

*THE ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF ETHIOPIA 1936-1941:
A SEMINAL EVENT IN THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN NATION*

Anthony W. Orr
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
April 26, 2011

Introduction

The Italian occupation of Ethiopia from 1936 to 1941 was a seminal event in the process of creating an Ethiopian national identity and the modern Ethiopian state. Forming a sense of national identity does not occur as the result of one event or in one brief period. The purpose of this paper is not to show this process in its entirety, but to demonstrate that the resistance to the Italian occupation was a central element in it. To understand this it is necessary to briefly examine Ethiopia's political composition and history at the time of the Italian invasion.

In essence at the time of the Italian invasion Ethiopia was a semi-feudal state having the kind of social system generally associated with feudalism. Outside the cities much of the effective authority was in the hands of semi-autonomous nobles. The social structure in the Ethiopian feudal system has been called the Geber system. It was comprised of four major components: the nobility and ruling class, the fighters and military class, the religious, and those who worked the land.¹ It was a caste system with little mobility. Slavery was also common and slave trade was still engaged in. Some members of the nobility had tens of thousands of slaves.

In the cities, especially Addis Ababa, there was a small but growing group of educated intelligentsia. The most unifying force in the country was the Ethiopian Christian Church. The major factors hindering the creation of a national identity and the formation of a modern state were, the lack of political cohesion among the intelligentsia, the resistance to central authority among the rural nobles, and the lack of a modern infrastructure, most especially roads and manufacturing. Prior to the occupation, the Ethiopian Christian Church was probably the most significant unifying force.

This paper will examine how each of these groups, the nobility, the intelligentsia, and the Church was changed as a direct consequence of the Italian occupation. The paper will also show

that the lack of support from outside the country enhanced the sense of autonomy and independence necessary for the formation of a national identity. Also had outside support reached Ethiopia poor transportation and communication might well have seen the support concentrated among a few groups. This could easily have resulted in resentments among the groups promoting disunity rather than unity. This point may appear to be ancillary. However, a sense of autonomy and freedom from outside influence is a crucial factor in forming a sense of separate identity. The paper will point out that the collective activities of Ethiopian women during the occupation were a significant factor in unifying the three major elements in Ethiopia, nobility, intelligentsia, and Church. Italian actions throughout the occupation consistently had the effect of uniting the Ethiopians and repeatedly went against their own self-interest. Last, the paper will examine the impact the Italian efforts to build and expand the physical infrastructure had on ultimately establishing the centralized authority needed to create a modern state.

Each of these elements is individually worth extensive exploration. Any overview such as this will inevitably omit some details. The goal of this paper is to discern details in a way that creates a comprehensive view of the way in which the elements integrated. To use an analogy, a person's identity is formed by integrating, biological factors, parents, culture, society, peers, and environment. Each can be examined in depth. No element by itself explains the whole. Finally, this paper looks at a period that might be termed Ethiopia's equivalent of early adolescence. As with adolescence, it is a major turning point in the creation of a unique identity. This paper asserts that the Italian occupation was such a point. The way in which disparate factors combined at this time were crucial in the creation of what we now, in the 21st century, call 'Ethiopia.'

Ethiopia at the time of the invasion

First we will examine Ethiopia's political situation at the time of the invasion. Prior to the Italian invasion, Ethiopia was generally known as Abyssinia. For consistency, it will be referred to here as Ethiopia. Ethiopia, as we now know it, was an amalgamation of territories and regions that were assembled under the reigns of Tewodros II (1855-1868), Yohannes (1871-1889), and Menilek II (1889-1913). Of the three only Menilek II was formally proclaimed Emperor. Upon Menilek II's death, Haile Selassie became regent in 1913 and Emperor in 1930.² In 1855 when Tewodros II assumed power most of the Southern areas of Ethiopia were entirely independent. Today's approximate boundaries became fixed at the end of the nineteenth century. Menelik II was responsible for the expansion into Southwest Ethiopia including the territories of Oromo, Gurago, and Shawa. Menilek II also began the process of political consolidation and centralized authority. However, the territorial nobles and governors retained fundamental autonomy including independent military forces.³ One result of the territorial expansion under Menilek II was that, due to lack of roads and communication, central control was difficult if not impossible. This was especially true in southwest Ethiopia.⁴ As part of his effort to exert central authority Menilek II moved the capital and established Addis Ababa in 1892. Prior to expansion Addis Ababa was almost on the southern frontier.⁵

Upon becoming regent, Haile Selassie embarked on a major effort to eliminate the power of the old nobility and create a modern autocratic state.⁶ When Haile Selassie came to power Ethiopia might best be described as a set of "parcellized sovereignties."⁷ Haile Selassie's efforts to consolidate power led to resentment among the nobles whose power was being usurped. When the Italians invaded in 1936, Ethiopia was far less unified than it had been in the nineteenth century. While the various nobles supported Ethiopia's defense, it was not entirely wholehearted.⁸ The paper will show how this changed during the occupation.

As a basically feudal society, in Ethiopia the intelligentsia, such as it was, was concentrated in Addis Ababa. Most members were young. Ultimately they played a crucial role in the resistance.⁹ Education had been introduced into Ethiopia in the reign of Tewodros II who established a school at Gafat. Christian missionaries also established a number of schools. The growth of centralized government created a need for an educated cadre of clerks, accountants and administrators. This fueled the drive for education. Menilek II established the first non-missionary school to be set up along European lines in 1908. The standard language of educated Ethiopians was French. English replaced it in 1941. A new phase of education opened in the 1920s as Ethiopians began to study abroad. Most Ethiopians studied in France. A few studied in England and the United States and one or two even studied in Switzerland. Despite this, in 1935 only about 200 Ethiopians had received advanced education. Still this small group was able to provide the intellectual influence that created a group characterized as the “Young Ethiopians.” They formed the basis for Ethiopian nationalism playing a major role in the occupation and creating an entity that survived as the Ethiopian Student Movement through the 1970s.¹⁰

Religion was a major factor in Ethiopian society. The core religion of Ethiopia became Christian in 340 AD. The Ethiopian Christian Church was loosely affiliated with the Orthodox Christian Church. It had no connection with the Roman Catholic Church. While Islam had expanded into Ethiopia in the seventh century, it was not a major force. The Ethiopian Christian Church also had no connection with the Anglican Church of England. The Ethiopian Christian Church was the dominant religion of the country and the foundation of royal authority. It virtually symbolized the vision of a central nation by virtue of its power to confer the title “Emperor.” In this it was allied with the efforts of Menelik II and Haile Selassie to centralize

governmental power.¹¹ Inherent in conferring the title Emperor is the concept of support for central authority. The Church was also a unifying force throughout the population.

Italy's invasion of Ethiopia was not a casual thought. It was part of Mussolini's plan by the middle of the 1920s. Serious preparations began in 1932. The campaign to conquer Ethiopia ended in a matter of months.¹² As the invasion pertains to the resistance, three points are significant. Foremost, the Italians never really conquered the country. At best they may have controlled some 40% of the territory. Second, the rapid collapse of a coordinated formal Ethiopian military defense was aided by the disunity among the nobles and animosity toward Haile Selassie as a result of his long campaign to restrict their autonomy.¹³ Last, on April 30, 1936 Haile Selassie held a meeting of his government in Addis Ababa. The plan that he presented, which was accepted, was that he would go into exile to present the Ethiopian case to the world. Wolde-Tsadik Goshu would be regent in his absence. As the Italians quickly seized control of Addis Ababa, Goshu fled to the south and due to lack of communication was unable to coordinate the resistance effort.¹⁴ Despite the fact that the Italians occupied a significant portion of the country, at no time did the Ethiopian Government cease, de jure, to exist. At no time did they surrender. At no time was there an armistice. As a matter of international law, the activities of the Ethiopians during the occupation were acts of war despite the fact that Italy invaded without any declaration of war.¹⁵ Under the Geneva Convention, Ethiopian fighters were entitled to be treated as combat soldiers. This did not occur. Invading the country without formality and the treatment given Italian combatants was the first in the litany of Italian blunders that proved directly contrary to their own-self interest. In that no formal surrender ever occurred, and a majority of the country was never occupied, the entry of Marshal Badoglio into Addis Ababa on May 5, 1936 may be taken as the date the invasion ended and the

occupation began.¹⁶ The new Italian empire was proclaimed on May, 9 with Badoglio appointed as the first Viceroy of Ethiopia.¹⁷

The effects of the Italian Occupation and the furthering of the formation of a national identity

What was the nature of the occupation? How did it cause the changes that furthered a sense of national identity and helped create a modern state?

Hostilities never ceased. Resistance to the occupation took two major forms. Groups of soldiers continued to fight under the same leadership as before and engaged in continuing guerrilla warfare. In Addis Ababa and other urban areas, civilian resistance developed. Civilian resistance involved the Church and clergy, the civilian population and the intelligentsia. The civilian resistance involved the active participation of women. While there was active cooperation in each urban area, poor roads and communication made coordination of effort throughout the country difficult.¹⁸

A factor not generally noted which is important to understanding the nature of the resistance is that in some ways it was based on resistance to foreign occupation not on support of the existing government. Some members of the nobility, who had been unhappy with Haile Selassie's attempts at centralization, were not inclined to support his return. Many in urban areas saw the Emperor's departure from Ethiopia as flight. This diminished their loyalty to him but did not eliminate it. Finally, the majority of those who worked the land, the farmers, the slaves, and those in unoccupied areas were unaffected. Their goal was to continue life as they knew it without any political thought. The invasion and occupation did not affect them.¹⁹ The important thing to understand is that unity of purpose did not really exist in either the nobility or the intelligentsia.

As has been stated, in many ways, the Italians did everything possible to provoke resistance. First, they had no occupation plan. There was no strategy for establishing government. Next, even prior to occupying Addis Ababa, Mussolini ordered Marshal Badoglio to use terror.²⁰ Badoglio proposed ruling Ethiopia through indirect government based on the British model. His proposals were based on doing this through traditional chiefs. Mussolini rejected this strategy.²¹ Had Badoglio's original advice been followed, the feudal nobles would have been offered a degree of local autonomy in return for their support. As prior rulers of Ethiopia were well aware, the lack of infrastructure made central control impossible anyway. It was not feasible. Given the choice of subjugation under Italian rule rather than African rule, a substantial number, if not the majority, of the nobility became the backbone of the guerrilla war movement.

In some urban areas, in some ways, conditions were better in the earliest days of the occupation. The British writer and newspaperman, Evelyn Waugh, had spent time in Ethiopia prior to the invasion. He was allowed back into the country in the days immediately following the capture of Addis Ababa. In Harar, in the border area he found little changed. Shops showed pictures of Mussolini in their windows. Streets were, if anything, a little cleaner. While the streets were filled with Italians, Ethiopians were present in force. The free market was open and functioning. Labor, which formerly was conscripted was now voluntary and highly paid. Many of the houses that had been destroyed during the invasion were already being rebuilt. The clergy seemed uneasy but the general population seemed quite content. There was no shortage of food. Italian currency was not in use. The Maria Theresa Thaler was still the only money accepted. Farmers were pleased they could now bring their goods to market without special passes. When Waugh left Harar and went to Addis Ababa he found a place of "sepulchral gloom."²² We can

speculate what difference it might have made in the resistance had the Italians acted throughout the country as they did in the earliest days in Harar. Again their actions did nothing to encourage the support of the populace.

Especially at the beginning of the occupation, the resistance, while broadly based, was not unanimous. The nobility was primarily concerned with retaining power. They made choices based on self-interest. Some saw the Italians as a lesser threat to their autonomy. Some negotiated surrender. Aberra and Asfawossen, sons of Ras Kassa, fought in the northern campaign, then mounted an unsuccessful attack on Addis Ababa. They then negotiated their surrender but afterwards were summarily executed by the Italians.²³ Again, the Italian actions did nothing to elicit support from the other nobles. Despite this, several other Ethiopian nobles also submitted to the Italians and remained loyal to them. Tigre's Ras Seyoum Mengesha and Gojjam's Ras Hailu Tekle Haimonot both resented Haile Selassie's efforts to subvert their power and felt the Italians would better protect their self-interests.²⁴ Also supporting the Italians were Haile-Selassie Gugsu of Tigre and Hailu Takle-Haimano of Gojjam who to rule Gojjam independently. Muslims in the lowlands also supported the Italians and the eastern highlands based on promises of independence.²⁵ While unanimity of purpose among the nobles never occurred, the concept of African controlled as opposed to foreign controlled government became more and more preferable.

Perhaps for no other reason than self-interest, the Italian occupation was marked by constant Guerrilla warfare. This warfare was concentrated in Shawa, Gojjam and Bagender. However, there were few areas where the Italians were safe from harassment. Suppression of this resistance was almost impossible. The guerrillas were able to gather and strike at will and then quickly disperse into the countryside. As a result, Italian air power was of little use. Poor

roads and communications were a major advantage for the guerrillas. The resistance was also able to move deftly from offensive to defensive strategies as needed.²⁶ Supplies to the guerrillas were almost non-existent. There was no help from the Americans or Britain. Food was grown locally. Military supplies were stolen from the Italians. There were also occasions where the guerrillas were able to deceive Italian aircraft about the location of Italian and airdrop supplies to the resistance forces. Deserters also brought in supplies. Most medical supplies came from local doctors.²⁷

The fact that the Ethiopians received little support either during the invasion or occupation, from foreign countries or Pan-African movements in other parts of the world inherently fostered a sense of self-sufficiency. A sense of self sufficiently imbues a society with a sense of pride. The governmental attitudes of the United States and the rest of the world are succinctly summarized by the actions of the League of Nations. At the time of the Italian invasion, the League of Nations condemned the Italian action and voted sanctions.²⁸ Four days after Haile Selassie's impassioned speech to the League on June 30, 1936, the League revoked the sanctions.²⁹ Politically this is, to a certain extent understandable. The attention of Britain and France was focused on the threat of German military resurgence. The United States still attempted to maintain neutrality.

Ethiopia was one of the few independent Black nations in the world. It was a source of pride to Africans both in Africa itself and in other countries.³⁰ This was enhanced by Ethiopia's prestige both in the Bible and in classical mythology as 'progenitors of Egyptian civilization.'³¹ Attempts to provide support for Ethiopia were greatest among American Black Nationalists. Organized efforts began even before the invasion. In February 1935 the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia was formed.³² Efforts by Black Americans to provide direct support

to Ethiopia proved ineffective.³³ This effort included attempts to recruit African Americans to fight in Ethiopia. Interestingly Ethiopia did not want this type of support. ‘Afro-American’ soldiers were too expensive to maintain. Of two ‘Afro-American’ airmen who actually reached Ethiopia, one, Hubert Fauntleroy Julian, had previously been involved in the crash of an airplane in Ethiopia. As a result he was made a trainer of the infantry. The other, Teclé Hawariat ultimately became head of the post occupation Ethiopian Air Force.³⁴ It might be noted that Black American support for Ethiopia was far from unanimous. One major Black-American newspaper, the Courier, editorialized that needs of American Blacks ought take precedence of those of Ethiopia.³⁵ Ultimately lack of outside support helped in forging unanimity of purpose among the various factions of Ethiopian society.

The Ethiopian Christian Church was reasonably united in resisting the Italian occupation. Immediately after the Italians captured Addis Ababa, members of the clergy vociferously denounced the invaders from the pulpit. Bible quotes such as “Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God” were used to assert that Ethiopia was a free nation recognized by God and deserved all the rights of a free nation. The Bishop of Wollo, Abune Petros, led protest marches through the streets of Addis Ababa. He was caught and executed on July 30, 1936. Killing a bishop was unheard of. Nor was this the only incident in which the clergy were shot. On May 27, 1937 297 monks were executed at the monastery at Debre Lebanos.³⁶ In a country where the Church was a key part of life, acts such as these could only encourage resistance and inflame the people. Throughout the era, the Church remained unifying force in molding the national identity and in consistently supporting the return of the Emperor. Once again Italian actions directly enhanced a growing sense of unity among Ethiopians.

After the occupation of Addis Ababa, Italian fascism took on a distinctly racist cast. Previously racism had not played a major role in Mussolini's agenda. However, by May of 1936, the Italian press was arguing that Italy must not become a nation of half-castes. To prevent this possibility, Italians must be kept separate from Africans. This led to racial measures being enacted. In April 1937 'conjugal' relations between Italians and 'natives' were banned. Prostitutes were exempted from this! As Mussolini fell more and more under Hitler's influence, racial measures became harsher culminating in June 1940 with the "Penal Sanctions for the Defense of the Prestige of the [Italian] Race in the face of the natives of East Africa."³⁷ Again the Italians seemed to be doing everything possible to enrage Ethiopians, encourage resistance, and implicitly reinforce a unified sense of purpose.

Operating as the Ethiopian Women's Volunteer Service Organization (EWVSA), women played a crucial role in the resistance. A key leader was Shawaragad Gadle. Under her leadership, they supplied guerrillas with food, bandages, clothes and ammunition. They also forged papers allowing resistance fighters to move about. In the countryside they sharpened swords, took care of the wounded as well as providing food for the fighters. They also gathered intelligence for the guerrilla movement. In one instance their efforts gathering information led to the Italian garrison at Addis Alem being stormed.³⁸ Subtly women were serving as a unifying bridge between rural and urban, intelligentsia and nobles. Ultimately the creating of a truly unified national state rests on finding common purpose among such disparate elements.

In urban areas where the Italians had effective control, resistance garnered broad support but was never unanimous. Some individuals associated with the Patriots Movement collaborated with the Italians profiting by selling supplies for the Italian troops. Putting self-interest first was not unique to the nobles. Others chose to continue the fight against the Italians. One of

Ethiopia's western educated intellectuals, Lij Abebe Agregia left the capital and become one of the Resistance's most celebrated guerrilla fighters.³⁹ However, the majority of the intelligentsia engaged in resistance differently. If one event in the resistance can be singled out, it is the formation of the Black Lion Organization by the educated Ethiopians. Dr. Alemwork Beyenne and Yilma Deressa, a graduate of the London School of Economics, were among the leaders who created the Black Lion Organization. The critical element was that they adopted a written constitution. The constitution called for political freedom, a firm commitment of civilian control of the government, the subordination of the military to the government, and the non-molestation of the peasantry, and prohibition of political exile.⁴⁰ The constitution also expressed continued loyalty to Haile Selassie and his family.⁴¹ Despite this expression of continued loyalty the constitution was a clarion call for the end of autocracy. The constitution of the Black Lion Movement was Ethiopia's equivalent of America's Declaration of Independence. It was not immediately universally embraced, but it served as the fulcrum around which, ultimately, the forces of a free and democratic Ethiopia were formed.

On February 19, 1937 a key event took place in Addis Ababa that was another major factor in solidifying Ethiopian resistance to the occupation. Two Eritreans, Abraha Daboch and Moges Asgadome attempted to assassinate the Italian Viceroy, Rodolfo Graziani who had replaced Badoglio on May 22, 1936. The attack took place in Addis Ababa. The Italians retaliated with a massacre. The attack had been launched by Eritreans but the reprisals were taken against Ethiopians. Thousands were killed.⁴² These attacks made Ethiopian resistance even more intense. The futility of Graziani's actions led to his removal as Viceroy.⁴³ Again, Italian actions directly help forge Ethiopian solidarity and were directly against Italian interests.

The guerrillas contributed to the British invasion the liberated the country. One of the British army captains under General Wingate, W.E.D. Allen left a poignant memoir describing the ways in which the resistance fighters provided both intelligence information and behind the lines sabotage.⁴⁴ He stated that the guerilla support was of ‘incalculable’ importance.⁴⁵ To cite one instance, the guerrillas captured 56 Italian battalions that were prepared to engage the British at Keren.⁴⁶ He opined that the moral force lent the invasion by Haile Selassie’s endorsement and participation was an important factor in guerrilla support.⁴⁷ Again, had the Italians acted differently from 1936, this might well not have been the situation. In the eyes of the nobility, Haile Selassie, who previously was seen as an oppressor seeking autocratic rule, was now the liberator.

During the occupation, the Italians also, inadvertently, implemented key changes that fostered the centralization of government power and provided the basis for the creation of a modern state. First, the Italians did what their ancestors had done. They built roads. While the roads were mostly in the urban north and suffered major damage during the liberation they provided the base on which a modern transportation network could be built. They also built numerous modern buildings in Jimma, Gondar, Harar, Asmara, and Mogadishu, as well as in Addis Ababa. An open market, Markato, was established in the western part of Addis Ababa. The capital was also electrified and a central water supply provided. Industrialization was begun. Many mills were built, saw mills, flour mills, and textile mills. A cement factory was built in Dire Dawa.⁴⁸ These things provided the structural skeleton that could be expanded to enable both a centralized authority and a modern economy to be built.

Conclusion

In sum, the overall impact of the Italian occupation was to promote resistance and unity of purpose among the Ethiopian populace. Italian actions during the occupation both created a greater sense of national identity in the nobility, the intelligentsia, and the Church. The activity of women with their ability to move without notice throughout the country began to create the sense of common purpose among the groups. A lack of outside help implicitly furthered the pride of independence. While undoubtedly many in the nobility still sought autonomy, they had started to acquire a common purpose. The intelligentsia had formed the Black Lion Organization with a written constitution embracing democratic principles. At the end of the occupation a core infrastructure had been built which provided the foundation on which a modern state could be built. Throughout the entire occupation the Church provided steadfast support of an Ethiopian identity, central authority, and resistance to foreign domination.

The rural population, the peasants in unoccupied areas, were essentially unaffected by the occupation and uninvolved in the resistance. The leadership elements, the nobility, the fighters and those in urban areas were increasingly united as a result of the Italian tyranny. A country that was divided at the time of invasion might well have been pacified had Mussolini followed Badoglio's original advice.

On May 5, 1941 Haile Selassie reentered Addis Ababa. It was precisely five years since Marshall Badoglio's arrival.⁴⁹ The process of consolidating central authority and creating a national state began. Ultimately this led to the end of autocracy the creation of the modern Ethiopian identity and state in December 1974.⁵⁰

The transformation of a collection of independent tribes into the modern nation of Ethiopia was both long and arduous. Events after the end of the Italian occupation and the reasons that it took over thirty years to create the modern Ethiopian political state are beyond the

scope of this paper. However, the effect of Italian occupation was a necessary part of the process. The changes engendered by the occupation might well have occurred had Italy not invaded and occupied the country. In the event it was that invasion and that occupation which did so. These changes were crucial to the process and it was the Italian occupation which effected them.

Notes

¹ Teshale Tebebu, *Making of Modern Ethiopia* (Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press, Inc. 1995), 2-4.

² Richard Pankurst, *The Ethiopians* (Oxford, UK: Blackwood Publishers, Ltd., 1998), 214-216.

³ Bahru Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia* (London: James Currey, Ltd.), 60-61.

⁴ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 93.

⁵ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 69.

⁶ Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 214.

⁷ Tibebe, *Making of Modern Ethiopia*, 31.

⁸ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 159.

⁹ Aregawa Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia" in *Rethinking Resistance, Revolt and Violence in African History*, ed. Jan Abbink, Mirjam de Bruijn, and Klaas van Walraven (Leiden, The Netherlands: Beill, 2003), 98-100.

¹⁰ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 104-110.

¹¹ Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 92-94.

¹² Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 88-90.

¹³ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 159.

¹⁴ Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 92.

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- ¹⁵ Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 88.
- ¹⁶ Angelo Del Boca, *The Ethiopian War 1935-1941* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1969), 205.
- ¹⁷ Richard Pankurst, "The Secret History of the Italian-Fascist Occupation of Ethiopia – 1935-1941", *Africa Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (1977), 37.
- ¹⁸ Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 98-100.
- ¹⁹ Charles McClellan, "Observations on the Ethiopian Nation and the Italo-Ethiopian War" *Northeast African Studies* 3, no. 1 (1996), 61-62.
- ²⁰ Pankurst, "Secret History of Italian-Fascist Occupation", 36.
- ²¹ Pankurst, "Secret History of Italian-Fascist Occupation", 40.
- ²² Evelyn Waugh, *Waugh in Abyssinia* (London, UK: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), 221-224.
- ²³ McClellan, "Observations on the Ethiopian Nation", 61.
- ²⁴ McClellan, "Observations on the Ethiopian Nation", 63.
- ²⁵ Behre, "Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia", 103.
- ²⁶ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 171-172.
- ²⁷ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 172.
- ²⁸ Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 227.
- ²⁹ Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 235.
- ³⁰ Edward O. Erhagbe and Ehirimika A. Ifidon, "African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis, 1935-1936: The practical dimension of Pan-Africanism", *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 11 (2008), 69.
- ³¹ William R. Scott, "Black Nationalism and the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict 1934-1936" *The Journal of Negro History* 63, no. 2 (1978), 118.
- ³² Scott, "Black Nationalism and the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict", 124.
- ³³ Scott, "Black Nationalism and the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict", 129.

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- ³⁴ Erhabbe & Ifidon, “African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis”, 73.
- ³⁵ Erhabbe & Ifidon, “African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis”, 79.
- ³⁶ Behre, “Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia”, 98-99.
- ³⁷ Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 241-242.
- ³⁸ Behre, “Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia”, 99-100.
- ³⁹ McClellan, “Observations on the Ethiopian Nation”, 62.
- ⁴⁰ Behre, “Revisiting resistance in Italian-Occupied Ethiopia”, 100-101.
- ⁴¹ Zedwe, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 175.
- ⁴² Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 269-270.
- ⁴³ Del Boca, *The Ethiopian War*, 223-224.
- ⁴⁴ W. E. D. Allen, *Guerrilla War in Abyssinia* (Hammondsworth, England: Penguin, 1943), 49-111.
- ⁴⁵ Allen, *Guerrilla War in Abyssinia*, 52.
- ⁴⁶ Allen, *Guerrilla War in Abyssinia*, 82-83.
- ⁴⁷ Allen, *Guerrilla War in Abyssinia*, 70-71.
- ⁴⁸ Zewde, *History of Modern Ethiopia*, 164-165.
- ⁴⁹ Del Boca, *The Ethiopian War*, 258.
- ⁵⁰ Pankurst, *The Ethiopians*, 270.

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