

**ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER EMPEROR
HAILE SELASSIE I: AN APPRAISAL.**

BY

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Acronyms

Bala	Balambaras
Bela.Get	Blata (en) Getta
Bir.Gen	Birgador-General
Bitw	Bitwoded
BMM	British Military Mission in Ethiopia
Commo	Commodore
Commn	Comander
Dej	Dejazmach
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
ETHSO	Ethio-Soviet Trading Company
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
Fit	Fitawrari
IEG	Imperial Ethiopian Government
Let.Gen	Letenal- General
Maj.Gen	Major- General
MCL	Master of Criminal Administration
MCL	Master of Criminal Law
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MoI	Ministry of Information
NA	Not Available

OAU	Organization of African Unity
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PDRY	Peoples Democratic Republic of Yemen
Qagnam	Qagnazmatch
TLF	Tigrai Liberation Movement
UNO	joint Nations Organization
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Wag. Seu	Wag- Shum

Abstract

Ethiopia stands one of the oldest countries in international relations. Nevertheless, its foreign relations began to take modern shape under Haile Selassie I. It is during his period that permanent representations have begun and diplomatic missions were opened in many countries. Haile Selassie oversaw Ethiopia's early participation in international relations. In this respect he became an international figure. It is thus, the purpose of this study is to appraise Ethiopia's foreign policy under the Emperor Haile Selassie I.

The study employed a neo-classical theory as its instruments of analysis. In light of this foreign policy of Ethiopia under the Emperor is appraised and the internal and external factors that affected the country's foreign relations analyzed. For the purpose the available published and unpublished documents are used. Furthermore people with knowledge of the time are interviewed and recorded.

The role the Emperor played in foreign policy formulations is analyzed and his personal diplomacy is evaluated. In this connection, the study underlined how personal domination in foreign policy by the Emperor has stagnated the dynamism of the foreign policy making bodies and institutions in the country.

Finally, the study appraised the weaknesses and strength of Ethiopia's foreign policy under the period. The study is believed to be a new input, since there has been no book-length study of Ethiopian foreign policy under the Emperor (Clapham, 1999:99).

1. INTRODUCTION

Foreign policy is a set of goals, means, strategies, tactical structures and processes designed to attain state or party objectives in international relations (Rosenau, 1961,146). Foreign policy is primarily concerned with the pursuit of national interest and the attainment of national objectives. National objectives are diverse and some of which vary from time to time. National security, however, stands out first in the foreign policy of all countries. In light of this, Ethiopia's diversified foreign relations with countries of different socio-economic and political orientations have contributed to its "national self-preservation" (Rubenson, 1976:1). Maintaining of national security alone cannot be an end by itself in foreign policy. Foreign policy in its overall nature has to contribute to the domestic development efforts of a country, peace, stability, and raise the living standard of the people. There is unity between domestic and foreign policy. Foreign policy of a country emanates from domestic environment. A foreign policy maker takes into considerations both external and internal environments in foreign policy making process. This relationship makes one influence the other in its making and that is why it is said, "foreign policy is nothing more than a by-product of domestic politics..." (Macridis,1976: 4, ellipsis mine).

Foreign policy is a systematic arrangement of states' national interests in their relations with other states. The setting of national interest takes into consideration different variables of national and international characters. The internal character contain variables such as economic power, military strengths, natural endowment, level of technological development, geographic location, etc., which are some to mention. The techniques of identifying the relevant foreign policy variables from the irrelevant ones need an institutional approach and

scientific analysis. Furthermore, the quality of foreign policy of a country is determined by many factors of which the role-played by highly skilled and experienced personnel, the level of participation and the method of policy decision making are of paramount importance. Thus, it is within this framework that Ethiopia's foreign policy under the Emperor is studied and appraised. The study amplified the personal role of the Emperor in the foreign policy decision- making, and the limited role of other policy-making institutions.

The study is structured into six chapters. It starts with an introduction. The first chapter deals with problem of the study. The second chapter treats the theoretical setting of the study. Chapter three analysis the power struggle carried out internally and how the Emperor utilized foreign policy to weaken his domestic rivalries. Chapter four deals with the post-war reconstruction period and strengthening of the Emperor's power in foreign policy decision-making. Chapter five duels on the country's foreign relations with countries of different social systems as they relate to the Emperor's power. Chapter six appraises the whole study while conclusion makes the last part.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

This study is all about Ethiopia's foreign policy under Haile Selassie I. The study begins with the regime of Lij Iyasu (1913-1916) where the Emperor's (then *Dejazmatch* Tafari) foreign policy took root. Lij Iyasu, a young prince at the age of twelve, came to rule a vast empire with many ethnic groups, religious practices, historical backgrounds and cultural differences. One of his major domestic policies were to integrate Muslims into the main stream of administration, believing that this policy would reduce the country's chronic unrest and benefit the economy (Marcus, 1994:114). Besides, his ambitious vision of incorporating Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia led him to forge an alliance with Central Powers during the First World War with the intention to rid the Horn of Africa from colonialism (*ibid*: 115). Added up, he had the closest relations with Somali nationalist leaders who were fighting against British and Italian colonialism that annoyed the Allied powers. Thus, they sent a note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demanding for explanation of Iyasu's belligerency and declared an arms embargo on Ethiopia (*ibid*).

In addition to the challenges from the Allied powers, Iyasu's domestic and foreign policies aroused opposition from aristocratic class and church leaders within Ethiopia. The crisis created a conducive situation for *Dejazmatch* Tafari to work for power. He was "characteristically working in shadows, carefully orchestrating favorable result" (Marcus, 1998:18). Thus, the combined forces of predominantly of Shoan influential men, the Church hierarchy and colonial powers who have occupied territories adjacent to Ethiopia, whose territory coveted by Iyasu, brought an end to Iyasu's regime in 1916. The political

environment created by this episode paved the way for *Dejazmatch* Tafari to attain his aspiration for seizing the supreme power in the realm. The Italian, French and British legations in Addis Ababa closely worked in the orchestration of the *coup* against Lij Iyasu (ibid: 115).

In 1917, Zewditu was crowned Empress of Ethiopia and *Dejazmatch* Tafari now promoted to *Ras*, and was elected as heir and regent. His candidacy was due to his amicable character, as seen at the time, that more likely made him acceptable to the influential personalities of the period. They chose him on the assumption that he was young, innocent and humble and that he will not usurp their authority. The Empress was conservative in her outlook and was more concerned with religious matters than politics (Clapham, 1969:16). This was a blessing in disguise for Tafari to win power.

The regent exploited this situation for his own political objectives and began to strengthen his power base. Thus, “with the exception of the war minister, Fit. Habte Giorgis, all the ministers of the Emperor Menelik were dismissed and banished...”(Emmanuel, 1995:173,ellipsis mine), by inciting the ‘*Mahal Sefari*’ -against them, in March 1918-only about a year and a half they elected him. He started ruling the country with an iron hand replacing all ministers until he had created a conducive environment for the formation of a government that suit his interest. He had a particular interest in foreign relations that he believed so important for his power and personally run the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1917-1930. He assigned *Blatten Getta Shale Tsedalu* as Secretary General (MoFA, 1991, Unpagged and unpublished document in Amharic). This political measure aroused opposition

from the conservative groups and even the Empress accused the regent of “undermining her authority” (Marcus, 1998:26).

The conservatives wanted the country to remain an isolated fortress from international relations, while *Ras* Tafari and his group advocated for wider involvement in international relations. In order to neutralize and weaken the domestic opposition the regent paid a state visit to different foreign countries. This raised his personal status in international relations as well as internally. In 1928 he was promoted to a king. However, he has already succeeded through his charisma in gaining sufficient to counteract his opposition. In actual sense in the early 1920's he had controlled the central government so tightly that the additional title of kingship hardly added any more to what he had already possessed. After two years, the Empress died and he became the Emperor with the baptismal name, Haile Selassie (Power of Trinity). Thereafter, his domestic as well as foreign policies were based on “business for power”(ibid: 98). In 1931 the first Constitution was promulgated. Its promulgation was mainly driven by the imperative of centralization of power and authority to the detriment of entrenched regional power centers anchored on tradition and also to assure the power of the Emperor in foreign relations. Art.14 of the Constitution reads “the Emperor has legally the right to negotiate and sign all kinds of treaties”. This indicates that foreign policy was the prerogative of the Emperor. However, the 1935 fascist Italy invasion aborted the initiatives the Emperor started in the field of foreign relations.

In 1941 the country was liberated from the shackles of Italian fascism. The first ministers of the post- liberation years were appointed and the parliament was reopened in 1942. The post

liberation period ushered in a new era even more dominated by the Emperor in the area of foreign relations until his overthrow in 1974. The country's diplomacy has broadened and many embassies were opened in many countries during this period. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was strengthened but with little vested power to execute on minor issues with the consent of the Emperor. The Emperor made foreign policy decisions although nominally it passed through the formal foreign policy decision-making process. Nevertheless, he used the advise of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other influential and loyal people who were close to him. The foreign policy making institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council of Ministers, the Parliament and the Crown Council were mostly bypassed. Even if these institutions made some decisions, their decision need to be approved by the Emperor since he had supreme power to adopt or disqualify the decision brought to his attention according to the constitution of the country. The foreign policy making institutions had no power to challenge the situation and this was accepted as normal way of doing things and remained a tradition in the foreign policy making in the ensuing years. Thus, the Emperor's power domination emasculated the dynamic development of foreign policy. Foreign policy advisors had to watch carefully the direction and interest of the Emperor in order to assure their loyalty. In addition there was no written document on foreign policy of the time to serve as a guide when violated. This indicates that foreign policy was run with imperial order from above that further contributed to the personal role of the Emperor.

The foreign policy of the time was confronted with internal problems that were a challenge to foreign policy against the power centralization drives of the Emperor. Nevertheless, the domestic power struggle ended with victory by the Emperor that gave him absolute power to

decide on any issue concerning the country, internal as well as external. Thus, he personally assigned ambassadors, whom he favored or whom he wanted to avoid. However, loyalty was given major attention irrespective of tact, skill and professional qualification that diplomats needed to possess. Besides, most of the ambassadors designated were recruited from one ethnic group while no single woman ambassador was designated during the period. For the details of ethnic compositions of ambassadors designated during the Emperor's period see also Annex 2.

The ambassadors used to report directly to the Emperor paying little heed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In general diplomatic posts basically served largely as places of retirement for the aged or people who were not favored (Clapham, 1969:99).

Thus, the foreign policy of the Emperor was designed to sustain his power. His power monopolization has weakened the intellectual thinking of policy advisors, subjugated the elites to develop dependency syndrome on the Emperor even not to make minor policy decisions independent of him. He was the sole decision maker. This has emasculated the free development of foreign policy making institutions. This has been the major problem of the foreign policy of the time. Thus, it is the purpose of this study to analyze and finally appraise the foreign policy of Ethiopia under Haile Selassie I and briefly indicate the continuity of similar pattern of foreign policy decision-making under the Derg.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:-

- 1.2.1. to elucidate the dominant role of the Emperor in foreign policy decision - making,
- 1.2.2. to appraise the internal and external factors that influenced Ethiopia's foreign policy under the Emperor, and
- 1.2.3. to analyze the pattern of interactions, the change of strategy , tactics and the technique of adaptability of foreign policy of the time to new environments.

1.3. Hypothesis

Ethiopia's foreign policy under Haile Selassie was primarily designed to sustain his power, which paved the way for the Derg regime to act in the same manner.

The following propositions are the major areas of enquiry addressed in this study.

- Haile Selassie's foreign policy was power centered,
- Foreign policy was used as a means to overcome domestic rivalries to centralize power into his hands,
- Diversifying relations with countries of different social systems was used to strengthen the power of the Emperor, and
- Loyalty was the main criteria used in recruiting diplomats irrespective of the tact, skill and professional qualifications.

1.4 Methodology

There are dizzying theories of foreign policy among which *Innenpolitik* theory, Offensive realism, Defensive realism and Neo-classical realism are a few to mention. The *Innenpolitik* theory of foreign policy limits its analysis on domestic factors only and defies the role of systemic factors that is an impossible divorce of the unity of the two. Offensive realism believes that systemic factors are very important. It further believes that international system is anarchy and filled with deterrence where "security is scarce and states try to achieve it by maximizing their relative advantage"(Rose, 1998:149). Defensive realism on the contrary "assumes that international anarchy is often more benign-that is, that security is often plentiful rather than scarce---"(*ibid*, ellipses mine). Both theories have their own weaknesses- i.e. the offensive realism limits itself to systemic factors (international anarchy) while defensive realism believes in the benign of international anarchy. Thus, both are believed to be inaccurate and misleading (*ibid.*).

The neoclassical realism believes that a country's foreign policy analysis should begin with its relative material power vis-à-vis the rest of international system. Neo-classical realists characterizes a state's foreign policy to be defined by its relative position in international system. Furthermore, its foreign policy analysis rests on combining both independent and intervening variables of different types to yield a particular foreign policy. Thus, neoclassical realism is

chosen as the main methodological guideline to appraise Ethiopia's Foreign Policy under Haile Selassie I. Besides inter-disciplinary approach is used to elucidate its analysis.

1.5. Significance of the Study

1.5.1 The General Objectives

There have been limited studies in this area and this study's dimension will hopefully further enhance the quality of future studies as it pertains to new approaches.

1.5.2. The Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are:

1.5.2.1. to show the drawbacks of foreign policy when it is dominated by a single leader,

1.5.2.2 to appraise how the absence of institutional decision-making mechanism weakens the foreign policy of a country.

1.6. Method of the study

The method of the study is based on extensive library work (secondary source) and unpublished data collected from the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Personal interviews were carried out with former officials who were selected for their direct involvement in foreign policy, diplomacy and their knowledge of the period.

1.7 The Scope of the Study.

Ethiopia is one of the most ancient countries of the world with long history of foreign relations. The scope of the study is limited to the period of Emperor Haile Selassie because it was during his period that Ethiopia's modern foreign relations took root. Besides, the period exemplifies a one- man foreign policy decision- making and diplomacy that also paved way for the Derg regime to act in the same manner.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 THEORETICAL SETTING

Once a student of foreign policy asked his instructor to teach him to think theory. The teacher replied that the routine of theoretical thinking may not be teachable and it may not even be teachable at all (Rosenau, 1980:28). However, from the mid-1950s until the present, dizzying theories of foreign policy have emerged that have to come to an end yet.

In an interdependent world, no single day is passes in any country's foreign office without executing foreign policy. The foreign policy that a nation- state formulates to guide its relations with another state is normally defined within the context of a chosen theory. This is because "theories of foreign policy seek to explain what states try to achieve in the external realm and when they try to achieve it" (Rose, 1998:145).

What is theory? Henderson (1998:23) defines that "theory is a set of logically connected propositions that propose to explain and predict the relationships among variables in a given field of study. A theory exists in either proven or unproven form".

What is the use of theory? Kenneth Waltz argues, "theory --- is--- not very useful and in many cases has been proved to be wrong" (Misira and Richard, 1980:3 ellipses mine). Waltz rules the subject out of bounds due to its complexity. He further says that, theories must deal with coherent logic of autonomous realms while foreign policy is the bi-product of both internal and external factors, it does not constitute an autonomous realm; and therefore does not strive for theoretical explanation. According to Waltz, one must rest content with mere

analysis or accounts, which include whatever factors appear relevant to a particular case (Rose, 1998:145).

Others do not agree with the above position and make efforts to construct a general theory of foreign policy that fall into several schools. These are *Innenpolitik* theory, Offensive realism (sometimes aggressive realism), Defensive realism and Neo-classical realism that make the recent most school.

The *Innenpolitik* theory argues that the domestic factors such as politics, economics, ideology, national character, partisan politics or socio-economic structure determine how a state behaves towards another state beyond its national borders. *Innenpolitik* theory believes that “foreign policy is best understood as the product of a country’s internal dynamics. To understand why a particular country is behaving in a particular way, therefore, one should peer inside the black box and examine the preferences and configurations of key domestic actors”(ibid.).

The major weakness of *Innenpolitik* theory is its anchoring on pure unit-level explanation of foreign policy. It believes that international system is unimportant. But in reality no state can stand in isolation from the international system. As states have the power to influence the international system, on the contrary the international system has the power to influence the unit-level actor’s behavior since “the international system is composed of unitary, rational states motivated by a desire for security”(ibid.). Even countries with gross capabilities, when they face international challenge and condemnation in regard to their foreign policies; they are

often forced once again to revisit their policies. Furthermore, we see in real world when states with similar systems frequently act differently in foreign policy while states with dissimilar systems often act alike. This is due to the interplay (unity) of the domestic and international variables in which one influences the other. Therefore, in order to overcome the weakness of the *Innenpolitik*, theorists sought two other theories of foreign policy, viz. Offensive and Defensive realisms.

Offensive realism believes that systemic factors are very important. It assumes that international system is anarchy and full of deterrence where “security is scarce and states try to achieve it by maximizing their relative advantage”(ibid.). Offensive realists say that rational states that are pursuing security are prone to take defensive actions that can lead to offensive conflict due to the structure of international system. Offensive realists consider that domestic differences between countries are unimportant “because pressures from the international system are assumed to be strong and straightforward enough to make similarly situated states behave alike, regardless of their internal characteristics”(ibid.). Thus, foreign policy, according to this view is the outcome of nervous states competing for positions within the international system of power configuration. Therefore, to understand why foreign policy of a particular country is forced to behave in a particular way, “offensive realists suggest, one should examine its relative capabilities and its external environment, because those factors will shape how the state chooses to advance its interests”(ibid).

Defensive realism on the contrary “assumes that international anarchy is often more benign—that is, that security is often plentiful rather than scarce---”(ibid, ellipses mine). According to

defensive realist world states have to relax because external threats are rare. It further says that even if threats happen to take place, rational states in a timely manner should use a balancing mechanism in order to deter the threatener (rogue states) and obviate the conflict.

The three foreign policy theories, briefly elaborated above have their own weaknesses. The *Innenpolitik* theory bases its analysis on domestic independent variables and neglects the international system. The offensive realist theory of foreign policy limits its analysis to systemic factors that is inaccurate much of the time and also misguided (*ibid*: 152) while “defensive realism also basis its analysis on systemic theory, but in practice they relay on both systemic and domestic independent variables to account for different kinds of foreign policy behavior”(*ibid*: 150).

Offensive and defensive realisms are variants of classical realism. Though they have differences in some aspect they have common views on a key variable-namely power. Power, Henderson (1998:125) defines as “the resources one actor can use to persuade or coerce another actor to do what it wishes.” Power can be exercised in soft or hard ways (*ibid*: 99). Soft power is the ability to persuade another actor to do something through influence. Hard power is the use of force on another actor to make it accept its will through the use of military or economic clout or both (power compliance). In this regard states accordingly conduct foreign policy to maximize power at the expense of others in which the strong doing as it likes and the weak bearing what it must (*ibid*: 14-15). Thus, realists believe that power is an end-all. States are supposed to make war among their own kind and increase and even maximize their power, not surrender it (Henderson, 1998:15).

Neoclassical realists (sometimes called structural realists) made significant adjustment to classical realism. Kenneth Waltz is the spokesperson for the neoclassical realist theory since 1980s. He made two adjustments that read as the following (*ibid.*).

1. Waltz sees a world structure as the principal determinant of outcomes at the international level. This structure is based on the configuration of power distributed among the major states. While Waltz sees this structure as operating under anarchy, states can still make rational choices about their interests within a framework of incentives and constraints imposed by world power structure.

2. A second adjustment is that an incessant drive for power is not always the main concern, even if states do at least seek self-preservation and may sometimes strive to increase their power. In spite of Waltz's view of the world as an anarchic system populated by self-help and conflict-oriented states, he observed adjustment and accommodation by states that on occasion choose to bargain rather than fight. Sometimes cooperation stems from the more powerful states avoiding the high cost of conflict, preferring to preserve peace and to manage economic problems

The neoclassical realism believes that "if there is any single, dominant factor shaping the broad pattern of nations' foreign policies over time, it is their relative material power vis-a-vis the rest of the international system and so this is where analysis of foreign policy begin" (*ibid*: 150). In this regard, Zakaria a known neoclassical realist says that "A good theory of foreign policy, should first ask what effect the international system has on a national

behavior, because the most powerful generalizable characteristic of a state in international relations is its relative position in international system”(*ibid*, 1998:482).

Thus, neoclassical realists believe that foreign policies that countries formulate are determined by “the relative amount of material power resources countries possess” which “will shape the magnitude and ambition of their policies: as their relative power rises states will seek more influence abroad, and as it falls their actions and ambitions will be scaled back accordingly”(*ibid*: 152). Zakaria (1998:19) further says that “states are not resource-maximizers but influence maximizers.”

Neoclassical realists assume that relative power has dramatic effects on the outcomes of state foreign policy. Nonetheless, states do not apprehend this reality precisely on a day-to-day basis in their interactions in international relations. However, neoclassical realists stresses the role-played by both independent and intervening variables with a distinct methodological preferences looking for different factors in combination to yield a particular foreign policy.

The neoclassical realists theory further elaborates that foreign policy is a complex area of life where various factors affect its content. In this regard the neoclassical realists say the following (Rose, 1998:157).

One must analyze how systemic pressures are translated through unit-level intervening variables such as decision makers’ perceptions and domestic state structure. In the neoclassical realist world leaders can be constrained by both international and domestic politics. International anarchy, moreover, is neither Hobbesian nor benign but rather murky and difficult to read. States existing

within it have a hard time seeing clearly whether security is plentiful or scarce and must grope their way forward in twilight, interpreting partial and problematic evidence according to subjective rules of thumb.

The neoclassical realist theory since 1980s has become a dominant theory in the making of foreign policy. It is a dominant theory widely advocated by its proponents for it takes into consideration different variables of domestic and international nature for the analysis of foreign policy. Due to the fact neoclassical realist theory is chosen as a methodological guideline for the appraisal of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy under Haile Selassie I.

Haile Selassie I was a political realist. From his advent to power to his downfall he labored for power. His domestic as well as foreign policies were geared towards the manipulation of power in a very systematic way. As soon as he came to power as heir to the Ethiopian throne, he pursued domestic policies of power centralization and modernization. When these policies faced domestic challenges from the traditionalists, he pursued a foreign policy of expanding his personal image at international level to be seen as modern leader. In this regard, his 1924 tour to many countries that took almost five months raised his status considerably in international relations. Thus, Haile Selassie's systematic manipulation of domestic and foreign situations and pursuance of skillful diplomacy enabled him gain more and more power into his hands and dominate foreign policy as his sole area of power making.

The post liberation foreign policy of Ethiopia was pragmatic in approach. The existence of British imperialism inside the country and control of the country's foreign relations forced the

Emperor to switch to USA to come to his rescue against Britain. Later Haile Selassie visited Moscow at the time of tight cold war struggle between the two super powers of the time. This enabled him to strengthen his bargaining power with his major ally –the USA and the west. Furthermore, his active participation in the Non-aligned Movement and his masterly manipulation of the Pan-African movement and his pre-eminent role in the creation of the OAU, all in all helped him to consolidate his power at home and abroad. Thus, Haile Selassie's neo-realism and capability to maneuver skillfully and manipulate the domestic and international systems enabled him to sustain his power. When his capability to use all the material as well as human resources of foreign policy to sustain power failed his neo-realism came to end in 1974 and Mengistu Haile-mariam came to power who pursued a similar foreign policy decision making pattern.

CHAPTER 3

FEATURES AND PATTERNS OF INTERACTIONS OF ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PRE-FASCIST ITALIAN INVASION

3.1. Some Essential Features of Ethiopia's Foreign Policy Under *Lij* Iyasu and Empress Zewditu.

3.1.1. The Reign of *Lij* Iyasu: 1913-1916

As Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in the world, it had long standing foreign relations with many countries. A centralized foreign relation began by Emperor Menelik II. He made contacts with European states and it was during his regime that most of the current Ethiopian boundary was established. A good number of diplomatic relations with European countries also established during his reign especially after his famous victory over the Italian in 1896. Emperor Menelik fell ill in 1906 and very soon was totally incapacitated. His illness and the anticipated death alarmed a bitter struggle among the different factions for succession domestically. The situation created internally, soon affected relations with powers ruling the adjacent territories. Britain, Italy and France agreed to cooperate in the event of the disintegration of Ethiopia and possible territorial rearrangement in their own interests.

In 1907 Menelik officially declared *Lij* Iyasu as his heir and designated *Ras* Tesemma Nadaw, as regent plenipotentiary to rule until Iyasu came of age. Emperor Menelik carefully selected loyal regent that cannot be threat to his heir's power due to his youth age. The country's foreign affairs suffered due to the internal environment. The regent was not strong enough in government decision-making and, therefore, was hesitant and over cautious in his foreign policy decision- making. When he met the British minister and discussed about the possible frontier readjustment, *Ras* Tessema told him that "his position.... would be much weakened,

and he would certainly be accused of having sold his country” (Marcus, 1995:250,ellipsis mine).

In regard to this, the British consul in Addis Ababa clearly reported the situation that would “render European intervention more than possible, and the consequent dismemberment of Ethiopia may be forced upon us” (Markakis, 1975:111).

In 1913 Emperor Menelik died and the struggle for power became acute. Empress Taitu the wife of Emperor Menelik was one of the strongest competitors who had been working since Menelik’s fell ill. She sought to control foreign relations, thereby contacting the powers tacitly to recognize her supreme power. The powers busily communicated their declined to deal exclusively with her (Marcus, 1994:112).

Lij Iyasu was twelve years old when he was anointed as crown prince (Lockot, 1989:8). He showed little interest in the everyday miscellaneous government affairs and was on long sojourns in the country, to create a power base independent of the Shoan landed aristocracy.

Lij Iyasu came to power in Ethiopia when international relations were in crisis. The First World War between the Allied and Central powers had its own effect on the foreign policy behavior of the prince. He favored the Central powers because his policy was to incorporate territories (Eritrea, Djibouti and Somalia) under Britain, France and Italy. Furthermore, historical factors also contributed for *Lij* Iyasu’s adoption of anti-Allied powers foreign policy. His grandfather “Menelik had bequeathed to him: of reconciling the country’s two great religions, Christianity and Islam, and pursuing a policy directed against the colonial

powers which were now in occupation of the Red sea coast”(Lockot, 1989:9). Thus, he represented a challenge to the Allied powers that posed a threat to the country’s independence. The Allied powers also perceived the independence of Ethiopia as a bad influence to their adjoining colonies. They agreed implicitly and explicitly to put pressure on Ethiopia to safeguard their respective national interests. Thus, Britain, France and Italy signed a Tripartite Agreement of 1906 for the “protection of their defined spheres of influence---the Blue Nile Basin for Britain, the hinterland of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland that would connect the two territories to the West of Addis Ababa to Italy and the then under construction Djibouti-Addis Ababa zone to France”(Legesse, 1979:120).

Ethiopia on her part agreed about the limitation of her independence. However, a sort of diplomatic *modus vivendi* had been reached between the parties to pacify the situation. Lij Iyasu’s “foreign policy had all the appearance of being bent on upsetting the diplomatic equilibrium” (Bahru, 1991:126). This was demonstrated in his integrative approach towards the Somali. Furthermore, he had been rendering material and moral support to Sayyid Mahammed Abdille Hasan, the Somali partiotic leader who had been fighting British and Italian colonialism by sending him arms and ammunition (*ibid*: 127 and Lockot , 1989:11). The Allies were determined that he was a threat and should be removed forthwith. To this effect, the Allied powers’ legations in Addis Ababa began to work closely with his enemies. At the same time they were gathering information about the prince’s activities in the Ogaden. They obtained his photographs in Muslim clothes through their security system to be evidence for their allegation of his apostasy. Finally the internal political environment, Lij Iyasu’s lack of power to comprehend the situation, coupled with harsh international environment, affected his foreign policy as well as his regime.

Lij Iyasu's erratic foreign policy decision to remove the Horn of Africa off the colonial powers with the help of the Germans was idealistic. The German legation in Addis Ababa had no communications with Berlin and funds were cut off. It could only provide verbal support but not able to provide arms and ammunition to *Lij* Iyasu's army. His alliance with Turkey, a country with Islam expansionist policy on the Horn of Africa, was wrong in view of the dominant place the Orthodox Church had in Ethiopian politics. Thus, his regime came to its end in 1916.

3.1.2. The Reign of Empress Zewditu: 1916-1930

It was an accepted version that Menelik I, the founder of the Solomonic dynasty, was a successor of his mother the Queen of Sheba or Makda. The *Kebera Negest* (Glory of Emperor) states that Makda or Queen of Sheba had said to Solomon "henceforward a man who is the seed shall reign and a woman shall never more reign in Ethiopia"(*ibid*, 2001:26).

Thus, after the Queen of Sheba, no woman has reigned until the accession of Zewditu, in the annals of Ethiopian history. The choice of Zewditu to succeed Iyasu in 1916 was due to high prestige of her father Menelik II. She was crowned in 1917 and *Dejazmatch* Tafari was promoted to *Ras* and designated as heir and regent to the throne. At her coronation day, for the first time in the history of international relations of the country, official representatives from European countries attended the ceremony. On this occasion, she pledged to rule justly through her regent but remained inactive in government activities as well as in public occasions.

Zewditu had limited experience when she assumed the throne compared to *Ras* Tafari who had been governor of Sidamo, Selale and Harar regions to mention a few of his political experiences.

Tafari had modern educational background in contrast to the Empress who was barely literate. When he lived in Harar with his father, Tafari began his education with French Missionaries and after the death of his father he was brought to the palace of Menelik where he continued his education at Menelik II School. Furthermore, he “received a thorough education in all the intricate aspects of the art of power manipulation” (Markakis, 1974:197). The Empress and the heir had different educational backgrounds. Due to this, they had different notions in policy issues. The Empress remained traditionalist and conservative while the heir was progressive and modernist. Therefore, power struggle went beyond the two and encompassed political alliance of the traditional forces for which the Empress served as a symbol and the assurance of the continuation of the past (Bahru, 1991:130-131).

The traditional forces were led by arch- conservative *Fetawarari* Habte Giorgis and supported by ultra-conservative church spearheaded by the *abun* and the *echage* (*ibid.*). The traditionalists did not like any type of modernization. *Fitawarari* Habte Giorgis boasted, that he never liked to see the railway constructed and tried to use his position to influence to prevent the coming of the aeroplane (Pankhurst, 1968:127). *Fitawarari* Habte Giorgis and the Archbishop, both died in 1926. Tafari took control of Habte Georges’s army, exiled the deputy of the church (*echage*) who had been his most conservative opponent (Clapham, 1969:16).

The other conservatives were crushed one by one using systematic Machiavellian tactics. *Dejazmatch* Balcha who had little respect for Tafari was one of the conservatives who could not escape his iron hand. He was summoned to Addis Ababa and in his place another person was appointed. Thus, in the presence of a British visitor Balcha insulted the heir, “half-man, half-snake” (Mockler, 1984:7).

The way to power was gradually cleared. The power of the traditionalists was broken. The conflict between the conservative traditionalists and liberal Tafari “could be described as one of stagnation in independence versus progress through dependence” (Bahru, 1991:131). This alliance of class forces initiated the emerging intellectual group to stand with liberal Tafari who was strongly working for the integration of the country into the world system. The removal of the old council of ministers was performed by systematically organizing forces that could support him and using them as the need arises, he cleared all obstacles to his power on his way to make a clean start in affairs of state (*ibid*).

Ras Tafari’s domestic struggle for power was supplemented with his foreign interaction. His contact with foreign representations goes back to his early period, when he was ruler of Harar. He had close personal relations with the British Consul in Harar named J.H. Dodds and the chief in Addis Ababa, known as Wilfred Thesiger. Thus, “both men adopted Tafari as their favorite candidate for the throne and practically urged him to take action, while in their reports to London they summoned his indecisiveness and lack of courage” (Markakis, 1974:199).

Tafari realized that the country had image problem in foreign relations. The government was taken as corrupt and the administrative machinery ineffective. The regent knew that the

country needed huge reforms but to carry out speedy reforms, there was lack of educated, efficient, modern and patriotic manpower to fight out backward practices in society (Marcus, 1998:40).

The existence of slavery and uncontrolled arms trade, both had caused an anathema in the country's effort to pursue broadened relations with European countries to supplant the domestic reform policies. Slavery and slave trade had no less serious impact on foreign relations of the country. Frequent slave raids by violating the boundary of neighbouring colonial powers, repeatedly brought pressure on the country. The arms blockade that was imposed on the country for the purpose of a check on the slave- raids made the country defenseless during the Italian invasion. Thus, the Italian aggression was argued as to destroy the heinous custom as slavery. The country's request for admission to the League of Nations was questioned because a country that harbored slaves and slave traders was taken as not up to civilized nation (Bahru, 1991:93-94). In this regard Italy and France were the principal supporters of Ethiopia's admission to the membership of the League of Nations in 1923, while Britain vehemently opposed Ethiopia's request on the ground that slavery and slave raids were still practiced in Ethiopia. Although, later in the 1930's Italy's 'civilizing mission' implied the abolition of slavery, as a pretext for the fascist aggression of 1935-36.

From the beginning, Tafari's reform policies were aided by a number of foreign advisers and consultants. In 1917 he received a memorandum on modernization prepared by two foreigners who resided in Ethiopia for long time. The document carried a number of reform projects of which the country's foreign relation as sovereign country was given due consideration.

The great success for Tafari's domestic reform policy was reached in 1923, with the admission of Ethiopia to the League of Nations. In 1923 Tafari, wrote to the League for reconsideration of Ethiopia's membership and after lots of deliberations, the country was admitted to membership in September 28,1923, by unanimous vote at the General Assembly.

The conservatives strongly opposed the country's membership to the League of Nations. The liberals advocated for its membership, assuming the benefits that the country can attain for its domestic reform programs from the multilateral forums. In this regard the regent said the following (Haile Selassie, 1977:75-76).

It would be of a great benefit, if Ethiopia were to enter the League of Nations. It is necessary, however in the future to improve gradually our entire machinery of government and, therefore we asked them to let us know their present thought, best we should experience to improve our governmental procedure, once we had entered the League.

He continued to say, what "Menelik successfully achieved in war would be accomplished by a mere putting signature in a piece of paper" (*ibid.*). The heir's foreign policy goal of membership to the League was, for no reason other than protecting the country from attack as per the covenant of the organization. Thus, the first imperial government delegation headed by *Dejazamtch* Nadaw was dispatched to Geneva to participate in the Assembly. The Assembly unanimously accepted Ethiopia's admittance to the League and this was an important victory for the country's foreign policy.

In 1924, Tafari undertook a grand tour to Europe, accompanied by large retinue of noblemen *Ras* Hailu, *Ras* Kassa, *Blatta* Herui Walde Sellasie, *Lij* Makonnen Endelkatchew, and *Ato*

Shale Tsedalu, as interpreters, advisors and functionaries (*ibid*: 60). Apart from *Ras Hailu*, the mentioned were junior members of the entourage. There were senior members including *Ras Seyoum Mengesha*, *Ras G/Selassie*, *Ras Mulugeta*, *Ras Nadew*, *Dejazmatch Gesese Sime*, *Dejazmatch Haile Selassie* were among others to mention.

He visited Palestine, Egypt, France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Italy, England, Switzerland and Greece (Phankhurst, 1968:27). Although he did not attain his objective of an outlet to the sea, he came back with his and the country's international stature increased and his commitment to introduce European way of administration strengthened (Bahru, 1991:131). The visit was significant in awakening the Ethiopian society to the need to perceive the outside world seriously, as well as raised the image of the heir and the country. Though Tafari was interested in European civilization, he was cautious of maintaining the traditional values intact. In this regard he said, "We need European progress because we are surrounded by it. That is at once a benefit and misfortune. It will expedite our development, but we are afraid of being swamped by it" (Phankhurst, 1968:27)

The grand tour that started on April 16,1924 ended in September 4 with the arrival of the delegation in Addis Ababa. Top nobilities, church hierarchy, military men, diplomatic corps and civil officers received Tafari and his delegation. Tafari renewed his fealty to the Empress and reported that he has honored her name throughout Europe. The Empress also praised him, who "has endured the turbulence of the sea and the heat of the sun" to carry out the plan "which we had devised for the prosperity of our country and the good fortune of our people" (Marcus, 1998:70). However, in general the tour was evaluated a failure (*ibid*: 71). There were

some people, who argued that “his only objective in Europe was to display himself as a modern statesman, not to improve Ethiopia’s international standing and certainly not to negotiate access to the sea” (Marcus, 1998:73). In 1930 Empress Zewditu died and king Tafari became Emperor acquiring the baptismal name- Haile Selassie I.

CHAPTER 4

4. ETHIOPIA’S FOREIGN POLICY UNDER EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE: 1930-1974.

4.1. The Period From 1930-1936

The idiosyncrasy of a leader has its own role in defining the foreign policy behavior of a country. The past political experience and the psychological make up of a leader have a great impact on foreign policy formulation. In this regard Haile Selassie’s personality is attached with his political career in the past. His father *Ras* Mokonnen died in 1906 when Tafari was about fourteen years old. Tafari was brought to Menelik’s court, which was seethed with

intrigue as the struggle for succession unfolded, and the guiding principle was “love but do not trust man” (Markakis, 1974:197).

The early death of his father and mother and Menelik’s infirmity had robbed him of shield while his genealogical credentials made him suspect to the major contenders for the succession (*ibid*: 197-198). Thus, Haile Selassie’s childhood experience dominated his late political activities and made him over suspicious in his foreign policy dealing.

Christopher Clapham (1977:47, ellipsis mine) characterizes Haile Selassie’s idiosyncrasy as following.

He is a very little great man, dapper and relaxed, his bearing upright, his handshake limp, only his face suggests that force of personality which has infused Ethiopia for over fifty years.... His eyes are extraordinary, they stand out with a penetrating intensity, which sometimes gives the impression that they are living an existence of their own, and looking at them, one can understand the feeling of those ministers who are said to tremble before him as a mouse before a cat.

Clapham continued to say:

... the Emperor dominates the group, not physically but through the bonds of deference which draw the others to him, sums of the working of the central government. Haile Selassie is the very center of the political system, which radiates out from him to the concentric circles of personalities and institutions which surround the throne and his domination of the last half century shows that his *delicate* features and great personal charm *conceal* a politician of the great skill.

John Markakis (1974:201, ellipsis mine) expounds better than Clapham the idiosyncrasy of the Emperor. He said the following.

He had profound ambition pursued with judicious caution, limitless patience, coupled with the ability to act decisively; benevolent disposition and gentle manner, matched with great ruthlessness in matters political an exaggerated posture of forthrightness and a talent for dissimulation; the

capacity to attract and manipulate mutually antagonistic forces simultaneously; a flair for securing everyone's commitment to his cause without committing himself to anyone; a keen judgment of human character and deftness in its manipulation, a gift for intrigue and a moral stance of detachment from it, an adroit sense of propaganda; and abstemious nature whose only ruling passion is power....

Getachew Mekonen further elaborated that “ኛንሆይ ሙንታ ባህሪ የነበራቸው ናቸው። ደፋር፣ ፈሪ፣ እምነት የማይጣልባቸው፣ ምረቅ የለሽ፣ ራስን ወዳድ፣ ንፋግ፣ ታይታ የሚወዱ” (ጌታቸው 1993 : 81)

When literally translated it means “The Emperor had double character. He was courageous, meek, coward, undependable, merciless, self-centered, miser, and who likes to be pretentious”(Getachew, 1993:81).

Gaitachew Bekele (1993:26) former ambassador to Haiti and Mexico argues that “I hear people say Emperor Haile Selassie was a great leader, that he introduced modern education and abolished slavery. But did the end result justify the means? Did it promote greater happiness and unity among his people? The answer, obviously, is no!”. In my personal interview with him conducted on 11 August 2002, he further stated that the Emperor was self-centered, divisive and power oriented. He underlined that the domestic as well as foreign policy of the Emperor were to strengthen his power but not to democratize the system. Marcus also believed that Haile Selassie “was unable to foster democratization among his empire's many peoples” (Marcus, 1992:18).

The leader's personality is an important factor in the making of foreign policy. In view of this the Emperor had a formidable capacity to centralize all the affairs of the government. Thus, “control over men is the essence of power, and Haile Selassie has proved himself a master of this art” (Gaitachew, 1993:202).

The Emperor continued to create his power felt throughout the empire. Organizing a dependable and loyal army remained his major concern as guarantor of his power but “kept the armed forces separate and suspicious of each other. It was this divide and rule policy that saved his throne during the 1960 coup. When his personal guard rebelled against his rule, the Ethiopia Armed Forces and the Air Force suppressed the mutiny and saved him the throne” (Teshale, 1995:112-113).

Although the Emperor got rid of the most powerful old nobilities, he had to reckon on strong provincial nobles, and gradually replace them with modern elites. His armed forces were much more stronger than any of his potential opponents (*ibid*: 203). Therefore, he had to direct his reform programs at the center. The ministerial system was reshuffled and new ministries were added. Foreign advisers were recruited to organize ministries and advise the appointees. The Ethiopian Bank was founded and a new currency was issued. In general various changes were undertaken to strengthen the undergoing reforms. All reform measures were directly or indirectly to curb the power of the nobility.

Finally, in 1931 the first constitution was promulgated which was the first of its kind in Ethiopian politics. The constitution was one of the modernizing initiatives of the Emperor. It was decided and granted by him with the will to satisfy all and the future generation to enjoy the inestimable benefits of peace and security (IEG, 1931:1). However, the desire of the constitution was “to provide a formal framework both for the consolidation of imperial power, and for the increasingly complex machinery of government which was then being developed” (Clapham, 1969:34). Therefore, the constitution’s “chief immediate beneficiary was the

Emperor himself’ (Ibid.). The constitution formalized what has existed *de facto*- i.e. the power of the government rested with the Emperor (Markakis and Asmelash, 1967:199). Or to put it bluntly it solidified that “the Ethiopian state was the Emperor” (Clapham, 1977:39).

In this regard, Article 6 of the constitution reads “In the Ethiopian Empire supreme power rests in the hands of the Emperor”. Article 14 of the same constitution provides for the role of the monarch in the making of foreign policy of the country. It reads “the Emperor has legally the right to negotiate and sign all kinds of treaties”.

Furthermore, the decree that was published on *Negarit Gazeta* No.5 order 1/1935 stipulated the duties and powers of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. None of the Articles and Sub-articles provided the Ministry with real power to conduct foreign relations (See Annex 1). The Ministry remained important but vested with residuary power to execute on minor policy issues. Foreign policy was an important area where the Emperor was concerned to put his personal control. He went to the extent of controlling very minor activities. He “finally... began to regulate foreign activities by requiring entry visas for visitors, registration for commercial firms operating in Ethiopia, and the licensing of all lawyers appearing in the special court that handle cases between nationals and aliens” (Marcus, 1994:131, ellipses mine). The Emperor was controlling not only the foreign relations of the ministry but also the routine management of day-to-day activities of the ministry. A note written by Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Emperor on Hamle 22, 1950(EC), No.190/50 strongly justify the above fact. The note reads as follows (MoFA, 1950:1).

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር
ለግርማዊ ጃንሆይ

ቁጥር 190/50
ሐምሌ 22/1950

ማስታወሻ

በግርማዊነት መልካም ፈቃድና ትዕዛዝ አቶ “ሀ” እና አቶ “ለ” ተጠባበቂ ዋና ዲሬክተር፤ አቶ “ሐ” ረዳት ዲሬክተር ሆነው ተሹመዋል። ስለደመወዛቸውና ስለአሉዋንስ አበል ግን አስቀድሞ በካድር ያልተመደበ በመሆኑ ስለአስፋፈሉ የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ተቸግሮበታል። ደመወዛቸው ለየንዳንዳቸው \$500 ሂሳብ እንዲሆን ስለመኪናና አሉዋንስ ግርማዊነት እንዲወስኑልን በፍጹም ትዕትና እንለምናለን።

ክብ ማህተም
አለበት

ስም
ፊርማ
ምክትል ሚኒስትር

When translated literally it means

The Ethiopian Imperial Government
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
To His Imperial Majesty
Note.

NO.190/50
Hamle, 22/1950(EC).

With the order and permission of Your Majesty *Ato* “A” and *Ato* “B” were appointed as acting directors and *Ato* “C” deputy director. The Ministry of Finance could not decide the salaries of the new employees since it was not earlier fixed. We, therefore, with high respect beg Your Majesty to decide on their car allowance and salaries. We propose their monthly salaries to be \$500.

Sealed

Name
Signature
Vice Minister

The Emperor was the main force to keep the wheels of administration turning. His authorization was needed for the spending of sums of as little as £7. His permission was needed even to form cooperation between different agencies. (*ibid.*).

The Emperor's concern for the image of the country in international relations was given special place. Many people interpreted his increased concern of foreign affairs as a reaction to domestic failures. His involvement ranges from major policy issues to be host of petitions and other minor things (Clapham, 1968:56-57).

As the process of centralization, modernization and monopolization of power were undergoing in unity for the creation of modernizing autocracy, an Italian imperialist intervention began to take shape in Ogaden. The Wel-Wel incident was particularly remarkable. Wel-Wel is 50 miles within the Ethiopian territory of Ogaden from the Indian Ocean. In the incident the Italians are reported to have had some 30 killed and the Ethiopians 110 (Work, 1935:327).

Soon after, the Italian government demanded for indemnity and moral reparations from Ethiopia. The Ethiopian government demanded for peaceful settlement of the conflict on the basis of August 2, 1928 treaty of friendship reached between the two countries. However, the Italian government refused to negotiate which proved from the outset that the Italians intended to transform the incident into a war. It insisted that Ethiopia as "culprit to apologize at Wel-Wel, rendering honor there to the Italian flag, pay an indemnity of MT \$200,000; and arrest and dismiss the officers responsible for the outrage" (Marcus, 1998:148).

Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations according to Article 16 of the covenant, with the belief that the "League would muster collective security sufficient to defend Ethiopia against Italy" (*ibid*: 150).

When the case was discussed the “Italians walked out to avoid contamination from the representatives of a barbarous state” (Palmer, 1985:309-310). Ethiopia had neither sufficient weapons nor army to confront by force the modern Italian army. The Emperor strongly believed and prayed that the League would save him and his country due to his strong belief in collective security.

The League Council deliberately delayed the deliberations giving time to Italy’s better preparation. However, the Ethiopian delegation warned “the independence of Ethiopia, a Member of the League of Nations is in peril” and “requested the Council of the League to undertake a full investigation of its charges against Italy” (*ibid.*).

Meanwhile, the Italian forces opened an official war of aggression on Ethiopia from different directions. The Ethiopian forces were ordered to defend its country from the fascist invasion. It was instructed to hide, strike suddenly, fight the nomad war, steal, snipe and murder singly (*ibid*: 167). Now the Emperor decided to try the Italian forces but since the Italians were using poison gas and advanced air attacks it became increasingly difficult to stop them.

Though, the military misbalance between the forces of Italy and Ethiopia in every aspect was clear, there was a weakness in the Emperor Haile Selassie’s foreign policy during the invasion of 1935-36 (from the Wel-Wel incident to Maichew). The unwarranted reliance on the collective security in the covenant of the League of Nations led the Emperor to expect that the League will rescue Ethiopia from the imminent danger caused by the Italian aggression. This was rather naïve and unrealistic. As a result the Emperor was unnecessarily over cautious and instructed his army to withdraw while the Italian army advanced into Ethiopian territory both

from the North and the Southeast without resistance. The demoralizing effect on the Ethiopian population in general and the armed forces in particular as a result of this policy was immense.

The Emperor planned to “proceed to Western Ethiopia and set up an administration at Gore which was thought to be more suited for defense against the enemy” (Emmanuel 1995:35). With this in mind, he soon convened a meeting of the Council of Ministers. But the meeting widely deliberated on the situation of the war and lastly agreed to move the government to Gore and appointed *Bitwoded* Woldesadisk as regent of the Emperor’s regime in exile. There were members of the Council who opposed the Emperor’s exile and demanded for his stay in the country believing that the people needed him to lead the war (Sbacchi, 1985:32). Finally it was decided by vote of 21 for and 3 against the exile (*ibid.*). Shortly after, the Emperor and his family went on exile. The rationale of the council for exile was that “so long as the sovereign was free and unbowed, Italian rule could have no legitimacy” and “his decision was correct” (Marcus, 1992:19). Otherwise he would have suffered a “humiliating capture, death or even worse submission to the conqueror” (Emmanuel, 1995:170). Thus, “the Emperor’s presence in Europe symbolized a free Ethiopia, and his activities reminded the world of the Italian aggression that they wished to forget”(Marcus, 1992:19).

The Emperor left the country with his family and high-ranking officials for exile on 2 May 1936. The Imperial family, two lions and many high-ranking officials and ladies left to Djibouti by train and arrived there on 3 May. Since the British government was previously requested and consented to provide transport for the exiling Emperor and high officials, a cruiser, HMS Enterprise was waiting at Djibouti (*ibid*, 1995:36). The Imperial family, fifteen

tons of baggage, MT \$250,000 to MT \$300,000 and about forty high officials boarded the cruiser while about a hundred officials and the two Lions remained in Djibouti (Marcus, 1998:180,1994:146).

After the Battle of Maichew, the Italians pushed and occupied Dessie and entered Addis Ababa on May 5,1936. The Imperial government exiled in Gore and the patriotic movement continued their struggle until the fascists were driven out of the country in 1941. The legation in Britain led by the Emperor also was working hard in propaganda campaign. It received reports from patriots through different channels mainly through the British legations in Ethiopia, which were translated into English and given to news agencies for publications in the newspapers (Interview with *Ato* Emmanuel, 1994 (EC)).

Equally the Emperor went to Geneva and addressed the League of Nations Assembly. It partly reads as follows (Keller, 1998:89,ellipsis mine).

I, Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia, am present here today to ask for the impartial justice due to my people and for the help, which fifty two nations had undertaken to extend to it when they affirmed eight months ago, that a war of aggression in violation of international law, was being waged against Ethiopia. I ask the fifty two nations who have given promise to the Ethiopian people that they would come to their aid at the time of aggression against them, in order to prevent the aggressor from defeating them.... I ask these fifty-two nations for their support by upholding this promise. What are you willing to do for Ethiopia?

By 1938 the British government had recognized the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Consequently, British foreign office informed *Azaje* Worqneh, the Ethiopian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, the termination of his mission to

British court. However, the minister of whom the largest one was used for diplomatic work while the other two as bedrooms for the two secretaries rented a house with three rooms. Moreover, it served as central office for the Emperor to correspond with his government in Gore and receive visitors. (Emmanuel, 1995:39).

Ethiopia continued its diplomatic and military struggle. The people in general and the patriots in particular squarely faced the enemy forces. Meanwhile the international balance of force changed due to the fascist inordinate ambitions, which was a blessing in disguise for the Ethiopian people. Thus, Hitler declared war on Britain and France on 10 June 1940. This has changed the international alliance system. Britain, which had extended the *de facto* and *de jure* recognition to the Italian government in Ethiopia turned to be the ally of Ethiopia not because of generosity but because the Italian occupied territory in East Africa was a “threat to the very existence of its own empire. The Italians in Ethiopia were endangering the British position in Egypt, as well as, the important sea route to India and the east” (Phankhurst, 1975:9). Furthermore, “... London merely sought to use him [Emperor] as a cat’s-paw to divert Italian strength away from the main British common wealth forces...”(Marcus, 1995:8,ellipses mine). Thus, the British interest “could be achieved only in cooperation with the Emperor and the patriots both of whom the British government had until then preferred to forget” (*ibid.*).

The British government supplied the patriots with the most antiquated weapons and began fighting the fascist in 1940. Nevertheless it closely followed the advancement of the patriots not to enter Addis Ababa before the British South African forces entered and occupied the

capital. Thus, it withdrew the aerial support of the patriots. But the patriots continued their progress to Addis Ababa and the British commander on the Southern front fearing that the patriots and the Emperor would enter the capital without the British authorization sent letter to Orde Winget who was the Emperor's field officer, commanding him "to halt any impulse of the Emperor to approach Addis Ababa by everything short of force" (Mosley, 1964:268). Because the British commanders were worried about the security of the Italians that if the patriots enter Addis Ababa prior to the British forces it may take a measure of revenge against the fascist forces.

Nevertheless, with the heroic struggle of the people of Ethiopia and its patriots, Ethiopia's independence was assured its continuity and the exiled Emperor was restored in 1941 by British forces. Britain, which had forgotten Ethiopia, lastly became its ally in its liberation struggle as the oral saying goes "the stone which the builder had neglected was to become the corner stone of edifice." Soon after, the Emperor started strengthening foreign policy making institution treated in the coming chapter.

4.2 The period from 1941-1974.

4.2.1. Strengthening of Modern State Bureaucracy.

The power centralization policy of the Emperor pursued since the time of his advent to power was interrupted due to the Italian fascist invasion of the country in 1935. After five years of patriotic struggle and loss of thousands of lives, the Emperor and his high-ranking officials came again to power. The post-liberation state reconstruction in general was aimed at the centralization of power in the hands of the Emperor. Thus, recruitment was carried out with great caution taking into consideration the historical background of the recruitee.

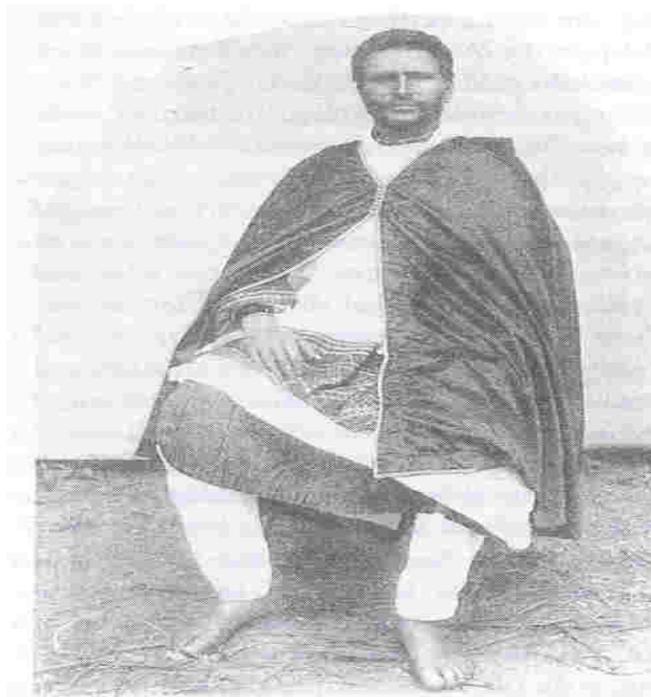
Haile Selassie's idiosyncratic values were elusive for the insiders as well as the outsiders. Due to this, he was able to arouse contradictory feelings among different thinkers. He "was a political icon to some, a monster to others, and to all a legend"(Marcus, 1992:17). However, his League of Nations speech in 1936 gave him an international admiration and taken as prophetic. He was highly popular in international forums and among his peoples as well. Haile Selassie took advantage of his newly found prestige and began to reorganize the bureaucracy particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to keep-up his status.

4.2.1.1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs

After the battle of Adwa, many foreigners living in Addis Ababa repeatedly insisted that Emperor Menelik II establish modern institutions of administration. Though suspicious and reluctant, the Emperor decided in 1900 to establish a council of ministers composed of nine ministries of which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was one. To this end the Emperor prepared job description for the various ministries and ordered the construction of a building for cabinet meetings near the main building of the *Gibbi* (Marcus, 1970:272). *Naggadras* Haile Giyorgis who was appointed as the first Minister of Commerce and Foreign Affairs. He married *Woizero* Sehin Mikael, sister of Iyasu, during the reign of the latter and was appointed Prime Minister (Interview with *Dejazmatch* Zewde, 1994(EC). For the other eight ministries Emperor Menelik appointed separate ministers. It is not clear why he appointed a minister for two important ministries. However, according to my interview with *Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde Ethiopia's foreign relations at that time was more of foreign trade and this might have influenced the decision of the Emperor for combining the two ministries together. The appointed minister was a traditional person with no modern education. He was bare footed

and in traditional costume. According to former ambassador Getachew Bekele, people who used to wear shoes were believed to be people who had amputated fingers due to liperosy. The first foreign minister had church education and to find modern educated people in Ethiopia to lead modern institutions was almost impossible at that time. His successor also had similar education level until the post liberation period (see annex 2 for the detail). Overall, Ethiopia's foreign relations at that time were more commercial than political (Interview with *Lij* Micahel Emiru, 2002).

Figure 3 Naggadras Hayla- Giyorgis Walda- Mikael the first Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1907-1910.



Source: History of Modern Ethiopia,1991.

The job description given by the Emperor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had 18 articles. Article one stipulated the main task of the ministry and it read that “ የዚህ ሚኒስቴር ዋና ሥራ የእንግዶች ነገር ነው። ከሌላ መንግሥት ከሚኒስትሮቻቸው ጋር ይነጋገራል” (ማህተመ ሥላሴ ወልደመስቀል, 1950:198).

Which means when translated literally “the main task of this ministry is to deal with guests. It talks with other states and ministers” (Matheme Selassie, 1950(EC)). The article gave the ministry the right to talk with other states but limited its power to enter into agreement with its counterparts.

Article two of the Emperor’s job order defined the place of the Emperor in the country’s foreign relations. It reads as follows

ከሌሎች መንግሥቶች ጋራ ዋና ፖለቲካ ነገር ሲነግሩ ራሳቸው ናቸው ነገሩን የሚጨርሱት፤ ነገር ግን አስቀድሞ ነገሩን አስተውሎ መርምሮ ለንጉሡ ነገሩን የሚገለጽላቸው ሚኒስትሩ ነው። ደግሞ ንጉሡ ከመልዕክተ ቹ ጋር በተነጋገሩ ጊዜ ነገሩ ከተጨረሰ በኋላ የንጉሥ ወረቀት አጽፎ አሳትሞ የሚሰጥ ሚኒስትሩ እሱ ነው። (የተጠቀሰ: 181)

When translated literally it means

The Emperor alone has the power to negotiate with other states while the foreign minister has the duty to analyze priorly the case and make the Emperor aware of the issue. It is also the duty of the foreign minister to prepare the final document after the Emperor has agreed upon the issue with the other party with the seal on it.

Article 18 of the job description verified the structure of the ministry. Four sections were established with the following responsibilities.

የውጭ አገር ሚኒስቴር ሥራውን በአራት ክፍል ይከፈላል

- 1ቸ የቆንስልና ወደ ዳር ካሉት መንግሥቶች ጋር መነጋገር፣
- 2ቸ ከሌሎች መንግሥቶችና ከሚኒስትሮቻቸው ጋር መነጋገር፣
- 3ቸ በኢትዮጵያ ካሉት እንግዶች ጋር ውል ፖስፖርት (ደብዳቤ)፣
- 4ቸ መጽሐፍ፣ ወረቀት፣ ጋዜጣ ማስተርጓም። (የተጠቀሰ)

When translated literally it means:

The duties of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were divided into four categories.

- 1. To talk about consular relations with other countries,
- 2. To talk about relations with other states and ministers,
- 3. To deliver passport to foreigners who live in Ethiopia, and
- 4. To translate books, Gazeta and Journals into Amharic.

Though the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an institution was established to execute the country's foreign relations, diplomatic representation abroad was limited due to various factors. There was lack of educated manpower and also the role of foreign policy was not well understood. Nevertheless, there were some representations as presented in table 2.

However, different delegations were sent to different countries to negotiate on various issue and promoted the national interest. In this regard, a delegation was sent to Russia in 1895 led by *Fitawurari* Damtew Ketema. The delegation presented the letter of *Atse* Menilik to the Czar of Russia and discussed on bilateral issues. Likewise, different delegations were sent to many countries according to the needs of the country. At that time foreign relations were

conducted through a delegation system of representations. There was neither permanent legations nor embassies established abroad during the time. However, honorary consuls were appointed. Appointment of honorary Consul started during the reign emperor Yohannese with the appointment of Mr. Henry King. It was in 1897 that the first and the only consul opened in Djibouti and Yoseph Gelan was appointed as the first consul (MoFA, 1991, unpublished document).

The level of development of diplomacy during the period was limited because of the above-mentioned factors. Besides, there was no written foreign policy document that guide relations with other countries. The Emperor made foreign policy decision in a pragmatic way according to the need of the time in consultation with close advisors. There was no

Written policy document to guide the foreign relations. However, he followed “largely defensive, survivalist foreign policy ...”(Gaitachew, 1993:88, ellipses mine). After the death of Emperor Menelik, *Lij* Iyasu came to power. During his reign two foreign ministers were appointed (See Annex 3).

There was no foreign representation during the period abroad. It was later on that country’s foreign relations developed with the gradual transformation of the country during the era of Haile Selassie. He dismissed all ministers except the war minister (Emmanuel, 1995:173). This has enabled him to run foreign relations personally from 1917-1930 and assigned a secretary general as his aide. He manipulated benefits of foreign policy to his own ends and overshadowed the Empress’s picture in foreign relations. New legations and consuls were opened in four more countries and some individuals were designated exercising representative diplomacy. The table below shows Ethiopia’s representation during the time.

Table 2. List of consuls, consul generals and ministers designated to different countries during Empress Zewditu’s period when *Ras* Tafari was the heir.

Name	Level of education	Country and Year of designation	Ethnic origin
Yilma Wolde Gebrel	-Studied French and Amharic languages.	-1928-1930 consul in Rome legation	Amhara (Bale)
Pawulos Minamino	-Church education , -Studied French language.	-1928-1934 consul in Jerusalem consul	Tigre
Dej.Mekonen Endalkachew (later Bitwoded)	-Church education, -Studied French and English languages.	-1929 minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary in London legations.	Amhara (Shewa)
Getachew Abate	-Church education	-1929 minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary in French legation	Amhara (Shewa)

Source:- MoFA,1991:NP(Unpublished document in Amharic)

After the death of the Empress, *Ras* Tafari became Emperor Haile Selassie and then organized a new council of ministers composed of loyal and yes-men who suited him. *Blatten* Geta Heruy Walde-Sellasia was appointed as the first minister of foreign affairs from 1931-1936

(Bahru, 1991:107). He had church education. At that time there was shortage of educated manpower and thus the traditionalists were appointed as heads of modern institutions. In the period 1930-1936 a new legation was opened in Japan and *Fitawurari* Daba Birru was designated as consul in 1936 a diplomatic mission in Turkey, *Ato* Berhane Markos as Head of Mission (MoFA, 1991:NP, unpublished). A diplomatic mission was also established in Turkey during 1930-1936 and *Ato* Birhane Marqos was appointed as the Head of Mission at Ankara.

Figure 4. Blatten Geta Heruy Walda-Selssie, Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1931-1936.



Source: History of Modern Ethiopia, 1991.

However, the fascist occupation of the country aborted the peaceful development of Ethiopia's foreign policy. Nevertheless, the country's diplomacy continued as the patriotic war of the people continued within the country against the fascist force. Thus, the Emperor's continued struggle in bilateral and multilateral forums coupled with the patriotic struggle

waged by the people enabled the country to liberate itself in 1941. It is after the liberation that Ethiopia's foreign relations has expanded and started taking better shape. Nevertheless, there was shortage of educated manpower. Foreign advisors like Halse Kolmedi and Musse Heel were employed (Mahateme Selassie, 1950:190).

It is after the liberation that many embassies, consulates, liaison offices and legations were opened in different countries. The cost-benefit analyses for the opening of diplomatic institutions mostly were not made. Was cost benefit analysis made before opening any diplomatic posts in any country? a question raised during our interview *Dejazmtch* Dr. Zewde. The reply was hardly any. It was decided by the good will of the Emperor in line with his own interest. However, countries with similar system of socio-economic formations were given preference over the others. National interests were not well studied. In this regard the case of Haiti can be a vivid example in connection with the above argument.

For example Haiti and Ethiopia established diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level in 1958. What was Ethiopia's national interest in Haiti? There were only three African countries that had embassies in Haiti, *inter alia*, Liberia, Benin and Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Embassy was finally closed in 1967 (Gaitachew, 1993: 146). How was the decision to open an embassy in Haiti made? Who made the decision?

The Ethiopian ambassador Yilma Deressa (1953-57) to Washington visited Haiti. He was honored highly by the president of Haiti. After he was called back and soon appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1958, he immediately influenced the Emperor to decide to open

an embassy in Haiti. Haiti had no immediate economic or social relations that necessitated for establishment of diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level. Neither, the issue was discussed at the council of ministers and cost-benefit analysis made. The Emperor decided it and an ambassador was designated (Interview with Getachew Bekele, in *Nehase* 3,1994 (EC)).

Furthermore, Ketema Yifru the former Minister of Foreign Affairs (1961-1966) in his personal interview with Dr. Assefa Medhane pointed similar idea as the following.

የኤምባሲዎችን አከፋፈት ነገር እንወሰድ። -- በዘመኑ ሃይቲን እንወሰድ። ሰንትሜንታሊቲ ነው እንጂ ራሽናል አልነበረም። አንድ ዓይነት ግንኙነት አልነበረም። በኋላ ያ ኤምባሲ መዘጋት አለበት በጀት ከማቃጠል በቀር ምንም አልጠቀመንም ብለን ለውጭ ሚኒስቴር ሃሳብ ቀርቦ ለብዙ ዓመታት ሳይዘጋ ቆይቶ በኋላ በብዙ ውጣ ውረድ ነው የተዘጋው። ይህ ንጉሠ በወቅቱ የኢጣሊያን ወረራ ካላወቁት አንዷ አገር ሃይቲ ነው በሚል ስሜት--(አሰፋ መድኃኔ ያልታተመ ጽሑፍ ገጽ, 28)

When translated literally it means

Let us take as an example of the opening of embassies---. The opening of embassy in Haiti was sentimentality not rational foreign policy decision making. An embassy was opened in Haiti but there were no relations other than consuming budget---. Later on it was recommended to the MoFA close the embassy. The Emperor did not accept its closing because Haiti was one of the countries that did not recognize the fascist Italian occupation of Ethiopia (Dr.Assefa Medhane’s, interview with *Ato* Ketema Yifiru unpublished, p.28).

However, sometimes under rare circumstances some considerations were undertaken before forming diplomatic relations. In this regard in my interview with *Dejazmatch* Dr.Zewde G/Sellassie, 24 *Nehase* 1994 (EC), he pointed out that after the liberation Ethiopia’s main foreign policy direction and diplomatic struggle in multilateral forum was to regain Eritrea. In the UN the Latin American block consisted of 21countries. The whole block supported the protectorate ship of Eritrea to Italy until it gets independence. Mexico was the only Latin

American country that opposed. Mexico and Ethiopia had established diplomatic relations in 1950. Ethiopia in reciprocity named one of its squares in Addis Ababa as Mexico Square. Besides, in order to split the block Ethiopia established diplomatic relations with Venezuela and Brazil in 1951 (MoFA, 1991).

Establishing many embassies, consuls and legations was an expensive business for Ethiopia. Therefore, Ethiopia had to prioritize its national interest before it had opened numerous diplomatic institutions. Opening of many diplomatic institutions without setting up national goals and prioritizing immediate national interests incur huge expenses on the sending country. Furthermore, it lowers the quality of diplomacy and weakens organizational strength. Besides, under such circumstances embassies lack work that engage them and diplomats defect most of the time. In this regard the former ambassador of Ethiopia to Haiti *Ato Gaitachew Bekele* in his letter to the Emperor in 1958(EC), No.AL.H.323 clearly put the following.

በኢትዮጵያና በሃይቲ መካከል ያለው የዲፕሎማቲክ ግንኙነት የሚያስከትለው የሥራ ኃላፊነት እንኳን የኔን ጊዜ ሊጠይቅ ይቅርና የአንድ ተራ ፀሐፊንም ጊዜ አሟልቶ ልይዝ የሚችል ኃላፊነት ያለው ሥራ አለመኖሩ ከማንም የተወደደ አይደለም። በሃይቲ ያሳለፍኩት ሶስት ዓመት በሥራ በኩል ሐገሬን አገልግቶ ስሜቴን አረካሁበት አልልም።(ፖርቶፕራንስ 1958 : 1, ያልታተመ ሪፖርት).

When literally translated literally it means

It is not hidden from any one that there was not enough work to occupy the time of a diplomat. The diplomatic relations between Ethiopia and Haiti, could not fully occupy an ordinary secretary let alone my time. I can never say that I have served my country and satisfied my feelings in my stay for three years in Haiti--- (Portaupreence, 1958(EC): 1,unpublished report).

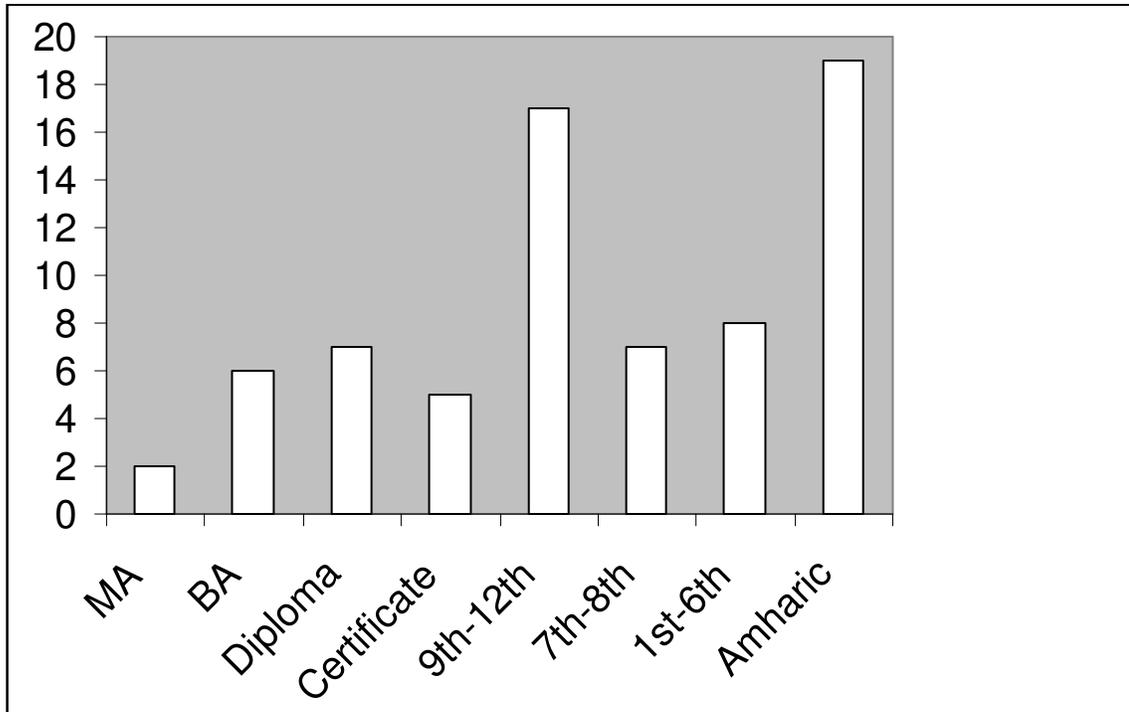
Ambassador Getachew Bekele besides his report he wrote a letter to the Emperor that reads “I have wasted three of my best years just to comply with your majesty’s wish, but from now on unless I am given the opportunity to return to my country, I will be obliged to take a step which may not please your majesty” (Gaitachew, 1993:149). Immediately he received response from the Emperor saying that he would be accredited to Jamaica and Trinidad so as to occupy his time. The former ambassador immediately responded to the Emperor saying that his request was to return to his country and he had no interest in diplomatic activities (Gaitachew, 1993:153).

The office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs continued functioning in Menelik’s *Gibbi* until Zewditu came to power as Empress and *Ras* Tafari as crown prince. The Empress continued ruling in her father’s palace while Tafari moved to his father’s campus at *sidist kilo* and administered from there. Thus, the office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs moved there and a Secretary-General was assigned as aides to work in “a little hovel composed of entirely of one small room, furnished with a table, and a few chairs and a cupboard” (Marcus, 1998:40-41). It continued functioning until the fascist occupation of the country in 1936. After liberation the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was housed in a big building built by the Italians where presently the Special Attorney General office is located in *sidist kilo* adjacent to *Yekatit 12* Hospital (Personal interview with *Lij* Michael Emiru, 9,1994 (EC)).

In 1944(EC) the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was transferred to the building given as a gift by Prince Makonnen Haile Selassie (Duke of Harar), located in *Amist kilo* where the National Museum is situated today. In 1953 (EC) the Ministry moved to the current building after the 1960-aborted coup (*ibid.*).

The organizational structure of the ministry has expanded and duties increased. However, the professional qualification as well as the number of workers with the necessary skill and knowledge were greatly lacking in contrast to the structure. Very few professionals were available and a large number of the employees were lacking the necessary qualifications. Foreign policy making power was vested in the Emperor while the ministry existed nominally, just to coordinate minor foreign activities such as financial and administrative issues with the consent of the Emperor. As it is shown in the following graph out of the 71 employees in 1949 (EC), only six persons had the first degree while only two were holders of a second degree. The majority of the workers were only capable of reading, and writing Amharic and other languages. The ministry was nominally established for modern pretension but in reality every thing was controlled by the Emperor. Even diplomatic pouches were opened in front of him (Interview with ambassador Getachew, 1994(GC)). Most foreign ministers after liberation were highly educated. There were eight ministers assigned upto the end of the Emperor's reign (See annex 3). And all ministers had to please the Emperor, i.e. all must be loyal (Locket, 1989:131). However, Haile Selassie did not allow the ministry to flourish as a strong government institution.

Graph 1.The graphical representation of the employees of the MoFA by education-1949 (EC).



Source: MoFA, 1949

4.2.1.2 Guiding Principles of Foreign Policy of Ethiopia under the Emperor..

Principles govern the very content of foreign policy of a country. They emanate from the nature of the socio-economic system of a country. They are the leading ideas and the basic rule of behavior. Principles are the prime elements that express the necessity or law of foreign policy which are central and ethical standard characterizing the country's foreign relations with others.

In light of the above conceptual framework, one of the first guiding principles of the Ethiopian foreign policy enunciated by Haile Selassie at the League of Nations was the principle of collective security. He had reaffirmed his unswerving support for the principle of

collective security and also practically translated it into action during the Korean and the Congo wars.

In response to the call of the Secretary General's request for collective action through the United Nations command in Korea, the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a telegram approving and endorsing the financial contribution demanded from the member countries. To this end the telegram carried the following message (Atnafu, 1960:258-259).

Fully aware of the incredible suffering resulting from the aggression His Imperial majesty has ordered the transfer to your use of one hundred thousand dollars in order to provide medical supplies for alleviating the sufferings of victims of aggression and to honour these heroic victims of aggression.

The telegram further expressed to the Secretary General about Ethiopia's concern in "considering the practical problems involved in contributing foodstuffs" (*ibid*: 259). Besides, the Emperor agreed to send a battalion (*kagnew*) of Ethiopia's armed forces under the UN-Korea command. Thus, the first contingent of 1,153 officers and men left Addis Ababa for the Korean peninsula in 1951 (*ibid.*).

The Emperor made a stirring speech to the departing soldiers as follows (*ibid.*).

You are today on the point of leaving Ethiopia on voyage half way round the world in defense of the liberty and of the principles to which all members of the united Nations stand.... 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. Of all the nations of the world, the name of Ethiopia has been most closely associated with that principle.

As soon as it arrived the Kagneb battalion took all 37 objectives assigned to it and has sent out 113 combat patrols. It accounted for many enemy casualties. It was evaluated the best of the smaller national units that had never yielded a position or a prisoner and has suffered only relatively light loss (*ibid*: 261).

In 1961 Ethiopia again participated in another collective security duty in Congo. In this campaign 1,160 Ethiopian troops participated (*Tekel* Birgade) which later was expanded to more than 3,000 men and four Ethiopian Sobre jets joined the small UN air force of fourteen planes (Hoskyns, 1965:211; Atnafu, 1960:91).

Ethiopia was the only African country that participated in two UN-led wars in line with the Charter of the organization according to the principle of collective security. The Emperor had unflinching support to the United Nations. In his 1961 Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned States he warned “he who acts deliberately and with calculation to injure the United Nations, to weaken it or to endanger its existence as an effective and energetic institutions, is the enemy of us all”(Negussay, 1977: 54). When he addressed the General Assembly in 1963, he greatly lauded that the UN was “the best-perhaps the last-hope for the peaceful survival of mankind” (*ibid.*).

Other guiding principles of foreign policy were described in his speech to the people after he return from his extended visit to friendly countries. He said the following (Atnafu, 1960:75,emphasis mine).

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 striven are, among other, **collective security, peaceful and active coexistence, non interference in the internal affairs of other countries, respect for the suzerainty and territorial integrity of other nations and peaceful settlements of all disputes among nations**.

As he was committed to the cause of peaceful co-existence with his neighbors, the Emperor had strong belief to maintain strong military power. Thus, he organized modern armed forces that were observed to be the best in Africa where the Ethiopians handled the maintenance of the military machines dominantly. For this purpose he devoted about 20 percent of the country's budget for military modernization (Negussay, 1977:54).

Non-alignment was one of the basic guiding principles of Ethiopia's foreign policy. The basic objective of this policy was to diversify aid, and to change the country's image of being identified with the western world in particular with the USA. In 1961 the Emperor attended the Non- Alignment Movement Conference where he articulated his perception of Non-alignment or neutralism (Negussay, 1977:55).

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

Pan- Africanism was another guiding principle of foreign policy of Ethiopia. However, Ethiopia's pan Africanist foreign policy was viewed critically by many commentators. Ethiopia had been the "silent servant of the leaders of African liberation movement" (Ketema,

1968:18). Ethiopia had been attacked many times by colonial powers to occupy it as a launching board to subjugate other Africans. The repeated victory of the country over the foreign enemies has boosted the moral of the colonized people. Ethiopia not only served the African cause, also overtly identified itself with the continent.

Ethiopia's Pan-Africanist foreign policy acquired a leap after the 1955 Silver Jubilee of the coronation of the Emperor. There were internal and external reasons for the radicalization of the Emperor's policy. Internally there was popular discontent that erupted in an abortive coup in 1960.

The Accra Summit of 1958 had its pressure on Ethiopia's foreign policy. The Ethiopian delegation headed by prince Shale Selassie on behalf of the Emperor came back with positive impression, which encouraged the Emperor to host the second African independent state conference. Furthermore, he granted scholarship to 200 African students in 1958. Ethiopia's foreign policy towards Africa gradually changed and culminated in the founding of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 with its head quarter in Addis Ababa.

4.2.1.3. The Development and Expansion of Ethiopia's Diplomacy.

Haile Selassie, then Tafari, practiced the skill of diplomacy in the court of Menelik where all brands of shrewd diplomatic business have been conducted every day. He began to practice diplomacy in his struggle against Lij Iyasu when he was the governor of Harar. He had close contacts with European legations in Addis Ababa as well in Harar.

After he became heir to the throne, he vastly utilized diplomacy for the building of “his image abroad, and in related matters of prestige and foreign affairs” (Clapham, 1969:50). In this regard he visited countries near and far. He succeeded in bringing Ethiopia to membership of the League of Nation.

When the Empress died in 1930, he was crowned as Emperor the same year. In the 1931 he promulgated the first constitution by which in Art. 14 he took into his hands all power of diplomacy and foreign policy. The revised constitution of 1955 gave even more power to the Emperor. In this regard Article 30 of the Constitution reads as follows.

The Emperor exercises the supreme direction of the foreign relations of the empire. The Emperor accredits and receives ambassadors, ministers and missions. He alone has the right to settle disputes with foreign powers by adjudication and other peaceful means, and provides for and agrees to measures of cooperation's with foreign powers for the realization of the ends of security and common defense. He alone has the right to ratify, on behalf of Ethiopia, treaties and other international agreements shall be subject to ratification before becoming binding upon the empire.

In 1942 he fully supported the United Nations and accepted the invitation sponsored by powers to participate in the fifty- nations conference to organize the world body (Atnafu, 1960:85). Likewise the country's diplomatic contacts expanded. Before the fascist occupation there were only three Ethiopian legations and three consulates abroad. Before the fascist occupation, Ethiopia had no diplomatic representation at the ambassador level with any country. But Sbacchi (1985:36), wrongly mentioned Afework Gebre-Yesut who studied for his higher education in Italy and had an Italian wife was designated as minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Ethiopia to Rome from 1934-1936. Before him *Ato* Yilma Wolde Gebriel (1928-1930) and *Dejazmatch* Mengesha Wube (1930-1934) were designated as

minister extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of Ethiopia to Rome legation. It was after the liberation that diplomatic relations between the two countries grew to ambassadorial level. *Ato Emmanuel Abraham* (1952-1955) was the first ambassador of Ethiopia to Italy. But after the liberation diplomatic contacts expanded and about thirty-six embassies and two permanent representations, all together thirty-eight, of which thirteen embassies were opened in various African countries while the remaining twenty-three embassies and permanent representations were opened in different continents. Furthermore, many consulates and legations were opened in different countries (For all the details see Annexes, 2 and 4).

Eighty-four ambassadors and nine consular service diplomats have been assigned to different countries during the reign of the Emperor. Out of the eighty-four ambassadors Fifty-Six were Amhara, Fourteen were Eritrean, Seven were Tigre, Five were Oromo, one was Afar and one was Gurage (MoFA, 1991, For all details also see Annexes 2 and 3). Plus, no single woman ambassador was designated during the period. However, according to my interview with *Dejazmatch Dr. Zewde* the non-designation of woman ambassador was a mere coincidence. He, very critical analyzed the situation in broader perspectives. He said that, it was not because the government entertained an active and clear policy of gender discrimination but rather because of the limited number of educated women generally and more particularly in the immediate years after the liberation, namely the 1940's and 1950's. During this period, there were very few educated women and of these few were involved in other more engaging duties in the country. To name only a few, *Woizero Sinedu Gebru* was for many years, Head Mistress of *Etegue Menen* School, later Princess Ruth Desta replaced her, *Woizero Lule Tesfaye* was involved in equally important social work. *Mary Tadesse* was engaged in the formulation of curriculum and educational policies at the Ministry of Education and *Sophia*

Abraham was a Vice Minister in the Ministry of Public Health. Other than these, women in the period were housewives and those married to diplomats did their best to represent Ethiopia with their husbands in various social functions required in the pursuit of diplomatic duties.

Matters improved gradually with the rise of the number of educated women in the 1960's and 1970's. *Woizerit* Yodit Emiru was, for instance, served at different levels in the Foreign Ministry and reached high levels. She started her service in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1953. She served as Second Secretary in New York from 1954-58. From 1958-61, she served as Director General of American Department in the Ministry. From 1961-66 with rank of Assistant Minister she served as Head of International Department. From 1971-75 she was appointed as Minister D'etat. *Woizerit* Konjit Sine-Giorgis also served in the Ministry for long time. She served as Second Secretary in the Ministry from 1962-65. From 1965-70 she served as Second Secretary in the UN Permanent Representations in New York. From 1970-73 she served as Second Secretary in African and International Organizations Department. She participated in a number of General Assembly Sessions as member of the delegation and also served as First Secretary in the Permanent Representations Office in New York in 1974 during the rein of the Emperor. The trend was decidedly positive in the placement of women diplomatic personnel so long as they possessed the requisite qualifications for diplomatic postings. However, these young diplomats were groomed for higher diplomatic postings by developing the necessary skills during the reign of the Emperor.

The slow emancipation of women added up with the traditional inertia against their full participation in the public services generally and the diplomatic services particularly have brought a limitation but not because of an official policy of gender discrimination. However,

paucity of women diplomatic personnel in various Ethiopian missions is, I believe, true (*Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde, 2002).

The composition of diplomatic representation has not taken into consideration the diverse ethnic groups of the country. In this regard also, *Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde had the following to say. He said that during the post liberation period there was a glaring lack of qualified individuals for placement in both public and diplomatic services, regardless of ethnic origin. The Emperor's policy was to involve anyone with any qualification in the public services including diplomatic postings on the basis of unswerving loyalty to him. Alas, there were very few educated persons. This accounts more in explaining that they were not adequately represented in the diplomatic service. The few who had been 'educated' before the war were mostly decimated during the Italian invasion. Where talents were available, the Emperor made use of these to the fullest in all diplomatic postings, without any ethnic discrimination at policy level.

All this improved with the arrival of the post war generation from school and if one were to look at the ethnic background of the various individuals who represented the country in the various missions where Ethiopia had diplomatic representation, one can not but recognize, in all fairness, that there was a reasonable spread of the ethnic representatives of the country in the diplomatic service. It is true that the bulk of these were of Amhara origin but it is equally true that there were Eritreans, Tigreans, Oromos a Gurage and an Afar. While, there was conspicuous absence of representations from the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional Government, Gambella National Regional Government and Beni-Shangul- Gumuz Regional Government because of lack of educational qualifications. Then, why were

educational opportunities not made available to the peoples of the peripheral regions since the Emperor had strong policy for introduction of modern education that I believe?

If the truth be told, by the standards of the day these peoples were forgotten and denied relatively the opportunity of education and as a result they exercised a marginal political influence and wielded or no political power. But fortunately Christian Missionary work was permitted to operate in the regions of the South and Western Ethiopia. This has made a difference and the results of their works are indeed visible today everywhere.

The educational level of the ambassadors was not satisfactory. There were ambassadors with church education. The overwhelming majority of the ambassadors had low level of training. However, there were some dynamic diplomats with low level of education but who had high potential, skill and tact and represented the country effectively abroad. The table below further shows the details of the educational level of the former ambassadors (For more information see also annex 2).

Table 2. Educational Qualifications of Ambassadors

Church Edu.	Sec. School	Mil. Sch./ Diploma	BA/ B.Sc .	MA/ M.Sc	Ph.D	Dip .	Cert	Elem. School	Unknown level	NA
7	14	8	9	9	4	9	1	1	19	3

Source: MoFA, 1991 (Unpublished Document in Amharic).

Moreover, the social compositions of the ambassadors were so diverse that it had its own effect in the execution of foreign policy. Many of the ambassadors who were assigned from

the nobility were reluctant to report to the MoFA. In this regard *Ato Ketema Yifru* in his interview with Dr. Assefa said the following:

አምባሳደር የሚሆነው--- ከንጉሠ ነገሥቱም ይፈልቃል። በዚህ ዓይነት የሚሾሙ ሰዎች ውጭ ጉዳይን እንዲያው አናውቅም እኛ የቀጥታ የንጉሠ ነገሥቱ እንደራሴ ነን---አምባሳደር የሄድ አፍ እስቴትስ ሪፕረዘንታቲቭ ነው---አኛን የሚያዘን ንጉሠ ነገሥቱ እንጂ ውጭ ጉዳይ አያዘንም የሚሉ ሪያል ሜምበርስ ነበሩ። አምባሳደሮችን በመሾም በኩል ችግር ነበር። በስተኋላ ነን እርግጥ እየተሻሻለ ያው ኻሮፌሽናል የሆነው መሥሪያ ቤቱ ውስጥ ያደጉ ወይንም ይህ ልማድ ያላቸው ሰዎች እየሆኑ ይሄድ ነበር ግን ኮምፕሊት አልነበረንም ብዙ ይቀረን ነበር።

When literally translated it means

The Emperor designates ambassadors. ---Ambassadors who were designated in this way believe that they represent the Emperor directly and only the Emperor can order them. They defy the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because they were from royal family---There were problems in the appointment of ambassadors. Later on there came certain improvement in the appointment of ambassadors. Professional employees of the ministry who had developed the experience began to occupy the posts. However, it was not complete. A lot was remaining.

After the liberation, diplomatic appointment, however, more tended to include educated people. The table below shows the social composition of the ambassadors after the liberation.

It was composed of different societal groups. For more information see also annex 2.

Table 3. Social Compositions of the Ambassadors.

Feudal Traditional Titles	Military Titles		
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Ras	Dej	Lij	Fit	Bit	Bal	Bil. Get	Wag Seu.	Maj. Gen	Lt. Gen	Bir. Gen	Col	Maj	Civil Personnel	Total
1	2	5	5	1	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	3	55	84

Source: *ibid.*

The Emperor's diplomacy was personal diplomacy. His personal "diplomacy is conducted through face to face contacts sustained by a multitude of state visits" (Clapham, 1977:55). To this end, in 1944 he paid a short state visit to Egypt. In 1954 he made two long series of state visits to America and Europe that lasted four and a half months. He made foreign visits in 1956 and in every year since 1959, going as far a field as Japan and South America. He made more state visits than any other head of state and enjoyed them for their own sake, even when they had no practical benefit to the national interest of the country (*ibid.*).

The rapid increase of independent African states further attracted his personal interest after his adoption of Pan-Africanist foreign policy. Thus, for Haile Selassie, "diplomacy is inseparable from prestige, and matters which are likely to affect it receive his close attention" (*ibid.*).

While on foreign tour in 1960, an aborted coup was attempted against him when he was on a state visit to Brazil. After the coup, the Emperor tried to give his government a more liberal flavor. But when some government officials demanded for more autonomy as *Lij* Mikael Emru, Minister of Foreign Affairs, he was soon sent to Moscow as ambassador. Similarly when Hadis Alamayahu as Minister of Education revealed that Ethiopia was educationally behind most of the African countries, he was soon removed from his post and sent to London

as ambassador. Million Naqneq who replaced him, showed an ambition of improved education system and was transferred to a minor post in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and then sent to Tokyo as ambassador (*ibid*).

Not only the suspected elites were avoided through systematic appointment of ambassadorship abroad but also member of the nobility and military officers who were assumed to be a threat to his power. This project also included any disfavored or disliked groups who were suspected for plotting against his throne. Thus, diplomatic posts serve largely as places of retirement for the aged or those out of favor (*ibid: 99*).

Though Ethiopia's diplomatic contacts have expanded quantitatively, however, it was difficult to believe that it has developed qualitatively. In this regard one can cite that even reports that come from various embassies and need immediate response were not given replies fast because the Emperor has to consent on every issues of foreign policy and give replies himself as ambassadors are accountable to him. The country's diplomatic movement was evaluated weak in contrast to those countries of Africa who were liberated from colonialism recently. The existence of embassies in excess more than the capability of the country, has weakened the organizational capacity of many embassies. A case in point was Mexico. The Ethiopian Embassy in Mexico was less equipped with human and other necessary services. Former ambassador Getachew Bekele, after he was called back from Haiti, was designated again to Mexico from 1966-1969. Egypt, Ghana and Ethiopia were the only countries that had embassies in Mexico. In contrast to the other embassies, the Ethiopian embassy was weakly organised though seventeen years have passed since it was established. Its existence was known only when it invites diplomats on the national day. The embassy building was not

conducive either for diplomatic work or for invitation of high diplomatic corps and high government officials. The embassy and the ambassador's residence were in the same building. The ambassador's office was a small room of three by two meters. Two secretaries held another smaller room. Thus, the new ambassador had to report the situation to MoFA and the Emperor for immediate action to improve the situation. When no immediate solution was found the ambassador had to come to Addis Ababa and stay for six months with out solution. The Ambassador had to appear to the court of the Emperor in person in order to explain the situation. After lots of personal efforts the Emperor allowed him some amount of money to improve the situation. With the given amount the ambassador purchased the necessary services to improve the standard of the embassy. The ambassador purchased on installment basis a descent building to be paid in three years and then remain the property of Ethiopia. The fiscal stand of an embassy, said the interviewed ambassador, is itself a mirror abroad to reflect the diplomatic strength of a country. However, it was a sad story that this embassy was sold during the transition period (downfall of the *Derg* and the takeover of the EPRDF) by a charge d'affairs called Tafesse Geleta designated to Mexico during the *Derg*. He is now living in the USA (Interview with Getachew Bekele former ambassador to Mexico, 3 *Nehase* 1994(EC)). Though diplomatic relations between the two countries today continue existing there are no embassies in both countries (*ibid.*).

Ethiopia's foreign relations have been broadened during the time of the Emperor. Nevertheless, it was odd that a country with many years of independence remained weak to conduct competitive diplomacy. In this regard Ambassador Getachew in his report to the Emperor dated *Ginbot* 12,1960(EC) boldly put the following fact.

ስለሐገሩ ታሪክና ክብር ተቆርቋሪ የሆነውን ኢትዮጵያዊ ሁሉ ሊቆጨውና ሊያሳዝነው የሚችለው በቅርቡ ነፃነታቸውን ያገኙ የአፍሪካ አገሮች የማያደርጉትን የዲኘሎማቲክ እንቅስቃሴ ሲመለከትና በነፃነት ብዙ ዘመን የኖረችው አገር ታደርጋለች ተብላ በዓለም ግምት የምትጠበቀው መወዳደር ሲሳናትና የዲኘሎማቲክ እንቅስቃሴዋ ደካማና ዓላማ የሌለው ነው ከሚባል ግምት ላይ የሚጥላት ሲሆን ነው። (ጌታቸው በቀለ 1960 : 2 --- ያልታተመ ሪፖርት)

When translated literally it means

All Ethiopians who are concerned with the history and prestige of this country have to feel sorry and get puzzled. When African countries who have recently achieved independence showed effective diplomatic movement and Ethiopia that stayed independent for many epochs and expected in the world to conduct competent diplomacy fail to do so and the country's diplomacy taken as weak and aimless (Getachew, unpublished letter to the Emperor, 1960:2).

CHAPTER 5

5.1. ETHIOPIA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS AFTER LIBERATION WITH COUNTRIES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

Though liberated from the shackles of fascism, Ethiopia remained in the pawns of British diplomacy not to pursue an independent foreign policy. The British government that allied with Ethiopia in the common struggle against fascist Italy dominated the aftermath of political independence of the country. Thus, the achieved independence through patriotic struggle of the Ethiopian people that costed high price met a great challenge and the independence of the country once again fell under question mark when dual powers (Ethiopia and Britain) existed in the country. Therefore, the priority of Ethiopia's foreign policy objective of the time was to guarantee the independence of the county and to oust the British out of the country.

5.1. 1. **Ethio-British Relations**

Mussolini's war declaration on Britain and France on June 10, 1940 contributed to Ethiopia's independence. Soon after Britain got it profitable to ally itself with Ethiopia though it has earlier recognized Italy's conquest of Ethiopia in December 1938 (Kessings, 937-40:23). Thus, Britain lifted its recognition of conquest and in this regard its foreign secretary and representative at the Council of the League, Viscount Halifax on may 2, 1938 said the following (Curtis quoted by Legesse, 1979:204).

[T] he only means by which the Italian position [in Ethiopia] could be challenged by League members would be by concerted military action; in other words, by going to war. Such action is unthinkable, and would be proposed by no responsible person in any country.

In its decisions to work with the Ethiopians against Italy, the British did not prefer to work with the guerrilla fighters but the exiled Emperor in Baath whom they reserved "in cold storage for future use" (*ibid.*). The British did this tacitly against the demand by some groups of Ethiopians in exile who approached the British authorities to try to prevent the return of the

Emperor (Legesse, 1979:204), because the guerrilla fighters and exiled Ethiopians were discussing for “setting up a republican government”(Greenfield quoted by Legesse, 1979:204). Addis Hiwet (1975:86), also put that “the anti-fascist resistance even produced ideals of patriotism, the establishment of a democratic structure in a post-war Ethiopia was discussed, and political groupings-though inchoate-committed themselves to these ideas.” However, Britain recognized Haile Selassie without any legally and diplomatically binding agreement reached. Though he wanted a treaty with Britain, Anthony Eden recognized him “as the leader of the liberation --- as a participant in the war against Italy, he was not really acknowledged as the ruler of Ethiopia ---”(Sbacchi, 1985:217). The Emperor soon was flown to Sudan to help in the coordination of the campaign against the fascist forces in adjoin Ethiopia and in the same year to his throne in Addis Ababa (Legesse 1979:204).

The British plan throughout 1941 was not clear concerning either the country or the Emperor. Haile Selassie “was an emperor among his people, but he was not yet ruler in Addis Ababa ... the British... established a military government for what they considered occupied enemy territory” (Marcus, 1995;78,ellipsis mine). It was a bittersweet that though he was in the palace, “he was neither authoritative nor apparent sovereign”(ibid.). The British “were every where and acting as if Ethiopia were a colony” (ibid.). Furthermore, General sir Philip Mitchell an arch imperialist and colonial governor, was assigned to direct the “Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) over what Haile Selassie refused to acknowledge as anything but free territory” (Mitchell quoted in Marcus, 1995:9).

Meanwhile he quickly started to restore loyal provincial and local governments and was successful except some areas were still occupied by British troops. Haile Selassie announced to an irate Mitchell that he had named seven ministers (*ibid.*). The British told him that “he had no authority” and “regarded the ministers as designated ministers only”(Sbacchi, 1985:228). However, the military administration installed was forced to use Haile Selassie’s government though Mitchell’s plan was to create an enlarged East African territory of Britain. Watchful of the situation Churchill also decided that “Ethiopia should be handed over to its rulers as a native state and we should not concern ourselves unduly how it is governed” (*ibid.* 10).

Mitchell also sought to retain the Ogaden (Haud and the Reserved Area) under a military administration while clearly knowing that the Emperor had a claim to this territory. He proposed that in concession Ethiopia would get generous financial aid, advisors, military mission, a British-led police force which amount to *de facto* recognition of the Emperor’s administration of Ethiopia (Marcus, 1995:10).

The reason why Britain was interested in the area was explained by Emmanuel (1995:130) as follows.

The area was most important to the Somalis under the British protection for grazing purposes. But as the Ethiopian government had made strong demands to the British government for its restoration, the British had decided to give it back and an agreement had been signed on the occasion of the Emperor’s state visit to Britain in November 1954.

Haile Selassie thanked Britain for its assistance for restoring Ethiopia's government but unequivocally expressed its determination not to negotiate on Ethiopia's sovereignty. He further expressed that he permitted a short-term British military administration for the Ogaden only for the duration of the war (*ibid.*). Lastly, Anthony Eden, the foreign minister, and Lord Moyne, the Minister of state resident in Cairo, consented that Ethiopia "should be treated... as an independent state, subject to necessary safeguards and provisions" (Marcus, 1995:11). Thus, Mitchell had to negotiate for a treaty with sovereign Ethiopia. To this end the 1942, Anglo Ethiopian Agreement was signed between the two countries. The preamble of the Agreement reads "the government of the United Kingdom recognize that Ethiopia is now a free and independent state" (Atnafu, 1960:464). However, almost every article of the treaty undermined Ethiopia's independence and underlined the dominant role of Britain. The provision for mutual diplomatic accreditation was qualified by the stipulation that the British minister in Ethiopia would enjoy precedence over all other diplomatic representatives to the country. Besides the British subjects enjoyed key positions in the Ethiopian administration, advisers and judges. Besides, the entire police forces of the country run by the British (Bahru, 1991:179). The British Legation in Addis Ababa was the only channel of communications through which the Ethiopian government had official contact. Thus, "the 1942 agreement contained clauses subordinating Ethiopia's sovereignty" (Marcus, 1994:153). It was, therefore, difficult to say that Ethiopia was conducting an independent foreign policy. The British foreign policy was "to assert a form of protectorate over Ethiopia"(Spencer, 1992:14).

British imperialism in Ethiopia completely embezzled the country's economic, financial and industrial resources. Import and export were totally controlled. The British personnel controlled the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa as well as Ethiopian access to shipping. Ethiopia was made a virtual British colony (Marcus, 1995:13). All enemy captured properties were taken away. The American Legation in Addis Ababa was reporting home the situation that was developing in an amicable manner. Being aware of America's backing, Ethiopia demanded for a new treaty with Great Britain in 1944 against the 1942 treaty. In this regard Washington subtly warned the foreign office not to bully the emperor into any form of political dependency on Britain. (Marcus, 1994:154).

Thus, protracted negotiation started between the two parties. In this regard De La Warr had been appointed as special plenipotentiary to negotiate the new agreement (Marcus, 1995:33). He arrived in Addis Ababa on 27 September 1944 and formal negotiation began with an Ethiopian delegation consisting of seven cabinet level officials (*ibid*:34). As the negotiation commenced, the issues of Ogaden, the reserved areas and Eritrea were immediately raised. The Emperor, in addition personally discussed with De La Warr and cleared his intention where De La Warr stated his opinion that London was well disposed toward Ethiopian aspiration (*ibid*).

De La Warr could not give any reason for the continued British occupation of Ogaden since there was no military reason to convince Ethiopia. The intention of Britain was to continue occupying the Ogaden and the reserved area while Ethiopia's position was to guarantee the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. After lots of negotiations, the two countries signed the 19 December 1944 agreement. Article seven of the agreement specified that the

continuation of the occupation was put as Ethiopia's contribution "to the effective prosecution of the war" and volunteered "without prejudice to ... underlying sovereignty" (*ibid*: 39, ellipses original).

Nevertheless, the treaty was taken as diplomatic triumphs in the Ethiopian foreign policy because it enabled the country achieve the following benefits (*ibid*: 39-40).

It proclaimed diplomatic equality between London and Addis Ababa, it provided no special relationship between British advisers and the Ethiopian government, and the head of the British military mission was placed under the authority of the Ethiopian minister of war. Moreover, HMG conceded control over the railway to the Imperial government, as long as satisfactory arrangements were taken to ensure efficient operation and if British military needs received priority, it also promised to evacuate Dire Dawa and the area north west of the railway, even before the line's transfer was accomplished.

As relations between the two countries continued under such circumstances, the Emperor "continued to elicit American interest in every aspect of Ethiopia's development" (*ibid*: 42). Gradually America's strategic interest in Ethiopia grew. On the other hand Britain had to address its internal economic problems and social discontent that forced the labour government to give precedence to social security at home over the needs of imperial security abroad. It was not even in a position to cover the cost of the British Military Mission in Ethiopia (BMME) and, therefore, reduced it by one third.

In 1946, with the intention to retain the Ogaden the British Prime Minister Ernest Bevin proposed to the big four power that Italian Somaliland be united with the British protectorate and the Ogaden to form a single region called Somalia which should be placed under a British protectorate (*ibid*: 69). The "USSR criticized the idea as imperialist and the United States

found it colonial” (*ibid.*). Thus, the proposal had no future. Thus, Ethio-British relations entered into total mistrust and the “Emperor also had concluded that the British connection had finally to be broken” (*ibid.*: 77). Lastly, the British mission in Addis Ababa recommended that the BMME be withdrawn in order to avert the coming conflict between the two countries. Thus, on 30 November 1950 the British ambassador to Ethiopia told the Ethiopian government that the BMME would be withdrawn in three months and with this, British hegemony in Ethiopia came to an end giving way to the ascendancy of Ethio- American relations.

5.1.2.Ethio-USA Relations

Formal relations between the two countries began in 1903 when Robert Skinner the US Consul General at Marseilles led an American mission to Addis Ababa, where he signed a commercial treaty with Emperor Menelik (Legesse, 1979:125). According to this treaty American citizens in Ethiopia were guaranteed freedom to travel and transact business, and the security of their property in the country and the use of telegraphs, posts and all other means of transportation were assured. The treaty granted the most favoured nations clause in respect to “customs duties, imports and jurisdiction” (Keesing’s 1940-43:5022). In addition to the treaty, the mission secured the right to collect a large amount of trade information, seeds of more important crops and agricultural data of wild coffee in Kafa. Thus, an American Consulate General was opened in Addis Ababa in 1906, which functioned off and on until 1914 (Congress quoted in Legesse, 1979:125). When Haile Selassie, then Tafri was heir, he subsequently undertook the task of pushing for increased U.S relations with Ethiopia. In this regard in 1923 he wrote letters to president Harding and to his successor, president Elect

Coolidge, urging them to reopen the American Legation in Addis Ababa. Tafari's letter to the president reads that "I am trying every way to open friendly relations with the nations of the United States but I am very sincerely sorry that there was not appointed in Ethiopia either a representative of your government or a responsible company which I could have told about the plan I have in mind every minute" (*ibid*: 126).

His letter to president Elect Coolidge was a plan for expanded relations between the two countries on solid foundations. However, the U.S Consulate General has not reopened until 1928.

The preceding year, the U.S Department of state appealed to American business community to invest in Ethiopia, disclosing that it was an almost virgin place for productive effort. There was a continuous U.S. diplomatic representation in Addis Ababa until 1937. However, Ethio-US relations before the Second World War has achieved insignificant results in actual sense.

After the Second World War, both Ethiopia and USA had interest in each other to resume the longstanding relationships. In 1945 Haile Selassie met president Franklin Delano Roosevelt in Egypt *En route* home after his Yalta Conference (Marcus, 1994:156). They discussed on the strategy of their future policy that read as, "the first duty and one that had been specifically emphasized at the time of negotiation was to replace the 1942 agreement, so as to release Ethiopia from what in fact not in name, British protectorate" (Spencer, 1977:10).

In that face-to-face talk, the Emperor submitted his agenda that characterized the foreign policy goals of the country. They were the following (*ibid*).

- a) Ethiopia's ownership over the railway to Djibouti;
- b) Free and unfettered access to the sea;
- c) Recovery of Eritrea;
- d) Military assistance to develop a small modern army; and
- e) US investments in development projects.

The USA's foreign policy was mainly interested in the containment of communism in Europe and its possible expansion to Africa. Thus, America was in desperate need of a communication facility in the Red Sea area. The USA realized the former Italian run "Radio-Marina" in Asmara would suit its interest. It was an important time in the face of heightening phase of the cold war in which the USA was looking for allies "in a region that had been made strategically sensitive by Arab nationalism and Middle East oil"(Clapham, 1999:86) and bases on the Horn of Africa. This was a blessing in disguise and an opportune moment for Ethiopia (Negussay, 1977:57). Since then the country started to get significant aid from the United States.

Later on the United States government showed greater interest in Ethiopia and continued to provide the government with increased economic and technical assistance. The economic aid was provided based on point IV policy reached between the two countries on may 15,1952 (Marcus, 1995:90). The same year the two countries signed the treaty of amity and economic relations. This treaty gave the USA the following privileges (Feleke, 1988:25-26).

- Freedom of entry and residence in Ethiopia,
- Unrestricted transfer of funds and freedom of commerce,

- Allowed the maintenance of security of persons and property,
- Navigation backed by the most favoured nations clause.

Moreover, the treaty guaranteed and made favourable conditions to USA capital in order to enter competition with Ethiopian public enterprises. A number of investment agreements were signed between the two countries. But the US investment and business in Ethiopia was minimal. There was no single American owned industry established in Ethiopia. Thus, Ethiopia's policy of industrialization with American investment did not succeed. The US was more interested in military and strategic spheres rather than economic spheres of relations. In this regard Ethiopia's strategic location on the Horn of Africa gave the country high importance to be treated as a significant ally in the foreign policy of the US for the containment of communism. Ethiopia was taken as a useful country, because of its Proximity to the Middle East, Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Aden, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. It was this strategic location of Ethiopia, which motivated the US to establish strong military relations with the country.

Kagnew a military base named after a battalion fought in Korea and located in Eritrea served as a center for all US air and space operations. It served as a primary relay station for the US Army's Strategic Communications center and earth terminal for Satellite communications and diplomatic communication relay point (Legum, NY: 106). The US was mainly interested in Ethiopia's strategic importance and "less concerned with Ethiopia's political soul than with geopolitics" (*ibid*: 181).

The Emperor had also a keen interest to see a strong army of his own. To this end, he wanted a strong military relation with USA as a means to achieve his goal. In 1946, the regular army of Ethiopia was about twenty-two thousand men, one half of whom had been integrated from the old territorial army and semi-organized patriots who fought the Italians and had become “a rag-rag and bob-tail agglomeration, differing but little in equipment and discipline” (Cole quoted in Marcus, 1995:55). The imperial bodyguard in 1947 comprised of 4,500-5000 men was “an absolutely reliable and fully acquainted source but with difficulty and by a round about method” (*ibid.*).

Thus, the Ethiopian government “wanted an army of four division and Headquarters Company totalling 45,000 men to reoccupy the Ogaden and to garrison the whole country” (Marcus, 1995:55). When this defense plan was presented to the US government to get arms, it replied that Ethiopia’s present army is “far larger than needed for security” (Cole quoted in Marcus, 1995:55).

Therefore, Ethiopia was touting all over the world for arms purchase. She had already purchased “sixteen used B-17 SAAB light bombers from Sweden”(*ibid:* 56). Ras Imru, the Ethiopian minister to Washington presented a shopping list of weapons to the pentagon to be used to in defense of the country. There were reports of deals with Belgium while the Soviet government made a free offers of arms and munitions, including heavy equipment and planes (*ibid.*). Therefore, the USA decided “as a matter of policy to supply some arms and ammunition to retain Haile Selassie’s good will” (*ibid:* 57). Ethiopia still continued to diversify her source of military weapons acquisition and thus dealt with Czechoslovakia. Both

agreed in good terms and the Ethiopian State Bank transferred three million dollar weapons contract that included construction of a munitions plants in Addis Ababa (*ibid*:58). The US attempted to persuade the Ethiopian government to terminate the contract but failed since it was unwilling to fullfill Ethiopia's arms requirement. Thus, "in mid-1949 the first Czech shipment arrived in Djibouti: 15,000 Mausers, 2,750,000 rounds of ammunition, 500 machine guns, and 10 submachine guns" (*ibid.*)

Later on in 1953 the two countries signed mutual defence agreement, where according to this agreement, the US military assistance and advisory group (MAAG) was attached to the Ministry of Defense. The assistance enabled the Emperor to suppress the internal rebel groups.

The acquisition of Eritrea was one of the basic goals of Ethiopia's post liberation foreign policy as mentioned earlier. The Ethiopian government's foreign policy was to find ways and means to bring Eritrea under central government. The USA's involvement in the internal affairs of the country, in particular its acquisition of strategically an important military base in Asmara necessarily forced the Washington government to support Ethiopia's policy of annexing Eritrea. Towards this end it worked strongly when the case was discussed at the UN's First Committee of the General Assembly. It employed every possible means of diplomatic maneuver to satisfy the interest of Ethiopia in having Eritrea. However, it was confronted with strong opposition from the Soviet Union and other countries.

When the US found it impossible to influence the General Assembly, it approached Britain to reach an agreement. They agreed on a plan to federate Eritrea rather than union ship with

Ethiopia. Thus, when the investigation commission was unable to agree on a recommendation, the USA and Britain presented their compromise plan which was adopted on December 2, 1950 by the General Assembly (Baun, 1964:139-40). The decision became effective in 1952 and Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia.

The amicable relations that existed between the two countries began to deteriorate after the abortive coup in 1960 in which the US Embassy in Addis Ababa played a great role. The American ambassador in Addis Ababa was involved in the issue and tried to negotiate with rebel groups. The Emperor also was communicated about the attempted coup from Kagnew communication in Asmara. However, being aware of the political and economic situation taking shape in the country the American advisors insisted for certain reforms in order to ooze the country's pregnancy with an old contradictions of peasant movements, students movements, rebels groups (ELF, TLF, OLF...) and Somalia irredenta from its neighbour.

In the mean time a military coup took place in Somalia. The new regime with irredentist policy proclaimed its ideology to be Marxist-Leninist and invited the Soviet Union that was hunting for base in the Horn of Africa, The Soviet Union soon entered into Somalia and began building her military capability. The Emperor appealed to the USA to give him modern jet planes and weapons to counter the Somali military build up. He had "great faith in United states" (Marcus, 1995:83) He took "the US as a hedge against invasion, insurrection and insolvency"(*ibid*: 14).

The US government replied with soothing words to Ethiopia's demand, that Somalia was not much of a threat to Ethiopia and to modestly build the Ethiopian army (Korn, 1986:1). The

Emperor was not satisfied with this type of reply and left to the USA in 1973 to discuss in detail about the urgency of the issue. He requested the Nixon administration to provide Ethiopia with \$450 million military equipment. After the Emperor was back, the US government was locked with the Water Gate Scandals and Ethiopia's demand was given little attention (*ibid*: 3).

The Ethio-USA relations were based on Ethiopia providing America with communication base- the issue of strategy. In this regard the Asmara Radio Marina was the area of common interest and testified that Washington would “always take with great concern any danger to Ethiopia” (Marcus, 1995:87). With the development of satellite technology, Ethiopia's strategic importance to America began to be less important. Meanwhile, the political, economic and social contradictions gaining momentum within led to revolutionary upheavals that overthrew the Emperor in 1974.

5.1.3.Ethio-USSR Relations

Ethio-Russian relations dates back to the period of the Czar. In the 19th century, relations between the two countries were already developing along manifold lines - political, religious, military, cultural and technical. The Russian policy towards Ethiopia was based on the principle of peaceful penetration into the interior of Africa, to exert influence on Egypt and the whole Nile area, to get a foothold on the Red sea, and check on the British movement. Ethiopia, thus, was taken by the foreign policy makers of the then Russia as the most suitable gate into the African continent. Thus, in 1902 a permanent Russian diplomatic mission was established in Addis Ababa (Yakobson, 1976:180).

In 1917, the Bolshevik party staged a socialist revolution, which brought an end to the Czarist regime in Russia. In Ethiopia also it was the period of the advent of Haile Selassie then Tafari to power as heir to the Ethiopian throne and Zewditu as Empress. In this difficult revolutionary period, the Soviet Union was seeking to establish relations with Ethiopia. To this end, the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Republic sent a diplomatic mission led by I.A Zalkind to Ethiopia in 1921. The mission arrived in Addis Ababa and held talks with the leaders of Ethiopia on the issue of dispatching a Soviet diplomatic mission to Ethiopia to resume relations. However, the plan failed due the opposition from the Entente countries and, certainly, because the Ethiopian rulers were against developments in Russia (Gromyko, 1988:525). The mission returned to its country empty handed in 1922.

However, social, trade and scientific relations continued to develop between the two countries. In light of this in 1927 the Soviet agro botanical expedition of known Soviet scientists came to Ethiopia. The expedition discovered the original site of plant domestication.

In 1935 fascist Italy attacked Ethiopia and occupied it from 1936-41. The USSR was the first and the staunch opposer of the occupation and also the major advocator of effective action against the fascist Italy in the League of Nations. After the liberation of the country in 1941, diplomatic relations between the two countries was established in 1943 (Ibid: 526). This was a period where Haile Selassie was struggling to assert his country's independence and throw off "the bonds of ... British tutelage" (Norberg quoted by Marcus, 1995:53, ellipses original). Therefore, "the determination to be sovereign made diplomatic relations with Moscow especially welcome. As an avowedly anti-imperialist power, Russia was perceived as a useful

counterweight to Great Britain” (Marcus, 1995:53). Furthermore, it could be seen as a foreign policy tactic to raise the appetite of the USA towards Ethiopia.

Relations between the two countries continued and in 1947 the Soviets reopened the Dejazmatch Balcha hospital and scholarly and cultural delegation came to Addis Ababa to strengthen the ties between the Ethiopians and Russian Orthodox churches (Korn, 1986:88). Ethio-USSR relations were hardly cordial after the Second World War due to Ethiopia’s strong pro-west orientation. Nevertheless, Ethio-Soviet relations began to show upward development after 1955 and the raising of their diplomatic relations to the level of embassy in 1956. The basic reasons for the amelioration of relations between the two countries were Ethiopia’s participation at the 1955 Afro-Asian conference at Bandung. Ethiopia’s role in non-alignment conferences, its general anti-colonial stand suits Soviet policy (Yodfat and Abirr, 1973:13-14).

The major reason for Ethiopia’s adoption to western principle of “collective security” and Eastern principle of “peaceful coexistence” was to get huge funds and technical assistance to implement the first five years plan and externally to overcome the Muslim encroachment that haunted the Emperor (Yakobson, 1976:81-82). So the Emperor accepted an invitation to Moscow in 1959.

In this connection *Ato* Ketema Yifru who served at different levels in government positions including as Minister of Foreign Affairs (1966-70) accompanied the Emperor. In his personal interview with Dr. Assefa Medhane he pointed out that foreign policy leadership under Haile

Selassie, though not based on documented principles, was flexible depending on the nature of the issue, but as it relates to the national interest of the country. He mentioned an example in this regard. The Emperor being aware of the necessity of constructing a refinery asked Shell, Agip and Mobil oil companies to construct one in Assab. They refused. When the Emperor visited the USSR in 1959 he gave priority to this issue during his visit. The Emperor and Khrushchev discussed for six hours in the presence of only their interpreters. In the discussion, the Emperor firstly demanded for the construction of a refinery and an agreement was reached to construct one worth a forty million Birr. Thereafter, he continued his visit and went to France. De Gaulle received him and asked whether he has become a communist. He replied no and said we are promoting Ethiopia's interest. When the Emperor came back to Ethiopia the western oil companies asked to construct a thirty million Birr worth refinery with higher capacity of five thousand tons but the Emperor refused assuming that it was a plot of other states to obstruct the construction (Assefa Medhane, unpublished interview).

Ethiopia's economic relations were also primarily with the west and the USA. Its economic relations in terms of trade and aid were diversified but mainly with the western powers. The US was the major economic aid provider to Ethiopia. As to trade relations, the US market absorbed more than 60% of the coffee that earned Ethiopia's valuable foreign exchange (Gliks, 1975:143).

However, Ethiopia had also economic relations with the socialist bloc. During his visit the Emperor was granted a long term credit of \$100 million at low rate interest that enabled the Soviet Union to render economic and technical aid "in the form of survey work, the supply of

equipment and materials and other forms of assistance”(Yakobson, 1976:186). Nevertheless, only a fraction of the credit was used while the rest remained unutilized due to lack of agreement on mutually acceptable projects. The establishment of a refinery in Assab that was disassembled and moved from Baku (in USSR) to Assab was the component of this credit. Ethiopia did not utilize the whole credit because Haile Selassie, “really did not want to use the Soviet aid, since it appeared mostly to be tied to a land reform program that would have changed the political economy of Ethiopia” (Marcus, 1995:113). Thus, the Emperor used the Soviet credits to blackmail the US constantly with threats to go elsewhere (*ibid.*).

The US Development Loan Fund, therefore, made available two million dollars to the Development Bank of Ethiopia. Besides, the US embassy in Addis Ababa strongly supported the Ethiopian government’s application for a loan of \$ 80.4 million to the above organization to sustain a ten years highway program (*ibid.*).

The American credit increased in order to limit the Soviet and Soviet block credits and to change Ethiopia’s expectation and aspiration (*ibid.*). In 1960 Arthur L. Richards the new American ambassador to Ethiopia promised the Emperor “new military, educational and economic aid, plus the promise of further assistance “(Marcus, 1995:114).

In addition to technical assistance and loans, there were some trade links with USSR. According to trade agreement of 1959 between the two countries, Ethio- Soviet Trading Company (ETHSO) was established in Addis Ababa and in other provinces (Rain, 1972:10). However, the trade exchange was minimal and almost non-existent (Baissa, 1989:350).

For instance, from 1960-1964 Ethiopia imported Russians goods worth 800 thousand rubles for the first three years each, and 1 and 3 million rubles worth of goods for the last two years respectively, and exported about 7 million rubbles worth of products in five years (Rain, 1972:10).

Ethiopia's economic interest with the USSR was minimal. The Soviet model of development and modernization was not compatible with the existing feudal mode of production. Therefore, economic consideration did not play an important role in motivating the shift to the USSR. The Emperor's visit, therefore, had other motives-internal and external.

Internally the secessionist movement in Eritrea posed a danger to Haile Selassie's government. The movement was supported by USSR and Russian made arms were transferred to the Eritrean rebels through third parties, i.e. the Arab states such as Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Thus, the Emperor's visit was to neutralize the Soviet position as well as to strengthen the bargaining position with the USA.

Externally the extreme militarisation of neighbouring Somalia and its being armed and backed by the USSR threatened Ethiopia's national integrity. Ethiopia's demand for armament to keep its territorial integrity was not positively viewed by the USA. Thus, the Emperor visited the USSR not with sincere desire to improve Ethio-USSR relations but to improve his bargaining position vis-a-vis the USA.

In 1961, the two countries signed cultural exchange protocol that opened a new threshold in their relations. According to this agreement the Russians built the Bihar Dar Polytechnic Institute that was inaugurated in 1963. As a result many Ethiopian students studied in the USSR in different fields, plus the Russian permanent cultural exhibition center in Addis Ababa played a major role in bringing the peoples of the two countries together in cultural fields. Thus, in 1963 “Bolshoi Ballet was shown in Addis Ababa, where the Emperor presented a gold medal for the group” (Rain, 1972:52). Reciprocally, in 1964 the Ethiopian theatrical group visited Moscow and the Ethiopian Art Exhibition was displayed (*ibid*: 53).

In 1967 the Emperor visited the USSR when he was unable to crush the secessionists. He employed diplomatic means in order to influence the Arab-countries through the USSR. In 1969 the ascending of military governments to power in Somalia, Sudan and Libya and the strong support rendered by these countries to the Eritrean secessionist force escalated the situation in the Horn of Africa. In 1968 several Arab countries supported ELF and trained guerrilla and large amount of weapons were smuggled from PDRY by sea to Eritrea (Abir, 1974:75). The Arabs took the Eritrean case as their own case and categorized Ethiopia as ally of Zionism and American imperialism. The Soviet military aid to Somalia had completely changed the balance of power in the Horn.

Therefore, in 1972 the Ethiopian Minister of Foreign Affairs visited USSR to put pressure on the Soviet Union not to help Somalia, and the secessionists in the north. In the same year, a three man Russian delegation of writers visited Ethiopia and on reciprocal basis delegation of Ethiopian authors led by *Dejazmatch* Girmachew Teklehawariat, member of the Crown

Council and chairman of the Ethiopian writers Association, visited Moscow in 1972. (Rain, 1972:10). Again in the same year the two countries agreed for the establishment of psychopathological laboratory near Ambo (*ibid*: 18). The agreement included a joint scientific investigation in agricultural fields and training of manpower (*ibid*).

In 1973, when the US government finally reversed its policy and notified the Emperor of its decision to discontinue its use of Asmara base and to end its aid, Haile Selassie decided to adopt a pro-Arab foreign policy, in order to block Arab intervention (Baissa, 1988:354). However, Haile Selassie made the last trip in the same year to USSR. The joint communiqué confirmed “the relations between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia are friendly and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other” (Rain, 1973:1). The two sides also signed an agreement “on disarmament banning nuclear tests in atmosphere, in the outer space and under water, on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, on banning of bacteriological weapons and the convocation of the world disarmament conference”(*ibid*). Furthermore, the two countries called for the peaceful settlement of disputes, including boarder question and the renunciation of the use of force.

It is was a paradox when a country that cannot produce even light arms domestically signed on nuclear banning treaty with a nuclear power. However, the agreements were formalistic and fictitious as the USSR was arming Ethiopia’s opposition groups. In 1974 Haile Selassie and his regime came to an end, and a military government came to power. To sum up, the Ethio-USSR relations had been eclectic and both sides had been trying to attain their national objectives at the expense of the other.

CHAPTER 6

6. 1. APPRAISAL OF HAILE SELASSIE’S FOREIGN POLICY: SOME SALIENT ISSUES

6.1.1. Problems and Achievements of Foreign Policy Goals.

The foreign Policy of Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie can be appraised by dividing his reign into three periods and try to see problems and achievements in the process of foreign policy making. The periods are divided as the follows.

6.1.1.1. Power making (1916-1930)

6.1.1.2. Power centralization (1930-1935), and

6.1.1.3. Power restoration and decay (1941-1974).

6.1.1.1. Power Making (1916-1930)

The Emperor’s power making period began with his direct involvement in the struggle for the Solomonic throne in 1916. As heir to the throne his domestic as well as foreign policy goals were calculatively to work for the making of power. Internally, the political and economic situations in Ethiopia were not different from the era of princes. Every local ruler had absolute power over the human and material resources of the area under his domain, plus, every ruler had his own army under his direct command as an instrument of local power. Thus, “the basic policy of Haile Selassie has been a centralizing one”(Schwab 1969:46).

The traditionalists and conservatives opposed the heir's policy of modernization. The Empress was the symbol of traditionalism and was strongly supported by traditional forces while the heir was opposed to this and was devoted to bring changes. He was more farsighted than the traditionalists in this respect. He had already understood the trend of the world development and how to go about with the new wind of change.

Another predicament of the country was its encirclement by colonial powers and lack of access to the sea. These two problems became great challenges to the country's national security and self-preservation as an independent state. Thus, two foreign policy decisions were made in 1923 and 1924. In 1923 a decision was made to make Ethiopia a member of the League of Nations. The traditionalists opposed this decision while the modernists supported it. The League of Nations also rejected Ethiopia's application due to the existence of slavery and the arms traffic in the country (Perham, 1947:63). However, *Ras* Tafari had been active in foreign affairs and obtained Ethiopia's admission to the League of Nations in 1923 (Lather, 1958:20).

Ethiopia's admission to the League had three advantages: -

- It helped the heir to pursue energetically his policy of domestic reforms, raised his popularity nationally and internationally and increased his power base,
- Exposed the country to world politics as peace loving and committed to collective security as a guiding foreign policy principle,
- At least (in relative sense) protected the country from colonization that could have been pursued by the neighbouring colonial powers.

The 1924 foreign policy decision enabled the heir to lead Ethiopian delegation to different countries. The purpose of the tour was basically to discuss with the powers of the time on the

possibilities for the country to obtain access to the sea. The tour did not achieve its desired goals. However, it gave a chance to members of the delegation to see how other parts of the world have changed and learn something out of it. The trip also enhanced the popularity of the heir. When Tafari returned he brought with him the crown of *Atse* Tewodros that was taken from Ethiopia (Maqdalla) during the Napier's expedition to Britain. This was also a diplomatic success to the country. In 1928, he concluded a twenty-year "Treaty of Friendship" with Italy (Ibid.).

The internal and international achievements that were attained by Tafari enabled him to be decreed as "His Majesty King Tafari Makonnen Heir to the Throne of Ethiopia and Regent Plenipotentiary"(Marcus, 1998:91). Thus, he was crowned as king of Gonder in 1928. This gave him greater chance to further consolidate his power.

To sum, during fourteen years of political administration before he became Emperor, Tafari had demonstrated political capability by undercutting the power of all-powerful rivals to the throne and his political astuteness by pursuing a policy of modernization. He worked hard and laid the basis for increased effectiveness of his authority. He steadily undermined the power of traditional forces within Ethiopia and promoted the authority of the bureaucratic apparatus of the central government. He had extensively centralized his authority of the state in order to expand his personal power and he truly enjoyed more power than any previous Emperors of Ethiopia (Hess, 1970: 107).

6. 1.1.2. Power centralization (1930-1935).

During this period, the Emperor continued the already begun reform programs while weakening the power base of the remaining local nobilities. In 1931 the monarch promulgated the first constitution. The “constitution was used as a means of reforming the political system in an attempt to destroy the traditional power bases of many of the provincial lords (*Rases*) who ruled the provinces like pure autocrats” (*ibid*:6). The constitution’s external purpose was to better “an image that was none too bright at the beginning of this century” (Markakis and Asmelash, 1967:200). According to the constitution, the foreign policy decision-making power exclusively was given to the Emperor. As things were moving in such a manner, fascist Italy unleashed a war of aggression in 1935.

6.1.1.3. Power Restoration and Decay (1941-1974).

This period can be sub-divided into three periods i.e. 1941-1950, 1951-1960, and 1961-1974. The time from 1941-1950 can be characterized as a period of the existence of dual powers in the country- i.e. the established British military administration and the restored Emperor to the throne. The British policy was to retain Ethiopia under their control and economically exploit the country, while the Emperor’s first and foremost foreign policy has been concerned with territorial security and to cast off the British domination and assure the country’s independence. In order to overcome British domination, Ethiopia used a foreign policy strategy of playing off one power against the other. In this regard US was taken as alternative foreign policy option in order to overcome the predicaments of the country. The US played a role to bring an end to the British domination in 1950 that can be appraised as a success in the country’s foreign policy. Through skillful way of balancing a number of factors the Emperor managed to reassert fully the independence of the country. He further strengthened the internal

administrative and organization of state machinery after the withdrawal of the British. Ethiopia got many potential supporters in foreign relations and power to maintain its integrity (Lipsky, 1962:215).

The period from 1950s to 1960s was witnessed as a period where the country's foreign policy was mainly targeted to gain access to the sea and restoration of Eritrea. To achieve this goal the government used the US as one of the world super powers to play the game on its behalf. To this end the US played a determining role in the multilateral and bilateral forums in order to enable Ethiopia restore Eritrea and have an access to the sea. The US, tried to influence the General Assembly of the United Nations and when that failed it convinced Britain to accept Eritrea's federation with Ethiopia. When the General Assembly could not reach an agreement on Eritrean issue the US plan of federation was accepted and Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia in 1952 gaining access to the sea. Later on, the federal union was abolished and Eritrea was later merged with Ethiopia. This policy measure was the main cause for the birth of opposition movement in Eritrea and also for the establishment of an independent state of Eritrea in 1991.

In 1955 on the 25th Anniversary of his coronation a revised constitution was promulgated. It gave the Emperor an extraordinary power. The constitution was taken as monarchical rather than constitutional and represented an "infusion of formal, legalistic elements in an essentially traditional political system attempting to survive through adaptation" (Scholler and Paul, 1976: 39). Over all Haile Selassie "was trying to legitimize his personal rule by the establishment of modern institutions and to limit the influence of traditional forces, or ...

organized modern political structure to impress the west” (Schwab, 1979:87). He “was a man of two worlds with one foot in each and that he could accommodate both western and Shoa Amhara tradition through his rule”(ibid.).

The 1960s was taken as the period of African liberation movement. In the post war years Ethiopia’s foreign policy has skillfully played a role in African Nationalism and anti colonialism. Ethiopia as Hess (1970:234) put “was isolated from African affairs and did not participate forcefully at the Bandung conference of Asian and African states. The revolutionary aspect of much of pan- Africanism disturbed the Emperor, who held back from actively supporting the movement.” Hess further said, “ the Emperor has sought to assume the role of an African leader, but, ... his evolutionary rather than revolutionary policy is too moderate to appeal to many African nationalists” (ibid: 234). However, Ethiopia’s policy gradually changed and the country became a symbol of Africa’s struggle for independence (ibid.). In 1958 the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) was formed and its permanent secretariat was established in Addis Ababa. The Emperor made the building available for the commission and addressed the meeting. In 1963 the OAU was founded with its head quarters in Addis Ababa. The Emperor mediated different conflicts in Africa and was seen as ‘**father of Africa**’ gaining popularity and prestige. This has helped the Emperor domestically to be seen as “ not only ruler by the grace of God, a monarch with quasi-divine attributes” (Levine, 1965:150-155, Perham, 1969: 71-80).

The period from 1960s to 1970s can be appraised as the deepening of the decay of the feudal mode of production internally and the decadency in international relations. The Emperor

almost neglected the internal situation and he was on constant tour from country to country. However, this single man diplomacy had brought him critics internally and less benefit to the national interest except a personal fame that he wanted.

Nevertheless, the internal situation was working against the Emperor. The peasants revolt in different parts of the country coupled with the secessionist movement in the north became the major foreign policy predicaments. The Emperor's extensive tour to country's of different social systems in order mollify the internal opposition remained in vain particularly after late 1960's when the contradictions in the country began to deepen. In the early 1970's the total situation was out of the hands of the Emperor. When the Emperor paid his last visit in 1973 to the US he was in his eight's and physically feeble. Due to age his memory had decreased but has never come to the level of "profound sense of impotence"(Spencer, 1984:335-336). However, *Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde saw the Emperor some days before he was toppled found him replying articulately to questions raised by *Derg* representatives who came to request him for about the money in foreign bank witnesses that he never saw any symptom of impotence in the Emperor.

However, the scanned picture below shows his physical status. Age and health have their own impact on the foreign policy decision- making power of a leader. He was physically weakened due to his long age. Nevertheless, even under such conditions the Emperor was not wishful to give up power or wishful for graceful exit. In this regard Getachew said “በርግጥ ንጉሠ ነገሥቱ አርፎተው ከቁጥጥር ውጭ ሆነዋል። -- የጃንሆይ ዋና በሽታ በእግዛብ-ብሔር እያመካኙ ↓ድሜያችን እስከፈቀደ ድረስ እንገዛለን ማለታቸው ነው” (የተጠቀሰ ገጽ፣ 97)

When literally translated it means “precisely due to age the Emperor was out of control---The basic disease of the Emperor was to ascribe to God to rule forever”(Ibid).

He further said “ንጉሠ ነገሥቱ---ሥልጣንና ራስ ወዳድ እንደሆኑም ይነገርባቸዋል። 80 ዓመት አልፏቸው ጃጅተው እንጂ---ሥልጣንን የሙጥኝ ከማለት ጋር የተያያዘ አባዜ ነበረባቸው” (የተጠቀሰ ገጽ፣ 97)

Which means literally ”The Emperor was ---power centered and self –interested. After 80 years of age ---under senility even he had ---power malady”(ibid.).

Figure 5. Emperor Haile Selassie I around the end of his government.



Source: A History of Modern Ethiopia: 1855-1974,1991.

When the Nixon administration, disclosed its stoppage of the use of Kagnaw base and support to Ethiopia, the life-blood of the Emperor also came to stop and the pillars of his government were uprooted ushering in the era of change in an old Ethiopia.

In light of the above appraisal, Ethiopia's foreign policy under the Emperor was dominantly based on its relations with the USA. Compliance to the interests of the US determined the foreign policy behavior of the Emperor. The efforts made to diversify the foreign policy options could be appraised as an attempt made to raise the bargaining power of the country "to counteract the dependence and achieve greater independence"(Neack, 1995:211).

The Emperor's mastery of Machiavellian principle of divide and rule in foreign policy, his role in African politics, Non-aligned movement, the genius to quell oppositions and his personal charisma, indefatigable energy, tact, charm, shrewdness, intelligence, etc., came to an end in the 1970s when his foreign policy efforts were unable to stop internal challenges and continue to loose respect.

The Ministry of foreign Affairs executes the Emperor's policy. In 1957 a huge chart with different sections, sub-sections and divisions was prepared and led by a minister, a vice Minister, and five assistant ministers. There were five main directorates and various sections and sub-sections. Each section was lead by assistant minister.

Ethiopia maintained a number of missions in Europe, African Asia, Latin America and the United Nations. Persons whom the Emperor liked to reward or wanted to remove from

domestic political scene were appointed as a diplomat. Important foreign policy issues were handled by the Emperor and through foreign representatives in Addis Ababa rather than through his representatives abroad (Hess, 1970:232). At the lower ranks, personnel for the abroad service were selected for their ability and proficiency of foreign language.

The Emperor's skill as arbiter of conflicting forces is usually admired. There are views that Haile Selassie's foreign policy and diplomacy were strong and diplomats were fine in quality. But "Ethiopia's presence in Africa has been felt not because of the development of a highly talented cadre of professional diplomatists, but because of the hard work and prestige of the little Emperor who once spoke of collective security before the League of Nations" (*ibid*: 247, ellipsis mine).

Thus, foreign policy of Ethiopia under Haile Selassie was based on power manipulation to achieve personal gain. His power and personality was attached with Ethiopia. Everything was given to the people with his free will. His name was synonym with Ethiopia. Diplomats were personally appointed and accountable to him. Foreign policy making elites and executing institutions made to be dwindled. The period was filled with lack of self-confidence among the elites even on minor issues. There were fears and absence of creativity and self-initiation to produce dynamic ideas in foreign policy. People who were promoted to key position in the foreign offices had to pay loyalty and can utter no word that might be taken as disloyalty. Every one was attentive and careful to continue loyal in order to sustain the post one occupied. Therefore, foreign policy of Ethiopia under Emperor Haile Selassie I was personal.

The Emperor was a political realist. He was a man of power and the foreign policy of the country remained in his hand as a tool to prolong his power.

6.2. The Foreign Policy Decision Making Under the Emperor: Continuity and Change under the *Derg*.

Haile Selassie was believed to be *Seyoume Egziabier* (Elect of God). His power was uncontested and as well constitutionally legalized. In article 30 of the revised constitution of 1955 all legal power was given to the Emperor in foreign policy decision-making. Thus, foreign policy decision making was beginning and ending with the Emperor, though, other formal and informal actors must be taken into account.

The foreign policy decision- making was the prerogative of the Emperor. The decision making power was concentrated in the hands of the Emperor. In the absence of any political party, absolute and the real decision-making power resided with the Emperor. In this regard it was he who appointed and dismissed the Prime ministers, all ministers and all officials down to the rank of director generals on the basis of personal loyalty. He appointed loyal persons as foreign minister to whom direct and easy personal access to the Emperor was opened. The

foreign minister served as the liaison between the Emperor and the foreign diplomats, besides overseeing the implementation of decisions through the staff of the ministry and diplomatic missions abroad. However, he had the chance to influence the decision making of the Emperor. In addition the prime minister and other trusted ministers also were giving advice in foreign policy decision making as to their loyalty, access and the capability to persuade the Emperor. However, the decision making power in real term was in the hands of the Emperor. It was in this way for example that the decisions to visit the Soviet Union and the severance of diplomatic relation with Israel were reached.

In 1959 Yilma Deressa the then foreign minister received secret note verbal from the American and the British governments that expressed their support for the union of Somaliland protectorate and the Trusteeship territory of Somalia (Spencer, 1984: 294). The minister took the case to the attention of the Emperor for consideration. The Emperor discussed in secret with his advisors, the Prime Minister Akililu Habtewold and the Foreign Minister. After rounds of secret consultations, the Emperor decided personally to visit the USSR despite America's opposition. It was in a similar fashion that the decision to break diplomatic relations with Israel was reached. Though the 1973 Israel-Arab war and its consequent occupation of a territory pertaining to a member state of OAU (Egypt) by Israel, as a result of the war was considered to be the major cause for the policy decision to sever diplomatic relations with Israel, there were other factors that also influenced the action. Ethiopia was to host the tenth OAU anniversary in the spring 1973. Libya and other African countries opposed to this as well as the continuance of Ethiopia as headquarter for OAU because of its alleged alliance with Israel. Ethiopia was considered as the center of

imperialism and Zionism and can never represent Africa. Because Muslim countries surrounded Ethiopia, she was considered as thorn stabbed into Muslim flesh that needed to be uprooted. Thus, Ethiopia had to wage diplomatic war to convince the Arab-African states of Ethiopia's neutrality concerning the conflict (*Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde, 1994).

All African states convened in Addis Ababa and the celebration was successfully performed. Soon after the council of ministers under the prime minister discussed on benefits and losses of breaking the diplomatic relations with Israel in view of the then growing secessionist movement in the North and Somalia border tension. The council of ministers recommended breaking ties with Israel and improving relations with Arab countries. Although, the Emperor initially rejected the recommendations, Ethiopia severed diplomatic relations with Israel on 23 October 1973 as other OAU members. The Israelis carried anti Ethiopia propaganda, blaming the country as renegade, claiming to be Christian, etc.

There were some people who argued that the decision was more of idealist than realist. Those who were for idealism argued that breaking of relations with Israel did not achieve the aim of either weakening secessionist movement or the Somali irredentism. Rather the action annoyed the USA and Israel. Neither did it stop the Arab countries from nagging Ethiopia and pouring support to anti-Ethiopia forces. Some argued that, had Ethiopia not taken that type of action that she did the OAU headquarter would have been moved to elsewhere in Africa.

Haile Selassie's pattern of personal foreign policy decision- making also continued under the *Derg*. In this regard two cases of foreign policy decisions can be cited. And these were the

decisions to align with the USSR in 1977 and decision for rapprochement with the Sudan in 1980.

After the overthrow of the feudal regime a military government (*Derg*) was established in its place. The question of pursuing either the old pattern of alignment or looking for new ally was blurred because the nature of revolutionary movement has not yet acquired a clear line until Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the first deputy chairman emerged as its real power.

Mengistu wielded centralized decision making power and supreme authority in his role as Secretary-General of the WPE, President of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, he also controlled the bureaucracy. The Council of Ministers as an institution was turned to be powerless, and relegated to the implementation of foreign policy decision made by him.

Except for providing advice other institutions had no role in decision-making. The power of decision-making like the Emperor resided with Mengistu. He dominated “ political life in Ethiopia in a way that not even Haile Selassie could ever have imagined. He takes a particularly close interests in, and exerts great control over, the regime's foreign policy, almost every detail of which has been dictated or approved by him”(Amare, 1989:496). Foreign policy decisions were arbitrarily made without critical analysis about their implications and equally rash decisions soon thereafter to reverse it. Monopoly of power and absence of institutionalization, accountability and criticism of the leader affected adversely the

predictability and clarity of the country's foreign policy and made its systematic formulation and implementation very difficult (*ibid.*).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs similar to the time of the Emperor had role “no more than the governmental agency responsible for implementing decisions already reached by the party, and this is indeed the role it has played---. In practice, however, there is no indication that the ministry has played any significant role in foreign policy formulation at all”(Clapham, 1998:233). There were six foreign ministers appointed by Mengistu of which three were civil officials and three were military officers (See also Annex 3). Appointment was based on unswerving “personal loyalty to Mengistu rather than belief in, and commitment to, an ideological system and its principles is the cardinal-some say the sole-criterion for upward mobility and the key to success”(Amare, 1989:296). The appointed officials of the MoFA “receive orders from, and implement the decisions made by Mengistu”(*ibid*: 497).

Similarly most of the diplomatic posts were occupied by individuals lacking knowledge of diplomacy and the needed professional qualifications. Though the level of education of the ambassadors as leveled in Table 4 has radically changed in contrast to the period of the Emperor, there was lack of professional relevance as the nature of the post and its ethics demand. Plus, their hands were tied not to act freely. Individuals with no career background were assigned to the post. Thus diplomatic skill and tact were taken as “secondary to the much more important one of loyalty to Mengistu himself”(*ibid.*).

According to the document from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) there were 87 embassies and 2 permanent representations during the *Derg* era. Out of the above mentioned

embassies some were newly opened. They were opened in South Yemen, East Germany, Cuba, Libya, Zimbabwe, and North Korea (MoFA, 1991 unpublished document in Amharic, N.P). The *Derg* regime “has also opened an important new embassy in Brussels accredited to both EEC and the Benelux countries”(Amare, 1989:488). The *Derg* government also closed some embassies from the already existing ones of which Haiti, Mexico, were a few to mention (MoFA, 1991 Unpublished document in Amharic, N.P).

The diplomatic accreditation when analyzed by ethnic composition had the following picture: sixty six were Amhara, ten Oromo, three Eritrean, three Somali, two Gurage, one Tigre, one Afar, one Kambata, one Adere and one Hararie (*ibid*, see also Annex 5 for all the details). Similar to the Imperial period an ethnic group dominated the posts of diplomacy. There were three women diplomats designated to different posts. Yodit Emiru was the first woman ambassador designated to Sweden from 1975-1977, Sahalework Zewde the second woman ambassador to Dakar from 1989-1993, and Konjit Sine–Giorgis was the third and also the first woman Ambassador to be designated to Geneva as permanent representative from 1990-1992.

The educational level of the ambassadors has changed in contrast to the time of the Emperor. But most of the ambassadors were non-practitioners in diplomacy and alien to the post. The table below, nevertheless, shows the educational details of the ambassadors.

Table 4. Educational Qualifications of Ambassadors.

Ph.D/LLD	MA/M.Sc/MCA/MCL/LLM	BA/B.Sc/LLB	Diploma	Unknown	Total

12	33	22	20	2	89
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Source: MoFA ,1991.

The social compositions of diplomats were diverse as similar to the period of the Emperor. The ambassadors were recruited from different societal sections. As *Derg* was a military government the assignment of military officers to diplomatic posts also relatively increased. The table below shows the details of the social composition.

Table 5. The social composition of Ambassadors

Civil	M I L I T A R Y O f f i c e r s								Feu. Tit
Civil	Bir.Gen	Maj.Gen	Col	Maj.	Cap.	Lieut.	Commo	Commn	Qagm.
65	4	2	8	1	2	3	2	1	1

Source: *ibid.*

About four domestic factors influenced the foreign policy decision of the *Derg* to switch its alliance from the USA to the USSR. These were the following.

- The tendency of the *Derg* right from the very beginning towards Marxist-Leninist ideology,

- The decision of the USA Government under president Carter not to supply arms and military equipment which was agreed upon earlier,
- The opening of war by the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU),
- The intensification of the Eritrean war of secession in the North - West. This provoked more the USSR to arm the Ethiopian army.

The above factors provoked the USSR to arm Ethiopia. Thus, USSR continued as the major ally in arming the Ethiopian forces and backing in different wars, while Ethiopia continued its trade relations with the capitalist world that shows the pragmatism of its foreign policies as during the Imperial era. Ethio-USSR relations were so close that the country remained loyal and its spokes person in international as well as regional forums in supporting the Soviet position including those the USSR had no representation. Nevertheless the *Derg* rebuffed the Soviet attempts when they insisted to install permanent advisory group in the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs during 1976-1977 in order to control its foreign relations (Amare, 1989:487).

Ethio-USSR relations began to decline gradually after the implementation of *glasnost* and *perestroika* by Gorbachev. This new thinking has brought the reappraisal and indeed virtual abandonment of the concept of socialist oriented development and also guided Soviet foreign policy towards revolutionary third world countries (Clapham, 1988:256).

The Soviets advised Mengistu to seek peaceful means to overcome the internal and regional problems, particularly the Soviet pressure on Mengistu to a negotiated settlement to the

northern wars became increasingly open (*ibid.*). Thus the gradual withdrawal of the Soviet military aid further weakened the *Derg* regime and facilitated its downfall in 1991.

The internal factors that conditioned for the normalization of the relations with the Sudan were the extended attack by the insurgents in Eritrea, rebellions in Tigray and the subversive activity of neighbouring Somalia. Since the rebels obtained most of their supplies via Sudan Mengistu was convinced normalization of relations with Sudan would cut off supplies to the rebels and bring an end to rebellion.

To further the rapprochement the leaders of the two countries exchanged visits. Mengistu observed the Eleventh Anniversary of Nimeri's advent to power, in 1980. This has hastened the normalization process and many joint Ethio-Sudan ministerial committees were created to deliberate on border security as well as economic, cultural and political issues. However, such committees also existed earlier during the imperial era.

Thus, after successive exchange of visits of consultations and declarations by Ethio-Sudan officials, misperceptions between the two governments were impermanently absolved while rapprochement was restarted between the two neighbors. Nevertheless, it lived short as the two regimes were unable to uproot the major cause of their conflicts resorted to mistrust and recrimination by mid-1983 and relations worsened again (*ibid:* 351).

To sum, foreign policy decision-making in Ethiopia was vested in the hands of leaders. Haile Selassie exercised absolute decision-making power more than any leader in the country. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs had no power to function as autonomous institutions. Though

modern institutions were established to simulate modernization, their operations were controlled. The officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs appointed by the Emperor according to their unswerving personal loyalty. The minister had direct access to the Emperor and had a chance to influence the decision. Nevertheless, it was the exclusive power of the Emperor to make the policy decision. According to the interview I conducted with *Dejazmatch* Dr. Zewde Gebre Selassie on 24 *Nehasse* 1994(EC), even minor policy issues could never be made without the consent of the Emperor. He further said that it was difficult to isolate the Emperor from Ethiopia and Ethiopia from the Emperor. Ethiopia was taken as a personal household (fief) of the monarch.

The *Derg* was not different in foreign policy decision-making from the Emperor. Mengistu had no crown on his head but was an Emperor when it comes to foreign policy decision-making. His foreign policy decision-making style was not different from the Emperor and was based on the experience of the past i.e. the almost exclusive role-played by one man in foreign policy making.

7. CONCLUSION

The Emperor dominated the making of foreign policy in Ethiopia for more than half a century. He wielded unquestioned supreme power, assisted by his personal advisors for policy making and implementation. This was constitutionally established. Both the 1931 and 1955 revised constitutions gave the Emperor a legal power in foreign policy decision-making.

Foreign policy making is a team result. It needs professional skill, tact, and experience in international relations. But in the Emperor's foreign policy we find not only the prevalence of personalized decision-making, the absence of accountability and criticism but also the emasculation of institutions of foreign policy decision-making. In this regard policy-making institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Council of Ministers, and the Parliament were mostly by passed and, thus, existed just nominally. Moreover, he personally appointed diplomats and they were directly accountable to him, but also people who were unwanted also were represented to avoid them from the domestic political scene.

The quality of foreign representation was given less attention. There were missions and embassies opened in many countries to raise the prestige of the Emperor. Many embassies, consuls and legations were opened more than the capabilities of the country with out any cost benefit studies.

Due to this fact most of the embassies were left idle without active business. People with only church education and without necessary foreign language proficiency were designated abroad. People with less and or no qualifications but who were merely loyal dominantly occupied diplomatic posts. Loyalty to the Emperor was the main criteria of selection to diplomatic posts but not the quality of the designee and preparedness in professional qualifications, tact and experience to meet the national interest of the country. When loyalty to a leader dominates diplomacy it kills the creativity, moral and ethical values of diplomats and opportunism grows fast. Critical mindedness gives way to opportunism and diplomats report on what makes the leader happy. This is the most dangerous thing in foreign policy making. This study, however, never denies that there were highly recognized diplomats during the time but equally believes that due to the Emperor's domination of diplomacy, even a few famous diplomats were unable to bring as much advantages as they could to the country. This trend continued by the *Derg* regime as a bad legacy in the country's diplomacy.

Gender and ethnic factors were not the main concern in appointing ambassadors. Though there were educated women during the period no woman ambassador was appointed. Similarly, though there were educated individuals from different ethnic groups of the country capable to take the posts of diplomacy, no consideration was given to see such glaring reality. People who were selfish and always who tried to bring their associates to the posts of diplomacy surrounded the Emperor. Favoritism or other political factors played role in appointment of the ambassadors without taking into consideration the gender and ethnic composition in order to accommodate the interest of all the ethnic groups of the country as they are equal citizens of the country.

The Emperor's power was not based on an internally generated economic and military capability of the country but depended on external powers. Therefore, it was not an independent and self-reliant power but externally strengthened and susceptible to failure under the circumstances of any change in foreign relations of its supporters. When the US policy of military assistance to the Emperor stopped, security problem of the country aggravated and the crumble of the Emperor's regime fastened. Similar condition met the *Derg* regime.

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Annex 1 Ministry of Foreign Affairs

40. The Minister of Affairs is the head of one of the Departments translating State Affairs namely, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and is responsible for the direction of the following matters.

41. He will prepare and submit draft laws necessary for the proper administration of his Ministry. He will make regulation with the law. He will give such orders as may necessary to ensure the proper carrying out of the work of his Ministry and will supervise its execution.

42. Diplomatic envoys and consuls appointed to foreign Governments will be under his orders.

43. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in accordance with the law:-

- a. will recommend candidates for appointment as envoys or consuls;
- b. in agreement with the Ministers concerned, will submit the names of candidates for appointment as military and commercial attaches;
- c. will discuss with diplomatic Representatives of Foreign Governments, the affairs of Our Government;
- d. will arrange for Foreign Diplomatic Representatives audiences with Us;
- e. after obtaining Our approval shall notify the acceptance of Charges d' Affairs and shall issue "exequaturs";
- f. he will negotiate matters of mutual interest to Our Government and foreign Government;
- g. he will negotiations for treaties and agreements on Our behalf;
- h. he will ensure that obligations under treaties and agreements entered by Us are carried out;
- i. he will safeguard the economical, political and trade interests of Our Empire which are related to Foreign Countries;
- j. he will safeguard the rights of any of Our subjects living abroad;
- k. he will grant passports to Our subjects who go abroad;
- l. he will control the to foreigners of permits to enter Our Empire;
- m. he will control the issue and revocation of certificates of naturalization.

Source: NEGARIT GAZETA No.5,p:30.

