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THE ITALIAN INVASION OF ETHIOPIA AND THE PAN-AFRICAN RESPONSE, 1934-1941

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ABSTRACT. *The Italian invasion of Ethiopia (1934-1941) generated mixed feelings in the international community. Some European powers, Britain and France, judged the invasion unacceptable. This fact gives credence to Peter Buckman's argument that "mankind is animated with discontent"¹. To the aggressor-Italy, the invasion was simply an act of extension of her geo-political authority in an age of imperialism. The Italian aggression to black Africans and Africanists became a reinforcing tool and a major test ground for the much vaunted policy of Pan-Africanism. This paper shows that the second Italian attempt at colonising Ethiopia was accomplished, even if very briefly, by the lethal potency of her war machine that Ethiopia did not possess. The Black world was outraged. Pan Africanists rose to the occasion. Therefore, Pan-Africanism's reaction to the Italian aggression was a protest against the unjust war of Italy on Ethiopia.*

Introduction. Pan Africanism is arguably the product of unrivalled travails of the black race almost 400 years ago². These travails were effected by slavery in the new World and colonialism. No scholar and ardent supporters of true African renaissance, well grounded in African history can dispute the fact that the concept of pan-Africanism was borne out basically of the horrors of slavery in the new World. It could be assumed that much attention was paid to the realization of this Pan-Africanists' dream of driving the Italians out of Ethiopia.

It was against this background, where even the Europeans are bereaved and could boast of no moral justification to their act that Africans must unite. Therefore the dream for an Italian African empire of Benito Mussolini was rather belated.

To the Pan Africanists, Ethiopia, one of the only two survivors of European imperialism was a symbol of the black African sovereignty³. Abandoning Ethiopia to the mercy of Italy would certainly undermine the dream of Pan Africanism.

Two Approaches to the study of Pan-Africanism and Ethiopian Crisis

The provenance and vistas of African nationalism can be viewed from two dimensions: Africans especially south of the Sahara and most affected by vagaries of the Whiteman in Africa, thrived independently and in their own right evolved an economy that catered for their varying, immediate and subsistent needs until the Europeans arrived. In Africa, it was a stark contrast of events headlong with their European counterpart wherein European foremost explorers perceived as barbaric. In a sharp response to this perceived status, an English man, Sir John Hopkins pioneered the first large scale transport of slaves⁴ from Africa to the new world. As years went by a resounding severance of the continent was witnessed via the Atlantic Slave Trade.

The surviving progenies of Africans carted away from their homeland to a distant land underwent vicissitudes that inadvertently refined, polished and braced them for the task of redemption⁵. The Europeans themselves struck by the force of moral ambivalence, as one of the many reasons, and discarding their cruel approach to exploitation embraced a soft but sustained method in furtherance of their economic exploitation. The 'new Africans' (freed slaves) obviously clad with two personalities would rise to the occasion of redemption by first rejoining and fraternizing with their beleaguered African brothers at home to foster a united front under the umbrella of Pan-Africanism to wrestle and rest, free from European control. The above exegesis captures the position of Alexander Crummell that

Afro-Americans had to establish in Africa a strong nationality... possess a constitution, flag, rulers and citizenry bound together by a strong and manly spirit...a yearning for culture, manners and refinement, beauty and art...with deep sense of responsibility to man and to God...⁶.

The above is reminiscent only of a treatise and spells out the dominant ideology a compelling instrument used by the Europeans to pacify and warm themselves into the heart of the Africans. Uya (2005) notes that Crummell's prescriptions for Pan African nationalism were based on the western concept of government⁷ meaning that the idea behind Pan Africanism, more or less had a western taste.

The concept of Pan Africanism based on Professor Uya's position is compounded by polemics regarding its outright African originality. The question of why must the solution to African unity emanate from the same source that reduced it to rubbles becomes evident. Or how reliable is the information or message as peddled by the new Africans whose real sense of reasoning is daunted by western philosophy? More worrisome

is the question of whether the 'crude' remnants of the continent were naturally incapable of proffering a solution to the disjunction it suffered so that reconciliation and unity became the solo effort of foreign African brothers underlined by European support.

On the other dimension to the concept of Pan Africanism, available facts show that copious amount of information on Pan Africanism has been ascribed to the works of the Afro-American Pan Africanists contributors⁸ like Blyden, Dubois, and Crummell, et cetera. It is subsumed that pivotal roles of Pan Africanism centred on the Afro-Americans. The "return to Africa" project and other views expressed by some Afro-Americans were only an aspect of Pan Africanism. The second approach therefore centres on events that were prevalent in Africa-namely colonialism.

According to Henry Sylvester Williams, a Trinidad lawyer credited with founding the first world Pan-Africanism Movement in 1897⁹, the idea was inspired by the appalling stories of the deprivations that were the lot of peoples of African descent without and within Africa. Whatever happened to the Africans within were muted or decorated on paper to justify the white man's burden.

In South Africa, oppression became much more severe because the whites had driven the aborigines further into the hinterland, all for the love of gold. These circumstances caught the attention of Mrs. Kinloch, who, in one of her tours campaigning through the length and breadth of Birmingham exposed the lurid conditions in the mining compound¹⁰. It was in this campaign that Henry William's idea of African liberation registered deeply in his heart. From then, the plight of Africans within Africa became one significant condition that naturally heralded an all African unity. Lending credence to these approaches of Pan African concept, Asante (1977) opines:

the long debate on the Abolition of the Slave Trade and on European Imperialism gave Africans a new conception of themselves¹¹.

Developments and Stages in Pan-Africanism

Whether we ascribe the need for Pan-Africanism to events within or outside Africa, it is important to note that the concept of Pan Africanism was simply generated by the ideas and emotions of that time¹² slavery. Undertaking the task of effecting an all African unity was colossal ambition or an "African Leviathan" in the words of Nnamdi Azikiwe¹³. Surprisingly, achieving a united Africa could come to fruition only with the "consent" or support of the Blackman.

Some Afro- Americans stated for emigration to Africa as a solution to their problems in America. The campaign fell in line with the American Colonization Society the American Colonization Society (ACS). The ACS had the support of their government which hoped to use these Afro-Americans as "important agents for the spread of western culture and institutions to the indigenous Africans"¹⁴.

To this end, it can be subsumed that Pan Africanism is a consummation of other 3 stages namely:

1. Pan Tribalism
2. Nationalism
3. Inter-nationalism

It's quite certain from discoveries that African unity could end up an apparition devoid of these stages. The opinion by Richard Sklar attests that
No nationalist movement or political party could achieve independence without the massive support of the people especially the rural masses and those millions who live in traditional urban communities¹⁵.

Pan Africanists like Nnamdi Azikiwe, Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, etc whose ideas stemmed from the effort of the Afro-

Americans in one hand and personal experiences in Europe are glaring examples. They could not have commanded their respective national positions except for the impact of the local scenes.

Inter-nationalism can be looked at as those necessary contacts made by Africans with their colonial lords abroad either to assert fundamental rights of African or present a case for moral retrospection. The Pan-Africanism conferences in Europe and other consultations were all in attempt to draw the West to the plight of the people of African descent in the hope that some amelioration of these would be effected to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

Factors in the Growth of Pan- Africanism

From 1900, when the first Pan African conference was held in London through the initiative of Henry Sylvester Williams, the movement had been nurtured into maturity by the combined efforts of its ardent advocates. The following factors from time to time reminded and triggered the actors into action and naturally accentuated the course of Pan-Africanism.

Firstly, the nature of the European political, social and religious culture as entrenched in the African society. This became a major tool for promoting the African unity i.e. in communication, the English and French language became the *lingua franca* of some regions in Africa for piloting administrative affairs and disseminating information as it affected their concern. It is doubtful if anything unity was ever on the agenda of the colonial masters whether within or among their colonies. The Italian aggression in Ethiopia for example was a burning question everywhere discussed even by illiterate Negro villagers in West Africa¹⁶.

Secondly, the exerting efforts accompanied by tenacity displayed by people originally alien to a particular society but

identified themselves enthusiastically to the all-African dream¹⁷ was another strand. The people who fit this description include, Edward Blyden, George Padmore, Marcus Garvey, etc. According to President Nkrumah

many of them have made no small contribution to the cause of African freedom long before many of us were even conscious of our own degradation¹⁸.

The third factor arises from the circumstance where Afro Americans together with Africans who went in search of greener pastures reintegrate and started to work towards the emancipation of Africa. The Pan Africanists were aided in their cause by the two World Wars. These wars had the singular effect of demystifying the Whiteman as far as the African on the continent was concerned. These African soldiers could see no reason why they should be colonised. Their eyes were opened. Thus realising the worst fears of Otto Von Bismarck when he stated

the evils of war would assume a special fatal character if the native Africans were led to take sides in disputes between the civilized powers¹⁹.

Another important factor stems from the Italo-Ethiopian crisis. This factor as upheld by many scholars stresses that it was the response to the Ethiopian question which did much to keep the spirit of Pan Africanism from becoming dormant²⁰. It further stresses that throughout the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, Pan Africanism became the rallying slogan, the spring board and ideological vehicle to advance the course of Africa and the Africans²¹.

Ethiopia and Pan-Africanism

The Italo-Ethiopian conflict became a point of reference for the campaigners of African nationalism. From the year of inception 1900, Pan Africanism never wavered in rhetoric of the dire need for Pan African unity which need was given a shot in

the arm by the ambitions of Benito Mussolini. Historically speaking, Ethiopia had in the early 20th century become the pride and reference point of African nationalists a symbol of African sovereignty. On the contrary, the same Ethiopia was a pain to the West. Of all the African states, Ethiopia withstood the ravaging effects of the Berlin African Conference of 1884-5.

However, a successful subjugation of Ethiopia by Italy would certainly accord the latter respect as it would have achieved its age long dream of an African empire. All available evidence confirms that the Italian aggression on Ethiopia was simply unprovoked²². This is no doubt one reason why it caught the attention of the World. The actual event that led to the crisis, could be traced to the Walwal incident.

Mussolini came to power in 1922 and thereafter became disillusioned with European diplomacy and uncomfortable with Hitler's daily threat to the Italian position on Danube²³ and so turned to Africa to exert his influence.

A lot had happened between 1896 and 1922 as regards the relative strength of the two states confronting each other. Ethiopia was no match of Italy as she was in 1896-in items of weaponry only. Nonetheless, she was ready to defend herself with what she had. Ethiopia would have embarked on a nationwide westernization like Japan but failed to do so. Arnold Toynbee argued that Abyssinians could only have saved themselves by westernizing themselves sufficiently to hold their own in warfare against a western power²⁴. A little effort at fortifying Ethiopia was made by Emperor Haile Sellassie who to a large extent depended on Europe for most of the country's strategic needs rather than encouraging indigenous development.

Ethiopia would have done more if she had

comparatively taken into cognizance that similar fate befell Japan (although the objective circumstances were not the same). Japan recognized their backwardness after Matthew Perry's visit and embarked on reforms that would place her side by side with the world powers. It was very glaring that Ethiopia had allowed two generations to pass without waking from her sluggish self complacency. From 1896 when Ethiopia showed a sign of greatness by defeating Italy at Adowa to the 1930s was enough to remain even stronger and threatening to any foreign attack.

The outcome was that in late October 1935, Addis Ababa fell to the Italians. The Ethiopians were simply no match of the Italians and without any delay Italy declared her protectorate over Ethiopia. What the Ethiopians lacked in terms of weapons for the defence of their sovereignty, they had in terms of a high moral ground to confront the aggressor and his supporters.

Reactions on Ethiopian Invasion

World politics once again was thrown into confusion in the 1930s with the Italian invasion of Ethiopia. Coming on the heels of the "Great Depression" that enveloped the world economy, this staggering event drew the ire of Africans and some non-Africans alike. The centre of attention was Africa, the "theatre of war". Italy in an unwarranted fashion invaded Ethiopia.

Pan Africanists were outraged and they took up the gauntlet in defence of their symbol of sovereignty. Since Italy's decision to invade Ethiopia violated the covenants of the League of Nations, the Kellogg/Brind Pact and others since 1896²⁵, the invasion attracted worldwide condemnation.

Apart from the black African protests, notable international organizations that denounced and condemned the

invasion were the League of Nations; Women International League for Peace and Freedom, International Federation of League of Nations Societies, International Students' Service, International Federation of Trade Unions, Labour and Socialist International²⁶.

For the black world whose last ego was at the verge of deflation responded vigorously. Their manner of response assumed different fashions that astonished even the protesters themselves. We shall consider a couple of selected groups. Based in major countries of the world and West Indies, Pan Africanists formed themselves into organizations to carry out assigned tasks e.g.:

1. Mass demonstrations
2. Pass resolutions on the crisis
3. Criticize through the media
4. Solicit for relief funds
5. Organize for prayers and support
6. Create awareness through public lectures on the latest events in Ethiopia
7. Staged a boycott of Italian merchandize, and
8. Accentuate for military and volunteer forces²⁷

Notably, a couple of organizations featured prominently and commanded a high status in the protest and defence of Ethiopia. As from 1937 a group of young Ethiopian freedom fighters, led by Takele Wolde Hawariat, formed a committee of Unity and collaboration, which organized the Gojjam revolt in 1938. Another group composed mostly of graduates of the Holeta Military College, formed *The Black Lions* under the leadership of Dr. Alemeworg²⁸. The reason for their dominant role in the episode is traceable to the calibre of personalities that were members of these organizations who happened to be the die-hard agitators of Pan Africanism.

What became conspicuous in their contributions ranged from their ability to match their European counterpart scholars word for word. While some European scholars wrote to justify the invasion and also present a case that Ethiopians were not worth fighting for since they did not share the same racial origin with the blacks as claimed by the blacks; The black scholars went on and on to devise means to refute their claims²⁹.

These organizations promoted and sustained publications on the crisis. They remained unrelented in seeing to the end of it and the restoration of Ethiopia. Among the many organizations and bodies that canvassed for and campaigned against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia were:

1. The International African Friends of Abyssinia (IAFA)
2. West African Student Union (WASU)
3. League of Coloured People (LCP)

The IAFA was formed in 1935 in London by C. L. R. James a West Indian historian, a notable critic of imperialism and supporter of Pan-Africanism³⁰. The organization boasted figures like Jomo Kenyatta Secretary, Amy Ashwood Garvey ex wife of Marcus Garvey as Treasurer; J. B. Danguah; S. R. Wood and E. G. Moore as members of the executive committee³¹. The organization's objective was to rouse sympathy and support of the British public for Ethiopia³². Expectedly, IAFA in her meeting in London demanded from the League of Nations measures to restrain Italy from gross infringement of International laws and agreements. It also sent a protest to the Italian government against its immoral barbarous attitude to Abyssinia³³.

The LCP was inaugurated earlier in 1931 through the initiative of Harold Moody³⁴. The organization boasted personalities like Louis Mbanefo and H. O. Davies and other

young African scholars. Constantly, they identified with Ethiopia and continually expressed their indignation at the Italian action on Ethiopia throughout the period of the crisis.

Accordingly Ayele Bekerie posited thus

It is fair to argue that the Italo-Ethiopian War of the 1930s was instrumental to the rebirth of Pan-African movement. The African Diaspora was mobilized in support of the Ethiopian cause during both the war and the subsequent Italian occupation of Ethiopia. Italy's brutal attempt to wipe out the symbol of freedom and hope to the African World ultimately became a powerful catalyst in the struggle against colonialism and oppression. The Italo-Ethiopian War brought about an extra-ordinary unification of African people's political awareness and heightened level of political consciousness. Africans, African Americans, Afro-Caribbean's and other Diaspora and continental Africans from every social stratum were in union in their support of Ethiopia, bringing the establishment of "global Pan-Africanism". The brutal aggression against Ethiopia made it clear to African people in the United States that the Europeans intent and purpose was to conquer, dominate and exploit all African people. Mussolini's disregard and outright contempt for the sovereignty of Ethiopia angered and reawakened the African World.³⁵

These responses went beyond mere condemnation by demanding self-determination and independence for all colonized African people throughout the World. For instance, the 1900-1945 Pan African Congress regularly issued statements that emphasized a sense of solidarity with Haiti, Ethiopia, and Liberia, thereby affirming the importance of defending the sovereignty and independence of African and Afro-Caribbean States. A new generation of Militant Pan-

Africanists emerged who called for decolonization, elimination of racial discrimination in the United States, African unity, and political empowerment of African people.

One of the most remarkable of the reawakening of the African Diaspora was the emergence of so many outstanding leaders, among them the Ethiopian Melaku E. Bayen and the African-American John Robinson.³⁶

Other outstanding leaders were Willis N. Huggins, Arnold Josiah Ford, and Mignon Innis Ford, who were active against the war in both the United States and Ethiopia. Mignon Ford, the founder of Princess Zenebe Works School, did not even leave Ethiopia during the war. The Fords and other followers of Marcus Garvey settled in Ethiopia in 1920s. Mignon Ford raised her family among Ethiopians as Ethiopians. Her children, fluent speakers of Amharic, have been at home both in Ethiopia and the United States.³⁷ In the words of Ayele Bekerie, Melaku Bayen

*obtained his medical degree from Howard University in 1936, at the height of the Italo-Ethiopian War. He immediately returned to Ethiopia with his wife and their son, Melaku E. Bayen, Jr. There, he joined the Ethiopian Red Cross and assisted the wounded on the Eastern front. When the Italian Army captured Addis Ababa, Melaku's family went to England and later to the United States to fully campaign for Ethiopia.*³⁸

Melaku Schooled in Pan African solidarity from a young age and co-founded the Ethiopian Research Council with the late Leo Hansberry in 1930, while he was a student at Howard. According to Joseph Harris, the Council was regarded as the principal link between Ethiopians and African Americans in the early years of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict. The Council's papers are housed at the Moorland-Spingarn Research Centre at Howard University.³⁹ Melaku also found and published the *Voice of Ethiopia* the media organ of the Ethiopian World Federation and a pro-African

newspaper that urged the "millions of the sons and daughters of Ethiopia, scattered throughout the world, to join hands with Ethiopians to save Ethiopia from the wolves of Europe" He founded the Ethiopian World Federation in 1937 and eventually became one of the most important international organizations, with branches throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe. The Caribbean branch helped to further solidify the ideological foundation of the Rasta Movement.⁴⁰ According to Bekerie, "Melaku was a model Pan-Africanist who brought the Ethiopian and African-American people together through his exemplary work and his remarkable love and dedication to the African people."⁴¹ Melaku died at the age of forty from pneumonia he contracted while campaigning door-to-door for the Ethiopian cause in the United States. He died in 1940, just a year before the defeat of the Italians in Ethiopia. His tireless and vigorous campaigns however, contributed to the demise of Italian colonial ambition in Ethiopia. Melaku strove to bring Ethiopia back into the African world. Melaku, therefore, sowed the seeds for a "re-Africanization" of Ethiopia throughout the period of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia from 1935 up to 1940 when he died.

Another heroic figure produced by the anti-war campaign was Colonel John Robinson. It is interesting to note that while Melaku conducted his campaign and died in the United States, the Chicago-born Robinson fought, and died in Ethiopia. When the Italo-Ethiopian War erupted, he left his family and went to Ethiopia to fight alongside the Ethiopians. His ability to have overcome racial barriers to go an aviation School in the United States is highly commendable. In Ethiopia, Robinson "served as a courier between Haile Selassie and his army commanders in the war zone". He was the founder of Ethiopian Air Force. As observed by William Scott, "Colonel Robinson stands out in Afro-America as perhaps the very first

of the minute number of Black Americans to have ever taken up arms to defend the African homeland against the forces of imperialism" ⁴³ Like Melaku, Robinson made concrete contributions to bring both Ethiopians and African Americans together. He truly built a bridge of Pan-African unity.

Impact of Ethiopian Crisis on World Politics

The seed of dislodgement of colonial empires was sown. Thanks to the untimely Italian aggression of Ethiopia in the mid 1930s. The efforts of Henry Sylvester Williams and W. E. B. Dubois and others to create a formidable Africa united in purpose were yielding results. The outbreak of the *Italo-Ethiopian crisis affected world politics. To the Africans and the black world it served as a launching pad to express their grievances on what had befallen them with the onset of imperialism. On the other hand, events in Ethiopia during this period to the European colonialists turned out a reflective one especially in the economic and political relations with Africa. The validity of their "civilizing mission" came under intense scrutiny. The League of Nations again failed, this time more seriously because both were members. To the Pan Africanists and Africans generally the lesson of depending on oneself was not lost to them. No reliance was to be placed on the Whiteman when issues that affect African interests were involved at whatever international fora. Kwame Nkrumah perhaps most succinctly optioned this in part:*

I was ready and willing to go through hell itself if need be, in order to achieve my objective the end of colonialism³⁵.

Nkrumah, obviously before then, was overwhelmed by the emotions and desire to see African liberation from European stranglehold. Like many other African Students Nkrumah's sojourn to America was to acquire an "innocuous" education.

There he stumbled on the news of the excruciating events in Ethiopia. Like many Africanists also, the period had infused elements of radicalism into their approach to African issues. The "blunder" of the invasion was followed by relentless appropriate responses from the Africans and Pan Africanists. To the Europeans this episode became an avenue for re-engineering their involvement in Africa.

It was little or no surprise therefore that the invasion of Ethiopia was followed by incessant demands for freedom from colonial rule which demands were actively supported by Pan Africanists.

Conclusion

From all indications the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in the mid 1930s generated concerns in the international system. Throughout the period of the conflict, Pan Africanism gained currency and provided the launching pad for the advancement of the course of Africa and the Africans. We have shown that the second Italian attempt at invading and dominating Ethiopia and the latter's successful resistance was not achieved only by the efficacy of the war machineries, but primarily by the newly developed consciousness among peoples of African descent. On the whole, Pan-Africanism, response to the Italian aggression, was a protest of the black world against an unjust war against Ethiopia.

On the whole, Ethiopia was seen as the only independent African country and became the symbol of the Pan-African movement. The Pan-African responses to the inglorious Italian invasion of Ethiopia were worldwide, from African countries to Europe.

NOTES

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- ³ Prince Bandele Omoniyi, *A Defence of the Ethiopian Movement* (Edinburgh: 1908), p.4.
- ⁴ *Daily Sun*, p.45.
- ⁵ Okon E. Uya, *African Diaspora and the Black Experience in the New World Slavery* (Calabar: Cats Publishers, 2005), p.1.
- ⁶ *Ibid.* See also http://en.Wikipedia.org/wiki/second_Italo-Abyssinian_War. Retrieved 21 March, 2011 at 05:41.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸ J. R. Hooker, *Henry Sylvester Williams: Imperial Pan Africanist* (London: 1975), p.3. See, David Hamilton Shinn, Thomas P. Ofcansky and Chris Prouty, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*. Lanham (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2004), pp.1-633.
- ⁹ *Ibid.* See also, A. J. Barker, *Rape of Ethiopia, 1936* (New York: Ballertine Books, 1971), pp.1-160.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ S. K. B. Asante, *Pan Africanist Protest: West Africa and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1934-1941* (London: Longman Group, 1977), p.24.
- ¹² Colin Legum, *Friedrich Ebert Stibury: E. V. Bom* (1963), p.17-21. See also, Lan W. Walker, *Iron Hails, Iron Hearts: Mussolini's Elite Armoured Divisions in North Africa* (Marlborough: Crowood, 2003), pp.3-48.

¹³Okon E. Uya, *African Diaspora ...*, (2005), p.193. See also, Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sellasie's War* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2003), p.31.

¹⁴Richard L. Sklar, *Journal of Human Relations Vol.VIII* (1960), p.407.

¹⁵*Ibid. See*, Lan W. Walker, *Iron Hails, Iron Hearts: Mussolini's Elite Armoured Divisions in North_Africa* (Marlborough: Crowood, 2003), pp.3-48.

¹⁶S. K. B. Asante (1997), p.25.

¹⁷George Shepperson, *Historians in Tropical Africa* (University College, Salisbury), pp.317-20. See also, David Nicolle, *The Italian Invasion of Abyssinia, 1935-1936* (Westminster, Maryland: Osprey, 1997), pp.12-48

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰S. K. B. Asante, (1997), p.203. See, A. J. Barker, *Rape of Ethiopia, 1936* (New York: Ballertine Books, 1971), pp.1-160.

²¹*Ibid.*

²² A. H. M. Jones, *History of Ethiopia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.175-183. See also, Nkereuwem Edemekong, *The Italian Invasion of Ethiopia in the 1930s and the Pan African Response. A Paper presented at International Conference on 50years of Pan-Africanism in Africa, 1958-2008. Organized by New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD); Pan African Historical Society (PAHS), in Collaboration with the Department of History and International Studies, University of Uyo, Akwa Ibom State, Nigeria at CBN Auditorium, University of Uyo, Uyo, Nigeria, September 8-12,2008*. See also, *Book of Abstract for the Conference*, (2008), p.30.

²³ *Ibid. See also*, U.S., Department of State, Publication 1983,

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²⁴ *Ibid*

²⁵ Peter Calvocoressi, *The Politics of Sanctions: The League of Nations and United Nations*. (London, 2005), p.49.

²⁶ George Padmore, "Ethiopia and World Politics" In: S. K. B. Asante, *Pan-Africanist Protest* (Longman group, 1977), p.40.

²⁷ S. K. B. Asante, p.46. See also, U.S., Department of State, Publication 1983, *Peace and War: United States Foreign Policy, 1931-1941* (Washington, D.C.: U.S., Government Printing Office, 1943), pp.28-32.

²⁸ Ralph Uwechue et al (Eds). *Africa Today* (London: African Books Ltd, 1991), p.892

²⁹ Rene Maunier, *The Sociology of Colonies: An Introduction to the Study of Race*, p.417.

³⁰ Jomo Kenyatta, *Hands-off Ethiopia* (London), pp.340 350.

³¹ *Ibid*. See, Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sellasie's War* (New York: Olive Branch Press, 2003), p.31.

³² *Ibid*. See also, Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1941* (New York: Random House, 1984).

³³ *Ibid*.

³⁴ S. K. B. Asante, p.48. See also, B. Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1885-1991*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: James Curry, 2001).

³⁵ Ayele Bekerie, "Ethiopian and African-American Relations: The Cases of Melaku E. Bayen and John Robinson", Tadias Magazine (February 7th, 2007) in <http://www.panafricannews.blogspot.com/2007/02/Ethiopi>

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³⁶ *Ibid.* See, Ayele Bekerie "African Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War" in Revisioning Italy: National Identity and Global Culture (1997).

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Ibid.* See, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/second_Italo-Abyssinian_War. Accessed on 26/3/2010

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* See Anthony Mockler , Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1941 (New York: Random House, 1984), pp.10-47. See also, New World Encyclopedia Writers retrieved from

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⁴¹ *Ibid.* See Hollis R. Lynch, "Pan-Negro Nationalism in the New World before 1862" in Okon E. Uya (Ed.), Black Brotherhood: Afro-Americans and Africa (Lexington, MA:D.C.Heath and Co.,1971). See also, Tony Martin, The Pan-African Connection (Dover, MA: The Majority Press, 1984, first published 1983).

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ William R. Scott. *The Sons of Sheba's Race: African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941* (2005 reprint). See, Joseph E. Harris, *African-American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936-1914* (1994).

⁴⁴ Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (London, Longman), p.27. See also A. Shacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy 1935-1941* (Lawrence Ville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1997)