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Iyasu V of Ethiopia (1913–1916): perilous traitor or a true modernizer?¹

Abstract

In 1855, the Ethiopian Empire was (re)established after almost a century of disintegration, internal political turmoil and chaos. From 1850s onwards, the Empire witnessed series of expansions southwards, westwards, and eastwards until it became what is now Ethiopia. The Ethiopian political rule was centered on three main principles: the rule of Solomonic dynasty, privileged position of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and dominance of Amharic language and culture.

For any Ethiopian Emperor, it would be unthinkable to be led astray by any other principles because it would mean treason of for many centuries constructed and repeatedly legitimated supremacy of the Solomonic dynasty. Lej Iyasu (1913–1916) belongs to the rare examples of the Ethiopian history that, as an Emperor, created an atmosphere which today we would call a civil society, social equality, or religious equality. Nevertheless, his short-term reign over the vast lands if Ethiopia was filled by an experiment that at least symbolically equated Islam with Christianity, and made the Orthodox Church less important in the eyes of ordinary citizens. As any other major historical event of that time, and

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especially in Africa, Lej Iyasu was dethroned by an immense international pressure, coming from Great Britain, Italy, and France, mixed with internal political and regional rivalries. This study reflects the heritage of Lej Iyasu's reign in Ethiopia and deals with the image he has had in Ethiopia's history.

Key words: Ethiopia, Iyasu, Menelik, Great Britain, France, Italy, Solomonic dynasty

1. Introduction

After 1855, the Ethiopian Empire became a centralized state based on territorial and military expansion to peripheries of modern day Ethiopia. Despite these centralizing efforts, Ethiopia seemed to be rather disintegrated territory with a number of local noblemen claiming power and superiority over the others. Some of them were well educated and thus enjoyed a remarkable public prestige, for instance a certain local leader named Kasa, the future Emperor Tewodros (Pankhurst 1985a, 126). As Jeśman puts it, Ethiopia before Menelik was "hardly anything more than a geographical area, a prey of Amhara and Tigréan barons struggling for power, of half-articulate traditions and of an immensely ancient civilization falling to pieces under the weight of its own antiquity" (Jeśman 1958, 97). Traditional Ethiopian historiography analyzed and interpreted the Ethiopian history only through lenses of the Solomonic dynasty, usually avoiding local histories and non-Semitic territories. The Ethiopian Emperors were in various contexts described as heroes, idealized for their struggle against both internal and external enemies. Such depictions may, of course, shift their glamour in the course of history, and that is why certain rulers of Ethiopia are now being demythologized (Sahle 1990).

For Christian Ethiopia (seen from the ruling center) in the last guarter of the 19th century, the main challenge was represented by European powers, and the socalled Islamic threat whose major actor was Egypt, followed by the Mahdist Sudan. On the other hand, Muslims were an important factor if the international trade in the Horn of Africa, and Ethiopia thus had an ambivalent relationship to this religious minority (Mengisteab 1990, 369). To face the historical enemy, Ethiopia opened the door for European powers, and especially to European missionaries to enter the country to establish schools, health centers and missions in many parts of the country (Document no. 130 and 131, in: Rubenson 2000, 182-186). Especially the great famine of 1892 resulted in massive conversions to Catholicism and Protestantism, because people in the countryside gained help and support from European missionaries (Pankhurst 1985b, 108). European powers competing for the influence in Ethiopia were Italy, France, and Great Britain, but several other countries used its representatives to develop and strengthen contacts with Ethiopian Imperial court. These were countries like Sweden, Belgium, or Germany, but perhaps surprisingly significant role was played by Russia, a major diplomatic enemy of Italy in the Horn of Africa (Jeśman 1958, 99). Already at the end of the 19th century, newly born capital of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, was a center of lively diplomatic meetings and activities of various powers while at the periphery, a wide range of missionary activities took place there. All this was happening in the era of Menelik's Ethiopia "expanding its size, centralizing its power, and assimilating the notables of its new subjects" (Tibebu 1995, 49).

Beside the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Ethiopia gave certain privileges to other Christian denominations while Islamic communities formed somewhat of second class citizens. In this environment, the enthronement of Lej Iyasu as the Ethiopian Emperor in 1913 was a significant change, or transformation of traditional ideology of successive Ethiopian Emperors. For being young and rather innovative in this policy, Lej Iyasu is usually depicted as "intemperate" (Crummey 2000, 229), his reign as "confused and hectic" (Henze 2004, 192). Iyasu's background helped him in his efforts to guarantee social and religious equality in Ethiopia. His father was a prominent Muslim leader of Wällo, Ras Mikael, who was born as Muhammad 'Ali, a son of Šäwarägga, daughter of Menelik II. Born on the day of the Savior of the World (Mädhane Aläm), Iyasu denied later accusations of not supporting Christianity by consecrating the Qäččane Mädhane Aläm in Addis Ababa (Zewde 2007, 253).

Father of Iyasu, Ras Mikael of Wällo, an ethnic Oromo and Muslim whom Yohannes IV converted to Christianity, took control of the town of Dessie in 1880s. The strategic importance of Dessie became evident little alter during the war against Italy (Pankhurst 1985a, 235–236). Muslims in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa were marginal as compared to the situation of the Sanussis in Libya, etc. The only major effort of the Muslims in the Horn came from the British Somaliland, where, under the leadership of Sayyid Muhammad Abdullah Hassan, called "Mad Mullah", the local Somalis successfully revolted against the British, though it has to be admitted that for Britain Somali was a marginal, unimportant area, where they never wanted to be engaged very much. The idea of cooperation of Ethiopia and the Ottoman Empire came from the consul general in Harar, Mazhar Bey, who believed in successful military collaboration of both countries. In his correspondence with the Sublime Port we can find the origin of lyyasu's willingness to make a step further to have a harbor:

"The Ethiopians want to have a harbor. If the British are thrown out of Somalia, it might work to give Ethiopia part of the coast between Zeila and Bulkar and the territory between the coast and the eastern border of Harar. If an agreement is reached with the Ethiopians, this need can be covered from this place. The mawla is ready to conquer whatever the Sublime Port orders, and his power is enough. He only applied for our help in ammunition for next year" (Haggai 1994, 86).

Emperor Menelik II is often said to be a modernizer on the Ethiopian royal throne. This cliché is based on several material and technical improvements that he really initiated including the establishment of the new capital Addis Ababa, military reforms, military expansion, and especially his victorious strategy in the battle of Adowa

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which guaranteed him an image of immortal Emperor for many Ethiopians (Rubenson 1964). Probably the main feature of the end of the 19th century in Ethiopia was Menelik's reliance on foreign advisors and engineers. The most prominent was a Swiss engineer Alfred Ilg who was asked to build a modern capital (see Pankhurst 1961). Despite all these efforts, I argue that it was Lej Iyasu, Menelik's successor on the throne who can be, in a certain sense and through contemporary lenses be regarded as a modernizer, in terms of social and religious reforms, or at least attempts leading to creation of equal society where exist nothing like a "second class citizen".

2. Lej Iyasu and Menelik's legacy

Lej Iyasu had an uneasy task, to replace Menelik II (1889–1913) who not only defeated the Italian forces at the battle of Adowa, but was very much devoted to the expansionist policy of his predecessors. Moreover, Menelik was truly respected leader whose later career was disrupted by a severe disease. Last five years of his reign were characterized by latent internal clashes between various kin groups and political circles. European powers were constantly strengthening their influence on Ethiopia, mainly in the economic sector, and the Orthodox Church was very much supportive of Menelik's daughter, princess Zäwditu. Two frontiers had to be taken care of, the international, and the internal.

Moreover, the Ethiopian economy during and after Menilek's rule was strongly influenced by its close relation to Italy, France and Great Britain. According to several treaties on financial and economic help leading to creation of the National Bank of Abyssinia in 1905, several foreign banks were interested in its initiation. Ethiopia's relations with Europe were based on a number of treaties defining their mutual borders and affairs. The treaties signed on October 28, 1902, between Great Britain and Ethiopia, and between Great Britain, Italy and Ethiopia define borders between Ethiopia and the neighboring European colonies (MAT 1967, 431–436). The agreement between Great Britain, France and Italy signed on December 13, 1906 (the so-called Tripartite Treaty), defined European strategy and policy in Ethiopia. Article 3 of the Treaty presumed non-interventionist policy of the European powers in the case of possible internal changes in Ethiopia (MAT 1967, 436).

With the death of Menelik in 1913, the throne was open to Lej Iyasu, whose time in power brought various challenges to the Orthodox Church and the foreign powers. Iyasu's enthronement was not a surprise, because already in 1909, Menelik officially designated Iyasu heir to the throne. When Iyasu got twelve years old, Ras Täsämma Nadäw became his regent. Iyasu's succession was largely disputed by Itege Taytu, wife of Menelik II, who had her own plans with the throne, and counted with her daughter Zäwditu and her husband Dädžazmačč Gugsa Wale as the future rulers of Ethiopia (Zewde 2007, 254). Things got worse when it became clear that Iyasu's sympathies belonged to Ethiopian Muslims, so far rather neglected community in

Ethiopia. Itege Taytu and her daughter Zäwditu represented the traditionalist wing within the Ethiopian politics, and Iyasu's visions of religious equality were seen by them as heresy.

His short-term reign was according to many historians characterized by contradiction and inconsistency (Zewde 2001, 121-128) when he undertook several campaigns against southern Ethiopia resulting in enslavement of dozens of thousands individuals, or when he expressed his support to Sayyid Muhammad Abdille Hassan, the Somali leader successfully fighting against the British in the British Somaliland. After the beginning of World War I, Iyasu extended his relations with Germany and Turkey – in order not to be strictly dependent on France, Britain and Italy – which was a process that had begun already during the Menelik's rule (Scholer 1980). Iyasu's also extended his friendly and strategic relations with various local leaders in Ethiopia, the way how to fulfill this demanding task led through marriages with daughters of important noblemen in Muslim and Oromo areas (Zewde 2007, 255-256). This was a strategy that various of his predecessors used as well. On the other hand, what he lacked, was a strong tie to the most important region of Shäwa, Menelik's domain, from which most of the Amhara nobility and ministers came. Especially after the death of Ras Täsämma, Iyasu lost any direct contact with the Shäwan politics, and local aristocracy was not willing to support him because of losing their own status and privileges (Barnes 2001, 108).

3. Lej Iyasu and the "wind of change"?

The official Ethiopian historiography, as was established during the Haile Selassie period, portrayed Lej Iyasu as almost a traitor to the Solomonic dynasty and the Empire. Recent historical findings and research have shown a little different view on Lej Iyasu. Several recent authors including Cecil Barnes, Harold Marcus or Bahru Zewde have started the process of rehabilitation of Iyasu which has become a difficult task after such long period of time in which Iyasu gained negative image and is surrounded by many stereotypes. During and after his reign, the image of Lej Iyasu as an enemy of Ethiopian Christians was created and many scholars then accepted this vision without any deeper analysis. Of course, Lej Iyasu, more than any other Emperor before or after him favored Islam, but we have to see also his pragmatical reasons to do so, though it is easy to admit that Lej Iyasu remains one of the most controversial persons in the modern history of Ethiopia. A critical study to explain and describe the era of Lej Iyasu's reign still remains to be done. One such a cliché can be found in the work of a man who on the other hand presented a "symbol of independence", Haile Selassie, who gives us ten proofs of Iyasu's conversion to Islam:

- "1) He married four wives claiming: 'the Qur'an permits it to me.'[...]
- (2) He built a mosque at Jijjiga with government funds and gave it to Muslims.
- (3) At the time he sent to Mahazar Bey [...] our Ethiopian flag [...] on which he had caused to

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be written the following words (in Arabic): 'There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.'

- (4) He wore Somali Muslim clothes and the Muslim turban, held the Islamic rosary, and was seen to prostrate himself in the mosque.
- (5) He was seen praying and reading the Qur'an having had it transcribed in Amharic characters.
- (6) On the headgar of his special guards he had embroidered the legend 'there is no other aod but Allah'.
- (7) H. H. Ras Makonnen had built a church at Harar and had made the area adjoining the church into a dwelling for the clergy; giving the Muslims a place in exchange; then, 32 years later, he (Ledj Iyasu) expelled the clergy and restored it to the Muslims.
- (8) When a girl was born to him he saw to it that she would grow up learning the Muslim religion, and he gave her to the Muslim Madame Hanafi and said: 'Bring her up on my behalf.' (9) He despised the descent of Menilek II, which comes direct from Menilek I, and claimed to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad; assembling the great Muslim sheikhs, he spent the day convincing them of his genealogical calculations.
- (10) The day on which our great king, Emperor Menilek [...] died, instead of mourning and of arranging lamentations, he went out horse-riding to Jan-Meda and spent the day playing combat-games" (Haile Selassie I 1976: 48–49).

Bahru Zewde, a prominent Ethiopia historian, states that Iyasu's intention was not to disestablish Orthodox Christianity in favor of Islam. Moreover, he argues that his policy was based on the idea to "redress the injustices of the past", and to make "Muslims feel at home in their own country" (Zewde 2001, 124). Harold Marcus explains some of concrete steps undertaken in order to emancipate local Muslims. He inaugurated a program of taxing Christian gentry in Harar and Dire Dawa and made some Muslim foreigner a nägädräs who superintended customs and markets in both towns which was seen by Ras Tafari as treason to the Christian dominance. Lej Iyasu's desire was to "reduce tyranny under which Muslims lived and to lessen the exploitation they suffered. He wanted to transform himself into a more national and neutral figure, not flexibly identified with the Christian ruling caste" (Marcus 1998, 15).

Recently, Frederic Sharf edited "lost" letters and notes written by a military officer Hugh Drummond Pearson during the reign of Lej Iyasu, which, interestingly, show Iyasu's efforts to keep integrity of Ethiopia and to protect Ethiopia's interests against the interests of foreign powers. Great Britain was very much interested in various projects regarding the Lake Tana water schemes, and generally, the control over the Nile waters. From the correspondence and other archival sources it is obvious that Lej Iyasu and the nobility in general feared of losing control and sovereignty after signing a treaty with Great Britain (Pearson 2004, 32).

The Czech Arabist and writer Alois Musil had enough understanding for the young Lej Iyasu. While many other sources presented Iyasu as incompetent and repeat

all the negative stereotypes, Musil was very much aware of the European interests and European propaganda led against the young Emperor.² Alois Musil assumed, unlike many of his contemporaries, that the European powers relied on civil war in politically disintegrated country which would then result in an easy colonization done by Italy and Great Britain. Moreover, Musil aptly depicted backstage clashes between the Empress Taitu and Ras Tafari when he stated that Zewditu thought "*Tafari was too progressive, that he disrespected the inherited order, yearned for novelties, which would harm the faith and manners*" (Musil 1934, 87). Probably the most positive picture about Lej Iyasu was presented by his chronicler Gebre-Igziabiher Elyas (see Elyas and Molvaer 1994) whose account on Lej Iyasu has led some authors to rehabilitation of Iyasu's role in Ethiopian history.

The most probable reason why Iyasu's image was so negatively portrayed throughout the 20th century, is the fact that he was not fully part of the Shawan establishment, which was the crucial factor in power relations inside Ethiopia. Iyasu, as a son of Ras Miakel of Wallo, a Muslim Oromo who later converted to Christianity, and married the daughter of Menelik, was weakened by regional governors and the Council of Ministers, created by Menelik, and by its origin. His reign was thus characterized by the everlasting struggle between the center and the periphery where he intended to gain support from local Muslims by making them equal to Christians (Abebe 1998, 149–151).

Although there had been correspondence and at least an "ideological" concordance between Ethiopia and the Ottoman Empire, a visible action was missing. At the end of 1915, Mazhar tried to push things forward by corresponding to the Sublime Port but the answer came half a year later, including a decision of Enver Pasha:

"We are following with interest your relations with mawla of Somalia. It is understood that he is ready for every action under Ottoman supremacy. A guarantee can be given that in case he conquers any place from the Italians or the British, that place will be given to him. The Ottomans and their allies are defeating their enemies and shall win [...]

If Ethiopia takes action against our common enemy as we hope, you have the permission to say that whatever they capture from Britain, Italy or France, we will support the Ethiopians so that they will keep these territories even in peacetime. [These territories] were captured [by the British, Italians, and the French] from the Ottomans in older times. We will

2) "By virtue of wanting to know his Empire and its peoples and to integrate its groups tightly together and to the center of Addis Ababa, Iyasu visited all regions, mainly border ones. He was two times in the French Djibouti, accompanied by Tafari, governor of Harar. French officers and officials who met him were very much excited about him. The senior capuchin missionary who stayed with him frequently, praised him during his visit to Italy and France at the beginning of 1916" (Musil 1934, 83).

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support them [the Ethiopians] even in peacetime to keep their conquests. This suits the Ottoman interest too" (Haggai 1994, 87–88).

Finally, no direct action happened because of the incompatible interest of both sides underlined in the previous letter. While the Ottomans supported Mad Mullah, or *mawla*, to create an autonomy in the Horn, Lej Iyasu wanted to see Somalia's autonomy within a new Ethiopian configuration. The entrance of Ethiopia into the War remained only a dream written in correspondence. Iyasu's secret talks and letters with the leaders of the Central Powers were revealed in 1916 and since this time a remarkable press on his resignation started. His close contacts with the Ottoman Consul-General and Istanbul led to his portray of Turcophile and Germanophile, but the most important challenge to the European powers was his support of Muhammad Abdallah Hassan in the British Somaliland, which was seen by the British as something unacceptable (Zewde 2007, 255).

When Iyasu was on his visit to Harärge, he was publicly charged for antagonizing the country's powerful neighbors and disrespecting former Emperor Menelik and his legacy. The deposition of Lej Iyasu took place in an atmosphere of widespread mobilization of military forced who were at every corner of Ethiopia instructed to hunt him down. In some places, riots occurred because of no control from the center (Garretson 2002, 204). History is written by winners, not losers, and in this manner, Ras Täfäri Mäkonnen, the future Haile Selassie, presented himself in the 1910s and 1920s "as a champion of change and reform" (Crummey 2000, 230). The name of Iyasu became somewhat forgotten and the Ethiopian historiography very often depicts him as a traitor or at least strange ruler (Reta 2007, 262–269). Lij Iyasu's name is now being revoked by certain historians. What is quite interesting is Lej Iyasu's pro-Islamic feeling and his ethnic origin. His father, Ras Mikael of Wällo was an Oromo, and at the same time an important provincial nobleman. For Oromo scholars and nationalists, Lej Iyasu would be a perfect example of importance of both Oromo and Muslim identity in the modern history of Ethiopia (Schlee 2003, 355), but this debate exceed the scope of this article.

4. World War I and the Foreign Interests

The Allies sent a note to the Ethiopian government in 1916, protesting against lyasu's policy. On September 27, lyasu was deposed and Menelik's daughter Zäwditu was designated heir to the throne. Iyasu fled to the Afar region where he became a fugitive for the following five years (see e.g. Haile Selassie I 1976, Zewde 2007). On September 12, 1916, the Tripartite Powers explained their action in a joint note regarding Lej Iyasu's misleading behavior towards the Allies on the side of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. The French, striving for having sufficiently established a colony in Djibouti continuously maneuvered to provide guns and ammunition to Ethiopia, though it was Italy and Britain who successfully blocked the arms deliveries (Marcus 1983). Since France was willing to increase its economic incomes from the trade with Ethiopia with an effort to break the

embargo, it was the Paris government who initiated the question of Ethiopia's possible membership in the League of Nations. As a signatory power, Ethiopia could obtain as many arms as needed. The British position was motivated in the economic sphere as well, when the British sought to build the Lake Tana Dam for the Gezira region irrigation, but with the embargo on arms sales to Ethiopia it looked complicated to realize these plans. After a series of discussion, being aware of broader economic aspects, Italians finally conceded that it would be worthy to support Ethiopia's admission to the League (see e.g. Hess 1963 or Marcus 1983).

The three European powers maintained their policy towards Ethiopia insisting on continuity of the Ethiopian independence. In a dispatch sent to Addis Ababa on August 4, 1917, by a French representative, France promises to send 30,000 guns and 6 million cartridges. The three powers pledged not to cease any part along the Ethiopian frontier to Germany, Austria or Turkey after the war (Labrousse 1980, 283–284). The Agreement can be seen as a direct response to the previous period of the reign of Lej lyyasu, whose contacts with Germany and Turkey were for the Three Powers and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church unacceptable. Contacts with Germany occurred in various ways, resulting in military programs of different types, and with strategic aims, as suggested by Scholler (1980).

World War I did not mean a change in Italian policy toward the Horn of Africa. The Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, and its Article 13 granted Italy territorial gains in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland if England and France enlarge their colonies by absorption of the German territories (Podestà 2004, 138–139). After the World War, the Allied Powers were not motivated to allow Italy to enlarge its colonial domains. Partly, it was because their own interests and unwillingness to share the potential prize with a rival. The other, and more serious reason originated in Italy's ambiguous attitude during the war, especially its failure to declare war on Germany until August 28, 1916, had done much to weaken its position. Italy thus failed to obtain from France and Britain their Red Sea colonies. Both powers also did not allow it to abandon the guaranteed independence of Ethiopia (Hess 1963, 126).

Italy hoped for gaining huge benefits after the end of World War I in exchange for entering the war. The most important part for Italy was Article 13 of the Treaty of London signed on April 26, 1915. Italy would receive extensions of its territory in Libya, Eritrea and Somaliland if England and France should enlarge their colonial empires by absorption of the German colonies. Italian interests in Ethiopia after the battle of Adowa and the Tripartite Treaty of 1906 were renewed in 1913 and 1914, when the Director-General of Political Affairs in the Ministry of Colonies, Giacomo Agnesa, met the British Ambasador Sir James Rennell Rodd within several talks. On the background of the Tripartite Treaty, Italy sought to determine more precisely its interests in East Africa.

The main Italian concern in this early phase was to achieve the possession of Kismayu in Southern Somalia. After entering World War I, the discussion of further

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colonial settlement increased as the minimum and maximum programs were put in by the Colonial Ministry demanding the abrogation of the Tripartite Treaty. Besides the demands on control of the Red Sea and extension of Italy's colonial territory, Rome often repeated that Italy "was certainly not pushed into this war by imperialist goals, but only by the task of completing her national unity" (Hess 1963, 115).

As the post-war discussion was nearing its end, Italy was aware of its disadvantaged position, as documented by Minister Colosimo's condemnation: "What is taking place in Ethiopia is unique. A representative of an associated Power and a representative of an allied Power which signed a special accord for Ethiopia with us are inciting Ethiopian public opinion against Italy, making a peaceful discussion of the Italian programme at the Peace Conference impossible [...] What idea can the Ethiopian Government have of the solidarity of the Allied and Associated Powers when they see France and America behaving in Ethiopia as enemies of Italy [...]" (Hess 1963, 122).

The Italian embitterment after the Versailles Conference can be best illustrated on the example of a telegraph sent by Colosimo to Orlando, whose words coincide with statements of Fascist leaders from the 1920's claiming the Italian right for colonial expansion, which had been forbidden by the Peace Conference. After the third meeting of the Committee on Article 13 on May 2, 1919, Colosimo wrote the following: "It appears that there is nothing more to hope for, except the rectification of the borders in Northern Africa; the cession of a part of British Somaliland, which it would be a great mistake to accept, for without Djibouti it would bring us burdens and not benefits; and the definition of Kismayu. No mandates were assigned to us. To sum up, the colonial question, of the highest importance to Italy, is about to resolve itself in betrayal" (Hess 1963, 125). From many other statements in the pre-Fascist and then the Fascist era, it is clear that despite those declarations claiming almost absence of any colonial ambitions at entering the war, the results of the post-war processes became a bitter end since in the era of colonialism, what else could have a country like Italy demand as a reward?

If the main scope of this work is to examine the uneven position of Ethiopia within international affairs, one of the aspects, largely extravagating the narrow Italian-Ethiopian case, was the embargo on arms sales to Ethiopia from 1916 to 1930 that put Ethiopians into an uneven role among the sovereign states since Ethiopia had no military industry of its own and could have been handicapped within possible military affairs in the Horn. Italy, after its defeat at Adowa, and with its uncertain position among the Allies during World War I, felt that Ethiopia would be a better neighbor without a huge military arsenal (see Hess 1963).

5. Conclusion

Lej Iyasu, as we have seen, belongs to the less remembered but very important rulers in modern history of Ethiopia. Even though modern historiography portrayed him usually as a traitor to the Solomonic dynasty and Christian heritage, recent authors and

historiography tend to rehabilitate his image and contribution to the history of Ethiopia. Recent findings and interpretations have shown his "modern" face which was continuously undermined by traditionalists and "loyal" governors, and by international context including the World War I. Despite all these factors, lyasu can be taken as an example of a modern ruler who was standing against injustice, inequality, and traditions. Only his short-lived rule and later destiny made him rather forgotten in the history of Ethiopia.

After the deposition of Lej Iyasu, Ethiopia turned with Queen Zewditu and the heir to the throne, Ras Tafari, to the continuity of foreign policy directed primarily to Great Britain, France, and Italy. Unlike Ethiopia, the Muslim world has undergone a remarkable, almost fundamental change after the fall of the Ottoman Empire, when the last all-embracing empire in the world of Prophet Muhammad went to an end. New states have been created, new governments with new policies, European powers sought to strengthen their influence in the new areas, and new relations with Christian Ethiopia had to be established. If World War I was a period of growing contacts between the Muslim world and Ethiopia, the 1920's showed only a limited interest of Islamic countries in the Middle East to increase relations with Ethiopia. People in the newly independent countries from Syria, Lebanon, and Transjordan to Iraq had to deal with their own daily problems and had to struggle for their new independence. Finding a new integrity and identity was the major task, and Ethiopia in this sense played only a marginal role.

Haile Selassie's approach to Islam was reflected in the constitution of 1931 which established equal rights for all Ethiopians. However, this does not mean that Islam was given the same value in the sense of historical memory and legacy, and this can be well documented also on the example of Haile Selassie's own words when he blamed lyyasu for converting to Islam, which means betraying the tradition of a Christian ruler.

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Frank Plumpton Ramsey: The Economic Phenomenon Who Died Prematurely

Abstract

Although F. P. Ramsey (1903–1930) died aged nearly 27, he managed to publish a few pioneering works in mathematics, logic and philosophy. But this article deals with his work in the field of general economic theory only. We can identify four topics in his three economic contributions. By all means these four Ramsey's topics were ahead of his time, and have influenced the economics decades later. Ramsey's first article contributes to the expected utility theory, in other words the decision problem under uncertainty. The second one contributes to the taxes theory and monetary policy theory. In the third one he built a new and unique methodological approach to economic modelling, which is the aim of this article. So called Ramsey's model lies traditionally within the field of economic growth but under some modifications also within the field of public finance, supply-side economics and new classical macroeconomics. Ramsey's model is the main ingredient of contemporary analysis of short- and long-run effects of macroeconomic stabilization policy.

Key words: economic growth, dynamic optimization, Keynesian economics, Lucas Critique, methodology of positive economics, neoclassical economics, Ramsey Frank Plumpton, utility, utilitarianism