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Annual Proceeding  
of the**



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of the  
Florida Conference of Historians*

Anthony D. Atwood, Editor

Joseph Patrouch, Associate Editor

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Florida Conference of Historians  
<http://fch.fiu.edu>

# **Florida Conference of Historians**

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### **From the Desk of the Editor**

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This edition of the Proceedings underscores the diversity of the FCH and its commitment to reaching out. The strength of the FCH is that it does not focus entirely on historians of Florida and the South. Rather, it is a forum for historians *working* in the South. We continue to build our constituency on the interdisciplinary foundation, on our welcome to graduate and undergraduate scholars, niche historians, and the growth of the FCH as a destination conference.

Special note: printing deadlines prevented including the paper of Okete J.E. Shiroya, Valdosta State University, "Nationalism and Identity in East Africa: The Case of Burundi and Rwanda." The paper is posted on our website at: <http://fch.fiu.edu>.

## From the Pen of the President

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

Welcome to Ft. Myers, Florida and the annual meeting of the Florida Conference of Historians.

The Florida Conference of Historians began in 1962 as the Florida College Teachers of History. Its founders imagined of an organization covering all fields of historical interest and that would give those teaching history in Florida's colleges and universities an opportunity to share their scholarship and develop a sense of collegiality. In 1992, the organization changed its name to the Florida Conference of Historians to encourage participation by historians outside the state's colleges and universities. In 1993, we published the first volume of our Selected Annual Proceedings.

I have been active in the FCH since 1992. In my personal experience, the FCH has seen good years and years more lean. But we have always met our goals of scholarship, diversity of interests and geography, and collegiality. The great news is that over the last several years, and thanks to the support of Florida International University, the quality and number of our conference presentations and published papers have reached higher. It means a lot to me to have been a passing part of this success.

I would like to congratulate Christine Lutz of Georgia State University. Her paper, "Another Post-War Settlement: Eunice Hunton Carter and Mary McLeod Bethune," won the Thomas M. Campbell Award for best paper submitted to the Proceedings published this year.

Thank you for joining us, and good luck to us all,

J. Calvitt Clarke III  
President  
Florida Conference of Historians  
2008-2009

## Thomas M. Campbell Award

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*Beginning with Volumes 6/7 in 1999, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the Thomas M. Campbell Award for the best paper published in the Annual Proceedings of that year.*

Thomas M. (Tom) Campbell was the driving force behind the creation of the Florida Conference of Historians, at that time called The Florida College Teachers of History, over 40 years ago. It was his personality and hard work that kept the conference moving forward. Simply put, in those early years he *was* the conference.

Tom was a professor of US Diplomatic History at Florida State University. The Thomas M. Campbell Award is in his name so that we may recognize and remember his efforts on behalf of the Florida Conference of Historians.

### *Recipients*

Volume 16: Christine Lutz, Georgia State University  
Volume 15: Vincent Intondi, American University  
Volume 14: Steve MacIsaac, Jacksonville University  
Volume 13: Dennis P. Halpin and Jared G. Toney, University of South Florida  
Volume 12: David Michael, Chicago Theological Seminary  
Volume 10/11: Robert L. Shearer, Florida Institute of Technology  
Volume 7/8: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University  
Volume 6/7: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University

**PROGRAM**  
**FEBRUARY 28, 2008, THURSDAY**

**REGISTRATION, 6:00-9:00 p.m.**

**INFORMAL RECEPTION, 6:00-9:00 p.m. Oasis and Falls Rooms**

**FEBRUARY 29, 2008, FRIDAY**

**FREE LIGHT BREAKFAST, 6:00-9:00 a.m. Oasis Room** hotel registrants only

**REGISTRATION, 7:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m.**

**SESSION F1, 8:00-9:00 A.M.**

**F1—VIETNAM AND IRAQ - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Tony Esposito, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL**

**PAPERS:**

**Mao Lin, University of Georgia, Athens, GA**

“China and the Escalation of the Vietnam War: The First Years of the Johnson Administration”

**Marco Rimanelli, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL**

“The ‘Requiem’ on U.S. Foreign Policy in Iraq”

**DISCUSSANT: Tony Esposito, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL**

**F1—THE COLD WAR - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: David Proctor, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, FL**

**PAPERS:**

**John-Paul Wilson, St Johns University, Queens, NY**

“The Impact of American Political Thought on Historical Analysis: A Case Study of the Nicaraguan Revolution”

**Lynda Lamarre, Georgian Southern University, Statesboro, GA**

“The Aldo Moro Affair”

**DISCUSSANT: David Proctor, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, FL**

**F1—LIFE IN AMERICA - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR: Elena Thompson, University of Maryland University College, College Park, MD**

**PAPERS:**

**Jeffrey Wells, Georgia Military College, Atlanta Campus, Atlanta, GA**



"Bush at Last: Paul Coverdell and the 1988 Presidential Campaign"

**Heather Parker**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

"America at Large: Reflections on Obesity within America, 1850-1960, 1945"

**DISCUSSANT:** Elena Thompson, University of Maryland University College, College Park, MD

**F1—RESISTANCE TO IMPERIALISM, NATIONALISM AND POLITICS IN EAST AFRICA - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR:** Alison Meek, King's University College at the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada

**PAPERS:**

**Okete J. Shiroya**, Valdosta State University, Valdosta GA  
"Nationalism and Identity in East Africa"

**Sterling Coleman**, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL  
"No Independence Without Sovereignty! The Resistance of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the British Occupation of Ethiopia (1941-1944)"

**Altaye Alaro Alambo**, Independent Scholar, Jacksonville, FL  
"Notes of Diplomatic Experience in the London and Vienna Ethiopian Embassies, July 2001-July 2006"

**DISCUSSANT:** Bill Marina, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL; Research Fellow, the Independent Institution., Oakland, CA; Executive Director, the Marina-Huerta Educational Foundation, Asheville, NC

**SESSION F2, 9:15 -10:45 A.M.**

**F2—PLENARY SESSION: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON APPEASEMENT Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR:** Will Benedicks, Tallahassee Community College

**PAPER:**

**Ted J. Uldricks**, University of North Carolina, Asheville, NC  
"The Soviet Union, the United States, and Republican China as Appeasers"

**DISCUSSANTS:** Steve MacIsaac, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL; **Craig Buettinger**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL; **Alex Cummins**, Flagler College, St. Augustine, FL; editor, *Documents of Soviet History*

**SESSION F3, 11:00 A.M.-12:30 NOON**

**F3—TALE OF TWO CITIES - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR:** Gail Pat Parsons, Gordon College, Barnesville, GA

**PAPERS:**

**Thomas E. Aiello**, Gordon College, Barnesville, GA

“The Dallas Cotton Exchange and the Atlantic World”

**Michael Epple**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, FL

“Missiles on the Lake: Cold War Hysteria in Cleveland”

**DISCUSSANT:** Heather Parker, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**F3—NATION AND IMAGINATION IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

**AMERICAS - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR:** Nicola Foote, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Ingrid Fernandez**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL

“Evita: A Female Icon of Nationalism”

**Don Routh**, University of Miami, Miami, FL

“How German-Americans Lost Their Hyphen: Ethnicity, Nationalism and World War One”

**Ian Morris**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL

“The Women Axemaker’s Gift to Nationalism”

**David Seurkamp**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL

“The American Space Race and Cold War Nationalism”

**DISCUSSANT:** Jesse Hingson, Georgia College and State University, Milledgeville, GA

**F3—AMERICA’S ANTEBELLUM NORTH AND SOUTH - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR:** David Wagner, University of Southern Maine, Portland, ME

**PAPERS:**

**Kevin Kokomoor**, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL

“Indian Agent Gad Humphreys and the Politics of Slave Dealing in Territorial Florida”

**Courtney A. Moore**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

“‘Mind How Much Cotton You Pick’: Navigating the World of Work in the Antebellum South, 1800-1861”

**Kimberly Sambol-Tosco**, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA

“Relational Politics: Family Life and Kinship and African American Public Culture in the North before the Civil War”

**Craig Buettinger**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL  
"Free Blacks, Citizenship, and the Constitution in the Florida  
Courts, 1821-1846"

**DISCUSSANT: David Wagner**, University of Southern Maine, Portland,  
ME

**F3—UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PANEL - Courtyard Marriott,  
Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR: Anthony Esposito**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Thomas J. Gillan**, University of Central Florida, Orlando, FL  
"‘The Moment of Balance is Exquisite’: Henry Adams’s Middle  
Way and the History of the Middle Ages"

**Martin Persson**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL  
"Bureaucrats in Ancient Egypt: Their Life and Work"

**Michael Murphy**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL  
"Ethnicity, Race, and Disability in the New South"

**DISCUSSANT: Anthony Esposito**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**LUNCH, 12:30-2:00 P.M.:** Lunch on your own.

**BUSINESS MEETING AND LUNCH, 12:30-2:00 P.M.**

**Oasis and Falls Rooms - Open to all registrants**

**SESSION F4, 2:00-3:30 P.M.**

**F4—FLORIDA AND THE POPULAR MIND, 1: FILTERING  
CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY THROUGH THE FLORIDA  
EXPERIENCE - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Denise K. Cummings**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Alison Meek**, King’s University College at the University of Western  
Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada

"Miami Vice and Florida Identity"

**Leslie Kemp Poole**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

"In Marjorie’s Wake"

**Melanie Shell-Weiss**, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD

"Good Neighbors? Florida as the Gateway to the Americas, 1940-  
1960"

**DISCUSSANT: Denise K. Cummings**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**F4—UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PANEL—REBELS, ROGUES,  
AND SCOUNDRELS: TROUBLEMAKERS AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN  
LATIN AMERICA - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR:** Nicola Foote, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Brian Chadwick**, Georgia College and State University, Milledgeville,  
GA

“Black Panther Party Activities and US-Mexican Relations during  
the 1968 Mexico Olympics”

**Ian Custar**, Georgia College and State University, Milledgeville, GA

“Surviving Argentina’s Dirty War: The 1976 Detention of Gwenda  
Mae Loken López and Its Impact on US-Argentine Relations”

**Mitch Ogletree**, Georgia College and State University, Milledgeville,  
GA

“José Bueso Rosa and Honduras’s Narco-State during the 1980s”

**Rick Ramos**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL

“The Slave Ships: Deadly to Slaves and Sailors Alike”

**DISCUSSANT:** Jesse Hingson, Georgia College and State University,  
Milledgeville, GA

**F4—COMICS AND SOCIETY, 1. CRAFTING IDENTITY AND  
CHANGING SOCIETY: COMIC BOOK SUPER-HEROES FROM THE  
GOLDEN AGE TO THE PRESENT - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR:** William Svitavsky, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Dina Dahbany-Miraglia**, Queensborough Community College and the  
Middle East and Middle Eastern American Center, The City University  
of New York, New York, NY

“Wonder Woman, a True “Woman of Valor”

**Lance Eaton**, Salem State College and North Shore Community  
College, Salem, MA

“Superman’s True Enemy: Injustice and Oppression in the Late  
1930’s”

**William Svitavsky**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

““Did You Know He Was Black?” The Tentative Identities of  
Black Superheroes”

**Thomas C. Donaldson**, University at Albany, Albany, NY

“Ineffectual Girl Among the Legions of Superheroes: The  
Marginalization and Domestication of Female Superheroes, 1955-  
1970”

**DISCUSSANT: William Svitavsky**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**F4—RUSSIA AND ETHIOPIA - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR: Anthony Atwood**, Florida International University, Miami, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Clifford Foust**, University of Maryland, College Park, MD

“Rescue Russia! The American Railway Mission to Russia, 1917-1922”

**J. Calvitt Clarke III**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL

“Different Versions of Fedor Evgenievich Kononov’s Eyewitness Memoirs of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36”

**DISCUSSANT: Anthony Atwood**, Florida Internal University, Miami, FL

**SESSION F5, 3:45-5:15**

**F5—ENCOUNTERS IN THE NEW WORLD - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Marco Rimanelli**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Steven R. Blankenship**, Georgia Highlands College, Rome GA

“Rhetoric & Reality: Columbus, Las Casas, and Irony in the New World”

**David Allen Harvey**, New College of Florida, Sarasota, FL

“The Baron de La Hontan, Aristocratic Anarchism, and the Myth of the Noble Savage”

**Bill Marina**, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL; Research Fellow, the Independent Institution., Oakland, CA; Executive Director, the Marina-Huerta Educational Foundation, Asheville, NC

“Globalization vs. People’s Diplomacy: From Florida to the Caribbean and Beyond”

**DISCUSSANT: Marco Rimanelli**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**F5—UNDERGRADUATE ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: DEMOCRATIZATION OF THE ‘GREAT REPUBLICAN EXPERIMENT, 1790-1840’ - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: Gary Williams**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PARTICIPANTS**

**Andrew Ike**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**Joe Kelly**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**Angelica Garcia**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

Gary Williams, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**F5—TEACHING THE HISTORY OF THE COLD WAR - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR: Michael Long**, Pasco-Hernando Community College, New Port Richey, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Alex Cummins**, Flagler College, St. Augustine, FL; editor, *Documents of Soviet History*

“Teaching the Cold War to Undergraduates?”

**Christopher J. Ward**, Clayton State University, Morrow, GA

“A Return to the Past: Teaching Russian and Soviet History from a Eurasian Perspective”

**DISCUSSANT: Lois Becker**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL

**RECEPTION, 5:30-6:30 P.M. Atlantic Room and Terrace (Weather Permitting)**

**Light Appetizers**

**Cash Bar**

**Free Half-Keg of Beer**

**Welcoming Remarks, 6:10-6:15**

**Lois Becker, Academic Vice-President, Jacksonville University**

**BANQUET, 6:45-8:15 P.M. Atlantic Room**

**Keynote Speaker**

**Dr. James Cobb, University of Georgia**

“Southern Identity in Crisis”

**MARCH 1, 2008, SATURDAY**

**FREE LIGHT BREAKFAST, 6:00-9:00 a.m. Oasis Room**

For hotel registrants only

**REGISTRATION, 7:30 a.m.-12:00 p.m.**

**SESSION S1, 8:00-9:30 A.M.**

**S1—UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PANEL - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Jack McTague**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Eugene C. Fanning**, Florida Southern College

“The Great October Strike and the Reaction of the American Press”

**Brenden Kennedy**, Stetson University, DeLand, FL

"The September Massacres: Crossing the Rubicon in Paris"

**Steffan Plishka**, University of Georgia, Athens, GA

"Blessed by the Forerunner: The Arm and Hand Relics of Saint John the Baptist"

**DISCUSSANT: Jack McTague**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**S1—FLORIDA AND THE POPULAR MIND, 2: PROMOTING PARADISE, SACRIFICING LIFESTYLE? REFLECTING POSTWAR TRANSFORMATION THROUGH THE FLORIDA EXPERIENCE -**

**Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: Julian C. Chambliss**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Angela Starita**, City College of New York, New York, NY

"A Question of Preservation or Housing: Paul Rudolph's Sarasota House"

**Tiffany Baker**, Tallahassee Trust for Historic Preservation, Tallahassee, FL

"'An Artist I am Not': Floridians' Depictions of Their State in the 1985 Florida License Plate Contest"

**David Miller Parker**, California State University, Northridge, CA

"Is South Florida the New Southern California? Carl Hiaasen's Dystopian Paradise"

**John Martin**, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL

"Climate, Weather, and Baseball Stadiums in St. Petersburg, Florida"

**DISCUSSANT: Julian C. Chambliss**, Department of History, Rollins College

**S1—THE ENLIGHTENMENT'S SCALAWAGS, DEISTS, AND WITCHES - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR: David Proctor**, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Roy Lechtreck**, University of Montevallo, Montevallo, AL

"The Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses: A Deist Concept"

**Nick J. Sciallo**, Independent Scholar, Alexandria, VA

"Pirate Codes and Constitutional History"

**Daniel R. Vogel**, Edinboro University of Pennsylvania, Edinboro, PA

"Peg-legs, Parrots, and Popularity: Perceptions of Piracy"

**Shawne Keevan**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL,

“Providence v. Justice: Innocence and Confession in the Salem Witch Trials”

**DISCUSSANT: David Proctor**, Tallahassee Community College,  
Tallahassee, FL

**S1—UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH PANEL - Courtyard Marriott,  
Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR: Will Benedicks**, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee,  
FL

**PAPERS:**

**John D. Money**, Macon State College, Macon, GA

“Robert Owen Defends the Child”

**Hendry Miller**, Valdosta State University, Valdosta, GA

“The Crackers of Antebellum Georgia”

**Jessica Auer**, Stetson University, DeLand, FL

“Organized Inactivism, Retrenchment, and Conservatism in the  
American Organized Labor Movement, 1955-1980”

**DISCUSSANT: Will Benedicks**, Tallahassee Community College,  
Tallahassee, FL

**SESSION S2, 9:45-11:15 A.M.**

**S2—ART AND MUSIC - Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Francis Hodges**, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Christopher Lee**, Zephyrhills High School, Zephyrhills, Florida

“Music, Movements, and Memory: Hardcore Punk, 1980-1986”

**Hugo Miller (a.k.a. Hugeaux)**, National Conference of Artists, New  
York, NY

“The History of Arte Mecco”

**DISCUSSANT: Francis Hodges**, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, FL

**S2—FLORIDA’S INDIANS AND CRACKERS - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: Denise K. Cummings**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PAPERS**

**Tamara Spike**, North Georgia & State University, Dahlonega, GA

“Gender and Connectivity Between the Living, the Ancestors, and  
the Gods Among the Timucua of Spanish Florida”

**Michael S. Cole**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Myers, FL



"A Hypothesis on the Etymology of the Placename,  
Withlacoochee"

**James M. Denham**, Director, Florida Center for Florida History,  
Florida Southern College, Lakeland, FL

"The Black and White of Florida Cracker Lives: Shared Traditions  
and Recalled Legacies"

**DISCUSSANT: Denise K. Cummings**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**S2—COMICS AND SOCIETY, 2. SHAPING AMERICAN VALUES:  
MARVEL COMICS, SUPER-HEROS, AND AMERICAN IDEALS -  
Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR: Julian C. Chambliss**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Julian C. Chambliss**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

"Heroes that Make Us Proud: The Black Superhero and Marvel  
Comics Group, 1965-1980"

**Michael Lecker**, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA

"You Made Them Strong, We'll Make Them Army (Avengers)  
Strong: How the Marvel Universe's Story Arc and Ad Usage are  
Propaganda for Army Recruitment"

**Shawn O'Rourke**, California State University, Stanislaus, CA

"A New Era of Superheroes: Infinite Crisis, Civil War, and the  
End of The Modern Age"

**William M. Jones Jr.**, Independent Scholar, Laurel, MD

"The Evolution of Luke Cage and the Black Male Image"

**DISCUSSANT: Julian C. Chambliss**, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL

**S2—CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES OF TRAUMA IN CENTRAL AND  
EASTERN EUROPE - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard Boardroom**

**CHAIR: William Greer**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Samantha Barnsfather**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

"Nineteenth Century Nationalism through the Eyes of Fryderyk  
Chopin"

**Lisa Booth**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

"Atonement and Music about the Gulag"

**William Greer**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

"Memories from the Sky: German Representations of Allied  
Bombing in World War II"

**DISCUSSANT: Peter Bergmann**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

**LUNCH, 11:15-12:30 P.M. - Outdoor Cookout, \$5.00 - Atlantic Room  
Terrance**

**SESSION S3, 12:30-2:00 P.M.**

**S3—FLORIDA AND THE POPULAR MIND 3: THAT STATE IS MY  
DESTINATION. TOURISM, ENVIRONMENT, AND FLORIDA APPEAL**

**- Blue Heron Room**

**CHAIR: Joana Owens, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL**

**PAPERS:**

**Tracy J. Revels, Wofford College, Spartanburg, SC**

“State of Imagination: Florida’s Golden Age of Tourism and the  
Creation of a National Image”

**Wendy Adams King, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL**

“From Romantic Paradise to Tourist Destination: Representation  
of the Florida Indian”

**DISCUSSANT: Joana Owens, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL**

**S3—IDEAS WE LIVE BY - Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: Thomas E. Aiello, Gordon College, Barnesville, GA**

**PAPERS:**

**Alan Pratt, Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University, Daytona Beach, FL**

“Nihilism in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Much Ado About  
Nothing?”

**Josh Abraham, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL**

“Francis Schaeffer, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, and the  
Creationist Rights Revolution”

**Martha Reiner, Florida International University, Miami, FL**

“Stowe in the News: Literary Circulations, Political Influence,  
Contexts in Political Economy and Economic Geography”

**DISCUSSANT: Thomas E. Aiello, Gordon College, Barnesville, GA**

**S3—AMERICA’S CIVIL WAR - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR: Michael Long, Pasco-Hernando Community College, New Port  
Richey, FL**

**PAPERS:**

**Angela Zombek, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL**

“They Have Since Changed Their Minds and Obey: An  
Examination of Power and Resistance at Camp Chase Prison,  
1863”

**Benjamin Miller**, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL  
"The Religiosity of the Union Soldier: An Examination of Sacred  
Space in the Army of the Potomac"

**Jimi Thomas**, Virginia Beach Public Schools, Virginia Beach, VA  
"A Reexamination of the Military Legacy of Lt. Gen. James  
Longstreet, CSA"

**Boyd Murphree**, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL  
"States of War: Interstate Relations Between Florida and Georgia,  
1861-1865"

**DISCUSSANT: Michael Long**, Pasco-Hernando Community College,  
New Port Richey, FL

**S3—AMERICA'S GILDED AGE - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard  
Boardroom**

**CHAIR: Sean McMahon**, Lake City Community College, Lake City, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Jesus Mendez**, Barry University, Miami Shores, FL  
"1892—Henry Flagler's Year of Decision in Florida"

**David Wagner**, University of Southern Maine, Portland, ME  
"Bound Out? Children: The Ambiguous Origins of Foster Care in  
Gilded Age Massachusetts"

**DISCUSSANT: Sean McMahon**, Lake City Community College, Lake  
City, FL

**SESSION S4, 2:15-3:15 P.M.**

**S4—DRAFT RESISTANCE AND ISOLATIONISM IN AMERICA - Blue  
Heron Room**

**CHAIR: James M. Denham**, Director, Florida Center for Florida History,  
Florida Southern College, Lakeland, FL

**PAPERS:**

**John Fuller**, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA  
"Please Stay Out of Our Mountains: A Story of Draft Resistance in  
WWII Southwest Virginia"

**Bernard Lemelin**, Laval University, Quebec, Canada  
"An Isolationist Businessman in an Internationalist Era: Bruce  
Barton of New York City and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1945-1960"

**DISCUSSANT: James M. Denham**, Director, Florida Center for Florida  
History, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, FL

**S4—TRAINING AND REFORMING THE AMERICAN MILITARY -**

**Osprey Room**

**CHAIR: Marco Rimanelli**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**PAPERS:**

**Anthony Atwood**, Florida International University, Miami, FL  
“Standing up the Standing Force: Transforming the American  
Military 1941-1991”

**Erik D. Carlson**, Florida Gulf Coast University, Fort Meyers, FL  
“Shoot to Kill: Flexible Gunnery Training at Buckingham AAF,  
1942-1945”

**DISCUSSANT: Marco Rimanelli**, St. Leo University, St. Leo, FL

**S4—WOMEN AND HISTORY - Atlantic Room**

**CHAIR: Gail Pat Parsons**, Gordon College, Barnesville, GA

**PAPERS:**

**Christine Lutz**, Georgia State University, Atlanta, GA  
“Another Post-War Settlement: Eunice Hunton Carter and Mary  
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**Katherina R. Brandt**, University of Groningen, Groningen,  
Netherlands

“Chauvinist or Feminist? Rudolf Steiner’s Attitude to the  
Women’s Question”

**DISCUSSANT: Sean McMahon**, Lake City Community College, Lake  
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**S4—FLORIDA’S ECONOMY - Courtyard Marriott, Courtyard**

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**LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS**

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Rollins College

## **Standing Up the Standing Force: Transforming the American Military, 1941 to 1991**

*Anthony D. Atwood*  
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Growth and the transformation from its militia home guard origins into a professional standing force deployed overseas as the agent of U.S. foreign policy has been the pattern of modern American military history. In 1941, on the eve of its entry into World War II, the United States military, under the presidential condition of Unlimited National Emergency, initiated the following important actions fundamental to its future military history:

1. The Reserve component of the U.S. Military had been called to active duty, mobilized and deployed.
2. Conscription was implemented.
3. A rudimentary command structure of Joint Chiefs of Staff had begun operating. The ABC (American-British-Canadian) Talks starting in January 1941 began formation of a system of international alliances.
4. The stimulus of Lend-Lease was priming the U.S. manufacturing industries in retooling for war production on a massive scale.
5. The two-ocean global strategy of Rainbow Five was adopted.<sup>1</sup>

World War II put 16 million Americans in uniform, of a population of 132 millions. The number approaches 1 in 8. By considering the family connections linking these humans, the number of directly involved persons was much larger. When the two parents of each uniformed participant are counted, the figure of direct human connection to the event involved was 48 millions. Adding other direct relations, such as wives, husbands, brothers, sisters, and children brings involvement in the event that much higher in terms of numbers. Many millions more participated in industrial, agricultural, health and scientific war work. Government support by law enforcement, merchant marine, para-military coast watchers, WASP (Women's Air Service Pilot) Corps, and draft boards, as well as a wide variety of voluntary support ranging from Red Cross to USO troupes further swell the number of people involved. It could be easily argued that more than half the population was directly involved in the event. This rare spike of

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<sup>1</sup> Stewart, Richard W. *American Military History, Vol. II*. Center of Military History. United States Army. Washington, DC. 2005. 66-75.

military activity, approximated previously only by the American Revolution and the American Civil War in U.S. history, reshaped the country profoundly. The experience has not been replicated on any similar scale since.

The combat operations of the U.S. military in World War II amounted to the largest projection of force around the globe that the world has ever seen, or perhaps ever will see again. "The Arsenal of Democracy" operated from the comparative safety of North America. The U.S. produced over 34,000 bombers. A navy of 2,000 combatant ships and fleets of 3,300 Liberty and Victory supply ships went to sea.<sup>2</sup> Strategically, the United States concentrated on Germany first, shoring up the British on their home islands and subsidizing the Eastern Front, where the Soviet defense bled off much Axis combat activity.

The people of the U.S. worked overtime to assemble the forces for a counteroffensive in the West, while trading space for time in the Pacific, the Aleutians, and the China-Burma-India (CBI) theater of war. A victory at Midway, June 4-7, 1942, blunted the enemy offensive in the Pacific. Equally propitious to the Allies was the inability of the Axis powers to cooperate with each other. Unlike the close cooperation of the Anglo-Americans, Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan seldom communicated closely, or operated jointly.

Of inestimable value to the Allies was the direction the enemy forces took halfway through the conflict. The German troops in the Caucasus, and the Imperial Japanese forces operating in the Bay of Bengal missed the opportunity to join forces. Had the Germans moved through the Middle East, while the Japanese overran the Indian sub-continent, they could have joined hands across the Indus. India neutralized, the Middle East occupied, China cut off, and the Axis' own lines linked and shortened might have made all the difference. Instead, the Germans turned back into the Russian steppe, while the Imperial Japanese about-faced to roam the Pacific.

In time the U.S. Military was fully mobilized and able to bring a vast army to bear in a series of invasions of North Africa, Sicily, the Italian peninsula, western and southern France, and finally Germany itself. Working in tandem with the Russian offensive from the East, the Allies crushed the Nazi state between them. In mainland Asia there was passive defense of the CBI periphery, while in the Pacific an amphibious campaign of island-hopping bypassed many enemy strong points. Those places selected for occupation were geographically complimentary towards the objective of projecting reach against the Japanese home islands. The objectives targeted were seized by naval and aerial bombardment and assault. In time the U.S. forces in the Pacific,

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<sup>2</sup>American ship-building capacity has since been allowed to atrophy to nil. At that time the U.S. was a maritime nation.

beginning to be augmented by freed-up U.S. European forces, poised for a November 1945 invasion of Kyushu. The dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki prompted the Japanese emperor to command his forces to lay down their arms. The necessity to conquer the Japanese home islands was obviated by the surrender of September 1945.

U.S. military policy during the war was characterized by a practical and inspired approach. U.S. forces were encouraged to expend as much ordnance as possible, and wherever possible every machine and tool available was applied to solving the problem of destroying the enemy. American industry was pulled out of the Great Depression by the war. The identification of Nazi Germany as the primary threat was astute. The early abandonment of the Pacific in order to meet the primary threat first was necessary, despite its acceptance of a punishing defeat in the Philippines. The U.S. war policy of reliance on machinery and firepower first, rather than on manpower to overcome the enemy stoked U.S. industry to the point that production achieved a dynamo effect. This practical war policy was also inspired in that the human commitment of the nation and of its forces was such that whenever and wherever no other sacrifice but blood itself would tip the scale, which was often enough, the U.S. people showed themselves fully capable of making that sacrifice. Almost a half-million troops died in the war.

The U.S. armed forces of the time were essentially a citizen-soldier militia raised up for the expressed purpose of meeting and defeating the threat at hand. In this they followed the martial traditions of the frontier fort and the Continental Congress, of Mr. Lincoln in the 1860s, and of the Doughboys of the Great War, in responding to the call. Its large literate population allowed the U.S. to field overpowering numbers of fighters and workers. The protection lent by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans allowed for the time to assemble the host. The destructiveness of the war meanwhile reduced the other combatants, allied and enemy, to ruins or penury.

At the end of World War II, the United States possessed a gargantuan military establishment with the following components:

1. A full-service headquarters (the Pentagon "Puzzle Palace").
2. A smoothly running system of conscription to meet manpower needs, together with a cultural endorsement of military service validated by the victory of WWII, and endowed with a formidable laurel of social empowerment in the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (GI Bill).
3. Military bases worldwide, including massive forward bases in occupied Western Europe and on the Pacific rim of Asia. NATO and a network of world-wide military alliances were implemented simultaneously.



4. 16 millions of veterans.
5. Nuclear weapons.
6. An industry sector that was devoted to research, development and manufacture of weaponry.
7. An emergent potential enemy in the Soviet Union and the worldwide Communist ideological movement.

The National Security Act and Defense Reorganization of 1947 codified the new organization.<sup>3</sup> The most critical aspect to the transformation was the end of the War Department and the creation of the Department of Defense (DOD) in its place. The Romans of antiquity kept their Temple of Mars locked shut in peacetime. To a good extent the pre-WWII U.S. War Department had functioned similarly. In time of peace U.S. foreign policy was the arena and mission of the Department of State. The establishment of the new Defense Department, a world-wide, "24-7" establishment, was a watershed change for the U.S. military. The strategy of the DOD has since been that of homeland defense through overseas positioning. As originally envisioned under the Reorganization, the U.S. military was to be constituted so as to be able to fight (and win) two wars simultaneously. Among the most important changes to the armed forces realized over the next few years of reorganization were:

1. Designation of three executive Departments, the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the new Department of the Air Force, drawn from the Army as a independent entity, with a specified command having cognizance over nuclear weapon systems, the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

2. The start of research and development in rocket jet propulsion leading to Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM). The existing land-based bomber fleet, together with the deployment of the ICBM in 1958, and the parallel development of the nuclear ballistic submarine from within the Navy would lead to the Triad Nuclear Defense.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately U.S. nuclear policy would solidify in the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction.

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<sup>3</sup> Yarmolinsky, Adam. The Military Establishment: Its Impact on American Society. Harper and Row. New York. 1971. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Rockwell, Theodore. The Rickover Effect: How One Man Made a Difference. Naval Institute Press. Annapolis. 1992. 246-256.

3. The creation of the National Security Council, and the formalization of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), the military chiefs of the services, as principal advisors to the President.

4. The retention of the WWII Office of Strategic Services as the Central Intelligence Agency, folding itself together with the rest of the intelligence agencies under the Department of Defense.

5. The adoption of the helicopter by the Army, giving it air-mobile capability.

6. The standardization of all branches of military personnel matters, pay scales, rank structure, advancements, awards, recruitment, and discipline under the Uniform Code of Military Justice, unifying the whole as different shades of the same uniform, topped with the compelling reward of retirement (recallable) immediately payable upon 20 years of full-time active duty.

7. Allowance for a large formalized National Guard and Reserve, manned by personnel serving part-time in lieu of compulsory full-time service, and operating on active bases using Army/Navy surplus, as a second, "shadow" military force.

8. Organization of the Veterans Administration by Omar Bradley, especially as a backup health care system for casualties in the event of another Total War.<sup>5</sup>

9. The decision to permanently base the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Seventh Fleet in the Far East.

10. Retention of a peacetime draft to maintain manpower levels.

11. The incorporation of dependents (spouses, children and special-need relatives) of uniformed service members as a formal ID-carrying part of the DOD force structure with codified rights, responsibilities and entitlements, as with retirees.

11. Creation of a vast civilian component of DOD workers as disparate as benefit clerks, pipe fitters, police and mail service, including an overseas school system, to enable this establishment.

These changes enabled the U.S. to keep standing an armed force of vast proportions that is entire unto itself and hardwired to the national government's executive branch. Henceforth, the history of the U.S. military has been international. Many of these reorganizations were broached over hands of poker with the JCS at President Truman's card table at the Little White House in Naval

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<sup>5</sup> Gambone, Michael D. The Greatest Generation Comes Home: the Veteran in American Society. Texas A & M University Press. 2005. 45-46.

Station Key West. Within this new closed-circuit organization a series of internal transformation has since created the American warrior caste of today, a distinct class of American society.

The first and most important of the internal social changes was the desegregation of the armed forces by the fiat of the Commander-in-Chief. At the end of the Truman Administration practically all aspects of the military, from force structure to benefits was integrated racially.<sup>6</sup> A great source of strength and success of the U.S. Military has been its straight-up integration. Today it is the most racially integrated institution in America.<sup>7</sup> Service members of all races, together with their dependants, and DOD workers, form a separate, seamless, whole societal unit.

Between World War II and the end of the Cold War 1990-1991, while maintaining a capability to fight a Total War against the Soviet Union, the military has been committed by the presidency to three small wars, in Korea, Vietnam, and Desert Storm. Small wars being those waged without engaging the general population, mobilizing the nation, or committing the civilian government of the U.S. Korea and Vietnam were wars waged as occupational jobs of the DOD, rather than as national undertakings. The first of these, the Korean War, June 1950-July 1953, was fought in response to the North Korean invasion of the Republic of South Korea, a U.S. ally. The U.S. was at the zenith of its post-WWII might, and two advantageous pre-conditions obtained. First, this war was fought against a similarly constituted mirror-image military force. Second, the battlefield was a peninsula, the most favorable terrain for limited defensive wars of containment. The one tangible military objective was to retain half of the Korean peninsula, and in that the U.S. Military was successful by the means of building a wall (Demilitarized Zone) across the peninsula.

The introduction of U.S. military into South Vietnam ten years later was prompted by the less tangible ideological objective of preventing the spread of Communism. It was much less successful. The assassination of the U.S. Commander-in-Chief, John F. Kennedy, November 22, 1963, altered forever whatever direction the leadership of the Southeast Asian adventure may have initially envisioned. In the event, WWII-trained field commanders, William C. Westmoreland and later Creighton W. Abrams Jr., fought a conventional limited war against an asymmetric guerilla opponent.<sup>8</sup> Limits on provoking the

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<sup>6</sup> Dalfiume, Richard M. Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939-1953. University of Missouri Press. Columbia. 1969. 3-4, 220.

<sup>7</sup> Rostker, Bernard. I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force. RAND. Santa Monica. 2006. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Boot, Max. The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power. Basic Books. New York. 2002. 292-295.

sponsors of the enemy, the Soviet Union and People's Republic of China, allowed sanctuaries to the enemy for safety, rest, supply, and maneuver, ceding them the initiative. The enemy refusal to "stand and fight" conventionally undercut the U.S. advantages. This second small war was ambiguous and lacked victorious symbolism or public identification.

Home front public opinion was formed by watching the new medium of television. Protracted inconclusive war proved to be spectacularly untelegenic. While U.S. forces were clearly victorious in the field, and while the underlying policy *raison d'etat* that without U.S. armed intervention South Vietnam would be conquered by North Vietnam was later proven true in the aftermath, those considerations did not outweigh widespread domestic unpopularity with the war. The U.S. military was withdrawn in defeat by the end of 1972.

Without the external threat and obvious need for manpower that was widely recognized and accepted in WWII, the conscription system then in place fell apart. The times had changed, and the people had changed. The Vietnam War was waged by the unpopular conscription of either the children of the ruling G.I. Generation, or over-reliance on marginalized and minority sub-populations of the U.S. under a Selective Service System that had been tinkered with over the years into one of dubious fairness and impartiality. Compulsory military service was abolished in 1973.

The All-Volunteer Force was then created and into that mold the U.S. military reinvented itself. Manpower needs since 1973 have been met by substantial increases in pay to parity with civilian employment, and by the recruitment of females.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the transformation female participation has grown steadily, from about 11 percent in 1991, to 15 percent today.<sup>10</sup> Internally, the retention of personnel within the organization became a priority facilitated by the means of the emphatic DOD adoption of the military family.

In a radical departure from what was once the exclusive domain of single males, the U.S. Military transformed itself into an organization with extremely strong family ties that bind it to itself. Under the command of President Ronald Reagan the force was re-infused with esprit as a special organization, as well as rewarded with the wherewithal to make family life possible, and even comfortable.<sup>11</sup> Service members are now overwhelmingly married and parents. The strong official encouragement for and support of the military family unit has served to reinforce both the insularity and group cohesion of the armed forces as distinct from the mainstream population.

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<sup>9</sup> Stewart, Richard W. 373.

<sup>10</sup> Rostker. 559-569.

<sup>11</sup> Weinberger, Caspar. Fighting for Peace: Seven Critical Years in the Pentagon. Warner Books. New York. 1990. 51.

As a result of reconstituting itself as an All-Volunteer Force, the DOD initially eschewed foreign adventures. The U.S. Military concentrated on creating and retaining a professional force motivated by cultivating a warrior class ethos through programs such as Ombudsman, Project Warrior, Zero Tolerance, and Total Quality Leadership; by liberal subsidies, and by a preference for keeping the peace. Joint operations between the branches of service became widespread starting with prodding legislation of 1986.<sup>12</sup> The result has advanced the homogenization of the branches of service, leading to a closer knit and much more standardized military.<sup>13</sup> The doctrine of Jointness is more deeply embedded than most casual observers realize, they being still attuned to the cosmetic visual differences of differing branch uniforms celebrated by WWII material culture. U.S. military incursions of the invasion of Grenada in 1983, and the 1989 invasion of Panama deposing strongman Manuel Noriega, renewed the confidence of the force.<sup>14</sup>

Militarily it should be noted that President James Earl "Jimmy" Carter Jr. reinstated draft registration for U.S. males between the ages of 18-27 in 1980 as a result of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and protracted Iran hostage crisis, November 1979-January 1981. This registration has been a quiet success, with a steady rate of about 95% compliance. To be sure, registration is not a draft and it is unlikely that politicians would risk the possible unpopularity of reinstating conscription except under the most threatening circumstances. Nor has the well-paid and well-ordered All-Volunteer Force leadership been in any way keen to consider a return to compulsory service.<sup>15</sup>

However, should Total War conditions against similarly constituted state adversaries arise, the retooled Selective Service System has at present over 12 million registrants, giving the DOD the pool for a potentially large armed force. A non-traditional draft for part time "home guard" duties, or a national service draft to face unconventional challenges of a biological health care threat, or even situations of natural disaster are also measures that may be taken into account.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989 left the U.S. then as the sole existing superpower. Some disingenuous scrambling by Federal, State and local entities to capitalize on this led to a Reduction-In-Force (RIF) labeled the "Peace Dividend." This RIF of the standing force was accompanied by a more injurious hollowing-out of the DOD real estate assets, under a program known as the Base Re-Alignment Commission (BRAC). While the manpower to fight may readily

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<sup>12</sup> Goldwater-Nichols Department of Defense Reorganization Act of 1986.

<sup>13</sup> Boot, Max. War Made New: Technology, Warfare and the Course of History, 1500 to Today. Gotham Books. New York. 2006. 400.

<sup>14</sup> Stewart. 395-402.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 431.

present itself in the event of another Total War, depending upon the threat to the nation and how it is perceived, the availability of base assets at WWII prices can hardly be expected and presents a challenge to defense planning and logistics.

In the recovery from the Vietnam defeat, the military promulgated the Weinberger (later Powell) Doctrine of never engaging again in war without clear-cut objectives and the using of overwhelming force to attain those objectives.<sup>16</sup> An adjunct to this called the Total Force Policy assigned to the Reserve Force missions essential to the waging of Total War. For example, every water-desalination unit in the Army was a reserve unit, all Navy construction battalions and cargo handlers (stevedores), and all Air Force Transport Wings became reserve units. The rationale for this was that since the military Reserve Force was in essence still a component of the general population, mobilizing the Reserve Force for war would require engaging the commitment of the general public, widely believed to be a requisite for achieving modern military victory.<sup>17</sup> The practical result was that the Reserve Force was armed and integrated intrinsically into the total force structure as a ready force multiplier.

Following the law of unintended consequences, this use for the Reserve Force became the superseding doctrine after the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in August 1990. The U.S. Military then reasserted itself as an offensive force. In five months a half million U.S. military personnel were air-bridged to the Middle East (flexing the recumbent military asset of the U.S. civilian aviation fleet) to form Desert Shield in response to the takeover of Kuwait.<sup>18</sup> Their equipment was sea lifted to meet them. Not only was this logistics feat accomplished by mobilized reservists, but about 1 in 5 of the American personnel deployed in theater was a mobilized reservist. Since that time the Reserve component has been incorporated as a full time part-time force-multiplier; contract warriors.

The All-Volunteer Force applied Total War measures to gain a quick crushing victory over the enemy forces in this third small war, Desert Storm, January 16-March 3, 1991. With the achievement of battle success and the attainment of the clearly articulated limited goal of freeing Kuwait, hostilities were suspended by armistice and victory was declared. The American military doctrine of waging Total War was validated in this conflict. The following tangible orientations of the U.S. military to the Middle East were the result:

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<sup>16</sup> Weinberger. 159-160.

<sup>17</sup> Stewart. 375.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 412-426.

1. The establishment of the Fifth Fleet based at Bahrain, having cognizance over the Indian Ocean.
2. Land base rights in Kuwait and Djibouti.
3. Virtual annexation of Diego Garcia as a permanent possession.
4. Pre-positioning of a USNS<sup>19</sup> cargo fleet of arms and material about the region.

These measures gave the U.S. military the ability to project immediate force to this region in the same way it has retained such ability in the Far East and in Europe since World War II.<sup>20</sup> The close of 1991 left the U.S. military in a position of unquestioned global hegemony, completing its transformation.

### **Postscript**

Changes within the global village since then have brought challenges to this hegemony of an economic, social and religious nature, as differentiated from nation-state challenge and opposition. Resurgent Islamic Radicalism, fueled by youthful vigor and belligerence, privations, and petrodollars, has shown the necessity for the U.S. military to adapt to asymmetric war fighting, while it retains the capacity to prosecute Total War. A step in this direction has been the creation of the Department of Homeland Security. This response to global conditions is a tacit recognition that the WWII defense model is no longer valid. It is an admission that threats to the U.S. today are less a challenge in the conventional military sense, than a matter of restless criminality and extremism.

The "Achilles Heel" of the U.S. military revealed by recent events since 9/11 is a shortage of manpower to face the increasing obligations of, and threats to the U.S. The present force, magnificent in its bravery, professionalism and élan, is nonetheless tiny stacked up against the missions and adversaries it faces and may well face. Arguments for democratization of the Force, for burden-sharing, and the apprehension at un-debated foreign adventures have renewed considerations over the size and composition of the U.S. military. Wisdom and the lesson of history teach us that there is strength in numbers.

For the world in general the times at hand are simply the predictable approach of the natural conclusion of the order of this world that was set in place by the G.I.s at the end of World War II. These considerations are current and beyond the scope of this paper.

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<sup>19</sup> USNS (United States Naval Ship) vessels are ships controlled by the DOD under the Military Sealift Command (MSC). They are owned or leased by the MSC. Either way, they are store ships, tankers, and hospital ships providing military support, but operated by civilian agencies.

<sup>20</sup> This capability is steadily decreasing, however. For example, U.S. force draw-downs have left only a token garrison of 60,000 remaining in Europe.

## Shoot to Kill: Flexible Gunnery Training at Buckingham AAF, 1942-1945

*Erik D. Carlson*  
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On December 7, 1941 Japan launched a surprise attack on American military installations throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The early morning air raid on Pearl Harbor marked the start of a major Japanese offensive in the Pacific and a war with the United States. A day later, Japanese forces attacked American bases in the Philippines. Nothing could stop the Japanese tidal wave as it overwhelmed U.S. military and naval units throughout the Pacific. By the middle of December, America was involved a two-ocean world war with Japan, Germany, and Italy.<sup>1</sup>

Japan's early military successes in the Pacific war were the result of weaving a modern vision of air power into its strategic planning. In particular, the Japanese air attacks on Pearl Harbor and Clark Field in the Philippines demonstrated the revolutionary impact of air power on mid-20<sup>th</sup> century military strategy. But in the final analysis it was the United States that perfected air power during the war, reshaping strategy and tactics and proving the airplane's decisive role in the defeat of the Axis powers.<sup>2</sup>

During World War II the American military aircraft inventory ranged from fast, maneuverable single-engine fighters to high altitude, multi-engine bombers. In 1942 the U.S. Army Air Corps (USAAC) used a variety of fast-attack bombers, medium bombers, and heavy bombers in tactical and strategic bombing missions. In combat all of these aircraft needed protection from enemy fighter aircraft. Unfortunately for the U.S. Army Air Corps, during the first three years of the war American fighter aircraft did not have the range to escort bombers over distant enemy targets. Because of this technological and strategic reality, the American bomber fleet flew unprotected during most long range missions. Individual aircraft relied on flexible gunnery crews in electric turrets and open windows to defend against attack from enemy fighters.<sup>3</sup>

Aerial gunner crews protecting bombers needed training in the "science of aerial gunnery" to survive the violence in enemy skies. For the U.S. Army Air Corps the need to protect bombers was crucial. During World War II six flexible

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Spector's *Eagle Against the Sun* is an excellent overview of the Pacific War.

<sup>2</sup> See Mark R. Peattie's *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941*.

<sup>3</sup> For an excellent explanation of the evolution of American strategic bombing policy refer to Michael Sherry's *The Rise of American Air Power: The Creation of Armageddon*.



gunnery schools provided instruction. In 1942 the U.S. Army built one of its new training schools on a vast coastal plain of palmettos, pine trees, and mangroves ten miles northeast of Fort Myers, Florida.

In January of 1942 U.S. Army Air Corps officers from Maxwell Field, Alabama arrived in Fort Myers to find a suitable place to build a flexible gunnery school. After several days of negotiations with Fort Myers and Lee County officials, U.S. government representatives signed a lease on a 7,000 acre parcel northeast of the small, sleepy southern city. After the war the government-improved land would revert back to Fort Myers and Lee County.<sup>4</sup>

United States Army advance teams arrived in Fort Myers in March to organize the construction of Buckingham Field. Generous city and county officials provided office space and supplies to help army officers coordinate the construction of Buckingham Field. Two months later workers arrived at a vast stretch of land covered with a thick growth of trees and plants, and home to a variety of Florida wildlife, to begin the four-month long construction project. More than 3,000 workers erected the buildings and poured the vast network of concrete taxiways and runways that made up Buckingham Field. In 1942 dollars the construction cost was enormous -- \$10,000,000.<sup>5</sup>

The United States Army Air Force\* assigned the 37<sup>th</sup> and 38<sup>th</sup> Flexible Gunnery Groups, consisting of the 712<sup>th</sup>, 713<sup>th</sup>, 714<sup>th</sup>, 715<sup>th</sup>, 716<sup>th</sup>, 717<sup>th</sup> and 718<sup>th</sup> Flexible Training Squadrons, to Buckingham Field. Lt. Colonel Delmar T. Spivey was the first and best known commander of Buckingham Field. Throughout his tenure, Spivey demanded that all officers and enlisted men "live and think only of gunnery." Often Spivey was seen on the firing ranges and visiting students in classrooms to provide inspiration and leadership.<sup>6</sup>

While construction workers built the new air field, Col. Spivey assembled a team of instructors drawn from the aerial gunnery school cadre at Tyndall Field located near Panama City, Florida. Tyndall Field instructors trained the first aerial gunnery students before America's entry into the war. Spivey based the initial curricula and training exercises on the previous experience gleaned from the pre-war period. In addition, the extensive literature

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<sup>4</sup> Karl H. Grismer. *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (Fort Myers: Southwest Historical Society, 1982), 248.

<sup>5</sup> Prudy Taylor Board and Esther B. Colcord. *A History of Aviation in Lee County* (Fort Myers, Florida: Lee County Port Authority, 1993), 10-11; Karl H. Grismer. *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (Fort Myers: Southwest Historical Society, 1982), 248.

\* In 1942 the Army Air Corps changed to the United States Army Air Force.

<sup>6</sup> "Units Assigned to Buckingham Air Field [During World War II Only]," Buckingham Field File, Archive Room, Southwest Florida Museum of History.

and field guides from the British Royal Air Force's aerial gunnery school influenced Spivey.<sup>7</sup>

The Army Air Force established strict physical requirements for aerial gunnery students. Electric gun turrets were small, so each student had to be 5'8" or smaller and weigh no more than 170 pounds. An age requirement was also imposed – all students ranged from 18 to 30 years old. Because aerial gunnery was very dangerous the Army Air Force accepted only volunteers. This factor forced gunnery schools to draw from a large pool of non-specialist volunteers and in some special cases aviation specialists, such as radio operators and airplane mechanics, for example.<sup>8</sup>

Reliance on non-specialists created an unqualified group of students for this deadly job. By the end of 1942 "washed out" flight cadets eliminated from flight training were allowed to volunteer for aerial gunnery school. In January 1943 the U.S. Army Air Force removed the volunteer requirement when the military forced all bomber crews to have flexible gunnery training.<sup>9</sup>

On September 7, 1942 the first flexible gunnery classes, 42-41 and 42-42, started at Buckingham Field. The school had a five week program. Students spent time in the classroom, in aircraft turrets, on firing ranges, and in the air conducting aerial target practice. Over the next four years flexible gunnery training at Buckingham Field evolved to reflect experiences gleaned in combat. Many times experienced aerial gunners returned to Buckingham Field as instructors bringing back indispensable lessons from air combat.<sup>10</sup>

In the first week of training students learned the basic principles of automatic weapons; for example, the operation of .30 and .50 caliber machine guns and how to dismantle and reassemble them in difficult situations. In addition, they spent time on the rifle range shooting .22 rifles and trap shooting with shot guns. During the second week, gunnery students learned sighting systems. In the third week of class students were taught aircraft recognition and how to operate, maintain, and repair Sperry and Martin turrets. In the fourth week they practiced firing from a jeep at moving targets on a circular track.<sup>11</sup>

In the final week of training, students took to the skies above southwest Florida to conduct air to air target practice. Training flights were conducted with two AT-6 Texans. Both AT-6s took off from Buckingham Field, one towing a large aerial target, and the other aircraft with a flexible gunnery student in the back seat. During flights over the Gulf of Mexico students in the chase AT-6

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<sup>7</sup> "Buckingham Field History," AFHRA, Maxwell Air Force Base, Porter BAAF Collection.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, 25-26.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, 44-45.

<sup>10</sup> "Buckingham Field History," 19-21, AFHRA, Maxwell Air Force Base, Porter BAAF Collection.

<sup>11</sup> "Gunnery Here Find School Plenty Tough," *Fort Myers New Press*, December 14, 1942.

would fire machine guns at the large, flapping target. After each flight, gunnery instructors evaluated students on their in performances by counting holes in the targets.<sup>12</sup>

During the first training classes at Buckingham Field students were taught the "estimate speed" sighting system to shoot down enemy aircraft. A student would attempt to estimate the speed of an incoming aircraft. Then subtracting the fighter's speed from his own bomber's rate of speed, the gunner fired his machine gun toward the fighter. This system was too cumbersome for the split second decisions made by gunners.<sup>13</sup>

Later the "apparent motion" sighting system was used as a teaching tool. With this method students guessed the flight path of the enemy aircraft, and then fired toward the projected path. By 1943 these two sighting systems gave way to more sophisticated simulators which created realistic training sessions, improving accuracy.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout 1942-1943 some aerial students "washed out" of the Flexible Gunnery School. For the most part the lack of qualified students (both from a physical and intellectual standpoint) created a high attrition rate. In some instances students failed the gunnery school due to psychological issues; for example, "fear of flying," and "fear of combat."<sup>15</sup>

In 1943 the United States Army Air Force established a Central Instructors' School at Buckingham Field. Lt. Colonel Daniel W. Jenkins arrived from Tyndall Field to head up the much needed post-graduate training. Jenkins was a graduate of the Royal Air Force's aerial gunnery course, and a pilot with vast flying experience. Jenkins' leadership transformed the Central Instructors' School into the last phase of the flexible gunnery education. The Central Instructors' School was a four-week course of field training and classroom instruction. All instructors for the United States Army's six flexible gunnery schools had to graduate from the Central Instructor's School before being assigned to another duty station.<sup>16</sup>

Near the end of the war the Army Air Force taught students on Waller Gunnery Trainers. Designed by the Vitarama Corporation and named for the president of the company, Fred Waller, the Waller Trainer was the most sophisticated aerial gunnery simulator in the world. The Waller Trainer used film footage to create, track, and score realistic target sequences. By 1944 the

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<sup>12</sup> "Gunnery Here Find School Plenty Tough," *Fort Myers New Press*, December 14, 1942.

<sup>13</sup> "Buckingham Field History," 18-19, AFHRA, Maxwell Air Force Base, Porter BAAF Collection.

<sup>14</sup> "Buckingham Field History," 19-20, AFHRA, Maxwell Air Force Base, Porter BAAF Collection.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-44.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-75.

Waller Trainer created the most accurate combat simulations possible for gunnery students. During the last year of the war, the Waller Trainer improved students' overall accuracy and rate of fire.<sup>17</sup>

From 1942 to 1945 Buckingham Field provided the United States Army Air Force with a group of well-trained flexible gunners that helped to win the air war. Aerial gunnery training evolved rapidly from early 1942 to the end of the war. Flexible gunnery training had to overcome some tremendous obstacles in the early days: lack of qualified students, a dearth of realistic training equipment, and budgetary constraints. By 1943 flexible gunnery course curricula and training exercises reflected combat experience gleaned from action high above Europe and over the Pacific Ocean. At the same time American industry provided new and more sophisticated simulators to help train flexible gunners. Buckingham Field instructors trained more than 50,000 gunners during a four year period. Hundreds of these men became "unknown aces," but unfortunately many were injured or killed in combat.

With the defeat of Japan in September of 1945 Buckingham Field, like most of the wartime military bases built throughout the United States, closed its gates. For a brief time after the war Edison College used many of the buildings on the sprawling air field for classrooms. In 1947 the U.S. government auctioned off all of the buildings at Buckingham Field – barracks, hangars, warehouses, etc. – to the public.<sup>18</sup>

Today very little remains of the once thriving aerial gunnery school on the outskirts of Fort Myers. There is a small historical marker indicating the remote history of the area to an unaware public. Much of old Buckingham Field is now a residential development. The runways are covered and forgotten, but the taxiways are still there. They are used by a nearby residential airpark, and the old concrete network of taxiways serves as the headquarters of Lee County Mosquito Control (LCMC). On a lucky day a passerby will hear the throaty sounds of piston engines from a LCMC DC-3 (civilian configuration of the C-47) taking off; a fleeting and faint reminder of the crucial work conducted at Buckingham Field more than six decades ago.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Principles of the Waller Gunnery Trainer," March 9, 1943, Buckingham Field File, Archive Room, Southwest Florida Museum of History.

<sup>18</sup> Karl H. Grismer. *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (Fort Myers: Southwest Historical Society, 1982), 248; "Big Buckingham Sale On Today," June 27, 1947, Buckingham Field File, Archive Room, Southwest Florida Museum of History.

<sup>19</sup> The author has visited the home of Mr. Jimmie Porter, a Buckingham Field historian, which is located near the Lee County Mosquito Control. Special thanks to Mr. Porter for sharing his Buckingham Field documents.

# Fedor Evgenievich Konovalov's Eyewitness Memoirs of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36

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## Introduction

### Brief Biography

In the fifty or so years before the First World War, many Russians—adventurers, scoundrels, and saints—explored Ethiopia and often formed close ties with the country's rulers. Steeled by this tradition, some anti-Communist, White Russians made their way to Ethiopia after the Bolsheviks had conquered their country between 1917 and 1922.<sup>1</sup>

After Teferi Mekonnen—the future Emperor Haile Sellase—gained power as regent in 1916, one of his first steps was to recruit some of these White Russian officers to train his troops.<sup>2</sup> The most important of them was Fedor Evgenievich Konovalov.

Colonel Konovalov, a native of the Crimea, had been a military engineer. Before the First World War, he began a new career in aviation, and during the war he served with the Imperial Guards Squadron, eventually commanding an aerial division. Konovalov then served with Tsar Nicholas II's last military mission to Great Britain. As the Bolshevik Revolution swept through Russia, he fled to Constantinople, then to Egypt, and finally to Ethiopia in 1919.<sup>3</sup>

An electrical expert, Colonel Konovalov soon found employment in the Ethiopian office of Public Works, became an Ethiopian citizen, and loyally supported Ethiopian independence. In July 1935, Emperor Haile Sellase entrusted him to go to the North to inspect Ethiopia's main defenses along the likely route for invasion coming from Italy's Eritrean colony. He flew to Mekele and then continued

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<sup>1</sup> Czeslaw Jesman, *The Russians in Ethiopia: An Essay in Futility* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975), 143-49.

<sup>2</sup> Teferi Mekonnen took Ethiopia's crown as Emperor Haile Sellase in 1930. See Chris Prouty and Eugene Rosenfeld, *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1982), 91-93.

<sup>3</sup> Th. Konovaloff, *Con le armate del negus (Un bianco fra i neri)* [With the Army of the Negus (A White among the Blacks)], trans. and ed. Comandate Stefano Micciche (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1938), v-x.

by automobile for Adowa,<sup>4</sup> where he met Ras Seyoum Mengesha,<sup>5</sup> governor of Tigrey,<sup>6</sup> to offer him and other Ethiopian leaders technical-military advice.<sup>7</sup>

Without declaring war, Fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia on October 3, 1935. As a military adviser in January and February 1936, Konovalov witnessed the first and second battles of Tembien in Tigrey. He also observed the decisive Battle of Mychew in March.<sup>8</sup> He then retreated with the sovereign back to the capital of Addis Ababa,<sup>9</sup> and he watched as Italian troops entered the capital in May. Konovalov remained there for several months and witnessed Italy's early occupation of Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup>

### George Steer Publishes Portions of Konovalov's Manuscript

Konovalov almost immediately drafted, likely in French, a semi-autobiographical account of the campaign. Of historical importance, Konovalov's work has led a troubled history as historian Richard Pankhurst impeccably documents.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Emperor Yohannes IV founded Mekele as his capital when he relocated his power base there in 1881. The city is important to Tigrey's economy. Adowa was once Tigrey's capital and site of Ethiopia's dramatic victory over Italian forces on March 1, 1896. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ras Seyoum Mengesha served several times as governor of Tigrey. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 168. Similar to "Duke," Ras means "head," the highest traditional title next to *negus* [king], and is a title conferred on heads of important houses, provincial governors, ministers, and high officials. During the Italian occupation, the *rases* lost their privileges.

<sup>6</sup> The province of Tigrey includes Aksum, the site of Ethiopia's earliest kingdom. Before 1935, the central government tried to impose its will over the recalcitrant Tigreyans by dividing the governorship or by imposing a Shewan governor over them.

<sup>7</sup> Fedor Eugenievich Konovalov, "The Konovaloff Manuscript," Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, 307-09; Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign, 1935-1941* (New York: Random House, 1984), 51, 60; George Lowther Steer, *Caesar in Abyssinia* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1937), 298; Richard Pankhurst, "Le diverse versioni della testimonianza deH'colonnello Konovaloff sull'invasione fascista dell'Etiopia." [Different Versions of Colonel Konovalov's Testimony on the Fascist Invasion of Ethiopia] *Studi Piacentini: Rivista dell'Istituto storico della Resistenza e dell'eta contemporanea* 17 (1995): 157.

<sup>8</sup> On Mychew, see Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 123-24.

<sup>9</sup> Founded by Empress Taytu in 1887 as Ethiopia's new capital, "Addis Ababa" means "New Flower" in Amharic. Located in the center of the country on a large plateau in Shewa Province, it is the center of Amhara life and culture and is Ethiopia's political, financial, and communications center. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Konovalov, "Manuscript," 310-46; Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni," 157; Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War*, 83.

<sup>11</sup> Pankhurst, "Diverse versioni," 157-59. I have not been able to find the French-language draft of the story, and, apparently, neither has Dr. Pankhurst. Born in 1927 in London into a progressive, left-wing family, Richard Pankhurst received his Ph.D. in Economic History. He moved to Ethiopia in 1956 and began teaching at the University College of Addis Ababa. One of Ethiopia's foremost historians, he has published nearly twenty books and over 400 articles on the country.

Konovalov gave a copy to George Lowther Steer, who was visiting Ethiopia. Steer had covered Italy's invasion of Ethiopia for *The Times* of London, and he knew Emperor Haile Sellase, who later stood as godfather to his son. Describing Konovalov as "a white Russian without a passport and without country,"<sup>12</sup> Steer added, "Colonel Konovaloff, who is still in Addis Ababa, has written for me the story of the Emperor's last battle. He was . . . the only European who saw it on the Ethiopian side."<sup>13</sup> In his' popular book, *Caesar in Abyssinia*,<sup>14</sup> Steer translated and published passages covering from March 19, 1936, after the Italians had defeated Ras Seyoum's army, to mid-April, before the Emperor's return to the capital. In this version, Konovalov sympathetically described Haile Sellase's courage. The Emperor had exposed himself on the battlefield while manning a machine gun, and he had shown great calm and dignity during the disastrous final rout of Ethiopia's army.<sup>15</sup>

### **Konovalov's Unpublished Italian Manuscript**

After the Italo-Ethiopian War, Colonel Konovalov left the anti-Fascist cause and went to Spain, where he worked with the Fascist Falangists during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>16</sup>

Before then, someone revised and translated his work into Italian. Many years later, the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University got a typed copy which likely is this first Italian translation.<sup>17</sup> It consists of seven chapters and ninety-one pages typed on a typewriter at the Fourth Court of Appeals in Turin. Pankhurst details some of the differences between this translation and the version found in Steer. In particular, this new version downplayed the author's friendly comments toward Ethiopia and added passages favorable to Italy, presumably to gratify the Fascist regime and to get by its censorship. Significantly, this manuscript said nothing about Italy's use of poison gas during the war.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Steer, *Caesar*, 284.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 299-338.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, e.g., see 307-08, and 316.

<sup>16</sup> Angelo Del Boca, *Gli italiani in Africa orientate: La Conquista dell'Impero Roma*. (Bari: Laterza, 1979), 366, n. 56.

<sup>17</sup> In 1963, Richard Pankhurst founded The Institute of Ethiopian Studies, the oldest of the five research institutes within the Addis Ababa University system.

<sup>18</sup> Pankhurst, "Diversi version!", 159-60. This manuscript, I.E.S. No. 827, carries the title, *La guerra italo-etioptica vista da un testimone* ["The Italo-Ethiopian War As Seen by a Witness"]. Other foreign, contemporary observers referred to Italy's use of gas. John William Scott Macfie, *An Ethiopian Diary: A Record of the British Ambulance Service in Ethiopia* (London: University Press of Liverpool, 1936), e.g., 117; Kathleen Nelson and Alan Sullivan, *John Melly of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1937), e.g., 214; Marcel Junod, *Warrior Without Weapons* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 42-45; John Hathaway Spencer, *Ethiopia At Bay: A Personal Account of the Haile Sellassie Years* (Algonac, MI:

What explains Konovalov's seeming change of heart found in the published version of this manuscript?

The American historian, Thomas Coffey has insinuated that Konovalov was playing a double game. He specifically charged that Konovalov could have deceived the Emperor, making him believe he faced only ten thousand Italians at Mychew, while the enemy's numbers were much greater. During his March 21 reconnaissance trip into the mountains north of the Ethiopian camp, he claimed to have passed through the Italian lines disguised as a Coptic priest.<sup>19</sup> Doubting the story, Coffey concluded that, as a skilled military observer, if he had infiltrated the Italian lines, he must have discovered the Ethiopians faced more than twenty thousand men. In his memoirs, Konovalov did not detail what he told the Emperor on his return, although he admitted that, on March 29, he said he thought the Ethiopians faced "five-to-eight thousand" Italians at Mychew.<sup>20</sup>

Writing on Italian Fascism and colonialism, Angelo Del Boca commented on Ethiopian fears of mercenaries fighting for Ethiopia but actually in Rome's pay. He called Konovalov's behavior "ambiguous."<sup>21</sup> He wondered about "this survivor of the wreckage from Wrangel's army," who found a job in Ethiopia, enjoyed the Emperor's favor, and advised Ras Kasa Darge's army.<sup>22</sup> Del Boca could not confirm rumors that Konovalov was sometimes in Italian pay and that he was playing a double game.<sup>23</sup> Even so, continued Del Boca, Konovalov's memoirs began with the puzzling dedication: "To the Italian soldier who showed to the world, at first skeptical and then amazed but always hostile, that glorifying in the new fascist climate, he has the ancient virtues of the Roman legionary."<sup>24</sup>

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Reference Publications, 1987), 47; Steer, *Caesar*, 8. For a few of the articles in the *New York Times* on Italy's use of gas, see Mar. 17, 31; Apr. 4, 10, 15, 26; and May 3, 1936.

<sup>19</sup> St. Mark founded the Coptic Church about 42 AD. Composed of Egyptians who had converted to Christianity in the second and third centuries, the Church developed its own language, Coptic, a combination of Greek and Arabic, to translate the Bible. Its patriarch was one of early Christendom's most powerful figures. Holding the Monophysite doctrine, its followers left the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The Coptic Church belongs to the Eastern Orthodox family of churches. The patriarchate is in Alexandria, though the Patriarch usually lives in Cairo. He chose Ethiopia's first bishop in the fourth century. Despite interruptions, the See of St. Mark kept its privilege to name a Copt as abun [head] of Ethiopia's church for fifteen centuries. With an Ethiopian appointed as abun, the Ethiopian church became independent between 1948 and 1950.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas M. Coffey, *Lion by the Tail: The Story of the Italian-Ethiopian War* (New York: The Viking Press, 1974), 314-15; Mockler, Haile Selassie's War, 115.

<sup>21</sup> Del Boca, *Gli italiani*, 366.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* Although the claim of Ras Kasa Darge, 1881-1956, to Ethiopia's throne was equal to Haile Sellase's, he remained loyal to his cousin, the Emperor. The Italians killed three of his four sons. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 112.

<sup>23</sup> Del Boca, *Gli italiani*, 366.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*; Konovalov, *Con le armate*, xi.



### **The Published Italian Version: *Con le armate del Negus***

This first Italian draft, although closer to the Fascist point-of-view compared to Steer's excerpts, needed more manipulation before authorities would publish it. The work of revision fell to an Italian naval officer and a former "electro-technical adviser" to Addis Ababa, Commander Stefano Micciche, who had known Konovalov in Ethiopia before the war. The new text came with a new title, *Con le armate del Negus* [With the Army of the Negus] and with a new, and racist, subtitle, *Un bianco fr a Inert* [A White Among the Blacks]. The commander also wrote a twenty-six page, semi-autobiographical and political Preface in which he assured readers that "I have kept the original text unchanged, except for leaving out some episodes to avoid repetition."<sup>25</sup> A false promise, unfortunately, most know Konovalov only through Micciche's revised edition.

First published in Bologna at the end of 1936 and reprinted two years later, *Con le armate del Negus*, changed much, and Pankhurst again describes at some length these changes.<sup>26</sup> It consists of nine chapters versus Konovalov's seven in the first Italian draft. The book changed the order of the chapters to have Konovalov's audience with the Emperor taking place on July 17, 1935 instead of August 17, as in the original Italian draft. Micciche's edition almost invariably changed Konovalov's comments on Haile Sellase to the sovereign's disadvantage. The term "*negus*" [king] replaced "Emperor of Ethiopia," and the new edition omitted or weakened positive statements toward him.<sup>27</sup>

As just one example of Pankhurst's discussion of these differences, he notes that Micciche added criticism along the lines fixed by Fascist propaganda, which described Ethiopia as weakened by ethnic differences. Konovalov's Italian draft noted such problems, but Micciche strengthened them. He now had Konovalov writing, "Ethiopia was a horde of races of peoples without order or national spirit... Ethiopia could not survive the first serious test with any hope of success."<sup>28</sup>

Micciche further changed Konovalov's manuscript, again along the lines of Fascist propaganda, by adding a new chapter, "The Looting of Addis Ababa." One passage specifically accuses the Emperor of responsibility for the looting that took place after he had fled his capital in early May. "Sometime

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<sup>25</sup> Konovalov, *Con le armate*, 26.

<sup>26</sup> Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni," 160-63.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 161..

<sup>28</sup> Konovalov, *Con le armate*, 187. Many philo-fascist works of this period emphasize this lack of ethnic unity, e.g., Edward William Poison Newman, *Ethiopian Realities* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1936) and Charles Fernand Rey, *The Real Abyssinia* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969/1935). Compare Rey's earlier work, *Unconquered Abyssinia As It Is To-Day* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1924) for its more sympathetic view, e.g., 305-06 where he asserts that a powerful Ethiopia would benefit the surrounding colonies held by Italy, France, and Great Britain.

Friday night, provoked by anger, he violently tore the silk curtains that adorned the canopy for the throne and shouted to the bystanders, "Take all, ransack, but do not set fire to the *gebbi*, the royal palace compound. This will bring you misfortune. Do not leave anything for the Italians."<sup>29</sup> A photo of looting strengthened the impact of this final chapter, and Micciche's edition declared that when the Fascist army entered the Ethiopian capital immediately after these events, "the population went out of their houses and hailed the new arrivals. The Italians did not come as conquerors, but as liberators."<sup>30</sup>

Contemporary writers and Haile Sellase himself contradict this version of events, as Del Boca shows.<sup>31</sup>

Konovalov's memoirs were one of only three meaningful works written by observers on the Ethiopian side—in addition to Steer's book there is also a book by a Cuban, Colonel Alejandro del Valle.<sup>32</sup> Konovalov's book, however, became a tool of Fascist propaganda, and Pankhurst calls it "a brilliant political move."<sup>33</sup> The blustering bravado in Micciche's Preface and the extended effort to use Konovalov's words to rebut any denigration of the Italian people surely falls into the realm of defensive overcompensation. It comforted Italian public opinion—and international opinion as well. Writing, as the text underscored, as one of the Emperor's closest collaborators, it countered both Steer's writings and the opinions of most of the non-Italian residents in Addis Ababa before the occupation. These foreigners had vigorously condemned the Fascist invasion and occupation of Ethiopia.<sup>34</sup>

The Duce himself enthusiastically supported Konovalov's book, and on December 31, 1937 in *Popolo d'Italia*, he recommended the book. The second edition of the work in 1938 reproduced this approval.<sup>35</sup>

While many have uncritically quoted *Con le armate del Negus*, three writers have underlined the book's serious flaws. Czeslaw Jesman derisively dismissed

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<sup>29</sup> Konovalov, *Con le armate*, 210; Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni, 162-63.

<sup>30</sup> Konovalov, *Con le armate*, 214.

<sup>31</sup> Del Boca, *Gli italiani*, 694. See also James Dugan and Laurence Lafore, *Days of Emperor and Clown: The Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1936* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973), 283-84, 289-90 and Edward Ullendorff, *The Autobiography of Emperor Haile Selassie I. My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892-1937* (London: Oxford University Press), 291-92.

<sup>32</sup> Colonel Alejandro del Valle, *Un hombre blanco en el infierno negro por el Coronel Alejandro del Valle* [A White Man in a Black Hell by Colonel Alejandro del Valle], as told to Arturo Alfonso Rosello (Havana: Impreso en los Talleres Tipograficos, 1937). The book tells the story of a Cuban volunteer, Del Valle, who, like Konovalov, served at the northern Ethiopian front. Its anti-Ethiopian perspective is clear between the title and the photographs of mutilated Italian corpses at the end of the book.

<sup>33</sup> Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni," 163.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Popolo d'Italia*; Dec. 31, 1937; Konovaloff, *Con le armate*, v-x; Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni," 163.

Micciche's text as "a garbled and tendentious version of Konovalov's reminiscences."<sup>36</sup> Thomas Coffey more explicitly wrote that Konovalov "vividly and convincingly described many details, but was strangely silent, obscure, or baffling about others. His admiration for the Italians was greater than for their victims. He fulsomely praised Italian aviators but failed to mention the tons of mustard gas they sprayed on the Ethiopians."<sup>37</sup> Angelo del Boca underlined Micciche text's inherent distortions by noting its many inconsistencies compared to Steer's publication.<sup>38</sup>

### **Konovalov's Manuscript at the Hoover Institution**

Despite Micciche's edition, Emperor Haile Sellase evidently forgave Konovalov after Ethiopia's liberation. The Russian spent about ten more years in Ethiopia, where he lived until 1952, when he finally left the country.<sup>39</sup>

During his stay at Addis Ababa after the liberation, Konovalov wrote the "History of Ethiopia," a long draft in English that no one has published in its entirety. The Hoover Institution in California and The Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University hold copies of the manuscript. Typewritten, someone has begun editing part of it, and some sections clearly represent an early draft, full of mistakes, many of which are common for someone not comfortable with the English language.

Its most interesting and useful portions describe those events, which he witnessed or took part in. Clearly enthusiastic about Ethiopia's efforts to modernize, he favorably described Empress Zewditu Menilek,<sup>40</sup> and lavished praise on Teferi, the future Haile Sellase, for his education and reformist spirit, which many in the country opposed. As an eyewitness, he described many of the preparations for Teferi's coronation and the coronation itself as well as national improvements, such as road and church building, plus local administrative, postal, constitutional, and judicial reforms.<sup>41</sup>

In a chapter entitled "1935-1936," Konovalov describes his participation in the Italo-Ethiopian War without the changes Fascist politics had imposed. Although shorter than *Con le armate del Negus*, this interesting section begins with his first audience with the Emperor in July 1935.<sup>42</sup> The chapter sympathizes with the

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<sup>36</sup> Jesman, *Russians*, 148.

<sup>37</sup> Coffey, *Lion*, 314.

<sup>38</sup> Del Boca, *Gli italiani*, 619-39.

<sup>39</sup> Jesman, *Russians in Ethiopia*, 148.

<sup>40</sup> Zewditu Menilek ruled Ethiopia as empress from 1916 to 1930. Teferi Mekonnen, her second cousin, was her regent. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 191.

<sup>41</sup> Konovalov, "Konovaloff Manuscript," 84-90.

<sup>42</sup> For Pankhurst's discussion of the manuscript, see his "Diversi versioni," 164-66. Pankhurst complains that Konovalov still does not discuss Italy's use of poison gas. Pankhurst is wrong in detail;

Ethiopian people in their difficulties and celebrates their religion, culture, and patriotism. Konovalov now favorably evaluates the Ethiopian chiefs, comments not included in the published Italian text, and he praises the common Ethiopian soldier striving under impossible conditions. Konovalov sympathetically praises the Emperor and writes at some length about his personal conversations with him. Interestingly, Konovalov now glides over his underestimation of Italian forces at Mychew.

Konovalov's comments on Italy's occupation policy and the quick growth of guerrilla resistance provide a beguiling mix of Italian brutality and positive accomplishment, the latter especially in building a physical infrastructure and often forging close, personal relations with individual Ethiopians. Although Italy claimed victory on May 5, 1936 when its troops occupied the capital, in truth, Italy never pacified the country. Ethiopia's "Patriots" played an underappreciated role in liberating their own country, the first freed from Axis oppression in World War II.<sup>43</sup>

The *World War II Quarterly* has published in February 2008 the first of a two-part article in which I took and severely edited material from Konovalov's manuscript at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. Part of Konovalov's much larger, projected "History of Ethiopia," I excerpted from pages 307-77 material dealing with the eve of war and Italy's attack, victory, and occupation of Ethiopia. I closed with Konovalov's description of British victory and eye-witness commentary on Haile Sellase's entry into Addis Ababa in early World War II, after exactly five years of Italian occupation.<sup>44</sup>

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Konovalov mentions gas twice. But he is correct in wondering why Konovalov did not discuss this more. See 164.

<sup>43</sup> "Patriots" designates those who resisted the Italians between 1936 and 1941. These leaders were often provincial or local chiefs from important landowning families. Prouty and Rosenfeld, *Dictionary*, 144-46.

<sup>44</sup> Pankhurst, "Diversi versioni," 166-200, covers pages 307-67 in the manuscript. There appear to be fourteen pages missing from the manuscript copy, likely dealing with British military operations.

# No Independence without Sovereignty! The Resistance of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the British Occupation of Ethiopia (1941-1944)

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## Introduction

On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1941 Emperor Haile Selassie I, recently restored to the throne of Ethiopia, delivered a stirring message of hope and triumph from the steps of his imperial palace in Addis Ababa. Within his speech, the Emperor declared his gratitude to the British Army and his Ethiopian patriots for restoring him to power and expressed his desire to maintain Ethiopia's independence and sovereignty.<sup>1</sup> However, from 1941 to 1944, the Emperor realized the price of British aid was far more costly than mere gratitude and his people's liberty and freedom from Italian rule would have to be regained from British rule. But why was he able to succeed in removing British rule from Ethiopia by the end of 1944? What strategy and tactics did the Emperor utilize to achieve this end? In an effort to answer these questions this study will argue that prior to his signing of the 1944 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement Emperor Haile Selassie I regained *de facto* control over Ethiopia by engaging in a strategy of resistance which employed the tactics of obstructionism, opportunism, brinksmanship, leverage and propaganda.<sup>2</sup> However, a brief overview of the Emperor's strategy of resistance is necessary prior to an analysis of these tactics.

## Emperor Haile Selassie I's Strategy of Resistance

The Emperor's strategy was a pre-Cold War variant of the doctrine of flexible response. This doctrine was "based upon a measured and balanced range of appropriate responses...to all levels of aggression or threats of aggression."<sup>3</sup> The Emperor's goal was to compel the British to end its rule over Ethiopia without provoking them into a disproportionate use of force which

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<sup>1</sup> Emperor Haile Selassie I. *Selected Speeches of His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie First 1918 to 1967*. (Addis Ababa: The Imperial Ethiopian Ministry of Information, 1967), 338.

<sup>2</sup> The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1944 is an arbitrary title the author of this text assigned to this agreement. The proper title of this agreement is *Agreement between His Majesty in Respect of the United Kingdom and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia Addis Ababa, 19<sup>th</sup> December 1944*. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1945.

<sup>3</sup> North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "Defense Planning Committee Final Communiqué," Brussels, 13-14 December 1967 in North Atlantic Treaty Organization. *NATO Final Communiques. Vol. 1, 1949-1974*. (Brussels: NATO Information Services, 1974), p.197.

could either destroy his resistance, cripple his attempts to regain control over his empire or harden British resolve to maintain the occupation. A crucial aspect of the emperor's strategy was not to attack the British government directly but the instruments of power they utilized to maintain its control. His probable rationale for utilizing such a strategy of resistance revolved around the fact that as much as he wanted an Ethiopia free of British rule, he still believed himself to be indebted to them for the sacrifices they made in his restoration to the throne. Also, the Emperor may have been reluctant to engage his people in another war of insurrection against a European power while they were still recovering from the Italian occupation.

### **Obstructionism & Administrative Control**

And now I would like to address his first tactic to weaken British rule—obstructionism. In early 1941, the British military placed Ethiopia under the control of the Occupied Enemy Territorial Administration (OETA) led by General Sir Philip Mitchell. Believing his administration to be in control of Ethiopia, General Mitchell appointed British advisors to Ethiopia's bureaucracy without the Emperor's consent. In response, the Emperor quickly took steps to obstruct the actions of British advisors and neutralize their hold over his court. His first move occurred within a week of his return to the throne. In his autobiography, the Emperor wrote, "Since We had begun work on the New Ethiopia even before the conclusion of the war in Ethiopia, five days after We entered Addis Abeba [*sic*], on [May 10, 1941], We established a cabinet composed of seven ministers."<sup>4</sup> These ministers and their subordinates obstructed the British in their attempt to administratively run the country by mishandling official documents produced by their occupier and by ignoring recommendations submitted by British advisors.

To further strengthen his hold over his empire and weaken British control, the Emperor quickly resurrected provincial and local governments and paid off debts incurred by patriot leaders during their struggle against the Italians.<sup>5</sup> This tactic worked so efficiently that the British were compelled to work within the imperial administration the Emperor established rather than duplicate, undermine or dissolve it by force. Once the British began to work within his bureaucracy and accept his appointments to government positions, the Emperor achieved *de facto* administrative control over his empire.

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<sup>4</sup> Emperor Haile Selassie I. *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress: Volume Two Addis Ababa, 1966 E.C.* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 167.

<sup>5</sup> Harold G. Marcus. *A History of Ethiopia*. Updated Edition. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 152.

## **Opportunism & Territorial Control**

Now I would like to address his second tactic to undue British control—opportunism. In the immediate aftermath of the ousting of the Italians from Ethiopia, the British occupied the country's population centers with elements of the 1<sup>st</sup> South African Division, the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> African Divisions comprised of Kenyan, Nigerian and Ghanaian troops, and the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Indian Divisions. The Emperor knew that after five years of Italian occupation and insurrection by the Ethiopian patriots his people were too exhausted to directly challenge the full might of the British Army. In addition to this problem, from May 5<sup>th</sup> 1941 to January 31<sup>st</sup> 1942 World War II was turning against the Allies in North Africa. For example, on November 23<sup>rd</sup> 1941 the Afrika Korps defeated elements of the British 13<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> Corps at the Battle of Sidi Rezegh in Libya. And on January 21<sup>st</sup> 1942 Rommel launched a counteroffensive against the British 8<sup>th</sup> Army which ended eight days later with the German capture of the city of Benghazi in Libya.<sup>6</sup>

Realizing the dire nature of the Allied position, the Emperor joined official and unofficial international calls for the British to re-deploy their forces stationed in Ethiopia to other theaters of war. Though the British Empire complied with these requests, General Mitchell maintained a Military Mission to organize and train a new Ethiopian army and police force as well as to occupy the territory of the Ogaden and the Franco-Ethiopian Railway under Articles II, V and IX of the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement.

With the removal of British troops from the majority of Ethiopian territory and by opportunistically taking advantage of Nazi victories in North Africa, the Emperor established *de facto* territorial control over most of his empire by appointing Ethiopian patriot leaders to regional administrative positions.

## **Brinkmanship & Infrastructural Control**

And now I would like to address the Emperor's third and riskier tactic—brinkmanship. During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, Fascist Italy established several factories, plants, breweries and mills in Addis Ababa along with improvements to the road and railways of Ethiopia.<sup>7</sup>

However, before the Ethiopian liberation was completed by the British Army and the Ethiopian patriots, General Mitchell implemented plans to seize,

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<sup>6</sup> JKW Bingham and W. Haupt. *North African Campaign 1940-1943*, London: MacDonald & Company, 1968, 70-72, 79-80.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Pankhurst, "Post-World War II Ethiopia: British Military Policy and Action for the Dismantling and Acquisition of Italian Factories and Other Assets, 1941-1942." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 29, no. 1 (1996): 46.

dismantle and relocate Italian industrial assets to other British colonies where they could be utilized to produce war materiel for the Allied cause. From November 27<sup>th</sup> 1941 until February 28<sup>th</sup> 1942, the British Army by Ethiopian estimates stripped the empire of 80% of its Italian-created industrial infrastructure.<sup>8</sup> Until he signed the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement, the Emperor lacked a legal and military recourse to halt these seizures. By the terms of the agreement, General Mitchell had to *request* the Emperor's permission to extract any future industrial assets before they could requisition them. On February 28<sup>th</sup> 1942 General Mitchell attempted to seize a sisal rope factory in the town of Jimma without his permission. In an armed confrontation between British African troops and Ethiopian patriots led by *Dejazmach* Gorasu Duki, the Emperor ordered the patriot leader to prevent the British African troops from dismantling the factory. Over a period of several tense days in which Sir Robert Howe and General Mitchell attempted to bully the Emperor into submission on this issue, he refused to yield and made his full displeasure over General Mitchell's industrial requisitions known to his occupier. The end result of the Emperor's brinksmanship was the cessation of all requisitions of Italian industrial assets in Ethiopia and the Emperor's *de facto* control over the infrastructure of his empire.

### **Leverage & Economic Control**

Now I would like to address the Emperor's fourth tactic to restore Ethiopia's sovereignty—leverage. Under the terms of Article IV of the 1942 Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement, the Emperor conceded:

that in all matters relating to currency in Ethiopia the Government of the United Kingdom would be consulted and that arrangements concerning it would be made only with the concurrence of that Government.<sup>9</sup>

In adherence with the terms of the agreement the Emperor consulted the British government about stabilizing the value of Ethiopia's official

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<sup>8</sup> R.G. Howe, "Mr. Howe to Mr. Eden" 17.6.1942 in Paul Preston and Michael Partridge (eds.), *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print. Part III. From 1940 through 1945. Series G. Africa. Vol. 2 Africa, January 1942-March 1943.* (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1989), 108.

<sup>9</sup> "Appendix I: Agreement and Military Convention Between The United Kingdom and Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, January 31, 1942" in Lord Rennell of Rodd, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa.* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948): 541.



currency, the Maria Theresa dollar against the Italian lira and the British East Africa shilling both introduced during the Italian and British occupations.

The British proposed to establish a Currency Board in London and replace the Maria Theresa dollar with a new Ethiopian currency linked to the British pound. The Emperor submitted a counter-proposal of an Ethiopian national bank which would limit his empire's economic dependency upon Great Britain. When the British refused to create a national bank, the Emperor created the bank by edict, capitalized it nominally with one million Maria Theresa dollars, yet rested its solvency upon the Maria Theresa dollar itself, the Italian lira, the East African pound, and the Indian pound. These fluctuating currencies kept the Emperor constantly under pressure to accept the British proposal. To resolve this problem, in May 1942 the Emperor instructed his Vice Minister of Finance, Yilma Deressa, to seek a loan of \$40 million as credit to be made available in the United States in cash balance, to purchase consumer goods from the United States, and to seek an additional loan of \$10 million under the Lend-Lease Act of 1941 to rebuild Ethiopia.<sup>10</sup> The Americans responded by not only lend-leasing 5,430,000 ounces of silver for the purpose of coinage in Ethiopia and fulfilling the Emperor's request for credit but also dispatched in December 1943 an economic development mission to help the Ethiopians rebuild their country.

By leveraging the United States against the British Empire, the Emperor weakened the British hold over the Ethiopian economy long enough so that he could stabilize the Maria Theresa dollar, establish a national bank, and ensure his *de facto* economic control over his empire by the end of 1943.<sup>11</sup>

### **Propaganda & Informational Control**

And now I would like to address the Emperor's fifth tactic to secure Ethiopia's independence—propaganda. Immediately after the Emperor regained his throne, he confronted an active yet uncoordinated disinformation campaign designed to weaken and discredit his rule. As he recorded within his autobiography, "Among the British military officers in Ethiopia, there was a person called Brigadier [Maurice S.] Lush, who led a political group which had sinister intentions toward Our country... They spoke publicly that the purpose of

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<sup>10</sup> Yilma Deressa, "The Ethiopian Vice Minister of Finance (Yilma Deressa) to the Secretary of State" 12.7.1943 in United States. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States Diplomatic Papers 1943 Vol. IV The Near East and Africa*. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 101.

<sup>11</sup> Great Britain. Foreign Office. "Appendix I: Agreement and Military Convention Between The United Kingdom and Ethiopia: Addis Ababa, January 31, 1942" in Lord Rennell of Rodd, *British Military Administration of Occupied Territories in Africa*. (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948): 540-541.

their coming was to rule Ethiopia.”<sup>12</sup> To counter this disinformation campaign, the Emperor found a champion in the most un-likeliest of people, Estelle Sylvia Pankhurst.

Sylvia Pankhurst, as she was popularly known, was a noted British suffragette who during the 1920s supported anti-imperialist and anti-fascist causes. What began as an alliance of convenience between the Emperor and the British anti-imperialist blossomed into a life-long friendship which reaped huge dividends for both parties during and after the Italian and British occupations.

In the person of the Emperor, Pankhurst gained something which she did not possess—legitimacy. Her interviews with the Emperor and other members of the imperial family allowed Pankhurst to eloquently address Ethiopia’s concerns before a British and international public which could have dismissed her as being an anti-imperialist malcontent who knew nothing about the cause she championed.

In the person of Sylvia Pankhurst, the Emperor gained a tireless crusader who within the pages of her newspaper, *New Times & Ethiopia News* fearlessly held the Italians, the British and the world responsible for the war-torn conditions of Ethiopia. Initially the goal of her newspaper was to defend the cause of Ethiopian independence, attack Italian Fascism, assault Nazi aggression and defend the cause of other nations victimized by the Axis. Once the Ethiopian patriots and the British Army liberated Ethiopia, Pankhurst redirected her attacks squarely against the British occupation in a bid to secure Ethiopia’s independence and sovereignty.

With a circulation that reached ten thousand copies weekly, Pankhurst and her newspaper permitted the Emperor to regain *de facto* informational control over his empire. While the Emperor never controlled the media or the means by which information about his empire was distributed to the world, he did control the debate over Ethiopia’s viability as an independent nation and sold his empire to the world as a sovereign member of the international community. The reward for his effort was international recognition for his empire’s sovereignty and independence by gaining a seat at the United Nations in 1942, while Sylvia Pankhurst was rewarded for her efforts with the Queen of Sheba medal and the Patriots medal awarded by the Emperor as well as the privilege of immigrating to Ethiopia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Emperor Haile Selassie I. *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress: Volume Two Addis Ababa, 1966 E.C.* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 172.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.