gives Us great pleasure today to lay the cornerstone of the first Community Development Centre at Awassa,

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a project in which We have long evinced the keenest interest and entertained the highest hopes.

This project possesses a potential of the highest order and contains within it the seeds for a growth extending far beyond what anyone could have envisaged. The trainees who will come to this centre will receive instruction in methods and techniques which, if well and properly applied, can have the greatest impact upon the future development of Our Empire. Community development is, fundamentally, the assisting of people whose economic, social and administrative life is still in a relatively undeveloped state, to organize and focus their energies upon the solution of common problems. For a man to remain isolated and separated from his neighbours and to have no access to the sources of knowledge and education is to remain prey to the ills and plague which afflict mankind in its primitive state. The joining together in a unified effort to overcome the perils of nature and the dangers which beset man on all sides is the very basis of society and the way in which humanity, since the dawn of history, has assured its survival. As self-help is so basic to the free development of the life of a people, so assistance and aid in the technique of self-help must inevitably contribute to a more highly developed society.

Education is the means by which Our people can make the most efficient use of the human, natural and material resources which are already at hand for the amelioration of their problems and the betterment of their way of life.

It is fitting that this centre should be located on this area, for nearby is the site of one of the first agricultural co-operatives which are being developed by Our Government. The interaction between this training centre and the co-operative farm will provide the centre with a laboratory at first hand where those who are receiving instruction here may observe in action the procedures and techniques in which

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they are being instructed. Similarly, the co-operative farm cannot but benefit from the close physical proximity of this centre which will stand ready at all times to render advice and assistance on the multifold problems which are posed for any group of people who embark together on a new way of life.

Through man's quest for knowledge, which has resulted in securing the benefits of science and technology, We have found ways to overcome what only a few generations ago had looked insurmountable. That is to search, to know and to apply, the knowledge that has been acquired.

In many parts of the world some people who had never swerved from reaching their objectives through education have exploited the wealth of their land through mechanised farming and the building of industries and have not only developed a high standard of living, but have also come to the aid of the underdeveloped countries of the world.

All this has been possible through the constant desire for development and devotion to the search for knowledge as the key to economic, social and cultural betterment. The Almighty through His benevolence has blessed us with fertile lands which hold great wealth, but because it has not been developed according to modern methods, the raising of the standard of living of Our people could not be accelerated according to Our wish and desire.

As a result, the economic condition of the people lacked the desired co-ordination. A close observer of the problems and needs of Our people, We have ordered many studies to be conducted for the establishment of several schools and training centres founded from time to time.

Even though Our wish and desire for attaining the highest objectives is considerable, Our people, for whose benefit We strive relentlessly, must realize the purpose of the various institutions We establish. To assist with all

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their efforts and to be spiritually prepared for the tasks lying ahead We also declared to Our people on Our return from foreign visits: "It is no use to say that one has land; land and money under certain unforeseen circumstances could avail nothing".

As We lay here the foundation stone of a Community Development Centre today We have great hopes in the students who will be therein and in other centres. They will become a stimulus to others not only to pay lip service to the needs of the country but to show it in practice.

During Our visit to Europe, the Far East and America within the past few years, We have found how the peoples of the world through a definite planning and co-operative system have overcome the problems posed by economic and social development and attained a high standard of living. We realized that Our country also encounters the same problems of development, and to reach Our avowed goal it behoves Us to remove any detrimental traditional obstacles on Our way and fulfil Our duties in conformity with the exigencies of modern times as well as within the framework of international requirements.

Our forefathers had fought to preserve the independence of Our country so that we may be able to exploit its rich resources, thereby enriching ourselves but not so that it may lay barren as to excite the envy of others and invite again the usurper. Therefore, in order to escape from such a catastrophe which become a lazy leader and lazy followers, it is Our duty to teach Our people to labour unceasingly for the development of our country and to struggle for the attainment of a decent standard of living. For, there is no need of education to the wise nor doctors for the healthy.

Our continued efforts in giving money to Our deserving subjects so that they may be able to develop their plots of land thereby enabling them to be self-sufficient have not so far produced the desired results.

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In particular We have observed that Our Hammassen people who are by nature good fighters could not make good use of the land We had granted them because they lagged behind in agricultural techniques. We are not encouraged by the realization of Our wishes so far. For this reason We have Ourselves organized the initial project; have made preparations and provided technicians in order that assistance may be made available under the direct supervision of Our Minister of National Community Development so that when land is developed to give continued benefit, Our subjects will take over and be in a position to support themselves and their families.

Our loyal subjects – those present and those coming – We remember the services which you have rendered in the military field. If you work with diligence utilizing the aid from the projects which We have established for your assistance, We believe that it will help to enrich our country and encourage Our people who are lagging behind in modern techniques.

We have realized that today being the age of science and technology, to reach our high objective all our efforts must be directed in such a way that education, which is the fundamental basis for development, reaches all Our people. Firm in the belief that through education Our people could improve their standard of living and improve their future lot, We have unceasingly devoted all Our efforts in building more and more schools. It is gratifying to see Our people brace themselves up for the task facing them by constant devotion to Our ideals and by taking advantages of the institutions established. We express Our deep gratitude to the United States Government which has granted financial aid for the Community Development Centre whose foundation stone we lay today.

July 23, 1960.

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AGRICULTURE AND LAND REFORM

... The fruits of the farmer's labour must be enjoyed by him whose toil has produced the crop... Without agricultural expansion, industrial growth is impossible.

....We may refer to the Committee on Land Reform. Ethiopia has been, throughout her history, an agricultural nation. The basis of the livelihood for the great majority of the Ethiopian people rests and will always remain in the land. Ethiopia today, as the most superficial review of her trade and revenue statistics will amply attest, is largely dependent upon the products of her farmers for the finances essential to the achievement of the Government's programmes. The expansion of Ethiopia's educational system, the eradication of disease, the raising of the standard of living of her people, the provision of a strong arm for her self-defence, all of these, this country's very life, depend upon the existence of the means whereby these programmes may be financed. We must concentrate increasingly on the agricultural sector as holding the greatest hope for expanding the revenue which the Government must dispose of in financing the nation's development. Coffee, for example, has for many years been a highly important earner of foreign exchange for Ethiopia. But coffee is now in over-supply in the world markets. Today, other products are gradually increasing in importance in Ethiopia's export trade = hides and skins, cereals, oilseeds = all the products of an agrarian economy. This process must be accelerated.

Ethiopia cannot, as some would suggest, look to industry for these funds. Without agricultural expansion, industrial growth is impossible. Great strides, it is true, have been made in introducing industries into Ethiopia in recent years. But in any less-developed agrarian country, possessing only limited possibilities for selling the products

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of its factories in world export markets, industry can grow only if there exists an increasingly prosperous rural consumer population. Industrialisation is not an alternative to the development of agriculture; rather, the development of agriculture is the essential pre-condition to the growth of industry.

Farmers and the Land

The fundamental obstacle to the realisation of the full measure of Ethiopia's agricultural potential has been, simply stated, lack of security in the land. The fruits of the farmer's labour must be enjoyed by him whose toil has produced the crop. The essence of land reform is, while fully respecting the principle of private ownership, that landless people must have the opportunity to possess their own land, that the position of tenant farmers must be improved, and that the system of taxation applying to land holdings must be the same for all. It is Our aim that every Ethiopian own his own land, and, in implementation of this principle, We have Ourselves set the example by ordering that certain lands in Arussi Province heretofore administered by Our Ministry of the Imperial Court be distributed to the tenants working on them, against payment by each man only of the nominal fees charged for the transfer and the registration of this property in his own name. This has been the basic objective of virtually every modern programme of land reform; this is the ultimate goal of the study now being undertaken by the Committee on Land Reform.

Programmes of land reform, having as their aim the securing of the ownership of the land to those who till it, have been implemented in numerous countries adhering to various political and economic systems. By whatever reasoning these programmes have been justified, they have all rested, at bottom, on the belief that it is the responsibility

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of government to ensure the development of the nation's economy, the well-being of its people, and the attainment of social progress and social justice. If initiative elsewhere is lacking, the burden passes to government.

Land reform, which is in large part a social programme, is wholly in keeping with this fundamental principle, a principle which has already found ample expression in Ethiopian life. Today, for example, a large portion of the means of production is owned by the Government. This is not to say that Ethiopia opposes private ownership, or that the Government shall not continue to encourage and facilitate private investment, both domestic and foreign. This does mean, however, that to the extent that private initiative is not forthcoming, the Government has the solemn responsibility itself to act. In embarking upon a sweeping programme of land reform, the Government is only taking those measures essential to the social progress of the Ethiopian nation which it is its duty to undertake.

Nov. 2, 1961.

VETERINARY SERVICE

...In line with other fields of development, it has been our continuous concern and endeavour to develop and expand our livestock resources to the betterment of our people. As a prerequisite to further this interest, We established a veterinary service organization, a task which was among our top priorities in the past.

It is an acceptable fact that one of the main components of an organization's efficiency is the presence of adequate skilled personnel. To meet this basic requirement, We have been using the services of foreign veterinarians. As it is our regular concern to guide and run this essential work by indigenous experts and technicians, We sent students

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abroad for higher education in Veterinary Science, and to supplement this shortage We established this Animal Health Assistants school. It has now been a pleasure to us to see some of Our first veterinarians on active duty after completion of their study abroad.

The improvement of veterinary service in Ethiopia would not only raise the standard of living of Our people deriving their livelihood from livestock, but it is also expected that it will be one of the main sources of foreign exchange. Considering this importance, the role you graduates have to play to make this a reality is immense. As most of your duties will be in the field, you must be prepared to surmount temporary hardships, and wherever you may be placed, you must work hard. The value of education can only be measured by its applicability. Conversely, your education can be given its proper price if you produce comparable results. This, you shall always bear in mind.

The longevity and tenacity of a building can be judged by its foundation. As you are the first seed-stock, the good results you would show will serve as example to those who would follow your foot-path.

It is our expectation that a similar kind of organization will be set up throughout Our main livestock production centres, to provide services to the surrounding areas, and to open a Veterinary Faculty within Our University.

Assessing the strides which have been made in the past, the days when We shall see these realities will not be distant.

July 17, 1965.

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the first time in Ethiopia's long history the country has had a National Development Plan. His Imperial Majesty introduced in 1957 the first Five-Year Plan, the beginning of a twenty-year socio-economic plan. He has pressed forward a broad-based programme of infrastructure with the expressed purpose of laying the foundation for Ethiopia's all-round, national economic development. The results are today evident in many areas of the nation's viable and expanding economy, and the second Five-Year Plan is now being implemented.

CONCERNING THE CURRENCY LAW

...As you know, the military, civil, peasant, commercial and industrial classes of the population are all part of the same body politic. They are similar to the parts of the body, such as the hands, the feet, the eyes and the blood, and they are all dependent on each other and must work together in helping each other for the proper health of the body. Just as the circulation of blood gives life to the human body, so the commercial and industrial enterprises constitute the life-blood of the population. It is not Our intention to support one part of the activity of the Empire as against another part, but to assist them all to grow and work together for the benefit of the whole population. We shall assist the commercial and industrial as well as all other sectors to co-operate for the benefit of the whole.

We are gratified to accept your words today stating openly that you have decided to abide by the Ethiopian Constitution and particularly by the Currency Law and Legal Tender proclamation issued over a year ago. It should be recognized that We accept no difference between foreign and local traders. The progress of business in general is in the interest of the whole population; therefore, We shall

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do all in Our power to assist you to maintain this progress in the future....

Nov. 22, 1946.

FOREIGN CREDITS

...As we commented at the beginning of the year, "... capital and labour are necessary ingredients for wealth and prosperity and...these two factors are absolute essentials for the economic development of Our country ...". Although Ethiopia possesses abundant natural resources, vast amounts of capital, far in excess of our present means, are needed to develop and exploit these resources for the good of Our people. It was with this in mind that We acquired credits from friendly countries such as the United States of America, Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

For the purpose of implementing these credits and commercial agreements, numerous missions have been sent and received during the past year. It was with particular gratification, therefore, that, on Our return from Our state visits to Europe, We were able to announce the granting to Ethiopia by the great and friendly Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of a four hundred million rouble loan. This form of assistance will be invaluable to our progress and should be deeply appreciated by Our people. We should all realize that all of such substantial contributions of capital represent years of untiring labour, of strict discipline, and of self-denial on the part of those nations who have thus come to our assistance. We must all recognize that these loans and credits call for those same attributes from us in yet greater measure....

Nov. 3, 1959.

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...In the field of commerce, an agreement has just been concluded, with the United Arab Republic following the arrival of a special mission for that purpose. A mission from the Federal Republic of Germany has recently arrived to discuss the implementation of the credit agreement with that country, and missions are shortly expected from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Republic of Czechoslovakia to discuss projects and methods of implementing the credits so generously offered. Negotiations are at present being pursued with officials of the Development Loan Fund of the Government of the United States of America to permit the financing of yet other programmes. An economic commission from Italy is expected to arrive in Our Capital in the near future....

Nov. 3, 1959.

FOREIGN CAPITAL PARTICIPATION

...In Our efforts to improve the life of Our people, We have constantly sought to attract private capital to Ethiopia for investment in both industrial and agricultural undertakings. Our efforts have not, unfortunately, met with the full measure of success which they warrant. But Our Empire's development cannot be delayed because private capital is scarce or unwilling to invest in Ethiopian enterprises, and We have been obliged to initiate ourselves in past years a number of projects which could equally well have been financed with private assistance. Today, however, fuller recognition is being accorded to the importance of Africa in the world's economic structure, and closer attention is being paid to the possibilities for private capital investment here. Despite past disappointments, Ethiopia continues to welcome private investment, and We are confident that it has a vital role to play in Our country's continuing growth.

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But it must be remembered that investment in any under-developed country, be it Ethiopia or another, is in the nature of a partnership. We, seeking to attract capital, must recognize that the investor is entitled to a fair and reasonable profit, and we must be prepared to accord those reasonable concessions which are necessary to meet the needs, the desires and the fears of private investors. But, conversely, the investor must recognize that he has certain obligations to fulfil to the country in which he is investing. His investment must make a real contribution to the development of the economy of that country. He must recognize that he has obligations not only to the workers who labour for him, but, in a very broad and general sense, to the entire population of that country. The partner who places his own short-range ambitions ahead of the long-range interests of the partnership has embarked on a course which will ultimately result in the dissolution of the partnership itself....

Nov. 2, 1960.

PLANS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

...In the case especially of those foreigners who have invested capital on development projects in this country, apart from working in cooperation with both Our Government officials and Our people, there has never been a case in Ethiopia's history when the property of a foreigner has been unlawfully confiscated.....

The greater part of the world's population still lives in economically backward countries and the life it leads is consequently characterized by hunger, disease and other similar problems. Global peace and security can only be permanently secured if all people of the world pool their resources towards the complete eradication of man's common enemies – ignorance, hunger and disease.

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It is well known that the international economic and social organizations established at, and operating in various underdeveloped countries in the world, are helping the economically backward countries in different ways. Some wealthy countries are also manifesting their goodwill through granting loans and technical assistance. What the economically backward countries are looking forward to, however, is the application of the money now dumped on destructive armaments, to the solution of economic problems. Fully supporting this idea, Ethiopia has participated in disarmament conferences and unfailingly is struggling for world peace and man's welfare and prosperity. A nation can make rapid economic growth only when it makes use of foreign economic and technical aid and, if the people make every effort towards the proper exploitation of their natural resources.

In Our speech after Our state visits to various friendly countries on August 29, 1959, We noted the various reasons as to how advanced nations have achieved their present stage. In Our study of the various social systems in the course of Our extensive tour, We have found that the reason for their successful progress lies in the fact that they have accumulated enough capital which, in turn, made it possible for them to carry out better farming, finance various projects to develop their industries, harness their rivers, and in general exploit their natural resources. Unless it is used for worthwhile investment, the hoarding of money would not yield dividend. This spirit also remains true in the case of this plan.

It has been found out that planning is indispensable for the rational utilization of both a nation's resources and foreign aid or loans.

Having recognized that, in order to improve and raise the level of the Ethiopian economy and administration and so raise our people's standard of living and economy, a

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plan, based on the country's, needs and capabilities, is required, We gave orders for the execution of the First Five-Year Plan, which came into operation since 1958 prepared after a long period of study, on the basis of our directives and by the Planning Board We had established.

As a basis of, and working procedure for, a national socio-economic policy, a plan is a means whereby a nation can be developed through the rational utilization of labour and machinery for the most important aspects of the country's needs. The execution of any such plan needs, however, national participation. Planning is the basis in the rational and sustained use of capital, manpower and time in the acceleration of economic development. The opportunities We have today in having at Our disposal those advantages which the now economically advanced nations acquired after long periods of trial and exertion, namely the means to step up the rate of economic growth and purchase equipment necessary for industrial and other purposes, enable Us to implement several projects in a much shorter time.

It is evident that prior to the First Five-Year Plan Ethiopia was engaged in the execution of numerous development undertakings. Long-term projects were carried out in the respective fields of telecommunications, public health, road transport, air lines and other similar phases of development. Satisfactory results have likewise been attained. Nevertheless, a plan, embracing Ethiopia's socio-economic growth, was prepared from a wide and detailed study of such undertakings as were previously carried out through experience and also for the rational utilization of labour and capital. The advantages of a plan are by no means limited to the government; a plan shows the respective goals of our country in each sector, the required funds and their sources, as well as the success and failures of each year's endeavour.

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Though the targets set in the First Five- Year Plan were not all reached, the experiences gained are satisfactory. The works accomplished during the period of the First Five-Year Plan are great and many; so are the changes made and improvements brought about in the phase of administration.

The history of planning shows that no pioneer plans were ever executed even partially, much less wholly.

Since a country that has a plan is aware of its requirements, Ethiopia will be able to acquire technical and economic assistance from international organizations and friendly countries for the implementation of the development projects included in its plan. Millions of dollars have been spent on the main projects carried out during the First Five-Year Plan. These projects included: a survey of the Blue Nile basin, Webbi Shebelli and Awash Valley development schemes, cement factories, oil refineries, textile factories, a sugar factory, highways, telephone lines; modern ports, jet aerodromes, transport jets, hydro-electric dams and equipment, the university and several modern schools for raising the school population by 47%, as well as other economic and social undertakings. In the field of private capital, several industries and similar development enterprises have been established.

Foreign Investors Encouraged

We have never ceased to encourage foreign capitalists to work either in co-operation with Our people, or to invest their money on development works on their own. It has for long been part of the tradition of Ethiopia to welcome foreigners and to safeguard their rights and interests during their stay here. In the case especially of those foreigners who have invested capital on development projects in this country, apart from working in co-operation with Our Government officials and Our people, there has never been a case

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in Ethiopia's history when the property of a foreigner has been unlawfully confiscated. This is a source of pride for Ethiopia. Ethiopia will at all times welcome foreign investors who may be willing to employ their money for development works, either in partnership with Ethiopia, or as private enterprisers. The necessary law pertaining to the money to be expended on development plans will shortly be published in the Negarit Gazeta.

As the period of the First Five-Year Plan has now expired, We ordered that the Second Five-Year Plan be duly prepared. After the Second Five-Year Plan had been prepared and studied in detail by the Planning Board Committee which meets under the Chairmanship of Our Prime Minister, and the five Standing Study Committees, the plan was presented to the Planning Board that We head. After an exchange of views on it and having realized that it has been prepared in accordance with the economic resources and needs of Our country, We approved of the Plan and ordered that it be put into operation. As We have earlier started, the Plan is to serve as a guide not only to Our Government but to the entire people in the Empire now engaged in the work of development.

Allotted \$2,670,000,000

It has been shown in detail in the Plan that for the Second Five-Year Plan the amount of money to be spent on development projects and administration, both from Government and private sources, has been estimated at Eth.\$ 2,670,000,000.

In order that the Plan may succeed in achieving its objectives, much work has already been accomplished in advance. Among those that have been given priority are those pertaining to the promulgation of the Public Servants

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Pension and the Civil Service law. For the plan, We have ordered that various organizations be set up.

We have in the past made it known to you that We have formed several committees in all branches and departments of activity. These committees have been entrusted with the task of studying ways and means of effecting a lasting and not short-term programme of advancement, of finding methods of improving the administration, the application of justice, the spread of education as well as improving on the system of land tenure. The Committee also studied the possibility of making the administrative system of the Provinces meet modern demands and standards so far as present conditions permit, and also study ways of raising the standard of living of the people and their skills, as well as safeguarding of the people's right to equality according to each person's standard and ability.

Among the main points in Our plan for the improvement, progress and advancement of Our people is that relating to the need for an equitable arrangement with respect to the payment of taxes as well as to the tenure and allocation of land. With this aim, We have annulled various taxes that landowners had to pay in the past, relieved them of extra obligations otherwise binding, allowed that only one tax be levied, and have ordered that those Ethiopians who may not have land give evidence to this effect and be made to own half a gasha each to be used not only by the persons during their life-time, but to be passed down from generation to generation as well.

Furthermore, in accordance with the order We gave to the effect that those who may have land but lack money to develop it be granted loans, the amount of money given out for the purpose has now reached Eth.\$3,000,000. So that the work may in future be carried out on an improved scale of performance, the setting up of a new bank that will lend

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money for development works is now under preparation.

We do not, however, feel proud or complacent about the progress so far made by Ethiopia in this respect as having accomplished enough. The present age compels man to go on improving. Since the way of living of people at any period is closely tied up with the particular conditions prevailing at the time, we cannot look back to Ethiopia prior to the 20th Century and criticize the manner of administration of our forefathers. The reasons and difficulties that made the way of living then what it was can be accurately known.

It would not, for example, be difficult to realize the problems and obligations created by the age we are living in now, which faced Ethiopia in her past endeavour to reach her present stage as well as in her future attempt at faster progress and development. As generations come and go, those assuming responsibility for the period do not cease to try and improve on the past in order to meet newly arising demands. In this respect, it is quite evident that to march with the time members of the coming generation should build on what their forefathers have bequeathed to them. It is because the present generation is cherishing and keeping intact what it has received from the past that it has succeeded in attaining its present stage of development, by making the necessary changes and improvements called for by conditions now existing. This would require great foresight and the work accomplished so far as regards to this task of great responsibility is no small matter. It has been fulfilled as a result of God's blessing and His divine guidance.

Land Tenure Reformed

Even though the system of land tenure as well as the collection of taxes in Ethiopia may have varying forms, it is quite evident that these have their foundation in the country's past history. However, even though such a system

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was only suitable to the time when it was being practised, to make it go hand in hand with the age, and thereby serve as a safeguard for the interest and prosperity of the country and be a means for the strengthening of the unity of the people, the old systems of land tenure and certain rights pertaining to the payment of taxes have been kept in operation. Land is also being allocated to those Ethiopians who may not be owning any at present. It has, however, been found necessary that this be improved in the light of present conditions, needs and requirements. Having realized that the money collected from taxes would be used for the development programme of the Empire, and having thought it desirable that tax collection be carried out in accordance with the Proclamation, and that no distinction be made among Ethiopians, and so that all people be given equal rights as regards the payment of taxes, a committee was formed and ordered to study ways of improving on the present system of land tenure. Having reviewed the first part of the committee's report and recommendation, We have passed the following order of amendment:

- (1) We have ordered that a bill be submitted to Parliament to be deliberated and passed into law to make people possessing land as "Riste Gult" and "Siso" pay normal tax on it to the Government Treasury.
- (2) The proposed proclamation be presented to Parliament for discussion with the final aim of being passed as law to improve on the traditional form of relationship, shown existing in the Civil Code, between land-owners and tenants.
- (3) Those serving for "Feresegna", "Alenga" and Gala land and "Gult" allowances, to be paid salaries from the Government Treasury.
Those who were formerly living on allowances from "Gult" and "Siso" to be given land.
- (4) Government lands in the Provinces, owned by

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people on lease, to be given to those who have no land unless the person now possessing it has developed it with his own money and is not simply collecting regular revenue from tenants.

- (5) Crown lands throughout the Empire, the benefice of which has been allocated to augment the Civil List, of will be distributed in three categories: (1) for development projects, such as industrial establishments, the building of townships and settlements; (2) as compensation for those people whose land has been taken over by the government for development purposes; (3) to patriots and exiles and to disabled veterans who have not received land before. The land that may be left over after apportioning in the above manner, is to be given either to tenants living on it or to the landless people nearby, half a gasha each.
- (6) It is Our wish that all Ethiopians who are to be given government land on the basis of the order given above shall, when receiving the land so donated by the government to raise the standard of living of the recipient, pay for registration and transfer of name, Eth.\$15 per gasha of fertile land, Eth.\$10 per gasha of semi-fertile land, and Eth.\$5 per gasha of barren land, and so bring the land under their ownership.

As is explicitly put down in Article 38 of Our Constitution, there is no need to point out that the Ethiopian people enjoy equality. Our instruction as regards reform in the land tenure system will reflect the same basic statement in the Constitution. It is known to all that every Ethiopian should have land and be given money to cultivate the fallow land, and that an organization to carry out this programme has earlier been set up, is indeed well known by all. Unless the

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wealth of the people increases and unless they co-operate their unity as a nation would be compromised.

Therefore, we have made it in such a way that chiefs and elders, without their service in the past being forgotten, should live by working in co-operation with the people so that their own interest would be safeguarded, not to the disadvantage of others.

While the economic growth of Our country and the living standard of Our people are being realized to the extent of the effort We are making, and while the benefits of the endeavour We are making for the growth of our country and the prosperity of Our people are being realized, it should be the duty of every Ethiopian to co-operate and work hard towards their implementation.

All these are preliminaries of the Second Five-Year Plan and We hope that several socio-economic achievements will be made during the period of the Plan.

Objectives Outlined

The main objectives and targets of the Plan are:

- (1) To achieve a great economic result through the rational utilization of available capital and labour;
- (2) To make use of different means of development in order to narrow the economic divergence between Ethiopia and the economically advanced countries.
- (3) To economize money as much as possible and invest it on some useful project in order to bring about an independent growth of the Ethiopian economy.
- (4) To obtain balanced and uninterrupted economic growth in order to raise the standard of living of Our beloved people.
- (5) To improve and expand education, public health, fine arts and industrial projects more intensively.

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- (6) To encourage every citizen in Our Empire to be a participant in the endeavours for the economic and social development of his country, as much as his capacity and ability can allow.

The largest portion of the national income comes from agriculture and the raising of livestock. Moreover, the greater number of the population is engaged in these occupations. For these reasons, in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, agriculture holds its place in the forefront of the Ethiopian economy, and a special plan has been drafted to expand the agricultural production in a much better way than it used to be before.

Moreover, it is designed to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the crops of coffee in particular, which up to now has remained the backbone of the country's economy. Planning is also completed to provide the country's meat industry with 600,000 to 700,000 heads of live cattle annually for local demand as well as for export.

Since Ethiopia's mineral wealth is undetermined, it has been considered in the Second Five-Year Plan to make more extensive prospecting to determine the country's geological wealth and open a new vista for its industrial growth.

In this Plan, it is intended to treble Our present industrial output by establishing a number of industries and factories which will utilize the country's raw materials from agriculture and mining. These industries will be useful in that they will boost the economic status of the country by producing industrial items of high demand in both local and foreign markets and also provide plenty of jobs for the people.

Realizing the great importance and usefulness attached to facilities of transportation and communications, it is designed to expand the systems by 28% in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan.

It is also stipulated in the Plan to make necessary steps

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to better and multiply those social amenities, like education, public health, pension and other similar welfare measures, which reflect upon the living condition of the people and upon social development of the country in general.

Calls For National Participation

In Our effort to raise the living standard of Our beloved people, in Our endeavour to bring about prosperity to Our country, the feeling of co-operation and understanding has always characterized Our people. A special case is the recent development in certain provinces where the people are seen voluntarily raising funds to build schools, clinics, roads and other similar projects. What can give one more pleasure than to see such a measure of self-help in one's life time? For the prosperity and progress of his own country, let every citizen of Our Empire strive hard to strengthen this esprit de corps everywhere. We entrust the spirit of good will to Our people to work diligently and co-operatively in order to arrive at the realization of this socio-economic development that has been launched by either Our Government or Our people.

It is not sufficient simply to see and admire the natural beauty and fertility of Ethiopia. It is Our obligation to work upon and benefit from this country whose fertile soil has been granted us by the Almighty God. We have to gain honour and pride for this country.

Because of her unity and independence Ethiopia had and still has jealous enemies and aggressive dissidents. It is, therefore, the primary duty of every Ethiopian to safeguard the unity and freedom that has been fortified since time immemorial by the courage and bravery of Our forefathers. We have to maintain its integrity, to work and, benefit from its existence.

So that Our people can live working and enjoying the fruits of their labour in peace and order We have given mod-

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ern laws and made various proclamations. For proper administration of these laws in the governorates-general, provinces, sub-provinces and districts of Our Empire, We have allocated judges for the courts, police for the security, and civil servants for running the government offices. We have time and again reminded the government officials that they were assigned to serve the interest of Our people and not the contrary. Hence, We again would like to make it known to Our government employees that without losing integrity and honesty they are hereby instructed and ordered to work diligently in whatever occupation they are engaged, for the economic growth of their country.

We have also entrusted to the Planning Board Committee which is chaired by Our Prime Minister to publish and distribute the contents of the Second Five-Year Plan as well as to strictly follow and execute the new plans at hand.

If each and everyone endeavours to co-operate and work in as much as his capacity permits, Our faith rests upon the Almighty God that He would bless the results for us.

Oct. 14, 1962.

Second Five-Year Plan

...An event of the greatest importance for the nation was the recent adoption, after months of study and preparation, of Ethiopia's Second Five-Year Plan. The results of the First Five-Year Plan, placed into effect in 1957, were many and varied, and this experience has encouraged Us to proceed with a yet more ambitious programme for the further development of Ethiopia's economy during the next half-decade. The new Plan has been drawn up with scrupulous attention to the most pressing of Our nation's needs and to the careful and judicious allocation of available means among the multiple competing development priorities...

Nov. 2, 1962.

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VISIT TO AWASSA

Realizing the great potentialities of co-operative community action in national progress and development, We established the Ministry of National Community Development as early as 1957. Our chief concern has been to improve life and living conditions of Our people, especially the weaker section of Our society like nomads, who live in under-developed regions of Our Empire.

In the world of today, community development is universally recognized as "A process designed to create conditions of economic and social progress for the whole community with active participation and largely dependent upon the initiative of the community."

Accordingly when people have the ability and means, their partnership with the Government in development plans strengthens both the people and the Government. It is therefore with this belief that We have undertaken extensive educational plans throughout the nation.

Community development, thus, comprises two important elements: (1) the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative, and (2) the provision of technical and other related services in ways which encourage initiative, self-help and mutual aid and make these more effective.

Self-help thus is the quintessence of community development programmes. It is, therefore, essential that initiative and desire for improvement should emanate from the people and not be superimposed from outside. It is of course the primary task of community development workers to motivate and stimulate the people to cross barriers of apathy and helplessness.

It is quite possible that weaker communities in backward

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areas display neither interest nor enthusiasm for their welfare, and may even expect an outright handout from the Government for their welfare. On the other hand, more progressive and alert agricultural and pastoral communities may display keen determination to improve their lot relying on their community's own genius and resources. While it is important to give attention to both these types of situation, it should be remembered that any help given to the first category of community should always aim at making them stand on their own legs and to support the self-help potential of the second group to accomplish higher objectives each time, thus serving as a model and inspiration to others.

Unique Programme

Community development is a unique programme, differing from other governmental departments in that it is in the truest sense a partnership between the government and the people. It devolves on the people to manage their own affairs making the best use of technical and other resources of the Administration.

There are a number of essential public services which have to be managed entirely by the Government such as large scale and key industries, Transport and Communications, Education, Health, Defence, Public Security, Law and order and Administration of Justice and the like.

These nation-building activities naturally claim a major portion of governmental resources both in terms of finance and personnel. In the eternal tussle for national priority, small village problems often are relegated to the background and are subjected to long delays before they are attended to. In Amharic there is a proverb saying "Fifty lemons can serve as decoration for fifty men but constitute a load for a single person." Similarly in our local communities, if people co-operate to undertake small improvements it

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could make a vast difference in our level of living and also conserve national efforts and resources for other equally important purposes.

One can think of a vast and unending catalogue of self-help projects which can be tackled by energetic community action. Feeder and link roads in the countryside; small bridges, improvement of water supply, housing, sanitation, construction of community institutions like, schools, clinics, community centres, or the undertaking of economic improvement projects for better agriculture, handicraft, cattle breeding, poultry, fish culture and the like, on the basis of their own initiative.

Encouraged

We are deeply impressed and encouraged to see our people assuming social responsibility and making substantial contributions towards community betterment through hundreds of self-help projects in all walks of life. All the same, in our fight against poverty, disease, and ignorance, Our people will have to put in greater efforts and sacrifices so that we may attain Our cherished goal of a higher and more satisfying level of life and living. In this noble task each one of Our people, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, able and disabled, has a role to play and We are sure Our Empire will march ahead towards prosperity and progress through united efforts of all Our citizens. In order to hasten this process, numerous projects have been launched both with local community support as well as international assistance.

Let us be very clear that the Ministry of National Community Development by itself cannot tackle this gigantic nation building task unless it is assured the fullest and whole-hearted co-operation of all other Ministries of our Govern-

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ment especially the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Public Health, and Interior.

These ministries ought to support community development projects by assigning their respective workers and also make available adequate programme funds on a priority basis. The Ministry of Community Development is responsible for training and assigning district and village workers to guide and organize the people for their development. Similarly, the Ministry of Interior could instruct its officials to assist the project through their provincial and district administrators. As this co-ordination and team work has already been established, it would avoid duplication of efforts and waste of time and money. These Ministries should always assist all projects launched by the community in all possible ways through technical assistance as well as material aid. All Our fourteen provinces, should therefore be thinking and working out their regional development plans. The sum total of these efforts and experiences would assure a general improvement and progress of the whole Empire. The example of developed countries amply proves the truth of the proverb "Unity is strength." Today it is the duty of all Africans to preserve and strengthen the already established African unity. Our best contribution to the ideal will be to work for and achieve co-operation and development within Our own country.

A Great Role

In this co-operative venture between the people and the government, voluntary organizations like the National Literacy Campaign committee and other welfare agencies have a great role to play and indeed they have been doing good work in the past and We hope they will continue to do so.

The success of community development to a large

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measure depends on the co-ordination and effective communication between various government agencies. While departmentalization of government function and parliamentary activity is inevitable in order to cater to specialized interests and problems, once We leave the outskirts of towns and cities all these neat divisions vanish and the totality of the rural problem becomes a vast interrelated complex. When people express their felt needs, these have to be formalized into plans. The chief aim of training village-level workers in this centre is to meet the problems of the community. The only way We can reach them is through a unified approach of community development workers at the village level. The various ministries could support the work of these multi-purpose workers by assigning specialists at the district level and for selected projects.

We have already established a National Board for Community Development consisting of representatives of various developmental ministries apart from the National Ministry of Community development, Agriculture, Education, Health, Public Works and Interior.

In this task the government officials through their dedicated services, disciplined behaviour, humility, helpfulness and efficiency, should present an image of selfless and devoted community workers. They should make every effort to integrate and preserve national culture and promote and strengthen traditional institutions like Shengo, Idir, Debo, Iqub, through administrative and other measures. These mutual-aid institutions can serve as a sure foundation of community development and progress in Ethiopia.

It is the duty of all government officials, religious leaders and local dignitaries who enjoy the trust and confidence of the public to promote, continue and improve all that is healthy in Our community life and discourage harmful practices and attitudes. They should guide, support, and assist the local community workers. Modern governmental activity

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must transcend old ideas of law and order and embrace and extend welfare of all sections of the people. We hope and trust that Government and Community leaders will become friend, philosophers, and guide of Community Development and eventually themselves become model social workers in the community.

In this task, We shall not do full justice to Our responsibility if We do not use national and international resources duly imported, coupled with Our own hard labour.

Students of today – Teachers of tomorrow

Graduates of this training centre, who graduated two years ago, have already become pioneers in the field of community development and set new traditions and an image that “government servants” are “people’s servants.” They have proved that the government has trained a new type of worker who can handle difficult community problems. Patience, courage, and persistent effort alone can help our workers to bring about social change effectively. You, who have deliberately chosen this missionary vocation, therefore, need to be congratulated. We should follow the example of this type of community service; even those who had the privilege of education abroad should be prepared to dedicate their services in rural surroundings even at the cost of personal inconvenience.

Our nation, with 90% of its people living in rural areas and serving the backbone of Our economy, is desperately looking up to young men of your calibre and training to rise to the occasion.

While you were at this training centre, it is true that you have learned many principles and techniques of community development. To learn these principles and techniques is one thing and to apply them is yet another.

Do you like to serve people? Are you happy to work with people? Are you doing your best? We hope you will

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ask yourselves these questions as often as you can while you are in this noble profession.

The community development worker's task is unique. We must be prepared to work late at night, on official holidays or any odd hour, if the need arises.

A good community development worker is always as ready to learn as to teach. If you are guided by this principle you will always try to improve, which is good for your own self-improvement and for that of your work.

If you are open-minded and ready to learn, there are many things which you can learn not only from books and instructors but from the very life experience itself. There are definitely many things which you can learn from the people. If you are guided by this principle, you will be surprised how pleasant life can be even under trying conditions.

Finally, We would like to thank the staff members of the training centre and all those who have contributed in one way or another in the implementation of this important programme of training community development workers.

The government has many development programmes intended to raise the standard of living of Our people. The people on their part are keen to participate in these national development programmes, and it is your job to mobilize their human and natural resources in order to effectively tackle our development problems.

In this noble task, may the Almighty grant you faith, courage, tolerance and understanding to crown your efforts with His glory and success.

Our people, realizing the great efforts deployed by Us for their welfare and betterment, have begun, in several areas of their own free will, to assist co-operatively in the execution of Our plans. This has been a source of gratification for Us, and your presence in the districts and villages to assist them in their endeavours by giving them advice in the mobilization of their energies will contribute a great deal in

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promoting and strengthening Our plans for their well-being. Having provided the opportunities of education for Our youth, to see the young people who have benefited from this education accepting the responsibility to go the various parts of the country to advise Our people in the new techniques that they have acquired, thus enriching the experience of the people – this act being a manifestation of Our desire to raise the living standard of Our people – gives Us peace of mind.

To live a full life and to be thankful for the blessings of God nothing is more rewarding than after having learned to teach your fellow-man, using your talent to teach others. May God guide you in the accomplishment of this task.

We express Our gratitude to the Government of the United States of America for their contribution towards the building of this centre and to its successful functioning.

Oct. 25, 1962.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

...The past year has seen increased emphasis placed upon the role which community development programmes can play in improving the life of the Ethiopian farmer. The fundamental purpose of a community development movement is to teach the rural people of Our Empire that through co-operative self-help and a united approach to common problems, the vast potential for their own self-improvement which they themselves represent can be translated into effective programmes which can do much to improve their standard of living. While the inauguration of community development programmes in Ethiopia is of relatively recent date, much has already been accomplished. A Community Development Training Centre was inaugurated by Us at Awassa for the training of personnel who will subsequently

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go throughout Our Empire disseminating among Our people the knowledge they acquired during their training.

The co-operative movement has long been known throughout the world, and We Ourselves have on numerous occasions urged Our people to join increasingly in co-operative enterprises. Co-operatives must, ultimately, play a highly important role in the growth of Our economy, and no time can be lost in availing ourselves of the benefits to be derived from them. During the past year, We decided upon a programme designed to provide specific encouragement to the creation of agricultural co-operatives, and a number of Government-sponsored co-operative farms have been established by Our Ministry of National Community Development. We have provided land, agricultural machinery and expert assistance to these farms, and We entertain high hopes that their success will spur Our people to embark increasingly upon co-operative endeavours. Should Our people fail to avail themselves of this opportunity, the consequences will be regrettable indeed. ...

July 1, 1964.

ASSISTANCE AND INVESTMENT

...Experience has proved that the vast development programme upon which Ethiopia has embarked cannot be wholly financed out of our own resources. To meet the gap between the targets established and the means available locally, we have had recourse to international lending institutions and to assistance from friendly and wealthier nations. For this aid, some in the form of grants, some in the form of loans, the Ethiopian Government and people are grateful, and it would be ungracious were we to fail to express our appreciation for the assistance we have received.

We have always recognized, however, that private capital investment can make a significant contribution to

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the goals set in the Second Five-Year Plan. In order to stimulate such investment, We promulgated, a short time ago, a law intended to stimulate increased private capital investment in Ethiopia. This law, which Parliament will consider in the weeks ahead, establishes procedures to evaluate investment proposals, and guarantees to the deserving investor the benefits and assurances which venture capital seeks as a condition to investment. In like manner, the banking laws promulgated several months ago after their approval by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate not only modernize Ethiopia's banking system, but furnish the channel for the investment of additional funds in the growth of Ethiopia's economy....

Foreign Assistance

...Only two weeks ago Ethiopia was honoured by the visit of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Dr. Heinrich Lubke. During the talks which We held with the head of this friendly nation, We were assured of the desire of the West German Government to continue to participate in Ethiopia's economic development along the lines laid down in the Second Five-Year Plan, and We anticipate the early implementation of agreements reached covering additional grants and credit by the Federal Republic to Ethiopia. This assistance, together with the generous aid which Ethiopia continues to receive from other friendly nations and from international organizations, will do much to assure the implementation of the programmes of economic development which the Five-Year Plan envisages....

Nov. 2, 1964.

ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AID

...We require knowledge and assistance from abroad; Ethiopia's energies were for long centuries concentrated on

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her physical protection. The never-ending struggle to safeguard their freedom deprived the nation's youth of the opportunity to study peace instead of war. Today, we require skills and techniques beyond our present capacity to provide, and we look to the assistance of foreign experts and technicians to bridge the gap. So, too, do we look for foreign capital investment and as a natural and normal concomitant, the managers and the professional personnel skilled in the ways of modern industry and business life. With training and education and experience, Ethiopians will in the near future supply all of the needs of the nation. But today, those who are prepared to aid us in our endeavours, who are here at our request and desire, are welcome colleagues and collaborators. Our visits to highly-developed nations abroad have persuaded Us that in this same fashion those countries have adapted and used this experience and learning of others for their own benefit....

Nov. 16, 1965.

OPENS BERHANENA SELAM PRINTING PRESS

It is with great satisfaction that We remember, when over forty-four years ago, We established what was the beginning of this printing press in Our palace grounds, a land inherited from Our father and now given by Us to the University. Our aim then was two-fold: primarily as We have said on several occasions before, to create a centre for large scale translation, printing and distribution of the Scriptures, the Old and the New Testaments, and our religious books that were then available in Geez and only in manuscripts; so that the clergy, the monasteries and all the Christian population of Ethiopia would have an easy access to them. Secondly, to provide for our people adequate reading

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material so that they follow the day-to-day happenings both in other parts of the world and within Our own Empire.

The printing machines bought then and shortly thereafter, however inadequate, have rendered valuable services at that time. We recall that, in an effort to expand printing facilities, We opened branches in other provincial centres known as Leul Ras Makonnen, Printing Presses “Kesatie Berhan I, II and III”.

Our endeavours for acceleration, however, in this as in other fields, were discontinued due to the brief occupation of Ethiopia by the Fascist aggressors. Nevertheless, with the will of the Almighty and having liberated Our country, We were able to start again and one of the priorities given was to re-establish this printing press.

With the will of God, who is the initial and ultimate source of good thoughts and through the efforts of you the administrators and employees of this organization and with the technical aid obtained from various Governments, Berhanena Selam Printing Press has now achieved the highest goal anticipated.

We are very pleased to declare open today, this new building and to observe its modern printing machines at work.

Our greatest pleasure is not only due to the aforesaid, but far more indeed, to see young Ethiopians, men and women, engaged in the techniques of the printing trade.

Finally, We and all those who would benefit from this printing press express Our sincere appreciation and thanks to the Governments of Israel, France, Great Britain, West Germany, Sweden and Japan who have contributed in this development project and also to Mr. Jun Numakura.

May God bless all your future efforts.

Aware of the need for the establishment of a printing press that would promote the growth of our country’s lite-

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racy and educational efforts, We established on Maskaram 3rd, 1914 the Berhanena Selam Printing Press from Our own privy purse.

The aims We envisaged were twofold: to serve the public interest in general and the sick and disabled through the services of “Bete Saida Hospital” in particular.

The Berhanena Selam Printing Press, from its inception, in addition to the production of various spiritual and temporal books that broadened Our nation’s knowledge, has also proved an efficient medium for Ethiopia’s educational development which is foremost in Our mind.

We are pleased to see this printing press housed in its modern and great building, fully utilizing the most up-to-date equipment to render the services that will be demanded from its present expanded status.

It is Our hope that you the officials and the employees will exert your best endeavours for the future prosperity of this printing press. We are thankful to Almighty God for having enabled Us to witness this growth.

Nov. 25, 1965.

STATE OF THE NATION'S ECONOMY

...In 1966, the Ethiopian nation is sound. Her people are strong and united. Her present life is encouraging, and her future is bright and full of promise.

The country’s economy is viable and flourishing. Revenues from both internal and external sources have increased steadily over the years. The Government’s annual budgets have progressively reflected the additional funds available for financing the needs of the nation. Foreign trade has continued to expand. Domestic commercial activity has kept pace with the accelerating tempo of the life of the nation. Foreign exchange reserves have been

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maintained at comfortable levels. The Ethiopian dollar remains a firm and solidly backed currency.

Domestic and foreign investment has grown, as attractive opportunities have become more apparent and as the economy's ability to support a sustained rate of expansion has been proven. Internal and external debt has been held to reasonable levels, and the greater part of the proceeds of contracted loans has been channelled into programmes of infrastructure serving the entire nation: roads, power production and transportation and telecommunications facilities and services, among others. These accomplishments are the product of a united nation, the achievement of the diligence and industry of a people whose unity admits of no tribal differences....

Nov. 2, 1966.

CHAPTER X

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The present industrial posture and the steady development of industries in Ethiopia have been in answer to His Imperial Majesty's sustained urge and guidance. Year after year see this phase of the country's socio-economic development unfolding with its constructive effect of raising the standard of living of the people.

OPENING WONJI SUGAR ESTATE

It has been Our long cherished desire and aim to see the orderly development of industry in Our country, so as to promote the well-being and prosperity of Our people. We are pleased to be here today to participate in the formal inauguration of this large sugar plantation and factory.

The accomplishment of this project ahead of the stipulated time is a tribute to the technical skill and industry of the people of the Netherlands.

The productivity of a country, and consequent national prosperity, can only effectively be increased by the development of both agricultural and industrial enterprise. This important undertaking has the dual advantage of bringing into the life of Our country not only a product of the soil in commercial quantities but also a new industry as part of the industrial programme.

An enterprise can only proceed satisfactorily if there is mutual confidence. It is Our wish to encourage this undertaking and to extend it to the industries to be established in the future. Therefore, all industries will enjoy the constant support and collaboration of Our Government.

As was mentioned in the speech of the diplomatic representative of the Netherlands, relations between the peoples of Ethiopia and Holland have existed for a very long time. These relations have been strengthened further

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by the recent visit of His Royal Highness Prince Bernhard, who during his presence among Us left such very pleasant memories.

This enterprise is the result of the combined labours of the peoples of both countries. We wish it every success.

Mar. 20, 1954

INDO-ETHIOPIAN TEXTILES INAUGURATED

It is with pleasure that We inaugurate today the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory, which had its inception during Our State Visit to India in 1956. We laid the cornerstone for this enterprise just two years ago, and it is pleasing to Us to see that Our people are even now reaping benefits from it.

The textile industry is one that is basic to the development of the economy of any country. We have always been convinced, not only that this particular enterprise will contribute much to the welfare and betterment of Our people, but that important projects of this sort, financed in partnership by Ethiopians and by the citizens of friendly nations, such as India, offer a great and untapped source of wealth which can contribute greatly to the future development of Our nation. It is obvious that it would be in the great interest of Ethiopia could its resources be developed mainly through the utilization of Ethiopian skill and capital. But until such time as these essential requisites to economic development are available, We welcome the co-operation and collaboration of people of friendly countries, not only in projects such as that which We inaugurated today, but in other fields as well. Such undertakings, We know, can contribute to raising the standard of living of Our people, and We hope to see an ever-increasing number of enterprises established in Our Empire.

We wish to thank again Messrs - Birla and their associates

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who have energetically pursued this project to its completion, Our Minister of Commerce, Industry and Planning, and those others who have contributed to the achievement which We see before Us today.

Apr. 8, 1960

ELEMENTS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

.....In the industrial field, as well, development has proceeded satisfactorily. New factories have been opened. Koka Dam is providing cheaper electrical power to Our people and will stimulate further industrialization. Work is proceeding on schedule for the survey of the waters of the Blue Nile and plans are being carried forward for the development of the Awash and Webi Shebelli valleys. A contract has been concluded for the utilization of a portion of the credit granted by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia for the construction of a modern cement plant near Addis Ababa.

There are numerous other projects which, while still in the planning stage, will be commenced during the coming year. Among these, we would single out for particular mention Our plans for the construction of the new town at Bahar Dar. This town is being planned with the assistance of experts provided by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and will include schools, hospitals, industrial plants and all modern facilities. In implementation of the magnanimous gesture made to Us during Our state visit to the Soviet Union, a technical high school for 1000 students will be constructed at Bahar Dar as the gift of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....

Nov. 2, 1960

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VISIT TO INDO-ETHIOPIAN TEXTILE FACTORY

One of Our principal aims for Our people in being always to develop industry in Our country, it gives us pleasure to visit once more the Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory, an undertaking that We have watched with interest from its very beginning, and one which as We have stated on previous occasions, is a fruitful example of bi-national co-operation.

As Mr. Jada just said, not only is this factory an example in co-operation, it is as well one of rapid success, for in less than two years after its birth, it has expanded to the extent that it has doubled its capacity. On this basis We have no doubt that the new projects in hand of producing rayon products and others will equally come to fruition.

The importance of the industrial sector of Ethiopia's economy could never be over-emphasized. This is why We have spent so much effort in encouraging the establishment of enterprises of this and other natures in Our country, for the employment and the utilization of Our natural resources in the industrial process would aid immensely in raising further the standard of living of the people, one of Our cardinal aims.

We are very pleased to see a large number of people, men and women alike, employed here and engaged in discharging a role that earns them their livelihood.

It is also apparent that in guaranteeing their welfare and rendering them moral support, the hospital that is about to be built for them will inevitably bring about a praise-worthy result.

Birla Brothers, the Board of Directors, the Management and all those who have worked together for the success of this Indo-Ethiopian Textile Factory should be complimented for a job well done. In expressing Our congratulations on

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the present accomplishments, it is Our hope that the Company would grow yet further and continue to make its contribution to the development of Ethiopia's economy.

Mar. 28, 1962

INAUGURATION OF THE SHOA SUGAR FACTORY

.....The establishment of industries is vital to the development of a nation and to the improvement of the standard of living of its people.....

..... As We open this second sugar factory in Wonji, it gives Us great pleasure in witnessing the expansion of its activities the contribution of which in making Ethiopia self-sufficient in the supply of sugar is recognized.

Those who have been the promoters and pioneers of this great enterprise can derive pride from the fact that they have shown the way, and proved to the world that work in Ethiopia can be most rewarding.

When the first Wonji plantation and factory was started, Ethiopia used to import all her sugar requirements from abroad. Today, she has not only reached the stage of self-sufficiency in sugar, but she has even started to export this product to neighbouring countries. This is a great step forward.

The establishment of industries is vital to the development of a nation and to the improvement of the standard of living of its people. For this reason We wish to assure all those investors who come to Our country to establish industries, that, not only are Our doors open to them but Our constant assistance and co-operation are always available.

During Our recent visit to Awassa We were gratified to witness, the sunflower, pepper, tobacco and other plantations of that district established under the auspices of the

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Ministry of National Community Development. Our pleasure has been doubled to note the tremendous achievement made in the execution of that project which shall contribute to the improvement of the general welfare within a short span of time.

The work here at Wonji has been a vital factor in the economic development of this region. The benefit of Wonji has gone well beyond those who are employed by the organization, and has indirectly contributed to the improvement of the general living conditions of the surroundings as a whole.

In opening this Shoa factory today We wish to express Our appreciation to all those who have made Wonji a reality.

Our gratitude goes first and foremost to Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands and to Her Royal Consort who have always shown keen interest in economic relations between Our two countries.

We also thank the Managers and staff of H. V. A. both here and in the Netherlands, for their work and devotion. We wish to assure them of Our constant support and interest in the future.

We pray that Almighty God may in His Mercy bless this enterprise and all those who strive to maintain and strengthen its foundations.

Nov. 10, 1962

INAUGURATION OF CEMENT FACTORY

..... Each day, throughout the Empire of Ethiopia, some new project is initiated or completed, some new programme is launched, some new achievement is won, some new step is taken in the never-ending labour to which We and Our Government and people have dedicated ourselves in the struggle to bring economic and social development to Ethiopia and the fruits and benefits of modernity to

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Our people. A new school is opened; a new road is begun; a new factory is inaugurated. It is in this fashion that a nation advances, and the sum of these accomplishments, some great, some small, but all important, brings us day by day ever closer to the goals which we seek.

Today, it is with pleasure that We inaugurate this new cement factory. For too long has Ethiopia been dependent on external sources for our supplies of this essential commodity. As the pace of construction in Our country has increased over the years, the need for the establishment of domestic sources of production, has become ever more keenly felt. We have good reason to believe that the time is not distant when we shall not only be self-sufficient in cement production but shall be in a position to supply other countries with this basic product. We are gratified to see that Our country has the necessary raw materials, that the requisite technical skills have been developed, and the other facilities which comprise this plant have been installed and that today this plant stands ready to play its role in the growth of the national economy.

The cement produced in this plant, will be used to build structures in which men and women will live and work and it will, in general, serve Our country. The care and devotion which has gone into the construction of this factory must be matched by the skill and labour of those who will use its productions, and failure at any step of the way will defeat the efforts of all.

To the many who have participated in the project which today comes to realization, We extend Our thanks: to the friendly Government of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia; to the firms of INGRA and IMPRESIT and their employees; to the Ethiopian Cement Corporation. Without the concerted efforts of all, this plant would not today stand completed, ready to do service to Our people.

May 19, 1965

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INAUGURATING PEPSI-COLA PLANT

..... It always gives Us pleasure to see the rapid establishment of industries in Ethiopia. Big or small, industries are vital instruments for the development and progress of a nation and for the improved standard of living of its people. The services which industries render to a nation are not solely limited to producing various articles for the benefit of the people: they also provide opportunities of gainful employment.

The advent of modernization and progress entail new modes of life, and this new mode of life demands, to a certain extent, the establishment of industries for processing food products.

The expansion of food processing plants should go hand in hand with those producing drinks and beverages. A shortage in the former would create an imbalance in the needs of an improved standard of living. Therefore, We hope that more attention shall be given to the expansion of food processing industries, while setting up beverage plants. We extend our thanks to all those who have contributed in the establishment of this factory. We are pleased to see Ethiopians participate as share-holders in such factories, and it is with pleasure that We open today this Pepsi-Cola factory.

March 28, 1966

SHEET METAL PLANT

It gives Us satisfaction to inaugurate this new factory which is one of the industries established to serve the economy of Our Empire. We have already devoted much care and attention to economic development, in order to increase the prosperity of Our people and to raise their standard

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of living. Ethiopia has been blessed by Almighty God with an abundance of natural resources and vast possibilities for economic production. Energy, initiative and hard work are needed to exploit these resources and to turn the possibilities into realities. Social progress goes hand-in-hand with agricultural and industrial expansion. The roofing produced by this factory is a basic and necessary material for economic and social development in town and country alike. We are gratified that it is now made in the country, and all the material used for the manufacture of the roofing will, we hope, be mined in Ethiopia in the near future.

It is Our lifelong conviction that all nations must live in peace with each other so that they may co-operate for the common good of mankind. This co-operation must be maintained in all fields of human activity. In the economic field, Our Government has always encouraged businessmen, specialists and capital from abroad to assist in the development of Ethiopia, by granting the protection required to start economic enterprises and industries which will be useful to the people, and by creating the fiscal and administrative atmosphere conducive to fruitful co-operation between Ethiopians and those who come to Our country to exercise their energy and their initiative and to apply their knowledge and experience.

We are impressed by the achievement of the Japanese people in reaching a most advanced technology and creating a most flourishing economy without losing their ancient virtues nor their traditional personal and social values, which we have witnessed during Our visit to Japan on the gracious invitation extended to Us by His Majesty the Emperor in 1954. Theirs is an example to be meditated and to be followed by other nations who are striving to solve their problems and to build their future in this troubled world. We are pleased to extend Our cordial welcome to the Japanese companies which have invested their capital and

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

their technical experience to co-operate with Ethiopian capital and administrators in this factory, and in other factories in Our capital.

We have pleasure in expressing Our congratulations to all those who have worked to form this company and to erect this factory. We also express Our hearty encouragement to them in their efforts and Our wishes for continued success and development.

Oct 1, 1966

INAUGURATING TEXTILE MILL AT MOJO

..... We are happy to witness, from one day to the next, the realization of our fervent wish that new industries be established in Ethiopia. As education is the gate which opens the way to development and progress, so is industrialization one of the principal paths to be followed to the achievement of these goals.

The improvement and expansion of agriculture and cattle-breeding which have been accomplished with the assistance of modern education should not be underestimated. These fields comprise the basis of Our people's livelihood, and advances in these have been badly needed and hard-won.

Education is also essential to industrial growth. So too, is co-operation with friendly nations vital, and we are gratified at the number of joint endeavours being undertaken in various areas of industry.

This nylon factory, the third project inaugurated by Us in recent weeks in which Japanese capital and skills have been enlisted, is further testimony to the ever-strengthening relations which exist between Ethiopia and the friendly nation of Japan. Each new project is welcomed as a further step taking Us closer to Our goal.

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It is Our desire that Ethiopia become self-sufficient both quantitatively and qualitatively, in meeting her textile needs. We are confident that Our efforts will in the not too distant future bring this wish to fulfilment.

We are also encouraged that increasing numbers of Ethiopians are actively participating in this and other industrial projects. As Ethiopian skills and know-how increase, as Ethiopian abilities are more fully developed, Our people will attain a greater and more complete mastery of the intricacies of modern technical and administrative techniques and methods.

We wish this enterprise a successful and prosperous life.

Dec. 24, 1966

CHAPTER XI

HEALTH

Public health is among the highest priorities in His Imperial Majesty's multifold reforms instituted for the peace, progress and prosperity of Ethiopia. Public Health institutions, services and trained personnel including the corps of Ethiopian doctors continue daily to increase.

PUBLIC HEALTH

...We have devoted particular attention to the material and physical well-being of Our people through a programme for public health. Today, We are opening and dedicating to the memory of Our regretted and well-beloved daughter, the Princess Tsahai Memorial Hospital which will not only provide for the treatment of mothers and children, but will, also, constitute the first centre of medical instruction and training in Ethiopia.

Nov. 3, 1951.

... The raising of Our country's standards of public health occupies an important and prominent place in the plans We have prepared for the peaceful growth and development of Our nation. To improve conditions of life is by itself to benefit present and future generations, and however high the cost, this work must be accomplished. Agreements have been executed with the International Co-operation Administration for the furnishing of aid to assist Our efforts in this direction. We long ago determined that, with the help of Our people, no one in Ethiopia would lack adequate medical treatment because of his inability to pay for it, and a plan to implement the goal has already been prepared. ...

Nov. 9, 1957.

HEALTH

... Much has been achieved in the field of public health which is of equal rank with education in assuring the welfare of Our people, and much more is planned for the future. Discussions held with the Government of the United States of America and the World Health Organisation, a Specialised Agency of the United Nations, have resulted in the conclusion of an agreement whereby malaria-infested areas of Our country, which today, despite their richness and fertility, remain uninhabited by man or beast, will be rid of this plague and will once more become available to Our economy. Many of these areas, if freed from malaria, can be irrigated and thus make an immeasurable contribution to the growth of Our economy...

Nov. 2, 1958.

... The increase in the number of our doctors has enabled Us to open new clinics and to achieve advances in the execution of Our public health programme. The successful pursuit, during the past year, of the anti-malaria campaign stands as a tribute to the devotion and co-operation of experts from the Ethiopian Government, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, and the United States Operations Mission to Ethiopia. We have also, to this end, established within the Ministry of Public Health an autonomous agency under an Order for the particular purpose of the eradication of malaria.

The past year has brought, also, a challenge to Our energies and resourcefulness in meeting the severe conditions in Tigre, Eritrea, and Ogaden, resulting from locust invasions and lack of rainfall. We, Our Government, and Our people, have contributed to relieve the suffering of Our subjects in these regions. The United Nations International Children's Fund has contributed powdered milk, the Government of the United States of America, the Soviet Red Cross and Red Crescent, thousands of tons of cereals, and the people

HEALTH

of Sweden, medicines and other medical aid. We, in this adversity, are deeply grateful for such exemplary manifestation of the brotherhood of man. It is hoped that greater and more efficient measures of control of the locust infestations in the Middle East may serve to remove a scourge which, from time to time has plagued Our peoples. On Our part, We have ordered the purchase of specially-equipped planes for the combatting of this destructive pestilence...

Nov. 3. 1959.

... Just as education assures the development and well-being of man, so must man's body be free from the scourge and ravages of illness and disease, and in the field of public health, praiseworthy advances have been made in the expansion of public health facilities throughout Our Empire. Modern health centres have recently been established in a number of the larger towns, and several dozen clinics are being organized which will serve in smaller centres in the alleviation of disease. A modern and efficient Provincial Health Administration is being established in implementation of the health tax promulgated by Us and approved by Our Parliament to provide for the most efficient and effective administration of the revenue derived from this tax. Ethiopia is co-operating in the world-wide drive that is underway to eliminate malaria from the earth, and effective measures are being taken to this end following decisions reached at the World Health Organization's Malaria Conference held in Addis Ababa in November of last year...

Nov. 2, 1960.

..... Efforts for the alleviation of suffering and disease are advancing satisfactorily. Endemic diseases which have sapped the strength and will of so many of Our people for untold years are slowly yielding to the assaults mounted against them, and these efforts will continue unabated until

HEALTH

they have achieved complete and permanent success. New clinics and hospitals have been opened, and today Our nation disposes of more medical facilities than ever before in its history.

Nov. 21, 1963.

DEDJASMATCH BALCHA HOSPITAL

It has given Us great pleasure to be present here at this hospital named after one of Our National heroes Dejazmatch Balcha, on the occasion of the Commemoration of its first decade devoted to the fruitful cause of helping the sick and preserving the health of Our people.

It is a fact that the very word “hospital” is a symbol of memorial to the sacrifice made by man for the well-being of his fellow-men. This humanitarian and charitable task of helping the ailing and infirm, of keeping men and women in good health that they may properly fulfil their civic duties, is indeed a sacred duty of substantial value to mankind, going beyond all national barriers, beyond all narrow affinities of race and religion.

It is indeed as a result of this that medical science, springing out of the love of man for his fellow-men and out of sympathy for his suffering, has been universally accepted as having no boundaries nor biases.

Indeed, We can hardly think of a better means to secure mutual understanding and cultural co-operation among the peoples of the world, than to labour selflessly and lovingly in the field of medical service for the relief of those who stand in great need of such aid.

The activities of this hospital, during the past ten years of its existence in general, and specifically its pursuit of service in the noble tradition of Soviet Medicine, and its

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desire to help Ethiopia in the spirit of co-operation and friendship, have indeed borne fruit in a manner that is pleasing to Us.

We can never forget the great help rendered to Our country by the Russian Red Cross Society during the hard and perilous times of 1896 and by the medical mission in 1897, during the reign of His Majesty the Emperor Menelik II. That timely aid will gratefully be remembered for ever.

We wish to express Our thanks for the greetings of the more than 24 million members of the Red Cross Society of the Soviet Union, conveyed to Us through their distinguished Vice-President, and We Would be very pleased if Our own greetings with the expression of Our admiration, as well as Our good wishes be conveyed to the great people of the Soviet Union.

We wish to thank the doctors and assistants and the members of the nursing and administrative staff, of the Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital, for the medical aid that they have rendered in the spirit of kindness and love to the sick who have come to this Hospital in search for such help that the Red Cross Society of the Soviet Union has given in the form of modern medical equipment, in order to develop and perfect the facilities of this hospital.

We would like to state on this occasion that this hospital will continue to enjoy Our help and interest as it has in the years of the past.

Oct. 26, 1957.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

On this auspicious occasion of the celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the establishment of the World Health Organization in most countries of the world, it is fitting

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and proper to bear in mind the lofty ideals of the Organization as set forth in the Preamble to its Constitution.

The purpose of the Organization is, in essence, the securing of the “highest attainable standard of health” to every human being “without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social position.” As we all know, disease is one of deadliest enemies of mankind. But, thanks to the progress achieved in the field of medical science during this century, man is now no longer a defenceless victim against all types of disease. Today we have a World Health Organization to co-ordinate the knowledge accruing from medical science that has been inherited from individuals such as Louis Pasteur, Sir Alexander Fleming and Konrad Roentgen, who have devoted their lives to free mankind from the scourge of disease. The Organization assists member countries in planning and organizing their health programmes, and thus helps to bring the benefits of medical science to those who suffer from disease. This is not only of inestimable value to the individual countries to which the Organization extends advisory, technical and material assistance, but also to the entire world at large – for in this age of swift travel facilities, it is evident that our world has contracted in its relative geographic position and, consequently, the outbreak of a contagious disease in one country is a danger to the rest of the world. Hence the necessity for every country to enforce international health regulations as prescribed by the World Health Organization.

W.H.O. Co-operates

We are happy to state that the World Health Organization has co-operated with Our Ministry of Public Health in planning and organizing a number of important public health projects in Our Empire and in granting scholarships and fellowships to enable Ethiopians to pursue specialized

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studies in the general field of medicine and public health. Some of these young men and women, who have benefited by the grants are already rendering valuable service in our Empire. Furthermore, Our Ministry of Public Health has an extensive health programme which is to be realized with the co-operation of World Health Organization specialists in Ethiopia. We are confident that the co-operation of the Organization with Our Government will grow and become even more fruitful in the years that lie ahead.

In as much as the United Nations Organization is vital in matters of world peace and international understanding, so its Specialized Agencies are likewise indispensable to the cause of international well-being in that they endeavour to resolve the economic, social and humanitarian problems of the international community. In this respect, the role played by the World Health Organization has been of considerable humanitarian value. It is, therefore, appropriate that, as the World Health Organization celebrates its Tenth Anniversary, we should all join in renewing our faith in the Organization and in pledging our unwavering moral and material support in its universal fight against disease – the common enemy of mankind.

Apr. 7, 1958.

OPENS ETHIO-SWEDISH CLINIC

On this day when We inaugurate the Ethio-Swedish Pediatric Clinic, it is a source of great pleasure to find in our midst His Royal Highness Prince Bertil, Duke of Holland, who has made a long and arduous journey to be among us on this memorable occasion. We take this opportunity to express Our thanks to His Royal Highness and through him to the Government and people of Sweden who have made possible this clinic which stands as a living testimony between the two nations and their peoples.

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This clinic is devoted to the preservation and protection of the health and well-being of infants and young children – those too young, too frail to help themselves. Our Lord Jesus Christ said, “Suffer the little children to come unto me,” and surely no endeavour of mankind’s can more confidently count upon the benevolent blessing of Our Father in Heaven than that which has found expression in this building and the purposes to which it is dedicated. We would that more of man’s efforts and energies were today directed to equally noble ends.

It is fitting that this clinic has been built through the joint efforts of Ethiopia and Sweden, both equally dedicated to the establishment of those conditions which will enable the young of the world to grow to full maturity in happiness, good health and security. As His Royal Highness has so aptly suggested, the example which Ethiopia and Sweden set today, if only emulated throughout the world, would do much to dispel and dissipate the problems and difficulties mankind is encountering in its arduous passage through the Twentieth Century.

Our concern for all of Our people, and particularly for the young and those in need, has found expression in the educational and public health programmes which We have inaugurated throughout Our Empire. In Our endeavours, We have been aided by unselfish and high-minded men, and today, as this clinic is officially inaugurated, We extend Our thanks to His Excellency the Minister of Sweden, Mr. Bratt, to Dr Mannheimer and to all whose labours have combined to assure that this institution will make its full contribution to the welfare of Our people. We have not failed to note, during the few months which it has been in operation, the praiseworthy results already achieved, and We are pleased to inaugurate it as a distinguished addition to the health facilities of Our nation and an institution

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well-fitted to stand beside the Hospital dedicated to the memory of Our beloved daughter, Princess Tsahai Haile Selassie, who devoted her life to the care of children.

Dec. 2, 1959.

DEDICATION OF PRINCE MAKONNEN HOSPITAL

It was Our preoccupation that Our son, Prince Makonnen, after he had reached his maturity, would have lived to dedicate his life to the service of Our people.

The Ethiopian people will pursue the responsibility of seeing this project completed.

It is a truism that man is mortal, but his achievements during his brief sojourn are vital both for the history he leaves behind him and the benefits derived therefrom by posterity.

This is illustrated by the fact that we are able to meet the demands of our time primarily because our ancestors, besides transmitting to us the benefits of tradition, had shed their blood to safeguard the independence and territorial integrity of our nation.

In this era modern methods, thoughts and ideas have superseded the old ways; but because of our tradition we have been able to move with the rhythm of the times and still maintain our sense of proportion. Although much has been devoted to attain the harmonious welding of the old and the new in a manner acceptable to all – the old, the young and future generations – much still remains to be accomplished. Who would not be pleased to see his baby born as a five or ten years old youngster? But this is contrary to nature's plan.

That the results of our consuming efforts for the prosperity of Ethiopia and the improvement of the standard

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of Our people should be five or ten times greater would afford Us the greatest satisfaction. Since, however, progress must proceed by stages, it is with a great degree of gratification that We witness the standard of growth and development made by Our people.

It is a mark of pride that we can recall today some of the many sacrifices made in the interest and general welfare of Our people. Hence, when they decided to dedicate a monument in Our honour as a gesture of their love for Us We proposed instead the establishment of a University, and, subsequently, laid the cornerstone for that institution on this site.

Monument To Posterity

We later bestowed for the youth of Ethiopia the property inherited from Our father for that project, so that, in conjunction with the contribution made by Our people this will facilitate the establishment of the University which will live for posterity as a monument both in Our name and in theirs.

It was Our preoccupation that Our son, Prince Makonnen, after he had reached his maturity, would have lived to dedicate his life to the service of Our people. But since God's reasoning differs from that of man, he died prematurely. Not content to share, as they have done so equally, in Our's and his Mother's grief, the people of their own free will have donated money for the erection of a Memorial Hospital in the Duke's honour.

As Kantiba Zewde Gabre Hiwot has explained, a substantial part of the contributions has come equally from foreign friends of Ethiopia, a fact that illustrates the love that the Ethiopian people has won abroad.

Man, during his lifetime, is usually absorbed with the problems of his existence, in which both the material and spiritual phases complement each other. We have ex-

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tended much effort in building the moral strength of our people which, with God's help is succeeding.

Even though We dedicate this hospital to Prince Makonnen, it is the people of Ethiopia that will benefit from its services – those who have contributed and those who have not. We cherish the hope that whether We are present or not the Ethiopian people will pursue the responsibility of seeing this project completed.

We thank the Board for what you have done. Continue your effort with the same earnestness. It is only with God's will that man can reach his ends. May He continue to bestow His assistance for the accomplishment of this Memorial Hospital.

We express Our gratitude to Our entire people and to those foreign friends who have contributed so generously to this welfare fund.

Nov. 8, 1961

LAYS CORNERSTONE OF POLICE HOSPITAL

Once he comes into the world, it is essential that man be bred properly to guarantee a healthy life. When his childhood passes away, he is apt to lag behind his peers unless he educates himself and expands the scope of his intellect.

Though We are not at a stage where We can say We have attained enough, the progress made in education as is in the health services has continued to satisfy Us.

Whilst We are here to lay the cornerstone, it would have pleased Us all the more today had We beheld a functioning hospital assisting patients.

Since man proposes and God disposes, it is Our intense hope that through God's help, its inauguration will take place soon.

We have stated time and again the tasks and mission

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of the police. It is necessary that the police have a proven fidelity for the people both in time of peace and stress and also an adequate power not only to attack but also to help those attacked. To assume power, it is necessary to have a foundation for the protection of one's health and mental condition. These are inseparable.

Since the police man at all times is ready to make a self-sacrifice and doubts cannot be thrown at his sincerity, his force should not be swerving; it should be firm.

Therefore, it is this that is the basis of Our concern for his education, medical and health services.

From what We gathered from your statement, there are some who will go abroad for medical studies and some two hundred are already serving as dressers. Our hope is high that this number will grow by four or five times.

Unless man becomes independent in his knowledge and capacity, what help he gets from others is little. But if he is self-dependent, he may be able to extend help to others.

When you are qualified as medical officers and if not only men but also women are made to participate in the service, that would be the first stage for self-dependence.

In laying the cornerstone of this hospital it is Our prayer that the Almighty will spare us to have the opportunity to participate in its inauguration, and that its medical and health services will benefit Our Police Force.

Nov. 23, 1961.

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY OF DEJ. BALCHA HOSPITAL

Good health being one of man's priceless possessions, We have continually stressed the importance of this condition together with the many elements of progress designed for the general welfare of Our people.

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Our Health Programme has prospered and expanded considerably; but there is still much to be accomplished, and every effort in this direction is therefore commendable.

We are happy to be present, therefore, on this XV Anniversary of the Founding of the Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital, an occasion which manifests a concrete example of helpful co-operation between Ethiopia and a friendly nation. This hospital, which was established by Us in 1947, is the continuation of assistance given by the Soviet people that has its origin over half a century ago.

The Ethiopian people were grateful then and are still grateful for the assistance given for this noble and humane activity. The work carried on here, in which the Union of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the Soviet Union co-operate so effectively with Our Ministry of Public Health, is a concerted translation of the traditional friendship existing between the two countries.

As reported by Professor Gorbadei, the Director of this hospital, it is of particular significance that the Ethiopian personnel are being trained as close assistants to the Soviet doctors in order to raise their medical ability. No better work can be done by a professional person than to help his fellowmen through his knowledge and skill.

We hope that those trained in this hospital will acquire sufficient ability to help their compatriots in all fields of medicine.

Deserving of mention is the summary of the results of their medical and pathological investigations published by the Dejazmatch Balcha Hospital on this XV anniversary.

We do not wish this occasion to pass without mentioning the generous donation made by the Soviet Government to the memorial Hospital of Our Beloved son Prince Makonnen Haile Selassie in prompt fulfilment of the promise made to Us.

We extend our heartfelt gratitude to the Soviet Red

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Crescent Society for the genuine help given to the Ethiopian Red Cross Society which is headed by Our beloved son Crown Prince Asfaw Wossen, as its President.

We thank the representative of the Executive Committee of the Union of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R., the Director and staff of the hospital, Your Excellency the Ambassador, and all those who have or who are now contributing to the success of this institution, dedicated to cater to the medical and surgical needs of its patients. Our greetings are extended personally to Professor Miterev, Chairman of the Society, and to the great Soviet People We send Our best wishes for peace and prosperity.

Nov. 1, 1962.

OPENS GHANDI HOSPITAL

Statistical data testify to the fact that our women-folk suffer from diseases and complications that arise out of ignorance and lack of ante-natal care and maternity facilities.

Today, when we open this hospital for gynaecology and obstetrics which is run by our Foundation, we are happy not only because we note with satisfaction that mothers have a well equipped hospital, but also because the hospital which the Indian Community had presented to Us on the 25th anniversary of Our Coronation which We in return dedicated to the memory of the greatness of Mahtma Gandhi, who is marvelled for his dedication and sacrifice the world over, and named after him has now reached this stage.

When we express our concern about the medical care of our people one of the main aspects is ante-natal and post-natal care.

Since the responsibilities involved in a hospital of this nature are great, all of you who have been selected to serve here have to live up to these responsibilities.

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We wish to remind you mid-wives and other nurses, to be aware of the fact that you are given to the patients to serve them willingly, patiently and with devotion.

A modern building with all its physical facilities alone is not enough to cure patients, and you should not forget that your will to serve and your smiling faces act as tonics that contribute towards the recovery of the patient.

We hope that the children born in this hospital will be blessed and healthy.

It gives us great pleasure to see that a ward has been dedicated to the memory of Woizero Mentwab Desta, from whom we had inherited some land which we gave over to the Foundation.

We thank all those who kindly donated medical instruments and other equipment for the hospital.

Dec. 5, 1963.

INAUGURATES ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL

...We take immense pleasure in inaugurating the St. Mary's Hospital today, erected in Axum which is the heartland and source of Ethiopia's great cultural heritage. We are happy about the presence of H. M. King Olav V here on this occasion.

When We authorized the Foundation bearing Our name to build and administer this hospital, it was with the object not only of extending medical services to citizens in and around Axum but also that the institution would serve as a centre from which can emanate newer ideas and services in the areas of community development and social welfare.

For that reason, We urge you doctors and personnel engaged in this hospital to serve those coming to your care with devotion, tolerance and exemplary goodwill.

January 14, 1966.

CHAPTER XII

TRANSPORT & COMMUNICATION

CORNERSTONE OF RAILWAY TERMINAL

The Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway has enabled Ethiopia to establish a direct line of contact with the outside world which will accelerate our country's development both in commerce and international contacts.

The establishment of this railway has brought into reality the dream of Emperor Menelik II. Through it Our people are in regular and unhindered contact with foreigners which exposes them to and acquaints them with European trends.

Great importance is attached by the Ethiopian Government to the assistance rendered by the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Co. in the past and to its present daily activities to assist Ethiopia in her drive towards further modernization. For this, We express Our Government's gratitude to the company, particularly for the completion of the railway in which it had overcome all obstacles.

The Government is not unmindful of the tragedy incurred upon those who sacrificed their lives during the construction of the railway. It offers its sympathy to all those who sacrificed their lives in the execution of the arduous task of laying the railway line from the sea coast to Our

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capital city, which has thus become a great city that will certainly grow and expand.

As We lay the cornerstone of this building which marks the completion of your work, we are pleased to list this day as one memorable in the history of Ethiopia. It is Our hope to see the completion of this Terminal Guest House which will make Our capital convenient and of ready access of welcome to those who will visit this country of great mountains.

Our thanks are due to the chief engineer for fulfilling his tasks so admirably in this enterprise so propitious to the present and future plans of Our country. The Ethiopian Government also takes this occasion to thank all the foreign diplomats present here and for the kind sentiments expressed on their behalf by His Excellency the Belgian Minister, the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps.

We must especially thank the French Charge d’Affaires for his highly favourable speech, in which he has explained his Government’s serious intentions to assist in the operation of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway and through it, the future development of Our country as well.

On behalf of Her Majesty Empress Zauditu and the people of Ethiopia We express Our deep gratitude to the Franco-Ethiopian Railway Company for its worthy aims and deeds. It is Our hope that it will continue to render its valuable services in the interest of this country. Since the Ethiopian Government will always continue to help the Company in its tasks, it is Our hope that the Company will continue to grow.

1918

OPENS POSTAL HEAD OFFICE

It is about thirty years since postal services have been established in Ethiopia and we are assembled here today only to see the change of the Head Office. We all heartily

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share the good words spoken by our Minister of Posts recalling the works of the great Emperor Menelik II and thanking the founders and leaders of postal works in our country.

It is evident that our country can also achieve what other developed countries achieved by expanding and developing its communications with the modern world.

The work so far achieved through the establishment of postal communications with other countries and governments has indeed been of great advantage to our country. Although Ethiopia has been a member of the International Telecommunications Union, this by itself could not bring an overnight change of advanced and well-organized postal administration. Many problems and obstacles have to be encountered and those to whom we entrusted the work have worked hard and with great devotion and have overcome them successfully.

And on this happy occasion of Our inauguration of this new postal office, Her Majesty and I personally congratulate the Minister, top officials and all those post office employees who made its accomplishment possible through their hard and time-consuming efforts.

As we have entrusted you with the task before, we again hope that you will continue to do your job efficiently. When we thank the post office for what it has done so far, it is with the assurance that we will continue to help and assist in all its future activities.

On behalf of Her Majesty and Myself, we also thank the honourable representatives of foreign governments, ladies and dignitaries for their presence at the inauguration ceremony of this new post office.

1927

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CORNERSTONE OF THE ASSAB PORT

We have chosen to come here today for the ceremony of laying the foundation stone for the construction of Our Port of Assab, not only in order to inspect the beginning of what is to be a great technical achievement, but also to commemorate a significant moment in the history of Modern Ethiopia, combining as it does progress in modernity with antiquity of tradition.

No Ethiopian of this or of future generations, can afford to forget the disadvantages under which Our country suffered in the days when we had no access to the sea. It has, therefore, long been the desire of Ethiopia to see her ports restored to the Motherland. In order to secure an outlet to the sea on these shores, We entered in 1928 into an agreement with the Government of Italy, but the agreement remained unhonoured, with no default on Our part.

God has ordained that this desire of Ethiopia be fulfilled during Our reign, and has crowned with success Our efforts to secure the re-integration of Eritrea and Ethiopia, which We undertook as soon as We, by the help of the Almighty, had returned to Our homeland and had completed the work of re-establishing and reorganizing Our Government under Our personal guidance and direction. For this Our gratitude to God is unbounded.

The trials and hardships to which Ethiopia had been subject in the days when she had no free outlet to the sea, qualify her in a special sense to appreciate the great importance of having a seaport of her own.

In laying the foundation stone of the Port of Assab, this historic gateway to the sea, connecting Our land with the oceans of the world, We are today opening for all the peoples of Our Empire a door to prosperity and good fortune of which they can be justly proud.

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This port, connecting Ethiopia with the pulsating artery of world commerce, joins her in ties of trade with the shores of her friends and neighbours, and also brings her into free contact with the continents of the world. We stand on the renowned Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, through which pass, perhaps more ships than through any other stretch of water on our globe. Ethiopia, here in Assab, stands sentinel to aid and assist the vast number of vessels which carry the life-blood of world commerce. She must therefore be fully conscious of her responsibility to work hard for the development of her ports.

This uniquely strategic port of Ethiopia, after the trials and vicissitudes of nearly a century when it languished unattended and cut off from its motherland, has now been restored to her, and Ethiopia, in full realization of her high responsibility, has undertaken the great task of transforming Assab, into that outlet for Ethiopia's sea-born products, which, by virtue of its unparalleled position on the trade routes of the world, it has so long deserved, and indeed demanded.

At the very instant of the long awaited return of Assab and Massawa, now five years ago, We declared:

In order to utilize to the maximum the resources of the two ports of Massawa and Assab, We have given orders that an ambitious programme of rehabilitation and improvement of the installations at Massawa and Assab should be undertaken. Moreover – and this has taken place well ahead of the date of the Federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia – We have already commenced important works for the repair and improvement of the roads linking these two ports with Eritrea and Ethiopia.

The first part of the ambitious programme has already

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been, under Our own direction, largely accomplished. Although the challenge of the work that is yet to be undertaken demands immense effort, We must not forget that much has already been achieved here, all of which may not be apparent to the casual visitor.

The more than 26 millions of Ethiopian Dollars which We are expending for the high engineering and technical exploits involved in the development programme of the Port of Assab, constitute already a direct and permanent investment in the future of the Port for which We today lay the foundation stone. This in itself is sufficient guarantee for the unhindered development of the port to meet the rapid expansion of Ethiopia's economy which has characterized Our reign.

The expenditure of large sums of money and thousands of hours of engineering skill and re-examination by experts in engineering, in marine construction, in finance, in commerce, and, finally, many weeks of careful study and reassessment by Ourselves of all the work that has been undertaken at Our command, have taken place in order to make possible this historic moment.

Following these careful studies, and after mature reflection on all aspects made by Our ends, the great and noble people of Yugoslavia, most advantageous to us in comparison with other similar proposals, both in terms of engineering genius and of financial facilities, We have accordingly, chosen to entrust this vastly significant task of constructing the port of Assab, to the Yugoslav people.

We would not let this auspicious occasion pass without Our expressing to His Excellency Marshal Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia, Our thanks for the assistance he has rendered in bringing to fruition this co-operative venture, which shall always remain a symbol of our mutual friendship.

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Great Future

We are fully confident that the Port of Assab will respond fully to its high destiny and that a great future awaits to bless this undertaking.

It is essential, as We stated five years ago, that Massawa also be fully developed. The resources of Ethiopia, both present and potential, are manifestly adequate to permit the three ports of Massawa, Assab and Djibouti, to thrive together without rivalry in a spirit of collaboration and co-operation.

In thus providing the means for the continued growth of Ethiopia's foreign trade, We have looked not only to the benefit of one particular region, but also to the welfare and prosperity of Ethiopia as a whole.

At the moment of the return to Ethiopia of Our loyal subjects along the Red Sea coast, We declared: "We will provide, by all possible means, for the welfare of the population of Eritrea."

This promise We have always maintained and fulfilled in various practical ways.

Since God gives us to enjoy only those fruits which we cultivate with toil and sacrifice, We call upon all Our beloved subjects, in a spirit of national dedication, by their labours and devotion, to ensure that this Port, now to spring into existence, will prove worthy of its heritage and of its challenge.

May 10, 1958

COMMUNICATIONS

. . . We know that the zeal and vigour with which all Our people labour to preserve their lives and increase their standard of living can bear fruit only when adequate communications facilities are afforded them, and We have

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accordingly given special priority to this subject. A nation cannot prosper unless it has overcome the problems of communications. Without communications, agriculture cannot develop, nor can commerce or industry thrive. It is communications that relates and binds people together by ties of friendship.

Since it is the improvement in communications that has led to the development year by year of Our coffee trade and other exports, We have obtained a long term loan of Eth. Dollars 37,500,000 from the International Bank for Development and Reconstruction, and have arranged for a further extensive highway construction programme.

The development of aviation being of equal significance in the growth of Our country's economy, We have obtained a loan of Eth. Dollars 60,000,000 and plans are under way for the purchase of modern aircraft and the construction of additional airfields.

Realizing that the lack of dock facilities for large vessels at Assab has decreased the usefulness of this port, which could increase substantially Our Government's revenues, We have arranged for a contract to be signed with a Yugoslav firm for the construction of docking facilities at a cost of Eth. Dollars 26,000,000 which will enable large ships to touch at this port. The terms of this contract are extremely favourable to Ethiopia and could not have been obtained elsewhere. Out of the Ethiopian Dollars 26,000,000 required for the development of the port, the Company itself has agreed to advance half this amount to the Imperial Ethiopian Government at a 3 percent interest rate, the loan to be repaid in fourteen annual instalments, a clear proof of the spirit of a friendly nation. . . .

Nov. 2, 1960

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DEVELOPMENT

Noteworthy developments have occurred in the field of both domestic and international communications during the past year. Communication among men facilitates the interchange of goods and ideas, and these, in their turn, provide the stimulus for increasing the level and the rate of man's social, economic and political development. A new airline terminal was opened in Addis Ababa providing improved facilities for passengers travelling by air to and from Ethiopia. The international services of Ethiopian Airlines to Europe have been greatly expanded. New air rights have been negotiated, and new routes will be inaugurated in the near future, including a route to West Africa which, commencing next week, will link this continent more closely together. Decisions have been taken to embark upon the transformation of Ethiopian Airlines to jet aircraft and for the construction of a new and modern international airport which will be built in Addis Ababa to provide all modern traffic facilities.

Similarly, work has proceeded apace on the expansion of Ethiopia's road system. Contracts for the construction of new roads have been let, and negotiations have been carried on with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the United States Development Loan Fund for the financing of the further expansion of Ethiopia's highways. Ultimately, even the most remote corner of Our Empire will enjoy the benefits of rapid and efficient road transportation.

Arrangements have also been concluded for additional projects which will assist greatly in improving internal communications with Our Empire. The telephone facilities operated by the Imperial Board of Telecommunications will be considerably expanded with the financial assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Develop-

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ment. Our radio broadcasting services have been improved, and work will begin shortly on the construction of powerful radio facilities which will reach every village in Our Empire and will create among our people a heightened awareness of the unity which binds Ethiopia together as one nation.

In November of last year, a Treaty was concluded between Ethiopia and the Republic of France concerning the future administration of the Franco-Ethiopian Railway, under which the Railway Company acquires Ethiopian nationality and will have its main offices in Addis Ababa. With the conclusion of this Agreement, Ethiopia becomes a full partner in the operation of this vital rail link, and this enhanced status will make its own particular contribution to the further expansion of Ethiopia's economy.

Nov. 2, 1960

INAUGURATION OF THE ASSAB PORT

In ancient times, when Ethiopia enjoyed the unencumbered rights of her extensive coastline, such a name as Adulis, the thriving port on the Red Sea, was a recognized gateway for a flourishing maritime commerce. One of the underlying motives for Our journey to Europe in 1924 was to secure at whatever cost a free port for Ethiopia even if it meant securing one on lease. And as a result of Our discussions with the then Italian leader what was proposed to be given to Us as a concession did not exceed a few thousand square metres of land on the coastline. But today, by the grace of God, Ethiopia is master of her territorial waters and of her own ports. Today, We stand here at a moment when history is to repeat itself, when Ethiopia will again have her own appropriate role to play in international commerce. With the inauguration of the port of Assab, which accords so readily and significantly with Ethiopia's expand-

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ing trade, the ocean-borne carriers of international trade will again shelter and service in Ethiopian waters.

Dream Come True

The opening of the Assab Port is the capstone of a significant chapter in the history of modern Ethiopia – the fulfilment of a long-desired dream. The history of the return to Ethiopia of her seaports, which this ceremony vividly recalls, is well-known. Only ten years ago, Ethiopia's commerce through the international sea-lanes was subject to the wishes and dictates of others. Not only was Our country's economic life stifled but being left without any outlet to the sea, Ethiopia was barred from enjoying the fruits of normal and unencumbered international trade. Only those who have been required by geographical position or historical circumstance to live without a port opening on an international waterway can appreciate the full measure of the restrictions which are attendant upon a land-locked life. It is unfortunate that even today, certain countries of the world suffer from the same predicament. As We said on this very spot years ago when We here laid the cornerstone for the construction of this now happily completed project: "No Ethiopian of this or future generations can afford to forget the disadvantages under which Our country suffered in the days when We had no access to the sea."

Great Destiny

In these days of growing international contacts, when the world is becoming ever more closely knit, when Ethiopia's economy continues to expand, the Port of Assab is destined to play a significant role, not only in keeping open the dispatch routes for our commerce, but in rendering to the world's merchant shipping those maritime services necessary

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for the unhindered flow of men and materials that have become an indispensable part of world life. This Port and its activities will redound to the welfare of the entire country. Situated as it is on the north-east edge of the Ethiopian plateau, the people of this region will be the first to enjoy its benefits, but, ultimately, the impact which it will have on the standard of living of the Ethiopian people will be felt by all. Enhanced communications facilities stimulate trade, which in turn stimulates further increases in production. This Port, in conjunction with the system of roads which is being expanded, have been given the highest priority because of the vital role which they play in the development of the nation and the exploitation of its God-given wealth for the benefit and welfare of Our people.

The great destiny and the concrete economic purpose of the Port of Assab will, We are confident, be now fully realized. It will complement those of Massawa and Djibouti, and provide adequate harbour facilities for Ethiopia's international commerce and facilitate her connections with the world arteries of communication.

Yugoslav Assistance

On this occasion, We must recall the significant part played in the accomplishing of this task by the healthy relationship so happily existing between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia. We and Our people shall remember with gratitude the invaluable assistance of H.E. Marshal Josip Broz Tito who, by readily accepting Our suggestions in connection with this Project, greatly contributed to its successful completion. The assistance afforded in the construction of this Port remains a symbol of Ethio-Yugoslav relations and friendship, which We fervently hope will continue to develop to the mutual benefit of our two countries. We are pleased to welcome today Yugoslavia's special delegate to this ceremony, His Excellency Mr. Marin Cetinic and We ask

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that he carry Our words of thanks with him to his country.

We must also refer to the painstaking work undertaken and performed by Pomgard, work prosecuted with such diligence that this programme has been completed ahead of schedule. To them, and to all who have participated in this project, all thanks are due.

The Hand of the Almighty has been constantly evident in guiding Ethiopia along the path of progress and development. It is He who ordained that Ethiopia's seaport should be returned to the Motherland during Our time. It is He who crowned the labours here at Assab. We invoke His blessing upon this Port in the hope that henceforth it will be a blessing to the lives of Our people.

In the spirit of national dedication, We call upon those who will administer this Port, and upon all whose lives will be touched by its operations, to ensure that the Assab Port proves worthy of its heritage and challenge, so that by its hospitality and efficiency, it may win the friendship and admiration of international sea-farers.

Dec. 3, 1961

RECEIVING "H.M.S. ETIOPIA"

We welcome the Officers and ratings who have brought this ship safely to Our shore. The ship, which We have christened Ethiopia, has been presented to Us by Our friend the United States of America under the aid programme.

This ship, which has taken her place as the flagship of Ethiopia's Naval Forces, will contribute immeasurably to the discharge of the solemn duty which Our nation assumed nearly ten years ago with the return to the Motherland of Ethiopia's ancient ports on the Red Sea.

The HMS Ethiopia, as she sails these waters which extend before Us, will serve as a symbol of Ethiopia's determination to guard her extensive coastline and to protect

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her maritime interests. Equally, she will provide tangible and continuing evidence of the harmonious and felicitous relationship existing between the United States of America which, as part of the Military Assistance Programme, has made available this vessel now a part of Ethiopia's Navy. We express profound thanks for this gift.

We anticipate that the acquisition of the HMS Ethiopia is the prosecution of a course of action which will continue until the Ethiopian Navy attains the capacity to make her proper and equitable contribution to the seafaring tradition of the days of Adulis. Though Ethiopia was robbed of her seaports, we remained seafarers in spirit.

We could hardly miss the opportunity to thank the U.S. Navy that has trained the Officers and ratings in the naval science that has enabled them to bring this ship safely to port through a long and arduous journey across thousands of miles. They have brought honour upon themselves and to the country.

They and their colleagues in the service of this area of Ethiopia's Armed Forces comprise the nucleus around which will be built an efficient naval service. We hope that the present number of Our naval officers and ratings will grow to thousands.

The training which they have already received, the additional training which will be given in the classroom on this very ship, the practical experience which they will acquire, will fit them to uphold the glorious traditions handed down from generations of Ethiopians whose names live in history and in the hearts of their countrymen.

We would like to thank especially Norwegian and American senior Naval Officers who have commanded this ship. In addition, We take this opportunity in thanking Commander Iskender Desta for the great concern and effort he had shown for the growth of the Naval College. To the

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Officers and men of the HMS Ethiopia, We say, "Godspeed and good sailing." We thank His Excellency the American Ambassador for his kind words and the effort he is making to strengthen the friendly relations between our two Governments.

June 17, 1962

BOLE INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT CORNERSTONE

No development in the modern world has been so startling or has produced such far-reaching results in so short a time as has the revolution in the field of communications which the 20th century has witnessed. Only a few decades ago, travel from one quarter of the globe to another was a month-long process. Battles continued in wars, when peace had already been declared between the combattant nations.

How different is the situation in 1962. Today, man's voice flashes around the earth in split seconds. Distance and time have been annihilated. The most recent events in any part of the world are immediately known thousands of miles away. Moreover, times in which we live have witnessed man's success in his endeavour to reach the moon and the stars.

Few nations have been as deeply affected by the revolution in communications and transport as Ethiopia. Our high mountain fortress, which for so many years stood as a bulwark between Ethiopia and the outside world, has only been breached within the memory of men who live today, but the changes wrought are deep and their impact far-reaching. The technology of the modern world has become more speedily available to us as modern facilities for the communication of ideas and the transport of men and material have reached into Ethiopia.

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The ceremony in which We participate today stands as testimony to the vitally important role which air transport has played in Ethiopia in the past 15 years and as a promise for the ever-increasing contribution which this mode of transportation will contribute to the well-being of Ethiopia and Our beloved people in the future. It has also been gratifying to us to note that Our young men who were given training in aviation here since the past 15 years have been very promising. Thanks to air transportation, the agricultural produce of our nation has moved into the export market from areas hitherto inaccessible except over remote and hazardous mountain trails. Thanks to air transportation, goods and materials have moved into outlying regions of Our Empire, thus providing Our people with the basis for an ever-increasing standard of living, exciting their imagination and encouraging them to seek yet further means of improving their way of life.

Air transportation has enabled Ethiopia to become better acquainted not only with her neighbours, but with the peoples of other continents, and We are proud that Ethiopian Airlines has been the first African carrier to span the broad expanse between Eastern and Western Africa. We have signed agreements with various African and European countries providing the widest measure of rights to the Ethiopian Air Lines.

Most Modern Facilities

Owing so much to air transport, and expecting such significant rewards from its further expansion, it is only fitting that Our nation should possess the most modern air facilities. The installations which are under construction and for which We today dedicate the commemoration stone will permit and encourage the further development of air travel and transport both within Ethiopia and abroad.

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Although We are physically present only in Addis Ababa Our action today should be regarded as symbolically touching the new air installations being constructed at Asmara, at Dire Dawa, at Jimma and Bahr Dar as well.

These facilities are being financed by loans negotiated with the Development Loan Fund of the Government of the United States of America, and We are grateful for this assistance. We must, however, also recognize that the indebtedness thus incurred constitutes a heavy burden for our Government and people, and we must be assiduous to insure that the moneys We are investing will earn a proper return. Exports must be increased, tourists and other visitors must be encouraged to come to Ethiopia and their stay here made pleasant and fruitful. Ethiopian Airlines services must be expanded, and all measures required to ensure that its operations continue to be safe and efficient must be taken. In short, a co-ordinated effort calculated to accelerate the growth of air transport within Ethiopia as well as between Ethiopia and her neighbours in Africa, Asia and Europe must be undertaken and pressed to completion. We call upon all whoso responsibilities lie in this field to redouble their efforts.

We express thanks to the Minister of Public Works and Communications, to the Department of Civil Aviation, to Ethiopian Airlines, to the firms engaged in the construction of these installations, and to all those others whose efforts have contributed to the work which We see in progress before Us. We look forward to the day when these works will be completed and when Ethiopia's commercial aviation arm will have truly entered the modern jet age.

July 17, 1962

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RECEIVING BOEING JETS

Today, as We welcome the arrival of Ethiopian Air Lines' two Jet aircraft, which have just touched for the first time on Ethiopian soil, Our nation moves one step closer to the day of her full entry into the commercial jet age. The newly-arrived Boeing 720-B Jet aircraft will operate from this airport, connect Ethiopia with the rest of the African continent, with Europe and the Middle East. In a little over a month, they will be placed in service on Ethiopian Air Lines' existing international air routes. Simultaneously, a new route will be established linking Ethiopia with Spain by direct service.

We trust that when the execution of the construction work is completed other International Carriers will utilize this modern airport and that they will be afforded adequate services. We have on many occasions emphasized the high significance which must be placed on increasingly accelerated progress in transport and communication, on stimulating the flow of travellers from other lands who will voyage to Ethiopia, whether as businessmen seeking investments here, or as tourists coming to view and enjoy our natural beauty and ancient monuments. Let no one underestimate the impact which this revolution in transportation must have upon Ethiopia and her people. Let no one underestimate the challenge which this poses for Us all.

But it is only by meeting and resolving ever more difficult and complicated problems that a man or a nation grows. Ethiopian Air Lines, which only fifteen years ago inaugurated its services with small two-engined aircraft attaining a maximum speed of 256 kilometres per hour, has progressed to the integration of these four-engine jet airplanes which cruise at about 950 kilometres per hour. We are equally confident that Ethiopia will meet and solve the many other problems which beset her in the modern world.

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No single man or group of men can claim sole or major responsibility for the continued success Ethiopia's national carrier has enjoyed. Without the concerted efforts and the unflagging energy of the personnel of Ethiopian Air Lines, of those in Our Government charged with responsibility for civil aviation affairs, of those who have served on the Air Lines' Board of Directors, of the many foreign experts and technicians who have given unstintingly of their services, this day would not have been achieved. We must, however, make special mention of Trans World Airlines which, under the Contract executed in the very earliest day of Ethiopian Air Lines' existence, has played a vital role in providing management personnel and expert assistance and advice. We welcome today to Ethiopia Mr. Charles Tillinghast, President of Trans World Airlines, and express to him Our personal appreciation for the happy relations which have existed in the past between Trans World Air Lines and Ethiopian Air Lines, relations which We are confident will continue into the future. We must also mention the names of Mr. W. G. Golien and Mr. Victor H. Harrell, Jr., who served as successive General Managers of the Air Lines for more than a dozen years and to whose imagination, energy and devotion must be accorded a large measure of Ethiopian Air Lines success.

We welcome as passengers aboard this aircraft a number of distinguished visitors. We wish them a pleasant stay in Ethiopia and We trust that they will carry away with them warm memories of their visit to Ethiopia. We thank His Highness Dejazmach Mengesha Seyoum who in the early stages of this important Civil Aviation Development Programme made a significant contribution. We also thank the President and Chairman and members of the Board of Directors, the Department of Civil Aviation and the management and personnel of Ethiopian Air Lines for the

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labours which have produced the events of this memorable day.

We are pleased to note that so many of Our youth have attained proficiency in the techniques and execution of this ever increasingly complicated and rapidly advancing science of aviation.

We are most thankful to Almighty God for His ever Helping Hand in Our efforts to accomplish Our programme for the development of Our Country.

Dec. 4, 1962.

IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS

..... In the past twelve months, significant improvements have been effected in the Empire's transportation and communications systems. Additional funds are being expended in the expansion of the nation's telecommunications network which will serve to bring our neighbours closer to us. Modern jet aircraft have been added to the fleet of Ethiopian Air Lines bringing the entire world measurably closer to our doorstep. The most modern international airport facilities have been added to our civil aviation system as part of a coordinated programme which will make Addis Ababa an increasingly important centre for air travel. The Third Highway Programme will add new roads to Ethiopia's highway system and modernize roads which already exist. The improvement in these areas will encourage accelerated economic activity as men travel to and from Ethiopia and throughout the countryside more comfortably and quickly. And as travel facilities improve, an expanded effort to attract tourists is being undertaken in order that friends from foreign lands may come to know of Ethiopia's climate, her spectacular natural beauty and her many historic attractions and places of interest. The rewards which accrue to the nation more than justify these activities.

Nov. 21, 1963

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ASSAB REFINERY

We have come here today to lay the cornerstone of an essential component in Ethiopia's development structure. The construction of the Assab Oil Refinery marks the commencement of a bright new era in the history of Ethiopian economic development, an era which will surely witness Ethiopia's full advent into the modern industrial age.

This great oil refinery may properly be termed Ethiopia's first major heavy industrial project. Its importance to the further growth and expansion of Ethiopian industry in all its aspects cannot be over-estimated. Within a short time, Ethiopia will be entirely self-sufficient in the supply of refined petroleum products. The petroleum products are essential to the future growth and expansion of all sectors of the Ethiopian economy. Roads and road transport to the important agricultural centres of the nation can be expected to improve both in scope and efficiency as a result of this new project. Its success will lend further encouragement to the development of innumerable new and related industrial projects.

Here at Assab, the Refinery has already shown itself an important element in the burgeoning local economy. Thousands of workers have been employed and have learned vital new skills in the course of its construction. Increased shipping will utilize Assab's modern port facilities, ensuring that Assab will continue its remarkable growth and prosperity of recent years. We hope that someday, God willing, we will strike oil in our country and will not be required to buy crude oil from other countries. Heavy drains on Ethiopia's foreign exchange will be eliminated, as these requirements are reduced to those needed to provide the essential supply of crude oil and to maintain this refinery in proper working order. Although there are some technicians trained

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we need many trained personnel. As experience is obtained, Ethiopians will increasingly assume larger responsibilities for the administration and technical operation of this installation. The impact of the establishment of this installation is thus not single but multiple in its effects.

It was long argued that smaller nations such as Ethiopia could not support or justify the construction of complex and costly facilities such as that which rises before us. The contention, already disproved in theory, will soon be even more effectively rebutted in practice. The success which we are confident will mark the Assab refinery's operations will spur Ethiopia to follow this example in other areas vital to the growth and self-sufficiency of the nation's economy.

For the support and guidance which have led to the achievement of this important new industrial asset, we and our people are deeply grateful. The U. S. S. R. Government, through the credit advanced for the financing of this project, have reaffirmed their sympathy in the deepest aspirations of our people. The bonds between us have been strengthened as a result of our co-operation in this endeavour and we look forward to the successful broadening of this co-operation into many other areas of economic and technical advance. The magnificent accomplishments of the Soviet people in the development of heavy industry throughout the recent past provide a stirring example to our people. A fine example of which is the Polytechnical Institute which is a source of knowledge presented to us by the Soviet Government.

We thank the Soviet engineers and technicians for the fine co-operation they have shown with our people in building up this refinery.

It is our firm determination, and that of our Govern-

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ment, that the full impact of modern industrial progress will be felt to the farthest corners of the Empire. All Ethiopians welcome the promise of this new industrial era. We and Our Government shall do all within our power to hasten the day when its full benefits are enjoyed by every Ethiopian.

We wish to thank His Excellency the Soviet Ambassador, Mr. A. Boudakov, for his sincere co-operation and great effort to bring about the conclusion of the construction Agreement of this petroleum refinery.

This refinery is but one of the significant steps in Ethiopia's drive for a rapid industrialization, within the framework of modern Ethiopianism, for it answers in a convincing manner the aspirations of the nation to press forward in constructing on the foundations already laid an edifice worthy of its striving.

May 8, 1965

AFRICAN UNITY AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS

..... The expansion and improvement of the intra-African telecommunications network is one of the basic necessities to attain our goal of African unity. If we consider the present state of African telecommunications, we note that when any African country communicates with another African country by telephone or telegram it must often be made through transit centres situated outside Africa. These circuits are consequently expensive and often technically unusable and certainly not rapid. If this situation is not rectified in the near future the development of Africa in all fields will be seriously handicapped.

Rapid communication between African countries is one of the most important tools by which we can promote development in Africa. It is to be remembered that we have

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discussed this problem several times, but the anticipated progress of intra-African communications has not been achieved.

It is believed that you are here today to discuss collectively the Dakar African Telecommunications Plan of 1962, and the World Telecommunications Plan of Rome of 1963 and the methods by which the implementation of these plans can be achieved.

To fulfil those plans immediately on a continental basis would inevitably call for very heavy investment. It will thus probably be necessary to implement them step by step in accordance with our economic capabilities.

We, therefore, hope that you will make a serious effort to carry out your task and reach a successful solution and that this conference will mark a milestone in the development of African telecommunications.

Mar. 8, 1966.

CHAPTER XIII

LIGHT & POWER

With an eye to the further modernization of Ethiopia and as a means of harnessing the hydrological potential of the country, His Majesty the Emperor has placed significant emphasis on the development of light and power. His thoughts and ideas on this phase of national activity are clearly expressed in the speeches selected and reproduced in this section of the book.

LAYING FOUNDATION STONE OF KOKA DAM

Almighty God in His infinite wisdom and bounty has blessed Our Empire with various incomparable riches, not the least of which is the wealth of our country's water resources. The development of these resources has been Our constant preoccupation and We are today taking the first step in Our programme for the fullest utilization of this God-given gift for the benefit of Our people, marking thereby the high place which We have ascribed to the matter of water resources in Our overall planning. Unlike so many lands around her, Ethiopia has been especially blessed with an abundance of natural resources, and the prolific amount of her annual rainfall makes her fitly to be called "the Water Tower of the Horn of Africa." Millions of square miles of territory together with millions of human beings and their livestock depend on the water that flows from Ethiopia's mountains, and from her comes more than two-thirds of the waters of the Nile.

It is the duty and privilege of this generation and or posterity to conserve and develop these precious resources. To fail to do so will be to fail in our God-given responsibility. In building dams for impounding these waters and utilizing the hydro-electric power to be secured from them, We are giving a powerful impetus to all the programmes We

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have laid out for the economic development of Our country. We are thereby protecting from erosion the rich and precious soil of Our Empire, and are storing up waters for irrigation, for increasing our agricultural and plantation potential. We are thus providing the sinews of industry through the generation of electric power and finally, We are aiding the development of transportation in securing the means for eventual electrification. The rapid growth of our population and the fast pace of our economic expansion call for the early fulfilment of those development programmes. For example, in the city of Addis Ababa alone, with its highly restricted generating capacity, 47% of the electricity produced is now being consumed in industrial installations. It is obvious that the addition of other sources of hydro-electric power will give a tremendous impulsion to the development of our industrial potential.

It is for this reason that, out of the 40 million Ethiopian Dollars to be paid by Italy to Ethiopia under the War Reparations Agreement between the two countries, We have allotted 30 million dollars to this project, which holds such tremendous potential for agricultural and industrial development, and for which We lay the foundation stone today. The balance has been earmarked for the establishment of a textile factory. These projects were chosen as being vital to raising the standard of living of Our people.

This project which We see before us is eloquent testimony to the great importance which We ascribe to hydro-electric and irrigation projects in Our Empire. It represents, further, long years of careful scientific studies and exploratory work, such as the painstaking compilation, and examination of rainfall records for nearly a generation, geological surveys and borings, and exhaustive studies by electrical, hydraulic and construction engineers. The barrage has been so designed as to impound the maximum flow of the waters available

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with the least possible inconvenience to the agricultural lands which surround it, and which lie below it on the Awash River. This dam, costing 20 millions dollars, will be capable, when completed, of generating 54,000 kilowatts of electric power.

Today is a day of deep historic significance, for in laying this foundation stone, We are establishing for Our beloved people a source of wealth. This project constitutes the initial step both in the development and utilization of the water resources of Our Empire, and in the programme designed by Us for enhancing the progress and expansion of all fields of economic endeavour in Our country – agriculture, industry, transportation and communications. And We shall never cease to strive, as We have done in the case of the resources of these Awash waters, to exploit to the maximum each individual source of wealth which God Almighty in His mercy has bestowed upon Us. It is our duty to see that yet other barrages are built in order to ensure that this bounty of Providence does not go to waste and is utilized to the greater glory of His handiwork.

This project is but the first step in a similar programme We have in mind for the other water courses of Our Empire, such as the Nile with its volume and potentialities so vastly greater, as well as the Baro, the Sobat, the Akobo and the Webi Shebelli.

When We are thus tirelessly striving to ensure that the riches and blessings bestowed on Our country by God in His generosity are put to use for the welfare and progress of Our people, it becomes the duty and obligation of every citizen of Our Empire to assist Us in the tasks which We have undertaken.

We express our most profound gratitude to God Almighty for having inspired Us to envisage this project and having enabled Us to see it inaugurated.

In conclusion We would like to express Our thanks to

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the Italian Government and the Authorities for the spirit of collaboration in this matter and for fostering good relations between the two countries.

May 31, 1958.

INAUGURATING KOKA DAM

It is an historic occasion of twofold significance in the life of Ethiopia when We, today inaugurate and place into service the Koka Dam and hydro-electric installation. In so doing, We witness the realization of an undertaking which has, since its inception, been very close to Our heart and in which We have always maintained the highest personal interest. We humbly render Our thanks to Almighty God, who, having laid upon Us the heavy responsibility of leading Our beloved people in the path of progress and enlightenment, has spared Us to witness the fruits of Our labours.

This project, so impressive in its proportions, its complexity and its ramifications, reflects in common with all other undertakings designed for the promotion of progress and welfare of mankind, the fruition of intelligence, faith and diligence; intelligence to penetrate and discern the hidden resources and opportunities that a Benevolent Providence has spread before Us, in challenge to prove ourselves worthy of the means for bringing them to full development; faith in the ability of Our people to respond to that challenge; faith to penetrate through the fatigues and difficulties of the hour to the vision of their future welfare and progress which these resources, these opportunities and these labours offer; and, diligence to pursue through hardship and fatigues, the attainment of that vision.

Thus the opportunities which the Almighty, in His generosity and wisdom, extends to Us, must be found, created, developed and exploited. It is the duty of all mankind to make the maximum use of the gifts, ingenuities, capacities and resources which have been placed at its disposal. These

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are not ours to do with as we will; they have been given to Us in trust, that we may, following the example of developed countries, apply them for the highest benefit to ourselves and to posterity, and each one of us has a sacred duty to fulfil this trust and to prove ourselves worthy of the confidence reposed in us.

So it is with the installation which We are today inaugurating. Ethiopia has been blessed – with an abundant rainfall, and well-fed streams, a rich soil, a propitious climate and an industrious population. Indeed, the challenges presented by the opulence of our resources, has required a careful selection, planning and timing, in order to devote to each challenge the disciplined thought and effort that it merits. Thus, viewed in the broader spectrum of Our national Five-Year Plan, the Koka Installation takes its assigned place not merely as a significant unit of Our national power resources, but also as a part of a nation-wide programme for the exploitation of our river systems.

That same selection and that same planning are revealed in the structure at Our feet. It was not sufficient to note the existence of the resources in water power, it had meticulously to be measured and the amount and regularity of future flow computed.

It was not sufficient to note the existence of a waterfall, it was necessary, by exhaustive surveys and studies, careful drillings and precautionary measures to make certain that the construction at this site was feasible from the points of view of engineering, the economics of electrical distribution and public communications. All this planning and labour under the direction and supervision of officials appointed by Us, lie before Us in expectant completion and justify and nourish Our faith in the youth of Our country.

This impressive installation is, therefore, a national resource, having its origins in the life and history of Our people and offering opportunity for the expansion of industry

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and of agriculture through the husbanding of the dynamic and the fructifying powers of our water resources. It is Our bounden duty, to exploit them to the full, in a surge of development of our agriculture and industry.

It is, therefore, particularly appropriate that the financial and technical resources placed at our disposition by the Reparations Agreement, should, for the most part, have been devoted to this seminal and powerful programme of hydro-electrical and agricultural development. Such a programme in assuaging past wounds, can contribute powerfully to improvement of relations.

However, as We have observed, this project has already been integrated not only into the larger programme, by which the Awash River will yield, again and again, of its treasures to turn the wheels of industry and to fructify the fertile soil of Our homeland, but also into the yet broader programme including the Blue Nile, the Webi Shebelli, the Akobo, the Dinder, the Taccase, the Mereb and others.

In this way, the Koka hydro-electric installation will along with others to be constructed, enhance the welfare of Our beloved subjects. To this end, We have ordered the reduction of the present rates for the electricity produced by this enterprise constructed from reparations funds. Moreover, in order that outlying regions should not be handicapped by their remoteness, the same reduced tariff shall apply to all communities, so that everyone will receive his fair share. In this way, the new installation can serve as a powerful stimulus to the development of Our rapidly expanding economy and society.

We must, all of us, then, look beyond today and beyond the vast structure which lies at Our feet, to find the real significance of this occasion. In doing so, we must rededicate ourselves to the cause of the progress and advancement of Ethiopia and her people which has played so large a role in this project. We for Our part, shall never falter in Our

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efforts to assure that the benefits of modern science and technology shall be lavished upon Our people without any loss of the underlying moral and spiritual values which have contributed so much to our history. We ask no less of each of our subjects.

While we are appreciative of the residence which has been constructed for Us, near the site of this dam, plans are being prepared for its utilization in the interest of Our people.

And, therefore, having entrusted all available finance in the hands of those in whom We have placed Our full confidence, it will never occur to Us to entertain the belief that they will be so negligent as to betray Our faith in their integrity or be so motivated by gains as to be led astray from their responsibility.

On this occasion, We would extend Our thanks to the Reparations Commissioner, Major Assefa Lemma, and those consultants, scientists and engineers who contributed to the timely completion of this enterprise and to the others who laboured so long and diligently to that end.

May 4, 1960.

FOUNDATION STONE AWASH II

We feel very gratified indeed every time we lay, as, for example today, the cornerstones for, or inaugurate the successful completion of projects which, because of the benefits they render to the nation, have been given the proper study they deserve, for such occasions bring to mind the day-to-day increase in the number of projects which have either been launched or completed.

The full utilization of the power supply available before and after the completion of the Koka Dam brought the need for still more production of power. This in itself is proof enough of the gradual betterment of the living

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conditions of Our people and the progress of Our country.

It can be said that the number and type of industries existent in any country is a standing evidence of that country's path to modernization and progress. In as much as Ethiopia abounds in raw materials which it should industrially transform and utilize, We are convinced that the time is not too distant when it can successfully do so both as a means of self-sufficiency and further still for surplus export to the world market. As We have noted in the past, however, such efforts require both a great amount of capital and enough pooling of one's own skilled manpower; the endeavours We have already made to bring Ethiopia as close to this position as possible is well known to Our beloved people. Even if Our efforts in this regard have not so far been fully crowned with complete success, it may well be said that the realization of at least a part of our overall plan is an omen that spells well for the future.

The realization by Our people that whatever We are doing is for their own benefit has already brought them from a position of indifferent spectatorship to that of enthusiastic participation in all endeavours for the common good. National progress requires concrete and active national participation, and it is a matter of great pride and satisfaction for Us to see Our people sharing in our ideas and working more and more diligently.

Industrial growth and expansion not only enable us to derive better and higher benefits from our raw materials which we export at low prices or which simply lie unexploited, but also create great possibilities of employment for thousands of people. On this, too, has already been made some headway. The process enables us to be self-sufficient instead of being a dumping-ground for foreign-made commodities. To be self-sufficient is to be protected from a position where we may well be judged for "burying the

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gold,” and is as well a source of pride, a living testimony to national progress.

Electricity is a basic requirement for all the industrial projects we envisage. Apart from the hydro-electric power stations that have so far been installed, according to the limitations of our economy in various parts of the country, in view of expanding the supply of electricity to benefit our people at their homes, in their schools and day to day pursuits, We inaugurated last November the Tis Abbay Hydro-Electric Power Station now feeding the industrial establishments at Bahr Dar and serving Our people in Gojjam and Begemder. This not only marks a further step in the realization of Our overall national endeavours, but also lays the groundwork for the implementation of other great projects to be launched in the future.

We are gratified to be here today to lay the cornerstone of the Awash II Hydroelectric Dam – a project designed to extend the benefits of electricity to Our Capital and beyond, to the people living as far way from it as Harrar, as well as feed the industrial establishments already existing and slated to appear in and between these regions. We beg the Almighty to enable Us to see the day when it will reach completion and be put into operation. We also wish success to the board of management and all those entrusted with the implementation of this project.

Jan. 24, 1965.

OPENING OF AWASH II

When We laid the cornerstone for this second Awash hydro-electric power plant less than two years ago, We expressed the hope of looking forward to this day when the construction and the installation works would be completed and the power plant would be in full operation. Now that Our wish is fulfilled in this regard, through the bounty

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of the Almighty God, it is with great pleasure that We are present here today to inaugurate this plant.

The pleasure is mainly derived from the fact that this project, though small when compared with the ambitious one that We envisage to carry out in accordance with Our economic plan, will open new opportunities of employment for Our people. The study for the construction of this major electric power plant that We intend to carry out is available and is going to be erected at a well known place in Our country where it can give added benefits for the country and the people.

With the completion and inauguration of the Koka hydro-electric power plant the sharp increase in the production of electricity was soon absorbed and consequently power supply fell short of demand. This is a heartening sign because it is indicative of the accelerated growth of Our industrial development activities, as well as the continued advancement of the standard of living of Our people. In this scientific and technological age electricity is the life-blood of a nation. For there can be no progress nor economic development without electricity. Mindful of this, We decided to establish a number of power plants along this Valley and to commence the detailed study for the construction of a big power plant on the Fincha river.

As We have already stated the study for the construction of the other major power plant is already completed.

Ethiopia has abundant natural resources. To accelerate the effective exploitation of these resources for the benefit and well-being of Our people, the need for foreign capital and skill became eminent. To overcome the obstacles and hindrances in this connection, We had to create a climate conducive for the importation of this badly needed capital and skill. To this end We had to provide, among other things, the infrastructure such as electricity, and good roads, which are vital for development. Though We have gone a long

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way in carrying out such basic programmes, yet the greater task still lies ahead.

A nation can achieve a healthy and full growth, provided balanced measures are taken in all fields of activity. Guided by this principle and in accordance with the resources that We have at Our disposal, We for Our part have and shall continue to work for the full realization of the said objective.

Progress and work have no boundaries. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone of us to contribute in full measure his share to this noble aim. We should always bear in mind that education and modern civilization are the fruits of hard labour.

The World Bank, inspired by the noble objective of assisting the developing countries in their quest for progress and development, is presently helping Our country in the realization of various infrastructural projects. As a founding member and as a beneficiary of the Bank, Ethiopia takes keen interest in its development. We wish to re-affirm here once again Our strong support of the Bank's endeavours which are directed for the economic well-being of Our people. It is a fitting occasion to extend Our deep thanks to the World Bank for the generous loan it has made available to us for the construction of this and the third Awash power plant which is still under construction. Our heartfelt thanks also go to the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority, to all the contractors and workers who have contributed their share in the completion of this project from which Our country shall draw lasting benefit.

Dec. 11, 1966.

GINDA DAM CORNERSTONE

Until such time when Ethiopia becomes fully developed and is self-sufficient all of us have to labour hard and contribute our share to this end in accordance with the abilities,

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with which the Almighty God has endowed us in His bounty.

If we labour diligently and fully develop our country the nation will not only be vouchsafed a prosperous life, but it can also be a source of help to others. The wealth and natural resources of the nation are such that loans contracted for their exploitation will undoubtedly prove to be very rewarding. Since agriculture and animal husbandry are the main wealth of the nation and the mainstay of Our people, it is with high hope and great expectation that We are present here in Ginda to lay the foundation stone of this dam which envisages the control and regulation of the flood waters that come from the highlands so as to enable its national utilization for irrigational purposes.

There is no doubt that with the construction of this dam and the introduction and employment of modern agricultural methods and techniques, the people of this area will derive added benefits which will accordingly contribute to the raising of their standard of living and general well-being. When the mineral resources of Our country are exploited in addition to our agricultural resources Ethiopia can have everything in abundance, provided we collaborate and co-operate in the realization of our national aims. Otherwise we have no reason to be bitter against the Almighty if we run short of our needs because of our failure.

His Highness Ras Asrate Kassa in his speech has just enumerated some of the salient features of the measures taken for the development and growth of this province and the results achieved from the implementation of such measures. Although what we have accomplished so far is indicative of the fact that we have not failed in our endeavours to do Our utmost for the good of Our people, yet as We have already said in the past, We feel that the greater task still lies ahead.

The equitable and balanced growth of the provinces of Our Empire, in accordance with Our resources, both in the

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field of education and health as well as in other areas of development which could further promote the standard of living of Our people continue to engage Our attention and energy. Such development enables Our people to acquire the same standards achieved by the already developed countries.

We have directed Our efforts to this noble objective so that Our beloved people would not be denied the fruits of modern living. It is with pleasure that We view the progress achieved by all the projects which were launched in this and other provinces of Our Empire in order to develop and strengthen Our economy. Our pleasure is mainly derived from the fact that these productive projects generate incomes which would enable Our people to achieve and maintain the standard to which they aspire as well as to exercise fully their rights which We have given to them in accordance with Our constitution.

When We view in general the heartening progress made in the field of education in Ethiopia We should not overlook the fact that it is also necessary that the facilities in this regard should be sufficient. It can be said that there are many schools in the province of Eritrea. However. We feel that they are not enough and so it is Our duty to augment their number in the future before the matter becomes urgent.

In the past the development of Our country and the progress for Our people were entirely dependent upon the financial resources drawn from Our Government Treasury. Now, however, it is encouraging to know that the private sector is actively participating in this field through the establishment of lasting and mutually beneficial projects. Such undertaking have helped in relieving the pressure on Our Government which otherwise should have borne the incidence.

The initiative and eagerness on the part of the public to participate and contribute in full measure its share will

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no doubt help in accelerating the tempo of our economic and social development activities. To understand and accept the very principle implemented in its full significance is a matter from which pleasure can be derived.

To do one's job is one thing and to be indifferent in general and be critical of the work of others is another matter. The former requires competence, determination and wisdom, while the latter lacks these qualities and virtues. We, therefore, urge Our countrymen to rededicate themselves to the great task that still awaits each one of them in the realization of Our ambitious programme of nation-building. In this regard it is gratifying to note the diligence and hard work of both men and women in this province, a fact, which has given Us much satisfaction.

We should bear in mind that it is a natural obligation for mankind to live by the sweat of his brow. It is, therefore, incumbent upon all Ethiopians to use their energies and natural gifts and inclinations constructively for the achievement of Our national goals so that there will be a bright and promising tomorrow for their children and their children's children.

After Eritrea suffered under a forced foreign rule it was administered by Great Britain and thereafter reunited with Ethiopia, the mother country. Since the will of the Lord prevails, Our people of Eritrea through His wise guidance have with diligence and dedicated service to their country attained their present stage of development after the period of the re-integration of this province with Ethiopia.

In seeing this realized together with what the rest of Our country is doing in unison, gives Us pleasure. We draw satisfaction from Our past accomplishments and have high hopes in Our present undertakings which are entirely dependent upon the generosity of the Almighty God.

It is Our responsibility to look after the interests and welfare of our people which is the will of Our Creator.

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However, the responsibility in this regard is a collective one and should not be shunned.

Since this project, upon completion, will provide new employment opportunities for Our people and in view of the economic and social benefits that it envisages to offer, We, for Our part, shall closely follow with keen interest its progress and future development. Our thanks go to Mr. De Nadai for his efforts and services which he has rendered in connection with the works of this dam and the establishment of the share company that intends to carry out the present undertaking. In view of his contributions in the field of agriculture in Ethiopia, a fact that has been confirmed by the prize that he was awarded by the Haile Selassie I Prize Trust, We are confident that with his vast experience in this field, he will do his utmost for the development and success of this project.

Before concluding Our remarks We take this opportunity to express Our deep satisfaction for the services which His Highness Ras Kassa and his assistants have rendered by contributing their share to ensure the economic progress and healthy development of this province. We are hopeful that the present achievements will give added strength to their future work and endeavour.

Jan. 18, 1967.

CHAPTER XIV

SECURITY

The bitter experience of the 1930's has alerted His Imperial Majesty to the hard necessity of preparing for the defence and security of his realm. As could be gathered from the speeches below, though Ethiopia cherishes peace, it is one of the primordial responsibilities and the right of every nation to be able to defend itself against would-be aggressors. The Emperor considers Ethiopia's defence and security exertions not only for herself alone, but as a ready participant in collective security in defence of the sovereign integrity, especially of small states.

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After, through God's mercy, We were able to liberate Our country from fascist invasion, one of Our major administrative tasks in the process of raising the standard of living of Our people was the organization of the Armed Forces and the Police.

In pre-war days it was the custom to provide the Armed Forces and the Police with provisions, and they were given land holdings. This was superseded immediately after the Liberation by a salary together with the supply of uniforms and other military requirements. It was a mark of pride to see Our servicemen adapt their traditional and customary habits to the modern military organization, to see them trained in the execution of up-to-date tactics and in the use of modern weapons.

Although thorough military organization requires a great deal of money and much sacrificial labour, We still pressed forward with the programmes of establishing military schools to train Our Armed Forces.

In addition to promoting Our officers in various ranks in recent times We, being aware of the necessity of other ranks and the rank and file to share in better living condi-

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tions and in sound health, established military hospitals, increased their salaries and added allowances for their children.

Today, the sum of Eth.\$1,500,000 has been added to the budget of the Armed Forces including the police which will provide salary increases over and above the previous made for uniform, hospitalization and family allowance.

Moreover, We have given orders today that all those who have not benefited previously should be given one gasha of free-hold land each. Officials have already been assigned to see that this order is executed. The reason is clear, for money is expendable while land, being real estate, is permanent and transferable to your children.

It is not enough just to say that one owns land. The grant will be organized so that the recipients could co-operate together for its exploitation.

The land distribution declaration which We made today includes the Police Force and is ordered effective from November 23, 1958.

We should like to remind you before concluding that, just as your fathers and forefathers, with the Almighty as the source of their defence, never yielded to enemy force or propaganda in preserving the freedom of Our country, so you, strengthened by your inherited valour co-ordinated with the modern military techniques you have acquired, are expected to fulfil the high tasks with which you have been assigned.

To maintain one's personal freedom in honour demands self-sacrifice which, in turn, calls for valour and loyalty. We command devotion to duty so that by your glorious military exploits, you could preserve the honour and freedom of your country.

Nov. 15, 1948

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KAGNEW BATTALION AND COLLECTIVE SECURITY

*....Of all the nations of the world the name of Ethiopia
has been most closely associated with that principle....*

Soldiers,

You are today on the point of leaving Ethiopia on a voyage half way around the world in defence of liberty and of the principles to which all members of the United Nations stand committed.

We have personally come here in the presence of the highest officials of the nation which is honouring you today and of representatives of other nations participating in this momentous undertaking to bid you a fond farewell and Godspeed on your mission and to give to you Regimental Colours. These flags you will carry in valour throughout the campaign. You will, We are sure, bring them back to Your Emperor and Commander-in-Chief, to whom you have sworn allegiance, as cherished battle standards, glorified by your exploits and heroism.

You have been called upon to represent amongst the armed forces of many friendly nations engaged in the same high endeavour, the heritage of a people that, for untold centuries, has fiercely fought to defend its freedom and independence. Everyone among you has known sacrifices in recent years. In the dark hours when We and Our People were called upon to fight, We did not fail in Our fierce resolve, and today, thanks to that determination, Ethiopia has again resumed her rightful place amongst the United Nations. We have all earned the right to be proud of that heritage of struggle.

We must recognize, then, that every nation that fights, as we have done, for the defence and maintenance of its independence has the right to expect the honour and indeed

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the assistance of all freedom-loving peoples. You are departing on a long crusade in defence of that very principle for which we have so long fought – freedom and respect for the freedom of others. With such traditions and after such sacrifices, Ethiopia would be the very first nation to recognize the imperative urgency of the call of duty towards a sister nation.

It is in yet a larger sense, Soldiers, that you are today leaving the homeland to fight on distant shores. You are fighting not only for freedom as We know it in Ethiopia, and the right of each people to its freedom. You are also representing and defending in far corners of the earth, the most sacred principle of modern international policy – that principle of collective security with which the name of Ethiopia is imperishably associated.

It is but natural that small nations who must so vigilantly defend their independence, should regard collective security as the cornerstone of their very existence. Their support of that principle should be instant, unhesitating and absolute. No small state, no democratic nation, no people imbued with charity towards its fellow men, could do otherwise.

Of all nations of the world, the name of Ethiopia has been most closely associated with that principle. Our undaunted defence of collective security at the League of Nations, Our own appeal to that august body, Our fierce and un-aided struggles throughout the darkest hours preceding the last World War, the courage of our patriots, the unending sacrifices of Our families, have given to Ethiopia an imperishable place in the history of that principle in modern times.

Did not Hesitate

This is why, as Sovereign Head of Ethiopia and as Commander-in-Chief of the Ethiopian Armed Forces, We did not hesitate immediately to respond to the appeal for

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collective assistance launched by the United Nations following the aggression in Korea.

From the first, it was evident that much time, effort and expense would be required to provide for your participation in the combined front of the United Nations forces in Korea. Foreseeing those inevitable difficulties, Ethiopia did not hesitate to provide instant assistance before even Our military forces could be brought into the battle. That is why, not only did We promise military assistance, but also immediately transmitted funds to the United Nations to help in the collective effort.

Thus it is that you are now departing to take your honoured place beside the valiant soldiers of other United Nations, those of the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Turkey and others.

At this proud moment of participation in the first collective and world-wide effort for the defence of the principle of collective security, Ethiopia and Ourselves can look back with pride, on the progress achieved, progress to which Ethiopia has so heavily contributed in recent years. Precisely fifteen years ago this very month, We, Your Emperor, and Commander-in-Chief, addressed from the battlefield a pressing appeal to the League of Nations for the respect and application of the principle of collective security. It was not a question then as now, even to hope for the application of measures of military sanction. So new then was that principle that Ethiopia could only hope for the most basic economic sanctions to restrict aggression, and urgent measures to bring to an end the use of asphyxiating gas. However, it was also in that same month, fifteen years ago today, that the Council of the League of Nations finally declared its inability to meet these essential requirements of collective security. Undaunted by this failure, Ethiopia under Our leadership and with the courage of its patriots continued the

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struggle until that glorious day when, at the head of Our troops and with the aid of British Empire heroes, We re-entered Our Capital.

Korea Receives

Today, it is no longer a question of asking for simple economic sanctions. Korea asks the United Nations and receives from it collective security in the form of military assistance.

In joining today in these measures of collective security, We are being faithful to Ourselves and to the obligation which We conceive to be the most high and solemn duty not alone of the present hour, but of the present century. Collective security knows no bounds or distances. In participating in the measures of collective security in the Far East, We are only fulfilling Our obligations towards the United Nations. Just as previously, by the sending of financial assistance, We had manifested Our sympathy towards the valiant people of China so sorely tried by natural disasters, so today, We deplore the new hardships which that people has been called upon to suffer as a result of the events in the Far East. Let us hope that peace and tranquillity may soon be re-established there.

You have been fortunate, Soldiers, in that each one of you has been selected thus to testify before the world to the flame of liberty and of devotion to the cause of international justice which has fired the breasts of Our patriots.

You are following the footsteps of the long line of your forefathers in proclaiming before the world the right of each nation, determined by its own efforts to save its independence and freedom, to receive as collective security assistance of all peace-loving nations. Ethiopia could do no less today and still remain faithful to her traditions and to the sacrifices which We have an undergone.

Soldiers, the spirit of your ancestors, heroes of the

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thousand-year-long struggle for the defence of Our freedom will follow you and will strengthen your hands and hearts in the heat of battle.

Remember that you are about to pay a debt of honour for your homeland which was liberated thanks not only to the blood of her patriots, but also to that of faithful allies, likewise members of the United Nations. Remember also that in paying this debt, you are laying the basis for a universal system of collective security on behalf of your own homeland as well as of nations of the world, be they great or small, powerful or weak.

May God protect you, give you courage to acquit yourselves as heroes and bring you back safely to your beloved homeland.

Apr. 14, 1951

HONOURING FALLEN OFFICERS

Since the beginning of the world, God has always granted a people, divided though they may be into provinces, districts, villages and families, the privilege of living together as one nation, in freedom. However, because of human jealousy, and man's domineering spirit and because of the greed that impels one to rob another of a part or the whole of his homeland, it has become an essential duty of man to keep ready the means of defending his freedom.

Ethiopia, jealous of her freedom, has always had to struggle, both for the sake of her territorial integrity and for the preservation of her religious liberty. The heroism, developed in the blood of our people and passed from generation to generation, has served to this day as a bulwark for our freedom, so that Ethiopia has never had to bear the yoke of slavery. To this, history and the world bear witness.

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We have seen from the happenings of history how God, in His profound justice, never fails to execute righteous judgment, and for this our thanksgiving and praise to Him is unbounded. But unfailing as the righteous judgment of God in punishing the arrogant has ever been, since freedom is an issue upon which national existence itself depends, it becomes a sacred obligation of primary importance for a people of one family, united in their own common life and in oneness of mind and spirit, to preserve their free and pleasant way of life from all external danger, and thus be enabled to advance along the path of progress.

The glories and advantages of freedom cannot be purchased with all the world's material wealth. Freedom's price is the sacrifice of the lives of innumerable heroes and in deep realization of this, it becomes the duty of free men everywhere to be ever prepared for the defence of their freedom. However, since in Ethiopia the laying down of one's life for the sake of national independence has always been looked upon as a duty of the highest priority and has been ascribed paramount honour and value, our country has, thanks to the valour of her heroes, from the most ancient times been ever mistress of her destiny. Thus, even in the dark ages through which the other nations of Africa had to pass, Ethiopia's name was well known throughout the world because our heroic forefathers, making God their shield and their Defender, were always able to repel in defeat and shame the enemy who descended upon her from time to time.

When, by the will of God, We became Emperor of Ethiopia, We became aware of the need for minimizing the loss of life of Our people through the development of technique whereby the enemy might be repelled by the efforts of a small number of experts of military strategy, and realized the absolute necessity of entering into a race for such knowledge in accordance with the way of the world and the

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practice of civilized nations. Hence it was that from the outset we established as Our primary objective, the achievement for our country of a level of attainment equal to that of other nations of the world, through the preservation of her freedom and the development of Our people in education and culture. The Military College, whose cherished memory We are today gathered here to honour and celebrate, one of the many institutions that We had established in Our time for the realization of Our primary objective for Our country, was created by Us in January of 1933, in order that Our young men might receive modern and scientific military education, and thus be fitted to defend their country's freedom and serve their Emperor. It has been with very high hopes that We waited for the early fruition of its work.

Unstinting Support

In those early days, We confidently anticipated that this institution would grow without interruption from its status as a school providing elementary military education to young cadets, until it achieved full stature as an institution of the first rank. In Our own tireless efforts to fulfil Our pledge to defend Ethiopia's freedom and to labour for the development of the life of Our people, We have given Our unstinting support and encouragement to the officials in whom We had placed Our confidence and to whom We had entrusted the responsibility of leading the school to the achievement of its intended goal, so that they might encounter no difficulties in carrying out their appointed task. We would like to mention here the earnest assistance rendered by the Swedish officers whom We brought as instructors at that time.

It gives Us pride to remember that although the war prevented the school from reaching its goal, Our efforts during the few short years of its existence bore fruit. During

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the invasion, the officer cadets who had studied here, though still in the prime of their youth, faithful to their pledge “For the Love of our Country and the Honour of Our Emperor”, courageously ventured forth into that territory between life and death, some to die in battle, others to undergo the rigours of exile. Some of the young cadets of the Guenet Military Academy, which was named after Us, and who distinguished themselves by their ability and their courage, are helping Us today in the execution of the plan which We have envisaged for our Defence Forces.

It is, therefore, with deep pride that We have erected this monument before Us to the sacred memory of those heroic officers, who, having studied in that early school and entered into their soldierly duties in 1935, combining in themselves the natural heroism inherited from their forefathers with the skills of modern warfare, and faithful to their soldierly pledge to defend their country's freedom, fell on the battlefield struggling valiantly to their last breath, without once bending their knee in shame before their enemies, as well as to the memory of those officers who died in service and of those that are living now, and We are pleased to award today these war medals to them according to the degree of accomplishment of each.

This enduring monument will not only perpetuate the proud memory of those heroes who served with pride, but will also help to transform the sorrow of their parents and their nation into joy, and to inspire posterity to emulate the heroism of those patriots to whose achievements this memorial bears witness.

A Tradition

We would like to say, in conclusion, that a military school unless it establishes a tradition which is handed down from generation to generation, is of no real use. You, young men,

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who are privileged to study at this Military College should never surrender to the spirit of defeatism, but following the example of your predecessors and ever conscious of the high responsibilities which will be yours in your future careers, should strive zealously to acquire those qualities which are the mark of a good officer.

In our day, man is seen engaged in the development of atomic energy. This power can be used for peaceful or destructive purposes. Many learned men have on various occasions sought to abolish war and establish an everlasting peace. Treaties have been signed and organizations formed to achieve this goal, but because they lacked guarantees, these efforts uniformly failed, and to gain their ends, countries even resorted to the production and use of poison gas. Now nations are producing weapons which not only constitute a terrible danger to those against whom they might be used, but could in fact mean the end of mankind, and again there are no guarantees. If these awful weapons are used, who will bear the responsibility? In these circumstances, if man has not sought out the protection of God as well as prepared himself for his self protection, the havoc and ruin that can be brought down upon the race of human beings is beyond the bounds of imagination. These matters will not fail to be mentioned in the course of instruction in this school, and We want you to keep this thought in your mind. In the ethical sphere, your primary obligation ought to be the inescapable responsibility you have to your country, along with your faith in God.

In order to acquire the qualities and equipment of a good officer, you must work hard, strive assiduously for higher knowledge, prepare your minds from day to day to offer yourselves in sacrifice for the land of your birth, and be loyal to the pledge you have taken.

So, remembering the words which We have spoken to

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you today, work tirelessly to fulfil your sacred duty of serving your beloved country.

We are pleased to express Our thanks to the officers and instructors and the staff of this institution, for the efficiency and diligence they have shown in developing this College to its present status, in accordance with Our commands.

We would also like to remember here and express Our gratitude and thanks to the British officers who, immediately after the Liberation of Our Country assisted us greatly in the training of our Army at this place.

We would further like on this occasion to state that a befitting memorial to those soldiers who fell in the four corners of our country in defence of their freedom, will shortly be constructed.

Feb. 15, 1958

PRESENTING COLOURS

In presenting to you as We have to other units in the various branches of our armed services – land, air and naval forces – We say now as we have said then, the national flag is the symbol of a nation's independence. Our national flag was never cancelled not even during the five years of the partial occupation of Ethiopia, because our valiant patriots, under our orders, courageously resisted the enemy. Many countries refused to recognize the occupation and there the Ethiopian flag continued as an emblem of Ethiopia's freedom. The faithful people of Gojjam fought bravely against the enemy during the invasion, they resisted the occupation, and rather than submitting to the enemy, many of them preferred to live as refugees.

Presenting this flag to the Second Battalion which under Our command marched into the capital, symbolizes Our triumphant entry into Addis Ababa, which does not limit its significance to the battalion, but is of meaning to

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the whole of the Empire. This flag you receive now is the symbol not only of the resistance and the sacrifices endured during the exile; it is witness of the historic moment when we raised the Ethiopian flag at Omedla. During that time this battalion was a guard of honour to Ourselves, and We know better than anyone the services rendered by each one of you when this battalion served as Our guard of honour.

The faithful people of Gojjam who fought relentlessly during the five years against the enemy, never surrendering, were chosen to be the first among those to liberate the country and lead the campaign to victory. The value of a flag springs from the sacrifices made to defend it as the symbol of independence, otherwise there is no difference between a flag and any other piece of cloth. That is why the flag is an eternal source of inspiration, of loyalty and the symbol of the sacred duty and obligation of a soldier; to him it is a moral sentinel.

We entrust this flag to you – this testimony to those who have served Us by their sacrifices made during the exile and the campaign of liberation; moreover, this symbol of the sacrifices made by the patriots. We hope the Almighty will guide you to fulfil this trust.

May 18, 1959

REVIEWING MILITARY MANOEUVRES

Today, as We have observed you so efficiently carrying out the manoeuvres which mark the completion of your annual training, We have been renewed in the conviction that you are well worthy of accomplishing the military duties which are expected of you.

In this age, when the world is becoming ever smaller and the obligations of Collective Security have become the obligations of all, it is vital that Ethiopia's armed forces be at all times fit and ready to discharge these duties.

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We have in the past repeatedly stated as Our creed and Our goal the hope that today – when the nations of the world have opened their doors and technological and scientific progress has increased the means and the speed of communications – that today, the spirit of equality and the exchange of culture and mutual understanding among men might prevail and peace might reign on earth.

Our sole desire is peace.

At present, no enemies threaten Ethiopia's tranquillity. But no one can predict or postpone the changes that time invariably carries in its wake, and one must be ever prepared to meet and cope with these changes.

The maintenance of peace requires eternal vigilance and a state of constant readiness. To achieve these ends, Our defence forces, which have as their ultimate objective the assurance of peace, can draw upon the traditional bravery of Our people and the latest developments in modern military science.

It is commonly believed that military training can serve only on the field of battle. On the contrary, it can make a significant contribution to the cause of Collective Security and the preservation of peace. This is Ethiopia's constant goal.

We are proud to say that We consider Our defence forces to have attained that degree of preparedness which demonstrates to all that they are amply qualified to fulfil their duties, and that the goal which We have set for them has been fully realized.

Peace is the foundation for development. Ethiopia's armed forces, established only for the preservation of peace, draw upon 3000 years of heroic tradition and guarantee to Our people that, by their mastery of modern military science, they are capable of achieving this most desirable of ends.

You who have executed these manoeuvres before Us

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with such skill and efficiency have proved yourselves worthy of the trust which We have reposed in you. We know what effort and perseverance is required to perform these exercises in the skilful manner which you have displayed, and We are assured anew that whatever tasks are assigned to you will be discharged with the same competence and dispatch.

The soldierly qualities of self-sacrifice and discipline are best tested and demonstrated in the ordeal of fire. Today reveals that you possess these essential qualities in abundance and, even more important, that the inherent courage and valour of the Ethiopian fighting man courses through your veins.

We take pride in reminding you that the tradition of Our Imperial Body Guard has been to follow unquestioningly the call of duty and to laugh in the face of death. To you who now take the place of those who have gone before you falls the sacred task of upholding this noble and glorious tradition.

We urge that you remain abreast of the latest and most modern military techniques, and that you preserve yourselves ever vigilant and fully prepared to answer your country's call.

In the Second World War, when psychological warfare was so effectively used, it was Our Imperial Body Guard which proved to the world that neither threats nor lures could divert the Ethiopian people from the path of duty. As your fathers did before you, dedicate yourselves to the traditions of loyalty and bravery. Prove yourselves worthy of the high and noble duties to which you have been called.

May 2, 1960

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TO THE HARAR MILITARY ACADEMY

...Educated for war, you must strive to preserve peace...

We have been blessed, during Our lifetime, in having been spared to see the fruits of the labours which We have expended on behalf of the advancement and progress of Our beloved country bloom and ripen before Our very eyes. In the decades which have passed since, by the Grace of Almighty God, We were called to the throne of this, Our Empire, We have seen Our country grow and flourish, We have seen Ethiopia emerge free and victorious from the trials and oppressions of the period of invasion, We have witnessed succeeding generations of the youth of Our Empire come of age and rededicate themselves to the cause of their Motherland. And each year, We have been fortunate indeed in that We have seen the fulfilment of old dreams, the attainment of goals established long ago.

One such event We celebrate today, when the first class of officer cadets, educated at the Haile Selassie I Academy graduate from this institution to take their place in the Officer Corps of the Imperial Ethiopian Armed Forces. This is a proud day indeed, and grateful thanks are due to all who have in any way contributed to this achievement; those who assisted Us in the planning of the project; the Officers of Our Army who have co-operated in the operation of the Academy; Brigadier Rawlley and the officers of the Indian Army and the Indian civilians who have toiled so selflessly in the education of these cadets; the Indian Government, which so generously placed these instructors at the Academy's disposal.

When We first decided to staff this Academy with Indian Officers, it was Our sincere belief that they would do their utmost to meet Our desire. We thank General Thimayya for his kind remarks and for the advice he has given to the Cadets.

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In the midst of these celebrations, We would only add some words concerning the significance of this day for the graduates who are filed here before Us. To you new officers now falls a high measure of responsibility for the protection of your country, which has made such great sacrifices on your behalf, against any enemy, coming from whatever quarter, who would harm her or rob her people of the precious gift of freedom in defence of which your forefathers sacrificially shed their blood. Just as life is characterized by pleasure and pain, in the fulfilment of your high mission you will inevitably encounter both of these attributes.

To discharge this duty, you must at all times maintain yourselves at the peak of mental and physical standard. You must be loyal, of high moral character and cultivate the habit of eternal vigilance. You must be courageous in the face of danger and tireless on the field of battle. You must inspire confidence in those you lead and show them, by your example, that the defence of their Motherland is paramount and must be placed above all else.

But another, equally important, responsibility will be yours in the years to come. For, although you have been trained for warfare and battle, you must strive, by all honourable means at your disposal, to assure that these circumstances which will call into action the very skills and techniques in which you have been trained never come into existence. Educated for war, you must strive to preserve peace. Warfare never had made and can never make an affirmative contribution to the welfare of mankind; good cannot grow out of evil. Ethiopia has, during the lifetime of almost all here present, been visited by the horrors of modern warfare, and the memories and scars which it left upon Our country are vivid and visible for all to see.

But, as terrible as the war was, many hundredfold worse would be warfare at this time; indeed warfare today would threaten the very existence of mankind. Were it pos-

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sible effectively to outlaw war, no right-thinking person would hesitate even for a moment in doing so. If it is not possible to do so today, it is only because mankind, despite the lessons of history, has not yet learned to settle disputes among peoples and nations by peaceful means. This also, must be your task and your goal in your future careers.

War Dreadful

The power to wage war, then, is a dreadful one. As you advance in years, in rank and We trust, in wisdom, do not be corrupted by this power. At the present time the representatives of 98 nations are meeting in the United Nations General Assembly to find an answer to one of the most cherished dreams of mankind, that of peaceful disarmament, and to remedy the many causes that have so far divided the nations of the world. Because of the divergence among the big powers on disarmament and other world issues, however, our planet is torn between conflicting interests.

Were the wishes of the smaller nations given their rightful consideration, this state of affairs would have yielded to the necessary solution. Since these smaller nations do not possess the power to implement their recommendations, their advice has thus far gone unheeded. Nevertheless, because mankind cannot abandon hope the struggle must continue. In the present session of the General Assembly We understand that a group of leaders such as Prime Minister Nehru are trying to find a compromise to bring the two opposing blocs together. Since We subscribe in principle to the same vein of thought, We hope that something fruitful will result from their endeavours.

It is in support of the principle of collective security that We have dispatched Our troops to the Congo under the auspices of the United Nations to maintain law and order and to preserve the integrity of the new Republic, without

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interference in the internal affairs of that country. The fact is that these troops have encountered certain obstacles in the execution of their duties.

The Congo problem has not as yet been resolved not only because of the East-West conflict but as well because of the lack of solidarity among the Independent African States. This absence of solidarity and the East-West divergence on the issue has created a regrettable and painful situation. In this the Congolese people in particular must suffer the consequences, but, in the final analysis, it is detrimental to the whole of Africa.

While We do not anticipate that these observations and circumstances would encompass you or future generations, We have cited them so that in the execution of your future duties which will not be limited only to the military field, if they occur, you will be able to evaluate them and be in a better position to undertake your responsibilities. You should continue without fail to broaden and develop your knowledge. For a person who claims to know everything, as the Scriptures say, is like "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."

Use your knowledge for good, to preserve peace among men. Your prayers today should be two-fold. First, that never, during your lifetime will you ever be called upon to fire a shot in battle; secondly, if you are required to do so, that you will acquit yourselves well in the hoary Ethiopian tradition.

We extend warm greetings to the Military Representatives of friendly countries who, in response to Our invitation, have come here today to partake with Us in the joy of this event.

Oct 3, 1960

SECURITY

AT AIR FORCE DISPLAY

Religion has long taught to have no grudges against others. We have no grudges against past enemies. And yet, we cannot forget the injustices perpetrated against the Ethiopian people. In the celebration of the last couple of days – marking the 25th anniversary of Ethiopia's liberation – we have observed with satisfaction the display by our Armed Forces. And We praise the Lord Almighty for the presence amongst us of the patriots and exiles who survived the enemy's ruthless man-hunt and victimization.

As it has been correctly stated earlier, Ethiopia fell an easy victim to external aggression because she lacked air power. Today We have witness that Ethiopia has an air power to reckon with. What took place today and what the Air Force is heading to accomplish, indeed furnishes a confidence in the future of the Ethiopian people.

Nevertheless the establishment of an air force is not sufficient in itself. We have assigned men to various positions of responsibility in the Ethiopian Air Force and it is up to these men to apply themselves diligently to the task of self-improvement. The rank and file and the Officers of the Ethiopian Air Force must work with the dedication their fathers and forefathers had shown in the past – the past in which all Ethiopians can take pride.

Through diligence, wisdom and labour, our forefathers have preserved the sovereignty of Our nation and the integrity of our country. The present as well as the future generation bears responsibility to follow the examples set in the past and to dedicate themselves for stability, progress and betterment of the Ethiopia of tomorrow. No arms, however big or however mighty, can provide solace to a nation. A nation finds comfort and the freedom of that nation is best protected through the sacrifice and patriotism of its people. We must put to the best use the rich heritage of our past for

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in that way, and in that way alone can We live to the highest standard set by our forefathers for the Ethiopian people.

Today, as We come to the close of the three-day celebrations, We thank God for all He has done for the Ethiopian people. We have witnessed the emergence of Ethiopia's air power, the growth of her Navy, the strength of her land forces and above all, the will of her people to overcome all difficulties. We praise God for the progress We have already made and for the progress that is bound to be Ours tomorrow. The all-round development of Ethiopia and particularly the development of her Armed Forces and her economic resources unmistakably show the greatness of the Ethiopian people in going beyond and above individual gains and labour to the common good of all. We are the more happy to witness the progress and development that is taking place for through it the rights of all the people of Ethiopia are better protected and their future happiness is better assured. Join Us today in praying to God to give Us further strength to proceed along this useful course.

Some jested that Ethiopia fell victim to Fascist aggression in the short period of seven to eight months. But history has mocked the jesters by showing that those who laughed in mockery lost their battle for freedom in a matter of days only. The vital resources of a nation are, as we have already said, the people's selfless dedication and vigilance to overcome difficulties – it is not the heavy armoury but the quality of the citizens that man it that matters. The Ethiopian people are now more assured than ever before of a brighter future. What gives form and substance to this assurance is the ever-existing vigilance of our people, the strength of Our Armed Forces, the progress achieved in the various fields of national endeavour and above all the unity of our people. This is not only a source of satisfaction but a source of honour too. This furnishes the living with hope for a better future.

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And the dead shall rest in peace for their sacrifice in defence of their country has been honoured.

Those that have fallen in the battle-field have sacrificed themselves so that Our future would be more secure. And we the living have the responsibility of living up to the sacrifice that they have made, and to this all Ethiopians must dedicate themselves. In all your undertakings through your career, base yourselves on greater knowledge, courage and determination. For, if you base yourselves upon these values, you shall not fail but you shall forever go from one victory to another. I thank all the hard-working members of the Air Force. May God bless you.

May 8, 1966

CHAPTER XV

CULTURE

A country of a history that stretches from ancient times, Ethiopia has a long and varied cultural heritage. Since it is the Emperor's policy to select strains of modern civilization and to blend them with worthwhile and enduring elements from the Nation's ancient culture, He has unceasingly shown particular interest in cultural matters as can be gathered from the few selected speeches that follow.

UNVEILING RAS MAKONNEN MONUMENT

Convinced that records and monuments give standing evidence of a people's long history, We feel proud to observe the precious gifts of Our forefathers in the fields of art and literature which bespeak the age and greatness of Our country for all times. It is a recognized practice to erect monuments to those who have served their country loyally and with deserved distinction.

It is only fitting that the present and future generations of Ethiopia should revere the names and scan closely the biography of Our forefathers who, through their courage, wisdom and foresight, throughout the last three millenia, devoted their lives to the greatness and advancement of Ethiopia, and to honour each one of them by erecting and preserving memorials. Monuments so erected help to recall the past, to link the present with the future generation and to encourage Our beloved people to accomplish better things with greater zeal and devotion by reminding them of the greatness of Our history.

It is for Us today a source of gratification and immense joy when We unveil in the city of Harar this statue of Our father His Highness Ras Makonnen, whose name occupies ample space in the pages of Ethiopian history as the foremost among the country's distinguished servants who, during the past century, rendered invaluable service to preserve the

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unity and greatness of Ethiopia, already attested by recorded achievements.

Apart from the great service he has rendered as a military leader and as an envoy of goodwill who has secured many friends for Our country, His Highness Ras Makonnen was a kind and sympathetic administrator and a great lover of truth and justice. He paid particular attention to Us from childhood so that this love of truth and justice has been instilled in Our mind, an element which has been a fountain of inspiration for Our own self-discipline and for leading Our people towards their destiny, thus permitting the memory of his priceless service to remain perpetually vivid.

His Highness Ras Makonnen, besides taking the keenest interest in Our education in Ethiopian literature and other exotic disciplines, showed signal farsightedness in the educational field and sent a number of Ethiopian youth abroad for higher education.

His Military Exploits

The patriotic services of His Highness Ras Makonnen were not restricted only to guidance and leadership; he was engaged in actual combat and had himself suffered bodily wounds on the field of battle. He left a lasting example to others both in his military exploits and in his moral leadership. We may cite in this regard a letter among many in which His Imperial Majesty Menelik II had expressed the high esteem he had for the services of His Highness Ras Makonnen. It stated: "Sincere prayers to Almighty God to bestow upon you his blessings are not only for you but for your offspring as well. We trust that Our solemn prayer would be answered." Nor can We forget that among the many achievements of His Highness Ras Makonnen was his success in bringing about fraternal harmony between Ethiopians of both Christian and Moslem persuasions in the province of Harar.

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As We express before this statue and in the presence of Our people the deep love enshrined in Our heart for Our father, who had brought Us up and educated Us, Our pleasure is further increased by being able to entrust to the present and future generations this visible and perceptible historical testimony which shall remain as a symbol of the distinguished services of Our father, who has earned the love, admiration and respect not only of the people of Harar, whom he had loved like his own children, cared for and served, but of the entire Ethiopian people who realize their indebtedness to his efforts.

We thank the Almighty for having blessed Us to be able to perform this public act in the lasting memory of His Highness Ras Makonnen. Several of Our ancestors and many others who have rendered meritorious service to their motherland are worthy of such monuments and it is Our intention to likewise honour their memory. May the Almighty God spare Us to accomplish Our desire.

Oct. 2, 1960.

RECEIVES “CARVER AWARD”

We are most appreciative of the high tribute which has been paid to Us today in the awarding of the 1960 Gold Medal Award by the George Washington Carver Memorial Institute, and We are honoured to join the distinguished company of those who have received it. In accepting this award, We do so not only on Our own behalf, but also on behalf of the Ethiopian people, whose loyalty, devotion and support have assisted Us in the labours which We have expended throughout Our lifetime on behalf of Our beloved subjects and in pursuance of the high principles to which Our life has been dedicated.

We extend Our deepest thanks to the George Washing-

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ton Carver Memorial Institute and to Mr. Robert Hobday, its President, who has come to Our capital city Addis Ababa to make this presentation to Us.

Jan. 5, 1961.

THE REVISED AMHARIC BIBLE

Ethiopia, an island of Christianity, is recorded in history as having received first the Old Testament, and then the New Testament earlier than most of the countries of the world. When, in Old Testament times, she received the Law, and when, in New Testament times, she received the Gospel, she ensured that the Scriptures were translated into the ancient language of Ge'ez. From those times to this, various books both of spiritual and material profit have periodically been compiled and written in Ge'ez. We remember with deep gratitude those fathers of old who, as time and opportunity allowed, worked with much care and labour and have left us books for the preservation of the Faith and for the increase of learning and knowledge.

In former ages, Ge'ez was the language of the country and so, even without an interpreter, the people had no difficulty in examining and understanding the books; but just as one age succeeds another, so Amharic, which sprang from Ge'ez, gradually grew until it became the common speech of the people, taking the place of Ge'ez. At that time, Ge'ez was understood by the learned people of the Church, but was not readily understood by the ordinary people. Arising from this, the scholars in their preaching and work have for centuries been forced in their teaching to interpret from Ge'ez into Amharic. And these conditions prevailed until Our own times.

Since the time when, by God's goodness, We were chosen to ascend the Throne of Ethiopia and while We have been leading Our people to progress in learning and know-

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ledge, We have laboured in every way possible with an eye to their growth in spiritual and material learning and knowledge. In order to reach this goal, and realizing that the first necessity was to have the Scriptures translated into Amharic and printed in bulk, in 1918 when We were still Heir to the Throne and Regent, We chose from amongst the scholars some to translate the Scriptures and to produce the translation alongside the Ge'ez. After this, too, at Our private expense We had a printing machine brought from Europe, established a Printing Press, and began to have books printed. Some of the books which We caused to be printed in Ge'ez and Amharic at that time, read in churches and homes, have been found profitable to the establishment of faith and to spiritual strengthening. After that, noting that the mind of the people continued to grow in understanding, We arranged for a word-for-word translation into Amharic of the books of the Old and New Testaments. Our scholars completed the translation and presented it to Us in 1931, and We ordered its printing. While the book was still in the Press, however, enemy aggression in 1935 halted the work. Even so, when in exile in London, We gave permission for this same Bible to be printed by photo-offset, and it was duly issued. By this Book, Our Ethiopian subjects in exile in many countries held fast to their faith and presented their petitions to Almighty God as they awaited the restoration of Ethiopia.

When, all honour and praise be to God, We had brought about the liberation of Ethiopia and had entered Our Empire, realizing that there ought to be a revision from the original Hebrew and Greek of the existing translation of the Bible, We chose scholars qualified for the work of Biblical training and on March 6th, 1947 set up a Bible Committee in Our Palace. The Committee worked with diligence for some five years, and on April 19th, 1952 presented the translation to Us. We give heartfelt thanks to all who helped Us in this work.

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All the ancient Scriptures were written for Our instruction, in order that through the encouragement they give Us, we may maintain Our hope with fortitude. Because We desire that the light which comes from the Scriptures may shine to all, this Bible by Our command and will has been revised and printed in the Thirty-First year of Our reign.

July 23, 1961.

GERMAN CULTURAL INSTITUTE OPENED

History adequately supports the fact of the traditional bonds of friendship that so happily subsist between the peoples of Germany and Ethiopia. This Cultural institute, a timely gesture from the Federal Republic, further reinforces these traditional links and opens the way for a better understanding of the cultures of the two peoples.

It has been generally attested that there is no more enduring meeting ground between nations and peoples than on the cultural and economic field. Proud of her cultural heritage, Ethiopia has made it her policy to distil from other cultures that which is beneficial, and to blend it with her own so as to develop a way of life suited to the times yet anchored to the renown history of the nation.

On this occasion, We would like to mention the many German scholars of high learning and, in particular, Professor Littman, who, besides collecting Ethiopian books both in Ge'ez and Amharic, have worked hard in making known to the world the culture of Ethiopia.

This German Cultural Institute, designed as it is to provide ways and means of information and study of the vast areas of human aspirations, will aid our two peoples and those interested in comparative culture. It is, therefore, with pleasure that We declare open this German Cultural Institute in Addis Ababa.

June 11, 1962.

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OPENS HAILE SELASSIE I PRIZE TRUST

We take great pleasure in witnessing the fulfilment of Our desire to establish an organization which will award prizes to scholars who make outstanding contributions to the material and intellectual growth of Ethiopia, Africa and the world at large.

We have established this chartered and completely independent organization by donating Our personal estates and appointing distinguished officials as Trustees to ensure the promotion and encouragement of activities and proficiencies of the Ethiopian people in the diversified fields of Amharic Literature, Fine Arts, Agriculture, Industry, and Humanitarian Activities.

Our desire to encourage outstanding contributions transcends the boundaries of Our Empire. The advancement of Ethiopia is not Our sole interest. The African Research Award and the Empress Menen Award are therefore intended to provide strong incentives throughout the Continent of Africa and the world at large.

The recognition of achievements of the highest calibre will not only reward those deserving of awards but will also generate further creativity and contributions.

Since the responsibilities assigned to this organization are of both national and international interest and import, it is gratifying to hear that the Prize Trust, new as it is, shows a promising future and that many nominations and entries from the five continents have been received.

We express Our strong desire that Ethiopians, permanent residents in Ethiopia, Africans throughout the continent, and scholars concerned with Ethiopian studies and African research will increasingly avail themselves of the opportunities We have offered by the establishment of the Prize Trust.

We look forward to the successful completion of your

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work this year and the announcements of the award-winners for 1964.

We declare the office building open as of this date.

May 14, 1964.

INAUGURATION: H. S. I. FOUNDATION

We are pleased to find, as you have already stated, that the initiative taken in rendering services to Our country both in regard to health betterment and in helping the disabled, by Our Foundation, whose progress and duty We follow closely, has been quite satisfactory. Yet, it is quite obvious that in order to open and extend branches of welfare organizations in the various provinces so as to enable Our people to get a first-rate medical assistance, it is also necessary to be assured of the general co-operation of the people together with financial security.

We do not intend to reserve the cause of welfare donations for Ourselves but also to inspire others to do the same. It is with this in mind that We freely granted Our personal estates and properties. Besides, it is expected of every one of you who have assumed this holy responsibility, that the service you render is not founded on the mere struggle to earn your wages, but on the wholehearted understanding of the unfortunate situations of your fellow human beings who you should serve with sympathy, conviction and faith. The natural origin of every man being man himself and thus equal through creation, the only difference lies in the opportunities made available. Nowadays, science has made possible complex inventions which are put at the service of man. Yet, however precise these instruments, including computers, may be in their service, they obviously lack those perfecting human characteristics of sympathy, goodness, generosity and selflessness – all of which God in His ultimate wisdom

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granted only to human beings. Although man has found assistance for himself in these machines, his superiority lies in the fact that he is their inventor and he himself is the instrument of God.

To follow up the case of a patient in agony with unfailing tenacity regardless of whether he is rich or underprivileged, to constantly help the destitute both economically and/or spiritually, these should be the prevailing aim of such persons with your type of duties as it should be of any employee. What is more, an individual who is responsible for humanitarian activities, or one determined to render welfare services must be prepared to face with the utmost patience and foresightedness, the misunderstandings that might arise from the person or persons in need of help.

Money is an instrument, but, there is no duty that can be fully accomplished with its mere persuasive power. The work of the welfare organization is not merely the distribution of money, but also the giving of personal warmth, of wholehearted service and spiritual encouragement. The time we spend in the fulfilment of such duties as the determining factor which demonstrates that the essence of one's individual values is not obliterated.

We would like to mention with gratitude such names as Woizero Woleteyes, the heirs of Leeke-Mequas Haile Mariam, Woizero Laketch Birknesh, Sheh Seyeed Abiyu, Mr. J. G. Shah who is a resident of our country, and others who have donated properties to this Foundation. The actions of these people assure them both spiritual satisfaction and a historically important place for their names will be recorded together with their welfare accomplishments. We also thank the German Federal Republic, the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and international organizations which have extended their help towards this Foundation.

Since it is only your conscience and your Creator who

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keep watch and closely control your various activities, We hope that those of you who are at present serving or will be required to serve in this Foundation, will render your services and fulfil your assignments with complete and undivided devotion and conscientiousness.

We pray to God that He may grant His blessings to the welfare duties being accomplished through this Foundation.

Sep. 2, 1965.

3RD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

Ethiopia, as is well known, has a long tradition of recorded history running back to the inscriptions of Aksum. The country has also been fortunate in its scholarship centered on the age-old schools of our church (universities of the age) which has been the guardian of Our culture throughout the ages.

Ethiopia has been no less fortunate in attracting the interest of the international world of scholarship, as well as that of foreign well-wishers in far off lands.

Almost half a millenium ago, in 1513, the German Joh Potken, printed the first Ge'ez Psalter at the Vatican, and a few years later we find a Florentine trader, Andrea Corsali, contemplating the printing of Ge'ez books for the Emperor Lebna Dengel.

Some two hundred years later, in the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ethiopian monk Gregorius held his first meeting with the German scholar Job Ludolf. The friendship between these two learned men from the two ends of Christendom, Germany and Ethiopia, was most fruitful. Ludolf, who has justly been called the "Father of Ethiopian Studies" in Europe, proceeded to produce a number of significant works in the field of history and linguistics, among them his *Historia Aethiopica*, in Latin, which first appeared

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in 1681 and his *Lexicon Aethiopico - Latinum* of 1681 and his *Grammatica Linguae Amharicae*, the first Amharic grammar of 1698.

It is not necessary here to enumerate the many schools of *quiné* and *zema*; the schools of the Old and the New Testaments; the schools of the Church Fathers and the monks; the schools of history, art, and literature, but We would not pass them without mentioning the names of Yared and Afeworq, so well known to you all.

Of the foreign scholars of Ethiopia, We should like to mention the English Bruce; the German Dillmann; the French Halevy; the Italian Guidi; and the Russians Turaiev, and Kratchovsky.

The high traditions of learning set by these and other scholars, long deceased, have been continued by the Ethiopists of Our own time, many of whom are now gathered in Our capital.

With a view to encouraging such research, We established the annual Haile Sellassie I Prize for Ethiopian Studies which was first awarded in 1964 to the distinguished French savant Marcel Cohen and in 1965 to the noted American scholar Wolf Leslau.

We are happy that the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies should be meeting in Our capital where the Institute of Ethiopian Studies has now been operating for three years as an integral part of Our University. We hope to see the Institute expand and make a substantial contribution to the growth of scholarship in Our beloved land.

April 3, 1966

TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AFRICA AND THE WORLD

We take great pleasure in extending Our wishes for the success of the international conference on "Africa and the

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World” organized by the Haile Selassie I Prize Trust. We established this organization in 1963 and entrusted it with the responsibility of recognizing outstanding achievements in Ethiopia and the rest of Africa and to strengthen the spiritual and cultural bonds between Our people and the peoples of the African continent and of the whole world.

We are pleased to witness that you distinguished scholars have readily co-operated and accepted the invitation extended by this organization. This gathering is one of the opportunities where so many people who have studied Africa will be able to share their views and knowledge. It will also help in the strengthening of the foundation of African Unity.

We have consistently supported the view that adequate channels and opportunities be established at all levels to facilitate exchanges of ideas and thoughts. Leaders and their people can utilize enlightened thinking that may result from such exchanges. As you well know, the Organization of African Unity has enabled leaders to consult as well as act together.

You meet as scholars concerned with the present and future of our continent. You meet to discuss critically and objectively some of the major areas of concern namely, history, politics, economics and education.

You are gathered to comment on specific African problems and air considered views on the courses of action that the continent should best follow in its dealings outside its continental boundaries.

As academic people it is essential that your discussions are unfettered by promotional inclinations and bias but instead pervaded by scholarly integrity and positive outlooks. Furthermore, you must focus on the future rather than solely on the past.

We look forward to seeing the proceedings in published form and We wish the conference success.

Oct. 3, 1966

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGION

Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia and “Defender of the Faith” has, during his long and beneficent reign in every way buttressed Ethiopia’s centuries-old Christian religion. His solicitude for the Ethiopian Church has never been abated. The most significant contribution in this phase of the nation’s culture has been the successful conclusion of the long-drawn-out demand of the Ethiopian Church for its independence from the Alexandrian Cathedral. This was achieved during His Imperial Majesty’s reign and through his wise intervention. Today the Ethiopian Church is autocephalous without any rupture in the spiritual relations with the mother Church.

Though a devout Christian, His Majesty the Emperor has fostered and encouraged religious tolerance throughout his long reign. In his own words: “Religion is personal; the state is for all.” In Ethiopia, under his forthright leadership, freedom of conscience is guaranteed to all.

UNVEILING MONUMENT TO ABUNA PETROS

..... If the condition of the peace is such as will satisfy the conscience and sense of justice of men, if it is assured to human kind that they shall toil and live happily under a just system in which no discrimination will be made between small and great, then the peace system that shall be laid down can leave a heritage for the coming generation which will be full of happy life and boundless prosperity

We have met today to commemorate by Our presence the martyrdom of an Ethiopian patriot who consecrated with his blood the place on which we now stand, in defence of the principles of religion and of uncompromising resistance against the forces of aggression.

The Monument which We have unveiled, distinguishes the square where the Church Leader, Abuna Petros, was shot by the Italian aggressors in July 1936. His crime was that of being an Ethiopian and leader of the Ethiopian Church,

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a leader that shrank not from condemning before the world the immorality of the Fascist and Graziani's regime.

His death which had been ordered amongst the first of those sought by the Fascists, marked the importance which the aggressor attached to the destruction of the basis of Ethiopian culture and standards of conduct. It also marked the culminating point in the bitter struggle in the course of which the enemy systematically burned and destroyed churches throughout Our Empire. The League of Nations and the International Red Cross as well as the civilized nations were witnesses to the widespread destruction of churches and the plundering of religious objects and shrines in Ethiopia. They were likewise witnesses to the confession of those same atrocities published as early as January 1936 by that war criminal Badoglio.

The death of Abuna Petros marked a significant point in a struggle characterized by the use of proscribed means of warfare, such as poison gas, the burning of villages and homes, the murder of non-combatants and the aged, and by attempting systematically to abase the moral standards and the culture of the country through terrorism, the slaughter of the educated classes and the total destruction of schools. His death likewise preceded the massacres of February 1937 and those that followed. The world was also witness to the brutality, lust and orgy which characterized the Fascist regime in the long months following the death of Abuna Petros. How many victims bear witness here today with broken lives to the depths of those atrocities?

In the teeth of this record, the enemy today, in callous cynicism seeks to justify his crimes by pointing to benefits which he claims to have brought to Ethiopia. If he speaks of material benefits, those who have been here before the invasion and who are in position to establish a comparison can place a proper evaluation upon the claim. The enemy built frantically in order to defend himself against a nation

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that refused resolutely to lay down its arms against the aggressor; he did not build in order to bring any permanent contribution to the country. If the enemy has, rather, the effrontery to refer to moral values, We leave to world conscience, chastened by ten years of war, the duty of replying, since Ethiopia refrains from detailing the degradation which the Fascist regime brought to the country.

Sad Commentary

It is a sad commentary on the state of the world of that period which tolerated the brutalities and the campaigns of unspeakable atrocities in Ethiopia. We ask, had the world refused to tolerate those immoralities, if it had reacted with energy against those violations of international law, might we not have spared the countless deaths and sacrifices of the last ten years?

This monument, although far from the battlefields of Europe, has, therefore, a significance that transcends the frontiers of Ethiopia and the confines of the Continent of Africa and unites the dead of Ethiopia, the Ethiopian and British heroes, with those of El Alamein, of Salerno, of Stalingrad, of Normandy and of Okinawa.

We are now on the eve of the Peace Conference. Ethiopia has given proof of great tolerance towards an enemy that for sixty years has brought her such untold miseries and loss. Thousands of enemy nationals live out peaceful lives amongst us. We have supported the decision to grant the assistance of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to Our vanquished enemy although such aid to Ethiopia, the victim of aggression, has been infinitesimal. As one of the United Nations We agree to the principles of working in peace with Our former enemies. However, that collaboration must be based on good faith and mutual confidence. Ethiopia has demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate her

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good faith in spite of bitter deceptions from those who have abused it. It is then for the enemy to proffer the hand of friendship. If he wishes the friendship of Ethiopia he must, however, sincerely repent of sixty years of injustices and declare himself prepared to rectify them. If that gesture is accompanied by the firm desire to work in peace without those thoughts of aggression which have motivated and guided Italian policies for sixty years, Ethiopia will accept that gesture in a spirit of friendship and mutual comprehension.

Reconstruction

We will now turn to the period of peace at which we have by the Grace of God, at last arrived. It is necessary that the Governments of the United Nations who are now working for the reconstruction of World Peace should be guided by the principles of impartiality so that they shall lay down a solid and proper foundation stone for a system of peace which shall out-live generations.

If the condition of the peace is such as will satisfy the conscience and sense of justice of men, if it is assured to human kind that they shall toil and live happily under a just system in which no discrimination will be made between small and great, then the peace system that shall be laid down can leave a heritage for the coming generation which will be full of happy life and boundless prosperity.

We hope that the future generation will realize the magnitude of sacrifices that was required to accomplish all the works, that is in particular Our duty to achieve for Ethiopia, as well as the work of just peace so that it may preserve it as gain.

Although Ethiopia was among the ancient civilized nations, it is understood that she must struggle to take her place among the civilized nations of today. Modern culture is not a new vogue to Ethiopia, the door is wide open to her.

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All she needs are institutions and schools to filter and assimilate her ancient culture with modern culture.

As you all know, before Ethiopia was invaded by the enemy We did all that could be done to advance education in spite of all the difficulties that had to be encountered.

The products of Our schools have been put to trial both in peace time as in the time of Ethiopia's calamity. At this moment let us remember all those who have been hunted and murdered by the enemy.

Education

Humanity by nature is gifted to think freely, but in order that his free thought should lead him to the goal of liberty and independence, his way of thinking must be shaped by the process of education. It is understood that the independence of mind created by education individually will have as result the creation of an independently minded nation.

When We compare the numbers of schools functioning in Ethiopia today with those that existed before the occupation of the enemy, We can view with keen satisfaction the advancement achieved within the past five years. We are sowing seeds on fertile soil and schools are springing up throughout the land attended by a youth of today who is thirsty for knowledge.

At the present there are numerous schools in function attended by thousands of youths. A large number of these youths are already showing signs that they shall some day be useful servants of Ethiopia. From amongst these will be chosen intelligent youth of worthy character to be sent abroad to complete their education. In addition We have founded special schools for the training of Cadets and Police as well as a school for aviation in order to help the good functioning of administration. We have not limited Our education pro-

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gramme to what has already been achieved, on the contrary, we are doing all We can to open thousands of additional schools all over the Empire. Preparation is well under way for the opening of a large University at Addis Ababa.

Education, work and diligence are the main foundations of our national existence. We call upon all Ethiopians to send their children to the nearest school, for, it is suicide and a crime against the responsibility which God places on all parents not to educate one's own children.

The catastrophe which was brought about by human hands during the past years can be avoided in the future by religion and hope in God which should be in the heart of the people. And this can be achieved by education which if not borne by the youth, the effort which is made for peace will be in vain.

We hope that at the Conference of the Peace which will be held in the near future those who will be responsible shall be inspired with the profound idea of justice towards human cause and human rights.

July, 1946.

WELCOMING AGREEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH

..... After many years of negotiation to compose the differences between the Ethiopian Church and the Church of Alexandria, We are happy to say that an agreement has been reached concerning the consecration of Ethiopian Archbishops and Bishops, which gives to the Ethiopian Archbishop the right to consecrate Ethiopian bishops, thus securing an autonomous religious administration.

Even as We devote Our efforts to the improvement of the public life of Our people We are confident that their Beatitudes the Holy Fathers of the Church will dedicate

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themselves to the moral education of the people. In this We will not fail to extend Our assistance.

Nov. 2, 1948.

ON NOMINATION OF FIRST CHURCH HEAD, ARCHBISHOP BASILIOS

We are thankful to God at the nomination of an Ethiopian to be the Archbishop of Ethiopia, which accomplishment We consider to be of the highest importance of all that We have done, during Our reign for the benefit of the Ethiopian Church.

The effort, undertaken several years ago, and the path We have had to travel since, for the gradual attainment of complete authority for the Ethiopian Church, has been too arduous to be forgotten.

At last, the work willed by God has been accomplished, and He has given Our independent nation a Church, endowed with authority, which ranks among the free churches of the world. This accomplishment, which has taken place during Our reign, constituted a matter of pride for Us as well as for Our people. The monarchs of Our ancestry earnestly desired and hoped to witness this event; and God has enabled Us to see realized the hope, strengthened by faith.

Our congratulations go to Your Grace that you are the first Ethiopian to be entrusted with such a high and sacred duty during Our reign. An era of increased mutual respect and cordiality has opened between the Ethiopian and Egyptian Orthodox Churches.

Our thanks are due to His Holiness Yosab II, of the Holy Seat of St. Mark, who consented to bring this matter to a settlement, in the light of God's inspiration; We are happy to remark that this ecclesiastical evolution, effected in Our age, points to our common good luck.

Spiritual power is the eternal guide, in this life and the

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life after, for man ranks supreme among all creatures. Led forward by spiritual power, man can reach the summit destined for him by the Great Creator.

In Your Grace is vested the responsibility for the contribution of the Ethiopian Church, for its part, towards giving the remedy for, and the spiritual comfort to, the wounds caused by the evil in the world. Moreover, in particular, the duty is yours for giving guidance to the Ethiopian people for their benefit in their terrestrial as well celestial lives.

We earnestly hope that God grant you strength and His Grace to help you discharge the heavy duties that you shoulder.

Jan. 19, 1951.

INVESTITURE OF BISHOPS

Welcoming your oath of loyalty to the Church and the State We have the pleasure to approve your formal investiture as Bishops following your election as such, according to the ecclesiastical rules.

We earnestly hope that the Almighty may grant you strength to carry on your work of promoting religious activities and fostering Christianity in the Orthodox spirit.

Sep. 8, 1951

In the spiritual realm, Our sustained effort to have Ethiopia attain a station commensurate to that achieved in the field of public administration has been crowned with success. Let Us thank the Almighty for having blessed Us to overcome this difficulty.

In consonance with her new position and growing importance, for the first time in her thousand-year-old history of relations with the Church, Ethiopia is now consecrating and investing her own bishops.

Nov. 3, 1951.

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...Our preoccupations, however, have not been concerned solely with the material welfare of Our people. We have already mentioned Our activities in the field of education. The development of the resources of intelligence which education draws forth from Our people – vital as it is – without moral inspiration and guidance, can never of itself work for the good of all. Man, who is by nature selfish, must learn that only in serving others can he reach the full stature or attain the noble destinies for which God created him. We have, therefore, spared no effort to encourage and sustain the Church in its high mission of preserving and inculcating into the youth those spiritual values and ideals which, for centuries, have guided the destinies of Our beloved people. It was, in consequence, with deep gratification that, during the past year, We were able to bring about the full recognition of the Ethiopian Church as the autocephalous and national Church of the Empire. The Church which, through centuries of struggle and martyrdom, has pursued its task of evangelism and education, has Our continued support...

Nov. 3, 1959.

DEDICATING DEBRE LEBANOS CHURCH

When two years ago We laid in this monastery of Saint Tekle Haimanot the cornerstone for this church, We had expressed the hope that it will be God's will to enable us to witness its execution. Thus the Almighty who can accomplish everything and grant all that is asked of Him has enabled us to see the completion of the work. How can We pay Our gratitude to God but by thanking Him?

It is authentic that the Ethiopian Saint Tekle Haimanot was Christ's disciple who, by observing St. Paul's remark, "who shall separate us from the love of Christ? affliction or

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anguish or persecution or hunger or nakedness ?", fulfilled his divine duties, made and rendered several sacrifices and services. Many are the monasteries that owe their existence to him, and innumerable are those who were taught by his disciples. Because of the services rendered by him and holy people like him at a time when Ethiopia was gravely threatened with heathenish and Islamic engulfing, this country came to be known as an Island of Christianity.

Taking advantage of this occasion, We would like to advise Ethiopian bishops and church educators to follow Saint Tekle Haimanot's example, dedicate themselves to this great ideal and save no effort in working and making others work for the propagation of the Christian faith. A brother cannot be of more valuable service to his brother than in this.

We, too, had prayed to God to enable us to build this church along modern lines. We truly thank the Almighty for hearing Our prayer and fulfilling Our dream.

We sincerely thank the board to which, under Our spiritual father His Holiness Abuna Basilios and Our beloved son Crown Prince Merid Azmatch Asfaw Wossen as President, We had entrusted the task of supervising and executing the work, and which has accordingly carried out its task successfully. We further leave the responsibility of assuring the future upkeep and maintenance of the Church to the President and members of the Board.

We pray that the Almighty bestow His blessing and divine grace on all those who are assembled in this monastery in the name of the Saint.

Nov. 18, 1962.

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CONFERENCE OF ORIENTAL ORTHODOX CHURCHES

..... It is with the hope that your meeting will contribute in a significant way to the unity of the Church, and indirectly to the unity of all men, that We have invited Your Holinesses and Venerable Fathers to our capital city.

Venerable and Holy Fathers,

On this occasion when you Venerable Heads of the Oriental Orthodox Churches are assembled together in our capital city, it is appropriate to demonstrate our joy by singing with the Psalmist, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity" (Ps. 133:1).

The Unity of the Church, as Your Holinesses well know it, is the will of God and ought to be an inspiring example to all men. It should always be a help and not a hindrance to the unity of men of different religions.

As church history testifies, the church fathers, from the Apostolic period up to the Third Council (4th century A.D.), did hold Councils to formulate the doctrines of the church and to draft rules of church administration.

It is with the hope that your meeting will contribute in a significant way to the unity of the Church, and indirectly to the unity of all men, that We have invited Your Holinesses and Venerable Fathers to our capital city.

Today not only the church, but also the political powers of the world are frequently meeting, leaving their differences aside, to tackle common problems, and find ways and means for the achievement and preservation of world peace. The church should not overlook this great task because she is the origin of peace and fraternity.

Our own Church is as ancient as our faith, and her history is replete with accounts of the unswerving faith of our people, the inspiring heroism of our martyrs, the Holiness

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of our saints. The history of our nation has always been closely related to the history of our Church, and the Church has been both the rallying point and the inspirer of our national unity.

Christianity has flourished in Our country, keeping its original features and character through the centuries. As a nation we have a great debt to the church for our cultural heritage.

Ethiopia has been from ancient times well known for her hospitality, and this is not the first time she has welcomed holy fathers like yourselves. From the 4th century A.D. onward monks and saints have come from Egypt, Syria and other Christian countries to Ethiopia and have been received with high honour and great respect. To mention only a few among those who are canonized in the Ethiopian church the Nine Saints who came from different countries of the Middle East and Abune Gebre-Menfus-Kidus are examples. These holy fathers, preaching and establishing monasteries in various parts of Our country have greatly contributed to Ethiopian Christianity. Therefore, many churches and monasteries are dedicated to them in undying memory of the spiritual services which they rendered to our country.

Ancient Ties

In ancient times, when the Faith of the whole Church was one, Our country had the closest relations with the Emperors of Christian Byzantium. At the time when several Christian peoples in the North became subservient to non-Christian powers, our country gladly provided asylum to thousands of Christian refugees. It had equally given asylum from religious persecution at an earlier date to the followers of the founder of Islam. Only when our own immediate neighbours ceased to be Christians did our contacts with our

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fellow-Christians in the North and East become difficult to maintain.

Ethiopia, an island of Christianity, has made her own distinctive contribution to the Christian faith; for, ever since her conversion to Christianity she has remained faithful, her age-old ties with the Apostolic church uninterrupted. For this reason she is universally renowned as the faithful daughter of St. Mark of Alexandria. The opportunity we have today to discuss our common interests and problems together is the fruit of that ancient unity. To defend the faith and to preserve our ancient ties with your respective countries, our fathers the Emperors of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people have exerted great efforts all through our history. We are grateful to all of them.

It is therefore with great joy that We welcome Your Holinesses to Our land and to Our Church. Your Holinesses bring with you sacred memories from the ancient past. Your presence here is a pledge and token of the desire of all Christians to be one.

Ever since We ascended the historic throne of Ethiopia, We have considered it Our duty to call for a meeting of the churches who belong to the same fold. We were praying to God for His help in achieving this holy purpose, so that He may grant it to us to see this event. In ancient times the Byzantine emperors used to summon the councils. Our sincere wish from the very beginning was to see these churches meeting to discuss their common interests and decide on their common problems. This wish is in actual fact fulfilled today, and We are happy to witness it. Therefore, We thank Almighty God first because He has enabled Us to properly fulfil Our clear duty, and secondly, because Our long cherished desire has now met with fulfilment. Henceforth the matter will demand the spiritual unity and hard work of Your Holinesses. For strength can be achieved through unity, and success is the fruit of co-operation. There is no

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doubt that work done through a co-operative spirit shall meet with success. Christ affirmed:

“... That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my father which is in heaven.” (Math. 18:19)

Restore Contact

For centuries past our Orthodox Churches have been without contact. Perhaps that which still divides the two groups is a matter of some importance. Perhaps it is not. In any case, we live in a time when even political differences are discussed around the conference table and peaceful and amicable solutions sought by all. The Church can afford to do no less.

Our age is characterized by notable advances in the sphere of communications, and is therefore rightly termed an age of unity and of coming together. In this connection We recall the noble efforts of Archbishop Nathan Soderblom of Sweden who took the initiative for the “Universal Christian Conference” which met in Stockholm as long ago as 1925. We have also followed with keen interest the deliberations of the Ecumenical Council held last November in Vatican City under the spiritual leadership of Pope Paul the Sixth of Rome.

This Conference may not be able to come to final conclusions here and now. Yet it behoves the leaders of the Churches to begin to seek ways and means of reconciliation and collaboration.

Seek Unity, Peace

As noted in your agenda, you are to consider the problem of peace, because the world today is facing a great dilemma: the catastrophical weapons which are the result of human ingenuity, menace the world to the point of anni-

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hilation, and the human race is more than ever in need of the prayers and support of the Church.

In this fact we have another ground for co-operation with all the Churches of the world. As the followers of Christ let us not forget how often our cause has suffered through disunity.

We would like to refer in conclusion to the question of social welfare in the modern world. For a country can achieve much more in this field if supported by the church. The will of God will be realized and humanity can achieve progress in both the spiritual and material fields in a healthy society.

We consider it a great blessing to Us and to Our people that Your Holinesses have come to bless our land with your sacred presence. Our people and Our Church rejoice to welcome Your Holinesses in our midst.

Holy Fathers, as the spiritual descendants of the Apostles of Christ you have an eminent responsibility, which responsibility would include the improvement of the relations of laity with clergy and of church with society.

We hope and trust that God will guide the discussions here according to His will and that His power will assist Your Holinesses in finding common solutions to common problems in the spirit of amity and concord. May God who helped the 318 Fathers of the council of Nicea enlighten and help us all.

Jan. 15, 1965.

ACCEPTING FORMALLY TITLE “DEFENDER OF THE FAITH”

Venerable and Holy Fathers,

In listening to the profound spiritual message conveyed by your closing addresses, and appreciating the happy outcome of your sustained efforts, Our heart has been touched

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by profound gladness. It should therefore be clear to the whole world from the result of your work that Your Holinesses have been guided and inspired by the Holy Spirit to accomplish your task in love and unity.

The great common tasks accomplished by this conference in unison bestow on the true faith and true order of the Oriental Orthodox Church the admiration of the whole world.

As Solomon says, physical distance cannot be a barrier to love. Likewise, the distances among your respective countries have been abolished by the proximity of your hearts. You have thus been able to speak a single tongue and think with a single mind. We thank Almighty God for enabling Us to witness the realization of Our dream in the successful outcome of this historic Conference.

We are therefore happy to express to you Our readiness, fortified by the results of this Conference, to invite you and the Eastern Orthodox Churches, and also other churches at a later date. We ardently hope that we shall meet once again in the not too distant future.

As We stated at the inauguration of this Conference, to meet together, to take council with one another, and to act in mutual co-operation, has proved a most fruitful method both in the secular and spiritual fields. Henceforth the way is open for you to follow this fruitful path, and to this end Our help and assistance will always be forthcoming, since We support your efforts and ideas out of an unshakable conviction that it is our spiritual duty to do so.

We are gratified in particular to note that the work of this Conference has been concerned purely with religious spiritual matters free from extraneous political considerations. This is only fitting and proper, for the church, as a symbol of peace, must follow the path of peace in all parts of the world. In this connection We are glad to note that your evangelistic mission in the world has received due emphasis

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in your deliberations, together with the recognition of the Christian duty to pray for the rights of man and the peace of the world. For world peace can only be made abiding by the Grace of God, through the prayers of the Holy Fathers. The truth of this cardinal fact is evident to all mankind.

We ardently hope that Almighty God shall bless the implementation of your important resolutions and decisions, just as He has made possible the successful convening and conclusion of this historic Conference.

Holy Fathers, We have welcomed the title you have given Us, Defender of the Faith, with great honour. May Almighty God grace your name. May God welcome your work. We have received this title given Us by you Holy Fathers, with religious reverence. May your prayers help Us in Our effort to fulfil the task entrusted to Us.

Jan. 21, 1965.

TO ALL-AFRICA LUTHERAN CONFERENCE

We welcome to Our Capital the delegates of the All-African Lutheran Churches and also those members of the same Church who have come from the United States of America, Europe and Asia. It is Our duty to be among you at this moment and to open your conference.

It is gratifying to recall that after nearly 1500 years of division in the Christian Church, venerable Heads of the Oriental Orthodox Churches assembled together in this very Hall in January of last year for deliberations on Christian Unity, the Spread of the Teachings of the Gospel, and World Peace.

World Church Leaders have also been frequently assembling in other countries to discuss the responsibilities of the Church of Christ and how to execute them efficiently in order to promote closer relations and co-operation among themselves. It has given a sense of satisfaction to see that Christians and their leaders, realizing the need for close rela-

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tions and aware of their great spiritual responsibilities have in our time come closer in the promotion of their noble cause.

Peace, universally heralded by the Angels at the Birth of Our Saviour, has become even more necessary to mankind than ever before. The alternatives confronting the Governments of today are no longer peace or war, but peace or the annihilation and complete doom of mankind. Therefore, it has now become the noble responsibility of Christians and peoples of other faith and their leaders throughout the world to pray and to work hard for the preservation of world peace.

It is not an exaggeration to say that the spread of the teachings of the Gospel in Africa by various Christian missionaries in the past centuries has served as a guiding factor and instrument for the freedom and independence now enjoyed by many Africans throughout this continent. As St. Paul said: "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty." Many of the present day distinguished leaders of the newly independent African States are men who received their education in church schools and who, inspired by the teachings of the Gospel on human freedom, succeeded in liberating their people after a patient and great struggle. When We look back at this unchallengeable fact, We can clearly see that all their tireless efforts and sacrifices in this glorious struggle were not in vain.

Who could tell that there is so much difference between different religious books and the teachings of Christ as manifested in the works of the Disciples? Although the Ethiopian people are among the first to receive Christianity and have, with great sacrifices, protected and sustained their faith and human rights, including their independence up to the present day, it is an established fact that in the past hundred years foreign evangelist missionaries have greatly assisted many thousands of Ethiopians. Moreover, it is also a fact that they have brought up and educated many Ethiopians among whom We are happy to see, many are placed

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in responsible posts and are serving their country with diligence and devotion. Along with the missionaries' assistance towards the spread of modern education and the betterment of the health of the people, their contributions towards the building of hospitals and the running of clinics is not a matter to be overlooked. Besides teaching the Gospel, they have also given all types of disinterested aid throughout the world. In the social field, in morality, education, food and clothing, these missionaries have stretched their helping hand to Africans, Asians and to other peoples of the world.

Motivated by the teaching of Christ and by the words of St. Mark "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," We are happy to see that the Lutheran World Federation has succeeded in building and establishing a radio station in the capital of Ethiopia – the ancient island of Christianity – to spread the teachings of the Gospel to the peoples of Africa and to those of other countries. We thank the Almighty for the great services that the station has been rendering to Ethiopians and other Africans in particular. It is Our hope and wish that it will continue to be the light of the Gospel to many people for many years to come. In its great task, Our support and that of Our government has never been and will never be withheld.

We do not believe that the religious and social problems that you members of this conference are going to discuss are less significant than the political and economic problems confronting the governments of Africa. However, since the Holy Scriptures have taught us that everything can be accomplished by those who have faith, We hope that your few days of deliberations here in Addis Ababa on matters of spiritual and social problems will be successful through the guidance and the power of Our Saviour. We wish you a pleasant time with your Ethiopian brothers and sisters during your stay among them. May God Almighty bless your deliberations.

Oct. 13, 1965.

CHAPTER XVII

HUMANITARIAN

A father, husband, leader and friend, His Imperial Majesty's life exemplifies the finest qualities of a man among men. Just, yet forgiving, the Emperor's heart has always been full of the milk of human kindness. He has constantly a willing ear and a generous hand in alleviating the woes of the unfortunate, for he, himself, has experienced the pangs of grief as well as the ecstasy of joy.

DEATH OF BLATENGETA HERUYE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The man, whose last rites we now perform and who now goes to his last resting place, is Blatengeta Heruye Wolde Selassie, a gentleman well-bred who stands among the foremost of Ethiopia's intellectuals.

This illustrious son of Our beloved country employed his intelligence and energies for the betterment of His country and was therefore selected for the high post of Minister of Foreign Affairs in Our Government. The books he wrote, which portray his noble character, and, especially those pertaining to history and theology, have made him renowned.

It is hardly necessary to say more of his intellectual attainments and how profoundly we feel about the greatness of his character, about his dedication to a purposeful life, his selfless devotion to help those in trouble, his respect for truth and justice and his burning patriotic zeal for his country – all of which touch Our heart deeply at this hour of his departure.

My loyal friend, Heruye! If Our words prove inadequate in extolling what you have done for your country to the fullest of your ability on this mournful occasion, your deeds themselves will certainly speak more convincingly.

Even though the storm of aggression that upset the

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tranquillity of the world brought you suffering and a severe test of your moral endurance, you did not permit it to overwhelm you. Now, however, it has become your fate to obey the order of the great and merciful Lord, a lot that befalls each and everyone of us in our turn. As it were, after you had accomplished what was within your bounds, you have slept, but although you depart from us physically, your works and your name will always remain among us.

Dear Heruye! As God the Almighty has permitted Us to lay to rest your bones, while your spirit joins with those of your forefathers. We bid you goodbye in this hospitable land to which we came as guests.

Sept. 19, 1938.

ON THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE MAKONNEN

May the Almighty God reward you – all our people, young and old and the thousands of students who have so profoundly shared our grief in the heavy blow we have sustained on the passing of our son, Prince Makonnen. Itague and I are most thankful for your expression of sympathy.

The share that all our people has taken in our sorrow has helped to comfort us. The students whom, with God's help we have provided with education, have with their faithful hearts expressed their grief with tears while we followed the last remains of our son in his funeral. Though he (the deceased Prince) is our son in flesh and blood – those are our children in education. The school boys and girls shed their tears as if for a devoted brother or sister.

Moreover, the telegrams of sympathy which we have received from dignitaries, officials, from foreign lands and from all over the Empire have greatly comforted us. As he is our son and your son, our grief has become your grief.

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We loved our son Makonnen in two ways: In the first, because he is our son. Thus our sorrow under the shadow of his death is that of the heavy-laden heart of a parent at the loss of a child. Secondly, since he was a child he was always beside us offering us essential aid and service. Besides, at the age of 12, during the war, reluctant to separate from us, he marched with us to Dessie helping us to protect ourselves from the raining bombs.

When we were in exile he was Our source of comfort. During his youth he determined to set a good mental and decorous example to those whom we prepared to participate in the progress of our country, thus exemplifying his will, his efforts and his farsightedness.

In his humane reminders to us concerning the poor and indigent, he sought and obtained relief for them. These acts we leave to those who received his benevolence, to recall. Though young he brought constantly to our attention the conditions of all those who deserved help, doing so even very late at night, foregoing all youthful diversion. Young as he was he was so mentally mature that he advised us like an elderly person.

We brought him up by feeding him with a nursing bottle, while his mother gave him her breast. We had hoped that we might precede him, but unexpectedly this tragic loss has deprived us of him. Even if we comply fully with God's commands and take care of his wife and children, can this to us be a substitute for Makonnen? However, Makonnen cannot be to us more than the whole Ethiopian people who are our sons and daughters.

Mortality is man's inevitable course. We must patiently accept God's resolution in giving us Makonnen the one whom He gave us to be the ornament of our life and recalling him.

Today is the third day since we have laid him to rest, and we must go to him since he cannot come to us.

Let us all return to the services for which we have been

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chosen. We must save ourselves so that we may be of service to others. May God accept the tears that were shed and use the hearts of those who have shed them to the progress of our country. So let us return to our duties.

May 18, 1957.

DEATH OF DUKE OF HARAR PRINCE MAKONNEN

The Empress, Ourselves as well as the Imperial Family, have been deeply moved by the manner in which you, Our beloved people, have shared Our sorrow, on the sudden and untimely death of Our son, Prince Makonnen.

As We have had occasion to state in the past because We consider the people of Ethiopia as Our Children, We have not ceased to think of the welfare of Our people despite Our deep sorrow on the loss of Our beloved son. We have, therefore, resumed Our State duties and have likewise ordered all State organs and departments so to do.

Today, We have again sought to address you on this matter because of the increasing number of grief-stricken people who continue to follow from all the thirteen regions of Our Empire. Apart from those that come by train, bus and planes, there are those others who, situated in remote places, have had to travel by mule, on horse-back and on foot. Although We are deeply touched by their expressions of loyalty and love, We are nonetheless concerned about the difficulties that they have had to encounter in reaching Addis Ababa to express their grief.

Our beloved people! We had seen that Our sorrow is your sorrow, and that Our joy is likewise your joy.

Our beloved people! We strongly urge all of you young and old, in government services or in private life to return to your duties and occupations in your respective regions.

May the Almighty God render the tears which you have

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shed on the tragic death of Our son into a blessing and may He protect Ethiopia and Our people.

May 25, 1957.

ADDRESS TO THE BOY SCOUT MOVEMENT

When in 1934, We first inaugurated the Boy Scout Movement in Ethiopia, Our purpose was that it might, with the aid of modern knowledge, assist in the development of that compassion which is inborn in Our youth and the heroism which they have inherited from their forefathers. The Scout's training, besides developing his moral character, is also productive in him of personal discipline, love of fellow beings and a spirit of service directed towards all of created life, animals not excluded.

When twenty-five years ago, in realization of the potential benefits of this movement for Our country, We first established the Boy Scouts Association of Ethiopia, the number of Scouts was no more than three hundred and seventy-five. The services rendered by them, however, during the period of the enemy aggression on Our country far exceeded the limit of their numbers.

We then appointed Our Son, the late Prince Makonnen, Duke of Harar, to be the Chief Scout so that he may participate fully in the Scouts' training as well as in their programme of service; and you are witnesses as to how, till the moment of his being taken away from your midst, he never spared himself in sharing your problems and extending his help in all the Association's needs. All this charity and compassion, and this concern for one's fellow men, sprung from his loyal adherence to the Scout's pledge.

Even in future, the development of the physical and spiritual strength of Our nation is dependent on her youth obtaining Scout and military training along with their acade-

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mic studies, thus combining in themselves the heroism and spirit of determination of their fathers with military training and modern scientific knowledge; and it is for this reason that We have commanded Our Vice-Minister of Education to establish facilities for military training in all Our educational institutions.

On this day, when Boy Scout and Girl Guide troops from all over the country are assembled here for your Annual Jamboree, it gives Us great pleasure to be present in your midst, and to present to you, in place of your erstwhile fellow Scout, the late Prince Makonnen, Duke of Harar, his eldest son Prince Wossen Seged Makonnen, whom We have appointed as your Chief Scout and Patron. As We have commanded him to follow in the footsteps of his illustrious father and to assist you in all your difficulties, so also We entrust to you the responsibility of caring for him and co-operating with him.

June 6, 1959.

CONDOLENCE UPON THE DEATH OF DAG HAMMARSKJOELD

We have been inexpressibly saddened and shocked by the tragic event which has claimed the life of the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization and his companions today. Once again death has stretched out its hand and snatched from our midst a statesman who could ill be spared in these troubled days. To his family and those of his entourage, We extend Our deepest condolences. His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld served as Secretary General of the United Nations for seven years. Throughout the entire period of his service he acted with honesty and integrity as a devoted and selfless international public servant in pursuance of the ideals of peace and the advancement of mankind which

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are the United Nations stated goals. He died fulfilling his duty to this organization and to all of us. As We mourn his untimely passing We hope that his tragic death will inspire us all to redouble our efforts to ensure the continued effectiveness of this institution as the guardian of the peace and the protector of the dignity of man.

Sept. 18, 1961.

PASSING OF EMPRESS MENEN

We are pleased with the speech Our Prime Minister delivered yesterday on behalf of Our Ministers and Our people concerning the demise of Her Imperial Majesty Itegue Menen in which he adequately described her kindness and virtues.

All of you knew her well but she was more intimately known to me. She was devoutly religious and did not lose her faith even in the time of hardship. During the memorable days of Our companionship We never had differences that needed the intervention of others. As Sarah was to Abraham, so was she obedient to me. Our wishes were mutual until we were separated by the Almighty. Her assistance for the good of the young, the old and the needy requires no testimony for they are greater than thoughts and words.

We have been extremely pleased to live long enough in the perfect union that enabled us to see our offspring, our grandchildren and our great grandchildren. We are thankful to the Almighty for having vouchsafed to us that long and uninterrupted union which is not very common in the world today: There could be no more profound prayer for me to utter.

In spite of Our utmost efforts to save her life in her time of illness, she was overtaken by the fate of Adam and passed away.

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We cannot fly in the face of the Almighty, nor can We afford to be idle. Now that the time of mourning has come to an end, the public and our officials must attend to their duties. As idleness is injurious to the welfare of the country, as from Monday everyone should return to his work.

A large number of people have come from the Provinces to take part in Our mourning. Since We do not wish them to continue because this will disrupt normal life, it would be better for them to send two or three representatives with letters.

We are deeply touched by the expressions of grief both on the part of Our people and the foreign communities.

This is not the first time that Our people have joined Us in Our mourning. When Our beloved son, Prince Makonnen, passed away they expressed their grief in no less measure than We ourselves. They have even contributed of their own free will to erect a monument in his honour.

We pray the Almighty shall recompense you for your deeds.

When Itegue was sick the general public, following the events through the radio, shared Our anxiety. To the doctors and her personal attendants We owe a debt for their untiring assistance. May these tears We shed be accepted by God as price for peace in Ethiopia and in the world.

Feb. 15, 1962.

TO THE “FREEDOM FROM HUNGER” CAMPAIGN

From time immemorial, hunger, disease and illiteracy have been man's persistent enemies which have plagued his effort to lead a fuller and healthier life.

Being aware of the urgent necessity to eradicate these causes of human misery, and having realized that this could only be done through their concerted actions in the various

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agencies of the United Nations, the nations of the world have joined hands and pulled together their resources and energies to fight back these scourges.

When, in 1960, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, determined to free mankind from the scourge of hunger, which is one of the three enemies of man, presented a programme of "Freedom From Hunger Campaign" to the Tenth Session of the FAO and the General Assembly of the United Nations, Ethiopia was one of the foremost countries to support and endorse the proposal.

Apart from the various actions and programmes which We endeavour to initiate to enhance and promote the welfare of Our beloved people, Our efforts to propose and support various programmes at the various forums of the United Nations and its specialized agencies have given encouraging results.

At all times, Ethiopia will continue to be the first to take action on such programmes that are designed to fight and eradicate such enemies which threaten human life and prosperity.

All nations have readily and fully endorsed the proposal that the "Freedom From Hunger Campaign" should be established within the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Feb. 20, 1963.

BURIAL OF THE CONGO CASUALTIES

You heroes,

You carried to the sister State of the Congo the bravery and heroism which your country gained from her ago-long struggle for the love of freedom. You sacrificed your lives in defence of the principle of Collective Security. Your sacrifice has borne the desired fruit and the Congo is united today.

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You have honourably executed the orders given to you by Us. You have died in support of the peace mission entrusted to the United Nations. This is a great example. Ethiopia takes pride in her Armed Forces. It has been said death comes as a pleasure to the hero. You have fallen for a noble cause and in so doing have lived up to what is expected of a good, solid soldier. This immortalizes your names in the pages of history. You are dead but the service you have done will live after you, and would keep you in the memory of the living.

It has been said that dust shall return to dust. You sons of Adam have fallen for the honour of your country and for the pride of your people. History shall preserve your names. Ethiopia places you alongside her heroes. May you rest in peace.

Apr. 19, 1963.

UPON THE DEATH OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

We are deeply grieved at the tragic and shocking death of John F. Kennedy, the great leader and President of the American nation, a man dedicated to the achievement of world peace and equality and dignity to all men.

We met President Kennedy in Washington less than two months ago. It was Our privilege then to witness for Ourselves the untiring efforts and the far-sighted vision which he brought to his role as leader of the American people. We were struck by his courage and resoluteness, by his determination that peace must be assured to all men, by his devotion to the principles of the equality of men and the assurance of life, liberty, and happiness to all. It is not given to many to leave in so short a span of years, so indelible an imprint on his nation and on the course of world events.

Not only Ethiopians but all men mourn the passing of

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this great statesman. Struck down by an assassin's bullet, he died a martyr to the highest ideals of humanity. Let each Ethiopian today pause for a moment in his daily tasks and lament the passing of this man, a good friend to Ethiopia, who understood our problems, who sympathized with us in our struggles and who shared our dearest desires and hopes for the future.

The untimely and sudden death of President Kennedy at an early age has deprived the American nation and the entire world of the inspiration and services of this dedicated and determined leader. He will be mourned not only by his loved ones but by all peoples, and particularly by the peoples of Africa.

In this time of suffering and sorrow, We extend Our deepest and most heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy, to their young children, to the father and mother so rudely and suddenly deprived of a beloved son, to his relatives, and to the American people who have sustained so cruel a loss. We ask Almighty God to support and strengthen his family and the American people in this unhappy hour, and We pray that his soul may rest in peace, as his memory will live in history.

Nov. 23, 1963.

TO THE WORLD COUNCIL FOR THE BLIND

It is with great pleasure that We have delegated Ato Abebe Kebede, Administrator General of Our Welfare Foundation, and who is also responsible for the welfare and education of the blind in Ethiopia, to attend and participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly of the World Council for the Welfare of the Blind which is to be held in New York from July 30th to August 12th, 1964.

Since the standard of living of the blind people in gene-

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ral is much to be desired yet in the developing countries. We feel that it is your great responsibility to give deep and thoughtful consideration to this problem in the course of your discussions, as well as to study the impact of blindness in the said countries. In doing so, We are confident that you shall be the hope for your brothers and sisters living in darkness at the remote corners of the earth. We also urge the countries who are economically advanced and who have had greater experience in the education of the blind to share their knowledge with others in this field.

We assure you that as long as Our means permit, We shall not fail to support your objectives and closely participate in your activities.

May God bless your work.

July 29, 1964.

CHAPTER XVIII

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Emperor Haile Selassie I has always given time to the Press whether foreign or local. He likewise recognizes publications of the printed word as a very essential instrument in fostering informed domestic and world public opinion. Early in the 1920's He imported into Ethiopia the first printing press which has today grown to be the largest and most modern printing complex in the nation.

INTERVIEW WITH EDITOR “VOICE OF ETHIOPIA”

Question:

Perceiving the great benefit the Ethiopian people have been able to derive from the Constitution which Your Majesty has been pleased to grant to them 27 years ago, and observing the great change and improvement in the way of life of the people since then, Your Majesty has been once again pleased to grant the new Revised Constitution on the Twenty-fifth Coronation Anniversary to suit the politically and intellectually advanced state of the present generation.

This Revised Constitution has enabled the entire Ethiopian people to have the right to elect and be elected to Parliament. Consequently, we find today the representatives of the people performing their duties in Parliament after being elected by secret ballot in the spirit of the Constitution. Would it please Your Majesty to make known your views on the significant changes that have come about in the country within these 27 years?

Answer:

Deeply conscious of the great responsibility conferred on Us by God in guiding the destiny of Our people, and realizing that in order to build their future well-being on more solid ground and to give a new facade to their way of life no better alternative could be

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found than to allow them to participate in the various activities of the State, We have been pleased to proclaim a Constitution 27 years ago. It is well-known that that Constitution had opened a new chapter in the long history of the Ethiopian people and acted as a bridge over which they passed into an era of prosperity and better living standards.

Even though what we planned for Our people in this new chapter of their history had been interrupted by a cruel invasion and war, Our strong determination has enabled Us to get over the obstacles presented by the war and to patiently lead Our people to the comparatively high level in which they find themselves today.

On the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Our coronation We promulgated the new Revised Constitution which guarantees to Our people the right to elect and be elected to Parliament. thereby allowing them to increasingly share with Us the difficult task of government. We felt this necessary in view of the spread of education and the satisfactory progress made by our people during the last 27 years which was largely the result of Our personal efforts in Our capacity as Minister of Education. Our future expectation, therefore, is for Our people to be wise enough to make full and judicious use of the rights We have granted them and to give Us unstinted support and assistance in everything We do to make Ethiopia great.

Question:

Economists of various countries have of late been expressing the view that Ethiopia has the potential capacity of providing food grains to a 100 million people of the Middle East, thus predicting that Ethiopia would one day become the virtual granary of this region. Would it please Your Majesty to express your opinion on this matter?

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Answer:

Undoubtely Ethiopia is a large country whose future potentialities are satisfactory in every way. Her richness in resources is a fact well-known to us leaving aside the opinion of experts on the matter. It is in order to exploit this great wealth to the full that we have introduced modern agricultural techniques into Ethiopia hoping thereby to make Our country capable of providing food grains not only for her own increasing population but also for the outside world. The various agricultural schools and colleges found in the provinces have been established with the object of giving useful training to Our people in modern methods of farming. When the high expectation We have of those institutions comes to be realized, therefore, We have not the slightest doubt that Ethiopia will be able to produce sufficient enough to provide many countries with food grains. This has been our strong belief all along.

Question:

The future of the Somali peoples living in the territories bordering on Ethiopia under the rule of the three powers has been the object of speculation in some foreign newspapers lately.

While some appear to have grasped the problems that have to be dealt with in the future, they often make it appear as if the only solution lies in the permanent division of these territories which is undoubtedly detrimental to all concerned in this region. What is the view of Your Majesty in this all-important matter?

Alien Self- Interest

Answer:

In the years following the Second World War several attempts have been made by politically interested

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parties to create situations that would arouse our anxieties concerning the Somalis living in the territories bordering on Ethiopia. What we see from time to time appearing in some foreign newspapers is motivated by the same policy of preserving self-interest by creating dissention and disharmony in this area which cannot be said to be in the interest of the peoples of the region.

Our attitude to the Somalis who belong to the same race as the Ethiopian people and share with them a common history, has always been crystal clear, namely, that of supporting everything conducive to their well-being and progress. It was in keeping with this policy that we recently invited the leaders of United Nations Trust Somalia and had talks with them here. Our strong appeal to our Somali brothers is to be aware of those who, in the furtherance of their self-interest, seek to plunge this area into chaos, thereby disturbing the peace that has reigned in this part of the world for a long time. Much harm can be avoided by understanding in time the real intentions of these self-seekers.

Question:

Even though some nations in Africa have recently acquired their independence there are yet many who have not had that fortune. Would Your Majesty be kind enough to explain if there is anything that Ethiopia is doing as an African country to improve the lot of these unfortunate African people?

Strong Supporter

Answer:

Realizing that the bitter struggle which these African countries are carrying on for their freedom and independence is right and just. We have always been their strong supporters at all international conferences.

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It is our firm determination to consistently follow this policy under all circumstances.

Ethiopia's decision to take part in the deliberations of the conference of independent African states to be held at Accra this month springs from her desire to exchange views with the other sister African states and formulate ways and means of cooperating with each other on matters vitally affecting our continent. We strongly believe that each nation has an inherent right to shape its own destiny and to seek its own way to the high state of advancement which the free nations of the world have attained.

Question:

During the Middle Ages the world had witnessed bitter wars arising among peoples on account of religious differences. The bloodshed and many other evils created by those wars could only be stopped after men came to the realization that peace and harmony could be found only through tolerance and a spirit of accommodation.

There are many circles who advocate similar solutions to our present day world problems. Does Your Majesty believe that the spirit of co-existence or accommodation, without one country trying to impose its system and way of life on the other, would be an ideal solution to our present-day problems and to ensure peace?

Co-Existence Possible

Answer:

Nations differing in ideologies could live side by side in peace unless they clash on matters involving self-interest.

We live in an age of ideologies and world peace is too precious a thing to be disturbed merely because of

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the clash of these ideologies. It is an entirely different matter though, when one country attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of another. We believe that if all nations make the Charter of the United Nations the basis of their international relationships, all can live in peace and harmony in spite of their differences in ideologies.

Question:

Many people have voiced the view that to carry on a peaceful construction and at the same time keep on building up military preparations is something that entails a great burden on the national economy. In fact it is the earnest desire of all nations to keep their military expenditures to the minimum while allotting most of their national budgets to peace pursuits. But in order to realize this desire it is necessary to devise a machinery that will guarantee their security and safety while pursuing their peaceful vocations. There are some quarters who hold that the United Nations is capable of providing the necessary safeguards against aggression. Does Your Majesty believe this organization, as at present constituted, to be strong enough to perform the great task of guaranteeing the safety and security of peaceful states?

Responsibility Needs Power

Answer:

For the United Nations Organization to guarantee peace and security in the world it must first of all enjoy an authority proportionate to its world-wide responsibility. As we have repeatedly emphasized on several occasions in the past, the United Nations Organization must be provided with a strong force of its own so as to enable it to enforce its own decisions and thereby become an effective safeguard against aggression.

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Even though it is admittedly a great burden on the national economy of nations to keep up both military and peaceful developments side by side, no nation can afford to neglect its basic defence requirements in order to guarantee its own security.

On the other hand, the armaments race, apart from depriving nations of the wealth that could have been used for peaceful purposes, has created great fear and anxiety among the peoples of the world. It would indeed be in the interest of world peace if the nations of the world reach an agreement to stop the arms race. When a general agreement is finally reached on the question of disarmament all preparations of a military nature will gradually assume less significance than they do at present.

Question:

There are people everywhere who hold that civilization has done more harm than good to humanity. These people argue that even though the so-called modern progress has brought some physical comfort, it has done incalculable harm to and greatly weakened the spiritual values regarded so highly in former times. What they call spiritual values are those things which are usually associated with religion. In other words the great progress made in the field of science has contributed to the weakening of the influence of religion and has deprived man of that inner calm that he so much needs for his spiritual well-being. What is Your Majesty's opinion on this matter?

Progress Must Be Moral

Answer:

One cannot deny that in former times man's life had been one of toil and hardship. It is correct to say, therefore, that modern civilization and the progress of

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science have greatly improved man's life and have brought comfort and ease in their trail.

But civilization can serve man both for good as well as for evil purposes. Experience shows that it has invariably brought great dividends to those who use it for good purposes while it has always brought incalculable harm and damnation to those who use it for evil purposes.

To make our wills obedient to good influences and to avoid evil, therefore, is to show the greatest wisdom. In order to follow this aim one must be guided by religion. Progress without religion is just like a life surrounded by unknown perils and can be compared to a body without a soul.

All human inventions, from the most primitive tool to the modern atom, can help man greatly in his peaceful endeavours. But if they are put to evil purposes they have the capacity to wipe out the human race from the surface of the earth.

It is only when the human mind is guided by religion and morality that man can acquire the necessary vision to put all his ingenuous inventions and contrivances to really useful and beneficial purposes. The progress of science can be said to be harmful to religion only in so far as it is used for evil aims and not because it claims a priority over religion in its revelation to man.

It is important that spiritual advancement must keep pace with material advancement. When this comes to be realized man's journey toward higher and more lasting values will show more marked progress while the evil in him recedes into the background.

Knowing that material and spiritual progress are essential to man, we must ceaselessly work for the equal attainment of both. Only then shall we be able to acquire that absolute inner calm so necessary to our well-being.

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It is only when a people strike an even balance between scientific progress and spiritual and moral advancement that it can be said to possess a wholly perfect and complete personality and not a lopsided one. The type of progress we have chalked out for Ethiopia is based on these fundamental principles.

Apr. 5, 1948

INTERVIEWED BY YUGOSLAV PRESS

During our recent visit, with President Nasser of the United Arab Republic We exchanged views on the utilization of the Nile Waters. It was clearly understood by all that the resources of the Nile are adequate for the needs of all the riparian states, provided of course that there is consultation and agreement between them. We were able to inform President Nasser that We have Our own plans for the utilization of the Blue Nile River. It is Our impression that President Nasser fully understands Our position on this question.

On our part a study is under way for the development of the Nile basin, and it is expected that construction will start in the vicinity of Lake Tana in the very near future. The study is being conducted by a team of experts from various countries. The extent of the benefit to accrue for Ethiopia from the utilization of the Nile waters can best be judged from the benefits already being drawn from this river by both Sudan and the United Arab Republic.

Our relations with Yugoslavia in general and in the fields of economic cooperation and exchange of trade in particular have developed rapidly. To cite two among the many projects which we have been able to develop with the assistance provided by the Yugoslav Government by credit and technical assistance are the port of Assab and a survey of the Water Resources of Ethiopia. It is Our expectation

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that these relations and collaboration between Yugoslavia and Ethiopia will further develop for the mutual benefit of our two peoples.

During Our recent visit to the USSR, We felt that the people and Government of that country sincerely desired peace. This impression has been confirmed also by what the Authorities have declared to Us.

It is our hope that efforts for peace would not confine themselves to verbal statements, but would work out in the actual relations between the nations of the world.

We have also been deeply impressed by the vast resources of the country and the industry and diligence of the people.

As to the question regarding trade and cooperation between Ethiopia and Communist nations, problems of communication and geographical location can stand in the way of development. But trade relations have already been commenced with some of these countries, and a certain amount of development can be anticipated.

Regarding the expansion of Communism in the Middle East, you are in a better position to assess the situation than We are. We are happy about the resumption of diplomatic relations between UAR and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, since it would ease some of the tension that exists in the Middle East, and pave the way for closer cooperation.

Regarding the recent appointments in the Iraq Government, We would consider this an internal matter of that Government, and would not like to express any opinion, since We believe in the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

Eisenhower- Khrushchev Meeting

The forthcoming meeting between President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev may well thaw the cold war and become a step on the road to peace, for which the whole

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world yearns deeply, and therefore it is a very significant event in the history of our decade. We welcome this meeting. However, it has to be stated quite categorically that no ultimate solution can be arrived at without all the nations who are members of the U.N. organization participating in it. The mistakes of the Congress of Berlin and of Yalta are not to be repeated. The small nations, having also committed themselves to the principles and Charter of the United Nations, would expect the big powers to adhere to those principles of self-determination for small and big nations and to the channels of negotiations, which have been established in our age after great sacrifices.

The main impression that We have gathered from Our recent visit to many countries in Africa and Europe, is that all people are primarily desirous of working in peace to improve their standards of living. Since peace is the basic requirement for the peoples of the world to cooperate among themselves for the betterment of their lives, it becomes an imperative duty of the leaders of nations, as We have often stated, to make striving for peace the primary objective of their national and international policy. We would like to reaffirm Our strong conviction that the principles of coexistence enunciated at the historic conferences of Bandung and Accra should form a major basis in international relations.

Ethio-Yugoslav Relations

We have been pleased by the development of the close friendship and collaboration between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia, during the past years, which have, as is known, yielded valuable results to both nations. Since it is Our fervent desire to see the development and strengthening of this collaboration in various fields, We shall strive harder towards this objective. The friendship between Ethiopia and Yugoslavia bears eloquent testimony to the possibility of nations with different

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political systems cooperating in facing their common problems and working together towards world peace.

We remember how, during Our previous visit to Yugoslavia five years ago, the people of this country gave warm expression to their feelings of friendship towards Ourselves and Our people. During the present visit also, the heartfelt welcome extended to Us by the peoples of the Slovenian and Croatia Republics, has manifested to Us genuinity of their goodwill towards Us and Our people. We have not only experienced the hospitality of the people, but have also observed with admiration the priority given to, and the progress achieved in the field of industrial development. This achievement assures Us that the people of Yugoslavia, under the able leadership of His Excellency President Tito, would, in the near future, attain an even greater degree of development and welfare.

Sept. 9, 1959.

TO VISITING U. S. EDITORS

It is a great pleasure for Us to receive this large delegation of American journalists. We take your visit as a manifestation of interest in the challenge which Africa has so long presented to the world, a challenge to respect for the principles of freedom, of international Law, non-intervention, mutual respect and progress, a challenge, also, that for too many decades had gone unheard. For years, as Sovereign of one of the oldest and very few independent States on this Continent, We had been called by historic events to press forward, at times quite alone, in defence of those principles. We, therefore, take your presence here today as an evidence of the encouragement which is now flowing in from all quarters of the world to those who have fought and who are continuing to fight for those ideals and principles.

Freedom, in Africa, as the history of Our Reign, We

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believe, demonstrates, signifies an implacable and unceasing struggle against colonialism. Within Our lifetime, Ethiopia has twice been called upon to defend her age-old independence against invasion. The victory of Adowa merely gave her a respite, during which time imperialist forces built up their plans and strength to attack us once again. As before at Adowa in 1896, so Ethiopia in 1935, under Our leadership, waged without assistance an implacable struggle against superior forces. Many were the occasions before and during the years of lonely vigil abroad, when imperialist interests sought to bring Us and Our people to abjure and abandon Our high cause. They did not even hesitate to utilize neighbouring brothers and territories, like Somaliland, as bases for assaults upon our independence, although many of those brothers fought on our side against imperialism. We and Our people rejected these attempts and so, at a critical stage of world history, helped defend the cause of the freedom of Africa.

However, even upon vindicating our freedom, the struggle had not yet been won. Vested interests persisted in opposing the return to Ethiopia of lands and population torn off by colonialist aggression, as well as her access to the sea. Today, in this region, as elsewhere in Africa, these interests seek through “Balkanization” to consolidate their positions in the face of coalescence of national forces.

African Liberation

Nevertheless, with the victory, and although much remained to be accomplished, We turned Our efforts towards advancing the cause of freedom of others on this Continent. We felt it important that Our brothers in Africa should attain to freedom and independence without the cruel sacrifices and sufferings We had known. However, the proffering of this assistance to others was beset with many difficulties.

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At the end of the War, as indeed, for decades before the War, Ethiopia was still totally surrounded, even cut off from the sea, by colonial territories. Colonialist interests had thus built a barrier to separate us from the rest of Africa. Notwithstanding these obstacles, we contributed, as we are today contributing, to the movement for the liberation of all African peoples. For years, therefore, We brought Our efforts to bear at the United Nations and elsewhere, to bring the nations of the world to the realization that colonialism is no longer possible on the Continent of Africa.

Thus, alone in 1896, alone in 1925, alone in 1935 and alone at Geneva in 1936, Ethiopia fought for those principles of freedom, independence, territorial integrity, non-intervention and collective security that have become today the implicit precepts upon which the United Nations are based and which, through that struggle, have so substantially contributed to the achievement of independence and the end of colonialism in Africa. Years ago, We took the lead in pressing by active measures, for the freedom and independence of those States who today are honoured Members of the United Nations.

Since political freedom cannot be assured without economic independence, this struggle has been a long and, at times, a bitter one. The economic obstacles are formidable, to say nothing of the political opposition which those economic obstacles in fact support. The opposition would divide the countries of Africa, profiting by their present vulnerable economic postures, in order to promote political aims.

We are confident that, by concerting among themselves, the people of Africa will be able to build an enduring community linked by solid economic as well as political bonds. However, it is important that the opportunities for consultation be expanded to a maximum. For this reason, Ethiopia has been a staunch supporter of every conference of Independent Africa States. We feel that by consultation and

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co-operation between independent States, the clarity and force of the ideals or of freedom can best be preserved. Addis Ababa has thus been the scene of many conferences of African countries, and, in June of this year, the second Conference of Independent African States will meet in Our Capital, to be followed by a series of other African meetings.

Purposeful Visits

Moreover, during the last few years, We have personally travelled to your great country, to Europe, to the Far East, and to the Middle East, in order to press the cause of freedom in Africa. Now We are engaged in a series of visits to the independent countries of Africa so as to assist in strengthening the bases of collaboration which are so necessary for the attainment of those objectives.

In concerting our efforts, we must, at the same time, be prepared to pool our energies and resources and to contribute to the establishment of an African programme of mutual aid. For example, the independent African States have the obligation to open their educational institutions to students from all African countries. We have, to this end, already provided no less than 250 scholarships. It is hoped that Our University at Addis Ababa may play an ever-more important role in this great African endeavour. Here is a field where disinterested foreign contributions would be of inestimable value in drawing closer together peoples of distant Continents.

Similarly, it is essential that capital resources be available to permit that industrial development which is so essential to the maintenance of political and economic independence. It is a fact that too many agricultural countries today fail to perceive that a measure of industrial development and an industrial structure constitute a necessary safeguard of economic autonomy and, consequently, of political independence. We firmly believe that foreign capital and skills can,

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without compromising political or economic independence – on the contrary, by supporting them, make a profound contribution to the progress and welfare of African peoples. In this situation, the greatest industrial Power today should be alert to augment the measure of its investments in the African economies.

It is to be hoped that, with greater knowledge of African affairs which your visit to this Continent will certainly bring about, and with a more penetrating comprehension of the motive and ideals which are inspiring all Africans today, it may prove possible to open a new era of material as well as political and spiritual progress for the good of mankind.

Mar. 14, 1960.

PRESS CONFERENCE REGARDING SOMALIA

We appreciate this opportunity to meet with you representatives of the Press and explain to you certain matters dealing with relations between Ethiopia and the Republic of Somalia which have not up to now received the attention which they merit.

You are all familiar with the details of the armed aggression which the military forces of the Republic of Somalia have carried out against Ethiopia. You may not, however, be as familiar with the background against which this aggression must be viewed.

First of all, we must accept as an irrefutable fact that the Republic of Somalia is dedicated to a policy of territorial aggrandizement at the expense of her neighbours, and that she appears prepared to pursue this policy by all available means. This policy is written into Somalia's Constitution. Somalia's claims to Ethiopian territory have been repeated by her leaders not once but many times.

By contrast, Ethiopia's policy with respect to Somalia

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has been that the boundary established between the two countries should be respected by both. Ethiopia has never menaced or threatened Somalia, and we are asserting no territorial claims of any sort against her.

In the family of nations there are countries with populations even smaller than that of the Republic of Somalia which nonetheless live in peace and in harmony with their neighbours. However, the Somalia leaders, inspired by their expansionist policy, have resorted to force and false propaganda, have attacked Ethiopia, and have shed innocent blood in pursuit of their objectives. We have explained in the past the consequences and the dangers inherent in this policy, and We shall continue to do so. We have expressed Our sorrow that this policy continues, and We hope that the people of the Republic of Somalia have recognized the truth of what We have said.

The Somalia leaders have chosen to execute their expansionist policy in a variety of ways, ranging from falsehood to force. The Somalia Government has sent armed bands into the territories of Ethiopia and Kenya, where they attack, rob, loot and then flee into the shelter of the Republic of Somalia. At the same time, the Government of Somalia has carried on an intensive and malicious press and radio campaign against Ethiopia which is unparalleled in this day and age in its violence. The Ethiopian people and leaders have been insulted in the most vituperative and slanderous terms. Somalia's radio has called for revolution in Ethiopia and has incited subversion and sabotage. In all that she has done, Somalia has violated almost daily for the last three and one-half years the most sacred principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity.

Reject Propaganda

By contrast, Ethiopia has refrained from replying in kind and has limited herself to defending her territory against the

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Somalia Government to end its propaganda against Our nation because We know that such a campaign is calculated permanently to poison relations between the people of Ethiopia and Somalia, and particularly those of ex-British Somaliland who enter Ethiopia to graze here and who also have close commercial relations with Our country.

Two weeks ago Somalia launched a direct armed attack against Ethiopia's security forces along the frontier and earlier reports that the Somalia Government has maintained training centres in Somalia for preparing armed bandits to violate and commit acts of violence and subversion in Ethiopia were conclusively confirmed. Ethiopia promptly invoked the Charter of African Unity and requested an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. Somalia, however, chose not to refer this matter to her African brothers. Instead, in an attempt to involve non-African nations in a dispute which should, initially at least, be considered by Africans, she appealed to the Security Council of the United Nations. In accordance with Ethiopia's request, and, belatedly, Somalia's, the Council of Ministers met at Dar-es-Salaam. Ethiopia has observed the Resolutions adopted there but, in direct violation of these Resolutions, Somalia has ceased neither her armed attacks nor her propaganda campaign and has continued her aggression against Our nation.

In recent days, Somalia has embarked upon a new course. First, she alleged that American and Israeli aircraft were involved in hostilities on Ethiopia's side, then that British troops had joined Ethiopian forces in action against Somalia. These charges are, of course, unfounded and are complete fabrications, as is virtually everything emanating from Mogadiscio these days. Ethiopia is self-reliant. We need no non-African assistance to defend our soil. Ethiopia has strained every energy to ensure that Africans themselves refrain from and avoid the shedding of African blood, and

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the energies of all of us should be enlisted in this effort. Only a few days ago, the Prime Minister of Somalia threatened to unleash 150,000 armed nomads from the Republic against Ethiopia. To this, let Us only reply that history bears witness that, in less time than it would take to recount, were it necessary to do so, Ethiopia could have under arms one soldier for every member of Somalia's entire population. The Prime Minister's reckless statement reflects only on those who speak in this fashion and any action such as that threatened by the Somalia leaders would have the most far-reaching consequences. Ethiopia is not boastful, but her history testifies to the courage and bravery of which she disposes in defending her territory and her independence. She has been preserved with the help of the Almighty, Who is ever at her side.

Shall Defend Soil

Thus far, Ethiopia has restrained herself. We shall continue to do so, but we shall defend our soil and our territorial integrity with all the force at our disposal. But the permanent solution to this problem lies only in Somalia's final renunciation of the policy of territorial aggrandizement which she has unswervingly followed during the last three and one-half years and which has led to the sorry state of relations between our two nations today.

One final point must be clear. There is no border conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia. The border is defined in the Treaties of 1897 and 1908, which constitute the very basis upon which Somalia was granted her independence by the United Nations. The frontier in the North, defined in the Treaty of 1897 between Ethiopia and Great Britain, has been demarcated on the ground for over thirty years. The boundary in the South, defined in the Treaty of 1908 with Italy, has not been so demarcated, but half of the countries of the world today live in peace with their neighbours while their

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common frontiers remain undemarcated. When the United Nations placed the former Italian colony of Somaliland under trusteeship in 1950, a Provisional Administrative Line was established by the United Nations and, at Ethiopia's insistence, this Line was defined with precision. When Somalia became independent in 1960, this same Line determined the limits of the new Republic.

It is clear that the aggression which Somalia has committed against Ethiopia is not an isolated incident or an act of recklessness unrelated to some broader pattern. It is part and parcel of the expansionist policy which Somalia has consistently adhered to since July 1, 1960. It is equally clear that this policy is unacceptable to Ethiopia. We seek only peace. We still retain the hope that the people of Somalia who have, on various occasions, expressed their deep concern over the policies detrimental to Somalia and her people, may yet repudiate the adventure upon which their leaders have embarked in order that bloodshed may end and tranquility may once again be restored to the Horn of Africa. How far better it would be were the money expended in the pursuit of columny and aggression used, instead, for the benefit and welfare of the people of Somalia. How far wiser it would be were Somalia's leaders working in a spirit of harmony and friendship, for the improvement of relations between our two countries.

We have already explained Our position to the African leaders who have tried to reconcile our differences with Somalia and who have sent messages and special envoys to Us. For their concern, and for the interest and sympathy which they and their people have manifested, We express Our thanks. We have told them that we covet no one's territory, but that neither will we yield what is ours. We have stated our wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours. Seeking nothing which is theirs, we also do not seek their enmity.

Feb. 24, 1964.

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PRESS CONFERENCE: 74TH BIRTHDAY

Ladies and Gentlemen of the press,

Today I called this press conference in order, first of all, to convey some of my thoughts about recent happenings and in the second place, to provide you with an opportunity to ask questions on any subject you might desire.

First I would like to say a few words on the recent decision of the International Court of Justice on the legal action that was brought by Ethiopia and Liberia against South Africa concerning South West Africa. As everybody knows by now, all mankind is concerned about the situation in South West Africa, and what the policy of the South African Government implies to the rest of the world.

The International Court at the Hague has discussed the South West African question for several years now. Ethiopia, Liberia and many other African states as well as men of good-will everywhere have done their best to see that justice is rendered in this case so that the people in that unfortunate country are freed from the status of oppression to which they are subjected at the present. Justice is the essence of civilized existence. Unfortunately the decision of the Court has been influenced more by political than by legal considerations.

I know of the great hope that was placed upon the Court when it was established. At the very outset, I know the Court made useful decisions in certain cases but the tendency of the Court, if we take the recent decision as an example of what we may expect in the future, does not inspire confidence, and because of this we feel that there will be a lesser tendency to resort to judicial settlement of disputes.

The plaintiffs before the Court were Ethiopia and Liberia, but in a sense, one can say all peace-loving peoples were somehow concerned about and were anxiously awaiting the result which was expected to be in accordance with the demands of justice. It is quite true that judges are free in

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their task of decision-making but the decisions must be in accordance with the law. However we must also point out that humanity has the right to require that certain fundamental institutions and thoughts of value which are common to all society and are indispensable to peace be incorporated as part of the principles of international law upon which the International Court of Justice should base itself. The Statute of the Court does make adequate provisions for that.

I must point out that this judgment is contrary to the interests of mankind and more particularly, contrary to the interests of the African peoples. I say the decision was affected more by political than legal considerations. However we are not at the end of the road. I believe we are going to continue to struggle for the removal of the system of apartheid and oppression in South West Africa, and I am confident that this struggle will bring about a satisfactory solution to the problem.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, Your long life has been one of eventful years of accomplishments of many things. Many events have transpired in the world, too. Which ones does Your Imperial Majesty find the most significant?

Longevity A Divine Gift

Answer:

I thank God for giving me such a long life. This is a matter which can be only considered as a gift from the Almighty. In my long life I have seen and experienced many things. Ever since I was 18 years old, I saw many things happening both in my own country and abroad. It is difficult to point out the most important events during that long period which comprises many decades. The two events that stand out, and which affected and influenced the course of events throughout the world, have of course been World War I and

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World War II; the bloodshed during the two world wars, why they were fought, how they were concluded and the aftermath of those wars. In particular, speaking of these world wars, I recollect of the influence leaders exerted on the course of events. The history of World War I, of World War II and the aftermath will always stand out in the annals of history. We know those who were responsible for those wars – the men with evil purpose and evil mind – who took the leadership in certain parts of the world and the events that followed. Anybody who has lived through these two great wars and the bloodshed must recognize the need for effective safeguards to maintain international peace.

I also know that certain institutions in certain states were responsible for the outbreak of the world wars. Since then democratic institutions and procedures have been strengthened throughout the world, and I am confident that as a result of this experience of the last decades we are in a better position to maintain world peace.

Of course, the Second World War had affected Ethiopia. It is a well-known fact that our country fell victim to the aggressive forces of Fascism. I had the privilege of pleading the case before the League of Nations in Geneva but the League's collective security system had not been strengthened and there were no standard procedures to which there was universal adherence for the settlement of international disputes. The system failed. Ethiopia suffered from the failure of that system but the concept of collective security was more firmly established after the war.

I know that men of goodwill everywhere sympathized with Ethiopia. We continued the struggle to free our people from the rule of aliens and finally we were able to overcome the enemy. We returned to our capital city and began extensive programmes for the progress of our country.

Furthermore, we witnessed the emergence of the new independent African states, the laying of the foundation

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here in Addis Ababa for a greater unity among the African peoples. These are some of the events I recollect and to which I attach great significance.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, do You see any relationship between the League of Nations' failure to take action on the situation Ethiopia faced in 1935-36 and the failure of the Court to take action on the South West African case in 1966?

Material Difference

Answer:

There is a material difference between the failure of the League's collective security system in 1935 and 1936 and failure of the International Court of Justice to consider the merits of the South West African case.

The collective security system arrangement that we thought, and everybody thought, was secured under the Covenant of the League of Nations collapsed completely. The failure of the International Court of Justice now to consider the merits of the South West African case means that legal procedures for the settlement of the dispute are no longer open to us and that we are to approach the problem from another angle, perhaps by insisting to invoke the collective security measures under the Charter of the United Nations. So that in the two cases I see this important difference: while the League of Nations collapsed completely, in the case of the International Court of Justice, it was one particular organ of the collective security system that failed to respond to the demands of justice in South West Africa.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, has the situation in Rhodesia and the struggle that was taken in relation to that question tended to weaken the Organization of African Unity?

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Answer:

Needless to say, all the African peoples were disheartened by events in Rhodesia and by the failure of the efforts of many states and individuals to restore the legitimate rights to the African majority in Southern Rhodesia.

There are of course many ways to solve a problem; there are many methods of peaceful settlement and there is also the question of the use of force, but I believe that before we resort to measures such as the use of force, we must exhaust all reasonable peaceful methods. So far, the African states had jointly taken some action but they had put greater faith on the British Government to crush the illegal regime there. However, we are sad to say that such measures on the part of the British Government have not been successful and they have not been adequate.

The African states in the Organization of African Unity have no difference so far as the Rhodesian question is concerned. Certain differences about the approaches to the problem existed in the past but we are confident that in our future actions we will be more united than ever for a just settlement of the Rhodesian question.

I am sure that when the African heads of state reconvene their regular summit here the Rhodesian question will be prominent on their agenda.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, You have been the leader of our people for the last 49 years. What are Your Majesty's views concerning the progress that the country has achieved in the last 49 years?

Constitutional Changes

Answer:

We have witnessed many accomplishments in the last 49 years – and all these achievements have given sustained benefits to the Ethiopian people. If I were to be asked to

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name just a few, I would say the outstanding achievement has been in the constitutional changes of our country. We have made it possible for the participation of all our people in the work of the government. We have instituted systems by which the rights of our people are protected. In the economic field, we have instituted systems by which the Ethiopian people can help themselves and their government also. We see that the efforts we have invested on the improvement of our national life are at present giving forth good results to our people. Although I will be the first to say that what has been achieved has not been fully satisfactory, the country is moving ahead, progress is being attained by the people and the future is full of hope and promise.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, General de Gaulle will pay a state visit to Ethiopia in the near future. Do you expect special agreements to be signed between Ethiopia and France as a result of the visit?

Answer:

We have enjoyed a relation of friendship with France for many years. The economic, cultural and other relations our people maintained with the French people are well-known. When General de Gaulle arrives here we shall have the opportunity to discuss ways and means by which we can strengthen further this good relation between our two countries. I am confident that when General de Gaulle visits Ethiopia we shall have the opportunity to work out concrete agreements of mutual co-operation. I am glad he accepted our invitation to visit Ethiopia. I am sure the result will be satisfactory to both our peoples.

Question:

What have been the main achievements by Ethiopia in the last few decades?

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Answer:

The answer to this question can be very long. I have already pointed out the achievements that were attained in the constitutional and economic fields. Now I wish to add the progress we have made and we intend to make in the future in the field of education.

Education is not new in Ethiopia. Although we did not have any modern universities, for centuries we had enjoyed our own system of education – a system that brought great benefit to our people. However, more recently we embarked on a modern system of education and a great deal has been achieved. I am confident that in the future we will work even harder and get even more satisfactory results. It is because I considered education indispensable to the needs of Ethiopia that I personally assumed for a number of years the portfolio of the Minister of Education.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, what do you think about the invitation to Your Imperial Majesty by Mr. Podgorny, the President of the Soviet Union to visit the USSR?

Answer:

Yes, the Soviet Government has extended an invitation to me to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union. I was glad to receive the invitation. When I visit the Soviet Union I hope I will have an opportunity to discuss with the responsible officials of the Soviet Government matters of mutual interest between our two countries and also matters which I hope will help to strengthen peace.

I said I was glad to accept the invitation but the precise date of my visit is still under consideration. There are certain matters to be discussed at a certain level in this connection.

July 30, 1966.

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PRESS CONFERENCE ON DJIBOUTI

Gentlemen of the press: I have asked you to assemble here today because I have an important announcement to make to you. The matter that I will be considering this afternoon affects the vital interests of both the people of Ethiopia and the Djibouti Territory.

The question of Djibouti Territory has come to the forefront as you know, recently. But we must not be mistaken in the fact that the Djibouti Territory is an integral part of Ethiopia. This is not a fictitious claim; it is based on facts.

As is well known, the frontiers of Ethiopia had stretched from time immemorial to the shores of the sea and the area that is today known as Djibouti Territory formed an indisputable, integral part of Ethiopia. It was only during the latter part of the 19th century that outside forces intervened in this part of the world to cause dismemberment of certain parts of Ethiopia. It is also well known that the Ethiopian people had heroically resisted this dismemberment throughout history; but our efforts, however heroic, were of no avail. The dismemberment took place as it took place in many other parts of Africa. The accuracy of this statement is clearly attested by the annals of history of this part of the world.

It is also well known that prior to the era of freedom in Africa Ethiopia resisted invasion and resisted dismemberment and the slavery of her people. We also know that when the fascists had occupied our country the whole world sympathized with the fact that a heroic people were victimized by the forces of evil.

When we say that the Djibouti Territory has always historically formed part and parcel of Ethiopia and that we are not claiming somebody else's territory, we are fortified by the memories of recent history and by historians who seek

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the truth. We do not seek what belongs to others. However, we will continue impressing people that are concerned in this matter that the Djibouti Territory had always formed, prior to the last part of the 19th century, an integral part of Ethiopia. This fact is well known to the people of Djibouti themselves and many other peoples throughout the world are aware of it. It is also known to France. The French Government and people know that the Djibouti Territory and the people there cannot survive without the vital links with Ethiopia.

Economic Link

We must also remember, in addition to the fact that the Djibouti Territory has always formed an integral part of Ethiopia, there is an important economic link between the territory and Ethiopia. Djibouti forms the terminus for the Franco-Ethiopian railroad. Economically speaking, Ethiopia has always been in the service of the Djibouti Territory and vice versa the Djibouti Territory forms an important vital port for Ethiopia.

When we consider the situation from the ethnic point of view, it is also clear and indisputable that out of the 80,000 people inhabiting that area, 40,000 are Danakils, the large segment of the Danakil tribe being in Ethiopia, thus being Ethiopians. 20,000 out of this 80,000 people constitute the Issa tribe, again the large body of whom are Ethiopians living within the territorial jurisdiction of Ethiopia. These, I say, are the real inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory. These are the peoples whose interests we should hold uppermost in mind when thinking in terms of the fate of the people concerned.

For instance, I pointed out that the Danakils are Ethiopian nationals; they are within Ethiopian territory. Similarly, the Issas form part of Ethiopia. I do not believe that mem-

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bers of the Issa tribe who are Ethiopian citizens would wish part of their tribe to be dismembered and to have its fate disjoined from the fate of the main stock and the people of Ethiopia.

There are additional considerations, such as the geographical location of the territory, which cannot be ignored. The territory forms an important strategic area for Ethiopia. We know that out of the 500 kilometres frontier of the Djibouti Territory, 400 are with Ethiopia and only 100 kilometres with Somalia.

All these considerations – historic, strategic, ethnic and the economic factors which form the vital interests of the Ethiopian people and of the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory – compel us to resist forces that would put apart the destiny of the people of Djibouti from that of Ethiopians.

Peace and Cooperation

In so far as the Somalia Government is concerned, we have openly in the past expressed our desire to live in peace. It is also well known that the Ethiopian Governments has done in the past all it could to see to it that there is better accommodation of interests, that there is less acrimony and that there is peaceful co-operation. However, unfortunately we have not been able to attain that to the full extent. The difference in policy that we pursue and that of Somalia is quite clear. We resist the dismemberment of our country while they stand for dismemberment of others.

I pointed out the strategic importance of the Djibouti Territory to the Ethiopian people, and such an area particularly inhabited by a people whose sole means of survival and viability is based on the Ethiopian economy and whose composition of citizenship derives from Ethiopia and whose historical links with Ethiopia have been affirmed by history, cannot be separated from Ethiopia herself.

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In so far as self-determination is concerned we have advanced that principle to the people of the Djibouti territory. We have no opposition to the application of the principle of self-determination to the people because we are aware and we know for sure that the large majority of the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory know their vital interests and they will make decisions in accordance with these, were they to be asked to express themselves in the form of a plebiscite. I am confident that the people in the Djibouti Territory are fully aware of their vital interests, where their freedom lies, their prosperity is located, and will take decisions in accordance with those interests that are dictated by necessity as well as by the desire to acquire *significant freedom*.

We have heard of the recent demonstrations in the Djibouti territory. These demonstrations affirmed the desire of the people to be free to decide their own destiny. And when that chance is given to the people of the Djibouti Territory we have no doubt as to where the answer would lie and what association they would wish to create for joint prosperity of this region.

I know that certain forces – I mean outside forces – have attempted to take advantage of the demonstrations of the people who are in quest of an opportunity to make a vital decision for themselves. I know certain evil-doers have attempted to blacken the motives of that quest of the people by inserting matters that do not directly relate to the interests of the people concerned but to ideas that would serve alien interests.

I know, for instance yesterday, the property of Ethiopians in Djibouti had been damaged by certain unruly groups who do not speak for the majority of the people in the Djibouti territory. I hope appropriate compensation for the destruction of the property belonging to Ethiopians will be arrived at through a discussion which we have in mind of conducting with the French Government. When we think in

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terms of the future of the Djibouti Territory, I believe we must always keep in mind the interests of the people themselves and not the interests of the alien powers or alien agents.

We must take into account the interests and the needs of the Ethiopian people too. We must recall historical facts. We must also think in terms of the strategic consideration and the ethnic affinity of the Djibouti Territory and the people. The Ethiopian people and Government will never accept a solution to the Djibouti problem, which is in contradiction to the interests of the people concerned and in violation of the rights of the Ethiopian people.

(His Imperial Majesty's statement was followed by questions from pressmen to which appropriate answers were given).

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, you have correctly stated that the Ethiopian Government does not oppose the application of the principle of self-determination to the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory but we have witnessed recently that some efforts are being made by foreign interests so that the people there would be diverted from their real interests. What do you think would be the remedy to the situation?

Have Confidence

Answer:

I had pointed out earlier that the Adal and Issa people in Djibouti, who constitute the real and original inhabitants, will not seek separation from their real interest which is association with Ethiopia. Since we have confidence in the vast majority of the people there we have very little to fear.

Question:

In your long reign we all know that you have taken several historical and decisive actions and we also know that if the Djibouti Territory falls into the hands of aliens, the

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Ethiopian people and the people concerned would be harmed. But, supposing the Djibouti situation takes a different turn and supposing the interests of the people of the Djibouti Territory and Ethiopia are harmed, what action will the Ethiopian Government take?

Answer:

At the present, the Djibouti Territory is in French hands. We have continued to affirm that the Djibouti territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia. However, the future should be decided with this basic principle in mind: Dismemberment or alienation of the Djibouti Territory from Ethiopia is like dismemberment of a vital part of the human body. What would a human being do if there is a threat to serious dismemberment of his body or an actual dismemberment takes place? That we will leave for a future decision. There is no point in making speculation.

We know that many countries had historical experiences such as the one we are facing and I am confident that the attitude of the French Government and the people of France would not be in variance with the interests and desire of the people of the Djibouti Territory. Under the circumstances, I do not believe the French Government and people would act in a manner contrary to the interests that are involved.

Question:

How does Your Imperial Majesty foresee the future – voting for independence and then association with Ethiopia?

Independence Envisaged

Answer:

We realize that the independence of the Djibouti territory is not far off. I read the conclusion from General De Gaulle's recent statements. I also know that France gave freedom to many other territories in the past. However, under the situation we are facing today in Djibouti, I would

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emphasize the strategic considerations and ethnic factors from which the Ethiopian Government views the problem. I would also emphasize the vital interests that are linking the Ethiopians with the inhabitants of the Djibouti Territory. No matter in what form a decision is made, these realities must be maintained.

The French people and the Ethiopian people have maintained friendly relations for a long time. I believe friendship implies a commitment on each other's part that the vital interests of our respective peoples should not be endangered.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty, since the Djibouti Territory constitutes a vital interest for Ethiopia, instead of urging that the territory be free, and subsequently joined with Ethiopia why does not the Ethiopian Government make an outright claim to the territory?

Answer:

That was a good question. We must remember that Ethiopian affirmation that the Djibouti Territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia is not of recent origin. The documents of Menelik II, Emperor of Ethiopia, and my own father Ras Makonnen testify clearly that Ethiopia long ago had asserted the necessities as they existed in the relations between Ethiopia and the Djibouti Territory and the people there.

Question:

Your Imperial Majesty: About 43 years ago, in 1916 Ethiopian Calendar, you had visited Europe and in particular France. The Agreement that was signed at the latter part of the 19th century merely postulated that it was to have duration of 99 years without fixing a definite time limit. In that visit you were able to come to an agreement with the French

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Government to have a time limit for the expiration of the agreement concerning the Franco-Ethiopian railroad. Did you have any further discussions with the French Government otherwise concerning the Djibouti territory?

Answer:

It is quite true that the agreement for the construction of a railroad from Addis Ababa to Djibouti was to have the duration – the contract was to have the duration – of 99 years. This was conceived to be in accordance with the interests of Ethiopia, the Djibouti Territory and the French people who were assigned to undertake construction of this railroad. (It is also logically clear that were we to understand that after 99 years we were going to dismantle the railroad from the area and from the section in the Djibouti Territory we certainly would not have accepted the agreement that would have divorced us from such vital interest after a certain period of time). The logic of events points to the fact that Ethiopia has continued to assert the fact that the Djibouti Territory forms an integral part of Ethiopia.

Sept. 16, 1966.

TO VISITING JOURNALISTS

I am glad to receive you here this morning. I am happy that you had this opportunity to come to Our country to see some of our development projects. I hope that during your brief sojourn in Ethiopia, you had a chance to observe what has been done with the assistance of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) and by other multilateral assistance which had been given us.

As you have heard, We had launched a series of Five-Year Plans and some of these have been successfully completed. One such plan is now underway. These Five-Year Plans have been envisaged to improve the standard of living

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of Our people. With the enthusiastic participation of a broad mass of the people, marked progress has been achieved.

I hope you have found the places you visited interesting – some are historical places and some are areas where development projects have been inaugurated to raise the standard of living of Our people. While We are proud of what has been achieved so far, nevertheless, We recognize that there is much yet to be done and We have yet to travel a lot before We get full satisfaction. I wish you had the opportunity to stay longer and travel more extensively in the country.

As you know, Ethiopia is a big country; there are more than 22 million people. I am confident that from what you have seen so far, you will be able to judge for yourselves the nature of the general pattern of progress in the country.

In reply to a question concerning “the greatest obstacle to the development rate you would like to achieve,” His Imperial Majesty said:

I believe that one of the greatest factors to a higher rate of economic development in any country, including Ethiopia, is the availability of financial resources. No country can lift up itself by its own bootstraps. In order to achieve a high rate of development, all developing countries must acquire assistance from abroad. That is why we have established co-operation with the World Bank and secured bilateral and multilateral assistance.

In addition to these, I believe that for a developing country to achieve a high rate of development, it must attract foreign investment. Appropriate laws have been enacted in Ethiopia to encourage foreign investment.

Investment Protected

I remember that when I paid a state visit to the United States a few years ago, some persons expressed concern about investing in our country because of apprehension of

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expropriation in one form or another and fear of nationalization. I assured at that same time some U.S. Congressmen, officials and private individuals that apprehension was unfounded and that any foreign capital in Ethiopia would always be protected by the State. I am glad to say that those who were then suspicious are now beginning to recognize the true situation prevailing in Ethiopia.

Although not adequate by any standard, yet it is satisfactory to note that there is an increasing interest on the part of private enterprise to invest in Ethiopia.

In a reply to a Canadian journalist about the Emperor's forthcoming state visit to Canada, His Imperial Majesty said: Upon the invitation extended to me by the Governor-General of Canada, I will visit that country for the third time in the spring. In my previous visits to Canada, I had the opportunity to experience at first hand the sentiments the Canadian Government and people entertain towards Our people and Government. My third visit, which is occasioned by the 1967 Exhibition – in which Ethiopia is fully participating – will provide me with a further opportunity to strengthen the friendly relations that already exist between Canada and Ethiopia.

Among the group of journalists was Dr. F. E. Aschinger, the senior financial editor of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of Switzerland, who told the Emperor during the course of the audience that he had the opportunity to hear Him address the League of Nations in 1936 in Geneva during the Fascist invasion.

Dr. Aschinger said: I had opportunity to be present during Your address to the League of Nations in 1936 when the Fascists invaded Your country. I had the good opportunity then to witness Your courage and determination, in the face of adversity, in the cause of Your people and the freedom of mankind in general as well as collective security. I am very pleased to see today the same determination and

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vitality in the cause of world peace and collective security. I wish Your Majesty good health to continue your excellent work for the progress of Your people and for the people of the world.

In reply His Imperial Majesty said: I am very pleased to see here today some one who was at Geneva during those dark days. As you pointed out, I have not stopped labouring for the progress of My people and My efforts for world peace shall never cease. I accept your good wishes.

Feb. 4, 1967.

DIGITAL VERSION COMPLETED 4/1/11