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Author(s): Aleme Eshete

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ETHIOPIA AND THE BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION: 1917-1935

by Aleme Eshete (*)

The connections between Ethiopia and the Russian Revolution of 1917 are of two types: on the one hand fear on the part of the monarchy that its teachings might reach the Ethiopian people; on the other hand, the warm reception accorded to the White Russian refugees interrupted by waves of suspicion, arrests, and expulsions.

Russia and Ethiopia before 1917

Although Ethiopia was known to the Russians at least as early as the fifteenth century through the Ethiopian Orthodox convent of Dayr el Sultan of Jerusalem, continued Russo-Ethiopian relations in modern history dated back from the reign of Emperor Yohannes (1872-1889), and was inspired largely by a similarity of religion. Russian missions to Ethiopia almost always consisted of political or semi-political envoys as well as ecclesiastical personalities representing the Holy Synod. The first European to promote Russian presence in Ethiopia was the Greek Mitzakis who sojourned in Ethiopia in the 1870's and 1880's⁽¹⁾. But the first Russian mission to arrive in Ethiopia was that of Ashinov at

(*) Assistant Professor. Head, Research and Publications Department, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University. B.A., University College, Addis Ababa (1960-1964). *Diplômé es Sciences Politiques, Docteur es Lettres, Université d'Aix* (1964-1970). *Principal publications*: *La Mission Catholique Lazariste en Ethiopie* (1868-89), Paris 1970; *Ethiopian Royal Letters (1800-1889)*, Addis Ababa 1972; *General Examination of Ethiopian Feudalism* (1975).

(1) See my thesis, *Evolution et Résolution du conflit Egypto-Abyssinien, 1877-1885*, Aix-en-Provence 1969, p. 134 ss.

the court of Emperor Yohannes in 1885. The Emperor then conscious of European imperialism (British, Italian, and French) pressing around him is said to have invited Ashinov to tell Tsar Alexander III (1881-1894) to establish an Orthodox monastery and to help him militarily by sending supplies of arms. But when Ashinov came back in 1889 on the Ethiopian coast his ambition went further than that. He wanted to establish a « New Moscow » brandishing the Russian flag on the Danakil coast, at Sagallo, already under French occupation. Hence the subsequent French opposition and bombardment of the Russian settlement killing five Russians and wounding several of them. With the fiasco of Sagallo, it may be said the Russian dream of a colony in Africa died out. Ashinov and his expedition returned to Russia.

The failure of Ashinov's mission did not stop another Russian expedition being organised by Lieutenant Mashkov. Mashkov led two missions to Ethiopia between 1889 and 1892. His missions having no territorial ambitions, enjoyed the support of the French colonial authorities on the Danakil coast and were thus able to reach the court of Menilek in Shoa. Mashkov's missions strengthened Russo-Ethiopian relations both in church and State and led to Franco-Russian cooperation on the Ethiopian coast and in Ethiopia. When Italy claimed protectorate over Ethiopia by virtue of article XVII of the treaty of Wichale Russia and France upheld Menilek's defence of Ethiopian independence against Italo-British collaboration.

The Mashkov mission was followed by a more important Russian mission to Ethiopia, that of Captain Leontiev which arrived in Addis Ababa in March 1895. The reception accorded by Menilek to the envoys of the Tsar was very friendly and Leontiev did not take much time to win the confidence of Menilek who invited him to attend a war council which was to establish the military organisation for the battle against the Italians. The Russian envoys left Ethiopia in April 1895. One result of this mission was that Menilek sent an embassy of political and ecclesiastical dignitaries: *Fitawrari* Damtew, *Dejach* Geneme, *Ato* Yosef of Galan to serve as interpreter and the Bishop of Harrar Abba Gabra Egziabher. The Ethiopian embassy stayed in Russia for over forty days. It was received by the new Tsar, Nicholas II (1894-1917), and by other government and church officials in spite of the protests of the Italian Embassy in St. Petersburg. The Ethiopian envoys returned home with four hundred thousand rubbles (gift of Tsar Nicholas to Menilek), one hundred and thirty-five cases of rifles and machine guns as well as a large supply of ammunition.

In the meantime Italo-Ethiopian relations had worsened. From December of 1895 a series of battles were fought in Tigre culminating in the astounding victory of Menilek on March 1, 1896 at Adowa. Menilek was pleased by Russian reaction to his victory over the Italians. Thus Leontiev after organising what he called a private medical mission reached Ethiopia with a number of doctors and nurses and joined, in April 1896, the army of Menilek on his way back to Shoa. Menilek's confidence in Russia was shown by his call for the Tsar's mediation which, however, was not acceptable to the Italians.

Russo-Ethiopian relations may be said to have reached the highest degree between 1896-1898. This was largely due to the arrival in July 1896 in Ethiopia of a Russian Red Cross Mission with the purpose of tending the wounded of Adowa. The Russians are said to have made 460 operations and treated 14000 Ethiopians. The Mission left after a stay of two months. A number of the medical personnel remained behind to run the Ethiopian Red Cross Mission which Menilek had established. In 1898, following Menilek's request to the Tsar for medical assistance, a permanent Russian medical mission consisting of four doctors was established at Addis Ababa and stayed until 1906, treating the sick and training the young. Also in 1898 St. Petersburg established a regular diplomatic mission at the court of Menilek. This mission functioned until the October Revolution of 1917. However Russian influence in Ethiopia declined steadily from 1906. Only a handful of the once numerous Russian residents were seen in the streets of Addis Ababa on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Ethiopians Educated in Russia before 1917

A number of Ethiopians had been to Russia for educational purposes before the Revolution of 1917. The earliest Ethiopians sent to Russia for education were those who accompanied Ashinov either in 1885 or in 1889 after the fiasco of Sagallo. But we have not been able to find out their names and trace their activities in Russia and back in Ethiopia if they ever returned. After Ashinov, the Mashkov mission of 1889 had taken, on its way back to Russia, at least one young Ethiopian, Haila Mariam Wandé of Harrar, for studies. Haila Mariam stayed in Russia for a few years and on his return to Ethiopia had mastered the Russian language. Thus when the first Russian diplomatic mission of P.M. Vlasov arrived in 1898 it was Haila Mariam who served as interpreter of

the Legation. But shortly afterwards Haila Mariam again left for Russia, this time to study military science. There, he obtained his first diploma in 1904, and joined the Pavalovskoi military college as a lieutenant in the Russian army. And after completing his studies in that college, the young Ethiopian returned to his native land, only to die shortly afterwards from a disease caught while in Russia ⁽²⁾.

In 1895 two more Ethiopians were sent to Russia for education in company of the Ethiopian mission of *Fitawrari* Damte to the court of Tsar Nicholas. They were *Ato* Bachah (later *Nagadras*) who on his return back home served as interpreter of the Russian Legation at Addis Ababa, and *Ato* Gueno (later *Grazmach*) who, having certainly been influenced by the democratic movements of pre-revolutionary Russia, joined the Ethiopian government service and played an important role in bringing about reforms.

A third group of Ethiopian young men were sent to Russia by Emperor Menelik himself in 1896-97. Among them we know the names of Giza, Dagne, Samu Negus, and Takla Hawaryat. Most of these young men studied either medicine or military science. Gizaw and Dagne both worked on their return home in the Menilek Hospital (ex-Russian Red Cross Mission Hospital) and were known as « Hakims » (or doctors of medicine). However the most known of the Russian-educated Ethiopians before the war is Takla Hawaryat, who having gone to Russia with this last group, studied military science. Of him Richard Pankhurst wrote:

« Takla Hawaryat... became friendly with some of the most notable Russian liberals of the day, including Princess Volkonsky, granddaughter of the Decembrist of that name, and Kochubei, a progressive nationalist leader of the Ukraine. After learning Russian in a family, the young Ethiopian went to Mikailovoskaia Artillery School in St. Petersburg and on graduating from it was given the rank of a colonel in the Russian army » ⁽³⁾.

Takla Hawaryat, who was known in Russia at Peter Sergeyovitch, stayed there longer than the rest of his friends; he was there for more than ten years. After completing his studies in Russia, Takla Hawaryat went to France and England between 1908-1911 to study French and English as well as take some courses in Agriculture. He returned to

(2) *Qasta Damana (Rain Bow)*, January, 1971; an Amharic and English periodical prepared by the Russian Cultural Center in Addis Ababa.

(3) RICHARD PANKHURST, *The Foundations of Education ... in Ethiopia*, « Ethiopia Observer », Vol. VI, No. 3, 1962, p. 257.

Ethiopia about 1912. Takla Hawaryat spoke excellent Russian, and was perhaps the one among the Russian-educated Ethiopians who was most marked by pre-revolutionary Russian liberalism and democratic ideas. In Ethiopia, Takla Hawaryat, who had to suffer now and then because of his reformist tendencies, had however succeeded to occupy important posts including the post of Minister of Finance at the beginning of the 1930's.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Ethiopian Reaction

The October Revolution by which scientific socialism of Karl Marx was instated in Russia under the leadership of Vladimir Ilitch Oulianov Lenin could not have been clearly understood in Ethiopia of 1917, then a traditional feudal monarchy divided into a number of quasi-independent vassaldoms and a country markedly dominated by a strong, wealthy and feudalised church, the Orthodox Church, that played an important role in the daily life of Orthodox christian Ethiopians. Therefore, whatever the Ethiopian people, Government, nobility and Church understood of the Bolshevik Revolution was, in the main, the work of the Western diplomats in Ethiopia, themselves anti-Bolshevik, or of the Western conservative press imported into Ethiopia, a press which was again biased against the marxist doctrine of the Bolshevik. But even if the Ethiopian Government and Church made their own objective analysis of the situation in Russia, the result would have been much the same, that is, hostile to the party that led the October Revolution. And this for obvious reasons. A party that abolished the monarchy, the nobility, and the Church, a party that advocated the handing over of power to the working class and the abolition of private property could not possibly be expected to have any good feeling from the Ethiopian regime of the period. It was incomprehensible to the Ethiopian christians of 1917, as to the other christians in the rest of the world, how a whole nation could exist without a religion. But over and above all, it was the report of killings and bloodshed brought about by the October Revolution that gave to the Ethiopians a fearful picture of the Bolshevik. This picture was perpetrated in Ethiopia not only by Western diplomats and European newspapers which reached Addis Ababa, but also by the bitter stories of White Russian refugees in Ethiopia, and in particular, as we shall see later on, the anti-Bolshevik articles by Captain Babikhian appearing in *Berhanena Selam*; moreover, that the Bolsheviks wanted to introduce a new regime, that of Communism, was also known in

Ethiopia. The two Amharic newspapers of the time mentioned Communism on several occasions. But, quite naturally their interpretation of communism was misguided and falsified, as we shall see in the next pages. To conclude, therefore, the Ethiopian Government sympathised with the supporters of the old regime of the Tsar, and was unreservedly hostile to the Bolsheviks.

Thus when news reached Ethiopia of the execution of Tsar Nicholas II (July 16-17, 1918) a special mass was celebrated on *Maskaram* 26, 1911 (October, 1918) at St. George Church in Addis Ababa in presence of the Abun and Western diplomats with the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Russian Legation who had not yet left Addis Ababa, receiving the condolences of those present (4).

And with the rise to power of the Bolsheviks, Russo-Ethiopian diplomatic relations were suspended and the last *Chargé d'Affaires*, P.K. Vingoradof, mortgaged in 1919 the buildings of the Legation in order to pay his fare back to Europe. The Legation became Ethiopian Government property and was later rented to the Belgian Embassy. The money from the rent was distributed to the needy White Russian refugees in Ethiopia.

White Russian Refugees in Ethiopia: 1917-1935

« Nobili e ufficiali Zaristi in gran numero, sfuggiti alla Rivoluzione d'Ottobre, trovarono in Etiopia, dal 1917 in poi, ospitalità, rifugio e lavoro. Al di là delle guerre e della rivoluzione, tra il popolo russo e il popolo etiopico alitò sempre, nel novecento una tradizione di simpatia e di solidarietà umana e religiosa, retaggio dell'ottocento, che non si smentì mai e resistette a tutte le prove ».

(CARLO ZAGHI, *I Russi in Etiopia*, p. 278)

Most of the Russian refugees who came to Ethiopia were military officers who had participated in one way or another in the Civil War (1917-21) on the side of the White Army against the Red Army of the Bolsheviks. There were also a number of nobles and impostor-nobles. But no White Russian refugees came directly from Russia to Ethiopia. The reason was that Ethiopia was unknown to them. It was therefore only after a sojourn in one or two or more countries of Europe that most of the refugees came to Ethiopia. The majority seem to have come

(4) *Journal of Alaqa Kinfe*, in my possession, p. 70; *Berhanena Selam*, 30 May, 1929.

to Ethiopia after having lived in France, mainly in Paris. One group came to Ethiopia by the invitation of Ras Taffari (later Emperor Haile Selassie). This was the family of Count Tatistcheff who was known to Ras Taffari. Other White Russian refugees came here as a result of a letter from a friend or another refugee telling stories about the good reception reserved to them in Ethiopia, of job opportunities there, and such other attractive stories.

But even when they made up their mind to come to Ethiopia, the distance and the transport expenses involved presented a great problem to those White Russian refugees who were without fortune. Thus one group consisting of a medical doctor, Dr. Gogine, his wife, his daughter, his brother-in-law and the Engineer Chemansky arrived in Ethiopia by organising fund-raising concerts at Marseilles, Beirut and Djibouti in order to pay the transport expenses to Addis Ababa.

Most of White Russian refugees arrived in Ethiopia in the 1920's and 1930's. Of those who arrived in Ethiopia before the Italian aggression of 1935, mention may be made of the following:

The Family of Count Tatistcheff: Count Tatistcheff came to Ethiopia in 1926 with his two sons, Viscount Vladimir Tatistcheff and Alexander Tatistcheff, and his daughter Countess Natalie Tatistcheff. Count Tatistcheff who was a great banker in Tsarist Russia, and who had the intention of establishing a bank in Ethiopia, fell ill after a few months and had to leave Ethiopia with one of his sons. However he died in the ship in the Red Sea before reaching his destination.

Countess Natalie Tatistcheff, wife of the well-known Maitre Jean Khovostoff, who arrived in Ethiopia two years earlier to her (in 1924), is still resident of Addis Ababa. Maitre Khovostoff who was the lawyer of the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Commerce under the late Ato Makonnen Habta Wald, died in Ethiopia, living three daughters. Of the three two have left Ethiopia, while the third got married here to another White Russian refugee, Engineer-Agronomist Tourceninoff, who came to Ethiopia in 1931, after having spent a few years in Yugoslavia and Belgium. It was also while in exile in Belgium that he studied for the diploma of Engineering. Engineer Tourceninoff came to Ethiopia as an employee of a Belgian coffee concession in the Arussi province which he soon left to come and settle in Addis Ababa where he joined Government service in the Ministry of Agriculture. Engineer Tourceninoff should be especially remembered for being the founder of the Addis Ababa Fire brigade in the 1930's on the eve of the Italian aggression as

a method of passive defense of the capital. Engineer Tourceninoff who is to-day a retired pensioner, is the President of the small White Russian refugee community made up of his wife and his mother-in-law Countess Natalie Tatistcheff and a handful of others⁽⁵⁾.

Other White Russian refugees in Ethiopia before 1935 included: General Svechinoff, General Drodovsky, Colonel Konovaloff (adviser in the Ethiopian Ministry of War), Engineer Trachtenberg, Dr. Gavriloff, Dr. Gogine, Engineer Chimansky, the Veronowsky family (the father, Arch-priest Paul Veronowsky, and his two sons Engineer Nicolai Veronowsky and Engineer Boris Veronowsky), the painter Dietrich, the two Dimtri Seniavine (uncle and nephew), Kaplinsky, Sedov, etc.

M.me Khovostoff (Countess Natalie Tatistcheff) estimates that at her arrival in 1926, there were about 60 White Russian refugees in Ethiopia. And Zervos wrote in 1935, date of Fascist aggression of Ethiopia, the number and profession of these refugees were as follows: 1 Orthodox military Arch-priest (Veronowsky), 2 medical doctors, 1 dentist, 1 lawyer, 2 engineers with Russian diplomas, 3 engineers with French and Belgian diplomas, 12 officers with technical training (artillery, marine, etc.), 3 young men of less than 30 years, 17 women and 10 children.

Most of the Russians had become Ethiopians, and the rest were in general protegés of the French Legation in Addis Ababa. According to Zervos twelve of the Russian refugees had joined Government service, and the rest worked in private enterprises. Most of the Russian refugees spoke French on arrival, and as that was the international language mostly used in Ethiopia of that period they had no problem of communication with the nobility, through interpreters, and directly to the mission-educated young Ethiopians who were then occupying key points in Government. In time, however, most of the refugees learnt to speak Amharic. At the same time, the White Russians were not completely divorced from Russian life. The Russian colony in Ethiopia had its own church called St. Nicholas where mass was celebrated by Arch-priest Veronowsky. Moreover, not only did they keep contacts with other White Russian Organisations abroad, but also received newspapers on Russian affairs such as *Les Dernières Nouvelles Russes*, *La Renaissance*, and *La Russie Illustré*. Most of the Russian refugees lived and died here. And to-day we count over forty tombs of white Russian refugees at the cemetery in Gulelé.

(5) I am grateful to Countess Natalie Tatistcheff as well as to Mr. Mrs. Tourceninoff for having accepted to answer my questions (Interview of November 12, 1973).

Prince Amiradjibi

A study of the White Russian refugees in Ethiopia will not be complete without a glance at the impostor « Prince Amiradjibi », who was neither prince nor Amiradjibi. Amiradjibi was a georgian who left Russia after the Revolution, and stayed in Paris for some time. From Paris, having decided to come to Ethiopia, he approached the White Russian refugee Organisation in Egypt in order to have a letter of recommendation adressed to the Ethiopian Government in which he appeared as Prince Amiradjibi. It is also believed that an Egyptian Pacha had sent another letter to Ras Taffari recommending « Prince Amiradjibi ». When, therefore, Amiradjibi arrived in Addis Ababa, he had a most distinguished reception becoming the status of a prince, where all Ethiopian Ministers as well as foreign diplomats were out to welcome him. But gradually the reception grew cooler and cooler until Amiradjibi was left all by himself. And if he had expected the Ethiopian Government to entertain him permanently as a prince, he must have been disappointed.

Therefore, shortly afterwards Amiradjibi started his own business. A *bon vivant* who must certainly have tasted the *dolce vita* of Tsarist Russian high-society, as well as that of Paris before his arrival in Ethiopia, Amiradjibi became the first in the history of Addis Ababa to open Cabaret night-clubs for the Europeans as well as the Europeanised Ethiopians. He run three such Cabarets at different parts of Addis: « Miami », « Leopard-Blanc » and « Aigle-Blanc »⁽⁶⁾. It is told that those night spots had tremendous success and « Prince Amiradjibi » could really have lived like a prince. But whatever he gained, the Russian adventurer spent gambling at another Addis Ababa Casino. The end-result was that Amiradjibi's financial situation declined more and more until he had to abandon his night-clubs and move to another trade, the trade in imported fur-coats for the high-society of Addis.

But to establish this expensive trade he needed money. It is told that he had succeeded to impress upon Ras Hailu of Gojam to adopt him as his son. But whatever sum of money Ras Hailu may have contributed, it was not enough. And it was at this stage that Amiradjibi travelled to Harrar in 1927 to see *Dejazmach* Imru (now *Leul Ras*) who was then Governor of that province. We have been able to find a copy of Ami-

(6) Informant: Mr. Terzian Serkis (Interview of November 10, 1973). I am grateful to Mr. Terzian for his cooperation in answering questions.

radjibi's letter in Amharic (prepared with the help of Mgr. André Jarosseau, Bishop of the Catholic Mission at Harrar) to *Dejazmach* Imru. Here is the entire text:

« Let this letter reach His Excellency *Dejazmach* Imru, Governor of Harrar and its *Awrajas*.

Honourable *Dejazmach*! I am very grateful for having had permission to have the honour to meet you. Because of the Revolution in Moscow (Russia) there are many who have taken refuge in Ethiopia. And the christians of Europe were very happy seeing with admiration the good reception the Ethiopian nobility reserved to those refugees. I am by birth of the christian royal family of Georgia. After the death of the King (Tsar) of Russia, I, like the rest, had to save my life. I came to Ethiopia because I thought the nobility of this ancient christian country will pity me seeing my sufferings. Therefore, Honourable *Dejazmach*! Even if I feel ashamed of my degradation, I entreat you to help me. I want to gain my bread by trading. Therefore Honourable *Dejazmach*! I beg you to lend me 1000 thalers. And I give my word to repay in six months time. This money will help me to buy the fur of wild animals abroad. This is an expensive affair. Moreover, Your Excellency, I would like to obtain a letter from you to help me obtain permission from the Crown Prince (Taffari) to buy 500 oxen. Honourable *Dajazmach*! I hopethat seeing all my sufferings, you will accept to grant me what I have requested, and for that I express my thanks in advance ».

Harrar 7 *Sené* 1919 (14 June 1927)

(Signed in Latin letters)

Prince Amiradjibi »⁽⁷⁾

Leul Ras Imru remembers quite well « Prince Amiradjibi » but does not seem to have formed a good impression of him. He remembers having helped him financially following this first meeting. The Ras added that Amiradjibi came to see him on another occasion with a painted picture supposed to be his portrait. The painting, *Leul Ras* Imru said, did not at all reproduce his image, but in order to get rid of the Russian, he gave him some money and the so-called portrait, and he never saw him again⁽⁸⁾.

(7) Archives Capucins, Toulouse (France), Amharic Letters of Mgr. Jarosseau. 2R 193.

(8) Interview of 9 November 1973. I am very grateful to H.H. *Leul Ras* Imru for accepting the interview.

In any case Amiradjibi did succeed to establish his trade in fur-coats which business he pursued until his death in Dire Dawa shortly after independence in 1941. And it was only at the moment of his death that the real name of « Prince Amiradjibi » was discovered. « Prince Amiradjibi » who was known in Ethiopia as « Djoro Qorata » because he had one of his ears clipped off, was the simple Russian of peasant origin, Dugachivili Vahatank! (9).

Apprehension of Bolshevik activities in Ethiopia

If as we have said at the beginning of this study, Bolshevism was unacceptable to the Ethiopian Government, Church, and nobility because it advocated the abolition of the monarchy and the nobility, the abolition of the Church and religion, the take-over of power by the Communist Party that represented the working class, and the abolition of private property, it would be easy to understand the apprehension of the Ethiopian Government lest Bolshevism and Communism find their way into Ethiopia. Although this may seem extremely far fetched considering the Ethiopian context of the period, it remains true that there was real fear of Bolshevik activities in Ethiopia, especially after the growth of communism in the Orient, in China, and more particularly after news of Bolshevik infiltration in Egypt in the 1920's was known in Ethiopia.

By strange coincidence the first « popular » protest movement against the few years old Council of Ministers of the Ethiopian Government, the movement led by the « Mahal Safaris » (Imperial Body Guard of the days of Emperor Menelik) took place almost at the same time as the Bolshevik Revolution, and it is significant that the foreign diplomats in Addis Ababa refer to the « Mahal Safaris » as the « Soviets », and as revolutionaries. The « manifesto » of May 1918 of the « Mahal Safaris » read that the Ministers created by Menelik for the first time in 1907 to serve the people were, on the contrary, pursuing their own self-interest and aggrandisement. Thus they shared for their personal uses the treasure stored by Menelik for several years in view of spending it on road constructions and such other projects. This and other State funds were used by the Ministers to build palaces and to lead a life of luxury

(9) Informants: Countess Natalie Tatistcheff, and Mr. and Mrs. Tourceninoff. I again express my thanks to all of them.

while the poor in Ethiopia were getting still poorer. As a result of this, the « Mahal Safaris » demanded the removal of all the twelve ministers whom they called « The twelve *aganint* » or « satans », with the exception of *Fitawrari* Habta Giorgis, the Minister of Defense. Whether this movement was originally a spontaneous movement or one engineered by an invisible hand in a political struggle is a question that is not yet answered; but it was certain that the protest movement was becoming more and more popular and more and more spontaneous that it risked to get out of hand if it was not stopped in time. Thus Regent Ras Tafari in his letters of reply to the « Mahal Safaris » accepted their request for the removal of the Ministers:

« But », he added, « you know how risky it is to have a popular movement of this sort. For a similar reason a powerful nation like Russia with 140 million people, the biggest country in Europe by size and by population, had its capital, which under normal circumstances could have resisted for ten years, taken in one day by the enemy. The citizens of Russia fought between themselves and perished »⁽¹⁰⁾.

Thus a reminder that a Bolshevik type movement was unacceptable in Ethiopia. In any case the protest movement of the « Mahal Safaris » had succeeded. And as Thesiger, the British Minister at Addis Ababa, wrote:

« The action of the soldiers is generally approved and is especially interesting from the fact that it is the first time on record that the opinion of the people, as distinct from that of their chiefs and officers, has found expression and successfully claimed a voice in public affairs »⁽¹¹⁾.

This movement becomes still more relevant to our study when we consider that one of the leading organisers of the « Mahal Safari » demonstration was an Ethiopian educated in pre-revolutionary Russia and whose name we have already mentioned: *Ato Gueno* (later *Grazmach*).

The « Mahal Safari » movement may be taken as the first signal that alerted the Ethiopian Government of a Bolshevik type popular movement. But it was only in the later part of the 1920's that the regime started to show real apprehension of Bolshevism following the expansion of Communism in Europe and Asia, particularly in China. When news came that Soviet Communists had infiltrated in Egypt, it was

(10) KABADA TASSAMA, *Ya Tarik Mastawasha* (Addis Ababa, 1962 Ethiopian Calendar), pp. 56-63; ALAQA KINFE, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ss.

(11) *Public Records Office* (P.R.O.), London, Foreign Office (F.O), documents, 371/3126 Thesiger to F.O., Addis Ababa, 26 March 1918.

clear that some measures had to be taken. The editorial of March 1927 of *Aimro*, one of the two Ethiopian newspapers in Amharic, wrote under the title of *Religion and Communism*: « After the First World War many people had fallen into the fearful trap of communism. We have shown on several occasions in the past how fearful communism was. Communism, in short, is a movement that started in Russia and later moved to Europe, America, and China. It to overthrow governments run in good order, discipline and religion...

« Few communists had infiltrated into Egypt. But the Egyptian Government expelled them immediately after being informed of their presence...

« . . . All Christians should unite to keep away the fearful Communists. The good christian loves his country and his religion. But Communism is fearful to man because it denies everything »⁽¹²⁾.

A few months later, we read an article in *Berhanena Selam*, the other Amharic newspaper, of Communist infiltration in China. And a translation of a Bolshevik letter to the Chinese Communists was reproduced *in extenso*. Both this and the Egyptian case are of direct significance to our study as we shall see shortly. The *Berhanena Selam* article of May 2, 1927, entitled, *Soviet Plot in China*, read: « Several letters exchanged between the Soviets and the Chinese (Communists) and found with several photographs have been given to journalists who should investigate the matter and make it public... These letters speak of money collected by the Soviets in order to purchase arms to the Chinese (Communists). It is ascertained that (the Soviets) are paying salaries to all the Chinese who accept their political doctrine and organisation. The letters also show the quantity of arms sent to the Chinese (Communists). And this is as follows: 24 cannons, 90 machine-guns, 21970 Soviet guns, 4000 Japanese guns, 2200 bombs, one explosive dynamite, 18 million Soviet-made ammunition... And underneath (one of these letters) is written a note. And this note read: « Arms to be sent to the Chinese (Communist) soldiers in December 1925: 25000 guns, 32million ammunition, 140 machine-guns, 42 cannons, 42000 bombs, ...5000 swords, 10000 tubes of poisonous gas which kills when smelled, 3000 mascs (in order to prevent the gas from entering the nose)... 6 airplanes and other small arms ».

Egypt, China. How about Ethiopia.

(12) *Aimro*, 12 March 1927.

Discovery of a Bolshevik Network in Ethiopia: 1929

« Dr. Gavrilov a Russian refugee who has always manifested anti-Bolshevik sympathies was together with his wife, expelled from Addis Ababa, by the order of King Taffari, at such a short notice that he had no time to wind up his affairs here »⁽¹³⁾.

That was how the British representative in Addis Ababa disclosed the news of the expulsion of one of the earliest and most known White Russian refugees in Ethiopia: Dr. Gavrilloff, formerly a doctor of the Addis Ababa municipality. According to Dunbar, the British Representative, « a search in his house by the municipal authorities brought to light quantity of propaganda papers that proved him to be beyond doubt a Bolshevik agent in the pay of the Soviet Government ». The British Representative added:

« So far as I can see, Bolshevism is making no headway in Abyssinia and is not likely to do so in present conditions. According to my Italian colleague, a certain Dr. Magaritti, an Albanian subject, and a lawyer by profession, is the Addis Ababa agent of the Soviet Government, and indulges in considerable amount of secret propaganda. If this is true, he is not likely to remain long undiscovered for the French Minister whose protégé he is and to whom he has for some time been suspect is keeping an eye on him; the first real evidence of his activities will lead to his loss of French protection, and from that, almost inevitably to his expulsion. I am unaware whether doctors Gavrilov and Magaritti collaborated; if they did they kept their collaboration a secret to the last »⁽¹⁴⁾.

The Representatives of the Western Powers (Britain, France, Germany, and Italy) joined together in the witch-hunt against possible Bolshevik agents in Ethiopia and to see these Powers join hands together, which was a rare thing to happen, shows that the concern for Bolshevism must have been considerable.

Berhanena Selam of 30 May, 1929 enlightens us in more detail on the affair. In its editorial entitled *Expulsion of Dr. Gavrilloff for having tried to teach Bolshevism in Etiopia*, in dealt first with what the Bolshevik Revolution was:

« (Tsaris) Russia was well-known in the world by the size of

(13) F.O. 371/13840, Dunbar to F.O., Addis Ababa, May 27, 1929.

(14) *Ibid.*

its population and by the wealth of the country. But in 1917, a few wicked persons united together worthless individuals and people of poor origin, robbers as well as jobless men and plotted and destroyed the royal family. Then they destroyed the princes, the nobles, the bishops and the priests, all high dignitaries and people of good birth. They robbed and destroyed the palace as well as the churches. They forced those wealthy and respected personalities of the past to grind stone, to chop wood and to carry loads. Thus they degraded them by forcing them to do such things as they themselves used to do in the past. Moreover, saying that one house should not be for one person and that one wife should not be for one person, they are taking and abusing the wives of the princes and nobles. As a result of all this blood flooded in Russia like water. All that could be seen in squares and in the streets were dead bodies. The country was destroyed and as there is no one to farm or to trade, famine exterminated those who survived from the gun and the sword. Those who are responsible for all this are called the Bolsheviks ».

The editorial of *Berhanena Selam* then goes on to say that some people who supported the Tsar and hated Bolshevism escaped from Russia and took refuge in Europe and elsewhere where they were well received. This, however, gave a good opportunity or the Bolsheviks to infiltrate in Europe and elsewhere disguised as refugees in order to engage in subversive activities. But in several countries they were discovered and were immediately arrested and sent back to Moscow. Ethiopia had also received her share of Russian refugees and the Ethiopian Government was helping very much these refugees by giving jobs to the skilled and pension to the un-skilled. But as there are always bad elements in a good lot, so also there was among the White Russian refugees a Dr. Gavriloff whose Bolshevik tendencies became more and more ascertained. What were the Bolshevik tendencies of Dr. Gavriloff? *Berhanena Selam* enumerates:

« First, he took the wife of one of his compatriots who, unable to take Dr. Gavriloff to court wounded his hand in trying to commit suicide.

« Secondly, Dr. Gavriloff, in order to prevent the other doctors of different nationalities who work at Addis Ababa from treating Ethiopian patients was the Ethiopian that they should come to him because he old a Russian Orthodox, a brother in religion. The result was that the Ethiopians had to suffer from their diseases unattended by a doctor.

« Thirdly, he (Dr. Gavriloff) was the cause of the death of Hanna Bey, Director of the Menelik School, because he treated him on his sick-bed without care and in a hurry⁽¹⁵⁾.

« As a result of all these wicked acts he (Dr. Gavriloff) was dismissed from the municipality ».

« Then, when patients came to his house he started indoctrinating them in teachings that were destructive to the country and the public. But the God-fearing Ethiopian people, respectful to the King, instead of listening to his advices went and denounced Gavriloff to the Security Police of the Municipality ».

Following this, the paper went on, the Head of the Municipality Security Police started to watch Gavriloff and assigned spies to keep an eye on him. Three months later the spies having managed to win the confidence of Dr. Gavriloff, the Doctor showed them a letter which he had received from Sofia (Bulgary). This letter gave the Security Police unequivocal proof that Dr. Gavriloff was the agent of the Bolsheviks in Ethiopia where he waited for an occasion where the empress, the King, the high priests, the nobility, the judges, and the high army officers should be assembled in order to throw bombs and destroy them. The famous letter written in Russian and attributed to Dr. Gavriloff as reproduced in the next issues of *Berhanena Selam* in Russian, French and Amharic, read:

« Comrade (Tovarysz) Gavrilov.

« We have received your letters as well as the money in two envelopes, a total of £ 50. We have done everything (as requested). We inform you that we have a machine gun... German system. It can be dismantled... We are trying to transport them and hand them over at Port Said. We have received the addresses and photographs of your men; we will therefore hand it to them.

« Concerning the timed hand-bombs, they are as you have requested. They could be used at any moment... We could transport them and hand them over at Port Said. A sum of £ 300 will be needed for 50 bombs.

« The organisation requests you to send the money to the address-

(15) Mr. Hanna Saleb died towards the end of 1928, and his son Mr. Hanna Galeb does believe that his death was caused by an error of Dr. Gavriloff (Interview of November 4, 1973).

ses you knoy very well (three addresses). You ask us to send you some men. We will decide on this question at the next meeting and you will know the decision from Port Said.

Our comradely salutation,
P.M.C.B.O. »⁽¹⁶⁾.

Once this letter was presented to the Government by the Security Police of the Municipality, Dr. Gavriloff was only given hours to leave Ethiopia.

A few weeks later, on the 23rd August, 1929, other arrests of White Russian refugees followed. These were: 1) Engineer Trachtenberg who was in the employ of the Municipality of Addis Ababa; he was expelled together with his wife; 2) Engineer Verenowsky, also in the employ of the Ethiopian Government at the Ministry of Agriculture; 3) Mr. Dietrich, an artist employed as a teacher of painting at Menelik and Taffari Makonnen schools.

Reporting on this event Alaqa Kinfe wrote:

« The three were arrested and kept at the Hotel of Mr. Gliz, guarded by well-trusted policemen. Many Europeans, gathered outside the Hotel, were discussing and trying to find out the cause of the arrest of these men. Some people think that they may have been arrested in connection with Bolshevism. As for us, we do not know the reason for their expulsion and we will wait for the explanation of the Government as it was done after the expulsion of Dr. Gavriloff. We believe that the Ethiopian Government has not arrested these people without cause. These were men who lived in harmony holding the Ethiopian Government and nation in absolute respect. And Ethiopia had received them well and the Ethiopian Government was supporting them properly. We therefore regret to learn that they have violated this trust, forgetting the unforgettable favour accorded to them »⁽¹⁷⁾.

On Wednesday, August 24, Eengineer Trachtenberg and Veronowsky took the train from Addis Ababa to Djibouti on their route of exile. And Alaqa Kinfe reports that all the White Russian refugees in Addis came to the rail-way station to see them off. As for Dietrich

(16) *Berhanena Selam*, June 7, 1929; a photograph of the Russian original text was reproduced in the next issue, June 13-14, 1929.

(17) ALAQA KINFE, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

he was allowed to stay in Ethiopia until the delivery of the baby his wife was expecting.

Because the above Russians were accused of trying to prepare a Bolsheviki type revolution in Ethiopia it would be right to expect that their plan included some Ethiopians. But there was no mention of any Ethiopian either in the press or elsewhere. But we know for certain that one Ethiopian, the Russian-educated liberal *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat was arrested in connection with this alleged Bolshevik network, having been denounced by his own servant who told the Government that Takla Hawaryat, who was then Governor of Asaba Taffaari, has been surely importing cannons. *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat was arrested and sent to prison.

Finally we may ask what type of a revolution did these arrested and expelled Bolshevik agents want to undertake in Ethiopia. We read that they were importing bombs to destroy the Empress, the King, the nobility, the high clergy, the high army officers, the judges, etc., when a good occasion presented itself. Then what? There were no parties of any colour in Ethiopia. And there was no question of a Communist party which normally led such a revolution. There was no question either of a politically conscious working class or peasant class ready to take power. What was meant therefore, by a Bolshevik revolution in Ethiopia? That this question was not properly put by those who condemned those who were condemned may show a misconception on the part of the Government of what the Bolshevik Socialist Revolution was. But, on the other hand, the measure taken by the Government may be one of extreme precaution, as the German Representative in Addis Ababa wrote. Herr Dr. Prüfer indeed thought that Bolshevism will not take root in Abyssinia but he considered that the Ethiopian Government were wise « to keep a careful look-out for signs of propaganda and to take drastic measures against the propagandists they discover »⁽¹⁸⁾.

In general, the Western diplomats who rejoiced unanimously at the arrest of the alleged Bolshevik agents in Addis Ababa did not seem to understand any better what the Bolshevik doctrine was. And if for *Berhanena Selam* Communism meant as we have seen above, sharing wives in common (which entered in the extended interpretation of the Communist principle of the abolition of private property),

(18) F.O. 371/13840, Dunbar to F.O., Addis Ababa, August 22, 1929.

to the Western diplomats Communism was reduced to strict local Ethiopian politics and struggle for power.

The political situation in Ethiopia was one of upheaval starting from the First World War, or indeed even earlier since the incapacity to govern in 1909 of the paralysed Emperor Menelik. The very young Lej Iyssu, grand-son of Menelik, succeeded him first with a regent and then independently since 1911. Governing the big Ethiopian Empire was never easy for young Lej Iyassu. But it was since the beginning of the First World War that Government became more delicate and more complicated in his hands. This was so mainly because of the influence in Ethiopia of the two contending parties in the World War: the British and the French on one side and the Germans and the Muslim Turks on the other. Lej Iyassu was the son of Negus Mikael, an ex-muslim, and this may have helped his leaning more towards the camp of the Muslim Turks and the Germans whose agents did certainly have an influence on him. In short his internal as well as his external policies became more and more Muslim while reigning over the Christian Empire of Ethiopia. This led to his deposition in 1916 and his replacement by Empress Zawditu, daughter of Menelik, having for Crown Prince and Regent, the Ras Taffari Makonnen. Iyassu was deposed but not yet arrested. As a result, from 1916 until the arrest of Iyassu in 1928 there was no tranquillity for the Government at Addis Ababa haunted by the possible return of Iyassu who had his supporters in the capital as well as in other parts of the Empire. But to complicate the picture still further, the Government at Addis Ababa was divided within itself: on the one hand the conservative and traditionalist party led by Empress Zawditu, and on the other the liberal and progressive party led by Ras Taffari which advocated the penetration of Western civilisation in Ethiopia.

That is how Western diplomats in Addis Ababa associated Bolshevism in Ethiopia with the struggle for power between Iyassu and Empress Zawditu or with the incompatibility of Zawditu and Taffari. Thus Dunbar, the British Representative wrote that it was generally believed that « the Bolshevik movement in the country would at first be Mohamedan in character, and have as its initial objective the overthrow of the present regime and the restoration of Lij Yasu ». On the other hand, Dunbar himself wrote that Dr. Gavriloff, the principal Russian to be expelled, was a close friend of Abba Weqaw, a staunch supporter of Empress Zawditu and an opponent of Ras

Taffari against whom he had revolted in August-September 1928⁽¹⁹⁾. Abba Weqaw was arrested and since then he lived in exile outside Addis Ababa.

But in truth, was there a Bolshevik plot in Ethiopia?

Gavrilloff's Bolshevik Letter, a Forgery of Captain Babikhian

In truth there was no cause for the Ethiopian Government to break its head in the hunt for Soviet agents in Ethiopia for the simple reason that there was no such thing as a Bolshevik network in Ethiopia of 1929. The whole affair was the creation of Captain Babikhian, Chief of the Addis Ababa Security Police.

Who was Captain Babikhian? Babikhian was an Armenian, native of Yerevan (present capital of Soviet Republic of Armenia), where he was Captain of the Police. He left his homeland following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. It is not clear when he came to Ethiopia, but he must have lived in Europe and elsewhere like the other Russian refugees, before coming to Addis Ababa. In any case he was here before 1927. He is known to us especially by his numerous articles in *Berhanena Selam* beginning in 1928⁽²⁰⁾.

The first conclusion that one could make from his extremely complicated and involved articles is that he missed very much his native land, Armenia. He wrote:

« We the unfortunate Armenians have been eradicated from our homeland, just like the objects on the way of a powerful river flowing down a mountain after a heavy rain... There is fear in my body... I would like to have some place to fix my roots in... Oh my beloved country, I have left you and I long to see you. What a terrible thing it is to leave one's country. He who does not love his country is someone who has lost his mind »⁽²¹⁾.

The second point one could draw from the articles of Captain Babikhian was that he was an out-and-out anti-Bolshevik. Indeed one may suspect that all or almost all the articles on Bolshevism in

(19) F.O. 371/13840, Dunbar to F.O., Addis Ababa, May 27, 1929.

(20) *Berhanena Selam*, 1928: 29 March, 5 April, 12 April, 26 April, 10 May, 7 June, 14 June, 28 June, 5 July, 19 July, 26 July, 2 August, 12 August, 6 September, 15 September, 27 September, 20 December; 1929: 5 October.

(21) *Berhanena Selam*, June 7, 1928.

Ethiopia, Egypt, China, etc. were his works or were at least influenced by him. In articles which he signed Babikhian treated the Bolsheviks as anti-christian « wicked beasts » and told stories to show how cruel the Bolsheviks were with the nobles, the bishops, and generals they arrested after the Revolution. He also preached to the young Ethiopian generation to be ware of Communism.

Thirdly, after reading Babikhian's articles one gets the impression that he wanted to do his utmost to make Ethiopia his second country; he praised Ethiopia and the Ethiopians. He was particularly generous in his praises of Ras Taffari.

At Addis Ababa, Babkhian was appointed Chief of the Police, including the Security Police, under the Municipality. And it was in that capacity that he came up with the story of a Bolshevik plot in Ethiopia. This was later found to be untrue and that the letter in Russian attributed to Dr. Gavrilloff and reproduced in *Berbanena Selam* was a forgery. An independent investigation was set up by the Government after the expulsion of the White Russians above mentioned, following a request to that effect by the White Russian Refugee Organisation in Paris as well as by the Ethiopians who were convinced of the innocence of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat in this affair. In the end Babikhian failed to justify his stand and he was condemned for it. He was deposed from his functions as Head of the Municipality Police and was not to have any Government job any more. We may now ask why Babikhian did what he did. Personal grudge against the white Russians expelled, and in particular against Dr. Gavrilloff? Or was he mis-guided by his exaggerated anti-Bolshevism? Or did he want to stabilise his situation in Ethiopia by attracting more favours, more power and more money? Those questions remain unanswered, and unknown. What is known is that Captain Babikhian, after a short time of jobless and graceless life, left Ethiopia with his wife for Cyprus, from where he moved to London where he died. M.me Babikhian is still living in London. As to the unfortunate Russian refugees who were expelled, their innocence having been proved, they had the right to come back to Ethiopia if they wanted to. But none of them seem to have come back. Dr. Gavrilloff is said to be living to-day in Italy.

Fitawrari Takla Hawaryat was also pardoned after six months of prison, and reinstated in office. It was found that what his servant had taken for a cannon was but a cylinder used in a flour-mill imported from abroad. The said servant got therefore his share of

punishment for this important mistake. *Fitawrary Takla* Hawaryat, who was named *Bajirond*, or Minister of Finance at the beginning of the 1930's, continued his support for liberal reforms in land tenure and in Government. And he was instrumental in the introduction of the first Ethiopian Constitution and the founding of the Ethiopian Parliament, more or less a replica of the 1906-17 Russian Duma which he has known, but more powerless and less combative.

ALEME ESHETE

RIASSUNTO

Benché l'Etiopia fosse nota ai Russi fin dal XV secolo, fu solo alla fine del XIX secolo che viaggiatori e missioni diplomatiche russe incominciarono a visitare questo Paese. La Russia prese posizione a favore dell'Etiopia nel conflitto italo-etiopeico che precedette la battaglia di Adua, in occasione della quale la missione della Croce Rossa russa svolse un importante ruolo di assistenza ai feriti. Inoltre molti Etiopici compirono i loro studi in Russia alla fine del XIX e all'inizio del XX secolo. Allo scoppio della rivoluzione bolscevica del 1917 molti aristocratici russi elessero l'Etiopia, una monarchia ortodossa come la Russia, quale loro rifugio. Tra i rifugiati vi erano non solo principi e aristocratici, ma anche ufficiali della sconfitta armata bianca, medici, ingegneri, agronomi ed anche impostori come il « principe Amiradjibi ». Questi rifugiati russi vivevano nel timore di una rivoluzione comunista; alcuni di essi svolsero una intensa propaganda anticomunista sulla stampa etiopica, spiando immaginarie attività comuniste e scoprendo un « complotto comunista » che coinvolgeva alcuni rifugiati russi (poi espulsi) e giovani etiopici (che furono arrestati).

RESUME

Bien que l'Ethiopie fût connue par les Russes dès le XV siècle, ce n'est qu'à la fin du XIX siècle que des voyageurs et des mission diplomatiques russes commencèrent à visiter ce pays. La Russie prit position en faveur de l'Ethiopie au cours du conflit entre l'Italie et l'Ethiopie et après la bataille de Adoua (1896) la mission de la Croix Rouge russe joua un remarquable rôle d'assistance aux blessés. Plusieurs Ethiopiens firent aussi leurs études en Russie à la fin du XIX et au début du XX siècle. Lorsque la révolution bolchevique de 1917 éclata, nombre d'aristocrates russes cherchèrent un abri en Ethiopie, qui était une monarchie orthodoxe comme la Russie. Parmi eux on comptait aussi bien des princes et des aristocrates que des officiers de l'armée blanche vaincue, des médecins, des ingénieurs, des agronomes et même des prétendus princes, comme le « prince Amiradjibi ». Les réfugiés russes craignaient profondément une révolution communiste: ainsi certains d'entre eux développèrent une active propagande anti-communiste sur la presse éthiopienne, en dénonçant d'imaginaires activités communistes et découvrant enfin un complot « communiste » auquel auraient pris part certains réfugiés russes qui furent ensuite expulsés, et des jeunes ethiopiens, qui furent arrêtés.

ANNEXE

LES RUSSES EN ETHIOPIE (*)

(Source: Ingénieur Tourceninof)

Pendant cette période plusieurs Russes sont arrivés à Addis Abeba, se basant sur les informations que l'Ethiopie est un pays très bienveillant vers les émigrés russes, Gouvernement Monarchique et de religion orthodoxe.

Nous employons les abréviations suivantes:

- D pour décédé en Ethiopie
- P pour parti de l'Ethiopie
- F pour famille y compris la personne elle-même
- M pour Municipalité d'Addis Abeba
- MA ministère de l'Agriculture
- MT ministère des Travaux Publics
- MS ministère de la Santé Publique
- A autres activités - privé-commerce.

A - Période de 1920 à 1926

	Famille	Travail	Actuelle- ment	
1. Général des cosacs Jean Svechnikoff	4	A	D	
2. Général de Etat Major Leon Drozdovsky	3	M	P	
3. Colonel T. Konovaloff	2	A	P	et D.
4. Colonel Barteneff V.	4	A	P	et D.
5. Colonel Khvostoff J.	5	A	D	
<i>Ingénieurs:</i>				
6. T. Chimansky	1	M	D	
7. A. Trachtenberg	2	M	P	
8. N. Voronovsky	1	MT	D	
<i>Docteurs:</i>				
9. Dr. Gavriloff	2	MS	P	
10. Dr. Gogine	4	MS	P	
11. Dentiste A. L. Dabert	3	A	P	

(*) Questa appendice è stata inviata dall'A. in un secondo tempo, e redatta in francese, lingua che l'A. usa indifferentemente, insieme con l'inglese, nei rapporti esterni (N.d.R.).

	Famille	Travail	Actuelle- ment	
<i>Officiers:</i>				
12.	Marine: B. Diderichs	2	M	P
13.	Benklevsky	1	M	D
14.	Bouligine	2	A	P
15.	P. Krusenshtern	3	A	P
16.	S. Kartachoff	2	M	D
17.	S. Seniavine (oncle)	2	M	P et D.
18.	D. Seniavine (neveu)	1	A	P
19.	Comte V. Tatistsheff	1	A	D
20.	Comte V. V. Tatistheff	1	A	P
21.	P. Zaiontchik	2	A	P
22.	B. Boutaëff	2	A	D
23.	Ganafi	5	A	D

B: Période de 1926 à 1935

24.	Ingénieur B. Voronovsky	1	M	D
25.	Ingénieur Agronome G. Turchebinoff	1	M	Existe
26.	Zemlianizine	1	M	D
27.	A. Fermor	1	A	P Garde Impériale
28.	Comte A. V. Taticsheff	2	A	P et D. Turiste cheff.
29.	M. Bankoul	2	A	D Directeur Singer C.
30.	S. Bankoul	2	A	D
31.	V. Kouznetzov	1	A	P
32.	Melnikoff	2	A	P
33.	Prince Montvid Monfish	4	A	P
34.	Prince (?) Amiradjibi	1	A	D ou Djougashvili
35.	D. Kaplinsky - juriste	1	M	P et D.; Son fils existe à A-Abeba
36.	Comte P. Tatistcheff	1	A	D Son fils en Ethiopie

C: Période de l'occupation Italienne (1935-40)

Pendant l'occupation italienne beaucoup de Russes sont partis d'Ethiopie; en 1940 il en restait 12 avec les familles:

4 Ingénieurs: Turceninoff, Voronovsky N., Voronovsky B., T. Chimansky.

5 officiers: J. Kvostoff, B. Kouznezoff, S. Kartachoff, Fit. Babitcheff, Comte A. Tatistcheff.

Autres: Comte P. Tatistche, D. Kaplinsky, B. Boutaëff. L'Eglise russe a été détruite et le Père Paul Voronovsky est mort.

C: Période après le départ des Italiens

Comme le Gouvernement Ethiopien avait besoin de techniciens, l'Ing. Turceninoff a fait des démarches auprès des divers Ministères et a réussi à faire venir des Russes des camps pour réfugiés en Allemagne et Autriche (réfugiés de Yougoslavie et Tchécoslovaquie) et une mission spéciale a été envoyée (*Blaten Gueta Mahtmé Selassie Wolde Mascal*) pour engager des agriculteurs (pas de Russes parmi ceux qui étaient employés). Les Russes sont tous arrivés avec des contrats de travail et aux frais de I.R.O. (*). Tous sont arrivés entre 1949 et 1950.

	Famille	Travail	Actuelle- ment
<i>Docteurs:</i>			
1. E. Belousoff	2	MS	P
2. V. Korostovetz	2	MS	P
3. T. Bandourka	5	MS	P
<i>Ingénieurs et Architectes</i>			
4. V. Lissiuine - météorologue	4	MT	P
5. G. Kiverove	2	MT	P
6. Svon Klodt	2	MT	P
7. N. de Zellia	5	MT	P
8. A. Proskouriakoff	2	MT	P
9. Ing. Agr. N. Belousoff	2	MA	P
10. Ing. Agr. Chenchine	2	MA	P
11. Ing. Agr. V. Olsoufieff	2	MA	P
12. Ing. Agr. A. Scouridine	2	A	D
13. Ing. Agr. V. Pouchine	2	A	P
<i>Docteurs Vétérinaires:</i>			
14. Dr. N. Proskouriakoff	1	MA	D
15. Dr. M. Sitnikoff	2	MA	D
16. Dr. B. Iashtchinsky	2	MA	P
17. Dr. G. Petroff	1	MA	D
18. Dr. K. Kovalenko	1	MA	Existe
<i>Autres:</i>			
19. Dr. Tichomiroff, jurist	1	A	D
<i>Agronomes non diplômés:</i>			
20. A. Kouprianoff	7	A	P
21. P. Vlassenko	2	A	P

(*) International Refugee Organization (N.d.R.).

	Famille	Travail	Actuelle- ment
22. K. Sinkevitch	4	MA	P
23. A. Michine	1	MA	D
<i>Infirmiers</i>			
24. T. Dobrovolskaya	1	MS	D
25. O. Kitrey	1	MS	P
<i>De Professions diverses:</i>			
26. P. Soukhacheff, art-peintre	2	A	P
27. J. Soukhacheff, dessinateur	2	A	P
28. I. Dlouska, secrétaire	1	MA	Existe
29. G. Lapine, commerçant	2	A	Existe
30. A. Milovidoïff, prêtre	1	A	P
<i>L'église russe a été rétablie dans le Guebi du Dedj. Ube.</i>			
31. Kostiuk, élèveur	1	A	D
32. E. Fenvik Zigler, compt.	2	A	P
33. N. Korostovetz, compt.	2	A	D
34. T. Rossibolotova, école de dance	1	A	—

Actuellement il y a en Ethiopie

M.me N. Kvostoff	1		
G. Turceninoff, ing. agr.	4		
G. Lapine, commerçant	2		
K. Kovalenko, Dr. vétérin.	2		
I. Kaplinsky, commerçant	4		Né à A. Abeba
T. Rossi, école de dance	1		
I. Dlouska, secrétaire	1		
Vort K.	4		Russe américain
	19		

Raisons principales des départs: absence de pensions, peu d'avenir pour les enfants.

LISTE DES RUSSES MORTS ET ENTERRÉS EN ETHIOPIE

Cimetière près de l'Eglise Selassié

1. Prince Montvid Monfish	Tombe introuvable
2. Lieutenant Benklevsky	» »
3. D. Sedoff	» »
4. M. Kartashova	» »
5. Efime, cuisinier de l'Ambassade	» »

Cimetière près de l'Eglise « Petros-Paulos » à Goulalé

6. Fitaorari J. Babitsheff
7. Lieutenant M. Babitsheff

Cimetière pour étrangers à Goulalé

8. Ministre de Russie - K. Linchine
9. Archi-Prêtre P. Voronovsky
10. Prof. Dr. Tichomiroff
11. Ing. B. Voronovsky
12. T. Dolina Dobrovolskaya, infirmière
13. Col. J. Kvostoff
14. S. Kartachoff, topographe
15. N. Korostovetz
16. Comte P. Tatostasheff
17. Colonel A. Skouridine, agronome
18. A. Michine, agronome
19. Dr. M. Sitnikoff, vétérinaire
20. Dr. N. Proskouriakoff, vétérinaire
21. Dr. G. Petroff, vétérinaire

Membres des familles des émigrés. Cim. de Goulalé

22. V. Loginova
23. E. Vlassenko
24. M. Konovalova
25. A. Sedova
26. S. Baumvald
27. C. Obolianonova
28. V. Pouchina
29. V. Korostovetz
30. G. Turcebinoff (enfant)

*Autres places**Cimetière de Dire Daoua*

31. N. Voronovsky
32. M. Bankoul
33. T. Chimansky
34. Zemlianizine
35. Kaplinasky (femme)
36. Amiradjibi Djougashvilli

Monjjo

37. Général Svechnikoff Jean
38. Svechnikoff (son fils)

Assab

39. S. Bankoul

Lekempti

40. Agr. Kostiuk

La petite communauté russe restante s'occupe des tombes des russes aux cimetières de Goulalé et de Dire Daoua.